

**Cultural identities as reflected in the literature
of the Northern and Southern dynasties period
(4th -6th centuries A.D.)**

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

During the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties of China identity questions became serious in a society thrown into disorder by political, religious and ethnic problems. This thesis uses three books written in the sixth century to discuss how educated Chinese faced identity problems and how they dealt with them.

The Buddhist monk Huijiao dealt with the problems of sinifying a foreign religion. He constructed many different identities in addition to the Buddhist one for the monks in his book *Gaoseng zhuan*, (*Lives of Eminent Monks*), a collection of biographies of Buddhist monks, to bring Buddhism closer to Chinese tradition and more acceptable by Confucian standards. Through the identity construction he also made responses to anti-Buddhist ideas.

Yang Xuanzhi's *Luoyang qielan ji*, (*Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang*), deals with the identity problems of Chinese officials serving a Xianbei regime in the north and of the short-lived capital of the Northern Wei in Luoyang. Yang reconstructed a Chinese identity for the lost capital as a true heir of Chinese tradition, as were the emperors, princes and officials who lived there. He created an identity defined not by ethnicity but by culture.

Yan Zhitui's *Yanshi jiaxun*, (*Family Instruction of the Yan Clan*), is a book which tells his descendants how to construct and maintain the future identity of his own family. He drew on his own experience of recovering from repeated political catastrophes to set out an identity that would help the family to survive disordered times and maintain their status in society.

Note on Romanization

This dissertation includes a number of names and terms in Chinese. Where modern writers have their own preferred ways of writing their names in roman letters, these have been followed. Otherwise, I have used the Hanyu pinyin system for Romanizing names and terms throughout this dissertation except in quotations in which I have kept their original spelling. Chinese and Japanese characters for the names of authors and the titles of their works can be found in the bibliography.

Abbreviations Used in the Text

<i>GSZ</i>	<i>Gaoseng zhuan</i>	高僧傳
<i>LYQLJ</i>	<i>Luoyang qielan ji</i>	洛陽伽藍記
<i>MSZ</i>	<i>Mingseng zhuan</i>	名僧傳
<i>SGSZ</i>	<i>Song gaoseng zhuan</i>	宋高僧傳
<i>SXZ</i>	<i>Shenxian zhuan</i>	神仙傳
<i>XGSZ</i>	<i>Xu gaoseng zhuan</i>	續高僧傳
<i>YSJX</i>	<i>Yanshi jiaxun</i>	顏氏家訓
<i>YSJXJJ</i>	<i>Yanshi jiaxun jijie</i>	顏氏家訓集解
<i>TSD</i>	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō (Taishōzōk).</i> 大正新修大藏經 (大正藏)	

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is a study of identity as reflected in three books that were completed in medieval China in the sixth century. They are all concerned with the time from the fourth to the sixth centuries, the period in Chinese history usually called Northern and Southern dynasties. After the collapse of Eastern Han rule, new questions of identity appeared in the Chinese world. For nearly four centuries it was politically divided and unstable. Large parts of China were ruled by non-Chinese conquerors. In troubled times many people moved away from their homelands. Buddhism, a religion of foreign origin, challenged the ideological supremacy of Confucian and other Chinese traditions. From then till the reunification by Yang Jian (楊堅, 541-604), the founder of the Sui (隋, 581-618) dynasty, in 589, a long period of unrest and disorder, Chinese people not only faced various serious struggles for physical survival but also experienced great changes in traditional values and rearrangements of social status. These changes were affected by political, religious and geographical factors. And they all posed serious questions of identity.

The problem of identity that educated Chinese faced in this period were many and difficult. Instead of one dynasty ruling the whole China world that commanded the political loyalty of all of them for centuries there were many regimes, mostly short-lived, that only ruled parts of China. Political loyalty involved hard choices. There were also problems of ethnic identity and loyalty when from the early fourth century onwards north China was ruled by many non-Chinese dynasties. What

problems did this create for their Chinese subjects? In a politically divided China local identity became more significant, especially when there was much population movement. Local identity could also be problematic: did you identify with where you lived or with the place which your family had left? As the new and foreign religion of Buddhism became dominant in China how did this affect people's sense of cultural identity? Could one be a good Buddhist and an adherent of traditional Chinese cultural values? The question of identity of educated Chinese in the period of the Northern and Southern dynasties was complex and not just an individual experience. It affected a large number of people in Han Chinese society. Identity questions appeared in the period in political forms at first and turned very soon into identity questions which contained ethnic, religious and geographical aspects. Han Chinese people, especially educated Han Chinese, had to face the serious challenge of transformation of their identities within Han Chinese culture. In general, educated Chinese in the period constructed their identity by culture and this situation was not only reflected in the histories but also in the literature of this period. In addition, the survival and identity of the patriarchal family unit through unstable times was an ongoing problem. Such issues provide enlightening angles for research into the literature of the Northern and Southern dynasties.

From the end of the Eastern Han, civil wars and rebellions continued to create disruption and misery. In 220 A.D., the age of the Three Kingdoms (*Sanguo*, 三國) began when three rival regimes contended for control. In the north Cao Cao (曹操, 155-220) and his son Cao Pi (曹丕, 187-226) founded the new regime of Wei (魏, 220-265) with its capital at Ye (鄴, Anyang, Henan). Usually it is called Cao Wei to distinguish it from the later Northern Wei. One year after Cao Pi's claim for the legitimacy of his throne, Liu Bei (劉備, 161-223), a descendant of the Han

imperial family, declared himself emperor of the Han dynasty (221-263) in the Sichuan (四川) area with great help from his political and military adviser Zhuge Liang (諸葛亮, 181-234). This dynasty is also known as Shu (蜀) or Shu Han (蜀漢, 221-263). Another political regime, Wu (吳, 222-280), was established one year later by Sun Quan (孫權, 182-252) in the Yangzi valley and made its capital city in Jiankang (建康, today Nanjing). Historians sometimes call this the “triple division of the Chinese land” (三分天下, *sanfen tianxia*). This lasted for about 60 years and finally came to an end in 280 with the fall of Wu, sixteen years after the Sima (司馬) family replaced the Cao family’s Wei dynasty with their own dynasty of Jin in 265.

Throughout these sixty years the main identity question for educated Chinese was a political one: to which of the rival regimes did they owe their loyalty? The Jin appeared for a time to have resolved that question by restoring a single political authority.

The Jin regime gave Chinese people only about ten years of peace after their goal of unification of the country had been fulfilled. Soon after the death of the founder Sima Yan (司馬炎, r.265-290) the newly risen consort family of Jia (賈) caused dissent among the nobles and their followers. The troubles lasted from 291 to 305, and for seven years a serious civil war, known as ‘the Rebellion of the Eight Princes’ (八王之亂), brought the princes of the imperial family into conflict with each other. This situation deteriorated rapidly from the first few years of the fourth century onwards, with further problems of droughts and locusts, which caused famine in the regions already ravaged by the civil war. In addition the tribes of nomadic non-Chinese people installed in the north and northwest took advantage of the general chaos to rebel and form independent political units. As

early as 303 a family of proto-Tibetan Cong (竇) founded the kingdom of Cheng Han (成漢, 303-347) in Sichuan, while the Xiongnu (匈奴) of southern Shanxi (山西) proclaimed themselves independent and copied the dynastic name of the Han. They were followed by another fifteen non-Chinese dynasties¹ that rose and fell in different parts of north China. In 311 the Xiongnu chieftain Liu Cong (劉聰) seized Luoyang (洛陽), and in 316 Chang'an (長安) fell in turn to the assault of another Xiongnu leader, Liu Yao (劉曜). The imperial family fled to the Yangzi (揚子) valley, leaving their two historical capital cities and most of the people under non-Chinese rule. Many nobles and officials followed this great exile and most of them never returned to their homeland in the north where their ancestors had lived for thousands of years.

The rivalry between non-Chinese regimes and the troubles they caused in north and northwest China from 303 to 439 is known in Chinese historiography as 'Sixteen Kingdoms of the Five Barbarians (五胡十六國, *Wuhushiliuguo*)' or 'Five Barbarians bringing chaos to China (五胡亂華, *Wuhuluanhua*)'. No matter which term historians have used for the period, Chinese historians have blamed the disordered society and the difficult times and their exile on the attacks by non-Chinese people even if the problem may not be so simple.² Educated Chinese at the time tended to see the non-Chinese as evil and uncivilized, and to emphasize that they were different from themselves. On the other hand, upper-class Chinese who stayed in the north served the new regimes and gave them their loyalty. The

¹ The expression "sixteen kingdoms and five barbarians" is commonly used. In fact the number of the non-Chinese ethnic group was more than five, and the number of kingdoms they founded was more than sixteen.

² The reasons for the great movement of Chinese people to Southern China are more complex than a simple ethnic factor, including as well the factors of flood and famine. See Wang Zhongluo (王仲犛), *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi* (魏晉南北朝史), Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003.

identity questions that appeared in this period were more complex than during the time of the Three Kingdoms. It is understandable that Cao Cao, the founder of the former Wei, who had low social status as the adopted grandson of a court eunuch and was without any connection with the late Han aristocracy, sought to strengthen his own position at the expense of the great gentry families who had occupied the forefront of the political stage since the killing of the eunuchs in 189. It is understandable too that Liu Bei emphasized his descent from the imperial family of the Han dynasty to strengthen his legitimacy in founding a new dynasty in the southwest even if there is a shortage of evidence about his actual ancestry. However, educated Chinese after the collapse of Western Jin rule had to face more difficult identity questions than their predecessors who had served Cao Cao and Liu Bei. How did they face the reality that Chinese people were unable to maintain their supremacy over other ethnic groups? And how did they accept the end of unified rule of the Chinese world? Those questions were more serious than questions of family lineage and political loyalty. Moreover, when the Eastern Jin was founded in Southern China, the geographical factor also influenced questions of identity.

Sima Rui (司馬睿, 276-322) refounded the Jin state in South China in 317 after the loss of the North, thus initiating the age of the Eastern Jin (東晉, 317-420). The Eastern Jin in the south lasted more than a hundred years, much longer than the Western Jin in the north. During this long period, the ruling house, aristocrats and the educated Chinese in the south persistently hoped to return to their homeland in the north. The armies of the Eastern Jin tried to reconquer the north with the support of northern aristocrats in 312 and 313, 352 and 365, and again from 416 to 418. However, their dream of regaining power over all of China was

shattered when Fu Jian (苻堅, 338-385), the ruler of the Former Qin (前秦, 351-394), one of the northern non-Chinese dynasties, launched a massive invasion that was stopped on the River Fei in 383 (淝水之戰, *Feishuizhizhan*). At the same time, people in the south had an interest in creating a stable, prosperous state in the south although their ruler regarded himself as the leader of the legitimate government of the whole of China.

The first decades of Eastern Jin rule in Jiankang (建康, Nanjing) and the period after the River Fei campaign presented identity questions to educated Chinese in the south that were slightly different. In the beginning refugees from the north saw themselves as temporary residents. Most expected that they would go back to the north shortly. Therefore they acted as superior to the local Chinese and took a lofty attitude to them. After they largely lost hope of going back to the north the identity question for the families from the north changed too.

Shizu

From the point of view of the Eastern Jin, the River Fei campaign was a successful effort at stopping attacks from the non-Chinese kingdoms of north China and keeping a certain security for the southern government which enjoyed forty more years of peace. On the other hand, the cost of the River Fei campaign had shown that there was little hope of recovering the north for the imperial family and other people who had fled from the north. After 381, the ruling house of Sima had to face the difficult question of powerful families, known as *shizu* (士族), a problem since their arrival in the south.³

³ There are five Chinese words that are all pronounced *shizu*: 士族, 世族, 氏族, 仕族

Shizu consisted mainly of imperial families, powerful families, and educated families. Zhao Yi (趙翼), a famous scholar of the Qing (清) dynasty, said that the *shizu* formed because some intellectuals took their professional knowledge of Confucian classics for an heirloom and passed it on to their descendants so that they could have the opportunity to take high positions in government. After some generations, these families were eventually accorded high social status and became *shizu*.⁴ However, the modern scholar Kuang Shiyuan (鄺士元) has pointed out that it is relevant to the question of the development of *shizu* that since Confucianism was recognized as the ideological basis of the state by Emperor Wu (武帝, r.140-87 BC) of the Western Han (西漢, 206 BC-8 AD), the younger generations of some rich families had won high office by studying traditional classics. High office was also a way of acquiring wealth. Thereafter, if these families still held high positions in government for generations without falling from political favour, their families became *shizu*.⁵ Those families would increase their property, mostly by enlarging their own land, after their family members became officials and held political power. As a family's property grew it had more chances to educate its sons and for them to gain political position, so that their families became more and more powerful and influential. In short, the three prerequisites for *shizu* status were rich knowledge of Confucianist classics, a wealthy family, and holding high posts for a few generations. *Shizu* status became very important for the identity of leading

and 勢族. There are slightly differences in meaning between one and another and all are related. See Mo Hanguang (毛漢光), *Zhongguo Zhonggu shehui shilun* (中國中古社會史論). Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1988. In this thesis I use 士族 for the general meaning of educated Chinese from powerful families.

⁴ See Zhao Yi, *Nianer shi zhaji* (廿二史劄記). (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1983); vol.5, “Leishi jingxue (累世經學)”

⁵ Kuang Shiyuan (鄺士元), “Wei Jin mendi shili zhuan yi yu zhiluan guanxi” (魏晉門第勢力轉移與治亂關係) in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao yanjiu lunji* (魏晉南北朝研究論集) (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1984), pp.29-79.

families.

Many powerful families had backed Liu Xiu (劉秀, 6 B.C.-57 A.D.), the first emperor of the Eastern Han (東漢, 25-220), when he fought to found his own dynasty in the first quarter of the first century. Most of these powerful families became *shizu* later on because of their contribution, to the new regime and therefore their families had the first chances to hold and keep high posts in court. A stronger connection between *shizu* and imperial families had developed since then, and this situation continued under the Cao Wei dynasty. Even more than the Later Han, the Cao Wei regime was founded on the support from many powerful families, like those of Xu Chu (許褚),⁶ Zhong Yao (鍾繇),⁷ Du Ji (杜畿).⁸ Those families were all *shizu* from the Eastern Han period who also had their own armed forces. It was in fact the transfer of power between different groups of families when the Cao Wei replaced the Eastern Han, and it was the same when the Sima took the throne from the Cao. Therefore, scholars have long maintained that the period from Wei to Jin it was dominated by “*shizu* politics”.

The position of *shizu* was consolidated by the grading system known as *jiupin guanrenfa* (九品官人法), also called *jiupin zhongzhengzhi* (九品中正制), although this system was not established especially for the *shizu*'s benefit. The system was established under Cao Cao and his successor Cao Pi and was used for nearly four hundred years.⁹ The original purpose of the system was for the efficient selection

⁶ See *Wei zhi* (魏志) 18 “Biography of Xu Chu” in *Sanguo zhi* (三國志).

⁷ See *Wei zhi* 13 “Biography of Zhong Yao” in *Sanguo zhi*, the annotation to which quotes some information from ‘Xianxian xingzhuang’ (先賢行狀).

⁸ See *Wei zhi* in *Sanguo zhi* 16 “Biography of Du Ji”.

⁹ *Jiupin guanrenfa* was announced in the first year of Huangchu (黃初, 220) and was abolished in the eleventh year of Kaihuang (開皇, 591). It was used for 371 years. See *Wei zhi* in *Sanguo zhi*; and *Sui shu* (隋書). However, although the publication of the system was dated to the Wei Wendi (魏文帝) period, Shen Yue (沈約), the author of *Song shu* (宋書), attributed this effort to Cao Cao. See *Song shu* 94, the preface of “Biography of

and promotion of the most suitable officials for government. Intended in principle to identify the best officials and guarantee impartial selection, it consisted in the classification of all officials and their families in nine grades. However this system very soon began to favour the great families as the *zhongzheng* (中正), the officials in charge of the selection who held the right to decide which families belonged to which grades, usually came from *shizu*. Even the designer of this system, Chen Qun (陳群) himself came from a typical *shizu* family. In the special circumstance of the time the right of selection was held in the hands of great families, so that the *jiupin guanrenfa* eventually became a system which made the *shizu* more powerful and more unshakable.

At the beginning of the *jiupin guanrenfa*, the *zhongzheng* normally made his selection and recommendation based on the intellect, abilities, virtue, and family background of educated individuals. However, by about the end of the Jin dynasty family background became the only real prerequisite; intellect, abilities and virtue sometimes were only nominally taken into account. They would see if a person's recent ancestors had a record of holding high posts, in government, especially during three generations from his father to his great grandfather. This was not based on distant family history.¹⁰ That is why the imperial family was usually included in *shizu* and why some families belonged to *shizu* in one period and but not in another period. A family's *pin* (family grade) was actually decided by how much power it held at the time. Powerful families were usually *shizu* although some powerful families were not.

Enxing (恩倖)”.

¹⁰ See Tang Changru (唐長孺), “Shizu de xingcheng han shengjiang (士族的形成和升降)” and “Shiren yinzu tequan han shizu duiwu de kuoda (士人蔭族特權和士族隊伍的擴大)” both in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* (魏晉南北朝史論拾遺) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp.53-63 and 64-78.

The status and composition of *shizu* changed with the passing of time. When the Song (宋) dynasty was founded in 420, military success brought about a rearrangement of political resources and a reclassification of *shizu*. The founder of the Song dynasty in the south was an army chief named Liu Yu (劉裕, 363-422), who was born in a humble and poor family. He earned his living as a woodcutter, fisherman and shoe seller when he was young. He began his career under several military groups from the late fourth century and finally became a ruler of a new regime by taking the throne from the Sima family in the first decades of the fifth century. As an emperor, his family was included among the *shizu* during the Song period, but it never came up to the first grade of *shizu* since it was not “old” enough for qualification. Military power was not a new path to high posts in government; however it was a new way people found of promoting their families to higher ranks in society. Liu Yu was the first model of this kind of social advancement, and he was followed by three more founders of new dynasties in the south: Xiao Daocheng (蕭道成, 427-482) of the Southern Qi (南齊, 479-502), Xiao Yan (蕭衍, 464-549) of the Liang (梁, 502-557) and the Chen Baxian (陳霸先, 503-559) of Chen (陳, 557-589).

There were some other low class families like the Liu family upgraded into high status by military achievement. Quite a few *hanmen* (寒門), common families or humble families, won high status through military achievement in the period. In fact, only humble families could succeed in the army. The members of *shizu* did not join the army at the time. Actually they regarded joining the army and winning military achievements as a kind of disgrace. Such views were held by most *shizu* through the whole period of the fifth to the sixth centuries, as we shall see when looking at *Yanshi jiaxun* (顏氏家訓). In this period the families of successful

soldiers rapidly rose in status, but were not regarded as true *shizu* by “better” families such as Yan Zhitui’s (顏之推, 531-591+), although they had *shizu* status according to the law. The desire for *shizu* rank drove some to illegal actions such as falsifying family records. Powerful people would ask *zhongzheng* to change their family records in order to upgrade their families to higher status for exemption from taxes and labour requisition and for winning respect in society.¹¹ False family records produced many fake *shizu* and this became a serious problem to the government. The government made several general checks, under pressure, on the family records of *shizu* during the period of the Song and Qi dynasties, but they finally abandoned this campaign around 480, under more pressure, and permitted numerous fake *shizu* with false family records.

Besides the rise of military families, marriage connections were another factor which made *shizu* more heterogeneous. One typical example was the Xiao family of Lanling (蘭陵蕭氏). The Xiao family became one of the most famous *shizu* families in the late period of the Southern dynasties. They were the imperial family of two dynasties, the Qi and the Liang. Before then Xiaos were married into the future Song ruling house. The stepmother of Liu Yu, the first Song emperor, came from the Xiao family. Since the Liu family was humble, it is improbable that Liu Yu’s father had married a lady from a high status family. Therefore the Xiao family, as Tang Changru (唐長孺) had pointed out, was not included in *shizu* originally although they became an illustrious *shizu* family from Song times. The status of the Xiao, based on marriage connections, lasted till the early years of the Tang (唐) dynasty.¹²

¹¹ Some records may be found in *Nan shi* (南史) 49, “Biography of Yu Bi (庾華)”.

¹² See Tang Changru, “Shizu de xingcheng han shengjiang (士族的形成和升降)” in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* (魏晉南北朝史論拾遺) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983).

From the simple discussion and description above, it is clear that *shizu* identity was unstable, especially during the period from the fourth to sixth century. How did people who prided themselves on their birth and education keep their identity amidst such confusion? This was a central question for Yan Zhitui, the author of the third book we will look at in this study.

Ethnic Questions

The problem of *shizu* in the north was more complex than in the south: it was affected by ethnic issues.

When the government of the Western Jin dynasty collapsed and withdrew to the south in 317, powerful families had four choices. Some of them followed their ruler and left their homelands in the north to move to the Yangzi valley. They gradually became southerners with the passing of time. Some of them fled to Liaodong (遼東) and the Youzhou (幽州) area in northeast China which Chinese had developed since the Three Kingdoms period. Some of them moved to Liangzhou (涼州) in the west of China. Some of them chose to stay where their family had lived for many generations. Except for the people who moved south, the others were usually regarded as northerners, for the whole of north China was eventually united under the Northern Wei (北魏) dynasty in 439.

Unlike the great families that moved to the south, the great families that stayed in the north usually had strong armed forces. They built strong fortresses and organized extended families and dependants to protect themselves and their

properties when the government was unable to maintain order and the populace was confronted with the threat of war and bandits. Some of the smaller and weaker families would attach themselves to the great families to ensure security. Such groupings could become powerful military structures. Their fortresses and armed forces were so strong that they could sometimes resist regular soldiers. This kind of self-protection strategy had evolved under the Han dynasty.¹³ Following the establishment of non-Chinese regimes from the beginning of the fourth century to the middle of the fifth century the great Chinese families lost their military power but remained dominant in local finance and administration.

To maintain control of their Chinese subjects the non-Chinese rulers of the various kingdoms in the north usually tried their best to establish good relationships with those Chinese great families. The rulers in the north would make friends with the leaders of those families, and some of the barbarian kings even restored *shizu* identities for the great families. During the period of Sixteen Kingdoms, the non-Han rulers, including the rulers of the Zhao (趙) kingdoms and the rulers of the early years of the Northern Wei dynasty, restored and classified *shizu* identity for the great families in the north with the *jiupin zhongzheng* system and also according to the old family records which had been made in Cao Wei (曹魏) and Western Jin times. Problems within the different classes of *shizu* and between *shizu* and non-*shizu* were still apparent from time to time in the north. However, the *shizu* problem in the north was not as serious as in the south. To the non-Chinese rulers in the north and to their Chinese subjects the more serious problem was always the ethnic question.

¹³ See Ch'u, T'ung-tsu, *Han social structure*. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), p.209.

Ethnic questions in the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms remained serious under the Northern Wei dynasty after it unified the whole of north China. When northern China was still divided between rival regimes, the military power of the non-Chinese peoples was all important; therefore the problem of *shizu* was secondary. On the other hand, some kings of the Sixteen Kingdoms, such as the Murong (慕容) family of the Yan (燕) kingdom,¹⁴ the Liu (劉) and the Shi (石) families of the Zhao (趙) kingdoms,¹⁵ and the Fu (苻) and the Yao (姚) families of Qin (秦) kingdoms¹⁶ had been sinicised to a degree; their knowledge of Chinese tradition and the use of Chinese culture had been of great help in their rule. Any regime that ruled a large Chinese population needed Chinese officials in order to do so. During this period of nearly a hundred years, the *shizu* problem did not become a serious issue until a Xianbei (鮮卑) branch destroyed most of its northern rivals and founded a great empire in north China.

In 386, Tuoba Gui (拓跋珪, 371-409) founded a non-Chinese regime in Pingcheng (平城, Datong, Shanxi). The kingdom was also named Wei and is called Northern Wei in Chinese history in order to distinguish it from Cao Wei. The Tuoba family, a branch of Xianbei, had founded a state called Dai (代) and built their first capital in Shengle (盛樂, in inner Mongolia) in 312 that came to an end in 376. Ten years after their first kingdom fell, the Tuoba family founded a new kingdom. After their establishment of the new kingdom, by the middle of the fifth

¹⁴ See *Jin shu* (晉書) 109, "Biography of Murong Guang (慕容光)"; 110, "Biography of Murong Jun (慕容雋)"; 127, "Biography of Murong De (慕容德)".

¹⁵ See *Jin shu* 101, "Biography of Liu Yuanhai (劉元海)"; 102, "Biography of Liu Cong (劉聰)"; 103, "Biography of Liu Yao (劉曜)"; 104 and 105, "Biography of Shi Le (石勒)"; 106 and 107, "Biography of Shi Jilong (石季龍)".

¹⁶ See *Jin shu* 113 and 114, "Biography of Fu Jian (苻堅)", 115, "Biography of Fu Pi (苻丕)"; 116, "Biography of Yao Chang (姚萇)"; 117 and 118, "Biography of Yao Xing (姚興)"; 119, "Biography of Yao Hong (姚泓)".

century the Northern Wei rulers first destroyed all their rivals in north China and then proceeded as best they could to establish direct control over the peasantry. The ruling house of the Northern Wei relied on educated Chinese from *shizu* families to establish many kinds of institutions, laws and other systems for the new state, to enable the government to work properly in Chinese lands. This was the first stage of the sinicization of the Northern Wei dynasty in its dealings with its Chinese subjects. As ruling houses in the north, the Northern Wei had to maintain good relation with powerful Chinese families in the north, and those families had to serve the ruling house to show their loyalty. One great contribution made by those powerful Chinese families was the Chinese political tradition which helped the Tuoba family to build their own bureaucratic structure and rule their new kingdom effectively.

While north Chinese *shizu* helped the Tuoba family to establish their government and its systems, some of them tried to take high status as before by using the power which they received from office. They wanted to reorganise the social order by making a clear classification of *shizu*. In any classification of *shizu* based on Chinese tradition and Chinese history, normally only educated Chinese families were able to keep records of their families' political experience. That meant the Xianbei aristocracy would not be able to have high social status although their political status would remain high. That was not only a *shizu* identity issue but was an ethnic question. What Chinese *shizu* wanted to do caused serious tension between the Xianbei aristocracy and the Chinese *shizu*. This situation eventually caused a widespread crisis in 450, named in history after Cui Hao (崔浩), or sometimes called the official history crisis (*guoshi shijian*, 國史事件).

Cui Hao (?-450) was born in a famous high grade *shizu* family in north China.

He was the most important of the educated Chinese from *shizu* families who helped the Northern Wei dynasty to establish their bureaucratic system under three emperors: Daowu (道武, r.386-409), Mingyuan (明元, r.409-423) and Taiwu (太武, r.424-452). After holding political power for a long time and having an unconcealed wish to re-rank the social status of northern families, Cui Hao threatened the Xianbei aristocracy's interests and, moreover, he made them feel that educated Chinese looked down on them as uncivilized. Cui Hao was executed because he wrote directly about the history of the Tuoba family in a disrespectful way and offended the emperor.¹⁷ In fact he died in the conflict between educated Chinese and Xianbei aristocracy over sinicization. Many Chinese *shizu* were involved in the Cui Hao incident, and thousands of members of *shizu* families were executed or banished. However, it did not stop the process of sinicization of Northern Wei even though there continued to be tensions and suspicions between Chinese and non-Chinese.

The process of the sinicization of the Northern Wei climbed to its peak in the time of Xiaowen di (孝文帝, r. 471-499), the sixth emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty. His reign has become synonymous with sinicization. In his reign he announced many policies for transforming Xianbei culture into Chinese culture. Xiaowen di, Tuoba Hong (拓跋宏), had accepted Chinese culture since he was very young and mostly from his grandmother, Dowager Empress Feng (馮太后, 441-490), the daughter of a Chinese *shizu* family. He also took much advice on sinicization from one of his high officials in the court, Wang Su (王肅, 436-501), a

¹⁷ There are many resources which mention the Cui Hao incident in *Weishu*, such as: 35 "Biography of Cui Hao (崔浩)", 47 "Biography of Lu Xuan (盧玄)", 48 "Biography of Gao Yun (高允)" and 24 "Biography of Cui Xuanbo (崔玄伯)".

typical Chinese *shizu* intellectual,¹⁸ when he took direct control of his government. Xiaowen di and his grandmother changed almost every aspect of state and society in a drastic reform programme directed towards the goal of sinicization. He enforced sinification and outlawed many of the old Xianbei ways and even the use of Xianbei language at court; their clothes styles, and their original family name were banned in the new laws intended to create a Chinese cultural identity for them. Finally to move away from the “barbarian” influences of old customs, in 495 Xiaowen di moved the capital from Pingcheng to the ruined site of Luoyang. Such were the resources of the reformed state that in some twenty or thirty years it had a great city of half a million people with magnificent buildings where there had been nothing but ruins before, while also maintaining many Xianbei tribal leaders and hundreds of thousands of soldiers on the frontiers.¹⁹

The sinicization after Xiaowen di moved his capital to Luoyang became more thoroughgoing. He adopted the *jiupin* grading system for leading families. In 495 he even made a new law to change Xianbei family names from their original forms to Chinese style ones and ranked eight of them, Mu (穆), Lu (陸), He (賀), Liu (劉), Luo (樓), Yu (于), Ji (嵇) and Wei (尉), as first grade names. These eight family names were shortened from polysyllabic Xianbei aristocratic names.²⁰ After the change those family names became very similar to some Chinese family names. Xiaowen di then announced another strong measure for sinicization. He asked his people, especially the tribal leaders who had submitted to the Tuoba

¹⁸ See “Biography of Wang Su” in *Wei Shu* 63 and *Bei Shi* 42.

¹⁹ See Jenner, W.J.F., *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsuan-chih and the lost capital (493-534)* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1981), pp.16-60.

²⁰ See *Wei Shu* 113 “Guanshi zhi (官氏志)”. Modern discussions see Tang Changru, “Lun Bei Wei Xiaowendi ding xingzu (論北魏孝文帝定姓族)”, in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* (魏晉南北朝史論拾遺) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), pp.79-91. Also see Yao Weiyuan (姚薇元), *Beichao huxing kao* (北朝胡姓考). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1958.

family and moved to Luoyang from the northern frontier with the ruling house, to change their place of origin to Henan (河南). According to historical records, people of more than a hundred family surnames all became Luoyangers thereafter.²¹ Xiaowen di had tried to close the gap between the Xianbei aristocracy and Chinese *shizu*, and to minimize differences between Chinese and non-Chinese. In a word, he wanted all his people to become Chinese in culture. He even announced a marriage law which made clear rules on marriage among different races. According to this law Chinese and non-Chinese would share the same blood.

When the ruling house of the Northern Wei and its people in Luoyang were enjoying the prosperity brought by the sinicization, large numbers of Xianbei were left behind in the north. Most of them were the Xianbei soldiers who stayed on the northern frontier for a long time. These Xianbei garrisons guarded the kingdom and protected their state from other steppe armies' attacks in a severe environment. Those once honoured armies were neglected and mistreated by a remote and sinicized court in Luoyang since they still insisted on their Xianbei culture and ethnic identity. The successful sinicization in the Luoyang area produced a new identity of high civilization for the Tuoba family and their followers, and this new identity made them different from their own people left in the northern frontiers. The differences turned into discontent, the discontent became anger and accumulated into a rebellion of the northern garrisons that broke out around 524. This rebellion destroyed the Northern Wei army. The state had to turn to the heavy cavalry of the Erzhu (爾朱), tribesmen of Iranian descent long settled in Shanxi, to suppress the rebellion. The Erzhu then imposed their dictatorship and did fatal

²¹ See *Wei Shu* 113 "Guanshi zhi" and the preface of 'Shibu (史部), puxipian (譜系篇)' in *Sui shu* (隋書) 33. "Jingji zhi (經籍志)".

damage to Luoyang and killed many of its Xianbei and Chinese elite. The prosperity of Luoyang disappeared very quickly. The Erzhus were finally put down not by Luoyang's armies but by a Xianbeicized Chinese, Gao Huan (高歡, 496-547),²² a former northern garrison officer and associate of theirs. Not long after his successful suppression of the Erzhu, it is said that Gao Huan moved 2 million people from Luoyang and its environs at three days' notice to a new capital at Ye (Anyang, Henan). This was the end of the Northern Wei dynasty.

The Northern Wei dynasty split into two lines after 534: the Eastern Wei (東魏, 534-550), under Gao Huan and his sons, and the Western Wei (西魏, 535-556), under Gao's rival Yuwen Tai (宇文泰, 507-556) at Chang'an. In 552 the eastern branch was dethroned, and Gao Yang (高洋, 529-559) made himself the first emperor of the Northern Qi (北齊, 550-577). In 557 the Yuwen family ended the fiction of Western Wei rule and took the throne as the Zhou dynasty, later known as the Northern Zhou (北周, 557-581). About twenty years later, when the Northern Qi regime was weakened by its own wealth, Northern Zhou marched its armies to Ye and destroyed it in 577. The same fate befell the Northern Zhou in 581, when it was overthrown by one of its partly Chinese generals, Yang Jian. Having reasserted Chinese supremacy in the north as the first Sui emperor, Yang Jian went on to conquer the south and reunify China.

When north China was under the control of the Gao family and the Yuwen family, sinicization was disrupted by many strong anti-sinicization policies. Both ruling houses encouraged their own people to use the Xianbei language again on formal occasions, especially when their leaders made speeches to the armies. They

²² See Wan Shengnan (萬繩楠), *Chen Yinque Wei Jin Nanbeichao jiangyan lu*. (陳寅恪魏晉南北朝講演錄). (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000), pp.292-300.

also restored the place of origin and the family names of the Xianbei people. Moreover, they gave Xianbei surnames to their Chinese officials when they made great achievements. They regarded having a Xianbei surname as a mark of honour. The policy of the bestowal of surnames in this period moved the mixture of Chinese and non-Chinese in the direction of Xianbeiization, and made it difficult to distinguish between those originally of high rank and those of low. The policy also was a part of the reversal of the restoration of Chinese influence carried out by the non-Chinese rulers of the times.²³ They had no great respect for Chinese culture, and people with Chinese culture.

Looking at the situation like this and looking back at the history of north China, with changing government policies on sinicization and an ever shifting political situation in north China, how did Chinese people living in the north see their identity? When Xiaowen di of the Northern Wei carried out sinicization and later rulers reversed their policies, how did Chinese and non-Chinese identify themselves? Yang Xuanzhi, a Chinese gentleman who had served as an official in the short-lived Northern Wei capital Luoyang, reflected directly and indirectly on the identity of Luoyang as a Chinese city and on the role of Chinese officials and sinified Xianbei aristocrats in the city when he wrote about it after its disappearance.

Buddhism

It was said that the second emperor of the Eastern Han, Ming di (明帝,

²³ About the reasons and functions of the bestowal of surnames during this period, see Albert E. Dien, "The Bestowal of Surnames Under the Western Wei – Northern Chou: A Case of Counter-Acculturation" in *T'oung Pao* 63 (1977), pp.137-177.

r.58-75), had a dream in which he saw a golden man flying in front of his palace. One of his officials, Fu Yi (傅毅),²⁴ an erudite scholar, told him that he had heard there was a sage in Tianzhu (天竺, India), called Buddha, who was able to fly, and whose body was of a golden hue. He went on to say that the golden flying man seen in the emperor's dream was probably Buddha. Ming di dispatched envoys led by Cai Yin (蔡愔) and Qin Jing (秦景) abroad to learn more about this sage and his teachings. The envoys brought back with them the *Sutra in Forty-two Sections* (四十二章經), which the emperor deposited in the Baima Si (白馬寺, White Horse Temple) constructed in the western part of Luoyang. According to this story, this was the beginning of Chinese Buddhism, and the sutra was the earliest piece of Buddhist literature in China. This version of the introduction of Buddhism into China cannot be accepted as authentic and reliable.²⁵ However, this story was widely believed, talked about and rewritten by people from the fourth to sixth century.²⁶ The legend addresses a fundamental identity question about Buddhism's arrival in China. It implied this was the result of a Chinese emperor's decision, which made Buddhism seem much more Chinese and subordinated to a Chinese ruler.

Although the exact date of when Buddhism first came into China remains unclear, the speed of its propagation was astonishing. In the *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳), the famous collection of biographies of more than 500 monks compiled by a scholar monk Huijiao (慧皎, 497-554) in the Liang dynasty(502-557), there were

²⁴ See *Hou Han Shu* 70 "Biography of Fu Yi".

²⁵ See Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: a survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), pp.29-30.

²⁶ About the legend of Yongping, see Tang Yongtong's (湯用彤) "Yongping qiufa chuanshuo zhi kaozheng (永平求法傳說之考證)", in *Hanwei liangjin nanbeichao fuojiaoshi* (漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史). (Taipei: Luotuo chubanshe, 1987), pp.16-30.

only about ten monks from the period of the Eastern Han and nine from the Three Kingdoms. By contrast, the book includes 155 from the 155 years of the Western Jin and Eastern Jin dynasties (265-420). Huijiao gave biographies of 358 monks from one hundred years from the first years of the Song dynasty to the eighteenth year of the Tianjian (天監) era of the Liang dynasty (420-519).²⁷ This rapidly growing number does not only reflect Huijiao's greater knowledge of times near his own. According to "Shilao zhi (釋老志)" in Wei Shou's (魏收) *Wei shu* (魏書), the number of monasteries in China by 477 was 6,478, and it increased to more than 30,000 in 534; the number of monks and nuns in China by 477 was 77,258, and it increased to 2 million in 534.²⁸ The number of monasteries increased about five times and the number of monks and nuns increased about twenty-six times in only 57 years. At this astonishing speed Buddhism became the most popular religion in China by the sixth century despite being a religion of foreign origin with many non-Chinese elements. Besides its fast propagation, also worthy of attention is that nearly all monks and nuns in China from the fourth to the sixth century were Chinese. Taking the evidence of *Gaoseng zhuan*, there are only 65 foreign monks in the book, and more than 400 Chinese monks. There is little information about why so many Chinese became monks or when they became monks; it is also hard to know how well all of them were educated or where they

²⁷ See Huijiao (慧皎) *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳), with Tang Yongtong's annotation and correction. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju (北京中華書局), 1997. According to different editions the total number of monks in *Gaoseng zhuan* and the number of monks in each category are different. The total number of monks in Dazhengzang (大正藏, Taishōzō) edition is 501, in the edition of Jinling (金陵) is 516, in the edition of Haishanxianguan (海山仙館) is 501. In this thesis the materials taken from *Gaoseng zhuan* are all based on Tang Yongtong's edition published by Zhonghua shuju.

²⁸ See *Wei shu* 114 "Shilao zhi (釋老志)" and the chart of the number of monasteries and monks and nuns compiled by Tang Yongtong in *Han Wei liangjin nanbeichao fojiaoshi*, pp.512-513.

received their education. This was the most successful example of cultural westernization in China before modern times.

The successful propagation of Buddhism in medieval China depended greatly on the support from rulers and members of the ruling house in the period. Many of the rulers, Chinese and non-Chinese, in north China and in south China, showed great enthusiasm for Buddhism. In the north China, during the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms, Shi Le (石勒), the ruler of the Later Zhao kingdom (後趙, 319-350), Fu Jian (苻堅), the ruler of the Former Qin kingdom (前秦, 351-394), and Yao Xing (姚興), the ruler of the Later Qin kingdom (後秦, 384-417), all provided great help in setting up large institutions for translating Buddhist sutras in north China. In the period of the Northern Wei, Buddhism continued its fast growth. Buddhism was subordinated to political power and the chief monks were usually members of the government bureaucracy. Although the first persecution of Buddhism in Chinese history happened in the early period of the Northern Wei, Buddhism still grew successfully in north China from the fifth century to the sixth. The great enthusiasm for Buddhism from the ruling house of the Northern Wei was evidenced in two world-famous groups of cave temples: the caves of Yungang (雲崗) in today's Datong (大同), Shanxi (山西); and the caves of Longmen (龍門) near Luoyang. These two projects went on from about 460 to 523, using much money and conscripted labour. The growth of Buddhism in north China also made Luoyang, the third capital city of the Northern Wei after Xiaowen di moved there from Pingcheng in 495, one of most beautiful and prosperous international cities in the world with many magnificent temples and monasteries.

In south China, the way of representing enthusiasm for Buddhism was different from in the north. There was also high-level support for Buddhism. Many

imperial family members became believers in Buddhism, among them Emperor Wen (文帝, r.424-453) of the Liu Song (劉宋) dynasty, the Prince of Linchuan (臨川王), Liu Yiqing (劉義慶), of the same dynasty, and the Prince of Jingling (竟陵王), Xiao Ziliang (蕭子良), of the Southern Qi dynasty. The most famous was Xiao Yan, Liang Wudi, the first emperor of the Liang dynasty. He was an extremely devoted Buddhist. He even gave himself up to a Buddhist temple to serve as a menial labourer until the state paid for his release at least four times from 527 to 547. When Ch'en said, "As a way of raising funds for the Buddhist temples this practice was without rival, and Liang Wudi undoubtedly indulged in it to show his patronage of Buddhism."²⁹ However, there is another view advanced by Yamada. He claimed that the reason why Liang Wudi gave himself to a Buddhist temple was because he was trying to combine the identity of an emperor and the identity of a bodhisattva. Through the ritual of giving himself to the Buddhist temple as a menial labourer again and again, Liang Wudi made himself a bodhisattva-emperor, an emperor in a secular world and also a bodhisattva in the religious world at the same time. Whatever Liang Wudi's final purpose was, he produced contradiction and confusion among his people. Did it mean that Buddhism had become a national religion? Could an alien religion become a national religion? How were monks to be seen after a foreign religion became a national religion and their emperor became a bodhisattva-emperor?

Without question the successful propagation of Buddhism in medieval China owed much to the support of rulers. However other important factors to be considered are Daoism and Confucianism. Early Chinese converts to Buddhism

²⁹ See: Kenneth K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A historical survey*. P.125. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973.

had often been attached to Daoism, a traditional religion and philosophy with a long history in Chinese society. People sometimes took them as the same kind of religion and practised both religions at the same time, like Prince Ying of the Chu (楚王英) in the Eastern Han. The relationship between Daoism and Buddhism was at first very friendly. However, when Buddhism became even more popular than Daoism in China, especially when Buddhism became a popular religion among upper-class Chinese, the relationship between the two religions began to change. The growth of this alien religion inevitably evoked opposition from the native religion of Daoism. It is interesting to note, as Tang pointed out long ago, that this opposition took different forms in north and in south China. In the north such opposition sometimes took the form of persecutions based on political power.³⁰ In the south the opposition appeared in the form of treatises attacking Buddhism on various theoretical grounds.³¹ In the south many treatises, arguments and debates, took place in court or on private occasions between Daoists and Buddhists. They usually started with the problem of historical priority³² and ended with a central issue: the difference between barbarian and Chinese (*Yixialun*, 夷夏論). Religious opposition therefore became a problem of identity, a problem Buddhists always had to face.

The identity problem of Buddhism was not only raised by Daoists; it was also

³⁰ One in 446 and another in 574-577. On these events, see Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*.

³¹ See Tang, *Buddhism history*, p.462 and Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, p.136.

³² "Fo dao zheng xian (佛道爭先)", the argument over the priority problem started from Wang Fu's (王浮) *Laozi hua hu jing* (老子化胡經). The argument over the priority problem eventually became a historic court debate that took place in 520, in the presence of Emperor Xiaoming (孝明帝, r.516-528) of the Northern Wei dynasty, and a series of debates started in 568 under the supervision of Emperor Wu (武帝, r.561-578) of the Northern Zhou dynasty. The later resulted in a serious suppression of Buddhism which began in 574.

brought up by Confucians from time to time. As said above, the difference between barbarian and Chinese (*Yixiazhibian*, 夷夏之辨) was always a central issue in the arguments between the Daoists and the Buddhists. It was also the central issue of the controversies between the Buddhists and the Confucians, specially when the famous polemic *Yixialun* was published. The anti-Buddhist polemic *Yixialun* (*Treatise on the Barbarian and the Chinese*) was written by Gu Huan (顧歡, 390-483) in the period of the Liu Song dynasty³³ and aroused great interest and much discussion. As Tang and Ch'en said, Gu's aim was to show that Indian nature and customs were evil and different from those of the Chinese. Hence Buddhism, having originated in India, was not suited to Chinese.³⁴ Gu Huan's point had earlier been put forth in the debates and arguments between Daoists and Buddhists as we have seen already. However, the language Gu used in his polemic was stronger than in previous works, this made his writing a model and a basis for anti-Buddhist writing thereafter, such as: *Sanpolun* (三破論, *Treatise on the Three Destructions*) written by Zhang Rong (張融) in the Qi period, *Shenmielun* (神滅論, *On the Destruction of the Soul*) written by Fan Zhen (范縝), also in the Qi period,³⁵ and Guo Zushen (郭祖深) and Xun Ji's (荀濟) memorials written in the time of Liang Wudi.³⁶ Some of the writers of these anti-Buddhist polemics had a Daoist background, like Gu Huan and Zhang Rong;³⁷ however, they all took the position of defending the Confucian value system. Some of them posited their

³³ Gu Huan's "Yi xia lun" was recorded in "Biography of Gu Huang" in *Nan Qi shu* (南齊書) 54.

³⁴ See Tang, *Buddhism history*, p.464 and Ch'en's *Buddhism in China*, p.139.

³⁵ See *Liang shu* (梁書) 48, "Biography of Fan Zhen" in "Biography of Rulin (儒林)" and *Nan shi* (南史) 57 "Biography of Fan Zhen" attached to "Biography of Fan Yun (范雲)".

³⁶ See *Nan shi* 70, "Biography of Guo Zushen" and *Bei shi* (北史) 83, "Biography of Xun Ji" in "Biography of Wenxue (文學)".

³⁷ Some historical information indicates that both Gu Huan and Zhang Rong were Daoists. See Tang, *Buddhism history*, p.465.

questions from the viewpoint of family structure, some of them took the viewpoint of protecting Chinese tradition, and some of them objected to Buddhism from the viewpoint of the economic interests and the stability of the state. No matter from which viewpoint those writers brought up their questions, they all regarded Buddhism as an evil power which would destroy the Confucian value system and Chinese tradition. As the Confucian value system was (and still is) the basis of Chinese tradition and society, how did the Buddhists respond to the questions brought up by the Confucians? How could Buddhists fit in to Chinese society despite the undeniably alien elements in their identity? Did the Buddhists modify their identity to make themselves more acceptable by Confucian standards?

For exploring the identity questions Chinese people faced in the sixth century, three books written then offer much material. They are *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳), *Luoyang qielan ji* (洛陽伽藍記) and *Yanshi jiaxun* (顏氏家訓). These three books were all written in the middle to late sixth century and reflected the history of the time from different angles. Although the three books apparently deal mainly with other subjects, they all have identity questions buried deeply within them.

The collection of biographies of Buddhist monks, *Gaoseng zhuan* was compiled by the scholar monk Huijiao (慧皎) in southern China by 554,³⁸ when Buddhism already had long been the dominant religion in Chinese society. This book raises issues of how Huijiao constructed identities for Buddhist monks to make them fit in with Chinese tradition and Confucian ideology, the major secular value system, in the period.

³⁸ According to the postscript written by the monk Sengguo, Huijiao died in 554, therefore the book must have been completed no later than this year. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, annotated by Tang Yongtong (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p.554.

Luoyang qielan ji was written between 547 and late 549 or early 550³⁹ by Yang Xuanzhi (楊銜之), an educated Chinese living in north China during the age of segmented China. Through this book about the Northern Wei capital at Luoyang that had been the expression of Xiaowen di's sinification policies, we will have more understanding about the identity issues facing northern *shizu* serving a regime of alien origin. Yang Xuanzhi's book suggests some important identity questions that need to be considered, such as: How did people like him create and define their own identity? How did he relate to Chinese history? What was the connection between ethnicity and identity at a time when the non-Chinese Northern Wei rulers gave themselves a more Chinese identity and failed? How did a city or a place affect one's identity? How did Yang Xuanzhi deal with the questions of whether the true Chinese tradition was maintained in the north or in the south?

Another book full of insights on identity is *Yanshi jiaxun*, written by Yan Zhitui (顏之推) around the end of the sixth century.⁴⁰ Yan Zhitui's book was one of instructions to his sons and descendants. His concerns were mainly with family identity and survival in troubled and uncertain times. Yan was a southerner who had been moved to north China as a captive and a refugee in the late period of the Liang dynasty. He wrote this family instruction to his sons and grandsons when he and his family were unlikely to return to south China. This book discloses how he wanted his family to create and maintain their identity as gentlemen scholars no matter what political disasters might happen. Yan Zhitui gives his descendants

³⁹ According to W.J.F. Jenner's research. See *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsuan-chih and the lost capital (493-534)*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), p.15.

⁴⁰ See Wang Liqi (王利器), *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* (顏氏家訓集解) (Taipei: Hanjing wenhua gongsi, 1983), p.2.

clear instructions on the kind of identity he wanted them to make for themselves.

What were the most important components of identity for Yan Zhitui? How did Yan Zhitui look at his past in south China? And, how did Yan Zhitui urge his family to modify the traditional values that had defined *shizu* families in the past?

Chapter 2

Identity problems caused by Buddhism and solutions

according to *Gaoseng zhuan*

The identity of monks was a controversial issue in medieval Chinese society. As a foreign religion Buddhism had been a serious challenge to Chinese society with its very different ideas and images when it was first introduced into China. During the period of Northern and Southern dynasties, Buddhism was in some ways integrated into Chinese society and also met with resistance. However, as Buddhism became more and more successful in China, hostility to Buddhism also became more and more pronounced. As the representatives of Buddhism, monks became central to religious arguments, which, in the documents available to us, were mostly initiated by educated Chinese. Anti-Buddhist educated Chinese attacked Buddhism in various ways but their attitude toward monks was generally to look down them. The monk's shaven head and simple robe were a challenge to upper-class Chinese customs. It was said that even the great monk Daoan (道安) was called a man who "spoiled his appearance" or was a "self-mutilated man" although he was trusted by Fu Jian, the non-Chinese ruler of a kingdom in north China, to whom he was as an imperial adviser.¹ Yan Yanzhi (顏延之) was a lay Buddhist; however, when he had a problem with the monk Huilin (慧琳) he called him a survivor of penal mutilation.² Anti-Buddhists looked on monks as a

¹ *Gaoseng zhuan* (高僧傳) 5, "Biography of Daoan (道安)" pp.182; also see Arthur E. Link, "Biography of Shih Tao-an" in *T'oung Pao* 46, p.32.

² *Song shu* (宋書) 33, "Biography of Yan Yanzhi (顏延之)".

different kind of people and the difference usually also meant they were seen as inferior.

In this chapter I will examine *Gaoseng zhuan*, a collection of biographies of Buddhist monks written by a monk in medieval China, to discuss what kinds of identity problems the author and other monks encountered and how he constructed identities for the monks in his book to counter the bad images their opponents created for them.

***Gaoseng zhuan*--- Biographies of Buddhist monks**

Gaoseng zhuan (高僧傳, *GSZ*), the *Biographies of Eminent Monks*, is a set of biographies of Buddhist monks who lived and worked in China during medieval times. It was compiled and written by Huijiao (慧皎), a monk who lived under the Liang dynasty. There are more than five hundred Buddhist monks' lives in the collection. Two hundred and fifty-seven monks are in the main biographies, with another two hundred and forty-four monks in supplementary biographies. The time covered spans about four hundred and fifty-three years from 67 A.D. (the tenth year of the Yongping (永平) era of the Eastern Han dynasty) until 519 A.D. (the eighteenth year of the Tianjian (天監) era of the Liang dynasty).

The book is divided into fourteen chapters (*juan*, 卷)³, thirteen chapters of text and one chapter of postface and content. The biographies of monks are

³ The numbers of *GSZ* are slightly different within different editions. The chapter number of *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* (*Taishōzō*, *TSD*) edition, the most popular edition at present, is fourteen. In this thesis, all discussion will be based on the fourteen chapter edition, annotated by Tang Yongtong and published by Beijing: Zhonghua shuju in 1997, hereafter, *GSZ*.

grouped into ten categories. They are: (1) Translators (*yijing*, 譯經); (2) Exegetes (*yijie*, 義解); (3) Miracle workers (*shenyi*, 神異), devoted to wonder-workers; (4) Practitioners of Meditation (*xichan*, 習禪); (5) Elucidators of the Regulations (*minglu*, 明律), devoted to scholars of the Vinaya; (6) Those Who Sacrificed themselves (*wangshen*, 亡身) devoted to monks who sacrificed their bodies to feed animals, or as offerings to Buddha or bodhisattvas; (7) Chanters of Scriptures (*songjing*, 誦經); (8) Promoters of Blessings (*xingfu*, 興福), devoted to monks who solicited funds to construct monasteries or for other Buddhist enterprises; (9) Hymnodists (*jingshi*, 經師); and (10) Preachers (*changdao*, 唱導).

Huijiao--The author of *Gaoseng zhuan*

There is very little information about the life of Huijiao (497-554 AD). It is very difficult to know his family, his education, or when and why he chose to become a Buddhist monk. There is a very simple biography of Huijiao in the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳, *XGSZ*), written by another monk Daoxuan (道宣) in the Tang dynasty.

According to the contents list of *XGSZ*,⁴ he was Shi Huijiao of the Jiexiang Monastery in Guiji (會稽嘉祥寺). Jiexiang Monastery was located in today's Shaoxing, Zhejiang and was founded in the Eastern Jin (no later than 400)⁵ by a

⁴ "Biography of Huijiao" is included in Tang monk Daoxuan's *Xu gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳), chapter 6, entitled 'Liang Guiji Jiexiang si shi Huijiao zhuan'. See *TSD*, vol.50, no.2060, p.62.

⁵ See *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Daoyi", p.207, "Biography of Wang Hui" is in *Jin shu* (晉書) 65. Zhu Daoyi died in the year of *Long'an* (隆安, 397-401) of the Eastern Jin, the date of building Jiexiang Temple must be not earlier than Zhu Daoyi's death. Therefore, it is a reasonable assumption that Jiexiang temple was built in 400. See also Zheng Yuqing (鄭郁卿), "Fojiao zaihua dili kao (佛教在華地理考)", in *Gaoseng zhuan yanjiu* (高僧傳

local official Wang Hui (王薈). When the construction of Jiaxiang was finished Wang invited an eminent monk Zhu Daoyi (竺道壹) to live in the new monastery, Zhu Daoyi became the abbot of the monastery. Another eminent monk Huiqian (慧虔) also once lived in the same monastery for more than five years, from the early years of Yixi (義熙, 405-418) till the final day of his life.⁶ Another place that Huijiao might have lived for some time was the Hongpu Temple (宏普寺) in Guiji. According to a short passage in *Jinlouzi* (金樓子), Xiao Yi (蕭繹), the emperor Liang Yuandi (梁元帝, r.552-554), collected works of calligraphy by Huijiao before he came to the throne. In this short record, it said that Xiao Yi visited “the monk Huijiao of the Hongpu Temple in Guiji”. This is almost certainly our Huijiao.⁷ Besides this information on the places he lived, there is no information about the early life of Huijiao and his family, except that his family was from Shangyu (上虞) in Guiji, the west part of today’s Shangyu, Zhejiang.

According to the *XGSZ* Huijiao was a Buddhist scholar monk with rich traditional Confucian knowledge. He preached during spring and summer and worked on his writing during autumn and winter while he lived in the Jiaxiang Monastery. In addition to his most famous work, *Gaoseng zhuan*, he also worked on commentaries on some Buddhist sutras. Two of his important Buddhist works were *Niepanjing yishu* (涅槃經義疏) and *Fanwangjing shu* (梵網經疏)⁸. It was said that these two Buddhist works were very highly regarded. Daoxuan said that when *GSZ* was completed, it was read and passed around in the whole country and

研究), pp. pp.112-122.

⁶ *GSZ* 5, “Biography of Huiqian”, p.209.

⁷ See *Jinlou zi* vol.2 “Jushu pian (聚書篇)”, p.101. Taipei: Jiaxin wenhua jijinhui, 1969.

⁸ In *XGSZ* Huijiao’s two works are titled as *Niepan yishu* (涅槃義疏) and *Fanwangjing shu* (梵網經疏), it is slightly different from which in the postface of *GSZ*, in which there are *Niepan shu* (涅槃疏) and *Fanwang jie* (梵網戒).

was widely recommended.

According to the biography, after *GSZ* appeared Huijiao disappeared without leaving any message to his friends and other people whom he would usually contact. However, there is another important piece of information on what happened in Huijiao's later life. In the last chapter of *GSZ*, a postscript written by Huijiao's fellow refugee, the monk Sengguo (僧果) of Longguang Monastery (龍光寺), Sengguo said that after *GSZ* was completed, in the second year of Chengsheng (承聖, 553), Huijiao fled to Pencheng (潞城, Jiujiang, Jiangxi) as a refugee during the troubles caused by Hou Jing's (侯景) rebellion (548-552). He stayed in Pencheng and taught and preached Buddhism as usual in the city. He died in the second month of the next year, at the age of 58. His funeral was managed by chief monk Huigong (慧恭), and he was buried in the cemetery of the Chan'ge monastery on Mount Lu (廬山禪閣寺). Sengguo had lived with Huijiao in the mountain area as a fellow refugee, so he had a chance to meet Huijiao in his old age and saw Huijiao's last journey of his life.

There is little direct information on Huijiao's social activities and connections. However, we know that he associated with some important people in his time, like Zhang Wan (張綰) and Xiao Yi (蕭繹), the future emperor Liang Yuandi. Also a short record in *Jinlouzi*, states that Zhang Wan gave a copy of *GSZ* to his friend Xiao Yi. Zhang was a literatus and a young member of a *shizu* family. He was the chief secretary of Yuzhang (豫章長史) during 539 to 544.⁹ Zhang and his two

⁹ See *Jinlouzi* 2 "Jushupian" and the research by Tang Yongtong in the appendix of *GSZ*, the edition of Beijing Zhonghua shuju, pp.564-566. Tang said that Zhang Wan was *Yuzhang changshi* (豫章長史) during the years of Datong (539-540), however, in *Liang shu* (梁書), Zhang was *Yuzhang neishi* (豫章內史) when he was in Yuzhang. He only stayed in his job in Yuzhang till the tenth year of Datong. See *Liang shu* 34 "Biography of Zhang Wan" attached to "Biography of Zhang Mian".

elder brothers were all book-lovers. His oldest brother Zhang Mian (張緬) collected more than ten thousand *juan* of books and paintings; his second older brother Zhang Zuan (張纘) once refused to be promoted for many years so he could stay in the same job in the imperial library and had more chances to read the book.¹⁰

As Xiao Yi, the future emperor Liang Yuandi (r.552-555), collected Huijiao's calligraphy, we can reasonably assume that Huijiao was a good calligrapher or a collector of calligraphy works, implying that he was well educated. As for the relationship between Xiao Yi and Huijiao, according to Tang Yongtong's (湯用彤) assumption, they probably knew each other for some years when Huijiao was still in Guiji. Xiao Yi's mother Lady Ruan (阮修容) was from Shangyu in Guiji, Huijiao's hometown. She was a faithful Buddhist and liked to make friends with monks and nuns. When Xiao Yi was Prefect of Guiji in his youth, his mother lived with him in Guiji.¹¹ Huijiao and Xiao Yi probably knew each other since then, but we cannot tell whether they were close friends. A more important friendship was that between Huijiao and Wang Manying (王曼穎).

It is quite lucky that two letters preserved at the end of *GSZ* offer important information about Huijiao's close friend Wang Manying. The two letters were between Huijiao and Wang. The subject of the letters was *GSZ*. It seems that Huijiao sent a copy of *GSZ* to Wang when the book was just completed and Wang replied with a letter, making approving comments on *GSZ*. From the letter we know that Wang was a literatus with good knowledge of Confucianism, Daoism

¹⁰ The biographies of Zhang's three brothers are all in *Liang shu* 34, "Biography of Zhang Mian".

¹¹ According to the research by Tang Yongtong, See *GSZ*, p.566.

and Buddhism¹² According to some historical information, Wang's family came from Taiyuan (太原). The Wangs of Taiyuan were one of the great families during the period of Northern and Southern dynasties. However, Wang lived in poverty. When he died his family could not even arrange a formal funeral for him until they received help from a generous noble friend Xiao Wei (蕭偉), Prince of Jian'an (建安王) and later Prince of Nanping (南平王).¹³ Xiao Wei was the eighth son of Emperor Liang Wudi. He was known as a clever and talented youth in his early age. He was also known to respect and value able and virtuous people and help people in need. He was very good at Daoist philosophy and *qingtan*-style(清談式) writing. He became a devoted believer in Buddhism in his later years.

We may guess what kind of people Huijiao associated with by looking at the other friends of Wang. One of them was Jiang Ge (江革). Jiang was once a chief secretary of the Prince of Yuzhang (豫章王), Xiao Zong (蕭綜). When Xiao Zong lost his fief Pengcheng (彭城), Jiang became a captive of the Northern Wei general Yuan Yanming (元延明). Although Yuan treated Jiang with great courtesy and respectfulness for Jiang's talents and capabilities in many directions, Jiang did not respond. He refused to bow and kneel to Yuan using the excuse that his feet were painful even when Yuan threatened to put him to death. He refused to write an epigraph for the Zhang Ba Temple stele (丈八寺碑) even when Yuan threatened him with a public beating and kept him in prison with extremely bad food which was just enough to keep him alive. Jiang was nearly sixty years old when he encountered these difficulties.¹⁴ Besides his strong, unyielding principles, it is also

¹² According to what Huijiao said in his letter to Wang. See *GSZ* p.554.

¹³ See *Liang shu* 22 "Biography of Prince of Nanping"(南平王) and the same biography in *Nan shi* (南史) 52.

¹⁴ See *Liang shu* 36 "Biography of Jiang Ge" and the biography of same person in *Nan shi* 60.

known that Jiang Ge associated with many famous literary people in his time, such as Wang Rong (王融), Xie Tiao (謝朓), Shen Yue (沈約) and Ren Fang (任昉). Jiang Ge made the first visit to Wang's family when Wang had just passed away and Wang's family cried and appealed to him explaining their difficulty arranging the funeral. It is evident that Jiang was a very close friend of Wang and his family.

It is quite difficult to know more about Huijiao's social connections from direct information. However, the few indications we have point to his friends and acquaintances including well-placed members of the elite. We may with confidence conclude that Huijiao had a rich literary and social life, beside his religious life.

For more information on Huijiao and his attitudes we can turn to his book.

Huijiao's Motivations

There are several indications of why Huijiao wrote and compiled *GSZ*. Daoxuan's opinion was that Huijiao was pushed to write and compile *GSZ* because he was dissatisfied with *Mingseng zhuan* (名僧傳, *MSZ*), a prior collection of the biographies of Buddhist monks. A modern opinion is that the reason for compiling and writing *GSZ* was because Huijiao was influenced by Sengyou (僧祐), another eminent monk of the Liang dynasty, and his writing. However, there are other possible reasons. One is the tradition of historical writing and the new tide of Buddhist biographical writing in Huijiao's day. The other is that *GSZ* was a kind of response to the anti-Buddhists and a new form of identity construction for Buddhist monks.

Dissatisfaction with *Mingseng zhuan*

The central opinion on why Huijiao wrote and compiled *GSZ* was first expressed by Shi Daoxuan in his biography of Huijiao. According to Daoxuan (596-667), an eminent monk of the Tang dynasty and the author of the biography of Huijiao, the motivation of Huijiao in compiling *GSZ* was that he was not satisfied with *Mingseng zhuan* (*MSZ*)¹⁵. *MSZ* was compiled by the monk Baochang (寶唱, a.495-529) of the Liang dynasty, between about 510 and 514. The book was published about thirty years before *GSZ* was compiled.¹⁶ Daoxuan made his influential comment in Huijiao's biography in *XGSZ*. He said, 'Because there were many unjust praises and commendations and unfair belittlement and depreciation of monks in *Mingseng zhuan*, Huijiao decided to set a new model and extend widely'.¹⁷ Daoxuan also made a connection between his own comment and a famous paragraph which Huijiao wrote in the preface of *GSZ*. In the preface, Huijiao said that 'Most Buddhist biographies which have been compiled and written previously were usually entitled *mingseng* (famous monks). However, fame is only the guest of the truth. If men of real achievement conceal their brilliance, then they are exalted but not famous; when men of slight virtue happen to be in accord with their times, then they are famous but not eminent. Those who are famous but not eminent are, of course, not recorded here; those who are exalted but

¹⁵ *Mingseng zhuan* (名僧傳) is no longer extant today. However a few fragments from the book with the table of contents of the whole book do survive in a thirteenth-century Japanese copy preserved as *Meisodensho* in *XZJ* v. 134. The surviving part of the book was republished as *Mingseng zhuan chao* (名僧傳抄) by Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1975.

¹⁶ According to Tang Yongtong, the complete work of compiling *GSZ* must be no later than 540 for in this year *GSZ* was circulated among some people close to Huijiao. See Tang, "You guan Huijiao (有關慧皎)", in appendix 2, *GSZ* p.566.

¹⁷ See *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳) 6 "Biography of Huijiao" (CBETA, *TSD*, vol. 50, no.2060), p.62.

not famous have been fully treated in the present work. Therefore I replace the word *ming* (名, famous) with *gao* (高, eminent).¹⁸

The statement Huijiao made in the preface became major evidence on the motivation for writing and compiling *GSZ*. Although Huijiao did not directly refer to the book *MSZ* or to its author Baochang in his preface, people still matched simply his critique with Baochang's biographical collection by replacing the term *mingseng* with the term *gaoseng*. However, Huijiao was not the first to use the term *gao* in the titles of biographical collections. Several biographical collections used the term *gao* in their titles before Huijiao, such as *Gaoyi zhuan* (高逸傳), *Gaoshi zhuan* (高士傳) and *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (高逸沙門傳).¹⁹ Interestingly, the first two of them are not Buddhist biographies. The use of the term *gao* instead of *ming* indicates that Huijiao was deliberately making a distinction between *MSZ* and *GSZ*.

Huijiao never mentions *MSZ* in his book. The dismissive comment on lives of “famous” monks made in Huijiao's introduction does not suggest that Huijiao did not know Baochang and his book, although he mentioned the name of Baochang just once in *GSZ*. The name of Baochang appeared at the end of *GSZ*'s “Biography of Gunavidhi” (求那毘地傳). It said that in the early period of the Liang dynasty a foreign scholar monk Sanghapala (僧伽婆羅) who came to China, stayed and worked on the translation of Buddhist sutras in the Zhengguan Monastery (正觀

¹⁸ See *XGSZ* 6 “Biography of Huijiao” (CBETA, *TSD*), p.62 and *GSZ* 14 “Preface”, (Peijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1992), p.525. The English translation of Huijiao's preface in my thesis is according to Arthur Wright's translation with slight modifications according to my own understanding of the original text. Wright's translation of *GSZ*'s preface is included in his article “Biography and Hagiography: Hui-chiao's *Lives of Eminent Monks*” in *Studies in Chinese Buddhism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp.73-111.

¹⁹ *Nanqi shu* (南齊書) already has *Gaoyin zhuan* (高隱傳), *Gaoshi zhuan* (高士傳) was seen in *Shishuo xinyu* (世說新語). *Gaoyi shamen zhuan* (高逸沙門傳) also seen in *Shishuo xinyu*.

寺). The Monk Baochang was one of his amanuenses.²⁰ This is the only point at which Huijiao mentioned the name of Baochang. It is very possible that this Baochang is the author of *MSZ*.

Another clue to how Huijiao saw *MSZ* is in what Wang Manying wrote. Wang made a short criticism of *MSZ* in the letter he wrote Huijiao. He said, ‘The book Baochang compiled was the one most near to the present time. However, when looking closer into the contents of the book, its verbosity would bring up deep feelings of dislike.’ Wang’s direct comment on Baochang’s *MSZ* did not receive any response from Huijiao in Huijiao’s letter in reply. Although the reasons why Huijiao never mentioned *MSZ* are still unclear, as in the connection between Huijiao’s *GSZ* and Baochang’s *MSZ*, from the information above we can be sure that Huijiao knew about Baochang and his book. Considering Wang’s critique of *MSZ* and the silence of Huijiao about Baochang and his book, one reason for compiling and writing *GSZ* must be that Huijiao was not satisfied with *MSZ*.

Influence of Sengyou

Although quite a number of modern scholars²¹ have agreed with what Daoxuan said about why Huijiao compiled his Buddhist biography collection, there are also other opinions about this question. Zheng Yuqing (鄭郁卿), a modern scholar, declared that the motivation of Huijiao to compile *GSZ* was

²⁰ See *GSZ* 3 “Biography of Gunavidhi”, p.139.

²¹ Such as Chen Yuan (陳垣), Li Fengmao (李豐楙), Zhu Hengfu (朱恒夫) and Cao Shibang (曹仕邦). See Chen Yuan, *Zhongguo fojiao shiji gailun* (中國佛教史籍概論) (Shanghai: Shanghai shuju chubanshe, 2001) p.18; Li Fengmao, “Huijiao gaoseng zhuan ji qi shenmi xingge (慧皎高僧傳及其神異性格)” in *Zhonghua xueyuan* (中華學苑) (December 1982) pp.123-137. Zhu Hengfu, “Gaoseng zhuan zhiqian de sengren zhuanji (高僧傳之前的僧人傳記)” in *Xinyi gaoseng zhuan* (新譯高僧傳) (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2005) pp.5-9.

because of the influence of Shi Sengyou (僧祐, 445-518). Zheng argues that Huijiao was not satisfied with Sengyou's book *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集, *CSZJJ*).²² *CSZJJ* is a collection of Buddhist bibliography, prefaces to Buddhist sutras and Buddhist biography. There are thirty-two biographies of Buddhist monks in the last part of the book. In the postface to *GSZ*, Huijiao says that it is a pity that there are only about thirty biographies of monks in the book, and that many important monks are not treated.²³ Zheng claimed that this is one of the most important reasons which pushed Huijiao to write biographies for more monks. In addition, Sengyou was a great Vinaya master (*lüshi* 律師 or *jieshi* 戒師) with a very high reputation at the time Huijiao lived. Since Huijiao was also a Vinaya master, Zheng believed that there is a very high possibility Huijiao was influenced by Sengyou in many ways, including Sengyou's success in writing. By writing *GSZ* Huijiao was trying to complete what Sengyou had begun.²⁴

Zheng's opinion is acceptable in some ways. However, some questions need further thought.

First of all, the postface to *GSZ* shows that Huijiao was not satisfied with many prior biographical writings, and *CSZJJ* is one of them. Second, it is still not clear that both Huijiao and Sengyou were Vinaya masters. There is no doubt that Sengyou was a Vinaya master. His biography is placed in "Elucidators of the Regulations (*minglü*)" in *GSZ*. According to his biography, he was the pupil of several great monks, such as Fada (法達) and Faying (法穎), who were all famous for their mastery of Vinaya. As a follower of such great masters, Sengyou studied

²² See Zheng Yuqing, *Gaoseng zhuan yanjiu* (Taipei: Wenjin chuban she, 1990) p. 10.

²³ See *GSZ* 14 "Preface", p. 524. The component of *CSZJJ*, see CBETA *TSD* vol.55, No.2145.

²⁴ See Zheng Yuqing, "Huijiao qiren qishu (慧皎其人其書)" in *Gaoseng zhuan yanjiu*, pp.7-40.

very hard by day and night and became a Vinaya master, even better than other masters before him.²⁵ It is possible that Huijiao also was a Vinaya master. In addition to Zheng, Cao Shibang (曹仕邦) also insisted that Huijiao was a Vinaya master. His evidence included two points. One is Huijiao's work: *Fanwangjing shu*, an annotation of *Fanwangjing*. *Fanwangjing* was a Vinaya sutra. If Huijiao was able to make annotations for it, he must have been an expert in Vinaya. Moreover, according to Cao's opinion Huijiao had shown his rich knowledge of the *Shisong lü* (十誦律, *Sarvāstivāda-vniaya*) in many places in *GSZ*.²⁶ Suggesting his familiarity with Vinaya.²⁷ But is it necessary that because both Sengyou and Huijiao were Vinaya masters Huijiao's writing of *GSZ* must be influenced by Sengyou?

Another possible way in which Sengyou may have served as a model for Huijiao was his great fame. Sengyou was respected and relied on by Emperor Liang Wudi. He performed as leading monk in many monasteries, houses of nobles and palaces. He also played the role of engineer and designer in the construction of some very large temples and Buddha images during the time of Emperor Liang Wudi.²⁸ Huijiao said that "the Majesty respected and relied on Sengyou so much, he consulted with him about all kinds of monastic matters before making a decisions. Sengyou was allowed, with great honour, to enter the palace in a sedan chair to administer vows to the emperor's concubines when he suffered from

²⁵ *GSZ* 11 "Biography of Sengyou", pp.440-441.

²⁶ According to Mochizuki *Fanwangjing* was a apocrypha which named under Kumarajiva. See Mochizuki, Shinkou: *Zyoudokyou no kigen to hattatsu*. (Tokyo: Kyouritsusya, 1930), pp.155-184; also see "Admonitions of the *Fanwangjing* sutra" in De Bary, Wm Theodore (ed.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition*, vol.1, pp.429-432.

²⁷ See Cao Shibang (曹仕邦), *Zhongguo fojiao shixueshi* (中國佛教史學史) (Taipei: Fagu wenhua, 1999).

²⁸ *GSZ* 11 "Biography of Sengyou", p.440, *GSZ* 13 "Biography of Senghu (僧護)", pp.490-492, and *GSZ* 13 "Biography of Fayue (法悅)", pp.490-492.

painful feet in his old age. The number of his pupils and followers, including secular Buddhists and monks, was more than eleven thousand.²⁹ According to Zheng's chronology, Sengyou was fifty-two years older than Huijiao. When Sengyou stood at the peak of his career with the highest honours from the ruling house, a great reputation in society, and followers almost everywhere, Huijiao was around twenty.³⁰ As an ambitious young monk, it is very possible that he was influenced by a great monk like Sengyou.

Among the influences of Sengyou, his achievements in writing and compiling must have impressed Huijiao. Huijiao himself had a deep love of writing. In the letter he wrote to Wang Manying Huijiao said, 'I was not diligent at holding books or carrying book boxes when I was young. However as I grew older I admired those who had the ability to publicize good and virtue with writing and painting. Therefore I used my spare time working hard in writing records'.³¹ Besides the influence of Sengyou's great fame and high reputation, writing may be a major connection between Huijiao and Sengyou. Sengyou's works apart from the most famous, *CSZJJ*, included *Fayuan ji* (法苑記), *Shijie ji* (世界記), *Shijia pu* (釋迦譜), and *Hongming ji* (弘明集). If Sengyou did have some influence on Huijiao, as discussed above, the influences must include Sengyou's prolific and successful work in writing and compiling Buddhist books. It is very possible that Huijiao was encouraged to follow his path.³²

The tradition of historical writing and the new tide of Buddhist biographical writing

²⁹ See *GSZ* 11 "Biography of Sengyou", p.440.

³⁰ Zheng Yuqing, "Huijiao qiren qishu" in *Gaoseng zhuan yanjiu*, pp.7-40.

³¹ See *GSZ* 14, pp.553-554.

³² See Zheng Yuqing, "Huijiao qiren qishu".

After talking about the influence of Sengyou, the influence of the tradition of historical writing and the new tide of Buddhist historical writing should not be ignored if we want to learn more about the motivation of Huijiao in writing and compiling *GSZ*.

Historical writing had flourished and became the most popular form of writing during the period of Northern and Southern dynasties.³³ The causes of this special phenomenon may include (1) the weakness of studies of Confucian texts, which made more possibilities and space for non-Confucian studies; (2) the absence of permanent official historians under some regimes, so that historical material which might have been kept by government officials was dispersed into the hands of literati in non-government circles; (3) the basic teaching and study of the “four types of learning (*sixue*, 四學)”³⁴ which led more educated people to devote themselves to historical writing in pursuit of political position;³⁵ (4) the traditional belief in the power of history --- educated people usually believed that history would give a final judgment to a person, the tradition was formed since the *Spring and autumn* (*Chunqiu*, 春秋) chronicle and continued by *Shiji* (史記) and other historians and their works. Historians had real but invisible power;³⁶ (5)

³³ Lao Gan (勞幹), *Wei jin nanbeichao shi* (魏晉南北朝史) (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue chubanbu, 1980) p.131.

³⁴ *Si-xue* was founded by Emperor Song Wendi in the year of Yuanjia (元嘉), *si-xue* included: Confucianism, *Xuan xue* (玄學), literature and history. See *Songshu* (宋書) 93, “Biography of Lei Cizong (雷次宗)” in “Biography of Yinyi (隱逸)”.

³⁵ On the influence of *si-xue* to educated people, see *Liangshu* 14, “Biographies of Jiang Yan (江淹) and Ren Fang (任昉)”. The four causes are discussed by many modern scholars such as Fan Wenlan (范文瀾), in *Zhongguo tongshi jianbian* (中國通史簡編) (Hongkong: Nanguo chuban she, 1985); p.420; Wang Zhongluo (王仲犛), in *Wei jin nanbeichao shi* (魏晉南北朝史) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003); p.827; Wan Shengnan (萬繩楠), in *Wei jin nanbeichaoshi lungao* (魏晉南北朝史論稿) (Taipei: Yunlong chubanshe, 1994); p.413.

³⁶ Anonymous, *Liangjin nanbeichao shi* (Taipei: Taiwan kaiming shudian, 1983) pp.1394-1409.

ethnic problems --- when the conflict between different ethnic groups became serious, history writing often became a most useful way of asserting ethnic and cultural identity.³⁷

The results were fruitful for historical writing. Take the example of dynastic history during the period. There were thirteen different histories of the Later Han dynasty written, more than ten of the Three Kingdoms. About two hundred and ten different history books were used by Pei Songzhi (裴松之, 372-451) when he wrote annotations for *Sanguo zhi* (三國志). There were more than twenty different histories of the Jin dynasty, about thirty for the Sixteen Kingdoms and more than twenty-four for the history of the eight dynasties.³⁸

Besides of the writing of dynastic history various non-governmental historical writings appeared, without being bound by the form which dynastic history had established, in this period. They were called *zashi* (雜史), and Buddhist historical writings were included among them.³⁹ A long list of Buddhist historical writings in *GSZ*'s postface is direct evidence of this new phenomenon. The list included the history of Buddhism, records of monasteries, Buddhist biographies and some ghost and miracle stories which concerned Buddhists. There is another list made by Huijiao's close friend Wang Manying in his letter to Huijiao. The two lists are similar to each other; nevertheless, there are still differences between them.⁴⁰ The

³⁷ Wang Zhongluo, *Wei jin nanbeichao shi* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003) p.827.

³⁸ So-called *Badaishi*, (八代史), including the histories of Liu Song, Southern Qi, Liang, Chen, Northern Wei, Northern Zhou, Northern Qi and Sui.

³⁹ See Tang Yongtong, *Wei Jin liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiaoshi*; pp.546-600.

⁴⁰ See *GSZ* 14 "Postface", p.552. There are thirteen biographies in Wang's list, six of them are different from Huijiao's list. It includes a tale written by Yuan Liang (元亮), a biography written by Faan (法安), biography of Shan Daokai (單道開) written by Kang Hong (康泓), a biography of Shi Sengyu (釋僧瑜), a record of Shi Xuanchang (釋玄暢), and Baochang's *MSZ*. See *GSZ* 14, p.552.

two lists reveal that Buddhist biographical writing was already a kind of popular writing and was a new tide of literature and historical writing in Huijiao's day. The list also tells us that Huijiao must have paid attention to this field for a long time. In addition to the titles he listed in his postface Huijiao drew on other biographical sources in *GSZ*. Among them were the "Biography of Zhu Fakuang (竺法曠)" written by Gu Kaizhi (顧愷之),⁴¹ "Biography of Zhu Daosheng (竺道生)" written by Wang Wei (王微),⁴² "Biography of Shi Tanjian (釋曇鑒)" written by Zhang Bian (張辯), and "Biography of Shi Sengyu (釋僧瑜)" also written by Zhang Bian.⁴³ This information shows that Huijiao had great knowledge of historical writing, Buddhist and non-Buddhist, and also once again reminds us of what he said in his letter about his ambition to write history. Although Huijiao did not cite directly any historian as an example to himself, unlike his followers Daoxuan and Zanning⁴⁴ in the pages of *GSZ* or in the letter to Wang Manying, we believe that Huijiao must already have regarded himself as a historian since he was standing in the tradition of historical writing and in the new tide of Buddhist historical writing. Just as Kieschnick has said, when Huijiao was writing and compiling *GSZ* he was participating in the tradition of biographical writing of Buddhist monks.⁴⁵ Arthur Wright has also observed that Huijiao was steeped in Chinese historiographical tradition and also consciously sought to write a work within that tradition.⁴⁶

⁴¹ See *GSZ* 5 "Biography of Zhu Fakuang", p.206.

⁴² See *GSZ* 7 "Biography of Zhu Daosheng", p.257.

⁴³ See *GSZ* 7 "Biography of Shi Tanjian", p.274, and *GSZ* 12 "Biography of Shi Sengyu", p.452.

⁴⁴ The compiler of *Song gaoseng zhuan* (宋高僧傳), he related himself to Sima Qian (司馬遷) and Chen Shou (陳壽). See *Song gaoseng zhuan*. (CBETA); p.709b. Also see Kieschnick's argument is in *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*; pp.6-7.

⁴⁵ See Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*; pp.6-7.

⁴⁶ See Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent

Moreover, we believe that Huijiao wanted to be a better biographer of monks than his predecessors. In his criticism of prior Buddhist biographies, Huijiao complained that many of their authors often leave out some of their material inappropriately in order to shorten and simplify their works. Due to the omission of the resources by those authors, many extraordinary acts of great monks would soon pass from memory. He disagreed with those who said the monks lived in a state, owed obedience to the king, and should not be aloof and isolated from their society. However, Huijiao stressed that the men who left those they loved and gave up secular honours to become monks, were in fact trying to construct perfect personalities and a pure life style for themselves in religious ways which were totally unlike the secular world. He then raised a question, ‘What shall we record if we don’t record the men like these?’⁴⁷ He also said that he always kept in mind recording and passing down historical materials and information which concerned Buddhist matters and monks. What Huijiao talked about how to write Buddhist biographies and criticized other writers’ biographies this showed that Huijiao already regarded himself as a Buddhist historian, better and more thoughtful than other Buddhist biographical writers before him, and also that he was trying to establish a new tradition of Buddhist writing.

One way of seeing why such biography was needed is that there are only a few monks’ lives recorded in official history during the whole period of Northern and Southern dynasties, even in some of the histories that were recompiled or rewritten in Tang times. Since Buddhism was introduced into China only six monks’ biographies included in “Biographies of Yishu (藝術傳)” in *Jin shu* (晉

Monks”, in Robert M. Somers ed., *Studies in Chinese Buddhism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp.73-111.

⁴⁷ See *GSZ* 14, p.524.

書).⁴⁸ As Huijiao observed in his postface, from Han to Liang was nearly five hundred years, during which many outstanding monks appeared in China.⁴⁹ The secular histories obviously did not treat the Buddhists fairly. Therefore, Wright suggested that one of the motivations of Huijiao in writing *GSZ* was a desire to rescue Buddhist biography from the limbo of the exotic and the bizarre, and give to the lives of monks a place of honour in the cultural history of China. In short, one of his motives was to advance the naturalization of monks and monasticism in Chinese history and society.⁵⁰

GSZ became a model of Buddhist biographical writing in China after it appeared in Liang dynasty. There are at least two sets of Buddhist monk biographies following Huijiao's work. In the seventh century, Daoxuan (596-667), a monk of the Tang dynasty, compiled a new collection of Buddhist monk biographies, the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Xu gaoseng zhuan*) which covered the lives of monks who had lived since Huijiao's work had been published. In the late tenth century Zanning (贊寧, 919-1001), another Buddhist monk of the Song dynasty, compiled another collection of Buddhist monk biographies, *Song Biographies of Eminent Monks* (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, 宋高僧傳), recording the lives of the monks who lived during the period between Daoxuan's death and the early years of the Song. Besides the content of these two collections of Buddhist biographies, even just from the titles it is very easy to recognize that the *Xu gaoseng zhuan* and *Song gaoseng zhuan* see themselves as sequels to Huijiao's work. The intention of the compilers was obviously trying to make a connection

⁴⁸ The six monks are: Fotucheng (佛圖澄), Shan Daokai (單道開), Tanhuo (曇霍), Maru (麻襴), Sengshe (僧涉) and Kumarajiva (鳩摩羅什). See *Jin shu* 95.

⁴⁹ See *GSZ* 14, p.523.

⁵⁰ See Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in Robert M. Somers ed., *Studies in Chinese Buddhism*, pp.73-111.

between Huijiao and themselves.⁵¹ By developing and changing the writing of monks' lives Huijiao was establishing a new tradition of Chinese monastic biographical writing with *GSZ*.

As a response to anti-Buddhists and a new form of identity reconstruction

If we accept that the reason why Huijiao wrote and compiled *GSZ* was affected by the Chinese tradition of historical writing and the new tide of Buddhist historical writing in his day, he was also responding to a contradictory atmosphere of both thriving Buddhism and the strong anti-Buddhism in the time he lived.

The state Huijiao lived in was ruled by Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (r. 502-549) who called himself or was called Bodhisattva-Emperor. Although he was the ruler in Chinese history most famous as a promoter of Buddhism he had been a Daoist before he came to the throne.⁵² During his reign Buddhism prospered and became a kind of state religion. His imperial patronage and his inordinate devotion to Buddhism, whether his purpose was simply religious or may have included political considerations,⁵³ inevitably resulted in some strong protests against the

⁵¹ See John Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*; p.6.

⁵² The religious attitude of Liang Wudi is a big issue and has been discussed by many scholars. See Tang Yongtong. *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiaoshi*; Ji Xianling (季羨林), *Ji Xianling lun fojiao* (季羨林論佛教); Tsukamoto Yoshitaka, *Chūgoku chūsei bukkyōshi ronkō*. (Tōkyō:Daitō syuppansya,1975); Michiba Yoshihide, *Chūgoku bukkyō sisoshi no kenkyū: Chūgoku minshū no bukkyō Jyuyō*. (Kyōto: Heigakuzi syoten,1983); Kenneth K. S. Chen, *Buddhism in China: a historical survey*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964); Arthur F. Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese history* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1959).

⁵³ Tang Yongtong declaimed that Liang Wudi's devotion to Buddhism was in fact underlined with Confucianism ideal. See Tang, pp.474-477. Yan Shangwen (顏尚文) suggested that Liang Wudi was trying to reunite segmented China. See Yan Shangwen, *Liang Wudi* (梁武帝) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1999); pp.317-320 and Mori Mikisaburō, *Ryōnobutei—Bukkyōchō No Higeiki*. (Kyoto: Heirakuzisyoten, 1985), pp.3-5. Yan Yaozhong (嚴耀中) said that Liang Wudi's attitude toward Buddhism actually related to the relationship between ruler and *shizu*. See Yan Yaozhong. *Jiangnan fojiaoshi*

religion by native gentry.

Almost all anti-Buddhists we know of during the period from 4th to 6th centuries were educated people, although at the same time many educated people were Buddhists too. As Zürcher said, the conversion of the gentry was an arduous task. The gentry was more than other social groups fettered by tradition, mentally confined within the narrow horizon of classical Chinese culture and ready to oppose and, if necessary, to eliminate, anything that seemed to threaten the time-honoured ideals and vested interests of their class.⁵⁴ Zürcher added that from the beginning of the fourth century onward we find traces of strong anti-clerical sentiments directed against the activities and aims of the *sangha* as an organized body within the state and against the way of life of the individual monk. It is a fact of fundamental importance, characteristic of early Chinese Buddhism, that, whereas in India the sangha mainly had to compete with other, analogous religious groups, in China the monastery was destined to come into conflict with the gentry, the aristocracy, the imperial bureaucracy, and sometimes the government itself.⁵⁵

Opposition to Buddhism by the same sort of people for the same reasons still continued in Huijiao's time. The arguments proposed by anti-Buddhists for attacking Buddhism were usually of four types.

(a) From the political and economic viewpoint, the activities of the monasteries were in various ways detrimental to the authority of the government and to the stability and prosperity of the state.

(b) From the utilitarian viewpoint, the monastic life did not yield any concrete

(江南佛教史) (Shanghai : Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2000); p.100.

⁵⁴ E. Zürcher. *The Buddhist conquest of China: The spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1972); p.255.

⁵⁵ E. Zürcher. *The Buddhist conquest of China: The spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*. p.255.

results in this world, and was therefore useless and unproductive.

(c) From the viewpoints of cultural superiority and ethnic feeling, Buddhism was a “barbarian” creed, suited to the needs of uncivilized foreigners. It was not mentioned in the records of the golden past and the Sages of antiquity neither knew of it nor needed it.

(d) From the viewpoint of morality, the monastic life meant an unnatural violation of the sacred canons of social behaviour and is therefore asocial and highly immoral.⁵⁶

Such anti-Buddhist arguments were still written up in various forms on different occasions during Liang Wudi’s rule. Among them may be found the most vitriolic attacks on Buddhism by Fan Zhen (范縝),⁵⁷ Guo Zushen (郭祖深)⁵⁸ and Xun Ji (荀濟).⁵⁹ They charged the Buddhist monks with sedition, immorality, economic harm, and hypocrisy. The contents were in fact nothing new, but the emotion they put in and the language they used in their writings was so strong as to have a wide and deep influence which even lasted into the Tang dynasty.

Fan Zhen was a contemporary of Prince of Jingling, Xiao Ziliang (蕭子良), of the Southern Qi dynasty⁶⁰ and Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty. It was probably

⁵⁶ These four types of anti-Buddhist argument were summarized by E. Zurcher, based on the situation of early medieval China. See Zurcher, *The Buddhist conquest of China: The spread and adaptation of Buddhism in early medieval China*; p.255. However, these four types of anti-Buddhist argument continued till Huijiao’s time.

⁵⁷ “Biography of Fan Zhen” is placed in *Liang shu* 48 “Biographies of Rulin (儒林)”, and also in *Nan shi* 57, the supplement biography of “Biography of Fan Yun”.

⁵⁸ See “Biography of Guo Zushen”, *Nan shi* 70.

⁵⁹ See “Biography of Xun Ji” in *Bei shi* 83 “Biographies of wenxue (文學)”.

⁶⁰ Prince of Jingling (竟陵王) was the second son of Emperor Wu of Southern Qi dynasty. During his lifetime he was one of the strongest supporters of Buddhism in the south. His residence at Jilong san (雞籠山) was a meeting place for practically all the outstanding literary men and clerics of the age. It was said that every important monk of the (Southern) Qi kingdom had visited him at one time or another. Due to his patronage the religion gained a wide following among the aristocratic and literary circles of the southern court. The biography of Prince of Jingling can be found in *Nan Qi shu* (南齊書) 40 and *Nan shi*

during the time he was associated with the prince that he wrote his anti-Buddhist treatise, entitled *Shen mie lun* (*On the Destruction of the soul*), but he rewrote and publicized it when Liang Wudi was deeply indulging himself in Buddhism. It was said that when Fan Zhen's treatise was circulated it caused an uproar both in court and in wider society. Liang Wudi was impelled to answer it. He had the treatise circulated and solicited refutations from his ministers and officials: in all sixty-two replied.⁶¹

Guo Zushen was also a contemporary of Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty. When he presented his anti-Buddhist memorial, with twenty-nine charges, to Liang Wudi he was carrying a coffin with him.⁶² Another anti-Buddhist treatise written by Xun Ji was also in the form of a memorial, called *Lun fojiao biao* (論佛教表, *A memorial Discussing Buddhism*). Xun charged Buddhism with harming the state and the people in ten criminal ways. It is said that the words he used were so strong that Liang Wudi was infuriated. The emperor decided to execute Xun, who escaped secretly to the north and never came back south again.⁶³

All this opposition to Buddhism by educated people in upper society occurred in Huijiao's lifetime. Considering Huijiao's sensitivity to history and to his own identity, we confidently believe that Huijiao must have known about these

44. About his belief in Buddhism and the supports, see Tang, pp.457-461 and Ch'en, p.123.

⁶¹ Fan's anti-Buddhist treatise is included in *Hong ming ji* (弘明集) chapter 9, and all the treatises against him are included in chapter 10 of same book. Some discussions of Fan's treatise may see Tang, chapter 13; Ren Jiyu (任繼愈), *Zhongguo fojiao shi* (中國佛教史) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1981); chapter 9 and 10; Wang Zhongluo, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi*; pp.800-808; and Kenneth Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*; pp.138-142.

⁶² See "Biography of Guo Zushen", *Nan shi* 70. Discussions on Guo's memorial, see Tang, p.480; and Ch'en, p.127.

⁶³ See "Biography of Xun Ji" in *Bei shi* 83 "Biographies of wenxue". Xun's anti-Buddhist writing is preserved in *Guang hong ming ji* (廣弘明集) chapter 7. The discussions on Xun's writing, see Tang, pp.480-482; Ch'en, pp.142-144; and Wang Yousan (王友三), *Zhongguo wushenlun shigang* (中國無神論史綱) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1986); chapter 3.

polemics and their consequences and wanted to counteract them. If we agree that biographical writing can be a way of expressing an author's identity construction for his subject,⁶⁴ and if we also accept that writing biographies of monks is a way of cultural adaptation of Buddhism and a way of making Buddhism acceptable to educated Chinese people,⁶⁵ then Huijiao's writing of *GSZ* was undoubtedly a response to anti-Buddhists and a new form of identity construction.

To demonstrate this we need to explore further how Huijiao wrote his biographies of monks and what identities he constructed for monks.

Sources and structure of the *Gaoseng zhuan*

We have suggested that the reason why Huijiao wrote and compiled *GSZ* was identity construction. He wanted to construct for the monks identities in the minds of educated readers which were different from the ones that existed before.

The way he wrote the biographies of monks, including the sources he used, the categories he ordered, and the biographical structures he built, will help us to understand what kinds of identity he wanted to construct for monks.

The sources of *Gaoseng zhuan*

Many scholars have addressed the relationship between Huijiao's *GSZ* and Baochang's *MSZ* especially when they discuss the sources of *GSZ*. Their attention

⁶⁴ Chen Cangduo (陳蒼多) *Zhuan ji mian mian guan* (傳記面面觀) (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1970): pp.87-111. The book was translated from Andre Maurois, *Aspects of biography*. A record of Mourois's speeches in Trinity college, Cambridge, 1928.

⁶⁵ Fan Wenlan, *Zhongguo tongshi jianbian*; pp.431-432.

is usually focused on the similarity of biographies found in *GSZ* and in *MSZ*.⁶⁶ Sometimes they assume by from these similarities that the sources of *GSZ* were taken from *MSZ* by Huijiao.⁶⁷ As Kieschnick said, very few of the accounts in the *GSZ* and its sequels were composed by the compilers; most are instead taken directly, word-for-word, or with additions and deletions, from sources available to them, and that resulted in similarity of those biographies of monks.⁶⁸

However, there are two questions we may need to think about. First, is it possible that the compilers of *GSZ*, *MSZ* and other biographical works in the same period all used the same materials? If the answer to this question is yes, then it is reasonable that some or most of the biographies of Buddhist monks in different collections looked similar. Secondly, although the compilers used the same materials from the same places, does the different way the compilers used it, with additions, deletions, rephrasing and reordering, lead to the different results in the different biographies? If the answer to this question is positive again, should we put more emphasis on how different compilers used the same material to give different messages? In Chinese historical biographical tradition it had long been normal for historians to draw on earlier texts.

Therefore, when we discuss the sources of *GSZ* here, we will concentrate on what kinds of material Huijiao used and how he used it in his book.

⁶⁶ See Su Jinren (蘇晉仁), *Fojiao wenhua yu lishi* (佛教文化與歷史) (Beijing: Zhongyang minzu daxue chubanshe, 1998); pp.139; Zhu Hengfu (朱恒夫), *Xinyi gaoseng zhuan* (新譯高僧傳); pp.5-6; Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, pp.10-11; Koichi Shinohara, “Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies: stupa inscriptions and miracle stories”, in *Monks and magicians: religious biographies in Asia*.(Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1988), pp.119-182.

⁶⁷ Zhu Hengfu said that Huijiao took a lot of sources from *MSZ*. His evidence is that there are 257 main biographies in *GSZ* and there are 221 identical biographies in *MSZ*. There are 244 supplementary biographies in *GSZ* and 92 of them are the same as those in *MSZ*. See *Xinyi gaoseng zhuan*.(Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2005), pp.5-6.

⁶⁸ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, pp.10-11.

Most sources of *GSZ* were already mentioned in Huijiao's postface to the book. The sources he mentioned may be classified into four types. The first type and major sources of *GSZ* obviously were the books and records listed first in the postface.⁶⁹ Some of them were mentioned with exact titles, such as "*Ming xiang ji* (冥祥記) by Wang Yan of Taiyuan (太原王琰)", and the other were not, such as when he said that "monk Sengbao (僧寶) only wrote about the monks who travelled around". The list included biographies of monks, histories of monks (僧史), records of temples and stupas (寺塔記) and some ghost and magic writings. The second type of sources of *GSZ* included chronicles and histories of dynasties in southern China and some heterodox histories of frontier dynasties. The third type of sources for *GSZ* is geographical miscellanies, isolated pieces, and fragmentary accounts. The last type of sources for *GSZ* is Huijiao's own conversation with experienced ancients and those who had rich knowledge.

Apart from these four types of sources Huijiao mentioned in the postface of his book, when we read *GSZ* closely we find that there are a large number of the biographical sources that contributed to his book. Most of them were written by secular writers, usually a famous scholar or a powerful official in an area, after the monk's death. For example, the inscriptions written by Xie Lingyun (謝靈運) and Zong Bing (宗炳) after Huiyuan's (慧遠) death,⁷⁰ the biography of Zhu Daoseng (竺道生) written by Wang Wei (王微) after the monk's death,⁷¹ a biography written by Tang Sixian (唐思賢) and an eulogy (誄) written by Zhang Fu (張敷) for the monk Shi Sengquan (釋僧詮) after his funeral.⁷² Many such materials appear in *GSZ*. If we put together these kind of records and the four types of

⁶⁹ *GSZ* 14, pp.523-524.

⁷⁰ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.222.

⁷¹ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Zhu Daosheng", p.257.

⁷² *GSZ* 7 "Biography of Tanjian", p.273.

materials mentioned by Huijiao himself, we find that the sources of *GSZ* were mostly from the secular world. The histories of different dynasties, the geographical miscellanies, the conversations with experienced ancients and knowledgeable people, and even *Ming xiang ji* and *Gan ying zhuan* (感應傳), books of ghost and magic writings, all come from educated secular people. Only a few biographies of monks before Huijiao were written or compiled by Buddhists.

There are some essential differences between the biographies written by monks and those written by secular educated people. Just as Shinohara said in his discussion of stupa inscriptions, “these secular authors of biographies of monks must in most cases have been sympathetic to Buddhism, and perhaps represent the lay Buddhist religiosity of the community. Nevertheless, these secular writers who admired these monks from a distance as lay followers must also have interpreted the lives of these religious men very differently from the way those committed to follow the path themselves as monks interpreted them.”⁷³

However, the difference did not become a gap between them like Shinohara claimed. He claimed that the basic orientation of the biographies written by secular educated people was not simply religious but secular in important ways, and the underlying viewpoint behind the collection of Buddhist biographies of monks was monastic and highly orthodox; consequently “there was a significant gap between the basic orientation of the compilers of biographical collections and the original orientation of the materials they used for their collections.”⁷⁴ In fact we see that when Huijiao chose how to use his sources he did not play down the difference

⁷³ See Koichi Shinohara, “Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies: stupa inscriptions and miracle stories”, in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara ed., *Monks and magicians: religious biographies in Asia* (Oakvill: Mosaic Press, 1988), p.122..

⁷⁴ See Koichi Shinohara, “Two sources of Chinese Buddhist biographies: stupa inscriptions and miracle stories”, in Phyllis Granoff and Koichi Shinohara ed., *Monks and magicians: religious biographies in Asia* (Oakvill: Mosaic Press, 1988), pp.122-123..

between the monastic world and the secular world and did not keep them far away from each other. On the contrary, he let this difference become a bridge connected the secular world and the monastic world.

Employing a large numbers of secular sources in *GSZ* actually did not affect its unity. In fact the nature of those secular sources eventually became one of the most important characteristics of *GSZ*, and this also is a reflection of the kind of identity which Huijiao wanted to construct for monks.

The categories and its ranks

The categorisation of monks has been used in Buddhist biographical writings since Huijiao's *GSZ*. Some scholars have said that Huijiao took his example from *MSZ*. In *MSZ* Baochang classified monks into eighteen categories. We agree that there are some connections between Huijiao's *GSZ* and Baochang's *MSZ*, as we have mentioned several times before. Nevertheless, categorizing biographees had long been a standard method for Chinese biographical writhing. Chinese writers and historians had practised this method in every dynasty since the Western Han. This continued in Huijiao's day. For example, the famous collection of biographies, *Lienü zhuan* (列女傳) by Liu Xiang (劉向, 77 B.C.-6 B.C.), classified many kinds of women into seven categories. Categorizing biographees was not a method invented either by Huijiao or by Baochang. It is one of the standard and ordinary methods of writing collections of biographies.

Categorizing biographees was usually based on the author's ideology. The ideology of traditional Chinese educated people was usually led by

Confucianism.⁷⁵ In fact categorizing biographees is a central tradition of dynastic historical writing since Sima Qian's (司馬遷) *Shi ji* (史記).

In dynastic histories the historian would often classify biographees into different collections of biographies by the similarities of the biographees. People who had similar political positions, social status, occupations and achievements would be classified into the same collection of biographies. Such as: “Rulin zhuan” (儒林傳, Biographies of Confucian scholars), “Xunli zhuan” (循吏傳, Biographies of good officials), “Youxia zhuan” (遊俠傳, Biographies of wandering knights), “Huozhi zhuan” (貨殖傳, Biographies of merchants), “Ningxing zhuan” (佞倖傳, Biographies of flatterers), etc. This classification method, which historians had long employed in dynastic histories, was adopted and adapted by Huijiao for his collection of Buddhist biographies. The way of categorizing the biographies of monks and the way of categorizing the biographies of secular people in dynastic histories are the same. Form the attitude of the tradition to historical writings and its standard method of classifying biogaphees, we may said that Huijiao was quite secular.

In dynastic histories the different categories of biographies was ranked by the criteria the author set. For examples, “Rulin zhuan” never came after “Wenxu zhuan” (文學傳, Biographies of men of letters), “Zhongyi zhuan” (忠義傳, Biographies of loyalists) never came after “Ningxing zhuan”, “Lienü zhuan” (Biographies of virtuous women) were only placed before “Ningxing zhuan”, or were placed in the last part of the histories, no matter what kinds of woman were

⁷⁵ Huang Qingquan (黃清泉) said that ‘The purpose of writing *Lienü zhuan* (列女傳) is for propagating the thought of a Confucianist ideal world of rule by virtue and for expressing Liu Xiang’s political ideas and attitudes. Teaching Confucian ethics and morals is another important part of the book’. See the “Introduction” of *Xinyi lienü zhuan* (新譯列女傳), in *Xinyi lienü zhuan* (Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 1996), pp.1-31.

included. This order was evidently based on traditional ideology of educated Chinese people. As discussed above, Huijiao was very aware both of Chinese traditions and of the new tendencies of his time. He also had a rich knowledge of historical writings. We believe that the order of the categories of *GSZ* underlined an assessment of value, just as historians did in dynastic histories.

Huijiao only explained his ranking of three categories in *GSZ* in the postface of the book. He singled out the translators for special praise, for ‘the enlightenment of China was wholly dependent on them.’ He then explained that it is for this reason he placed their biographies at the head of his work.⁷⁶ This comment evidently indicates that a value judgment was involved in the ranking of the categories. He also explained that he made eight categories of biographees at first. However, he also had to take account of the function of hymnody (*zhuan-du*, 轉讀) and preaching (*chang-dao*, 唱導) in religious work. Some monks who were good at these had an influence on the common people. Although these two skills did not go back to remote antiquity, he therefore added these two categories of biographies at the end of his book and made his eight categories became ten. Huijiao’s comments make it clear that he did not think that monks who were hymnodists and preachers were as important as the others. This is undoubtedly a value judgment in his category ranking.

There is no direct evidence to suggest how Huijiao ranked the other seven categories. However, some opinions presented by modern scholars may help us to understand more about the ranking of categories in *GSZ*. Cao Shibang has suggested a reason for why the category of *wangshen*—destroyers of their bodies—came after the category of *minglü*—masters of Vinaya. He said that Huijiao was a

⁷⁶ See *GSZ* p.524.

Vinaya master who thought that monks who harmed themselves as a sacrifice to Buddha were in fact acting against the spirit of Buddhism which most emphatically rejects the extreme forms of self-mortification. He recorded their lives just for their great courage and their extreme devotion to Buddhism.⁷⁷ Cases of Buddhist monks making sacrifices to Buddha by harming themselves became a macabre kind of religious fashion only practiced in China since medieval times. It was different from its original meaning and practical situation in Indian Buddhism.⁷⁸ By recording these monks' lives in the way he did Huijiao intended to suggest that he did not really approve of such actions, which were unacceptable to the Confucian value system.

In short, Cao's opinion is that Huijiao ranked the monks of the category of *wangshen* after the category of *minglü* was because he did not agree with what these monks did.⁷⁹

About the category of *xingfu*—those who 'created blessings' by building temples and Buddha images -- Cao said that it seemed to him Huijiao did not regard this kind of contribution as an important religious achievement of monks although it was helpful to the propagation of Buddhism in some ways. Cao was surprised that what Huijiao thought is so distant from the way Buddhists think now.⁸⁰ However, considering the grounds on which anti-Buddhists attacked Buddhism in the time Huijiao lived, it will be very understandable why Huijiao ranked this category so low. We can see he was trying to play down the negative impression Buddhist monks made on some secular critics who were shocked at the extravagance of religious constructions. It is also possible that Huijiao was making

⁷⁷ See GSZ 12, pp.456-458.

⁷⁸ See Zurcher, pp.281-283.

⁷⁹ See Cao Shibang, *Zhongguo fojiao shixueshi* (Taipei: Fagu wenhua, 1999).

⁸⁰ See Cao Shibang, *Zhongguo fojiao shixueshi*.

another response to the attacks of anti-Buddhists by ranking *wangshen* in a low place, because there were many severe criticisms about the appearances of monks, including how monks managed their bodies.

Kieschnick has argued that there is no significance in the order of Huijiao's categories.⁸¹ However, Huijiao does give some indications that the order of his categories was deliberately chosen. By ranking his ten categories he was also responding to anti-Buddhists' criticisms and emphasizing those aspects of Buddhism that were most acceptable to Confucian values.

Similarities to *Shenxian zhuan*

GSZ deals both with the secular and with the supernatural. These two characteristics were both based on the materials Huijiao used. Some of his sources contained supernatural descriptions, as mentioned in the postface of *GSZ*, such as Liu Yiqing's (劉義慶) *Xuan yan ji* (宣驗記) and *You ming lu* (幽明錄), Wang Yan's *Ming xiang ji*, Wang Yanxiu's (王延秀) *Gan ying zhuan*, Zhu Juntai's (朱君台) *Zheng ying zhuan* (徵應傳) and Tao Yuanming's (陶淵明) *Sou shen lu* (搜神錄).⁸² They were writings about ghosts and accounts of magic that were very popular during the period of Northern and Southern dynasties. These writings about ghosts and magic were used as a source for Huijiao's book. By Huijiao's skilful arrangement this kind of source became a major element of the supernatural side of the books, as Li Fengmao (李豐楙) has pointed out.⁸³ This is why

⁸¹ See Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monks: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, pp.8-9.

⁸² *Sui shu jingji zhi* (隋書經籍志) record as Tao Yuanming *Sou shen hou ji* 10 *juan* (卷).

⁸³ Li Fengmao (李豐楙). "Huijiao *Gaoseng zhuan* ji qi sheng yi xingge (慧皎高僧傳及其神異性格)" in *Zhonghua xueyuan* (中華學苑), no.12, 1982. pp.123-137.

Campany has said that in this aspect *GSZ* is similar to anomaly accounts *zhiguai* (志怪).⁸⁴ For the same reason Kieschnick has point out that for many readers the *GSZ* and later collections of monastic biographies were probably seen as subset of a large body of secular literature that eventually became known as *zhiguai*, or “records of the strange.”⁸⁵ We can find a lot of examples of this kind of writings about ghosts and magic narratives in the biographies of monks in every chapter of the book. For example, when Sengquan (僧詮) was old and sick, he saw a Buddha, whose statue he had constructed earlier, visit him in his room, and boys from all the heavens (*zhutian tongzi*, 諸天童子) came down to take care of him; and on the day before he died his pupil dreamed that gods came to welcome and accompany him to heaven.⁸⁶ Fadu (法度) lived as a solitary monk in Mount Nie (聶山), the god of the mountain became his follower and presented with him a large sum of money, joss sticks and candles, and also cured his illness.⁸⁷ The dragon king came to ask Tanchao (曇超) about making rain to save lives when he was practising meditation.⁸⁸ Fazhuang (法莊) was reciting sutras in the middle of the night when gods came to listen.⁸⁹ Senghui (僧慧) made his decision about where to build Chongming Temple (崇明寺) by being instructed by a moving light.⁹⁰ We can find many such stories in every chapter of *GSZ*. Especially in the category of *Shenyi* magic and ghost stories and monks were inseparably linked.

The relationship between monks and supernatural powers will be discussed

⁸⁴ See Robert Campany, *Strange Writing: Anomaly Accounts in Early Medieval China*. (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp.199-201.

⁸⁵ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk: Buddhist Ideals in Medieval Chinese Hagiography*, pp.68-69.

⁸⁶ *GSZ* 7, “Biography of Sengquan”, pp.272-273.

⁸⁷ *GSZ* 8, “Biography of Fado”, pp.331-332.

⁸⁸ *GSZ* 11, “Biography of Tanchao”, p.424.

⁸⁹ *GSZ* 12, “Biography of Fazhuang”, p.465.

⁹⁰ *GSZ* 13, “Biography of Senghui”, p.482.

further in a later section. The point we want to make here is that all these supernatural stories were of the same type as those found in a Daoist collection of biographies, *Shenxian zhuan* (神仙傳, *SXZ*) by Ge Hong (葛洪, c.283-363),⁹¹ a book compiled in over a century earlier than *GSZ*. This is why Robert Campany has said that it can be demonstrated that *GSZ* was compiled in just the same way as Ge Hong's *Sengxian zhuan*, and that these two works inhabit the same generic niche.⁹² However, Huijiao seemed to try not to make clear connections between his *GSZ* and *SXZ*. It appears that he used those ghost and magic stories for three purposes. First, he reflected the widespread use of magic by early Chinese Buddhists. Second, he reflected his time, when most people believed in supernatural matters and liked to talk about them for moral purposes or for amusement. Third, he was trying to make Buddhist monks more close to Chinese tradition and custom, these ghost and magic stories were quite Daoist in style, and Daoist stories of the supernatural were more acceptable than Buddhist ones in educated Chinese society.

The structural model of *GSZ* biographies

There is a structural model for most of the biographies in *GSZ*. The biographies usually have five parts in a set order. They are:

1. Family background, including secular name, family place of origin, ancestors, and sometimes relatives.

Some of the descriptions of family backgrounds of the monk in *GSZ* are quite

⁹¹ See "Biography of Ge Hong" in *Jin shu* 72.

⁹² See Robert Campany, *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth: A Translation and Study of Ge Hong's Traditions of Divine Transcendents* (University of California Press, 2002); p.100.

brief, such as: Kang Falang (康法朗), who came from Zhongshan (中山);⁹³ Zhu Daoyi's (竺道壹) family name was Lu (陸), and he came from Wu (吳).⁹⁴ Sengzhao (僧肇) came from Jingzhao (京兆).⁹⁵ However, there are other descriptions of the background of the monks in the book that give many details. For example, Daoan's (道安) secular family name was Wei (衛), his family came from Fuliu in Changshan (常山扶柳), he lost his parents when he was very young and was raised by his elder maternal cousin Kong (孔).⁹⁶ Sengqing's (僧磬) family name was Fu (傅), his family came from Niyang in Beidi (北地泥陽), he was the son and heir of Fu Xia (傅遐), a magistrate of Hejian (河間) under the Jin dynasty.⁹⁷ Tanwucheng's (曇無成) family name was Ma (馬), and his family was originally from Fufeng (扶風), but moved to Huanglong (黃龍) to escape political trouble.⁹⁸ Sengyuan's (僧遠) family name was Huang (皇); his family came from Chonghe in Bohai (渤海重合). His ancestors came from the Huangfu (皇甫) family of Beidi (北地) originally; however, when they became refugees, they changed their family name by erasing the word 'fu' to just leave the word 'huang' (去甫存皇) and moved to the coast.⁹⁹ Huimi's (慧彌) family name was Yang (楊), his family came from Huayin (華陰) in Hongnong (弘農); he was the descendant of Yang Zhen (楊震), a high official of the Han dynasty.¹⁰⁰

It seems to me that Huijiao wanted to stress as much as possible the monks' family background. This method of writing may have reflected the reality that during the Northern and Southern dynasties people regarded family background as

⁹³ GSZ 4 "Biography of Kan Falang", p.153.

⁹⁴ GSZ 5, "Biography of Zhu Daoyi", p.206.

⁹⁵ GSZ 6, "Biography of Sengzhao", p.249.

⁹⁶ GSZ 5, "Biography of Daoan", p.177.

⁹⁷ GSZ 6, "Biography of Sengqi", p.239.

⁹⁸ GSZ 7, "Biography of Tanwucheng", p.275.

⁹⁹ GSZ 8, "Biography of Sengyuan", p.317.

¹⁰⁰ GSZ 12, "Biography of Huimi", p.473.

an important factor in one's social status. On the other hand, this way of writing biographies leads us to think that Huijiao was trying to emphasize the background of the monks and was rooting their position in secular society in the first place.

2. Beginning study in Confucian classical texts or, in some cases, Daoist texts or Buddhist sutras at a very young age. The biographees were mostly very clever and diligent in their studies and lived virtuous lives. They were usually filial sons before they became monks, and had a strong will to study and even had to endure poverty.

For example, Zhi Daolin (支道林) was extremely intelligent and clear in his thinking since he was a child.¹⁰¹ Daoan (道安) was seven years old when he started to study. He was able to recite from memory a text which he had read only twice, to the astonishment of people in his hometown.¹⁰² Daoheng (道恒) was nine years old when the hermit Zhang Zhong (張忠) saw him playing by the roadside. Zhang was surprised by his appearance and Zhang predicted that he would be somebody someday. Daoheng lost his parents when young, and lived with his stepmother as a filial son. He lived in poverty but still studied day and night.¹⁰³ Sengrou (僧柔) was honest and just from childhood. He accompanied his uncle to travel and study when he was nine. His family was so poor that sometimes they gathered wild herbs for food and still did not have enough to keep them from hunger. Sengrou's diligent study was never interrupted by these hardships.¹⁰⁴ Sengfu (僧富) was orphaned when he was very young. He studied very hard though his family was penniless. He gathered branches from nearby as firewood

¹⁰¹ GSZ 4, "Biography of Zhidun", p.159.

¹⁰² GSZ 5, "Biography of Daoan", p.177.

¹⁰³ GSZ 6, "Biography of Daoheng", p.246.

¹⁰⁴ GSZ 8, "Biography of Sengrou", p.322.

and a light for study in the night. By the time he was twenty, he had mastered all the Chinese classics and histories.¹⁰⁵

This kind of description is almost the same as in the biographies of scholars in Chinese dynastic histories. We can find the same type of description about the childhood of the subject of the biographies in every dynastic history. The scholars recorded in histories usually had very good personalities which appeared at a young age. They were often clever, intelligent, with a good memory, willing to study, filial, and able to endure poverty. It is evident that Huijiao wanted to be a Chinese historian when writing Buddhist history. Such descriptions are typical in the Chinese biographical tradition. However, if we probe deeper, we will find that there is something behind this kind of signification of Buddhist biography. It seems to me that this is actually a strategy of identity construction. Huijiao was trying to erase the differences between the Buddhist world and secular world, from the early stage of a monk's life.

3. Becoming a monk and doing well in his monastic life. Some monks became important in various fields, establishing a reputation in both secular and monastic worlds, sometimes becoming monks with large numbers of pupils and followers.

For example, Yu Falan (于法蘭) became a monk when he was fifteen. He studied very hard once he joined a monastery. When he was twenty, his fame spread far.¹⁰⁶ Tanyi (曇翼) became a monk at sixteen and studied Buddhist sutras with his teacher Daoan. He was known as a self-disciplined monk since he was very young. He also gained respect from other pupils for his rich knowledge of

¹⁰⁵ GSZ 12, "Biography of Sengfu", p.448.

¹⁰⁶ GSZ 4, "Biography of Yu Falan", p.166.

Buddhism.¹⁰⁷ Tanbin (曇斌) became a monk when he was ten. He travelled to many places to study Buddhist sutras with famous teachers. Finally he himself became a master of different schools of Buddhism. When he lectured admiring listeners, carrying their book bags, came to listen from all directions.¹⁰⁸ After becoming a monk Huilong (慧隆) spent ten years concentrating on studying and became a great master in every field of Buddhist sutras. Emperor Mingdi (明帝) of the Liu Song dynasty invited him to give a public lecture in the palace that was attended by more than eight hundred people. After the lecture Huilong received invitations from aristocrats from time to time.¹⁰⁹ Sengyin (僧隱) started his monastic life when he was just eight years old. From the moment he became a monk he always observed dietary restrictions. He studied industriously in Vinaya sutras and in meditation. He became a master of both fields and had a great influence in the area of Jing (荆) and Chu (楚), the middle Yangzi region.¹¹⁰

Huijiao gives only a few clues about the reason why those men wanted to become monks. For example, Faxian (法顯) was sent to be a novice monk at three: his father worried that he might not survive as his three elder brothers had all died young.¹¹¹ Puheng (普恒) was inspired when he was a boy by seeing a monk preaching in the daytime sky.¹¹² Fazong (法宗) became a monk because he realized he had sinned when he shot a pregnant deer and saw the deer giving birth to her young, which she licked while she was dying.¹¹³

It is also quite difficult to know whether those men met any opposition from

¹⁰⁷ GSZ 5, "Biography of Tanyi", p.198.

¹⁰⁸ GSZ 7, "Biography of Tanbin", p.290.

¹⁰⁹ GSZ 8, "Biography of Huilong", p.327.

¹¹⁰ GSZ 11, "Biography of Sengyin", p.432.

¹¹¹ GSZ 3, "Biography of Faxian", p.87.

¹¹² GSZ 11, "Biography of Puheng", p.421.

¹¹³ GSZ 12, "Biography of Fazong", p.461.

their family or other people related to them. There were only a few monks Huijiao mentions as having this kind of trouble, such as Sengyuan (僧遠), Zhixiu (智秀) and Xuangao (玄高). Sengyuan (僧遠) admired Buddhism when he was still a child and at sixteen he wanted to become a monk, but his parents did not allow it. He insisted and lived like a Buddhist from then on. Finally his parents let him go to the monastery when he was eighteen.¹¹⁴ Zhixiu (智秀) hoped for a monastic life at a very early age, however his parents treasured him and did not agree. They secretly arranged a marriage for him. When the wedding day was close Zhixiu ran away from home to a mountain area and became a monk without his parents' permission.¹¹⁵ Xuangao's (玄高) family believed in some other religion; however, Xuangao wanted to become a monk when he was eleven. He went to live in a mountain village for a long time. His parents at last agreed when he was fifteen.¹¹⁶

To know the reason for becoming a monk and the opposition some would-be monks faced would help us to learn more about the distance between the Buddhist world and the secular world. However, the way Huijiao wrote about how a secular man became a monk was ambiguous. In most cases he gives the impression that there was no contradiction between these two worlds. His subjects easily abandoned their family and become monks, especially when most of them started their monastic lives at such a young age. In most of his accounts it seems that someone would join a monastery without any worries. On the other hand, the monastery also was like a special place for special people, in which their lives could be renewed. It seems that no matter what kinds of families they came from, what sorts of occupations they or their families had, what status they had before

¹¹⁴ GSZ 8, "Biography of Sengyuan", p.317.

¹¹⁵ GSZ 8, "Biography of Zhixiu". p.332.

¹¹⁶ GSZ 11, "Biography of Xuangao", p.409.

they became monks, once they entered monasteries they acquired a new identity. Huijiao is keen to emphasize cases when a monk is recognized by secular society as having high status. He plays down the tendency of some leading members of society to hold monks in low esteem.

4. Associating with secular educated people and with the upper class of secular society, gathering a greater reputation by having the commendations of educated secular people, becoming a teacher of secular people, and sometimes an adviser to high officials or even a ruler. Special conduct or special events in which the monk could show his great abilities and outstanding virtues are sometimes mentioned in this part of the biography.

In many of the biographies in *GSZ* once a monk became a Buddhist master, he became popular among the upper class of the time. Monks lectured in public for royal families, aristocracy, gentry, and other upper class people. The people they associated with included almost every level of the upper class, the emperor, princes, generals, high officials, famous scholars and hermits. For example, Fatai (法汰) lectured for Emperor Jianwen (簡文帝) of the Jin dynasty in Waguan Temple (瓦官寺). The emperor and almost all high-level officials in the court joined his audiences and thousands of people came from different places to listen to him.¹¹⁷ Huitong (慧通) was respected by Xu Zhanzhi of Donghai (東海徐湛之) and Yuan Can of Chen Jun (陳郡袁粲); they regarded him as their friend and teacher; Emperor Wu of the Liu Song dynasty (宋武帝) asked him to befriend his sons, the Prince of Hailing (海陵王) and Prince of Xiao Jianping (小建平王). Every time

¹¹⁷ *GSZ* 5, “Biography of Zhu Fatai”, p.193.

Huitong lectured students from other places filled up the streets.¹¹⁸ Baoliang (寶亮) came to the capital city of Liang when he was twenty-one. As soon as he arrived in the city his reputation was raised further by Yuan Can's commendation. Yuan praised Baoliang as a treasure of the world (天下之寶). The Prince of Jingling visited him personally and asked him to be a lecturer though Baoliang was not fond of preaching in public and did not like to make social connections with famous people. The number of his pupils including monks and secular followers was more than three thousand, and hundreds of people came to discuss questions of Buddhism with him.¹¹⁹

Monks also became important guests in the houses of those people and offered their opinions on some important secular matters. They participated in important social activities including *qing tan* "pure talk" and made outstanding contributions. Monks participating in *qing tan* and acting as advisers of upper class people will be discussed further in a later section.

In this part of the biographies many names and titles of important secular people are found. The readers of *GSZ* may need patience to figure out the complex connections between the monks and those upper class people. There was a huge web of social connections. That is why Wright said that the index to laymen mentioned in the *GSZ* would read like a *Who's Who* of the period it covers.¹²⁰ It seems that Huijiao paid much attention to this part of his biographies, maybe much more than to other parts. In this part, most of the monks were active and multi-faceted. Their identity was no longer bounded by Buddhism, it became a

¹¹⁸ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huitong", p.301.

¹¹⁹ *GSZ* 8, "Biography of Baoliang", p.337.

¹²⁰ See Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks", in Robert M. Somers ed., *Studies in Chinese Buddhism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), pp.73-111.

kind of multiple type. With this kind of identity the monks became a special part of upper class in the society. It seems that Huijiao tried very hard to extend the monks' identities and fix them into the secular upper class. No wonder that Wright claimed that this is Huijiao's purposes: the habitation of Buddhism and the Buddhist clergy in the Chinese upper class.¹²¹

5. The monks' death. Sometimes it was preceded by a miraculous prediction. For example, one day in the middle of summer Daoli (道立) called an unusual gathering of his pupils and taught them a Buddhist sutra. When one of his pupils asked him the reason for this unexpected lesson, he said that his time would be ended in the coming autumn and he just wanted to do what was still on his mind. Several days after the lecture he died without an illness.¹²² Without any notice one day Sengrou (僧柔) suddenly told his pupil that he was leaving this world. He then put a mat on the ground, sat on it, brought his hands together, faced to the west, and worshipped sincerely. He died instantly and with no illness.¹²³ When Fatong (法通) felt unwell, he told his pupils that he would die in ten days. He died on the day he predicted. During the ten days before he died, he saw Buddha and other Buddhist figures entering his room; his pupils saw nothing but detected good smells while he was communicating with them.¹²⁴

After the monk's death one or more secular educated people, usually powerful or famous men, would write an epitaph or biography for him. For example, when Sengquan (僧詮) died, Ruan Shangzhi (阮尙之), magistrate of Lin'an (臨安),

¹²¹ See Arthur F. Wright, "Biography and hagiography: Hui-chiao's Lives of Eminent Monks".

¹²² GSZ 5, "Biography of Daoli", p.203.

¹²³ GSZ 8, "Biography of Sengrou", p.322.

¹²⁴ GSZ 8, "Biography of Fatong", p.339.

chose his grave place, Wang Yu (王裕) and Dai Yeng (戴顓) arranged his grave stone and wrote an epitaph for him, Tang Sixian (唐思賢) also wrote an epitaph for him, and Zhang Fu (張敷) wrote a eulogy (*lei*, 誄) for him.¹²⁵ When Fatong (法通) passed away his pupils put up a stone beside his grave, with epitaphs written by Xie Ju of Chenjun (陳郡謝舉) and Xiao Ziyun of Lanling (蘭陵蕭子雲).¹²⁶ When Faxian (法獻) died, his pupil Sengyou (僧祐) had a gravestone put up with an epitaph written by Shen Yue of Wuxing (吳興沈約) for him.¹²⁷

In a few cases the pupil wrote the epitaph for the monk when he died. For example, when Famin (法愍) died, his pupil Sengdao (僧道) wrote the epitaph on the tombstone for him.¹²⁸ After Sengyou (僧祐)'s death, one of his pupils, Zhengdu (正度), erected a gravestone with an epitaph written by Liu Xie of Dongwan (東莞劉勰).¹²⁹

This part of the biographies in *GSZ* includes the literary works the monks left behind, and their writings were not limited to Buddhist works. For example, Zhu Senglang (竺僧朗) wrote *Renwu shiyi lun* (人物始議論), a book about classifying people.¹³⁰ Huirui (慧叡) wrote *Shisi yinxun xu* (十四音訓敘), a book about phonetics.¹³¹ Huijing (慧靜) left ten *juan* of literary work.¹³² Tanfei (曇斐) left some literary writings that had been circulating in his time.¹³³ One of the most famous monks, Huiyuan (慧遠), left ten *juan* of works including different kinds of

¹²⁵ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Sengquan", pp.272-273.

¹²⁶ *GSZ* 8, "Biography of Fatong", pp.339-340.

¹²⁷ *GSZ* 13, "Biography of Faxian", pp.488-489.

¹²⁸ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Famin", pp.285-286.

¹²⁹ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Sengyou", pp.440-441. The author of *Wenxin diaolong* (文心雕龍) was very poor when he was young. He lived with Sengyou in the temple for more than ten years. He was a pupil and a friend to Sengyou. See *Liang shu* 50 "Biographies of Wenxue (文學)".

¹³⁰ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Senglang", pp.190-191.

¹³¹ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huirui", pp.259-260.

¹³² *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huijing", p.271-272.

¹³³ *GSZ* 8, "Biography of Tanfei", pp.341-342.

secular literary writing.¹³⁴

In this part of the biographies, we find two contrasting ways of constructing the identity of the biographees. The predictions of the monks' deaths led the readers of *GSZ* to the supernatural and gave the monks identities remote from normal people and the secular world. The identity based on those supernatural descriptions seems close to Daoist figures in Ge Hong's *SXZ*. On the other hand, Huijiao also made much of who wrote the epitaphs for the monk after his death. This led readers back to the complex secular social web. It seems to me that Huijiao was trying to pass a message that monks came from the secular world and that their deaths were recognized by the secular world: they were close to the secular world. Moreover, when we see that so many epitaphs for monks were written by secular educated people, and only a few cases when the epitaphs were written by other monks, it indicates that for Huijiao the highest praise for a monk after his death was what came from secular educated people, so important were such connections in his view.

The identities Huijiao constructed for monks

Besides the general identity of being a monk, as a preacher of Buddhism, Huijiao constructed extensively some other identities for the monks in his book. Using the term "construct" means that Huijiao chose how to use his material, selecting what suited his purposes best.

The biographies in *GSZ* are organized into ten categories which are classified and ranked by Huijiao. However, these ten categories do not include all the

¹³⁴ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", pp.211-222.

identities of the monks. It is very easy to see that some descriptions of the biographees are actually leading the monks into different categories. For example, the use of magic power is found in many biographies, but not every monk who used magic power was given the primary identity of miracle worker. Similarly, not every monk who made a contribution to building temples, stupas or Buddha images was put in the category of “*xingfu*”, the promoters of blessing.

On the other hand, if we look at the allocation of monks to different categories the total number of the biographies in the second category “*yijie*” (exegetes) is so huge, it is almost a half of the book.¹³⁵ It seems that Huijiao was specially focused on this category. It also suggests that aspects of the identities of the monks in *GSZ* were deliberately played down by Huijiao and some aspects were emphasized by him. We need to go beyond Huijiao’s ten categories in his book to examine the identities Huijiao constructed for the monks in *GSZ*.

Within many identities which Huijiao constructed for the monks by writing their biographies some are more important than others. They are: miracle worker, imperial adviser, ascetic, hermit, scholar and *mingshi*. Those six identities in fact are three pairs.

Miracle worker and imperial adviser

- **Miracle worker**

Using magic power was one important method to preach religion in early

¹³⁵ The chart made by Tang Yongtong in the appendix of *GSZ*, *Zhonghua shuju* version. See *GSZ* p.568.

Chinese Buddhism. Huijiao regarded this kind of supernatural method as a necessary strategy for attracting people and spreading the religion. He said that magic power could restrain minds which were filled with exaggeration and stubbornness, destroy minds which were filled with contempt and arrogance, frustrate minds of a cruel and sharp nature, and solve problems. Miracle-working had achieved great results in winning over the non-Han rulers in northern China and protecting the commoners in the areas ruled by them since the Jin dynasty moved to southern China and lost control of the north.¹³⁶

The monks with the identity of miracle worker were mainly gathered in the category of “*shenyi*”. Other monks whose biographies are in other parts of the book, about one-third of the 257 monks in *GSZ*, possessed supernatural powers. Thus the supernatural abilities of the monks were important elements in their biographies.¹³⁷ The monks in *shenyi* category, including the most famous one—Fotucheng (佛圖澄), all had a strong characteristic which was similar to that of some Daoist figures. The monks in this category all had supernatural powers, such as: travelling an unbelievable distance in one day,¹³⁸ crossing a river on a tiny object, like a wooden cup,¹³⁹ having the art of “separating the body” and being in more than one place at the same time,¹⁴⁰ being invulnerable to all kinds of weapon,¹⁴¹ showing no signs of age,¹⁴² coming alive again after their death,¹⁴³ and so on. However, apart from some monks in this category whose identity was

¹³⁶ See *GSZ* 10, pp.398-399.

¹³⁷ See Po, Mu-chou, “The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 c. A.D.)”, in *Numen* (1995) 42, p.183.

¹³⁸ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Shan Daokai”, p.361.

¹³⁹ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Beidu”, p.379.

¹⁴⁰ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Zhu Fodiao”, p.364

¹⁴¹ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Tanshi”, p.386

¹⁴² See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Senghui”, p.392.

¹⁴³ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Shaoshuo”, p.389.

unambiguously Buddhist, other magician monks looked rather Daoist. However, Huijiao emphasized their Buddhist nature. For example, Huijiao said that Shaoshuo (邵碩) loved Buddhism by nature; every time he saw Buddha images he worshipped, praised and wept.¹⁴⁴ Huijiao did not write these biographies to construct a dual Buddhist / Daoist identity for them.

Huijiao said more about what he thought about monks with magic powers. Among those he wrote about were An Huize (安慧則) who produced magic medicine and cured the sick during an epidemic by praying to devas;¹⁴⁵ Shizong (史宗) who saved thousands of fish by having a bath in a river when he knew fishermen were planning to fish the whole area;¹⁴⁶ Baizu (白足) who made a great contribution to reviving Buddhism in the time of the Emperor Taiwu (太武, r.424-452) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386-534) by using his magic power to defend himself from a weapon and to survive from being fed to a tiger;¹⁴⁷ and Baozhi (保誌) who converted the Emperor Wu (武帝, r.483-493) of the Southern Qi dynasty (479-502) to Buddhism by showing his art of “separating the body” and being in different places at the same time.¹⁴⁸ For Huijiao such monks who helped others or promoted the faith were more important than those who flew to heaven by taking magic medicine, or lived a long life by eating special plants.¹⁴⁹

Huijiao tells us that magic powers have to be used on the matters which concern reality---bringing benefit to commoners, the state and Buddhism. Apart from some cases of curing complex or difficult illnesses and predicting the future, Huijiao gives more examples of magic used to deal with problems of epidemics,

¹⁴⁴ See *GSZ* 9, “Biography of Shaoshuo”, p.388.

¹⁴⁵ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of An Huize”, p.372.

¹⁴⁶ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of Shizong”, p.377.

¹⁴⁷ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of Shi Tanshi”, pp.385-386.

¹⁴⁸ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of Shi Tanshi”, pp.394-397.

¹⁴⁹ See *GSZ* 10, p.399.

droughts and wars. For example, when Heluojie (訶羅竭) arrived in Luoyang in 288, the time of Emperor Wu (武帝, r.265-274) of the West Jin dynasty (西晉, 265-317), there was a serious epidemic in which many people died. Heluojie used his magic powers to cure most of the sick people.¹⁵⁰

Shegong (涉公) was good at spells to summon dragons and these brought rain. Every time when there was a drought Fu Jian (338-385), the ruler of the Former Qin kingdom (351-394) in northwest China, would ask Shegong to summon a dragon for him. A moment after the spell was spoken a dragon would drop down into a bowl and then heavy rain followed. A year after Shegong died, there had been no rain for six months. Fu Jian reduced his own food and stopped executing criminals. In the seventh month it finally rained. Fu Jian told his minister that if Shegong was still alive he would not have needed to worry about rain like this.¹⁵¹ There were more similar cases shown in the different biographies in *GSZ*. Among those cases, the most important is Fotucheng.

• Imperial adviser

Fotucheng showed his magic power in praying for rain, predicting the future, curing illness, and so on. However, his primary usefulness was as a military advisor, then as an imperial advisor. He became an imperial advisor of the Shi family, the ruling house of the Later Zhao kingdom (後趙, 319-350) in north China, through being a military advisor of Guo Heilue (郭黑略), a general of the kingdom. He predicted the details and the results of almost every battle for them; moreover, he also predicted many political events, such as assassinations, treason and

¹⁵⁰ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of Heluojie”, p. 370.

¹⁵¹ See *GSZ* 10, “Biography of Shegong”, pp.373-374.

rebellions. He became a kind of protector of Shi Le (石勒, 274-333) and his nephew Shi Hu (石虎, 295-349) and a special protector of commoners in the places Later Zhao ruled.¹⁵²

Beside Fotucheng, Kumarajiva (鳩摩羅什, c.344-413) was another important monk who became imperial advisor. According to *GSZ*, when Fu Jian heard about Kumarajiva's name and his outstanding abilities he told an army which was on a military mission to fetch him. Kumarajiva eventually came to China although he endured serious insults with women and wine and received other rough treatment on the way. When he arrived in China the Former Qin no longer existed. It had been replaced by another kingdom founded by another barbarian ruler. He stayed in the Later Liang (後涼, 386-403) court founded by Lü Guang (呂光, 338-399) the man who had captured Kumarajiva and tried to damage his reputation on the journey to China, and became a senior advisor to the ruler. He made several efficacious political predictions for them on the basis of strange weather or other unusual occurrences.¹⁵³

Gunabhadra (394-468) was another important monk who used magic power to show his unusual abilities and became a royal advisor. Gunabhadra was active in the Liu Song (420-479) time. He stayed with Liu Yixuan (劉義宣), the Prince of Nan Qiao (南譙王) and a minister of the dynasty, for more than ten years until Liu lost everything and was killed in a rebellion he led. While Gunabhadra stayed with Liu he offered many opinions on different matters both religious and secular, including a prediction of the failure of Liu's rebellion. Gunabhadra became an imperial advisor to Emperor Xiaowu (孝武帝, r.454-464) of the Liu Song dynasty

¹⁵² See *GSZ* 9, "Biography of Fotucheng", pp.345-357.

¹⁵³ See *GSZ* 2, "Biography of Kumarajiva", pp.49-51.

when he came to the throne after the failure of Liu Yixuan (劉義宣) about 454. He continued to use his magic powers to serve the ruling house, like praying for rain, and was still welcomed in the court till the early years of Emperor Ming, and on. He was greatly honoured when he died.¹⁵⁴

Huiyi (慧義, 372-444) was another monk who acted as an imperial advisor. Huiyi's involvement in politics was much deeper than that of other monks who acted as advisors for the ruling house or other aristocrats. According to his biography in *GSZ*, he was trusted by Liu Yu when Liu was still the Prince of Song. In the last years of the Eastern Jin dynasty there was a prediction made by the monk Facheng (法稱) in Jizhou (冀州) that Liu Yu was a true heir of Han and would accept the wish of Heaven --- that is, to become emperor. The evidence of this prediction was put in a particular place. Liu Yu sent Huiyi to look for the evidence when he heard this prediction in 417. It said that Huiyi found it through a dream and his sincere prayers. This typical myth of foundation of a state was also recorded in the dynastic history of the Southern Dynasties.¹⁵⁵ It is no wonder that Kamata Shigeo said that Huiyi was the person who made the greatest contribution to the founding of the Liu Song dynasty.¹⁵⁶ There are more examples in *GSZ*. Huiyan (慧嚴, 368-443) accompanied Liu Yu (劉裕) as a “teacher of the emperor” when Liu Yu led an army to the north to take Chang'an.¹⁵⁷ Sengdao (僧導) received his greatest honour as an advisor in the court of Liu Song for four reigns as he saved Liu Yu's son's life and went through a difficult time with him.¹⁵⁸ Huilin (慧琳) was known as “the first minister in black” (*heiyi zaixiang*, 黑衣宰

¹⁵⁴ See *GSZ* 3, “Biography of Gunabhadra”, pp.131-134.

¹⁵⁵ See *GSZ* 7, “Biography of Huiyi”, p.266 and “Biography of Song wudi” in *Nan shi* 1.

¹⁵⁶ Kamata Shigeo. (Chinese translation edition) *Zhongguo fojiaoshi*. Gaoxiong: Foguang chubanshe, 1986, p.99.

¹⁵⁷ See *GSZ* 7, “Biography of Huiyan”, p.261.

¹⁵⁸ See *GSZ* 7, “Biography of Sengdao”, pp.280-282.

相) for he was concerned with many political matters.¹⁵⁹

Through these examples, Huijiao tried to show that there was a close connection between the identity of miracle worker and the identity of imperial advisor. He also shows his readers that the world was still full of mysterious powers and spirits and that those who could deal with these powers were the ones that would secure the trust of the people.¹⁶⁰ Therefore the identities he constructed for the miracle-working monks were always helpful to the state and the society. In both identities monks were comparable to leading secular figures.

Philanthropist, ascetic and hermit

When there was propaganda against Buddhism on economic issues, it became a necessity to counteract criticism of the wealth of monasteries. Huijiao did not avoid the problem. He faced the problem and used it to construct a positive identity for monks in relation to money.

• Monks and money, monks and philanthropy

A Chang'an man of high social status wanted to make a test of the monk Fahu's (法護) morality. He pretended that he needed money urgently and asked Fahu to lend him two hundred thousand cash. When Fahu was hesitant and silent, Zhu Facheng (竺法乘), still only thirteen, answered: my master has agreed to lend you the money. When the man returned Zhu Facheng told his master Fahu that this man

¹⁵⁹ See the supplemental biography of Huilin in "Biography of Daoyuan", *GSZ* 7, p.268. "the first primary minister in black" (*hei yi zai xiang*) was the words of Kong Yi of Guiji (會稽孔顛). See Tang's annotation, *GSZ* 7, p.269.

¹⁶⁰ See Po, Mu-chou, "The Images of Immortals and Eminent Monks: Religious Mentality in Early Medieval China (4-6 c. A.D.)", in *Numen* (1995) 42, p.183.

was not coming for money but to test his reaction. The next day the man came with his whole family, more than a hundred members, to become Buddhists under Fahu's guidance and apologized for the money matters.¹⁶¹ This story shows that a monk (or his monastery) could be rich enough to lend money to people, but that for Huijiao the important thing was not to covet. Huijiao was perhaps trying to counteract criticisms of the wealth of some Buddhist monasteries.

Fahu was not the only example of a rich monk in *GSZ*. The fame of some monks easily brought riches. For example, when Sengdao (僧導) was young he was too poor to buy lamp oil or candles, so he had to burn twigs for light when he studied at night. However, when he became an imperial adviser he was able to support hundreds of refugee monks who had escaped from a persecution of Buddhism in the north with food and clothes. He also arranged the ceremonies for monks who had been killed.¹⁶²

When Huijiao talks about the rich monks in *GSZ* he always emphasizes that they made good use of their wealth. He tells us that "Sengquan (僧詮) was generous in charity and he always helped people in need. He lived a strict life and never hoarded money."¹⁶³ When Sengjin (僧瑾) was appointed an official in charge of monks he was offered many servants and gifts and thirty thousand cash for his monthly salary. However, Sengjin was not miserly. All the donations he received and his income were used to bring benefit to the people and the religion.¹⁶⁴ Fayuan (法願) was very good at preaching (*changdao*, 唱導) and had many large audiences including royalty and aristocrats. His daily income was tens of

¹⁶¹ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Zhu Facheng", p.155.

¹⁶² *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Sengdao", p.280.

¹⁶³ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Sengquan", p.272.

¹⁶⁴ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Sengjin", p.294.

thousands of cash. However, he used all the money in charity and never saved any for himself.¹⁶⁵

Huijiao implied that wealth was something a monk should avoid unless he disposed of it in good causes. Living in poverty was important evidence for Huijiao that a monk observed monastic laws and evidence of his good qualities. Many monks in *GSZ*, such as Sengxian (僧先),¹⁶⁶ Sengfu (僧輔),¹⁶⁷ Huiqian (慧虔),¹⁶⁸ Huirui (慧叡),¹⁶⁹ Tanying (曇影)¹⁷⁰ and many others, were described as monks who were undisturbed by poverty and insisted on keeping to strict monastic laws no matter how hard it was and how difficult the circumstances were. Huijiao even said that a monk like this would be able to correct and develop Buddhism.¹⁷¹

By emphasizing the willingness of monks to dispose of their wealth and to live in poverty, Huijiao responded to the criticisms of Buddhism which claimed that monastic wealth could damage the social economics. He turned the original direction of the criticism into two different ways for identity construction. On one hand, Huijiao constructed a positive identity for monks, that of the philanthropist, by explaining how monks used their wealth for public welfare. On the other hand, he constructed an identity of the ascetic, by showing how monks could live in poverty and insist on adhering to strict monastic laws.

Observing a vegetarian diet was also important for a monk to be a virtuous person. A vegetable diet was not a monastic rule in Chinese Buddhist communities before the sixth century. As Kieschnick said, vegetarianism was not unheard of

¹⁶⁵ *GSZ* 13, "Biography of Fayuan", p.518.

¹⁶⁶ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Sengxian", pp.194-195.

¹⁶⁷ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Sengfu", p.195.

¹⁶⁸ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Huiqian", p.209.

¹⁶⁹ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huirui", p.259.

¹⁷⁰ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Tanying", p.243.

¹⁷¹ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Sengqi", p.239.

before the entrance of Buddhism to China, but it seems for the most part to have been limited to the period of mourning after the death of a relative as an expression of sorrow and self-restraint. This aspect of vegetarianism reflects commonly held associations between meat and luxury.¹⁷² In *GSZ* Huijiao placed much emphasis on the vegetarian diet of monks and took it as one of the virtues of a monk. Examples may be found in the biographies of Huiyong (慧永),¹⁷³ Tanjian (曇鑒),¹⁷⁴ Huiyou (慧猷),¹⁷⁵ Huixun (慧詢),¹⁷⁶ Daoying (道營),¹⁷⁷ and many others. The extreme example was what happened to Fayuan (法願), who was wrongly accused of not observing a vegetable diet. When the Emperor of Xiaowu of Liu Song (宋孝武帝) accused him of only pretending to follow a vegetable diet, he answered that he had kept to the diet for more than ten years. The emperor ordered Shen Youzhi (沈攸之), who was on the duty in the palace, to force Fayuan to eat meat. Fayuan resisted, even when two of his teeth were broken in the struggle. The emperor was furious and then forced him to stop being a monk and made him a palace guard. Huijiao said that although Fayuan looked like a secular person when he temporarily lost his monastic status, in his heart he was still a monk and in his action he never broke monastic laws. He regained his identity as a monk when the emperor died not long afterwards.¹⁷⁸ From numerous examples of monks who kept to a vegetarian diet in *GSZ*, we believe that Huijiao was reflecting a new aspect of Buddhist culture and tradition of the time, and, more importantly, he was

¹⁷² See John Kieschnick, "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China" in Roel Sterckx ed. *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*. (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan Press, 2005), p.193.

¹⁷³ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyong", p.232.

¹⁷⁴ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Tanjian", p.273.

¹⁷⁵ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Tanjian", p.428.

¹⁷⁶ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Huixun", p.430.

¹⁷⁷ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Daoying", p.434.

¹⁷⁸ *GSZ* 13, "Biography of Fayuan", p.518.

trying to take it as a factor to make saints of men of the past and construct the identities of monks.¹⁷⁹

- **Ascetic**

More clear characteristics of the identities of the ascetic are found in some monks who lived as dhuta (頭陀),¹⁸⁰ for the lifestyle is governed by strict demands in Buddhist life and a severe diet. Most monks who lived as dhuta in *GSZ* are found in the categories of practitioners of Meditation (*xichan*) and elucidators of the Vinaya (*minglü*).

The monks who lived as dhuta all practiced meditation as their first obligation and kept strict self-discipline. They all observed a vegetarian diet and recited as many sutras as possible. Zhi Tanlan (支曇蘭)¹⁸¹ and Jingdu (淨渡),¹⁸² for example, both recited 300,000 words of sutras every day. They begged for food, some of them giving up eating cereals and only taking food from trees. Bo Sengguang (帛僧光)¹⁸³ and Daofa (道法)¹⁸⁴ begged for their food from villages and sometimes they would save some food for birds and insects. Sengcong (僧從)¹⁸⁵ only took dates and nuts for food and Facheng (法成)¹⁸⁶ only ate terebinth

¹⁷⁹ See John Kieschnick, "Buddhist Vegetarianism in China" in Roel Sterckx ed. *Of Tripod and Palate: Food, Politics and Religion in Traditional China*. (New York: Palgrave-Macmillan Press, 2005), p.194.

¹⁸⁰ Living as a dhuta means to get rid of the trials of life and having the discipline to remove them and attain nirvana. There are twelve points relating to release from ties to clothing, food, and dwelling: (1) wearing garments of cast-off rags; (2) only the three garments; (3) eat only food begged; (4) eating only breakfast and noon meal; (5) eating no food between them; (6) eating only a limited amount; (7) dwelling as a hermit; (8) living among tombs; (9) living under a tree; (10) living under the open sky; (11) living anywhere; (12) sleeping sitting and not lying down. There are another groups.

¹⁸¹ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Zhi Tanlan", p.407.

¹⁸² *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Jindu", p.416.

¹⁸³ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Bo Sengguang", p.402.

¹⁸⁴ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Daofa", p.420.

¹⁸⁵ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Sengcong", p.417.

¹⁸⁶ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Facheng", p.417.

(*songzhi*, 松脂). They would keep away from the secular world as long as possible: Bo Sengguang stayed in the mountains for fifty-three years¹⁸⁷ and Zhi Tanlan stayed in Mount Chicheng (赤城山) about thirty-three years.¹⁸⁸ They would stay in the places where normally no people would live, like Faxu (法緒) who lived in a graveyard called Liushi zhong (劉師塚) in the mountains where tigers roamed¹⁸⁹ and Fawu (法晤) lived in a place to the south of Mount Fan (樊山) where people had to cut a path through.¹⁹⁰

Apart from their supernatural experiences when practicing meditation and when they died, the monks who lived as dhuta were constructed as ascetics by Huijiao. It seems that Huijiao emphasized their life styles and the places they lived in order to give a strong impression that monks were not concerned with wealth and easy living and were able to give up everything for their religion. The identity of ascetic which Huijiao constructed for the monks in his book was another response to anti-Buddhist propaganda.

• Hermit

Hermit is not one of the categories into which *GSZ* is organised, however, a large number of monks were constructed as hermits in the book. There are some similarities between ascetics and hermits, such as the places they lived and the time they spent away from the secular world. Sometimes the simple lives they lived were also similar to each other. When Alan J. Berkowitz discussed “Buddhist-imbued reclusion” he suggested that even if persons fitting this pattern practiced reclusion on account of their religious beliefs, this pattern of reclusion is

¹⁸⁷ *GSZ* 11, “Biography of Bo Sengguang”, p.402.

¹⁸⁸ *GSZ* 11, “Biography of Zhi Tanlan”, p.407.

¹⁸⁹ *GSZ* 11, “Biography of Faxu”, p.408.

¹⁹⁰ *GSZ* 11, “Biography of Fawu”, p.422.

not necessarily religious. However, he also pointed out that “it might treat ostensible convergences such as religious observance in a monastic, anchoritic, or ascetic mode.”¹⁹¹ However, there is a primary difference between them. To be an ascetic, like the monks who lived as dhuta, the purpose is to experience different kinds of sufferings in human life; to be a hermit, the purpose was rather to pursue personal mental freedom and enjoy the beauty of nature. The hermits in *GSZ* observe one or more of the following: (1) living away from the secular world, usually in a mountain area with beautiful scenery, (2) keeping away from the secular world for a long time, (3) making friends with other hermits, and (4) rejecting invitations from powerful people in the secular world.¹⁹²

There are many monks who lived in an isolated place as hermits for a long time. For example, Sengyi (僧翼) built a thatched cottage in the northwest part of Mount Qinwang (秦望) as the place had nice scenery and lived there for more than thirty years.¹⁹³ Fatong (法通) lived on Zhong Hill (鐘阜) for more than thirty years.¹⁹⁴ Daoheng (道恒) and Daobiao (道標) were classmates when they became monks. When Yao Xing (姚興), the ruler of the Later Qin kingdom (後秦, 384-417), asked them to become officials they fled to a mountain area for the rest of their lives.¹⁹⁵ Among these hermit monks Huiyuan (慧遠) must be the most representative figure. According to *GSZ*, since Huiyuan was attracted by the beautiful scenery of Mount Lu (廬山) he lived a hermit life in the mountain and

¹⁹¹ See Alan J. Berkowitz, *Patterns of Disengagement: The Practice and Portrayal of Reclusion in Early Medieval China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p.208.

¹⁹² Berkowitz suggested that we can observe three common and general characteristics on the recluse, there are: (1) the individuals deliberately and habitually shunned a life of service to the state; (2) they did not compromise their principles; and (3) they displayed commendable conduct. There are a little similar to the discussion in this thesis. See Berkowitz, p.228.

¹⁹³ *GSZ* 13, “Biography of Sengyi”, p.483.

¹⁹⁴ *GSZ* 8, “Biography of Fatong”, p.340.

¹⁹⁵ *GSZ* 6, “Biography of Daoheng”, pp.246-247.

never left the mountain area for more than thirty years. Every time he saw a visitor off, he would take the Tiger Brook (虎溪) as his boundary.¹⁹⁶

In *GSZ* most monks who lived as hermits were not alone: they usually had company. For example, when Huiyuan lived in Mount Lu, his classmate and good friend the monk Huiyong (慧永) had already lived in the mountain for a while.¹⁹⁷ The monk Huiqian (慧虔) also lived in the same mountain for more than ten years,¹⁹⁸ A younger monk Zhu Daosheng (竺道生) spent seven years in Mount Lu when he had just become a monk.¹⁹⁹ There were other hermits, not monks but lay Buddhists, living on the same mountain, such as Liu Yimin of Pengcheng (彭城劉遺民), Lei Cizong of Yuzhang (豫章雷次宗) Zhou Xuzhi of Yanmen (雁門周續之),²⁰⁰ and others. They became a hermit group. The same situation appears in the biography of an earlier monk, Daoan (道安). When Daoan lived in Mount Feilong (飛龍山) as a hermit he was with his classmate Zhu Fatai (竺法汰). At the time the monks Sengxian (僧先) and Daohu (道護) were already living on the mountain.²⁰¹ Another hermit monk group is found in the biography of Zhu Fakuang (竺法曠). When he lived in the Ruoye Brook (若耶溪) area he was with his secular hermit friends Xi Chao (郗超) and Xie Qingxu (謝慶緒).²⁰² At the same time the monk Bo Daoyou (帛道猷) also lived in Mount Ruoye (若耶山)²⁰³ as a hermit.²⁰⁴ There are other cases in *GSZ*. These monk hermits were quite active in the places they lived. They taught, met, entertained each other and some visitors from the outside

¹⁹⁶ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", pp.211-222.

¹⁹⁷ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.212; "Biography of Huiyong", p.231.

¹⁹⁸ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Huiqian", p.209.

¹⁹⁹ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Zhu Daosheng", p.255.

²⁰⁰ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.214.

²⁰¹ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Daoan", p.178; "Biography of Sengxian", p.195.

²⁰² *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Fakuang", p.205.

²⁰³ Ruoye Brook came out from Mount Ruoye and passed the foot of Mount Ruoye, to the south of today's Shaoxing, Zhejiang.

²⁰⁴ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Daoyi", p.207.

world. They were a group and a special community. They were not totally isolated in their hermit life.

The monk hermits were described as free and happy communities by Huijiao. The monk hermits lived contented lives away from the secular world and without disturbances from secular matters, especially political troubles. It seems that Huijiao had constructed a pure land in the human world and the present life.²⁰⁵ Only the monk hermits and their hermit friends could live in this pure land. The identities of the hermits which Huijiao constructed for the monks are therefore equal to the identities of members of the pure land. It seems to me that by constructing the identity of the hermit for the monks in *GSZ* Huijiao also made a strong connection between these monks and some secular hermits who had long been highly regarded for withdrawing from the world and were recorded in the dynastic histories.²⁰⁶ Furthermore it seems to me that by constructing the identity of hermits for the monks in his book Huijiao once again responded to anti-Buddhist propaganda on political issues and cultural feeling of superiority, because the hermit and the member of the pure land were completely not interested in politics. This was very similar to the identity of the hermit which was approved of and highly praised by Chinese traditional values.

²⁰⁵ The idea was inspired by Lin Yuxin and Lü Qifen. See Lin, "Lun Nanchao yinyi sixiang yu fojiao sixiang de ronghe---yi Huiyuan wei kaocha zhongxin." *Zhongxing daxue zhongwen xuebao*, no.17, pp.315-334; Lü, "Sitaiyin dui shengtu zhuan shuxie chuantong de xiandaizhuyishi huiying", *Zhongwai wenxue* 33:10, pp.73-98.

²⁰⁶ Since *Hou Han shu* (後漢書) many dynastic histories had chapters of biographies of hermits, such as *Jin shu*, *Song shu*, *Qi shu* and *Liang shu*. The terms used in the histories have slight differences, sometimes called "Yinyi zhuan (隱逸傳)" sometimes called "Gaoyi zhuan (高逸傳)".

Scholar and *mingshi*

The identity of scholar which Huijiao constructed for the monks in *GSZ* is mostly found in the category of *yijie* (exegetes). The scholar monks in this category not only had rich knowledge about Buddhist sutras but were also well educated in the Confucian classics and other Chinese texts. The scholar is a respected identity in Chinese society even in modern times. We believe that the purpose of Huijiao in constructing the identity of scholar for the monks in his book was to present the monks as becoming respected figures in society. *Mingshi* (名士, famous wit) was a special type of scholar in the gentry during Northern and Southern dynasties with a kind of high cultural status. The identity of *Mingshi* was based on the identity of scholar, but not all scholars were *Mingshi*. *Mingshi* had some characteristics which not every scholar could have. We find that Huijiao reserved many materials and used them in constructing the identity of *Mingshi* for the monks in his book. Having the identity of *Mingshi* helped the monks more easily participate in high social status communities.

• Scholar

In *GSZ* many monks were described by Huijiao as a person learned in both Buddhist sutras and Confucian classics. He used the expression “*nei wai jian xue*” (內外兼學), combining learning in both inner (Buddhist) and external (secular) studies. The Buddhists took Buddhist studies as *neixue*, inner studies, and non-Buddhist studies as *waixue* (外學), outer or secular studies. Almost all the monks in the category of *yijie* (exegetes) in *GSZ* were good at both kinds of learning. Examples include: Senghan (僧含),²⁰⁷ Xuanchang (玄暢),²⁰⁸ Sengqu (僧

²⁰⁷ *GSZ* 7, “Biography of Senghan”, p.276.

據),²⁰⁹ Sengfu (僧富),²¹⁰ and Daozhao (道照).²¹¹ We could compile a much longer list of the monks in *GSZ* with both Buddhist and secular learning.

Some cases in *GSZ* will be helpful to understand the identity of scholar which Huijiao constructed for the monks. Huijiao said that Daoan had rich and wide knowledge not limited to Buddhist sutras. When he stayed in the north he once helped to read and transcribe ancient seal characters from the time of Duke Xiang of Lu (魯襄公, 572B.C.-541B.C.) carved on an antique vessel. On another day Daoan identified and described the functions of an antique container made in Wang Mang's (王莽, 45B.C.-23A.D.) time. Huijiao said that since then Fu Jian ordered his officials to consult with Daoan on any Buddhist or secular questions. People in the northern capital area also had a saying about Daoan's prolific knowledge.²¹²

Huiyan (慧嚴) was so erudite that even He Chengtian of Donghai (東海何承天) who was known as a polymath could not fault him on the topic of the calendar which was used in India. What He Chengtian said was all later confirmed by an Indian monk.²¹³ Sengsheng (僧盛) was especially good at traditional Confucian classics and was revered by many secular scholars. The students in different academies often threatened each other with Sengsheng.²¹⁴ Once Huiyuan preached on *sangfu jing*, (喪服經, the classic text on mourning clothes included in *Yi li* 儀禮) two lay Buddhists Lei Cizong (雷次宗) and Zong Bing (宗炳) were his copyists. Lei worked on his own book on the same topic later on, using Huiyuan's opinions but putting his own name on the book. Zong Bing therefore wrote an

²⁰⁸ *GSZ* 8, "Biography of Xuanchang", p.314.

²⁰⁹ *GSZ* 11, "Biography of Shengqu", p.430.

²¹⁰ *GSZ* 12, "Biography of Shengfu", p.448.

²¹¹ *GSZ* 13, "Biography of Daozhao", p.510.

²¹² *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Daoan", p.181.

²¹³ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huiyan", p.262.

²¹⁴ *GSZ* 8, "Biography of Shengsheng", p.334.

ironic letter to him asking how he could write only his own name on the work as they had both received teaching on this topic from the master.²¹⁵ All these kinds of stories recorded in *GSZ* form the impression that monk scholars were sometimes better in secular learning than secular scholars.

In monastic society studying secular texts, especially Confucian classics, was necessary in medieval days. It was because of *geyi* (格義), a method for explaining Buddhist sutras by using Chinese traditional texts. In *GSZ*, Huijiao said that Zhu Faya (竺法雅) was good at secular traditional studies when he was young and when grown up he became learned in Buddhist knowledge. Many of the gentry came to discuss questions with him, but they seldom really understood Buddhism although they came from high status families with good background. To help those educated people to understand Buddhism Faya therefore employed examples from traditional texts to explain similar texts in sutras. Huijiao said that Faya used *geyi* very flexibly between secular texts and Buddhist sutras.²¹⁶ *Geyi* was used widely by Buddhists when they discussed Buddhist sutras or preached them. We see a similar story in the biography of Huiyuan. When Huiyuan first stood on a preaching dais at twenty-four, he found that it helped his audiences to understand clearly what he was talking about if he used *geyi*. Huijiao said that since then Huiyuan was allowed by his master Daoan to study secular texts continually.²¹⁷ We can easily find more examples about monks using *geyi* in *GSZ*. If a monk used *geyi* in helping to explain Buddhist sutras it implies that he had a good knowledge of secular texts. By giving many cases of how many monks used *geyi* in *GSZ*, Huijiao gives us a clear impression of a strong connection between studying

²¹⁵ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.221.

²¹⁶ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Zhu Faya", p.152.

²¹⁷ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.212.

Buddhist sutras and studying secular texts. It also suggests that Buddhist and Chinese traditional learning were both part of a larger whole.

Many monks had studied secular texts before they became monks. When Zhu Fayi (竺法義) first met Zhu Fashen (竺法深) he was only thirteen. He asked Zhu Fashen why Confucius did not talk about *ren* (kindheartedness, 仁) and *li* (profit, 利). Zhu Fashen was surprised by his talent and suggested he become a monk. The story shows that Zhu Fayi had studied Confucian texts like most educated Chinese children before he joined a monastery.²¹⁸ In Daoan's biography it is said that Daoan surprised his hometown people by his outstanding talent in reciting when he was only seven.²¹⁹ It was reasonable that Daoan had studied some secular traditional texts, mostly Confucian classics, before he became a young monk at twelve. Huiyuan used to be a *zhusheng* (諸生, a student of governmental academies). He had prolific knowledge about Confucian classics and was especially good at the Daoist texts *Laozi* (老子) and *Zhuangzi* (莊子). Huiyuan was not only admired by other students but also by some famous scholars.²²⁰ Huiyuan's younger brother the monk Huichi (慧持) became a monk at eighteen but he had started to study at fourteen. Huijiao said what he read and understood was ten times more than other students. He was good at literature and history.²²¹ Huiyan (慧嚴) also was a *zhusheng* before he became a monk, and it was said that he studied widely in Confucian classics.²²²

When those young men entered monasteries that they did not stop learning secular texts. Huiyuan is a good example of this development as we have discussed.

²¹⁸ GSZ 4, "Biography of Zhu Fayi", p.172.

²¹⁹ GSZ 5, "Biography of Daoan", p.177.

²²⁰ GSZ 6, "Biography of Huiyuan", p.211.

²²¹ GSZ 6, "Biography of Huichi", p.229.

²²² GSZ 7, "Biography of Huiyan", p.260.

We can see two more clear cases here. Daorong (道融) joined a monastery at twelve. His master treasured his talent and arranged for him to study traditional Confucian classics first. Once he went to a village nearby to borrow *Lunyu* (論語). He came back with his hands empty for he had already learned the whole of the book by heart.²²³ Tanhui (曇徽) became one of Daoan's pupils at twelve. Daoan arranged for him to study until he was sixteen and became a real monk. According to his biography, it is said that Tanhui had studied many Confucian classics and histories besides Buddhist sutras during the three years.²²⁴ All these examples tell us that the secular education of young monks did not stop when they joined monasteries. Moreover, it seems that Huijiao suggests that the Chinese tradition of learning was not hindered by Buddhism, but that monasteries were another kind of education centre where the Chinese tradition would be continued and great scholars like Daoan and Huiyuan, sometimes greater than secular scholars, were educated.

• *Mingshi*

Mingshi (名士, famous wit) is another identity which Huijiao constructed for the monks in *GSZ*. By constructing the identity of scholar for the monks in his book Huijiao had already mentally promoted monk's social status to a respected position. By constructing the identity of *Mingshi*, Huijiao was trying to obtain another cultural identity for the monks. The identity of *Mingshi* was a symbol of high cultural level in the society during the period of Northern and Southern dynasties. In the high culture of the age, the identity of *Mingshi* was superior to

²²³ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Daorong", p.241.

²²⁴ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Tanhui", p.202.

any other identity. To be regarded as a *Mingshi* one or more of the following conditions must be met: (1) taking part in *qing tan* (or so-called pure talk, combination of speech, conversation and debate); (2) having wit in reaction and language; (3) making judgments on famous people or being judged by famous people; and (4) special behaviour which was usually more or less against the customs or social manners. There are many monks in *GSZ* who met the criteria in Huijiao's description.

For example, Huijiao said that the temple in which Zhu Fatai (竺法汰) lived was damaged when an aristocrat enlarged his house. The main entrance door of the temple leaned and sank. However, Fatai did not care at all. A relative of the aristocrat, a prince, came to see Fatai and apologized. Fatai was lying down when he received the prince.²²⁵ Huichi (慧持) was tall and good looking. He usually wore a pair of leather slippers and a monk robe only long enough to cover half of his legs. This was not proper clothing for a monk. However, Huichi did not care although there were always people coming to their temple on Mount Lu.²²⁶ Fatai and Huichi were behaving like so-called *Mingshi*. Their acts followed their nature, sometimes offending the conventional manners of educated people. Such behaviour was somehow against the monastic rule in a way; however, Huijiao does not seem opposed to this kind of behaviour. On the contrary, he described this kind of behaviour in a positive way.

Huijiao also recorded, with a positive attitude, many witty reactions and remarks made by the monks. For example, Kang Fachang (康法暢) was asked why he always had his duster with him. He answered at once no honest person would

²²⁵ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Fatai", p.193.

²²⁶ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Huichi", p.229.

take it and he would not give it to a greedy person, so it was always there.²²⁷ Wang Maohong of Langye (琅琊王茂弘) laughed at the Sogdian monk Kang Sengyuan's (康僧淵) high nose and deep eyes. Kang answered that the nose is the mountain of the face and eyes are the lakes of the face. A Mountain would not have spiritual power if it was not high enough and a lake would not be limpid if it was not deep enough. The people who heard of this said that this was a witty answer.²²⁸ Zhu Faqian (竺法潛) came from an aristocratic family. He was the younger brother of Wang Dun (王敦) who was one of the first ministers of the Eastern Jin dynasty. He visited aristocratic families frequently after he became a monk. He was asked satirically one day why a monk had to visit red doors (*zhu men*, 朱門)²²⁹, and he answered at once that it was a red door to you, but a door for me.²³⁰ Huijiao's descriptions give images of people who reacted quickly and spoke wittily. It was a kind of cultural identity which only a person who came from a good family and was well educated could have.

We find that many monks in *GSZ* are described attending *qing tan* and earning very high honour from it. Among them are: Sengzhao (僧肇),²³¹ Zhu Daosheng (竺道生),²³² Huiguan (慧觀),²³³ Tanbin (曇斌),²³⁴ Daoyou (道猷) and others.²³⁵ The name list could be as long as that of scholars. Almost all the monk scholars in *GSZ* also had the identity of *mingshi*. Many monks were associated with other

²²⁷ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Kang Sengyuan", p.151; also see *Shishuo xinyu* (世說新語) "Yanyu pian (言語篇)".

²²⁸ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Kang Sengyuan", p.151; also see *Shishuo xinyu* "Paidiao pian (排調篇)".

²²⁹ Red-door means aristocracy family or powerful family.

²³⁰ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Zhu Faqian", pp.156-157.

²³¹ *GSZ* 6, "Biography of Sengzhao", p.249.

²³² *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Zhu Daosheng", p.255.

²³³ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Huiguan", p.264.

²³⁴ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Tanbin", p.291.

²³⁵ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Daoyou", p.299.

secular scholars and *mingshi*. Zhi Xiaolong (支孝龍) was a close friend of Ruan Zhan of Chenliu (陳留阮瞻) and Yu Kai of Yingchuan (潁川庾凱).²³⁶ Sometimes the monks were compared to other famous people, usually famous scholars and *mingshi*. Yu Falan (于法蘭) was compared to Ruan Ji (阮籍),²³⁷ Zhu Faqian (竺法潛) was compared to Liu Ling (劉伶).²³⁸ Sometimes monks are asked to make judgments on famous people, like Sengbao (僧苞) was asked to make a judgment on Xie Lingyun.²³⁹ From Huijiao's description we see the monks were accepted and highly regarded in high society for they belonged to it, they were monks and *mingshi*.

Considering the social reality of how people regarded a *mingshi* and how they thought about a monk in Huijiao's time, it is understandable why Huijiao wanted to construct the identity of *mingshi* for the monks in his book. By constructing the identity of *mingshi*, Huijiao once again played down the non-Chinese aspects of Buddhism and showed people that monks could be equal to those who stood on the top of Chinese society and Chinese culture. A monk was not an uncivilized barbarian but a highly civilized man, like a *mingshi*.

Other problems

There were still some identity problems that Huijiao could not solve. One was the identity of filial son, another one is the political identity of monks.

Filial duty, *xiao* (孝), was central to Confucian values. A monk had to cut off ties to his birth family, and was thus unable to fulfill those duties. It seems that

²³⁶ GSZ 4, "Biography of Zhi Xiaolong", p.149.

²³⁷ GSZ 4, "Biography of Yu Falan", p.166.

²³⁸ GSZ 4, "Biography of Zhu Faqian", p.157.

²³⁹ GSZ 7, "Biography of Sengbao", p.271.

Huijiao avoided the problem deliberately. He only mentioned a few cases in *GSZ* and all in a brief description, sometimes just in one or two short sentences. When he could do so he emphasized how future monks had been filial sons before leaving the secular world. In the biography of Zhu Sengdu (竺僧度), he said Zhu Sengdu was a filial son; he did all he could do to serve his parents.²⁴⁰ In the biography of Daowen (道溫), Huijiao just said that Daowen was known as a filial son.²⁴¹ Zhu Fakuang (竺法曠) and Daoheng (道恒) also were both known as filial sons for they been dutiful in serving their stepmothers.²⁴² Only in the biography of Sengjing (僧鏡) did Huijiao describe at a little more length how Sengjing was a more filial son than others. When Sengjing's mother died, he made his mother's grave and planted trees around it all by himself. He also lived beside his mother's grave for three years.²⁴³ The biographies which mentioned about how a monk was a filial son, including the foreign monks, were less than ten in *GSZ*.

About the political identity of the monks, it seems that Huijiao did not regard it as an important issue. He did not make negative judgment in the biography of Daoan on his staying in Chang'an and acting as the non-Chinese ruler Fu Jian's imperial adviser for so many years. In fact Huijiao suggested that monks who stayed on under a non-Chinese regime might help protect the people under its rule. In the biography of Daoan, Huijiao describes how Daoan tried his best to dissuade Fu Jian from invading the south.²⁴⁴ In the biography of Fotucheng Huijiao expressed high regard for Fotucheng because Fotucheng stayed with the ruling

²⁴⁰ *GSZ* 4, "Biography of Zhu Sengdu", p.173.

²⁴¹ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Daowen", p.287.

²⁴² *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Zhu Fakuang", p.205; "Biography of Daoheng", p.246

²⁴³ *GSZ* 7, "Biography of Sengjing" p.293.

²⁴⁴ *GSZ* 5, "Biography of Daoan" p.182.

family of the Later Zhao regime and advised Shi Hu not to kill innocent people.²⁴⁵

As we have seen, Huijiao's main goal was to construct positive identities for monks that were valued in Chinese culture. He constructed many kinds of cultural identities for the monks in his book by emphasizing the monks' abilities to benefit the state and the people. He emphasized the connections between educated Chinese and the monks and showed monks as men of education and culture who were able to obtain respect from people of high social status. By constructing the many kinds of cultural identities which I have discussed Huijiao was responding to the anti-Buddhist propaganda.

²⁴⁵ *GSZ* 9, "Biography of Fotucheng", pp.351,356 .

Chapter 3

***Luoyang qielan ji* and identities recreated by Yang Xuanzhi**

As we have seen in the previous chapter, for Huijiao, the issue of identity was how to make monks more acceptable to educated Chinese while maintaining their identity as monks. The issue of identity of Yang Xuanzhi (楊銜之), the author of *Luoyang qielan ji* (洛陽伽藍記), was more complicated than Huijiao's. Huijiao could focus on religion but Yang had to also concern himself with identity questions and politics and ethnic problems at the same time. Under the complex circumstances Yang Xuanzhi created identities for his lost capital Luoyang in different respects to show what he thought about identity and culture.

The Book and the author's purpose in writing

Luoyang qielan ji (LYQLJ), “Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang” written by Yang Xuanzhi, is a book on the history and city geography of Luoyang when it was the capital city of the Northern Wei dynasty.

The book contains five chapters, one for the area within the inner wall of the city and four for the extensive suburbs outside this wall. The five chapters are made up of topographical entries organized around the city's primary Buddhist monasteries and nunneries. The accounts of the city in LYQLJ are accompanied by anecdotes and stories which appear within the text, as a kind of supplemental statement or annotation. Some scholars claimed that the writing form of

LYQLJ—“*he ben zi zhu* (合本子注)”, the text together with its annotations, is affected by the form of Buddhist sutras and was regarded as a new developing form of literature since Northern and Southern dynasties.¹

In the so-called annotation of the text there is much information about people and events associated with the monastic establishments of Luoyang city. Many monastic establishments of Luoyang had been the houses of royalty or aristocrats until their secular owners perished in the disorder of Luoyang’s last years. The information is much more vivid and attractive than the main text which is like a monotonous city guidebook. However, the two aspects of the book, the geographical writing which appears as main text and the historical writing which appears as annotations, are in fact indivisible, and they complement each other. As Professor Lin pointed out, we may regard the main text of *LYQLJ* as geographical writing and the annotation as historical writing; we may see the cold brain and rational pen of the author in the main text, and in the annotations we feel how the author’s heart was filled with hot blood and how his pen was turned into a passionate one.²

There is no direct information to tell us when the book was written, apart from what the author Yang Xuanzhi said in the preface to the book. He said “In the

¹ Chen Yinqe (陳寅恪) was the most important scholar to hold this opinion. See Chen, “Zhi Mindu xueshuo kao” (支愍度學說考) and “Du Luoyang qielan ji shu hou” (讀洛陽伽藍記書后), in *Jinminguan conggao chubian* (金明館叢稿初編) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1980), pp.141-167 and *Jinminguan conggao erbian* (金明館叢稿二編) (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chuban she, 1980), pp.150-160. Also see “Chong kan Luoyan qielan ji xu” (重刊洛陽伽藍記序): “Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji Chen xu” (重刊洛陽伽藍記陳序) both in Xu Gaoruan (徐高阮), *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji* (重刊洛陽伽藍記) (Taipei: Zhongyang yangjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1960); also see Fan Ziyue (范子燁), “Luoyang qielan ji de wenti tezheng yu zhonggu foxue” (洛陽伽藍記的文體特徵與中古佛學), *Wenxue yichan* (文學遺產) 6, 1998.

² Lin Wenyu (林文月), “Luoyang qielan ji de leng bi yu re bi (洛陽伽藍記的冷筆與熱筆)”, in *Zhonggu wenxue luncong* (中古文學論叢) (Taipei: Daan chuban she, 1989).

ding-mao (丁卯) year, the fifth year of *wuding*(武定, 547), my official duty brought me back to Luoyang.”³ According to Jenner’s research, *LYQLJ* was conceived and written between 547, when the author Yang Xuanzhi visited the site of Luoyang on a mission for the Eastern Wei regime, and late 549 or early 550.⁴ As Yang Xuanzhi said, also in the preface of his book, the reason for writing the book was to record his memories of Luoyang’s prosperity and let people not forget the glorious days of the capital city in the past.⁵

However, what Yang Xuanzhi said is only the ostensible purpose of the book; his ambition was more than that. Professor Jenner’s opinion will give us a clearer idea of Yang’s purpose. He said that the book is the earliest substantial account of a Chinese city to survive, and this gives it a general value to the historian extending beyond the mass of evidence it gives us on city, state, and society as the Northern Wei regime slid from apparently unbounded wealth and power to humiliating impotence. As a document of the decades immediately following Luoyang’s destruction it is also a reflection of, and commentary upon, a profound crisis for the Han-Chinese aristocratic culture that had flourished there.⁶ So the purpose of writing the book was not only for memory but for giving Yang’s view of the history of the Northern Wei when its capital was Luoyang. His concern was with the Han-Chinese culture in crisis. And, I will add that there is a concealed purpose, the identity question, which Yang Xuanzhi was addressing with his writing.

³ See Yang Yong (楊勇), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaojian* (洛陽伽藍記校箋), (Taipei: Zhengwen shuju, 1882), p.1. The English translation in this chapter will follow Professor W. J. F. Jenner’s translation which was contained in his book *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

⁴ See Yang Yong, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaojian*, p.1; Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital*, p.15.

⁵ See Yang Yong, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaojian*, p.2.

⁶ W. J. F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-chih and the lost capital*, p.3.

The Author of *Luoyang qielan ji*—Yang Xuanzhi

Direct information about the author of *LYQLJ*, Yang Xuanzhi, is very limited. It is very difficult to know the place his family originated from, the years of his birth and death, or any information about his friends and associates. We only know his name and a few pieces of self-statement about his official titles and the events he participated in, which can aid our search for autobiographical details within the text. Even his family name is uncertain although its pronunciation is clear. We cannot be sure which Chinese character is the correct word for his family name; it could be 陽 or 羊 or 楊. However, there is a reasonable assumption based on Jenner's research which suggests that Yang Xuanzhi was very possibly one of Yang Gu's (陽固) five sons.

Yang Gu (465-523) was a member of a gentry family in north China. His family had produced several officials for generations. Yang Gu devoted himself to both military and scholarly matters.⁷ His eldest son was Yang Xiuzhi (陽休之, 509-582), who rose to quite high office under the Northern Wei and later served the Eastern Wei (東魏), Northern Qi (北齊) and Sui (隋). He was among other things an official historian, helping to compile the “Diaries of activity and repose” (起居注, *qi-ju-zhu*) for the last emperor of the Northern Wei.⁸ According to Yang Xiuzhi's biographies, he prepared the documents for the Wei abdication to Qi. If Yang Xiuzhi was a brother or a cousin of Yang Xuanzhi, that might explain why Yang Xuanzhi had access to palace records and was privy to court secrets and knew much about what happened at court which became materials for his book. A

⁷ See *Wei shu* 72 “Biography of Yang Gu 陽固” attached to “Biography of Yang Ni (陽尼)”; also in *Bei shi* 47, “Biography of Yang Gu”, attached to “Biography of Yang Ni”.

⁸ *Wei shu* 72 and *Bei shi* 47; *Beiqi shu* 42 and *Beiqi shu* 30.

younger brother of Yang Xiuzhi, Yang Chenzhi (陽林之), chose to stand with the Western Wei regime when the Northern Wei ended.⁹ It shows that the brothers stood in different political positions. Another younger brother of Yang Xiuzhi was Yang Junzhi (陽俊之). He was also both an official and a writer. However, Yang Junzhi's writing was licentious and of poor quality. His "coarse and crude" hexasyllabic verses known as "Yang the Fifth's Friend" (Yang wu banlü, 陽五伴侶) were widely quoted and sold in Ye as the work of an ancient worthy.¹⁰ This is reminiscent of a writer who was fond of writing comic literature in *LYQLJ*.¹¹

There are only three pieces of information related to Yang Xuanzhi's career in *LYQLJ*. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that he was a court guest (*feng-chao-qing*, 奉朝請), a post involving few substantive duties which offered an apprenticeship in court life for well-born young, in the years of Yong'an (永安, 528-530).¹² In the preface to the book Yang mentioned that he visited Luoyang again because of his duties in 547, implying that he was an official then, when the Northern Wei had already fallen. The third piece of information we have is the title which was placed on the first page of the book in all editions. The title is *fujunfu sima* (撫軍府司馬), the first assistant to a general. The other two official titles Yang Xuanzhi held are found in other books: a prefect of Qicheng (in Piyang county, southern Henan)¹³ and a keeper of the Palace Archives¹⁴ in which post, as Jenner has pointed out, he would have had access to the state documents personally on which he drew in

⁹ *Bei shi* 47.

¹⁰ *Bei shi* 47.

¹¹ See Yang Yong's *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.93.

¹² *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.63

¹³ *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶記) 9, *Ta Tang neidian lu* (大唐內典論) 4 and *Fa yuan zhu lin* (法苑珠林) 119 cited in Fan Xiangyong (范祥擁), *Luoyang qielan ji jiaozhu* (洛陽伽藍記校注). p.356. *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (續高僧傳) 1, p16a.

¹⁴ *Guang hong ming ji* (廣弘明集) 6, p.12a.

writing his memoir of Luoyang.¹⁵

Yang Xuanzhi's attitude to religion is another problem to today's readers. In a Buddhist encyclopedia *Guang hongming ji* (廣弘明集), its compiler, the Tang monk Daoxuan (道宣), said that Yang objected to the extravagance and avarice of the Buddhist monasteries and temples and the damage they did to the state and the people. According to Daoxuan Yang wrote *LYQLJ* to show how Buddhism showed no concern for the people.¹⁶ In another Buddhist collection *Jingde chuandenglu* (景德傳燈錄), the Northern Song monk Daoyuan (道原) gives us almost completely contradictory information that Yang was a lay Buddhist since he was young. Daoyuan also quoted conversations about Buddhism between Yang and Bodhidharma.¹⁷ Both pieces of information about Yang's religious attitude are problematical in the absence of more persuasive evidence. However, no matter whether Yang was a Buddhist, an anti-Buddhist or neutral it is clear that he was deeply concerned about Buddhism in the Luoyang period of the Northern Wei dynasty.

As most of his life Yang lived in Luoyang under Northern Wei rule his ethnic identity must remain a matter for conjecture; even if it is very likely he was Han Chinese, his cultural identity, is clear. We have his strong pride in the highly developed Han culture of Luoyang in the past and up to its recent abandonment and his dislike of some non-Han Chinese, but not of the ruling Tuoba (拓跋), and of some educated Chinese from the south, *jiang nan* (江南). His excellent writing skills prove that he was a man well educated in Chinese culture and tradition. Moreover, by reading through his book we find that in fact identity is a big issue,

¹⁵ Jenner, p.15.

¹⁶ See *Guang hong ming ji*.

¹⁷ See *Jingde chuandenglu* (景德傳燈錄) ch.3, "Biography of Bodhidharma".

or we can say a central issue, in *LYQLJ*.

The circumstances of writing *Luoyang qielan ji*

When Yang Xuanzhi visited Luoyang again on his official duties in 547 the Northern Wei had been divided into two regimes, each keeping the dynastic name Wei, for more than ten years. The Eastern Wei was dominated by Gao Huan (高歡, 496-547) who placed on the throne a puppet emperor Xiao Jing (孝靜帝, r.534-550), Yuan Shanjian (元善見), and moved his capital to Ye. The Western Wei was controlled by Yuwen Tai (宇文泰, 505-556) with another puppet emperor Wen Di (文帝, r. 535-551), Yuan Baoju (元寶炬) in their new capital Chang'an. Yuwen Tai was originally non-Chinese in blood. Gao Huan was probably of Chinese origin but had lived on the northern frontier and absorbed non-Chinese culture. Gao and his family were much less Chinese in their culture than Yuwen, but he was much stronger in the numbers of the military forces than his opponent.¹⁸

As a northern frontier soldier, Gao Huan had risen quite smoothly and quickly through his martial and political abilities from obscurity to become the dominant figure of Luoyang's last period. He had strengthened his position still further by moving the capital eastwards to Ye (鄴) in 534. He carefully observed the form of respect due to a sovereign to his puppet emperor while maintaining real control of the state from his military headquarters at Jinyang (晉陽, Taiyuan, Shanxi). He placed his trusted men in key positions in his political system in Ye, but he allowed the young emperor and his court a measure of dignity in order to make a show of

¹⁸ See Wan Shengnan (萬繩楠) ed., *Chen Yinque Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi jiangyan lu* (陳寅恪魏晉南北朝史講演錄) (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000), pp.292-300.

loyalty and used it to command loyalty from others. He kept the high-born Han bureaucrats at the capital and the non-Han soldiers and tribal leaders out of each others' way as far as possible.

However, things changed when Gao Huan died in 547. His son Gao Cheng (高澄) succeeded him as a dictator. Unlike his father, Gao Cheng did not show his respect to the puppet emperor who was three or four years younger than him. He had a very bad relationship with the young emperor. He sent subordinates to spy on him, ordered him to be struck, and insulted him publicly. The young emperor unable to bear the humiliation recited a verse once to hint at his wishes. Some of his men including a number of Wei princes and Han officials were encouraged by his verse to conspire with the emperor in an unsuccessful attempt to kill Gao Cheng. Some conspirators were executed; many members of the royal family died, and the emperor was imprisoned in the palace. Although Gao Cheng successfully foiled that attempt to reassert Wei imperial power, he was not to enjoy his victory for long. In the seventh month of 549 he was killed by a kitchen slave. It seemed a good chance for the Wei house to recover its lost power, but they could not use it. Gao Yang (高洋, 529-559), the cooler and younger brother of Gao Cheng, succeeded to his brother's dictatorship at once. Nearly one year later, the young emperor finally formally abdicated under Gao Yang's threats and the political reality. Gao Yang founded a new dynasty in 550, the Northern Qi (550-577).

It was under this kind of circumstances that Yang Xuanzhi wrote down his memories. For a man like Yang, well educated in Han Chinese culture, who had lived in a great Chinese city for half of his life and experienced its glory, what the Gao family had done simply went against his life experiences and his expectation of civilization. As Jenner has pointed out, Yang's positive characters in his account

of Luoyang are the unfortunate emperors tossed aside or killed at an earlier dictator's whim, and the princes and well-born Han officials who supported them; for these were the groups whose position was most gravely threatened by the new state system of the Gao family. His villains are low-born favourites, dictators, and others who challenge legitimacy.¹⁹

Yang Xuanzhi's loyalty to the Northern Wei was not simply devotion to the ruling house or to the state but to the Han Chinese culture which was led by the ruling house since Emperor Xiao wen di. What Yang was apparently concerned with was not the ethnic difference between Han and non-Han but was between Han culture and non-Han culture since the basis of the Northern Wei politics in the Luoyang period was accommodation of Han Chinese culture. The circumstance of serious struggles between the Gao family and the Wei house led to serious worries for Yang. Whether the great Han Chinese culture on which Yang Xuanzhi's identity was based would be destroyed like the destruction of Luoyang must have been a heavy burden to him especially when he saw Luoyang's ruin. We believe that Yang's lament for the old capital was much more than an expression of nostalgia; we understand why imperial legitimacy is so great a concern in his pages, and why the misfortunes of the last emperors who reigned in Luoyang are dwelt on at such length, for all these are related to his identity and the identities of the people like him.

The identities Yang Xuanzhi recreated for Northern Wei Luoyang

In *LYQLJ* Yang Xuanzhi recreated many different identities for Northern Wei Luoyang. The identities included: physical identity, historical identity, religious

¹⁹ Jenner. *Memories*, p.7.

identity as a Buddhist city, identity as an international city and the identity as a Han Chinese city.

Physical identity and the Yongning Monastery

Among the identities Yang Xuanzhi recreated for Luoyang, physical identity came naturally first. In the last chapter of his book he tells us about how large the city was. He said:

The capital measured 20 *li* from the east to west 15 *li* from north to south; over 109,000 households lived in it. Apart from temples of the soil, palaces, and government offices, a 300-pace square made up a ward, which had four gates.....there were a total of 320 wards and 1376 monasteries, of which 421 remained in Luoyang when the capital was moved to Ye-cheng (鄴城) in the first year of Tianping (天平, 534).²⁰

According to Jenner's research and calculation the city was about 7,992 x 10,650 metres and the population was probably more than 600,000 people. It was greater than Beijing (北京) in the Qing (清) dynasty and rivaled for size only by some great cities in the world, like Rome, Constantinople and Han Chang'an in or before its own time. However, these cities had grown over centuries, Northern Wei Luoyang was only built within a short time, about one year from its planning to finishing the main construction with other construction continuing for another decade. Even in modern times it is hard to find so large a city being created so fast from virtually nothing. As Jenner said it is easy to overlook the sheer size of the city in Yang's anecdotal pages, but it was intended from the beginning to be

²⁰ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.244. Jenner, *Memories*, p.271.

enormous.²¹

However, this great city is given a plain and ordinary introduction by its author in the preface. Yang Xuanzhi introduces the gates in the four sides of the inner city of Luoyang at first. For example, he said:

In the eastern wall of the city there were three gates. The northernmost of these was called the Jianchun (建春, Establishing Spring) Gate.

To the south of this was the Dongyang (東陽, Eastern Glory) Gate.

The next to the south was the Qingyang (青陽, Green Glory) Gate.

In the southern wall of the city there were four gates.

The easternmost was the Kaiyang (開陽) Gate.

The next gate to the west was the Pingchang (平昌) Gate.

Next again to the west was the Xuanyang (宣陽, Glory Proclaimed) Gate.

West again was the Jinyang (津陽, North of the Ford) Gate.²²

Under each gate he added some information about its history. He did not give any descriptions of those city walls and gates. The inner city and its gates on four sides of city wall were like an grid. The other four parts of the city were connected through the gates. The order of chapters in *LYQLJ* is from east, south, and west and north, in a clockwise direction. When Yang introduced the gates, he was guiding his readers to walk around the city wall with him in their memory or imaginations and organize the city in their minds.

Although the introduction of the city walls and its gates in the preface gives

²¹ Jenner, *Memories*, p.104.

²² *LYQLJ* preface, pp.2-3; Jenner, *Memories*. p.143.

us a clear impression we should not forget Yang's intention to show how big the city was. The Northern Wei city spread far beyond the East Han city walls. He also emphasizes size and magnificence in describing the monasteries in the city. When his readers walked in their imagination through Changhe (閶闔) Gate they would see the greatest landmark of Northern Wei Luoyang, the most magnificent monastery in the whole book, Yongning (Eternal peace) Monastery (永寧寺), the first monastery in the first chapter. Yang's detailed descriptions of this monastery are the longest for any monastery in the book, and give the readers a sense of its grandeur and beauty beyond imagination; he also recounts many tragic events there in the course of the downfall of the Northern Wei. He used numbers to show how high the Yongning pagoda was: the wooden main structure of the pagoda was 900 feet high, with another 100 feet to the top of its golden pole, making a total height of 1,000 feet. He mentions that you could see the pagoda 100 *li* from the capital. He also tells you that when the bells chimed in harmony deep on a windy night they could be heard over ten *li* away. Yang's detailed descriptions of Northern Wei Luoyang still provide very helpful resources for modern archeological research.²³

Yang continues to give us numbers. The pagoda was nine-storeyed, and 120 bells hung from all the corners. On each of the four sides of the pagoda were three doors and six windows. On the leaves of the doors were five rows of golden studs, a total of 5,400 studs. When the pagoda was burned down in the second month of the third year of Yongxi (永熙, 534) the fire lasted three months before going out; it went into the ground to look for the foundation piles, and smoke came out for a

²³ Much archaeological work on the exploration and reconstruction of Northern Wei Luoyang draws heavily on the descriptions in *LYQLJ*. See, for example, Luoyang shi wenwuju (洛陽市文物局) ed. *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng yanjiu* (漢魏洛陽故城研究), Beijing: Kexue chubanshe (科學出版社), 2000.

whole year. In the fifth month of the same year someone came from Donglai (東萊) with the news that a dazzling bright pagoda looking just as if it were new had appeared in the sea, where it had been seen by all the inhabitants of the coast before a mist arose to conceal it.²⁴ All these descriptions suggest an enormous pagoda in an extraordinarily large monastery.

Yang also emphasized how much gold was used in constructing Yongning pagoda and its attachments and the Buddha statues in Yongning Monastery. He tells us that the 100 feet high pole on the top of the pagoda was golden, and on the top of the pole was a golden precious vase with a capacity of 25 bushels. Yang tells us how heavy this golden vase was: when it was blown down by a hurricane in 526, it fell over ten feet into the ground, and artisans were instructed to cast a new one. 120 bells and 5400 small bells were golden, an 18-foot-high Buddha statue in the Buddha Hall of the north of the pagoda was golden with another ten man-sized gold statues.²⁵ There was more gold and silver, pearls and jade used in this construction. All these descriptions lead up to Yang's simple conclusion: 'the scale of the building was so excessive'. He did not use strong words to criticize this indulgence and wastefulness. However, by emphasizing the extravagance of this temple, the first he describes in his book, he suggests that the city of which it was the landmark was also flawed by such excess.

Yongning Monastery was also a tragic place. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that in 528 the non-Chinese cavalry leader Erzhu Rong (爾朱榮), Prince of Taiyuan (太原王), assembled his troops in this monastery. Erzhu Rong was the one who created the Tragedy of Heyin (河陰之變) in 528 in which his troops killed thousands of

²⁴ *LYQLJ* pp.11-17; Jenner's *Memories* pp.147-163.

²⁵ See note 24.

Luoyang's top people, including the Empress Dowager Hu (胡太后) and her child emperor, princes, aristocrats and officials. The Heyin massacre was a spectacular and horrible ending to Luoyang's years of splendour. Yang also tells us that when Yuan Hao (元颢), Prince of Beihai (北海王), a Northern Wei prince who had fled to Liang in the south, re-entered Luoyang in 529 he too mustered his troops in this monastery. And in 530 the rebel Erzhu Zhao (爾朱兆) imprisoned the Emperor Zhuang (莊帝, r.528-530), Yuan Ziyou (元子攸), in this temple. As the most magnificent monastery in Luoyang city and as a Buddhist institution, Yongning Monastery ironically became a prison, a military camp and the temporary home of murderers. Yongning Monastery was representative of all monasteries in Luoyang and of Luoyang city. It symbolized how Luoyang's physical magnificence ended in tragedy.

At the end of the section on the Yongning Monastery, Yang Xuanzhi tells us the monastery was burned down in the second month of 534. In the seventh month of the same year, the Prince of Pingyang (平陽王), Yuan Xiu (元修), also identified as Xiaowu di (孝武帝) or Chu di (出帝; r.532-534), the last emperor of Northern Wei, fled to Chang'an under compulsion from Husi Chun (斛斯椿), the military controller of Luoyang. In the tenth month of the year the capital was transferred to Ye. In this account of the Yongning Monastery Yang Xuanzhi brought together the fates of the monastery, the state and the capital city, Luoyang. When the Yongning pagoda was burned down, with hindsight this disaster was seen as heralding the end of the city; and the image of flames and smoke devouring this breath-taking red-lacquered tower hung with gold that had been raised over the capital in its years of glory is a spectacular symbol of the end of Luoyang. The physical identity of Luoyang was thus connected to its historical identity.

Historical identity

Yang Xuanzhi also recreated a historical identity for Northern Wei Luoyang. The historical identity he recreated for the city was based on making connections between Northern Wei Luoyang and the earlier Han Chinese cities on the site, and the way he talked about the history of Northern Wei Luoyang,

Making connections between Northern Wei Luoyang and the earlier Han Chinese history

In *LYQLJ* we see how often Yang Xuanzhi connects Northern Wei Luoyang with earlier Han Chinese history and recreates the historical identity for this capital city that meant so much to him and to the people like him. Historical references often come up in his stories about the monasteries, gates, houses and other buildings in Luoyang.

The most simple way to make the connection between Northern Wei Luoyang and earlier Chinese history was to mention that buildings were on the site of structures built under earlier Chinese dynasties, which formed a heritage for the Northern Wei capital. For example, when Yang Xuanzhi introduced the gates in the four sides of the city at the beginning of the book, he said that many gates were built in earlier Chinese dynasties. In the eastern wall of the city there were three gates. The northernmost of these was called the Jianchun (建春, Establishing Spring) Gate. During the Han it had been called the Shangdong (上東, First East) Gate. This gate mentioned in a poem by Ruan Ji (阮籍, 210-263).²⁶ Jianchun was the Cao Wei (曹魏) and Jin (晉) name, which Gao zu (高祖) followed. To the

²⁶ See *Zhao ming wen xuan* 23.

south of this was the Dongyang (東陽, Eastern Glory) Gate, which had been called Zhongdong (中東, Middle East) Gate in the Eastern Han (東漢). Dongyang was the Cao Wei and Jin name that Gao zu followed.²⁷ Such statements tell us that when the Emperor Xiao wen of the Northern Wei (北魏孝文帝) constructed and moved to Luoyang he not only inherited a historical site but also its history.

The earlier historical associations of other places in the city are mentioned. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that over one *li* outside the Jianchun Gate was the Eastern Stone Bridge that had been built in the first year of *taikang* (太康, 280) during the Jin. South of the bridge had been the Horse Market of Cao Wei times where Ji Kang (嵇康) was executed.²⁸ East of the Chongyi ward was the stone-built Seven Li Bridge (七里橋) where in Jin times Du Yu (杜預) rested on his way to Jingzhou (荊州).²⁹

Although some places were changed in Northern Wei Luoyang, Yang Xuanzhi still pointed out their earlier histories which connected with people's lives in his time. For example, two *li* outside the Dongyang Gate (東陽門) and north of the imperial highway there was the Huiwen ward (暉文里) which contained the house of the Grand Protector Cui Guang (崔光), the Grand Instructor Li Yanshi (李延實), the Governor of Jizhou (冀州刺史) Li Shao (李韶), and the Privy Secretary Zheng Daozhao (鄭道昭). Sumptuous halls rose where huge gateways opened on cavernous depths. It said that Huiwen ward used to be the Madao ward (馬道里) of Jin times, Li Yanshi's house was the house of Liu Chan (劉禪) the Shu (蜀) monarch, and east of it was Harmony Mansion in which the Wu ruler Sun Hao (孫皓) lived. Li Shao's house had been that of the Jin Lord Chancellor Zhang Hua (張

²⁷ *LYQLJ*, Preface, p.2; Jenner, p.143.

²⁸ *LYQLJ* ch. 2, p.77; Jenner, p.181.

²⁹ *LYQLJ* ch. 2, p.83; Jenner, p.185.

華).³⁰ A pool inside the Zhaoyi (昭儀) Convent was said to belong to the house of the Jin dynasty Imperial Assistant Shi Chong (石崇). South of the pool had been his beloved concubine Green Pearl's (綠珠) Pavilion. Those who passed by thought they saw the beauty Green Pearl.³¹

Some anecdotes are ghost stories. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that three *li* outside the Qingyang Gate to the north of the imperial highway was the Xiaoyi (孝義, Filial Piety) ward, in the north-west corner of which was the grave-mound of the Warring States strategist Su Qin (蘇秦). Beside this tomb was the Baoming (寶明) Monastery. The monks often saw Su Qin going in and out of the tomb with a ceremonial retinue of chariots and horses, just like a modern chief minister.³² The ghost of Su Qin lived with Luoyang's inhabitants just like their neighbours. The story of Su Qin appeared again in the section on the Datong (大統) Monastery. Yang tells us that south of the monastery was the house of the assistant to the Senior Ministers Gao Xianluo (高顯洛). On several nights he saw a red glow moving around in front of his hall; and after digging over ten feet deep below the place where the glow was seen he found 100 pounds of gold inscribed: 'The family gold of Su Qin. May the finder perform good deeds on my behalf.' Gao Xianluo then built the Zhaofu (招福) Monastery. People said that this had been the site of Su Qin's house.³³ This story, it seems to me, was not only telling that the ghost of Su Qin lived with the people in Northern Wei Luoyang but also telling that the early history had a strong influence on their lives. A similar story was told in the section on the Xiufan (修梵) Monastery. North of the monastery was the Yonghe

³⁰ *LYQLJ* ch. 2, pp.87-88. Jenner, p.186.

³¹ *LYQLJ*, ch. 1, p.53; Jenner, p.170.

³² *LYQLJ* ch. 2, p.112. Jenner, p.200.

³³ *LYQLJ* ch. 3, p.131. Jenner, p.210.

(永和) ward in which had been the house of the Han dynasty Grand Commander Dong Zhuo (董卓). In the north and south of the ward were ponds that had been dug by Dong Zhuo and still held water, never going dry in summer or winter. This was known as a grand ward. Digging here often yielded gold, jade, and precious trinkets: cinnabar and several hundred thousand copper cash with an inscription saying that they all belonged to the Grand Commander Dong Zhuo were dug up in Xing Luan's (邢巒) house. Later Dong Zhuo came by night to demand them from Xing Luan, who refused to give them up. A year later he dropped dead.³⁴

In *LYQLJ* there are many mentions of digging up antiques or ancient remains. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that inside the Xiyang (西陽) Gate was the Yongkang (永康) ward in which was the house of the Commanding General Yuan Yi (元乂). When an old well was being re-dug a stone inscription was found that said this was the house of the Han Great Marshal Xun Yu (荀彧).³⁵ South of the Zhaoyi Convent, lay the Yishou (宜壽, Helping Longevity) ward in which was the house of Duan Hui, the magistrate of Baoxin county (苞信縣). In this house the sound of a bell was often heard coming from underground and a light of many colours regularly shone in the main hall. When he had the place where the light shone excavated they found a gold statue some three feet high with two bodhisattvas. It was inscribed at the base 'Made for the Imperial Assistant and Head of the Secretariat Xun Xu (荀勗) on the fifteenth of the fifth month in the second year of *taishi* (太始, 266) in the Jin.' It was generally agreed that this must have been the house of Xun Xu.³⁶ There was a three-storeyed pagoda in the Baoguang (寶光) Monastery which was built on a very old stone and this was evidence that the Stone Pagoda

³⁴ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, p.58; Jenner, p.172.

³⁵ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, p.40. Jenner, pp.163-164.

³⁶ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, p.54. Jenner, pp.170-171.

Monastery of the Jin dynasty used to be here, the only survivor of forty-two Buddhist temples of Jin Luoyang. The monks also found a well and an ancient bathroom and several dozen flagstones below the bathroom by digging a place in the garden covered by luxuriant fruit and vegetables.³⁷ All this implies that earlier Chinese history formed the backdrop to Luoyang people and their lives and that history had a material presence. This was related to what Yang Xuanzhi wrote about the history of last period of the Northern Wei and the reason why he wrote it.

The way Yang Xuanzhi talked about the history of Northern Wei Luoyang

The way Yang Xuanzhi talked about the history of Northern Wei Luoyang was all related to the identity he recreated for the city. We can focus on three aspects of this: (1) His references to the Emperor Xiao wen of the Northern Wei, (2) avoiding the history of the Northern Wei before they moved to Luoyang, (3) how he wrote about the history of the last years of the Northern Wei and crisis of Northern Wei Luoyang.

- Emperor Xiao wen of the Northern Wei

The Emperor Gao zu (高祖, 471-499), Xiao wen di (孝文帝), of the Northern Wei (386-534) was inseparably connected with Luoyang's history in the way Yang Xuanzhi refers to him. In all cases but one the emperor is linked to places in Luoyang. The exception is when Xiao wen di was the host of a palace dinner for a refugee scholar from the south that we will discuss in a later section. Apart from this case Yang always connects Xiao wen di with establishments and places in Luoyang. For examples, he tells us that north of Yaoguang (瑤光) Convent was the

³⁷ *LYQLJ* ch. 4, p.174. Jenner, p.233.

Jinyong Castle (金墉城) which was built by the Cao Wei. During the *yongkang* years (永康, 300-301) of the Jin dynasty the Emperor Hui di was imprisoned inside this wall. East was the Small Luoyang Wall built during the *yongjia* years (永嘉, 307-313). In the north-east corner of the Castle was the Hundred-Foot Tower (百尺樓) of the Emperor Wen of the Cao Wei (魏文帝). It still looked as it had when new despite its age. Inside the castle Gao zu built the Guangji Hall (光極殿, Hall of the Brilliant Ultimate), after which he named the gate in the Jinyong Castle the Guangji Gate (光極門).³⁸ With this long list of historical buildings we see Xiao wen di was locating himself in the tradition of Chinese imperial buildings in Luoyang. Xiao wen di is shown as making changes within the Chinese heritage in Luoyang. He was like a receiver of the Chinese history of Luoyang who made the Luoyang of earlier Chinese dynasties into Northern Wei's Luoyang by renaming historical places or establishments, and constructing new structures on the site of some old establishments or places.

Yang tells us that inside the Jianchun Gate there was the Di Spring (翟泉) mentioned in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* as the place where Wangzi Hu (王子虎) and Hu Yan (狐偃) of Jin made a covenant in the seventh century BC. The water was still so clear and bright Gao zu situated the office of the Prefect of Henan north of the spring. West of the spring was the Hualin Park (華林園). As the spring rose east of the park Gao zu called it the Canglong Lake (蒼龍海). Inside the Hualin Park was a large lake that had been the Pool of the Heavenly Deep (Tianyuan Pool, 天淵池) in Wei times. The Jiuhua Tower (九華臺) of the Cao Wei Emperor Wen still stood in the middle of the Pool. On this tower Gao zu built the Qingliang Hall (清涼殿, Hall of Coolness). Emperor Shi zong (世宗) had a

³⁸ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, p.47. Jenner, p.167.

Penglai Mountain (蓬萊山) constructed in the lake with an Immortals' Lodge (僊人館) on it.³⁹ East of the Qin Taishangong (秦太上公, Grand Duke of Qin) Monasteries was the Lingtai (靈臺, Spirit Mound) built by the Emperor Guang wu (光武帝) of the Eastern Han. East of the Spirit Mound was the Piyong (辟雍, Royal college) built by Emperor Wu of the Cao Wei (魏武帝), to the south-west of which a Mingtang (明堂, Bright Hall) was built during *zhengguang* (正光, 520-525) in Yang's era.⁴⁰ Similar introductions to the historical sites in Luoyang came up in almost every chapter and every section. It is obvious that Yang Xuanzhi is telling us that (a) Xiao wen di was deeply connected with the history of Luoyang and also with Luoyang's recent existence, (b) he was among the emperors of Chinese dynasties who had made great contributions to Luoyang, and (c) Luoyang was constructed through Xiao wen di's efforts to link his dynasty with Chinese history.

- Avoiding talking about Northern Wei history before the move to Luoyang

It is striking that Yang Xuanzhi never talks about the history of the Northern Wei before Xiao wen di moved the capital to Luoyang. He was obviously avoiding mentioning it. There are several places in *LYQLJ* strongly connected to pre-Luoyang Northern Wei, especially related to Xiao wen di's life, but Yang avoids mentioning these associations.

As the most magnificent monastery in Northern Wei Luoyang, the Yongning Monastery shone during the whole period until the eve of the destruction and abandonment of the capital city. The Yongning Monastery thus was the symbol of

³⁹ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, pp. 62-63; Jenner, pp. 173-174..

⁴⁰ *LYQLJ* ch. 3, p.131; Jenner, p.211.

Luoyang. However, there was another Yongning Monastery in Pingcheng (平城), Northern Wei's second capital city before Luoyang. The Yongning Monastery in Pingcheng was built by Emperor Xian wen of the Northern Wei in the second year of *Tian'an* (天安, 467). Xian wen di (獻文帝) was father of Xiao wen di, and he built the Pingcheng monastery to celebrate the birth of his heir when Xiao wen di was born in the eighth month of that year. According to *Wei shu* (魏書), they also built a pagoda in the monastery. The pagoda was seven storeys and about three hundred Chinese feet high, or about a hundred meters high. Its foundation was very wide and its structure was very large. It was seen as the greatest pagoda in the world in that time. Xiao wen di visited the monastery many times.⁴¹ Since the Yongning Monastery of Pingcheng was meaningful to Xiao wen di and it had the same name as the Yongning Monastery of Luoyang it is hard to understand why Yang Xuanzhi did not mention it unless he was deliberately avoiding anything associating his Luoyang with the northern frontier.

The same phenomenon appeared in the section on the Baode Monastery (報德寺). Yang Xuanzhi tells us that the Baode Monastery was founded by the Emperor Xiao wen di, to obtain blessings for the Dowager Empress Feng (馮太后).⁴² The Empress Dowager was Xiao wen di's grandmother, he grew up under her protection and she oversaw his education. In fact she had dominated Northern Wei's politics probably since her son Emperor Xian wen di's reign (466-471). She was the first important Empress in the history of Northern Wei. She had great influences on Xiao wen di and they were very close to each other.⁴³ Yang Xuanzhi

⁴¹ See *Wei shu* 114 "Shi Lao zhi (釋老志)".

⁴² *LYQLJ* ch. 3, p. 135; Jenner, p. 212.

⁴³ See *Wei shu* 13, "Biography of empresses (皇后傳)", 114 "Shi Lao zhi", 6 "Biography of Emperor Xian zu Xian wen di (顯祖獻文帝)", 7 "Biography of Gao zu Xiao wen di (高祖孝文帝)".

did not mention that there was also a Baode Monastery in Pingcheng built by the same emperor for the same reason in the spring of the fourth year of *taihe* (太和, 480).

The Yaoguang Convent also was a place strongly related to Xiao wen di. There were several empresses who lived in the convent for different reasons. Among them was another Empress Feng, one of Xiao wen di's empresses. She lost her title for having a bad relationship with her older sister, a concubine of Xiao wen di and a future empress of his. The older Empress Feng joined the royal family later than the younger one but she was more beautiful and much more beloved by Xiao wen di although she was weak in health and morality. After losing her position in the palace the younger Empress Feng lived in Yaoguang Convent for the rest of her life. The older one was given poison when Xiao wen di heard of her immoral affairs.⁴⁴ A story like this was important to Xiao wen di's life. Yang Xuanzhi preferred to say nothing about this unpleasant episode.

Another opportunity for talking about Northern Wei history before they moved their capital to Luoyang comes in the preface of the book. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that in the seventeenth years of *taihe* (493) the Emperor Gao zu moved the capital to Luoyang, ordering the Lord Chancellor Mu Liang (穆亮, c.450-502)⁴⁵ to build the palaces and houses.⁴⁶ However, he neither talked about the reasons for leaving the old capital city Pingcheng nor talked about what the Northern Wei government did with the old capital after the ruling house's departure. On the other hand, the readers of *LYQLJ* might expect some stories about Mu Liang, the

⁴⁴ See *Wei shu* 13, "Biography of empresses".

⁴⁵ "Biography of Mu Liang" is in *Wei shu* 27, attached to "Biography of Mu Chong (穆崇)"; also in *Bei shi* 20.

⁴⁶ *LYQLJ* Preface, p. 2; Jenner, p. 143.

executor of the city plan of founding the new capital. It seems that Yang Xuanzhi kept silent on purpose about the earlier history of Northern Wei from the beginning.

Avoiding talking about the history of Northern Wei before they moved their capital to Luoyang thus enabled Yang to separate Luoyang from the history of Northern Wei in the Pingcheng or the pre-Pingcheng period. All this tended to emphasize that for Yang, Luoyang was a Chinese capital for a Chinese regime.

- The way Yang Xuanzhi talked about the history of the last years of the Northern Wei and the final crisis of Luoyang.

Yang Xuanzhi talked about the history of the last years of Northern Wei and the crisis of Luoyang at very great length. It shows that his focus is here. When reading the stories about these last few years and its crisis it seems to me that Yang was talking about a struggle to protect Northern Wei Luoyang's Chinese cultural identity.

He directly showed his hatred for the Erzhu, one ethnic group that was against all that Luoyang stood for, in strong words. On the day Erzhu Zhao and his troops crossed the Yellow River unexpectedly to attack Luoyang, the water of the Yellow River was too shallow to reach the horses' bellies and Erzhu Zhao crossed the river without boats, and captured Zhuang di in his palace in the winter of 530. Yang made a strong complaint about the will of Heaven and also made a sharp criticism of the Erzhu. He said,

Things like this were unprecedented in written record. When in the old days Emperor Guang wu of the Han received the mandate of heaven a bridge of ice formed over the Hushui (滹水) so that he could pass over the danger, and

when the Emperor Zhao lie arose, his horse Dilu (的盧) leapt out of a muddy stream and saved his master's life. They were both right with Heaven and blessed by the gods. This was why they were able to save the world and protect the common people. But if the august divinity had any perception he should have seen how evil was this Erzhu Zhao, with his hornet's eyes, jackal's voice, and conduct as unspeakable as the owl and the *puojing* (破鏡),⁴⁷ who instead of holding back his troops slaughtered his monarch and his family. Yet to aid his treason the divinity made the Meng ford (孟津) come only up to the knees. If this is any test the saying in the *Changes* (*yijing*, 易經) that heaven smites the wicked and the spirits bless the humble is meaningless.⁴⁸

Although he complained that the will of Heaven was unfair he still connected the will of heaven with what happened in Luoyang in the last years. He tells us many stories about supernatural phenomena which predicted the bad luck of a coming event. For example, he said there was a gold statue outside the Pingdeng Monastery which had the divine property of showing when disasters were going to hit the country. In the twelfth month of the third year of *Xiaochang* (孝昌, 527) the statue's face had a sorrowful expression. Tears streamed from both its eyes and its whole body was wet. People called this 'Buddha sweating'. It went on for three days before it stopped. In the fourth month of the following year Erzhu Rong entered Luoyang and slaughtered the officials, strewing the ground with corpses.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ *Puojing* is a kind of creature in Chinese legend. It looks like a wolf or leopard but smaller and devours its father after birth. It was said that the owl devours its mother after hatching. See Meng Kang's annotation to *Han shu* "Jiao si zhi".

⁴⁸ *LYQLJ* ch. 1, p. 17; Jenner, p. 161.

⁴⁹ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.101; Jenner, p. 193.

When the Prince of Pingyang ascended the throne and had a grand assembly in the Pingdeng Monastery (平等寺) in the second year of *yongxi* (永熙, 533), a stone statue outside the monastery gates moved for no reason, bowing its head and raising it again. In the seventh month the Emperor was forced by the Imperial Assistant Husi Chun to flee to Chang'an, and at the end of the tenth month the capital was moved to Ye.⁵⁰ In the Yongming Monastery (永明寺) a statue walked around its throne every night for some days and then disappeared; after that the capital moved to Ye in the winter of the same year.⁵¹ Although Yang believed the fall of Luoyang and the Northern Wei was an unavoidable destiny he particularly admired some of his emperors who showed great courage and dignity facing impossible circumstances.

Yang Xuanzhi's feeling about Zhuang di, Yuan Ziyou, the Prince of Changle (長樂王), seems very complicated. Zhuang di became the emperor of the Northern Wei with Erzhu Rong's support in 528. His reign lasted for only two years. We see that all the chaos during the last years in Luoyang started in fact from the conspiracy between him and Erzhu Rong. In one way he might be seen as a traitor to the Northern Wei dynasty. However, he killed Erzhu Rong on the ninth month of the third year of *yongan*, two years after he came to his throne, and fought the Erzhu till he was captured and killed in a temple in Jinyang in the winter of the same year. Among the five emperors of the last period of Northern Wei he was the only one Yang Xuanzhi referred to by his formal posthumous title "Zhuang di" and used his year title when he and the events occurring in his time were mentioned. It means that he admitted the legitimacy of his reign only although there were three

⁵⁰ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.103; Jenner, p.199.

⁵¹ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.200; Jenner, p.251.

more Wei emperors after him, two of which were created by Gao Huan, the real controller of the Eastern Wei where Yang was living and working.

Another emperor who was written about as a man of honour regarded highly by Yang Xuanzhi in *LYQLJ* is Yuan Gong (元恭), Prince of Guangling (廣陵王), also titled Emperor Jiemin (節閔帝) and Former Fei di (前廢帝) in *Wei shu*. He pretended to be struck dumb and stayed out of politics for eight years after the years of *zhengguang* (520-525) when the political situation was unstable. He was put on the throne unwillingly by Erzhu Shilong in the third month of the second year of *Jianming* (建明, 531) and lost his throne in the next spring.⁵² Although he became the puppet emperor of the Northern Wei under the Erzhus' control he still kept his own principles and did not compromise with the Erzhu. When his gentleman-in-waiting Xing Zicai (邢子才) drafted an amnesty in which he included the charge that Zhuang di had murdered Erzhu Rong, the Prince of Guangling said that for the Emperor of the *yongan* period to dispatch with his own hand an over-powerful subject showed no lack of virtue. However, because heaven had not yet ended his troubles he was killed by one of his own ministers. Yang Xuanzhi said that all gentry and commoners within the seas proclaimed the emperor a sage monarch. When Erzhu Shilong wanted to reward two former Northern Wei generals who had surrendered with all their men to Erzhu Zhao and helped the Erzhu to attack the palace the Prince of Guangling said that they both served the Erzhu but not their country and refused to reward them. Yang said that the emperor was then regarded as a man of stern integrity. Whenever Erzhu Shilong attended a palace banquet the emperor would observe that Erzhu Rong had

⁵² *LYQLJ* ch.2 p.101; *Wei shu* 11.

deserved to die for the crime of taking credit due to Heaven.⁵³ It was said that this scared Erzhu Shilong. Yang Xuanzhi described the Prince of Guangling as a tragic hero who insisted on doing what he had to do without considering how dangerous the situation was and that his efforts were futile.

Another prince Yang Xuanzhi talked about in a positive way was Yuan Hao(元顥), the Prince of Beihai (北海王). Yuan Hao returned to Luoyang in the fifth month of the second year of *yongan*(529) with Liang support and proclaimed himself emperor. Yang did not criticise him although he stood in the opposite side to Zhuang di whom Yang Xuanzhi acknowledged as a real emperor. When Yuan Hao decided to fight the Erzhu he sent Zhuang di a letter in which he said Erzhu Rong was a murderer, their people were Hu (胡) and Jie (羯) barbarians, and he compared them with tigers and wolves and other animals. The whole letter was recorded in *LYQLJ*. It seems that Yang wanted to let the letter be passed down to people in the future. When Yuan Hao's armies were defeated by Erzhu's troops, Yang described the situation with deep sympathy. He said that all the five thousand youngsters from the Yangzi (*jiang*, 江) and the Huai (淮) that Yuan Hao brought with him took off their armour and wept as they clasped hands and took leave of each other.⁵⁴

Yuan Ye (元暉), Prince of Donghai (東海王) was put on the throne in the tenth month of the third year of *yongan* (530) by Erzhu Shilong. He kept his title for only about six months. He made no contribution to his country but did no harm either as seen in *LYQLJ*. He was just a tool which the Erzhu could use for claiming their power. Yang only mentioned him to explain how the crown was passed on

⁵³ *LYQLJ* ch.2, pp.102-104; Jenner, pp.196-198.

⁵⁴ *LYQLJ* ch.1, pp.14--16; Jenner, pp.155--158.

through him. He received his title of prince when he was pushed to abdicate in 531.⁵⁵

Yuan Xiu (元修), Prince of Pingyang (平陽王, also titled as Emperor Xiao wu di 孝武帝 or Emperor Chu 出帝 of the Northern Wei) was crowned on the first year of *yongxi* (532) by Gao Huan. However, he turned against Gao Huan about two years later. When his armies were defeated by Gao Huan at Heqiao (河橋) in 534 he abandoned his country and his people and fled to Chang'an to seek Yuwen Tai's protection. Yang Xuanzhi mentioned him three times in *LYQLJ* and two of them were connected in a direct statement about his fleeing west, which resulted in the move of the capital to Ye and the division of the state.⁵⁶ It is obvious that Yang Xuanzhi blamed him for causing this unforgivable damage to Luoyang and to their country.

There was one short-lived emperor never mentioned by Yang Xuanzhi in his book. He was Yuan Lang, later titled Later Fei di (後廢帝) and made Prince of Anding when his crown was taken away from him by Gao Huan. He was on the throne for only six months, from the tenth month of the second year of *jianming* (531) to the fourth month of the second year of *zhongxing* (中興, 532) and in the next month he was demoted to Prince.⁵⁷ We can not find any information about him in *LYQLJ*. As Yang Xuanzhi mentioned the other four emperors during the years of chaos we must conclude that Yang omitted this young emperor on purpose. When we read the official history of the Northern Wei, we find that he was one Gao Huan used for increasing his political power and holding important positions in Luoyang. Just as Yang Xuanzhi avoids any mention of Gao Huan and his family

⁵⁵ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.16; ch.2, pp.101, 102.

⁵⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.17, ch.2, p.103, ch.4 p.199.

⁵⁷ *Wei shu* 11, "Biography of Later Fei di (後廢帝)"

he also refused to include this puppet emperor in his book.

In his treatment of the last Northern Wei emperors Yang thus makes clear his view of the dynasty's proper identity.

Religious identity ---A Buddhist city

For Yang Xuanzhi Luoyang's Buddhist identity was both something to be proud of and deeply problematical.

In *LYQLJ* Northern Wei Luoyang was definitely a Buddhist city where monasteries and convents were everywhere. Moreover, the Yongning Monastery stood in the city as its landmark and with a claim to be the most magnificent monastery in the world in its time. Yang employed the words of the monk Bodhidharma, later to be regarded as a founder of the Chan school, for confirmation. When Bodhidharma saw the Yongning Monastery he said that in his long life he had been everywhere and travelled in many countries, but a temple of this beauty can not be found anywhere else in the continent of Jambudvipa and all the lands of the Buddha.⁵⁸

Besides numerous monasteries and convents Yang Xuanzhi also tells us about how Buddhism was active in Northern Wei Luoyang, including preaching, learning, the number of foreign monks and others, in the city. For example, he said that in Qin Taishangjun Monastery (秦太上君寺) there were always monks famous for their great virtue preaching on all the scriptures, as well as novices by the thousands receiving instruction.⁵⁹ There were also many women of famous

⁵⁸ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.13; Jenner, 151.

⁵⁹ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.88; Jenner, p.86.

families who cut off their hair and left their parents to worship in covents in their love for enlightenment.⁶⁰ The nuns of the Hutong Convent (胡統寺) were famous throughout the capital for their spiritual quality, they were fine preachers who put great skill into explaining the Truth and used to go into the palace to talk about the dharma to the Empress Dowager.⁶¹ There were over three thousand monks from other countries in the Yongming Monastery.⁶² An important religious journey was also mentioned in *LYQLJ*. Yang employed many helpful materials to tell us about this historical travel.⁶³ The Empress Dowager of the Northern Wei sent a Dunhuang (敦煌) man Song Yun (宋雲) and Huisheng (惠生), a monk of the Chongli Monastery (崇立寺), to fetch scriptures from the West. They went on their religious mission to the west in the eleventh month of the first year of *shengui* (神龜, 518) and returned to the country in the third year of *zhengguang* (522) and brought back with them one hundred and seventy scriptures, all marvellous classics of the Great Vehicle.⁶⁴

Yang recreated Northern Wei Luoyang as a Buddhist city, describing a flourishing Buddhism. He was obviously proud of it. He tells us that Tanmozui (曇謨最), a monk of the Rongjue Monastery (融覺寺), was an expert in the study of dhyana. He preached on the *Nirvana* and *Avatamsaka* sutras and had one thousand disciples. When Bodhiruci (菩提流支), the foreign monk from India, saw him, he revered him, calling him a bodhisattva. Bodhiruci was famous in the West for his

⁶⁰ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.47; Jenner, 167.

⁶¹ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.57; Jenner, p.171.

⁶² *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.200; Jenner, p.249.

⁶³ Yang tells us that the materials he used in this section included Huisheng's *Xingji* (行記), *Biography of Daorong* (道榮傳) and Song Yun's *jiayi* (家記). Jenner said 'The account of Song Yun and Huiseng's journey in the pages that follow is a document of the first importance for history of Central Asia at this time; only the briefest of notes on it are offered here in a book about Loyang.' see Jenner, p.255. note 8.

⁶⁴ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.209; Jenner, p.255..

expositions of the meaning of Buddhism, and the various foreigners called him an arhat. He knew the Wei language and the clerkly script (*lishu*, 隸書) and translated twenty-three sutras and sutras including the *Ten Stage* (*Dasabhumika*) and *Lankavatara* sutras. When Bodhiruci read Tanmozui's *Essays on the Meaning of the Great Vehicle* he admired them and translated them into his foreign tongue and sent them to the West. Yang said that monks in the West often turned east to pay their respects to him and gave Tanmozui the title of 'Holy Man of the East'.⁶⁵ By famous western monks' words the identity of the Buddhist city of Northern Wei Luoyang was once again confirmed.

However, the identity of a Buddhist city which Yang Xuanzhi recreated for Northern Wei Luoyang seems not without problems. The way Yang Xuanzhi talked about Buddhism in the city sometimes suggested harmful phenomena. It seems to me that the emphasis of his description of the monasteries and convents is on their social and wider cultural functions. He talked much less about religious activities than about the beautiful gardens inside the monasteries and convents and wonderful entertainments at Buddhist festivals held in the monasteries and in the city. How he described the garden of the Jingming Monastery (景明寺) is the best example.

The shade of its dark trees and the patterns of its green waters made it a refreshing and beautiful place and there were over one thousand rooms in its towering buildings. The windows and gutters of many-storeyed halls and structures joined and faced each other; dark terraces and purple pavilions were connected by flying passages. No matter what the season outside, it was never freezing or torrid in here; beyond the eaves of the buildings were only hills

⁶⁵ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.197; Jenner, pp.247-248.

and lakes. Pine, bamboo, orchid, and iris overhung the steps, holding the wind and gathering the dew as they spread their fragrance.....There were three pools in the monastery where reeds, rushes, water-chestnuts, and lotuses grew. Yellow turtles and purple fish could be seen among the waterweeds; black ducks and white geese dived and swam in the green waters. There were edge-runner mills, rotary mills, pounders, and bolters all powered by water. This was regarded as the finest of all the monasteries.⁶⁶

We see a beautiful picture of a magnificent garden inside a magnificent building but not of monks or any Buddhist activity. When Yang said ‘it was regarded as the finest of all the monasteries’, he was talking about its garden and buildings, not its Buddhist works or anything else which related to Buddhism. This is what he tells us about an important activity held by the monastery.

On the seventh day of the fourth month all the statues in the capital were brought to this monastery. According to the Department of Sacrifices of the Chancellery they numbered over one thousand. On the eighth the statues were taken in through the Xuanyang (宣陽) Gate to the front of the Changhe (閭闔) palace where the Emperor scattered flowers on them. The gold and the flowers dazzled in the sun and the jewelled canopies floated like clouds; there were forests of banners and fog of incense, and the Buddhist music of India shook heaven and earth. All kinds of entertainers and trick riders performed shoulder to shoulder. Virtuous hosts of famous monks came, carrying their staves; there were crowds of the Buddhist faithful, holding flowers; horsemen and carriages were packed backed beside each other in an endless mass. When a monk from the West saw all this he would proclaim that this was indeed a

⁶⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.124; Jenner, p..207.

land of the Buddha.⁶⁷

Was this a land of the Buddha? Through his description we see a city with its prosperous economy and great activity by the citizens. He says little about Buddhism although it was a religious festival. In the section of the Changqiu Monastery (長秋寺), he tells us a similar story about a Buddha statue in this monastery made entirely of gold and jewels:

On the fourth of the fourth month it used to be taken out in procession with lions and gryphons leading the way before it. Sword-swallowers and fire-belchers pranced on one side of the procession; there were men who climbed flagpoles, ropewalkers and every kind of amazing trick. Their skill was greater and their clothes stranger than anywhere else in the capital, and wherever the statue rested spectators would pack round in a solid crowd in which people were often trampled to death.⁶⁸

Such unnecessary deaths offended against both Buddhist and traditional Chinese moral values. On the other hand the festivals described by Yang Xuanzhi in his books were not purely religious but also quite secular. As some scholars have said, Buddhist activities in Luoyang were not purely religious but were mixed up with public entertainment.⁶⁹

The entertainment function can be found in many monasteries and convents in

⁶⁷ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.125; Jenner, p.208.

⁶⁸ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.44; Jenner, p.165.

⁶⁹ See Wang Wenjin (王文進), *Jingtu shang de fengyan—Luoyang qielan ji* (淨土上的烽煙—洛陽伽藍記) (Taipei: Shibao wenhua chuban gongsi, 1982), pp.136-137; He Jipeng(何寄澎), “Bei Wei shiqi fojiao fazhan de liang ge xianxiang” (北魏時期佛教發展的兩個現象) in *Thought and Words* (思與言): *Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 21:1, 1983; Lu Ning (盧寧), “You Luoyang qielan ji kan Bei Wei de zhongyuan faha” (由洛陽伽藍記看北魏的中原法化) in *The Voice of Dharma*, 12, 1998; Wang Meishiu (王美秀), *Lishi, Kongjian, shenfen—Luoyang qielan ji de wenhua lunshu* (歷史空間身分--洛陽伽藍記的文化論述) (Taipei: Liren shuju, 2007), pp.238-270.

Northern Wei Luoyang. A typical example was the Jingle Convent (景樂寺). In Yang's description the nunnery had a beautiful garden. Moreover, he tells us that sometimes women musicians performed there, and he praised the music and dancing. As this was a nunnery, men were not allowed in, but those who could go to see it felt that they were in paradise. When Yuan Yi (元懌), Prince Wenxian (文獻王) and the founder of the monastery, died, the restrictions in the nunnery were somewhat eased and ordinary people were no longer prevented from coming and going. Later Yuan Yue (元悅), the Prince of Runan (汝南王), the younger brother of Prince Wenxian, restored the convent. He summoned all kinds of musicians and entertainers to display their talents there. Strange animals and outlandish beasts danced and clapped in the halls and courtyards. There was flying through the air and other illusions such as had never been seen before; the practitioners of many strange arts assembled here, including those who skinned asses then threw them down wells, or planted jujubes or melons that were ready for eating in a moment. The gentlemen and ladies who saw it were dazed and astonished.⁷⁰ Yang says nothing about nuns practising their religious activities or studying sutras. It was more like a place for people to make trips or to hold concerts. It was a place for lay people to enjoy life, not for religious people to purify their mind. Such phenomena are quite different from how monasteries are described in Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*. In *GSZ* people would gather in monasteries to listen to preaching; it is rarely said that people visited monasteries for entertainment. The monasteries in *GSZ* were more like places of education or literary centres but not places for playing music, drinking wine and writing poems with friends.

Yang gives similar descriptions for other monasteries, such as the Baoguang

⁷⁰ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.51; Jenner, pp.168-169.

Monastery (寶光寺),⁷¹ the Ningxuan Monastery (凝玄寺),⁷² the Hejian Monastery (河間寺)⁷³ and others. It does not seem that Yang wanted to emphasize the Buddhist nature of these monasteries or to win respect for Buddhism. It is more likely that Yang was trying to tell us that so many beautiful and magnificent monasteries in Northern Wei Luoyang were in fact less important in religious than in social and cultural ways. This is a problematic situation. How could Yang Xuanzhi recreate a city identity with flourishing Buddhism and be proud of it while at the same time he was deconstructing it? To solve this problem we need to know what was Yang Xuanzhi's attitude toward Buddhism.

Helpful information about how Yang Xuanzhi thought about Buddhism can be found in the section on the Chongzhen Monastery (崇真寺). He tells us a story about monk Huining (惠凝) of the monastery who came back to life after being dead for seven days. He was set free and sent back the human world as a mistake had been made over his name. The monk told people what he had experienced in the palace of King Yama. He said that in the examination by King Yama after death, the monks who were ascetics, practised meditation and recited sutras when they were alive would be sent up to paradise. The monks who preached, copied sutras, made Buddha statues and built monasteries when they were alive were all sent to a dark place. As King Yama said, 'Preachers of the sutras have minds full of them and me and in their arrogance they insult other beings. This is the worst form of coarseness among monks.' 'The monk must control his mind and follow the way, devoting himself to meditation and chanting scriptures. He should not concern himself with worldly affairs or be involved in action. To have sutras copied and

⁷¹ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.174; Jenner, pp.233-234.

⁷² *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.209; Jenner, p.254.

⁷³ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.180; Jenner, p.244.

statues made he must obtain wealth from others, and the getting of wealth is the beginning of avarice. Thus the three Poisons are not eradicated and they cause vexation.’ As for those who were officials and building monasteries with government support, King Yama said they were twisting justice and bending the law and were robbing the people of their wealth to build monasteries.

Yang said that the story was confirmed by Empress Dowager after inquiries were made. Xu He (徐紇), the Gentlemen in Waiting, then proposed that one hundred monks who sat in meditation should be invited to come to the inner palace. A decree was issued forbidding begging at the roadside while holding sutras and statues. Copying sutras and making statues with one’s private wealth was permitted. The monks of the capital all practised meditation and chanting, taking no more interest in preaching the scripture. Huining became a hermit monk living in Bailu (白鹿) mountain.⁷⁴

We cannot tell how much influence this story had on the religious policy of Northern Wei, or whether the monks in Northern Wei and other Northern dynasties were thereafter less interested in preaching the scriptures than Southern monks, or how much effort they devoted to meditation and reciting sutras.⁷⁵ However, it is very clear that Yang Xuanzhi thought that meditation and reciting sutras were positive Buddhist activities. He did not approve of extravagance such as building monasteries, making Buddha statues, and copying sutras. He did not approve of preaching scriptures either. We find that Yang’s attitude to preaching was just the opposite of Huijiao’s. In Huijiao’s *Gaoseng zhuan* monks who devoted themselves to preaching were the largest group in the book and it seemed that Huijiao regarded

⁷⁴ *LYQLJ* ch.2, pp.76-77; Jenner, pp.179-181.

⁷⁵ See Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* (Taipei: Luotuo chubanshe, 1987), p.487.

them highly. Yang's negative attitude toward the extravagance of Buddhism was obviously a response to the real situation of his time

He tells us many times about his objections to the extravagance of Buddhism. He says that the scale of Yongning Monastery was excessive.⁷⁶ He told us that aristocrats and high officials parted with their horse and elephants as if they were kicking off their sandals; commoners and great families gave their wealth with the ease of leaving footprints,⁷⁷ and he implies that this was not good. We then understand why he always mentions the details of the magnificence of monasteries and convents, how huge the buildings were, how tall their pagodas, how many statues were inside the monasteries and convents, how much valuable materials, like gold and silver, were used, the number of the rooms in the monasteries, and so on. The method of detailed description used by Yang Xuanzhi therefore obtained several goals. First, he used these detailed descriptions to reflect the reality of flourishing Buddhism in Northern Wei Luoyang and recreate a Buddhist identity for the city. Secondly, through these detailed descriptions he was trying to tell us that all the extravagance of Buddhist activities was damaging to the state and to society.

On the other hand he tells us how the functions of those magnificent monasteries were increased when they became public places offering entertainment widely to the people, how those Buddhist festivals enlivened the city and made Luoyang citizens' lives more colourful even if that had not been their original purpose. In so doing Yang Xuanzhi created a different Buddhist identity for Northern Wei Luoyang. The Buddhist identity of Northern Wei Luoyang was not

⁷⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.11.

⁷⁷ *LYQLJ* preface, p.1; Jenner, p.141

purely religious but also more social and cultural.

This is very different from Buddhism in Huijiao's *GSZ*. In *GSZ* Huijiao did not talk much about the cities in the south although many monks in his book associated with upper class educated Chinese in the cities. In *GSZ* Buddhism and its relationship with Chinese high culture is the centre of the book. Huijiao does not show much interest in how Buddhism fitted into the material life of society or in buildings. In *LYQLJ* the ideas of Buddhism seem not so important although the book was about a Buddhist city. In *GSZ* Huijiao tried very hard to play down the foreign characteristics of the monks and make Buddhism more Chinese but in *LYQLJ* it seems that Yang Xuanzhi deliberately used the foreign characteristic of Buddhism to make his Luoyang more international.

An international city

We have discussed how Yang Xuanzhi created Northern Wei Luoyang as a Buddhist city by emphasizing the religious function in social and cultural aspects. Buddhism was an important factor to Yang Xuanzhi in constructing Northern Wei Luoyang as an international city.

Within so many monasteries and convents in Northern Wei Luoyang Yang Xuanzhi tells us there were some two monasteries, the Puti (菩提, Bodhi) Monastery and the Fayun (法雲) Monastery, founded by foreign monks.⁷⁸ He also tells us that the monasteries which were founded by foreign monks were exotic. He said that in the Fayun Monastery the Buddha halls and the monks' cells were all decorated in the foreign style with dazzling reds and whites and gleaming gold and

⁷⁸ *LYQLJ* ch. 3, p.153; Jenner, p.222.

jade. He also tells us that the foreign monks taught Buddhism in different ways so all the monks of the capital who loved the foreign dharma came to learn of it from Tanmolo (曇摩羅), the founder of the Fayun Monastery.⁷⁹

In the section on the Yongming Monastery we are told that there were over three thousand foreign monks from different countries, the most distant being Da Qin (大秦, the Roman East) which was at the western extreme of earth and sky. Through the monks from there Yang tells us of their customs, ‘They plough, hoe, and spin; the common people live in sight of each other in the countryside; and their clothes, horses, and carts are much like those of China.’ We also learn about another country Geying (歌營), the country to the south of China. Yang said that ‘the country was very far from the capital. Its customs are quite different from ours as it has never had any contact with China: even in the two Han dynasties and the Cao Wei nobody ever got that far. But now for the first time the monk Buddhahadra reached Luoyang from there’. We can see how Yang was proud of his country, he was telling us that under Northern Wei Luoyang drew more foreign visitors than it had under earlier Chinese dynasties. Through Buddhahadra foreign knowledge, such as the name of countries, their locations and their customs, were drawn on in the book. Yang Xuanzhi tells us what Buddhahadra said,

After travelling north for one month I reached Gouzhi (勾稚). Eleven more days to the north I came to Diansun (典孫). From there I headed north for forty days until I arrived in Funan (扶南), which with its area of five thousand *li* (里) is the biggest and most powerful of the countries of the southern barbarians. The people of Fu-nan are many and rich. Their country produces pearls, gold, jade, and crystal, and it abounds in betel-nuts. A further month’s

⁷⁹ *LYQLJ* ch. 4, p.176; Jenner, pp.234-235.

journey to the north brought me to Linyi (林邑), and on leaving Linyi I entered the country of Xiao Yan. After spending a year in Yang province Budhabhadra came with Farong (法融), a monk of Yang province (揚州), to the capital. ⁸⁰

Monks who came from distant countries were not only proof of how flourishing Buddhism was in Luoyang but also are used to show Luoyang as having a wide international appeal. Yang Xuanzhi created the identity of an international city for Northern Wei Luoyang in large part by showing that although Buddhism was originally a foreign religion monks from afar came to practise it in Luoyang. His international Luoyang was also not limited to immigrant monks but also extended to religious exports. As we have mentioned, Tanmozui (曇謨最), a monk of the Rongjue Monastery (融覺寺), was an expert in the study of dhyana. His *Essays on the Meaning of the Great Vehicle* was translated into an Indian language by a great Indian monk Bodhiruci. The translated version was read widely in the west and won the respect of western monks for Tanmozui⁸¹

Besides emphasizing the function of the Buddhism in creating the identity of international city for Luoyang, Yang Xuanzhi also used the journey of Song Yun and Huisheng, a diplomat and a monk, to today's Pakistan in 518.

Yang tells us that when Song Yun and Huisheng came to the walled town of Hanmo, there was a six foot high statue with stupas beside it, and tens of thousands of coloured banners and parasols were hung on them. Most of the banners were from the country of Wei, on many of which was written in the clerkly script 'nineteenth year of *taihe* (495)' 'second year of *jingming*' (501), or 'second year of

⁸⁰ *LYQLJ* ch. 4, p.200; Jenner, pp.249-250.

⁸¹ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.197; Jenner, pp.247-248.

yanchang' (延昌, 513); there was just one dated to the time of Yao Xing (394-415).⁸² The original readers of *LYQLJ* would have recognized that all these dates came after Northern Wei moved the capital to Luoyang. The year names *taihe*, *jingming* and *yanchang* all belong to the period which was between the move to Luoyang and Empress Dowager Hu seizing power, Luoyang's best years for Yang. Yang continued to tell how Northern Wei was known by the western countries.

In the country of Wuchang(烏場, Udyana) Song Yun and Huisheng were received with great honour. According to the material Yang used in his book,

when the King received Song Yun, the envoy of the Great Wei, he raised his hands to his head and bowed to accept the edict. On hearing that the Empress Dowager honoured the Buddha's Law he turned east, put his hands together, and prostrated himself as he paid his respects to her from afar. He sent someone who understood the Wei language to make communication with Song Yun and Huisheng. The king also asked, 'Does your country produce sages?' Song Yun explained about the excellence of the Duke of Zhou, Confucius, Zhuang zi, and Lao zi; he went on to tell him about the silver gate-houses and golden halls of Mount Penglai and the immortals and sages who live there; he spoke about the soothsaying of Guan Lu (管輅), Hua Tuo's (華佗) healing powers, and Zuo Ci's (左慈) magic. He gave systematic account of all such things. 'If it is as you say,' replied the king, 'then yours is indeed a land of the Buddha. I hope to be reborn there when this life of mine is ended.'⁸³

⁸² *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.210; Jenner, p.256.

⁸³ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.212; Jenner, p.262.

What Song Yun told the king of Udyana about was the central Han Chinese cultural tradition, which was always mentioned by educated Chinese proudly. We see from here how Song Yun, a Dunhuang man who lived in Luoyang regarded himself as a Han Chinese. And the Chinese cultural tradition he told the king about was represented as a cultural tradition of Northern Wei. The Chinese cultural tradition was transferred into the Northern Wei cultural tradition in front of a western king. Looking at this we find Yang Xuanzhi created the identity of international city for Luoyang by emphasizing its Chinese culture. As Song Yun regarded himself a Chinese, he talked about the Chinese tradition and followed Chinese values.

Song Yun, presenting himself as a Chinese, asked the western king to practise Chinese rituals. Yang said that in the first year of *zhengguang* (520) they entered the country of Qiantuoluo (犍陀羅, Gandhara). When Song Yun reached the royal military encampment and handed the king the imperial decree, the king was so rude and discourteous as to receive it seated. Realizing that he was a barbarian too distant to be controlled, Song Yun was unable to upbraid him and had to put up with his arrogance. Later on when he had the chance to put the matter to him, Song Yun asked the king of Gandhara why, when the kings of the Ephthalites and Udyana both bowed when they received the decree, he alone could not do so. The king answered, 'If I saw the Wei King in person I would bow to him, but what is wrong with reading a letter from him sitting down? When the people get letters from their parents they read them sitting down, so of course it shows no discourtesy if I stay seated to read a letter from the Great Wei, which is like a father and mother to me.' Song Yun was unable to cap this argument.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ *LYQLJ* ch.5, pp.213-214; Jenner, pp.265-266.

Through stories such as these Yang shows Luoyang as the centre of the Chinese world and on good terms with many distant countries. This international communication was in a large part but not only through Buddhism. At the same time Luoyang was the capital of the Northern Wei and was a symbol of the Northern Wei, therefore when Song Yun and Huisheng were working to strengthen the image of their country in the far west they were also creating the identity of an international city for Luoyang.

The identity of Luoyang as an international city was not only formed by the communication with other countries outside the state but also by the city system for foreigners inside Luoyang. Yang Xuanzhi tells us that south of Luoyang there was an area for the people who came from other countries, including from the southern dynasties. He says,

South of the Eternal Bridge, north of the Round Mound and between the Yi and the Luo rivers were the four hostels and the four wards for foreigners. The hostels were east of the imperial highway and were called Jinling (金陵), Yanran (燕然), Fusang (扶桑) and Yanzi (崦嵫). To the west of the highway were the four foreigners' wards: the Guizheng (歸正, Returning to Truth), Guide (歸德, Returning to Virtue), Muhua (慕化, Admiring Civilization), and Muyi (慕義, Admiring Justice). The men of Wu who came over to our country were put in the Jinling Hostel, and after they had been there for three years they were given houses in the Guizheng ward.....When barbarians from the north came over to us they were put in the Yanran Hostel for three years and then given houses in the Guide ward.The eastern barbarians who came to submit were put in the Fusang Hostel and later given houses in the Muhua

ward.⁸⁵Western barbarians who came over were put in the Yanzi Hostel and given houses in the Muyi ward.⁸⁶

From Yang's description Luoyang had a very clear system for immigrants from different directions. For Yang it was important that Luoyang was a city to which people from all over the known world came. Apart from monks and political immigrants there were a large number of other immigrants, such as traders, merchants, artisans, performers, and musicians. Yang Xuanzhi tells us,

The number of those who made their homes there because they enjoyed the atmosphere of China was beyond counting; there were over ten thousand families of those who had come over to our way of life. The gates and lanes were neatly arranged and the entrances packed tight together. Dark locust-trees gave shade and green willows hung down over the courtyards. .⁸⁷

Many foreigners became Luoyang residents and thus helped to construct its identity as an international city.

Yang tells us that one of these four foreign hostels, and one of four foreign wards was for 'men of Wu', people from the southern dynasties. The examples he took were Xiao Baoyin (蕭寶夤) and Xiao Zhengde (蕭正德). He tells us that,

Early in *jingming* (500-503) Xiao Baoyin, Prince of Jian'an (建安王) under the bogus Qi, submitted to us. He was ennobled as Lord of Guiji and a house was built for him in the Guizheng ward. Later he was elevated to be Prince of Qi and given the Princess of Nanyang (南陽公主) in marriage. As Xiao Baoyin felt humiliated at being classified among the foreigners he got the princess to petition the Emperor Shizong (世宗, r.500-515) asking to be

⁸⁵ *LYQLJ* ch. 3, pp.144-145; Jenner, pp.218-221.

⁸⁶ See note 85.

⁸⁷ See note 85.

allowed to move into the city. Shizong agreed and gave him a house in the Yong'an ward. In the fourth year of *zhengguang*(523) Xiao Zhengde, Marquis of Xifeng (西豐侯), submitted to us, and he too was put in the Jinling Hostel until a house was built for him in the Guizheng ward. Xiao Zhengde later gave this to become the Guizheng Monastery.⁸⁸

The way of settling southern aristocrats was no different from that of other foreigners. In this paragraph it shows directly that Northern Wei people thought the southerners were foreigners. As I have noted elsewhere, Southerners were marginalized in the immigration system of Luoyang and they had no position of cultural superiority.⁸⁹ As traditional Chinese people always thought that they were the centre of the world, and other peoples around them on four sides were barbarians, they were doubly marginalized by their position outside the Chinese core and in their cultural identity.⁹⁰ From the system of four foreign hostels and four immigrant wards we see Luoyang standing in the centre of the world but also wanting to keep foreigners confined to designated wards and hostels south of the city wall. These foreigners who accepted their marginal status in Luoyang contributed to its identity as a world city that remained essentially Chinese. As an international city and the centre of the world Luoyang was logically the centre of Chinese culture.

⁸⁸ *LYQLJ* ch. 3, pp.144-145; Jenner, pp.218-221.

⁸⁹ See Wang Meihsiu, "Guoji dushi de jiangou yu weiyi xiaoyin (國際都市的建構與位移默應)" in *Lishi, kongjian, shenfen—Luoyang qielan ji de wenhua lunshu*, pp.271-288.

⁹⁰ See Shan Dexing (單德興), "Yi wo ailun ru quanfu—tianshi dao beige de mingke yu zaixian (憶我埃崙如蜷伏: 天使島悲歌的銘刻與再現)" in *Mingke yu zaixian—huayi meiguo wenxue yu wenhua lunji* (銘刻與再現: 華裔美國文學與文化論集) (Taipei: Maitian chubanshe, 2000), p.55.

A Han Chinese city

It is unquestionable that Northern Wei Luoyang was a typical Han Chinese city as represented in *LYQLJ*. Through the stories told in the book Yang Xuanzhi recreated the identity of a Han Chinese city for his capital. The ways he used for recreating the identity of a Han Chinese city of Northern Wei Luoyang included: A. emphasizing the connection between Northern Wei Luoyang's history and the histories of earlier Chinese dynasties; B. emphasizing Northern Wei Luoyang's Han Chinese characteristics; C. indicating the differences between people in Northern Wei Luoyang and some other non-Chinese people; D. indicating the differences between the Han Chinese culture in Northern Wei Luoyang and the Han Chinese culture in the South. The connection between Northern Wei Luoyang's history and the histories of earlier Chinese dynasties has been discussed in the previous section when I talked about how Yang Xuanzhi recreated a historical identity for his capital city. In this section I will start my discussion from how Yang Xuanzhi emphasized Northern Wei Luoyang's Han Chinese characteristics.

Emphasizing Northern Wei Luoyang's Han Chinese characteristics

Just as he made connections between the history of Northern Wei Luoyang and the histories of earlier Chinese dynasties when Yang Xuanzhi told his readers about Han Chinese pasts for places and establishments in the city, the people who lived in the city also were the heirs of Han Chinese predecessors. When Yang talked about the wealth of Yuan Yong (元雍), Prince of Gaoyang (高陽王), probably the richest aristocrat in Northern Wei Luoyang who lived a life of luxury, he said that 'no prince since Han and Jin times was his equal in extravagance.'⁹¹

⁹¹ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.155; Jenner, p.224.

He tells us that Yuan Chen (元琛), Prince of Hejian (河間王), one of the richest aristocrats in Northern Wei Luoyang who was always resentful about not being richer than Yuan Yong, once told another Wei prince that he did not mind not having met Shi Chong (石崇) but regretted that Shi Chong never saw him.⁹² Shi Chong was an aristocrat in Jin times; he was known for his incomparable wealth. In making such comparisons that included implied criticism Yang was still locating his princes in a Chinese tradition. When Yuan Yi (元懌), Prince of Qinghe (清河王), died Empress Dowager gave him a solemn and honourable funeral ceremony which was modeled on that of the Jin dynasty Prince Fu of Anping (晉安平王孚).⁹³ When some officials and scholars criticized the bad customs of the Qi area, Cui Xiaozhong (崔孝忠), an official from Qi province (青州), did not accept the criticism. He told people that the area was influenced by Taigong (太公), the imperial advisor to the Zhou king Wen wang (周文王), and the Confucian scholars of Jixia (稷下) academy. Many rites and moral criteria followed by Qi people had been formed by them. Even though it might be in decline Qi was still a model to the world.⁹⁴ Yang tells us a story about a teenage Luoyanger Xun Ziwen of Yingchuan (潁川荀子文).

As a child he was brilliant and his character was exceptional: when he was twelve neither Huang Wan (黃琬) nor Kong Rong (孔融) could have excelled him. When Pan Chonghe of Guangzong (廣宗潘崇和) was lecturing on Fu's *Spring and Autumn Annals* (服氏春秋) commentary in the Zhaoyi (昭義) ward, Xun Ziwen tucked up his clothes to take him as his teacher. Li Cai of Zhaojun (趙郡李才) asked Ziwen where he lived, Ziwen replied that he lived

⁹² LYQLJ ch.4, p.179; Jenner, p.243

⁹³ LYQLJ ch.4, p.163; Jenner, p.228.

⁹⁴ LYQLJ ch.2, p.88; Jenner, p.188.

in the Zhonggan (中甘) ward in the south part of the city that was seen as a low level area. When Li teased Xun about the area he lived in, Xun replied with quick and witty words. He said: ‘The south of the capital is an excellent district, so why are you surprised that I live there? For rivers the Yi (伊) and the Luo (洛) flow between towering cliffs, and if we are to speak of antiquities there is the Spirit Mound and the Stone Classics. Of beautiful monasteries we have the Baode and the Jingming; and among the richest and noblest men of the age we have the Princes of Gaoyang (高陽) and Guangping (廣平). The customs of the four quarters of the globe and of countless countries and cities are represented here. If we are to speak of distinguished people there will be definitely me not you.’ Li Cai was unable to answer.⁹⁵

The figure like this remind me of many clever and talented young adults and children in *Shishuo xinyu* (世說新語). Another similar story Yang told in his book gives a similar impression. Champion General Guo Wenyuan (郭文遠) had a splendid house which was able to match that of a monarch. Li Yuanqian of Longxi (隴西李元謙), an enthusiast for alliteration, once passed Guo’s mansion and saw his splendid gateway and he asked whose house it was in an alliterative sentence. A slave girl of Guo’s house came out and answered him quickly also in a alliterative sentence. The two had short exchange with each other, both in alliterative sentences. It is said that Li admitted that he could not defeat the slave girl in alliteration. The story was told all over the city.⁹⁶ If a young adult and slave girl in Northern Wei Luoyang could act at such a high level in Han Chinese culture then it

⁹⁵ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.156; Jenner, pp.225-226.

⁹⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.209; Jenner, p.254.

will be no surprise that a princess could write a Chinese poem.

Wang Su (王肅) was a learned scholar from the south who became an important high official in Gao zu's court from the eighteenth year of *taihe* (494). Wang Su had married a daughter of the Xie (謝) clan when he was in the south, and when he came to the capital he married a princess. Later the Lady Xie who had been left behind in the south became a nun and came to join Wang Su. When she found that he had married the princess the Lady Xie wrote a poem to him recalling their old days. The response to this by Wang Su's later wife, the princess, was another poem of the same type. In it she suggested that people should not look back to the past.⁹⁷ A woman writing poetry was not very common in traditional Chinese society. The Xie clan was a famous and important family in southern dynasties, well known for their high level of culture as well as their political contributions. It is not a surprise that a female member of this famous family wrote a poem. But Yang tells us that a Xianbei princess could also write as good a Chinese poem as a lady from a traditional Han Chinese gentry family. Obviously he was telling us how deeply Han Chinese culture had been rooted even among the Xianbei (鮮卑) aristocrats in Northern Wei Luoyang. Indeed, if we did not know that she was a Xianbei we would not have guessed it.

When we read the story of Yuan Yu his Xianbei origins are nowhere to be seen.

Yuan Yu (元彧), Prince of Linhuai (臨淮王). He was well versed in classical books and gifted with a discriminating intelligence. His manners were exquisite and his bearing a joy to behold. When all the princes assembled in the capital on the morning of New Year's Day he would stroll along the palace

⁹⁷ *LYQLJ* ch.3, pp.135-136; Jenner, p.214.

corridors with a gold cicada gleaming on his hands. All who saw him would forget their weariness and sigh with admiration. He was both a lover of forests and streams and a convivial man. When the flowers and trees were brightly coloured like brocade in the spring breezes he would eat his morning meal in the southern pavilion and banquet in the back garden at night with crowds of officials and aristocrats. Instruments of silk and wu-tong wood played while the goblets were passed around. Lyrics and prose-poems went hand in hand, and brilliant conversation was made up in the spur of the moment. Everyone grasped the mysterious and put narrow vulgarity out of their minds; all who went to Yu's house said it was like becoming an immortal. Zhang Pei (張裴), a man of Exalted Talent from Jingzhou province (荊州), once wrote a poem in five-word lines which contained two outstanding couplets. Yu rewarded him with some brocade in a dragon design. Others were given red silks and purple damasks. One man, Pei Ziming of Hedong (河東裴子明), was told to drink a picul of wine as a punishment for writing feeble verses; he drank four-fifths of it before collapsing in a drunken stupor. His contemporaries compared him to Shan Tao (山濤).⁹⁸

Yuan Yu was a member of Northern Wei ruling house and thus non-Chinese in ethnicity. In many Han Chinese people's view he was a barbarian. However, from Yang Xuanzhi's description we only see a Chinese scholar and poet and his wonderful literary life, we see no barbarian. How could this happen? Yang Xuanzhi tells us about his learning and practice, which was formed by his education not by his parentage.

⁹⁸ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.176; Jenner, pp.235-236.

Indicating the differences between people in Northern Wei Luoyang and some other non-Chinese people

While Yang Xuanzhi had to be very careful to avoid derogatory references to the Xianbei, who still held power when he wrote his book, there was one ethnic group on which he could focus his hatred. They were the Erzhu. He talked about the family background of the Erzhu. Yang tells us:

Erzhu Rong (爾朱榮) was from North Xiurong (秀容). His family was hereditary ruling chiefs of the first rank and Dukes of Boling jun (博陵郡). He had over eight thousand tribesmen, several tens of thousands of horses, and wealth to match a heavenly treasury.⁹⁹

This is a short paragraph but clear enough to let his readers understand what kind of people they were. Xiurong (Shuoxian, Shanxi), a place on the north frontier, was in fact not the Erzhu place of origin, but a fief given to them as a reward when one of their ancestors made military contributions to Tuoba Gui (拓跋珪), Emperor Tai zu (太祖 r.386-409) of the Northern Wei dynasty. Their earlier family place was in the area of Erzhu River from where they received their surname¹⁰⁰--this also is evidence of non-Chinese customs in medieval Chinese society. The Erzhu were an ethnic group of Jie (羯), a non-Chinese, non-Xianbei race from central Asia or western Asia. In late fourth century China they were identified for slaughter. They were different from Han Chinese and Xianbei in their ethnic origin, their appearance and in their behaviour.¹⁰¹ Yang did not say directly that they were barbarians in this paragraph but he implied it. He tells us that they originally came

⁹⁹ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.13; Jenner, p.152.

¹⁰⁰ See *Wei shu* 74, "Biography of Erzhu Rong (爾朱榮)".

¹⁰¹ See Jenner, pp.86-87; Wan Shengnan, *Chen yinque Wei Jin Nanbeichao jiangyan lu*.(Hefei: Huang shan shuju, 2000), pp.83-99.

from Xiurong in the north and that their social status was that of hereditary chief, with their wealth counted by how many tribesmen and horses they controlled.¹⁰² In all these respects they were unlike the sinified Xianbei aristocrats. In other parts of his book he referred to them by their non-Chinese names which look barbarous when written in Chinese, such as Erzhu Houtaofa (爾朱侯討伐) and Erzhu Fulügui (爾朱弗律歸). He called their armies ‘Hu cavalry’ and he called them Hu—barbarians. This word was used in a most derogatory way in the story of the Princess of Shouyang.

The Princess of Shouyang, the elder sister of the Emperor Zhuang, was very beautiful. She was married to Xiao Zong (蕭綜), Prince of Danyang, a refugee aristocrat from the south who had been given high positions in the Northern Wei. When the capital fell Xiao Zong abandoned his province and fled north. Erzhu Shilong, who was dictator at the time, had the princess brought back to Luoyang. When he tried to force her she reviled him with the words, ‘How dare you insult the daughter of a heavenly king, you barbarian dog? I would die by the sword rather than be sullied by a mutinous barbarian.’ In his fury Erzhu Shilong strangled her.¹⁰³

The princess called Erzhu a “barbarian dog (*Hu gou*, 胡狗)” and called herself the daughter of the heavenly king (*tianwang nü*, 天王女), making a clear difference between herself and the Erzhu. She, or through her Yang Xuanzhi, directly insulted Erzhu in the strong language because the Erzhu were a different people, not Xianbei, like Gao Huan and Yuwen Tai. From the catastrophic damage

¹⁰² On the Northern Wei feudal system of hereditary chieftainship, see Zhou Yiliang (周一良), *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lun ji* (魏晉南北朝史論集), Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 2000.

¹⁰³ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.72; Jenner, p.178.

which the Erzhu did to Luoyang it is clear that unlike the Xianbei, who lived in Luoyang and had made the city much more magnificent than in earlier Chinese dynasties, the Erzhu had no love of Chinese culture. Among the people of Luoyang, the Tuoba family of Xianbei had transformed their cultural identity to Han Chinese and lived a Han Chinese life in a Han Chinese city. They were completely different from the people like the Erzhu, whom they saw as barbarians in culture and in ethnicity.

Yang tells us another story. When Erzhu Shilong made another puppet emperor in Luoyang, a temple for Erzhu Rong was erected on the Shouyang (首陽) peak of the Mang ridge (芒嶺) where the Duke of Zhou's (周公) temple had been in remote antiquity. Erzhu Shilong built the temple here because he wanted to put the achievements of Erzhu Rong on a par with those of the Duke of Zhou. After it was completed it was destroyed by fire. One column went on burning for three days without going out until a thunderbolt shattered it in a thunderstorm three days later; the stone base of the column and the titles of the temple all fell in fragments to the bottom of the mountain.¹⁰⁴ How could people like Erzhu be compared to the Duke of Zhou, one of most respected figures in Chinese history and one of the founders of Chinese tradition? The story implied that the people like Erzhu Rong definitely did not deserve so honorable a historical position, because of what he had done and because of what he was. In Yang's book Heaven showed its will in an extreme way, through lightning, which was seen as a most serious heavenly punishment in traditional Chinese society.

By showing a clear difference between the people in Luoyang and some non-Chinese people like Erzhu, Yang separated some Xianbei people from the part

¹⁰⁴ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.102; Jenner, p.196.

of non-Chinese people by culture. He included the ruling house and some other Xianbei people in Luoyang into the part of Han Chinese people and once again reconfirmed that Northern Wei Luoyang was a Han Chinese city.

However, Yang Xuanzhi did not refer in a derogatory way to all the people who were called 'Hu' in his book. The meaning of the word sometimes just indicated people from the west. For example, when Yang mentioned Bodhidharma, Yang said that he was a Persian Hu.¹⁰⁵ When he tells us that the Puti (Bodhi) Monastery and the Fayun Monastery were founded by Hu monks,¹⁰⁶ the word 'Hu' here did not involve any value judgment. In fact sometimes he talked about Hu monks in a respectful way. For example, in the section on the Rongjue Monastery (融覺寺) Yang called Bodhiruci a Hu monk of Tianzhu (India), but he tells us what an extraordinary scholar he was and how he translated Chinese Buddhist works into Hu script in order to help the western people to read.¹⁰⁷

We also see some cases in Song Yun and Huisheng's journey to the west. Yang tells us that when they came to the city of Shan-shan (鄯善城), the master of the city had three thousand men with which to protect it from the Western Hu.¹⁰⁸ In the country of Wuchang (烏場國, Udhyana) Song Yun and Huisheng also saw an aged willow growing from a small sprig by which Buddha used to clean his teeth. They said the tree was known in the Hu tongue as *poluo*.¹⁰⁹ All is tells us that Yang did not look down on all the people called 'Hu'; sometimes he just used the word to refer to the western people and their culture. In some examples we also see that he used the word to talk about a respected person. He only used the word

¹⁰⁵ *LYQLJ* ch.1, p.13.

¹⁰⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.153; ch.4, p.176.

¹⁰⁷ *LYQLJ* ch.4, p.197.

¹⁰⁸ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.209; Jenner, p.255.

¹⁰⁹ *LYQLJ* ch.5, p.212; Jenner, p.263.

in a derogatory way in talking about the Erzhu for they destroyed his cultural Luoyang. The Erzhu were unforgivable because of what they had done to Luoyang, not because of their ethnicity. He made his judgment not by people's racial differences but by their degrees of civilization. From *LYQLJ* we see that Yang Xuanzhi was not a narrow-minded racist but a culturist; for him cultural identity was the most important way to identify and classify people and places. His Luoyang was essentially a civilized city in the Chinese tradition. The physical ethnicity of its inhabitants was something he generally played down.

Indicating the differences between Han Chinese culture in Northern Wei Luoyang and Han Chinese culture in the South

Showing the difference between the people in Luoyang and some non-Chinese people was not difficult. Their culture was different. However, to show the difference between the Han Chinese culture in Northern Wei Luoyang and in the South was not easy, because people in the South were mostly Han Chinese. What Yang Xuanzhi tried to do in his book was to show that the true traditions of Chinese culture flourished in the north, and that some aspects of southern culture were 'barbaric'.

It is easy to see that Yang Xuanzhi looked down on people in or from the south. In many places in *LYQLJ* we find that Yang calls the southerners 'Wu people (Wu ren, 吳人)'. He calls the Southern dynasties bogus regimes, refers to their rulers directly by their personal names, make jokes about them and criticizes the people and culture of the South. In writing about southerners he shows some attitudes that would be classified as racist in modern society.

For discussing Yang Xuanzhi's attitudes toward the southerners and the

culture in the south, I have to quote a long story which contained many messages about what Yang and the people like him and the southern educated people thought about each other and their culture. I will discuss this long quotation paragraph by paragraph. Yang tells us that:

East of Xiaoyi ward was the Little Market of Luoyang, and to the north was the house of Zhang Jingren (張景仁), the General of Chariots and Cavalry. Zhang Jingren was a man from Shanyin in Guiji (會稽山陰). Early in *zhengguang* (520-525)¹¹⁰ he came over with Xiao Baoyin (蕭寶夤). He was appointed Commander of the Forest of Wings Guard and given a house south of the city wall in the Guizheng (Returning to Orthodoxy) ward, also known as the Wu Quarter because many of the southerners who came over lived there. It was near the Yi and Luo rivers to let them feel more at home. There were over three thousand households in the ward and they had set up their own street market selling mainly aquatic delicacies. People called it the Fish and Turtle Market. Zhang Jingren found living here so humiliating that he moved to the Xiaoyi (孝義) ward. As the court wanted at the time to welcome men from distant parts it treated southerners with great generosity. Men who had tucked up their skirts to cross the Yangzi were given very high positions. Zhang Jingren enjoyed fame and high office although he performed no service.

Here Yang gives us several messages; (1) refugees like Zhang Jingren and Xiao Baoyin who came from the south were given high positions in the government

¹¹⁰ A wrong date is recorded in *LYQLJ* as early years of *jingming* (景明, 500-503), it is corrected by Professor Jenner in his *Memories*, footnote 84, p.200.

even though they made no contribution to the state; (2) the southerners usually lived together in an area close to rivers where the atmosphere and the circumstances were similar to their homeland. This large number of southerners who lived in Luoyang still had southern lifestyles under the arrangement made by the Northern Wei and out of choice; (3) the area the southerners lived in was called Wu Quarter, the market they set up was called Fish and Turtle Market. Both were not honoured names, implying that they were looked down upon by the people in Luoyang; (4) Zhang Jingren did not want to stay with his own people, he was trying to avoid his original identity and win acceptance from Luoyang's rulers.

The next paragraph deals with a brief interlude when Luoyang was under southern occupation.

In the second year of *yongan* (529) Xiao Yan (蕭衍) sent the Head Clerk Chen Qingzhi (陳慶之) to escort the Prince of Beihai when he usurped the imperial throne in Luoyang. Chen Qingzhi then became Imperial Assistant. Zhang Jingren, who had known Chen Qingzhi in the south, prepared a banquet for him and invited him home. The Deputy Minister of Agriculture Xiao Biao (蕭彪) and Junior Assistant Head of the Chancellery Zhang Song (張嵩), both southerners, were also there; the Counsellor Yang Yuanshen (楊元慎) and the Palace Counsellor Wang Xun were the only gentlemen from the northern plains present. When he was drunk Chen Qingzhi said to Xiao Biao and Zhang Song, 'The Wei dynasty is flourishing but it is still referred to as a barbarian one. The true succession should be south of the Yangzi, and the imperial jade seal of the Qin dynasty is now in the Liang court.'

This started a serious argument between northerners and southerners and this argument was a most important declaration of Yang Xuanzhi's cultural allegiance.

The argument was started by the southerners. Their concerns were (1) even if the Northern Wei had been developing their civilization they were still barbarian, this was according to the ethnic origin of the ruling house of Northern Wei; (2) the southerners claimed that they were the true heirs of Chinese traditions, also because of their ethnic origin; (3) the evidence of their declaration was the imperial jade seal of the Qin dynasty which had been a symbol of legitimacy of a dynasty since the Han dynasty.

‘South of the Yangzi,’ replied Yang Yuanshen solemnly, ‘they enjoy a temporary peace in their remote corner. Much of your land is wet; it is cursed with malaria and crawling with insects. Frogs and toads share a single hole while men live in the same flocks with birds. You are the gentlemen of the cropped hair, and none of you have long heads. You tattoo the puny bodies with which you are endowed. Floating on the Three Rivers or rowing on the Five Lakes you are untouched by the Rites and the Music and cannot be reformed by official statutes. Although some Qin (秦) survivors and Han convicts provided an admixture of Han speech, the awkward languages of Min (閩) and Chu (楚) are beyond improvement. You may have a monarchy but your rulers are overweening and your masses unruly. This was why Liu Shao (劉劭) murdered his father and Liu Xiulong (劉休龍) later committed incest with his mother. Such breaches of human propriety make you no better than birds and beasts. On top of this the Princess of Shanyin (山陰公主) used to ask for bought men as husbands, ignoring the jeers in her domestic debauchery. You, sirs, are still soaked in these old ways and have not yet absorbed civilization. You are like the people of Yangdi (陽翟) who are so

used to goitres that they do not find them ugly.’ ‘Our Wei dynasty has received the mandate of heaven, founding a stable government by Mount Song (嵩) and River Lo (洛). The Five Mountains are our peaks and the Four Seas are our home. Our laws to reform the people are comparable to the achievements of the Five Emperors. Our flourishing court ritual, music, constitution, and edicts excel those of the hundred kings. If you fishes and turtles come to pay homage at our court out of admiration for our justice, drinking from our pools and eating our rice and millet, how can you be so arrogant?’ When Chen Qingzhi and the others heard this elegant and cultured speech from Yang Yuanshen they rushed about in all directions keeping their mouths shut and pouring with sweat.

Such was the picture that Yang Xuanzhi and people like him gave of the southerners and Han Chinese culture in the south. The area south of the Yangzi River had been seen as an uncivilized area, though its culture had been fast developing since the Eastern Jin dynasty lost their control in the north. Han Chinese history in the south was much shorter than that of Luoyang. Yang emphasized that where the southerners lived was not a place of Han Chinese culture, and it could not provide Chinese cultural influence on the southerners. For Yang the place the southerners lived in fact was barbaric. Under such circumstances the southerners could neither improve their culture nor keep the purity of their Han Chinese culture, as they were already affected by the southern barbarian culture. However, the southerners did not realize that they had already been transformed into barbarians by the culture surrounding them, so that their claim to be true heirs of Han Chinese culture and tradition was some kind of

sickness. By contrast, Northern Wei was founded in north China, the source of Han Chinese culture which had been a long history. The people living in a place like Luoyang had received all kinds of Han Chinese cultural influences and also had been developing it to an unprecedented level. They had created a high civilization. They were not barbarians but the southerners were. It is clear that Yang wanted to create a thoroughly Chinese cultural identity for the northern people based on where they lived and what kind of culture the place provided for them.¹¹¹

A few days later Chen Qingzhi fell ill with acute heart pains. When he asked people to cure him Yang Yuanshen said that he could do it, so Chen Qingzhi asked him to come. Yang Yuanshen filled his mouth with water and spurted it over Chen Qingzhi. ‘Wu devils’, he said, ‘live in Jiankang. You wear your hats too small and your clothes too short. You call yourselves “*a-nong* (阿儂)” and each other “*a-bang* (阿傍)”. Your staple foods are the seeds of tares and grasses; you drink tea, sip at water-lily soup, and suck at crab spawn. In your hands you hold cardamoms and you chew betel in your mouths. When you find yourselves in the central lands you long for your home country and scamper back to Danyang (丹陽) as fast as you can go. As for your humbly born devils, you catch fish and turtles with your nets from islands in rivers when your hair is still long. You nibble at water-chestnut and lotus-root, pick “chicken-head” plants, and regard frog broth and oyster stew as great delicacies. In your hempen coats and grass sandals you ride facing backwards on water-buffaloes. On the Yuan (沅), Xiang (湘), Jiang (江) and Han (漢)

¹¹¹ See Wang Meihsiu, “Kongjian jue ding wen hua” (空間決定文化), in *Lishi, kongjian, shenfen—Luoyang qielan ji de wenhua lunshu*, pp.188-218.

rivers you wield the oar as you float along with the current or row upstream; you gape like fishes as you swim. You whirl white grasscloth in your dances, scattering the waves as you sing your ballads. Clear off as fast as you can—go back to your Yang province (揚州).'¹¹²

Obviously this description of southern culture was designed to belittle it. At the end of this, the longest argument in his book, Yang Xuanzhi put a conclusion into the mouth of Chen Qingzhi, a southerner who had seen the light.

When the Prince of Peihai was executed Chen Qingzhi scurried back to Xiao Yan, who appointed him Governor of the Metropolitan province. Chen Qingzhi gave far more responsible jobs to northerners than had been given before, which made Zhu Yi so indignant that he asked why. 'Ever since Jin and Song times', Chen Qingzhi replied, 'Luoyang had been called a desolate region, and here we say that everyone north of the Yangzi is a barbarian; but on my recent visit to Luoyang I found out that families of capped and gowned scholars live on the northern plains, where proper ceremonial and protocol flourish. I cannot find words to describe the magnificent personages I saw. In the language of the old saying, the imperial capital was majestic, a model for the four quarters. How could I fail to honour northerners? Men who have climbed Mount Tai think little of mere hills, and those who have been on the Yangzi or the open sea despise the Xiang and Yuan.' From then on Chen Qingzhi adopted the Wei style of feathered canopies, insignia, and dress. Gentlemen and commoner alike south of the Yangzi competed in imitating

¹¹² *LYQLJ* ch.2, pp.113-114; Jenner, p.202.

him; wide-skirted gowns and broad belts were worn even in Moling (秣陵).¹¹³ It seems to me unlikely that people in the south would have changed their life style because of what Yang Yuanshen had said and what Chen Qingzhi thought. However, Yang Xuanzhi had made his point here: Seeing Luoyang a desolate region and people north of the Yangzi as barbarians was a serious mistake. The identity he creates for Luoyang is as the true centre of Chinese civilization. He also enjoys pointing out the mistakes of southern scholars.

The Gu River (穀水) winds around the city walls until it flows eastward outside the Jianchun Gate and joins the Yang Canal (陽渠) at the Stone Bridge. The bridge had four columns, and on one south of the river was the inscription ‘Built by the High Artificer Ma Xian (馬憲) in the fourth year of *yangjia* (陽嘉, 135) in the Han’. In the third year of *xiaochang* (527) in our dynasty floods from a torrential downpour destroyed the bridge, burying the southern columns. The two columns north of the road still stand. In my view the statements in Liu Chengzhi’s *Mountains and Rivers Yesterday and Today* (劉澄之山川古今記)¹¹⁴ and Dai Yanzhi’s *The Western Expedition* (戴延之西征記) that this bridge was built in the first year of *taikang* (280) during the Jin are completely wrong. As I see it they were both born south of the Yangzi and had never traveled in the central lands until they passed briefly through them while campaigning, which meant that they did not see most of the antiquities with their own eyes and so fabricated accounts on the basis of what they heard

¹¹³ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.114; Jenner, p.203.

¹¹⁴ *Mountains and Rivers Yesterday and Today* (山川古今記) also titled *Yongchu shanchuan gujin ji* (永初山川古今記), *Yongchu junguo zhi* (永初郡國志) was written by Liu Chengzhi of the Southern Qi dynasty. *The Western Expedition* (西征記) was written by Dai Yanzhi (戴延之), also named Dai Zuo (戴祚). The two books are recorded in *Sui shu* 32. jingjizhi.

on their travels. They have been deceiving later students for too long.¹¹⁵

In this story Yang shows us evidence that the southerners were no longer the true heirs of Han Chinese culture. They could not get their history right. All they had was memories of the north, memories that could be reduced by time. In a short sentence, Yang tells us that the southern scholars had been away from Luoyang too long to be sure about the details of Luoyang. Their insistence on their Chinese cultural identity depended on their memories of the past and that was unreliable.

The way of life of Chinese in the south, one of the factors in cultural identity, had also changed. In *LYQLJ* there is another story about how Wang Su reverted to a northern diet when he had lived in Luoyang for some years.

Yang said that when Wang Su first came to the north he did not eat or drink such things as mutton or yoghurt-drink, feeding himself on carp broth and drinking tea. But several years later, when at a palace banquet with the emperor Gao zu, Wang Su consumed a great deal of mutton and yoghurt. Gao zu was astonished. Wang Su was then asked to compare the difference between Northern food and southern food. He answered, 'Mutton is the finest product of the land, and fish the best of the watery tribe. They are both delicacies in their different ways. As far as flavour goes there is a great gap between them. Mutton is like a big country the size of Qi (齊) and Lu (魯) and fish are like such small states as Zhu (邾) and Ju (莒). Tea is way off the mark and is the very slave of yoghurt.' His answer made Gao zu very happy and then Gao zu gave them, the guests of the banquet, a riddle, the answer to it is a Chinese character 'xi (習)' meaning 'practicing', 'learning', 'used to', or 'changing gradually'.

The palace Counsellor Liu Gao (劉縞) made a practice of drinking only tea

¹¹⁵ *LYQLJ* ch.2, p.70; Jenner, p.176.

out of admiration for Wang Su's style. The Prince of Pengcheng (彭城王) said to him, 'Instead of the eight princely foods, sir, you are like a drowned slave. You could rightly be compared to the man by the sea who followed the foul smell or the woman who practiced frowning.' The Prince of Pengcheng also teased a southern slave in his household in this way. From then on everyone was shamed out of drinking the tea provided at banquets given by the court and the nobility except the refugees from the other side of the Yangzi who had come from afar to submit; they still liked it.¹¹⁶

This story contained some complex indications about southerners and northerners. It is not clear whether Wang Su's change of diet was because he wanted to be polite on a formal occasion or because he wanted to win more acceptance in high society in Luoyang. When he said that tea was the slave of yoghurt, he was ranking southern culture below northern culture. That made the northern people quite happy. However, did he do this sincerely? He still liked to drink tea. Drinking tea was a mark of southerners in Luoyang. Moreover, Yang tells us through the story that people in Luoyang always hoped to have a high cultural identity, a true Chinese cultural identity in which drinking tea had no part.

Nor should we ignore Gao zu's riddle: learning and practising. People always could create their cultural identity by learning and practising. It was not determined by ethnic origin or the past. As we shall see in the next chapter.

In sum, Yang Xuanzhi reconstructed Northern Wei Luoyang not only for personal nostalgia but also to reconstruct different identities for the city and what it represented. Through constructing identities for the city he looked back and

¹¹⁶ *LYQLJ* ch.3, p.136; Jenner, pp.215-216.

re-measured the history of the Northern Wei Luoyang period and its final crisis. By constructing the identities of Luoyang he also redefined the identities for himself and the people like him who had been living in the north under non-Chinese rule and experiencing flourishing sinification. He also made a clear response to southerners' claims to be the true heirs of Chinese tradition by asserting that the north had preserved it. His book may also be expressing hopes that Chinese culture would continue to be dominant as the Eastern Wei order broke down.

Chapter 4

Yanshi jiaxun and Yan Zhitui

Yanshi jiaxun (顏氏家訓) was a book which reflected a different kind of identity problem during the Northern and Southern dynasties. Compared with Huijiao and Yang Xuanzhi, Yan Zhitui (顏之推), the author of *Yanshi jiaxun*, had harder identity problems to deal with. On the other hand, the identities which Yan Zhitui reconstructed for himself and recommended to his family in *Yanshi jiaxun* were more useful in real life and more oriented toward the future.

***Yanshi Jiaxun*---A family instruction and a book for recreating identity**

Yanshi Jiaxun (YSJX) was written by Yan Zhitui (531-590+) in the late period of the Northern and Southern dynasties.¹

The origin of the family instruction writings can be traced back to Confucius who demanded that his son learn the *Book of Songs* and the proper rituals (*li*, 禮). Similar works were written in the Han Dynasty. However, unlike the *Yanshi Jiaxun*, a book with systematic discourses, these writings were usually fragments in essays or a single essay. The contents of family instructions prior to the *Yanshi Jiaxun* usually fell into one of the following three categories. The first type is instructions

¹ See Miao Yue (繆鉞) “Yan Zhitui nianpu (顏之推年譜)”, in *Dushi cunqao* (讀史存稿), Hongkong: Sanlian shuju, 1978; pp.226-252.

for family members' behaviour and demands that family members' be diligent in studying. The second type is posthumous: testaments setting out rules for family members. The third type includes an account of the author's own history and a family genealogy.² *Yanshi Jiaxun* has a much wider scope than earlier family instructions. It not only includes all of these categories but also discusses phonology, literature, art, social customs and religion. Therefore, Zhou Fagao (周法高) held that, 'The family instruction genre set by the *Yanshi Jiaxun* is unprecedented. Furthermore, its essence could not be captured even by later followers.'³ In the history of Chinese writings, *Yanshi Jiaxun* was usually regarded not only as the "starter of the family instruction literature"⁴ but also "the model of the family instructions."⁵ The book has been widely circulated since early Tang times. It was welcomed by both Confucians and Buddhists, and was also propagated by the descendants of the author.⁶

On the title page of this book the author is usually given as "*Bei Qi Huangmen Shilang Yan Zhitui* (北齊黃門侍郎顏之推)"--Yan Zhitui, the supervising Secretary of the Northern Qi, but in fact *YSJX* was not completed during the Northern Qi; parts of the book mention occurrences and events early in the Sui (隋) dynasty. There are also some words replaced to avoid the personal

² For a categorization of the family instruction literature, see Zhou Fagao (周法高), "Jiaxun wenxue de yuanliu (家訓文學的源流)" in *Dalu zazhi* (大陸雜誌) 22: 2, 22:3,22:4; 1961.

³ See Zhou Fagao, "Jiaxun wenxue de yuanliu".

⁴ See Chen Zhensun (陳振蓀) of Song dynasty, *Zhizhai Shulu Jieti* (直齋書錄解題) 10, "Zajia lei (雜家類)" and Wang Sanpin (王三聘) of Ming dynasty, "Jiaxun (家訓)" in his *Gujin Shiwu Kao* (古今事物考) chapter 2. Following their comments many researchers have referred to *Yanshi Jiaxun* with such praises.

⁵ See You Yazhi (尤雅姿), *Yan Zhitui ji qi jiaxun yanjiu* (顏之推及其家訓研究), PhD diss., Taipei: Guoli shifan daxue guowen jianjiu suo, 1991; p.279.

⁶ See Wang Liqi (王利器), "Preface (敘錄)" of *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* (顏氏家訓集解), Taipei: Hanjing wenhua gongsi, 1983; p.1.

name of the emperor of the Sui dynasty. In the dynastic history *Sui shu* (隋書) it is also mentioned that Yan Zhitui took part in a meeting to discuss court music in the second year of *kaihuang* (開皇, 582).⁷ The book was probably started late in the Northern Qi and was completed in early Sui.⁸ The reason why this Northern Qi official title was used, according to Wang Liqi (王利器), was because whoever put this title on the book thought this rank was the highest one in his career.⁹

The book includes twenty chapters in seven *juan* (卷). The contents are: Preface, Teaching children, Brothers, Remarriage, Family management, Customs and manners, Admiration of men of ability, To encourage study, On essays, Reputation and reality, Meeting practical affairs, To save trouble, Be content, A warning against becoming warriors, The nourishment of life, Turn your heart to Buddhism, Evidence on writing, On phonology, Miscellaneous arts and Last will. When we read the book we find all chapters are concerned with practical family matters. It looks like a manual for guiding his family in many subjects. It is, as the author says in his preface, a book of instructions for the Yan family.

What is remarkable is the number of different matters on which he gives advice. The book is in fact a handbook on how the Yan family was to create and preserve its identity in troubled times.

The author of *YSJX*---Yan Zhitui and his life

Yan Zhitui's family was originally from Linyi in Langye (琅邪臨沂)

⁷ See *Sui shu* (隋書) "Yin yue zhi (音樂志)".

⁸ See Li Zhenxing (李振興), "Introduction (導讀)" of *Xinyi Yanshi Jiaxun* (新譯顏氏家訓), Taipei: Sanmin shuju, 2001: pp. 2-3.

⁹ See Wang Liqi (王利器), "Preface (敘錄)" of *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* (顏氏家訓集解), Taipei: Hanjing wenhua gongsi, 1983: pp.1-2.

Linyi, Shandong). His ninth-generation ancestor Yan Han (顏含) followed Sima Rui (司馬睿), later Emperor Yuan (元帝, r.317-323) of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317-420) and moved the family to the south when the Jin dynasty lost power in northern China.¹⁰ In Sima Rui's court Yan Han was entitled the Marquis of Jing, the highest rank ever bestowed on the Yan family. Yan Han created a respected status for his family in southern China although their social status did not stand equal to the most aristocratic families, such as the Wang (王) Family and the Xie (謝) family.¹¹

After several generations, Yan Zhitui's family still enjoyed the privilege of holding high positions in society and in the court. Yan Zhitui's grandfather Yan Jianyuan (顏見遠) was a learned scholar who served the Emperor He (和帝, 501-502) of the Southern Qi (479-502) from when the emperor was still a prince. When Xiao Yan (464-549), the future Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty, took the throne from the Southern Qi and founded his own regime in 502, Yan Jianyuan starved himself to death in protest.¹² Yan Zhitui's father Yan Xie (顏勰) so respected his grandfather's loyalty that he avoided jobs at court and only worked for princes in the provinces. Yan Xie worked for Xiao Yi (蕭繹), the Prince of Xiangdong (湘東王) and the future Emperor Liang Yuan (梁元帝, 552-555) of the Liang Dynasty in Jingzhou (荊州) for almost his whole life. He was famous for his

¹⁰ For the biography of Yan Han, see *Jin shu* (晉書) 88, "Biography of Yan Han" included in the collective biographies of "Biographies of Xiao you (孝友)".

¹¹ According to Albert E. Dien, the Yans' family belonged to the second category of lower status of noblemen. See Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+): A Buddho-Confucian", in Arthur F. Wright and Denis Twitchett (ed.) *Confucian Personalities*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962): pp.43-64; Mao Hanguang (毛漢光), *Zhongguo zhonggu shehui shilun* (中國中古社會史論). Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1988.

¹² See *Liang shu* 50, "Biography of Yan Xie (顏勰)": *Nan shi* (南史) 72, "Biography of Yan Xie", both biographies are included in the collective biographies of "Biographies of wenxue (文學)". Also see *Zhou shu* (周書) 40, "Biography of Yan Zhiyi (顏之儀)".

wide learning and his calligraphy; he also was a writer and a poet.¹³ His abilities and achievements in art and literature had deep influences on the younger generations of the Yan family. I will discuss this in a later section of this chapter.

Yan Zhitui had two elder brothers, Yan Zhiyi (顏之儀) and Yan Zhishan (顏之善).¹⁴ When their father died young, his elder brothers took on the responsibilities of guiding Yan Zhitui's education. Yan Zhitui was born in Jiangling (江陵) when his father still served Xiao Yi as a secretary in the prince's office. His family followed Xiao Yi to other places and were supported by him for many years. When Yan Zhitui was eighteen he became a secretary and a gentleman-in-waiting to Xiao Yi. In this year Hou Jing (侯景) started his rebellion. The tragedy of Yan Zhitui's life and of his country was beginning. In 551, when Yan Zhitui was twenty-one, he was captured by Hou Jing's troops in Yingzhou (郢州) and was sent to the capital Jiankang (建康). Next year the rebellion of Hou Jing was suppressed by Liang's armies and Xiao Yi became the emperor of the Liang dynasty in Jiangling. Yan Zhitui was set free and returned to official life. He served Xiao Yi as a Gentleman Cavalier Attendant (*San qi shi lang*, 散騎侍郎) and was put in charge of editing the imperial library. In the third year of *chengsheng* (承聖, 554), when Yan Zhitui was twenty-four, the armies of the Western Wei, shortly to become the Northern Zhou, invaded their capital Jiangling. The Liang court could not fight back for they had never recovered from the serious damage caused by Hou Jing. Xiao Yi, Emperor Yuan di, was killed and many officials, gentry and aristocrats were captured by the Western Wei armies. Among them were Yan Zhitui and one of his

¹³ See *Liang shu* (梁書) 50, "Biography of Yan Xie (顏勰)" and another biography for him with the same title in *Nan shi* 72. His biography was classified in "*wenxue* (文學)", the collective biographies for writers and poets.

¹⁴ See Miao Yue, "Yan Zhitui nianpu" in *Du shi cun gao*: p.229.

elder brothers, Yan Zhiyi. They both were sent to Chang'an. In the first year of *taiping* (太平, 556) of Liang dynasty, also the seventh year of *tianbao* (天保) of Northern Qi (北齊), Yan Zhitui fled with his family from Chang'an to the Northern Qi capital Ye because he had heard that Northern Qi would send Liang envoys and others back to the south. However, in the next year Liang was overthrown by Chen (陳) while Yan was still waiting in Ye (鄴) to be sent back to the south. Yan Zhitui had nowhere else to go. That year Yan Zhitui was twenty-seven. He stayed in Northern Qi territory because he had no other choice.

Yan Zhitui became an official of the Northern Qi from the ninth year of *tianbao* (558) when he was twenty-eight. He held several different official positions until promoted to his highest position, *Huangmen shilang* (黃門侍郎), in the third year of *wuping* (武平, 572) when he was forty-two. He also became one of the editors working in the *Wenlinguan* (文林館, Institute of Letters) where scholars compiled encyclopedias for the government. As Yan was talented, learned and good at writing he became an important figure in the *Wenlinguan*. He was in charge of writing most court documents. He made friends with Zu Ting (祖珽), one of the prime ministers of Emperor Hou zhu (後主) of the Northern Qi (r.565-577). They often talked about literature and assessing people in the *Wenlinguan*.

Wenlinguan was founded for cultural purposes; however, it also had political purposes as Miao Yue (繆鉞) suggested.¹⁵ In the northern Qi court there was always conflict between Xianbei and Chinese, between military officials and civil officials, especially when Yan Zhitui was working in the *Wenlinguan*. His close friend Zu Ting was seen as a leader of the Chinese civil officials, and the *Wenlinguan* was seen as the place where Chinese scholars and civil officials gathered together and

¹⁵ See Miao Yue, "Yan Zhitui nianpu" in *Du shi cun gao*: p.241.

tried to enlarge their power. In 573 the conflict resulted in a tragic incident.

In the winter of 573 the emperor of Northern Qi decided to go to the northern city of Jinyang as he usually did when his armies were trying very hard to stop the southern troops which had moved northward successfully for some time. Some officials thought that the emperor should not leave the capital in this critical moment so they petitioned the emperor to remain in the capital and wait for a better time for his imperial journey. A Xianbei official, Han Feng (韓鳳), told the emperor that the motivation of these officials was that they were planning to rebel. These officials, including four who were members of the *Wenlinguan*, were executed without further investigations, their families were enslaved and their property was confiscated. As Dien pointed out, the violence and cruelty of the reprisal does not seem at all consonant with the remonstrance itself. Behind the whole affair we may glimpse the friction between the Chinese and the Xianbei at the court.¹⁶ Yan Zhitui was supposed to sign the petition; however for reasons that are not clear he did not put his name on it. He came through the crisis unharmed but it undoubtedly had a great influence on Yan Zhitui's life and thinking. That year he was forty-three.

Nothing is known about Yan's life from 573 to 575. In 575 his name was connected with a suggestion about a tax law to support state finance. In the first year of *chengguang* (承光, 577) of Emperor You zhu (幼主) of the Northern Qi, the Northern Zhou (北周) conquered the Northern Qi without much resistance. Yan Zhitui was moved back to Chang'an together with other officials of the Northern Qi. Under the Northern Zhou Yan Zhitui probably had no official job in the court

¹⁶ Albert E. Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+): A Buddho-Confucian", in Arthur Wright and Denis Twitchett (ed.) *Confucian personalities* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962); pp.43-64.

for about three years until the second year of *daxiang* (大象, 580), when he was fifty. He became *yushi shangshi* (御史上史), in the Censorate. The following year, Yang Jian took the throne from the emperor of Northern Zhou and made himself the first emperor (Wen di 文帝, 581-600) of a new dynasty, Sui (581-618). There are few records about Yan Zhitui in the early years of the Sui dynasty. As we have seen he participated in a meeting to discuss court music in 582 although his proposal was not accepted by the emperor. We also know that he was appointed to receive envoys from the Chen dynasty in 583 and he took part in an argument about the new calendar which was to be used by the new dynasty that lasted more than ten years from the fourth year of *kaihuang* (開皇, 584). There was no evidence that Yan held any official position under the Sui dynasty; however, in his last year, the tenth year of *kaihuang* (590), he was summoned by the crown prince to be his Instructor and received very high honours. The date of Yan Zhitui's death is not known; however, there is no record about him after 590.¹⁷

Yan Zhitui's problems of Identity

Throughout his life, Yan Zhitui lived under several different regimes, half of them founded by non-Chinese people. In his autobiographical prose-poem, "*Guan wo sheng fu* (觀我生賦, A Reflection on My Life)," he said, "Throughout my life I went through three shifts." According to his own commentary, these three shifts refer to the Rebellion of Hou Jing in which the Emperor Jian wen of Liang was

¹⁷ This brief introduction of Yan Zhitui's life is based on *Bei Qi shu* (北齊書) 45. "Biography of Yan Zhitui" which attached to "Wenyuan zhuan (文苑)", including his biographic prose-poem "Guan wosheng fu": *Yanshi jiaxun* and Miao Yue's "Yan Zhitui nianpu".

killed; the attack of the Western Wei armies which almost destroyed the government of Liang and took him back north as a prisoner; and the termination of the Northern Qi by the Northern Zhou.¹⁸ However, in fact Yan Zhitui went through four shifts. He does not mention the termination of the Northern Zhou by the Sui regime.

He had to deal with not only the adaptation to a new environment but also the issue of identity when residing outside of his mother country. Obviously, this formed a major problem that troubled him throughout his life. In *Guan wosheng fu*, he mentioned that he was a man of a destroyed kingdom, and he compared himself to Jing Bo (井伯) of the Spring and Autumn period and Su Wu (蘇武) of the Han Dynasty.¹⁹ Jing Bo became a slave of the Qin State after his country was destroyed. Su Wu was sent out as an envoy to the Xiongnu (匈奴) but was held hostage and had to serve as a shepherd for nineteen years. Yan Zhitui also compared himself to Lady Wang Zhaojun (王昭君) and Princess Wusun (烏孫公主) who both had to marry foreign rulers forge political relationships between Han Chinese and people of other ethnicities and therefore were exiles for their entire lives. Metaphors such as the birds whose wings were hurt when its home caught fire, and fish whose gills were exposed when it was taken out of water were used in Yan Zhitui's prose-poem to describe his own situation. He also regretted that there was no place for him within the universe that was so vast. He made fun of himself as like the man of Shouling (壽陵) who tried to imitate the graceful steps of Handan (邯鄲), and ended up forgetting his own way of walking even before he could learn the new steps. He was also like a traveller who was totally lost on a big

¹⁸ See *Bei Qi shu* 45. "Biography of Yan Zhitui".

¹⁹ See note 18.

mountain and did not know where to head to. All these descriptions of himself point to an identity problem.

When captured and brought to northern China, Yan Zhitui had to deal with the identity issue which could be further analyzed into different aspects. These various facets of his personal identity issue caused Yan Zhitui deep pain. In Yan Zhitui's biographic prose-poem, we find traces of this pain. In another of Yan Zhitui's works, the *Yanshi Jiaxun (The Family Instruction of the Yan Family)*, we can find how he worked on releasing this pain and reconstructing identities for himself and his family, so as to avoid such disaster in future.

The identities Yan Zhitui reconstructed for himself and his family

For preserving family status and for helping the Yan family to continue in the future, Yan Zhitui gave advice to his descendants on many different aspects of the identities they would need. By constructing those identities, Yan Zhitui also reconstructed identities for himself. Of all the identities he reconstructed, family identity came first.

Family identity

In *YSJX* family identity is regarded as the most important identity. Since the Han dynasty, families were seen as the core and the foundation of Chinese society. Dynasties could be short-lived, but a family could last for many generations over many dynasties if it was well managed and their members acted properly. When Yan Zhitui lived under the Southern dynasties, the influence of aristocratic families was very great, sometimes even greater than that of ruling houses. They occupied high status, controlled social resources and formed alliances with each other to

keep their wealth and power. During the period of Northern and Southern dynasties personal status depended on family status.

The Yan family were middle-level aristocrats when they lived in the South. The origins of this family identity went back to Yan Zhitui's ninth generation ancestor Yan Han, whom Yan Zhitui frequently refers to. The most important contribution he made to his family was that he established the social status of the Yan family by political services to the ruling house of Eastern Jin. Yan Han's descendants maintained the status he gave them and enjoyed the privileges which belonged to it until Yan Zhitui's generation. When Yan Zhitui was captured and sent to the North, he lost his family status at the same time. As we have seen, in most of the time of his life in the North he had no official post or only had low ranking positions. He earned those positions by his talents and abilities, not by his family background. Had his family been a powerful one in the north the situation would have been different. These experiences taught him that personal abilities and family identity were both important to a person.

In the advice he gives Yan Zhitui gives much attention to how a family should be run if it was to win and maintain a secure status.

How was this kind of family identity to be? Important internal tasks were the education of children, keeping good relationship between brothers, care in marriage and remarriage and having good management of the family.

Education of children

Yan Zhitui told his family that education was a very old tradition, and that even the sage kings in antiquity needed education.²⁰ He also told his family that

²⁰ See *Yanshi jiaxun jijie* ch.2 "Teaching Children", p.25 and ch.8, "Encourage Study":

education could change one's identity: even a barbarian could become a civilized and loyal man.²¹ Yan's ideas on teaching children focus on three points: starting their education as early as possible, teaching them with both love and strictness and encouraging them to model themselves on people who were admirable.

He told his family the best time for starting teaching children was when they were very young and it should be accompanied with strict training. He said,

As soon as a baby can recognize facial expressions and understand approval and disapproval, training should be begun in doing what he is told and stopping when so ordered. For several years punishment with the bamboo rod should be avoided. Parental strictness and dignity mingled with tenderness will usually lead boys and girls to a feeling of respect and carefulness and so arouse filial piety."²²

If the proper time was missed, the result could be very bad. He said,

After the child has formed proud and arrogant habits, they begin to control him. But whipping the child even to death will not lead him to repentance, while the growing anger of the parents only increases his resentment. After he grows up such a child becomes at last nothing but a scoundrel.²³

In the way of teaching he insisted on a strict policy. He told his family that ordinary parents who could not teach their sons and daughters did not intend to lead them into wickedness; they feared that heavy reprimands would cause the children loss of face, and could not bring themselves to injure the children by

p.141; Teng Ssu-yu, *Family instructions for the Yen clan: Yen shih chia-hsün*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968); p.4 and p.52. In this thesis the text of *Yanshi jiaxun* is all quoted from Wang Liqi, *Yanshi jiaxun jijie*, noted as *YSJXJJ*; the English translation is based on Teng's translation, noted as Teng.

²¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "Encourage Study", p.192; Teng, 73.

²² See *YSJXJJ* ch.2, "Teaching Children", p.25; Teng, p.4.

²³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.2, "Teaching Children", p.25; Teng, p.3..

rough beating. He made comparison with medicine: if drugs, medicines, acupuncture and moxibustion were not used, the illness would not be cured.²⁴ Those who were strict in reproof and training were not being cruel to their own flesh and blood. They had no choice.²⁵ He then gave his family examples of failure and success to show his insistence was reasonable.²⁶

Besides strict education, Yan Zhitui also emphasized care in how children made friends and associated with people. He told his family how a sage was not easy to meet and an extraordinary man was rare. Therefore a learner should treasure the opportunities when they meet a model person.²⁷ For him personal influences were very important.

When men are young, their minds and emotions are not settled. With whomever they closely associate, they are imbued, soaked, moulded and dyed with each other's way of thinking, laughing and acting. Even though they have no intention of imitating their associates, they are quietly moved and unconsciously changed, and naturally they end up resembling each other. As for conduct and skill, the case is even clearer, for these are easier to learn. Therefore, "to live with good people is like staying in a room of orchids where, after a long time, one will naturally be sweet-scented; to associate with bad people is like living in a dried-fish shop, where after a long time, one would unavoidably become imbued

²⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.2, "Teaching Children", p.28; Teng, p.4.

²⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.2, "Teaching Children", pp.29-32; Teng, pp.4-7.

²⁶ Dien claimed that this stern attitude toward the rearing of children reflected the bitter lessons of Yan Zhitui's own childhood. Yan Zhitui lost his parents at an early age, and was therefore brought up by his elder brothers after being orphaned. Yan Zhitui contrasted the careful instruction in proper conduct by his parents to the indulgent, undemanding love of his brother, blaming the latter experience for his poor showing in early life. Dien claimed as well that "Behind this lies the assumption that one's natural tendencies are toward evil and must be firmly controlled." See Albert E. Dien, "Yen Chih-tui (531-591+) : A Buddho-Confucian", in Arthur F. Wright, *Confucian Personalities*; pp.43-64.

²⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.7, "Admiration of Men of Ability", p.128; Teng, p.46.

with the odor”. That is why Mo Di (墨翟) grieved about the rapid changes of color when silk is dyed, and why a superior man should be careful in selecting friends and companions. Confucius said, ”Have no friend not equal to yourself.” It is impossible to meet such wise men as Yan and Min in this generation, but any one who is superior to you merits your respect.²⁸

He was obviously concerned with the social environment the family lived in and what kinds of people they associated with. This was part of Chinese education tradition since Confucius’s time. In Chapter Six of his book, “Customs and Manners”, writing about when he lived South of the Yangzi, he had a good educational experience naturally and directly, even apart from working at his books, just as pigweed grows up straight in the midst of hemp.²⁹ There may be something more behind these words. From other indications in his book he may also have worried that his family would be influenced by non-Chinese culture. He expected the younger generation would learn from some other people worthy of respect.

Keeping good relationship between brothers

Brotherhood was another important element in constructing family identity to Yan Zhitui. As he said that “those who regarded human relationships as important must necessarily be trustworthy with brothers who are parts of the same physical inheritance and have the same spirit. As infants they are led by their parents’ left or right hand and cling to their parents’ front or back garments. They eat at the same table, wear the clothes handed down from one to another. In school they have the same tasks and in their walks take the same direction. Even though sometimes

²⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.7, “Admiration of men of ability”, pp.128-129; Teng, pp.46-47.

²⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.6, “Customs and manners”, p.69; Teng, p.22.

quarrelsome and disorderly, brothers still cannot help loving each other.”³⁰ In Yan’s words, brothers are another self to a person. Especially after the death of their parents, they became the most important and closest people in the world to each other. Therefore, he said, “brothers should regard each other as related like an object to its shadow or a sound to its echo. They should love the body bequeathed by the deceased and have sympathy with the spirit which is a part of their own; who else except brothers can share these common elements?”³¹ As brothers are unit, the failure and success of any one of them will relate to each other, moreover, that will influence their whole family. In a short sentence, a successful family is based on a good relationship between brothers. For Yan Zhitui it was essential that the men of future generations of the Yan family should support each other and not quarrel.

Care in marriage and remarriage

The relationship between adult brothers also involved the relationship between their wives. Yan told his family that sisters-in-law often became the ones who hurt the relationship between brothers. He said, “When grown, each marries a wife and begets children. They cannot avoid a little coolness even when there is true affection between them. Sisters-in-law, compared with brothers, are more distantly related. If such distantly connected persons are used to measure intimate affection, it would be like placing a round cover over a square base, necessarily unsuitable. This may be avoided only by deep-seated brotherly affection that cannot be changed by others.”³² As sisters-in-law are the ones who will hurt the

³⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.3, “Brothers”, pp.37-38; Teng, p.9.

³¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.3, “Brothers”, pp.40-41; Teng, pp.9-10.

³² See *YSJXJJ* ch.3, “Brothers”, p.38; Teng, p.9.

relationship between brothers, therefore it has to be prevented. He said, "The relation between elder and younger brothers differs from that of other persons; to expect too much easily causes hatred; close intimacy is apt to produce resentment. Take living in a house as an example. When there is a hole, stop it up; or a crack, plaster it; there will then be no danger of ruin. If one is careless about sparrows and mice and defenseless against wind and rain, walls collapse, pillars are undermined and the house cannot be saved. Servants and concubines are like sparrows and mice; wives and sons like wind and rain—how terrible!"³³ While this suggestion shows sexual prejudice it also shows how important it was to him that brothers stay united. Otherwise the continued identity of the family would collapse.

A stepmother could cause more serious damage to a family. He told his family,

Among the common people a second husband generally loves the fatherless child of the previous husband; but the second wife is certain to maltreat the son of the previous wife. This is not only because women cherish jealousy while husbands have an indulgent inclination, but also because circumstances bring about such a result. A fatherless child of a former husband dares not dispute about family property with the son of the new husband, who fondles and cares for him and gradually love arises and devotion grows between them. A son of a former wife was always ranked above the later children; in training for government service, and in marriage, etc. he was given protection and so he was maltreated by the stepmother. If those doted on were of a different surname the father or mother would be hated; if the mistreatment was done by the stepmother, the brothers became enemies. Any family where such

³³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.3, "Brothers", pp.37-41 and 43; Teng, pp.9-10.

conditions are found, faces disorder in the household.³⁴

He also warned his family against promoting a concubine to the status of wife. From his viewpoint, that kind of promotion would only cause more troubles for the family.

It would cause trouble to a family if their member's marriage or remarriage were not arranged wisely. Interestingly, he saw marriage alliance with people from high status or wealthy families as dangerous to the Yan family's solidarity. Yan Zhitui therefore told his family to be careful about it. He reminded them that their ancestor Yan Han had warned that the family should not covet a girl from a powerful family.³⁵

Simple marriage arrangement irrespective of social position was the established rule of our ancestor Ching Hou (靖侯). Nowadays there are those who sell their daughters for money or buy a woman with a payment of silk. They compare the rank of fathers and grandfathers, take account of trifling items, ask for more and offer less, just as if bargaining in the market. Under such conditions a boorish son-in-law might appear in the family or an arrogant woman assume power in the household. To covet honour and seek for gain are, on the contrary, incurring shame and disgrace; is that not lack of care?³⁶

As we shall see elsewhere, Yan Zhitui believed that a key to family survival was caution and avoiding danger.

Good management of the family

³⁴ *YSJXJJ* ch.4, "Remarriage", pp.49-50; Teng, p.13.

³⁵ *YSJXJJ* ch.13, "Be Content", p.316; Teng, p.126.

³⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family Management", p.64; Teng, p.20.

Family management was another key point to ensure a family maintained a proper identity. Yan Zhitui suggested that the younger generations should manage their family with strict rules as in a government. He thought that this was the best way to prevent making mistakes. He said, “If ferrule and wrath are not used in family discipline, the evil practices of mean-spirited sons will immediately appear. If punishments are not properly awarded, the people will not know how to act. The use of clemency and severity in governing a family is the same as in a state.”³⁷

However, rules and punishment should be reasonable. Family rules that were too strict or too loose would bring trouble and dangers to the family. An official in the south mismanaged his family by using extreme severity and oppression. His wife and concubine together hired an assassin to kill him while he was intoxicated.³⁸ A northern official who was too loose in managing his family suffered when a servant ran away. His house which was rented out was almost demolished for fuel by the slaves and servants of the tenant.³⁹

He also asked his family to live a simple and economical life. He claimed that this was the Confucian tradition.⁴⁰ The family was to work daily at producing food.⁴¹ For Yan Zhitui this not only led them to live frugally but also would give them practical and useful experience for the future. No doubt he drew on his own experience of recovering from catastrophe. He did not want the Yans to be like aristocratic youth.

Living in a time of peace, they do not know the disasters of a time of chaos;

³⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Family Management”, pp.53-54; Teng, p.16.

³⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Family Management”, p.56; Teng, p.17.

³⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Family Management”, pp.56-57; Teng, p.17.

⁴⁰ The words of Confucius see *Lun yu* (論語) “Shu er pian (述而篇)” and “Taibo pian (泰伯篇)”.

⁴¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Family Management”, p.55; Teng, p.16.

lodged in court palaces, they do not know the worries of a battlefield; maintaining a source of regular emolument, they do not know the toil of farming; commanding subordinates and giving order to the people, they do not know the hard work of corvee. Hence it is difficult for them to meet the needs of the times and to handle practical affairs.⁴²

He thought such practical physical exercise would also be useful to family management and to being an official. He criticized again the young generation of Southern dynasties aristocrats. They had lived in Jiangnan (江南) for eight or nine generations, still “not one of them worked hard at farming, but lived on a salary. Since all that they had was done by young slaves, they had never seen the removing of a furrow of soil, nor pulled a blade of grass; they did not know the month in which to sow or reap. How then could they know other fundamentals of world affairs? Therefore, as officials, they could achieve nothing; at home they could manage nothing. All these are faults of idleness and leisure.”⁴³

Based on the simple and economical life, Yan did not encourage his family to accumulate too much property. He had his personal standard of family wealth. He said, “I have always thought that in a family of twenty mouths the male and female slaves should not at most exceed twenty persons, with ten *ch'ing* (頃) of good land and a house just good enough to keep away wind and rain; a carriage and horse simply to take the place of walking stick; and a reserve of some ten thousand coins for the expenses of lucky, unlucky, and urgent circumstances. If the family has more than these requirements, the rest should be distributed in charities; and if it has less than this standard, the difference should not be obtained unrighteously.”⁴⁴

⁴² See *YSJXJJ* ch.11, “Meeting practical Affairs”, p.292; Teng, p.115.

⁴³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.11, “Meeting practical Affairs”, p.297; Teng, pp.116-117.

⁴⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.13, “Be Content”, p.317.; Teng, p.126.

This is slightly different from other family instruction in the later dynasties. In those family instructions the authors usually encouraged their families to accumulate property as a kind of fund for helping relatives in need.⁴⁵

Yan Zhitui had some opinions on women's duties in the family. In his prejudiced view women by their nature could not treat the family fairly, and easily caused trouble in the family. Therefore a family should be very cautious in arranging women's positions and their duties.⁴⁶ He said that women in presiding over household supplies should use wines, foods and clothing only as the ceremonial rules require. In the state women should not be allowed to participate in politics; in family they should not be permitted to meddle in other important matters even if they were wise and talented, they should use their talents in helping men by supplementing the latter's deficiency. He said no hen should herald dawn lest misfortune follow.⁴⁷ He praised northern women, who were so superior to their southern sisters in the arts of weaving and sewing and in embroidery.⁴⁸ His concern was not with equality between the sexes but with ensuring that women did nothing to threaten the continuation of the identity of the family into which they married.

Official identity

Necessity of constructing an identity as an official

⁴⁵ See Zeng Chunhai, "Song Yuan Ming lixuejia de jiaxun" in *Furen xuezhi—renwen yishu zhi bu* no. 28, pp.51-78.

⁴⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family Management", p.62-63; Teng,

⁴⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family management", p.59; Teng, p.18.

⁴⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family management", p.62; Teng, p.19.

For survival and for helping their family to continue, constructing an identity as an official was essential to Yan Zhitui and the Yan family. Being eligible to be an official no matter what dynasty was in power would help the Yan family to ensure both their security and their livelihood. Political identity would also help their family to reconstruct their gentry identity and standing even if they had to leave their own country to serve a new regime as officials. Yan told his sons and grandsons that when they came to the north,

My brothers and I should not have entered government service, but because of the decline of our clan fortune, the weakness of our family members, the lack of superior persons within five generations, our scattering outside our native country leaving no influential man to help you, and my fear lest you should be debased to the level of servants and bring disgrace upon our ancestors, I therefore have brazenly taken a public post, hoping to preserve the family status from a fall. Moreover the government regulations in the North are so strict that no one is permitted to retire.⁴⁹

In this passage he shows that he is aware that by strict Confucian standards it was wrong to serve a second regime. However, preserving the family was the first priority. In *YSJX* Yan Zhitui mentioned a conversation between him and his elder son, Yan Silu (顏思魯), when they were moved to Chang'an after the Northern Qi was overthrown. It said,

Once Silu said to me, “ At court you have no stipend or position; at home, you have saved no money. I should expend my strength to care for you, for you have faithfully taught and trained me by hard work on the classics and histories. If I prove ignorant of performing a son’s duty, how can I feel at

⁴⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.20, “Last will”, p.534; Teng, p.211.

ease?” I corrected him, saying, “A son should keep in mind serving his parents; a father should insist on educating his son. If I let you stop your studies in order to make money to provide me with good clothing and food, the food would have no flavor and the garments no warmth. If you attend to the way of the earlier kings and continue the profession of our family, I will be content with vegetable soup and a wadded robe.”⁵⁰

A political identity that could survive changes of regime was important at least to support the family to maintain family identity.

Official identity could also provide an opportunity for the family to have contact with the real world, put their knowledge into practice and add to their experience. He did not want his family to be like young southern aristocrats who only knew how to talk but did not know how to act. He said, “In the world I have seen men of letters who can comment on ancient and modern writings as easily as pointing to their palms; yet when employed on probation, most of them are incompetent.”⁵¹ From what he had told his family, it shows that his consideration in constructing an identity as an official was based on family needs, security, survival and development.

Practical and safe official identity

What kind of official identity would meet these needs of their family? What kind of official was the ideal for Yan Zhitui? A professional civil official of the middle rank was best.

He told his family there were six kinds of officials they might become:

⁵⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 8, “To encourage study”, pp.193-194; Teng, p.74.

⁵¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 11, “Meeting practical affairs”, p.292; Teng, p.114.

First, as court officials, drawing upon a thorough understanding of polity, policy making, wide learning, and refined manners; second, as officials concerned with literature and history, drawing upon an ability to compile and phrase legal documents and statutes, and not to forget old precedents; third, as military officials, drawing upon decision-making power, strategic resources, a strong body and actual experience; fourth, as frontier officials, drawing upon a clear understanding of popular customs, honesty, and love of people; fifth, in the diplomatic service, drawing upon a grasp of the situation, and adoption of suitable policies that bring no disgrace to the emperor's orders; and sixth, as officials in charge of construction, drawing upon a capacity to accomplish a piece of work in due time with good economy, calculation, planning and method. Each of these can be achieved by those who are diligent in study and careful in conduct. As human nature has its strength and weakness, a man cannot be expected to be capable in all six ways; but if one has general ideas about them all, and can carry through in one of them ably, he will have no regret.⁵²

He also made suggestions to his family about how high a rank they should aim at. On this issue he rather tended to caution. He warned his family more than once not to seek for high position. He said, "It is safe for an official to stand in a position of middle rank with fifty persons he can see in front and another fifty in the back, a sufficient number to protect him from insult and danger. In case a position is superior to this, you should courteously decline it, and retire to your private home."⁵³ He told his family that this was a warning received from their ancestor

⁵² See *YSJXJJ* ch.11, "Meeting practical affairs", pp.290-201; Teng, p.114.

⁵³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.13, "Be Content", p.319; Teng, p.127.

Yan Han, who passed down the words that the Yan family was a home of scholars, and for generations it has never been rich or noble. Hereafter the official position of the Yan family should not be higher than an annual salary of two thousand piculs of rice. Yan Zhitui said that through his life he had kept these words in mind as a famous saying.⁵⁴

Yan Zhitui employed the words of the classics to tell his family to be content and not to seek high position. A middle ranking position would be safe for an individual and for a family. Even ancient kings and emperors could not avoid failure when they were unsatisfied with what they owned and became greedy.⁵⁵ What he told his family here was not only book learning but real personal experience. He said, “In this time of chaos I have seen many who utilized the opportunity to obtain wealth and position by luck. In the morning they took charge of important affairs, at night they were buried in graves; on the first day of the month they were as joyful as Zhuo (卓) and Zheng (鄭) on the fifteenth they wept like Yan (顏) and Yuan (原). This did not merely happen to five or ten.”⁵⁶ The higher the office the more dangerous it will be. Especially in time of disorder high office would have been too risky to Yan Zhitui and threatened the continuation of his family.

Some official identities should be avoided

For maintaining the Yan family in a safe position there were some political identities the Yan family should avoid. We have discussed how Yan thought that high official rank would be dangerous. There were two other kinds of officials

⁵⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Be Content”, p.316; Teng, p.126.

⁵⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Be Content”, p.317; Teng, p.126.

⁵⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, “Be Content”, p.319; Teng, p.127

they also had to avoid becoming although these were included in the six categories of officials about which he told his family. These two official identities were military official and admonitor.

(a) Admonitor

According to Yan Zhitui, not every official had the responsibility of giving admonition to their rulers. He told his family that:

Censors are used for rectifying the emperor's errors. If you are in a position where you have to speak, you ought to perform the duty of giving the emperor admonitions. You should not shun your duty, take your ease, cast down your head and close your ears. But you should "in every possible way wait on and nourish him, in your thoughts, do not go out of your place".⁵⁷

If his descendants followed his advice that they should stand in a middle rank with fifty officials in front and behind them, then they would not have such responsibility to give admonitions to the rulers. However, it seems that he still worried that his family might offer admonition to a ruler by writing petitions or memorials. For advising his family not to walk into trouble he therefore expressed directly what he thought about the admonitors. He said,

Based on their styles and manners, we may say that those who criticize the strengths and weaknesses of a ruler are like censors; those who divulge the success or failure of ministers belong to the category of those fond of making legal charges; those who analyse the advantage or disadvantage of state affairs are like examination candidates and those who try to support or undermine someone according to their individual interests are like the wandering

⁵⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "To save trouble", pp.306-307; Teng, p.120.

politicians of old.If by luck the memorial inspires the ruler who accepts it for the time of need, the author acquires a priceless reward at the beginning; but eventually unexpected execution might befall him.Modern people with integrity and virtue would all feel ashamed to do so. However, there were those who wait at the gate to get into the court and present memorials to express their plans. The contents are mostly superficial; they speak high sounding words but lack a grand plan for the whole project. All that they say is trifling, like chaff. Not one proposal out of ten is worth adopting..... The emperor, who wishes to maintain his fame and influence in the outside, may excuse them. They are but lucky fellows, unworthy of your association.⁵⁸

Yan Zhitui's criticism of those who offered admonition was very strong. He evidently was remembering what happened in the winter of 573 when he was working in the *Wenlinguan* and he came so close to losing his life. For his family's security he definitely did not want his descendants to meet such a disaster. While an official who paid with his life for offering unwanted advice might win glory this was an identity for the Yan family to avoid.

(b) Military official

Yan Zhitui also did not want any members of his family to become a military official.

Yan Zhitui disparaged military identity. He said that "those who are trained in using the five weapons and have mastered horseback riding can properly be called warriors, but modern scholar-officials who, when they do not study, forthwith call

⁵⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.12, "To save trouble", pp.303-304; Teng, 119-120.

themselves ‘warriors’ are in reality simply like rice-sacks and wine-jars.”⁵⁹
 “Usually men of the world who study can only talk but are unable to put their knowledge into practice.....they are ridiculed and despised by both military men and vulgar officials.⁶⁰ He was telling us that it was the most humiliating if educated people were looked down upon by vulgar officials or by warriors.

Yan Zhitui said that in his family the traditional career was being a scholar, not a military official. From the Qin and Han dynasties until his time not a single member achieved success through a military career. Some of his ancestors whose lives were related to military affairs had simply been brawlers. Some of his ancestors who reached high military ranks had all perished. Two of those military ancestors had been involved in rebellion and killed.⁶¹

From the passage we see how deeply Yan Zhitui wanted his family not to be military officials. He told his family without any concealment that to learn military skills or to be a military official was not the right choice for them.

In recent times of disorder and dispersion some noble scholars, though without strength or skill, have gathered a crowd of followers and discarded their original occupation to seek a chance for military glory. Since I have respect for my ancestors, I made up my mind to avoid such adventures.....I have seen modern scholar-officials, who have some physical vigor, immediately rely upon it. Unable to wear armour or bear weapons to protect the state, they act mischievously, dress gallantly and brag about their physical exploits. On a large scale this leads to danger and death; on a small scale to

⁵⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, “A Warning against becoming warriors”, p.326; Teng, p.130.

⁶⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.161; Teng, 60.

⁶¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.14, “A Warning against becoming warriors”, pp.320-321 ◦

disgrace and insult. No one can escape.⁶²

From Yan Zhitui's viewpoint the rise and fall of a state and the success and failure of an army was in fact related to how knowledge was used. Learned scholars could have positive effects on military actions, but he did not want his family to acquire much military knowledge and take part in the making of military strategy, because that could easily lead to trouble. He said that:

I have frequently seen scholars who have read some military books but possess little experience in strategy, during peaceful times look upon the palace with disdain, rejoice in the misfortune and calamity of others and take the lead in revolt, cheating and injuring good people. In time of war they contrive and fan rebellions, repeatedly persuading and deceiving others by every means. They can not foretell who will survive and who will fall, but will impulsively give support to any leader. Such practices are the root of personal ruin and family destruction.⁶³

It is not clear that how much his disagreement with military identity was related to his experience of the event of 573 caused by the conflict between civil and military officials and between Xianbei and Chinese. It is not clear either how much the southern custom which usually looked down upon the military officials had affected his thinking.⁶⁴ However, it is very clear that in Yan Zhitui's eyes and in his thinking, to be a military official and to learn military skills and knowledge was no help for family identity and survival.

⁶² See *YSJXJJ* ch.14, "A Warning against becoming warriors", p.321; Teng, pp. 129-130

⁶³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.14, "A Warning against becoming warriors", p.325; Teng, p.130.

⁶⁴ About the military official was looked down by upper class of southern society in this period, see See Su Shaoxing, (蘇紹興) "Lun jiangzuo shizu wu gongchen (論江左士族無功臣)" in *Liang Jin Nanchao de shizu* (兩晉南朝的士族) (Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1987); pp.26-28.

Identity as scholars and gentlemen

As Qian Mu (錢穆) has pointed out, being an official and a scholar were two of the most important ways to reconstruct and maintain family identity in gentry status under the Northern and Southern dynasties.⁶⁵ In many chapters of *YSJX* we see Yan Zhitui encouraging his family to construct the identity of scholar.

The importance of study

Yan Zhitui told his family that studying is very important for everyone from kings and emperors of antiquity to ordinary people.⁶⁶ Study would increase one's knowledge and ability to understand the world,⁶⁷ and open the mind and clarify the vision in order to help one's conduct.⁶⁸ Through study people would become dutiful sons and loyal subjects. People who were arrogant and extravagant would become humble and frugal, inspired by the ancients. Although studying could not make a person perfect, the knowledge acquired from learning can always be applied profitably.⁶⁹

However, the main reason why Yan Zhitui wanted his sons and grandsons to study was to construct the identity of a gentleman, and that was the key to maintaining their family identity. First of all he told his family that studying was the most important way to distinguish a gentleman from a commoner. He said,

⁶⁵ See Qian Mu (錢穆), "Lue lun Wei Jin Nanbeichao xueshu wenhua yu dangshi mendi zhi guanxi (略論魏晉南北朝學術文化與當時門第之關係)" in *Zhongguo xueshu sixiang shi luncong* (中國學術思想史論叢) (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1977); p.152.

⁶⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.141; Teng, p.52.

⁶⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.154; Teng, p.56.

⁶⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.160; Teng, p.59.

⁶⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", pp.160-161; Teng, p.59.

Of the children of scholar-officials, not one is untaught, beyond a few years of age. Those who read more, go through the *Li* (禮) and *Zhuan* (傳), while those who read less do not neglect the *Shi* (詩) and *Lun* (論). Having arrived at the age of capping and marriage, when their bodies and habits are generally formed, a double effort is needed in instruction and guidance to take advantage of their faculties. Those who have ambition and determination should be trained and encouraged so as to accomplish their proper professions. Those without firm standing will thereafter drop down to the level of common persons.⁷⁰

Moreover, Yan Zhitui thought that studying could help his family to survive in times of disorder and also maintain their gentry identity. During chaotic times social status was hard to maintain. Many aristocrats could not keep their original status; some did not even survive. But a man who had been diligent in studying would have more chances to survive and preserve his identity than those who had not. Yan said,

After the time of dispersion and disorder, when the court was overthrown and conditions changed, those in charge of civil service examinations were no longer their relatives as before; the chief ministers who assumed power no longer belonged to the former party. Forced to depend upon themselves, they could do nothing; when they were put in charge of practical affairs, they were of no use. Wearing coarse garments, they had no more pearls; taking off the hide of a tiger, the real body was disclosed. They were as forlorn as withered trees—or as the thin trickle of an exhausted stream. Tottering in the area

⁷⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.141; Teng, p.52.

trodden by military horses, they wandered here and there until they died in a ditch or stream.⁷¹

But a real scholar would be able to adapt himself to any difficult circumstances. He told his family,

Those who have learning or skill can settle down anywhere. In these disordered times I have seen many captives who, though lowbred for a hundred generations, have become teachers through knowledge and study of the *Lunyu* (論語) and *Xiaojing* (孝經). Others, though they had the heritage of nobility for a thousand years, were nothing but farmers or grooms, because they were unable to read and write. Seeing such conditions, how can you not exert yourselves? Whoever can keep steadily at work on a few hundred volumes will, in the end, never remain a common person.⁷²

It is clear that Yan's first concern was that study could help make his family different from commoners and also could help their family maintain their social status through times of disorder.

Scholar as an occupation

On the function of study, Yan considered studying Confucian classics was the primary training of a scholar, and to be a gentleman scholar was an occupation like farmer or merchant. He said,

Every man born into society should have a profession: farmers plan for plowing and sowing, merchants deal with goods and prices, workmen go as far as possible in making excellent tools and useful objects, artists ponder

⁷¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.145; Teng, p.54.

⁷² See note 71.

over their methods and techniques, warriors practice archery and horsemanship, scholars interpret and discuss classical books.⁷³

In Yan's eyes to be a scholar was an occupation. The occupation of scholar could offer better protection in any situation than what was received from family and from state. He said,

To understand the ideas of the Six Classics or to wade through the writings of the hundred philosophers, even though this cannot add to morality or improve conduct, it nevertheless is a resource on which one can depend. You cannot always be dependent on a father or an elder brother; your home region and state will not always be protected. Some morning there will be a sudden scattering, and no one will be left to take care of you; you will have to call on your own resources. A proverb says, "To amass wealth by the millions does not compare with the mastery of a small skill." Among valuable skills easy to learn there is none comparable to reading.⁷⁴

It is surprising and unusual that Yan Zhitui openly considered being a scholar as an occupation and saw study as a kind of professional training. To defend his family's future identity he was brave enough to break with tradition. Although Wang Liqi argues that his use of knowledge was vulgar,⁷⁵ in fact it was practical. Yan anticipated the emergence of the specialist in cultural matters in the modern west.⁷⁶

Advice on study

⁷³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.141; Teng, p.52.

⁷⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.153; Teng, pp.54-55.

⁷⁵ Wang Liqi's (王利器) words is in *YSJXJJ* "Preface", pp.3-5.

⁷⁶ Yu Yingshi (余英时) employed the idea from Talcott Parsons' *The intellectual: a social role category*. See Yu Yingshi, "Gudai zhishi jieceng de xingqi yu fazhan (古代知識階層的興起與發展)" in *Yu Yingshi wenji* (余英時文集) vol. 4 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004); pp.25-99.

Yan Zhitui gave very clear advice to his descendants on how and what to study. His main points include: starting young, practical study, diligent study and broad study.

(a) Starting young

Yan suggested to his family that the proper time to start studying is the earlier the better. Because when a man is young his mind is concentrated and sharp; after maturity his thoughts and reasoning powers are scattered and slow.⁷⁷ He took his own experience as an example and told his family that,

When I was seven years old, I could recite the *fu* poem describing the *Ling-kuang* palace (靈光殿), and by reviewing once every ten years I can still recall it. After my twentieth year, if I put aside for a month the classics I had read, then my memory was vague or confused.”⁷⁸

In the Confucian tradition the ability to memorize texts was very useful. If an early start was missed then one should start to study anytime even when no longer young. He told his family some stories about people whose early neglect of study was overcome by conscious effort at a later age.⁷⁹ He said, “It is foolish for those still uneducated at the age of marriage and capping to regard the time as too late for study, and so to remain ignorant with one’s face against the wall.”⁸⁰ Even starting study at an advanced age, one could still become a gentleman and that was better than giving up on study and becoming a commoner.

(b) Diligent study

⁷⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.166; Teng, p.61.

⁷⁸ See note 77.

⁷⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.166; Teng, p.62.

⁸⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.166; Teng, pp.61-62.

Yan also encouraged his family to study diligently. He told them some stories about the people who studied with diligence. The story of Emperor Yuan of the Liang dynasty was one of them.

Emperor Yuan of Liang (r.552-555) once told me that in K'uei-chi (會稽), when he was twelve, he was already fond of study. He was then suffering from sores so severely that he could not close his hands or bend his knees. He hung a reed curtain to keep flies away from his private room where he sat alone and studied with a silver pot of Shan-yin wine, drinking frequently to alleviate the pain. Yet every day he determined to read more than twenty *chuan* of historical works by himself; with no tutor to teach him. Sometimes he might not know a single word or understand a single sentence, but he held himself to it unconscious of fatigue.⁸¹

If an imperial prince could do this, so too could commoners.⁸²

Chu Chan (朱詹) of I-yang (義陽) originally lived in Chiangling (江陵) and later moved to Yang-tu (揚都). He was assiduous, but his family was poor without any property. Having nothing to eat for a few days, he often swallowed paper to fill his stomach. When he was cold, having no blanket or bedclothes, he lay down hugging a dog. When the dog also became hungry, it ran away to steal food. His pitiful voice vainly calling it to return moved the neighbors. Still he did not cease his studies, and he ultimately became a scholar and served as South Garrison Secretary Adjutant (*Chennan lushih ts'anchün*, 鎮南錄事參軍), a man whom Xiaoyuan (孝元) respected.⁸³

This is an unusual case, yet it is a case of one person diligent in study as Yan said.

⁸¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.188; Teng, p.71.

⁸² See note 81.

⁸³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.189. Teng, pp.71-73.

Through the stories Yan showed his family that studying hard was important irrespective of one's original social status.

(c) Practical study

In studying Confucian classics Yan advised concentrating on the true meaning and practical value of the classics. He had no time for scholars who merely remembered the texts of the classics and repeated the words of their teachers. In practical affairs not an item of such knowledge was useful.⁸⁴ When asked a simple question, they would answer you with several hundred words in which there was no main idea, nor could they give you a summary if asked.⁸⁵ He told his family,

A proverb of Ye runs, 'A doctor of literature or an erudite man bought a donkey and wrote three documents in which the complicated character *lü* (驢) for donkey does not appear once.' If you should follow this doctor as your teacher, I would be choked with anger.⁸⁶

In his thinking, the books written by the sages are to be used for teaching people. If one thoroughly studies the classical text and roughly learns the commentaries and constantly makes progress in one's speech and conduct, one can become a perfect man.⁸⁷ As he regarded study as training to construct the identity of the scholar gentleman, a desirable career for his family, he asked his sons and grandsons to spend their time in practical study. He said, "Time is valuable, it passes away as quickly as water. You should read extensively for important and practical

⁸⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", pp.169-170. Teng, p.63.

⁸⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.170. Teng, p.64.

⁸⁶ See note 85.

⁸⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.170. Teng, pp.64-65.

knowledge to help your career and service.”⁸⁸ Confucius says, ‘With learning, emolument may be found in it.’ Nowadays people are diligent in seeking useless knowledge. I fear that is no profession.”⁸⁹

(d) Broad study

Aiming at the practical function of knowledge Yan encouraged his family to study widely, not only depending on texts or bound by Confucian classics. He did not agree with narrow-minded scholars who did not pay attention to perusing many books but only read the texts of the classics and prognostic interpretations and commentaries.⁹⁰

When I first went to Ye, I made friends with Ts’ui Wen-yen (崔文彦) of Po-ling (博陵, Hopei). Once we discussed Wang Ts’an’s (王燦, 177-217) collection of writings, in which there is some criticism of Cheng Hsuan’s (鄭玄) interpretation of the *Book of History* (尚書). Ts’ui reported this point to the other scholars. One of the latter was about to speak, but he suddenly felt disturbed saying, ‘In a collection of writings there are only poetry, loose poems (*fu*, 賦), inscriptions (*ming*, 銘) and eulogies on epitaphs (*lei*, 誄); how can there be criticism of the classics? Furthermore, I have never heard the name of Wang Ts’an among those of ancient scholars.’ Ts’ui laughed and withdrew without showing him Wang Ts’an’s work.”⁹¹

This story shows that Cui was superior to other so-called Confucians. By broad study one could acquire richer knowledge than ordinary scholars and that would be a great help in becoming a professional scholar. He told his family that ”A scholar

⁸⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.170. Teng, pp.64-65.

⁸⁹ See note 88.

⁹⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.176; Teng, pp.64-65.

⁹¹ See note 90.

should honor wide learning of names of principalities and states, mountains and rivers, official posts and surnames, garments and clothing, food, utensils, and institutions; he likes to trace the sources to their origin.”⁹²

Avoiding the influence of Daoism

Yan Zhitui set out a curriculum for his family. First of all they had to study Confucian texts, after which they could extend their study to other fields, such as philosophy and history. Among the Confucian texts *Lun yu* (論語), *Shi jing* (詩經), *Li jing* (禮經), *Zuo zhuan* (左傳) and *Xiao jing* (孝經) were the first texts which he was taught in his youth.⁹³ He saw these primary studies as a kind of basic guarantee of their living and identity even after a catastrophe. He told his family, ”I have seen many captives who, though lowbred for a hundred generations, have become teachers through knowledge and study of the *Lun-yu* and *Hsiao-ching*.”⁹⁴

Taking Confucian classics as the centre of knowledge then extending to the knowledge of other fields is the ideal knowledge system for Yan Zhitui. One should understand the ideas of the Six Classics and explore the writing of the hundred philosophers.⁹⁵ However, his attitude toward the texts of Daoism was very cautious. He said that the teaching of Laozi (老子) and Zhuangzi (莊子) was to perfect one’s true self, nourish one’s true nature, not to let worldly cares entangle one’s self.⁹⁶ As for the representative figures of Daoism like Laozi and Zhuangzi, one “hid away under the title of a court recorder and finally went off to distant deserts, while the other concealed his tracks as a small official in Ch’i-yuan

⁹² See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.209; Teng, p.80.

⁹³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.141 and ch.1, “Preface”, p.22; Teng, p.52 and p.2

⁹⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.145; Teng, p.54.

⁹⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.153; Teng, p.54.

⁹⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “To encourage study”, p.178; Teng, p.66.

(漆園) and eventually declined to become the chief minister of Ch'u (楚)."⁹⁷

Such Daoists mostly devoted themselves to seeking for their nature, escaping from secular boundaries and pursuing freedom. This was no help in preserving family identity. You should know about such texts, but not be too influenced by them. He criticized some of the Daoists of Wei and Jin dynasties, such as He Yan (何晏) and Wang Bi (王弼), as not being real Daoists. What they had done was in fact against the true meaning of Daoism although they were all famous leaders of Daoists and adherents of their abstruse progenitors.⁹⁸ As for others who were fettered in the midst of the dust and dregs of the mundane world, or who were crazy for fame and gain, how could all of them be mentioned.⁹⁹ About pure talk (*qingtan*, 清談) which was closely related to Daoism, Yan said that one could simply select some of the fine ideas from it and analyse the profound and minute mysteries to please the mind and ear in conversations with friends. Yan's attitude toward Daoism was quite different from that of some people in his time although Daoist activities like pure talk were one of the standards for distinguishing one's family status.¹⁰⁰ In other words, it was a useful cultural and social accomplishment, but not a suitable way of life. From this point we may once again see that his concern was about family security and identity only. "Daoism is not essential for saving the world or establishing good customs."¹⁰¹ It was certainly no help to Yan's family in constructing the identity of scholar and gentleman.

Proper writing and pronunciation

⁹⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.178; Teng, p.66.

⁹⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.179; Teng, p.69.

⁹⁹ See note 98.

¹⁰⁰ See Qian Mu, "Lue lun Wei Jin Nanbeichao xueshu wenhua yu dangshi mendishi guanxi", p.191.

¹⁰¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, "To encourage study", p.179; Teng, pp.69-70.

The identity of a gentleman scholar was constructed by study and learning, but also needed to be recognized by other people. Therefore external presentation was also important. Yan Zhitui asked the younger generation of his family to speak and write in a proper way even during their childhood. Their speech was seriously drilled and corrected. Yan considered any single mispronounced character as his own fault, and he never gave a name to any actions, words or objects without consulting books.¹⁰²

However, times changed and the language changed too. He accepted the fact that in different times there must be different writing styles with changed characters and he had his own method to deal with the situation.

When I first read the *Shuowen* (說文), I despised the characters used in the world. If I wrote a character in the correct form, I feared that no one could recognize it; If I followed the vulgar style, I was aware of the fact that it was wrong. As a result, I could hardly start writing. After more study, I learned how to adjust myself to the changes. I modified my former obstinacy and adopted a middle course. In writing essays and books, I still select the forms of character which have classical respondents, while in official dispatches and social correspondence I simply follow the vulgar forms.¹⁰³

He was teaching his family to know how to write in the proper way, but not to insist on so doing if this might make things difficult for them socially or in their careers. He also reminded his family that when doing research work they would have to determine right or wrong and all the available information about characters would be needed then.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² See *YSJXJJ* ch.18, "On phonology", p.474; Teng, p.190.

¹⁰³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.17, "Evidence on writing", p.463; Teng, p.184.

¹⁰⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.17, "Evidence on writing", p.462; Teng, p.183.

As for pronunciation, Yan Zhitui said that people of different regions of China spoke different dialects; and it had been so since the beginning of mankind. From ancient times, his own language and customs had frequently changed.¹⁰⁵ He made his famous observation and analysis as below,

The climate of southern China is mild and agreeable; human sounds are clear, high and warm, but their weakness is that they are shallow and superficial, and their expressions are unrefined. The topography of northern China is austere and stern; the people's voices are sonorous and heavy, distinguished and earnest; their speech is full of ancient expression. In general, a southern gentleman speaks better than a northern gentleman; however, a northern peasant speaks better than his southern counterpart. The speech of a southern-educated gentleman can immediately be detected even if he dresses as a commoner. On the other hand, behind a wall you cannot tell a northern courtier from a peasant even if you listen to their conversation all day. The southerners have been imbued with the usage of the Wu-Yüeh (吳越) states, while the northerners have assimilated barbarian habits. Both have their deep-rooted defects which are too numerous to be discussed in detail."¹⁰⁶

From his analysis it seems that both northern and southern speech had been changed by regional influences. However, he still gave his family clear guidance that southern speech was better than northern because southern gentlemen spoke better than northern gentlemen. As he wanted his family to construct a gentleman scholar identity, following southern language and pronunciation would be the

¹⁰⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.18, "On phonology", pp.473 and 487; Teng, pp.187 and 191.

¹⁰⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.18, "On phonology", pp.473-474; Teng, p.189.

better choice. Presumably he had found from his own experience as a southern prisoner in the north that his southern way of speech was an asset. He also reminded his family that even southern aristocratic language might sometimes not be good, because it had been influenced by uneducated people. He said,

The ancients said, ‘It is hard to train pampered youths,’ meaning that because of their pride, extravagance and conceit, it is impossible to discipline them. I have noticed that most of the princes, lords and maternal relatives of the emperor speak incorrectly, because they have been imbued with the speech habits of their poorly educated guardians and tutors at court, and they lack good teachers and friends outside the court.¹⁰⁷

From Yan’s thinking, writing and speaking in the proper way not only showed one’s education but also showed one was a gentleman. Conversely, speaking and writing in the wrong way would deconstruct one’s identity of scholar and also would debase one’s identity of gentleman. In all this Yan’s concerns were practical: an educated way of speaking and writing would help the family survive in uncertain times.

Good customs and manners

Yan Zhitui paid particular attention to customs and manners. In *YSJX* there was a whole chapter on this subject. He told his family,

In the *Li jing* (禮經) Classic, I have noticed that the teachings of the sage concerning the use of dustpan and broom, spoon and chopsticks, the way of coughing and spitting, saying yes or no, holding candles and washing one’s hands: all have their apportioned texts which are quite comprehensive. But

¹⁰⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.18, “On phonology”, p. 504; Teng, p.196.

since there are omissions, the book is no longer complete. In cases that are not mentioned or where affairs of the world have changed, well-learned, superior men have made their own rules which have been followed in practice. For this reason the customs and manners of the so-called scholar-officials have differed considerably from family to family, and they have discussed each other's strengths and weaknesses according to their own viewpoints. Observing their main roads leading north and south, one will, however, learn the best by oneself."¹⁰⁸

So-called customs and manners of the scholar gentry had long been a tradition of educated Chinese. It was a life style based on the Confucian system. Every gentry family would stress their own customs and manners and their family members would learn it naturally without special teaching. That is why Yan told his family that he had learned all his best customs and manners by direct observation without the use of books, just as pigweed grows up straight in the midst of hemp.¹⁰⁹

However, Yan thought that this learning environment only existed in the gentry families of the south. The environment in which his family lived in the north was detrimental for learning these good customs and manners. Therefore he had to leave a rough record to help them to learn and to pass down to other generations in his family.¹¹⁰

Those good customs, manners and rituals Yan wanted his family to learn included: calling people by their correct names and titles, reasonable avoidance, proper rituals of funerals and mourning, and other customs and manners appropriate for gentry status in daily life. The number of the examples and stories

¹⁰⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.6, "Customs and manners", p. 69; Teng, p.22.

¹⁰⁹ See note 108.

¹¹⁰ See note 108.

he gave in this part was large. Qian Mu's opinion is still helpful in understanding why Yan Zhitui had to talk so much about customs and manners of the gentry society in the south. For Yan so-called gentry customs and manners was an important difference between them and ordinary people, it was an identity mark of gentry status.¹¹¹ It is the reason Yu Yingshi said that Yan was quite proud of what he knew about customs and manners although it was so detailed.¹¹² In any event, Yan had learned the hard way that even when a gentleman lost everything else, he could use his education and behaviour to reestablish his family.

Other skills and abilities a gentleman scholar had to obtain

To be a gentleman scholar one also needed other skills, including ability in writing, calligraphy, painting, divination, mathematics, medicine, music (to play an instrument), and others.

- Ability in writing

Yan Zhitui divided writing between what was necessary for a career as an official and what was written for its own sake. He argued that all kinds of literature are derived from the *Five Classics* (五經) and serve many useful purposes such as manifesting benevolence and justice, and demonstrating merit and virtue in order to look after the people, build up the nation and many other uses.¹¹³ He put the

¹¹¹ See Qian Mu, "Lue lun Wei Jin Nanbeichao xueshu wenhua yu dangshi mendi zhi guanxi" in *Zhongguo xueshu sixiang shi luncong*; p.174.

¹¹² See Yu Yingshi, "Mingjiao weiji yu Wei Jin shifeng de yanbian (名教危機與魏晉士風的演變)" in *Zhongguo zhishi jieceng shilun—gudai pian* (中國知識階層史論—古代篇) (Taipei: Lianjing chuban gongsi, 1980); p.369.

¹¹³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p. 221; Teng, p.85.

practical function of writing first, as with other skills. He told his family, “As for writing essays to mold your own nature and spirit or to give others unembarrassed advice, if you penetrate to the interesting part, it is also a pleasure. If you have leisure after your other activities, you may practice essay writing.”¹¹⁴

Yan had a complicated attitude to writing, as Cao Daoheng (曹道衡) and Shen Yucheng (沈玉成) have pointed out.¹¹⁵ He liked it. On the other hand he thought that writing ability was often dangerous. He said that from ancient times many men of letters had suffered from a light mind and a sharp tongue.¹¹⁶ He then counted thirty-six literary writers from Qu Yuan (屈原) to Xie Tiao (謝朓) and claimed that they all had problems in their moral qualities.¹¹⁷ Even emperors who also were writers were not entirely free from moral weakness.¹¹⁸

I have often thought, on the basis of accumulated experience, a body of essays exhibits the writer's interests, develops his nature, and makes him proud and negligent of control as well as determined and aggressive. Such trouble affects men of letters even more deeply in the present generation. A proper expression of one fact or a clever construction of one sentence makes their spirits fly to the nine skies, and their pride towers over the other writers of a thousand years. They read aloud again and again for their own enjoyment, forgetting other persons nearby. Moreover, as a grain of sand or a pebble may hurt people more than a sword or spear, their satirical remarks about other persons may spread faster than a storm. You should carefully prevent such habits in order to keep

¹¹⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, “On essays”, p.221; Teng, p.85.

¹¹⁵ See Cao Daoheng (曹道衡) and Shen Yucheng (沈玉成), *Nanbeichao wenxue shi* (南北朝文學史) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1998); p.409.

¹¹⁶ See note 114.

¹¹⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, “On essays”, pp.221-222; Teng, pp.85-89.

¹¹⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, “On essays”, p.222; Teng, pp.89-90.

your original safety.¹¹⁹

Having literary writing ability could harm a person's safety but lack of it would hamper one's identity as a gentleman scholar. How to strike a balance was therefore a big issue. Brilliance was not his first priority,

In seeking knowledge some are sharp, some are dull. In writing essays some are clever and some stupid. A dull student with untiring work may overcome the hurdles to mastery; a stupid hand will be a mediocre writer in the end no matter how hard he tries. Therefore if one becomes a scholar, one can certainly be an independent man; if one lacks the natural gift, one does not have to compel oneself to be a penman.¹²⁰

He meant that becoming a scholar was the first concern and it depended on how diligent one was in study. Writing ability did not depend on how much time and efforts you devoted to it. Yan suggested to his family that writing essays in the proper style with presentable ideas and readable expressions was enough to be a talented scholar.¹²¹ And when they were writing they had to control their emotion and will. He said,

Writing an essay is analogous to a man riding a horse. Even though the horse has excessive strength, its speed should be controlled by a bridle; you should not let it run out of its course and fall into ditches.¹²²

- Calligraphy, painting and music

For learning other skills and obtaining other abilities which could be useful to constructing the identity of a gentleman scholar, Yan Zhitui always had an eye on

¹¹⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p.222; Teng, pp.90-91.

¹²⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p.237; Teng, p.91.

¹²¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p.239; Teng, p.92.

¹²² See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p.248; Teng, p.95.

their functions and always wanted his family not to cross the line. He wanted his family to learn them but not become too professional in case their gentleman scholar identity would be damaged.

In calligraphy, Yan said that it was another face to a person. People sometimes would recognize one's level of education and family status by one's handwriting.¹²³ Good calligraphy also was his family tradition: as we have mentioned Yan Zhitui's father was a famous calligraphist.¹²⁴ However, he said he himself was not an excellent calligrapher although he was fond of it by nature. But it was not necessary to be a very fine calligrapher, because "the shrewd are drawn to trouble, the wise to grief; and an eminent calligrapher is always obliged to write something for others, which would be a nuisance."¹²⁵ He took examples from Wei Dan (韋誕), Wang Bao (王褒), both of whom toiled at service with pen and ink and regretted having good handwriting, and told his family to avoid priding themselves on their calligraphy.¹²⁶ He said many persons of low position did gain recognition or promotion through their beautiful handwriting. Thus "those whose courses are different cannot lay plans for one another."¹²⁷

But Yan's family and other people who were already in the upper class would not depend on it to maintain their identity. Having fame in this skill sometimes could even cause trouble.

In painting and music, Yan's thinking is even more cautious.¹²⁸ Painting and music were merely amusements. There was certainly no need to specialize in them

¹²³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.19, "Miscellaneous arts", p.507; Teng, 198.

¹²⁴ See *Nan shi* 72, "Biography of Yan Xie" attached to "Biography of wenxue".

¹²⁵ See note 123.

¹²⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.19 "Miscellaneous arts", pp.507-510; Teng, pp.198-199.

¹²⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.7 "Admiration of men of ability", p.133 and ch.19 "Miscellaneous arts", p.510; Teng, pp.47-48 and p.199.

¹²⁸ See note 123..

unless one already had a high position. He told his family, "if your official position is not high enough, you are frequently ordered to paint for the government or for private friends, which is also a disgusting service."¹²⁹ For example, Gu Shiduan (顧士端) and his son Gu Ting (顧庭) both were excellent in calligraphy, playing music and painting. Whenever they were ordered by the Liang Emperor Yuan to paint, they felt humiliated. Another gentleman Liu Yue (劉岳) was a very brilliant scholar with unsurpassed ability in painting. Later on he followed Prince Wu-ling to Sichuan, where he was compelled to paint the walls of a temple for a high official and lived together with other craftsmen.¹³⁰ Yan said,

If these three scholars had been ignorant of painting, simply engaging themselves in their original professions, would they have met such humiliations?¹³¹

As to music, Yan said that he was fond of it and we also know that he had such good knowledge about music and that he once took part in a formal meeting of court music discussion early in the Sui. However, one should not be a performer. He said that "At the beginning of the Liang dynasty, children of the respectable scholar class who did not know how to play the lute were considered to have missed something, near the end of *datong* (大同, 535-546), this tradition was completely neglected." But he warned his family,

you should not allow yourself to have a reputation in this art, for then you will have to entertain nobles, sitting in a humble place and taking the insult of drinking the dregs and eating the cold remains.¹³²

¹²⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 "Miscellaneous arts", p.517; Teng, p.201.

¹³⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 "Miscellaneous arts", p.517; Teng, pp.201-202.

¹³¹ See note 130.

¹³² See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 "Miscellaneous arts", p.526; Teng, pp.205-206.

- Divination, medicine and other skills.

Yan Zhitui believed in divination's predictive function. However, his concern was his family's survival and identity. So he disapproved of the practice of divination in his own times for three reasons. First of all, he said that

Divination was a work of the sages. In modern times there are no longer good teachers and many predictions have not come true.....Generally speaking, the yin and yang are born together with heaven and earth. We cannot but believe their correlation with luck and misfortune, goodness and punishment. Unfortunately we are far away from the sages, and the current books on divination were produced by the poorly educated with slang and superficial expressions. Their predictions were more often wrong than correct.

Obviously he did not want his family to waste their time in such low grade activities. That would be useless to their identity. Secondly, his concern was that divination might bring misfortune to his family. He said,

Tradition says that he who understands the *yin* (陰) and *yang* (陽) principles is envied by devils; he who is disappointed and poverty-stricken frequently encounters bad luck. I have noticed that since the near-ancient period the skilful diviners have been Ching Fang (京房), Kuan Lu (管輅) and Kuo P'u (郭璞), all of whom obtained no high official rank but met disastrous deaths.

Hence what the tradition says may well be believed.

Finally, he worried about possible problems with the law: the reputation of prophets might be a source of woe when something goes wrong.¹³³ Therefore he warned his family off practising divination although he believed in it if done correctly.

¹³³ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 "Miscellaneous arts", pp.520-521; Teng, pp.203-205.

Mathematics and medicine are important and respected professional skills in modern society, but for Yan Zhitui they still belonged to kinds of skill which his family needed to know but should not specialize in as professionals. He said,

Mathematics is an important subject in the six arts. Through the ages all scholars who have participated in discussions on astronomy and calendars have had to master it. However, you may take it as a minor occupation, not as a major one.¹³⁴

Medicine is very difficult to understand thoroughly. I do not advise you to pride yourselves on being experts. A little knowledge of the nature of medicine and the making of some simple prescriptions for first aid at home is good.¹³⁵

He thought that these two useful skills could help his family in daily life were not to be made their occupation: this would damage their gentleman scholar identity.

As for other skills, such as: archery, chess and *tou-hu* (投壺), he thought they all were refined games and when one was tired one might play at these games occasionally, which would be better than over-eating, sleeping soundly or sitting still.¹³⁶ But he reminded his family again that these games were also likely to make people self-indulgent and neglectful of other duties. A scholar should not be an addict.¹³⁷ All of what Yan Zhitui told his family to learn and not to learn was aiming at one goal: constructing the identity of gentleman scholar and maintaining their gentry family identity through it.

¹³⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 “Miscellaneous arts”, pp.524-525; Teng, p.205.

¹³⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 “Miscellaneous arts”, pp.525-526; Teng, p.205.

¹³⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 “Miscellaneous arts”, p.527; Teng, p.206.

¹³⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch. 19 “Miscellaneous arts”, pp.527-528; Teng, p.207.

Religious identity as lay Buddhists

During the Northern and Southern Dynasties many educated Chinese chose either Buddhism or Daoism as their religious beliefs. At that time, Buddhism was still regarded as a foreign religion. Daoism, on the other hand, was a native religion. However, Yan Zhitui was not a Daoist believer.

Yan Zhitui's skeptical attitude toward Daoism

We have already looked at Yan Zhitui's attitude to Daoist philosophy. In Yan's time Daoism was also a very popular religion in the upper classes. But Yan Zhitui was rather negative about religious Daoism. First of all, Yan claimed that rejecting religious Daoism was his family tradition. Yan said that the Yan family excluded any mention or discussion of the prayers of diviners or necromancers, and never made use of Daoist charms or thanksgiving sacrifices. He told his family not to waste money on such crazy superstitions.¹³⁸

Apart from the family tradition of rejecting religious Daoism, one of the reasons behind Yan Zhitui's rejection of Daoism was that he thought that leaving the secular world and living in the mountain or forests to practise an ideal Daoist life was impossible for most people because they had secular duties.

A man living in society has entanglements everywhere. In boyhood he has to render service to his parents, in manhood is added the care of his wife and children. The necessary cost of clothing and food and the pressing duties, both public and private, are such that those who can hope to escape to the mountains and forests and find seclusion from the pomp and vanities of the

¹³⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family management", p.68; Teng, p.21.

world are not one in a thousand or ten thousand.¹³⁹

Daoist practices for longevity were doomed to failure. The time and money required for such practices, which had to be performed in the mountains for an extended period of time, entailed relinquishing one's family and social duties. And in the end one would die anyhow.

In addition, the price of gold and jade and the necessary crucible and equipment are beyond the reach of a poor scholar. Those who have studied alchemy are many as the hairs on a cow; those who have succeeded are as few as a unicorn's horn. At the foot of Hua (華) mountain the whitened bones of the dead are piled up like jungles. Is there any possibility that immortality can be achieved? Examining the *Inner Doctrine* (內教) we find that even though a man should obtain immortality, he must eventually die and cannot escape the world.¹⁴⁰

Therefore he directly ruled out such a search. To stress his point Yan gave examples to show how unreasonable Daoist practice was.

Those who nourish their life should first take precautions against calamity by keeping their whole body and nature intact. When there is a life, they can nourish it. When they have already become lifeless, nourishing it will be vain. Shan Pao (單豹) took care of his inner self but a tiger took his life externally; Chang I (張毅) took care of himself externally but disease destroyed him internally. These are warnings from earlier wise men. Hsi K'ang (嵇康) wrote a treatise on the nourishment of life but he was executed for his arrogant attitude toward others. Shih Ch'ung (石崇) desired to secure the elixir of life

¹³⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.5, "Family management", p.327; Teng, p.132..

¹⁴⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, "The nourishment of life", p.327; Teng, pp.131-133.

but incurred disaster from indulgence in dissipation. These show how past generations went astray.¹⁴¹

Those Daoist followers failed to attain the goal of immortality or preserving lives. They even failed to preserve their lives and families at the time of political turmoil. Obviously his concern was on family survival and preservation.

Practical medical Daoism

Although Yan Zhitui held a relatively reserved attitude towards Daoism, he seemed to accept certain medical theories connected with Daoism as long as they were used with caution.

If you are fond of nourishing the spirit, taking care of your breathing, carefully regulating the time of rising and sleeping, making suitable adaptation to cold and warmth, abstaining from careless eating and drinking, and taking or preparing medicine according to physical need to avoid premature death, then I shall have no fault to find.¹⁴²

He then told his family some stories about how people successfully used Daoist medicine and medical methods to take care of their health.

Once I had trouble with loose teeth which were about to come out. The eating or drinking of hot or cold were both painful. I learned *Pao-pu tzu's* (抱朴子) method of biting on them three hundred times each morning. Following this practice for a few days I was cured, and have kept it up until now. Such little methods do no harm to your work; you may learn them.¹⁴³

But one had to be careful: many people killed themselves by mistaken use of

¹⁴¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, "The nourishment of life", p.332; Teng, pp.134-135.

¹⁴² See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, "The nourishment of life", p.327; Teng, p.133.

¹⁴³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, "The nourishment of life", p.327; Teng, p.134.

drugs.¹⁴⁴ Learning these useful medical skills or prescriptions must not upset the conduct of business or harm their works.¹⁴⁵ By emphasizing Daoism's medical function, as Mitsuo Moriya has suggested, Yan lowered Daoism's level from a philosophical to a practical one while promoting Buddhism's social status.¹⁴⁶

Lay Buddhists

While adopting some medical aspect of Daoism and rejecting the overall Daoist view of life, Yan devoted himself to Buddhism.

He claimed that belief in Buddhism was the tradition of the Yan family.¹⁴⁷ He said that, "The fact of the transmigration of life in three existences, is true and self-evident. It is a tradition in our family to turn our hearts to Buddhism, you should not neglect it. Its profound theories are fully explained in the *sutras* (basic discourses) and *abhidharmas* (treatises by later masters). I cannot again briefly praise and narrate them here. Nevertheless, fearing that you are not yet firm in your faith, I therefore repeat my little advice and persuasion."¹⁴⁸ It showed that Yan was not only telling his family his personal religious choice but also wanted his family to follow his path. The identity of a lay Buddhist which Yan constructed for

¹⁴⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.15, "The nourishment of life", p.327; Teng, pp.133-134.

¹⁴⁵ See noye 144.

¹⁴⁶ See Mitsuo Moriya, *Cyūgoku Kodai no Kazoku to Kokka*. (Kyōto: Kyōtodaigaku Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai, 1968), pp.520-521.

¹⁴⁷ The evidence for the tradition that the Yan family was Buddhist is actually unclear. There is no direct evidence that Yan Zhitui's direct lineal ancestors were Buddhists. We have known that some Yan Zhitui's collateral line ancestors, such as Yan Yanzhi and his son, were devoted Buddhists. But they are not the ancestors of Yan Zhitui's main lineage. Moreover, Yan Zhitui never mentioned Yan Yanzhi as his ancestor in *YSJX*. The only time he mentioned Yan Yanzhi's name is when he criticized some writers who were incomplete in their virtues. Yan Yanzhi was one of these writers. For further discussion about this issue, see my publication "Lun Yan Zhitui de fojiao xinyang yu shenfen jiangao de guanlian—yi *Yanshi jiaxun* guixin pian wei yiju (論顏之推的佛教信仰與身分建構的關聯—以顏氏家訓歸心篇爲依據)" in *Zhongzheng daxue Zhongwen xueshu niankan* (中正大學中文學術年刊); 06. 2007; pp.75-95.

¹⁴⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.335; Teng, p.137.

himself and wanted his family to keep was based on three elements: Hopes for the Pure Land and for the future and, a supplement to Confucianism.

(1) Hopes for the Pure Land and for the future

Yan had a firm belief in the pure land and the theory of reincarnation expounded in Buddhist sutras. He told his family,

Though the body dies, the soul is still preserved. When a man is alive in the world, it seems inappropriate to look for future existence; but after death the relation to former existence resembles that of old age to youth or morning to night. There are not a few cases in society where souls have appeared in dreams, descending upon the body of concubines or inspiring a wife or maid to ask for food or request a blessing. Nowadays people, if poor, humble, sick or sorrowful, without exception blame themselves for not cultivating virtuous deeds in a former life. From this point of view, how can one not prepare for a good place in the future life?"¹⁴⁹

Yan described the world of mystic happiness in the kingdom of Xiangjia (Sankha) where rice grows spontaneously and precious treasures are inexhaustible; in this world there would be no need to seek for profit from farms and sericulture.¹⁵⁰

Moreover, he said,

When one has a son or grandson, it is simply an addition of living beings in the universe; in what does it concern his personal affairs in the future? Yet one still loves and takes care of them and bequeaths to them land and buildings.

Then, with regard to one's own soul, why should one cast it off entirely?"¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.363; Teng, pp.147-148.

¹⁵⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.360; Teng, p.147.

¹⁵¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.363; Teng, p.148.

By acting well as a Buddhist one could benefit descendants. For Yan, Buddhism was not only a bright hope of a mythical pure land but also could bring hope for the family in future generations, as Qian Mu has argued.¹⁵² And that is what I have discussed that Buddhism's theory of three lives had been employed in Yan's idea of three generations.¹⁵³ Believing in Buddhism's future life was transferred to believing in one's future generation.¹⁵⁴

He explained to his family that causal retribution was not only a Buddhist belief but also accepted in Confucianism. It was only a matter of time before one's deeds had their consequences. He told his family,

If when you see those who do good occasionally suffering a disastrous result or those doing evil sometimes rewarded with good fortune, you complain and consider the Buddhist doctrine to be a lie and a cheat; then the theory of emperors Yao (堯) and Shun (舜) may be said to be false, and Duke Chou and Confucius are also untrue. What then would you like to believe and rely upon as the guide of your life?¹⁵⁵

It seems that he was encouraging his family to have faith in their endeavor and insisted on what they had to do although what they encountered was sometimes looked unfair. Accordingly the causal retribution would repay them with good results eventually.

(2) A supplement to Confucianism.

¹⁵² See Qian Mu, "Lue lun Wei Jin Nanbeichao xueshu wenhua yu dangshi mendi zhi guanxi"; pp.196-197.

¹⁵³ See Wang Meihsiu, "Lun Yan Zhitui de fojiao xinyang yu shenfen jiangao de guanlian—yi *Yanshi jiaxun* guixin pian wei yiju".

¹⁵⁴ My idea is inspired by Mitsuo Moriya and Louis Duprep's *The Other dimension: A Search for the meaning of religious attitudes*.

¹⁵⁵ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.354-355; Teng, pp.145-146.

Undoubtedly believing in Buddhism could give Yan Zhitui and his family hope for the future. However, becoming a Buddhist might be seen as opposed to the identity of the Confucian which was essential to the family's identity as scholars. Huijiao had to show that Buddhist monks were acceptable by Confucian standards. Yan Zhitui had to make being a lay Buddhist compatible with maintaining a Confucian identity.

We have already looked at the sinification of Buddhism in the writing of Huijiao. From Yan's efforts in this subject we will learn more about the developing of thinking after Huijiao's time from a lay Buddhist perspective Yan told his family,

The two religions, the Inner and the Outer are, however, fundamentally the same. Gradually they became very different from each other in depth and shallowness. At the entrance to the Inner scriptures there are five prohibitions which correspond to the humanity, justice, propriety, wisdom and sincerity of the Outer scriptures. Humanity corresponds to the prohibition against taking life. Justice corresponds to the prohibition against stealing. Propriety corresponds to the prohibition against depravity. Wisdom corresponds to the prohibition against lust, and sincerity corresponds to the prohibition against falsehood. As for hunting and fighting, feasting and punishments, the original characteristics of the people cannot be eradicated all at once, but should be restrained from excess. To turn to Duke Chou and Confucius and reject Buddhism is foolish indeed!¹⁵⁶

Yan's belief that Confucianism as an external guidance, and Buddhism, as an internal teaching, are one was not his invention, the idea and the terms had been

¹⁵⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.339; Teng, pp.138-139.

used for a long time. His clear combination of Buddhist prohibitions and Confucian moral requirements has been a widely known method for filling the gap between Buddhism and Confucianism even in modern times.¹⁵⁷ This combination also modified his identity as a Confucian. We will discuss this subject in the next section of this thesis. He also told his family that ordinary men needed education, and so did Buddhists. Buddhists need to study Buddhist sutras in the same way as ordinary men need to study the classics. He said,

How does the study of sutras and discipline texts by ordinary monks differ from studying the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Rites* by secular students?¹⁵⁸

By this explanation and combination he turned back to the questions of what to study and of identity construction. For him belief in Buddhism could help his family in many aspects, but they still had to keep up an unbroken chain of family identity. I have argued elsewhere that Yan Zhitui's belief in Buddhism was based on identity construction.¹⁵⁹ But this identity was not to be a monastic one like the subjects of *GSZ*. He urged his family to be lay Buddhists. He said,

Buddhism has many avenues of approach. To give up one's family by entering a monastery is only one of them. If you can really cherish faith and filial piety, act with humanity and charity, then like *Hsu-ta (Sudatta)* and *Liu-shui (Jalavahana)*, it is not necessary to shave the beard and hair. How could one demand that all the land be exhausted to build monasteries or all the people be registered as monks and nuns?¹⁶⁰

Obviously the first choice of Yan was becoming a lay Buddhist, believing in

¹⁵⁷ See Tang Yongtong, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*; p.443.

¹⁵⁸ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.385; Teng, p.146.

¹⁵⁹ See Wang Meihsiu, "Lun Yan Zhitui de fojiao xinyang yu shenfen jiangao de guanlian—yi *Yanshi jiaxun* guixin pian wei yiju".

¹⁶⁰ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16, "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.360; Teng, pp.146-147.

Buddhism, practicing some chanting and reading of sutras, but not leaving the family to become a monk.

If you, my sons, want to plan worldly affairs and establish families, and cannot leave your wives and sons to become monks, you should nevertheless cultivate your pious conduct, observe the precepts and pay attention to chanting and reading the scriptures in order to provide a passage to your future stage of existence. The opportunity for human life is difficult to get; do not pass it in vain!¹⁶¹

Becoming a lay Buddhist was his ideal religious identity for Yan Zhitui and his family. They could have the benefit of religion and maintain family identity in the secular world at the same time.

Modified Confucian

We have seen how Yan Zhitui constructed a religious identity for himself and also wanted his family to be lay Buddhists. He also constructed a modified Confucian identity in combining some aspects of Buddhism and Confucianism. In Yan's instructions on his own funeral arrangements we see more of his modified Confucianism. As Dien has pointed out, Yan does not mention the kind of things which one would expect to find in the tomb of one who had held high office.¹⁶² Besides not wanting to waste the financial resources of the Yan family he asked his children to avoid much of the usual array of grave goods so his tomb would not

¹⁶¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.16. "Turn your heart to Buddhism", p.364; Teng, p.148.

¹⁶² See Albert E. Dien, "Instructions For The Grave: The Case of Yan Zhitui", in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): pp.41-58.

surpass that of his parents, and thus cast him into the role of an unfilial son.¹⁶³ Furthermore, we see how Yan modified Confucian practice by including Buddhist elements in his funeral. He instructed his children:

The use of the Inner Scripture (Buddhist ceremonies) to raise merits may be determined by your financial strength, but do not use up what is needed for your living so as to leave you cold and hungry. The four seasonal sacrifices were taught by Duke Chou and Confucius with the hope of deathless remembrance and filial devotion. If we look into the Inner Scriptures, they are useless. To kill living beings for such purposes only adds to sin and trouble. If you would requite the boundless love you had received and alleviate your grief when it is intensified by the change of seasons, an occasional vegetarian offering and services at the soul delivering festival in the mid-seventh-moon, are all I expect from you.¹⁶⁴

From Yan's instructions above, it shows that his expectation of his own funeral was beyond the kind of simple burial (bozang, 薄葬) which was widely practiced in his time.¹⁶⁵ It was a combined Confucian and Buddhist funeral. In fact, a modified Confucian identity was also seen in other respects. When he constructed the identity of scholar and gentleman, he encouraged his family to study widely and not be bounded by the Confucian classics.

The rise and fall or negligence and emphasis of subjects of study vary according to different periods. In the Han dynasty all wise and brilliant students tried to master one of the classics, from which they then developed

¹⁶³ See *YSJXJJ* ch.20, "Last will", p.536; Teng, p.210; Dien, "Instructions For The Grave: The Case of Yan Zhitui", in *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 8 (1995): pp.41-58.

¹⁶⁴ See *YSJXJJ* ch.20, "Last will", pp.536-537; Teng, pp.210-211.

¹⁶⁵ See Wei Ming (魏鳴), "Wei Jin Bozang Kaolun (魏晉薄葬考論)", in *Nanjing daxue xuebao*, 1986.4, pp.133-143.

the truth of the sages, understand natural phenomena, and analyzed human affairs; in this way many became high ministers.¹⁶⁶

But situations changed in time. He praised some respected scholars who were famous for other learning besides Confucian classics.

In the city of Loyang I heard of Ts'ui Hao (崔浩, 386-450), Chang Wei (張偉), and Liu Fang (劉芳, 453-513); and in the city of Yeh (鄴) I saw Hsing Tzu-ts'ai (邢子才, died ca. 560). These four scholars, though they are fond of classics, are also well-known for their gifts and wide learning. These savants are of the highest order. Apart from them the rest are mostly rustic persons whose speech is rough with unrefined manners.¹⁶⁷

For his purpose of constructing a modified Confucian identity he emphasized the practical usefulness of selected classical sayings. For him the value of Confucian learning was basically that it would enable the Yan family to maintain its identity. He told his family,

Confucius says, “with learning, emolument may be found in it.” The books written by sages are used for teaching people. If one thoroughly studies the classical text and roughly learns the commentaries and constantly makes progress in one's speech and conduct, one can become a perfect man.

In general, political concerns are a major issue in Confucianism, but, Yan avoided this subject. In the biography of Yan Zhitui in *Beiqi shu* (北齊書), it is said that Yan's family was good at *Zhou guan* (周官) and *Zuo shi* (左傳).¹⁶⁸ Yan mentioned *Zhou guan* seven times, *Zuoshi*, twelve times, and *Li ji* (禮記), nine times. He mentioned *Shi jing* (詩經) most often, but with one exception only in discussing

¹⁶⁶ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “Encourage study”, p.169; Teng, pp.62-63.

¹⁶⁷ See *YSJXJJ* ch.8, “Encourage study”, p.170; Teng, p.64.

¹⁶⁸ See *Beiqi shu* 45 “Biography of Yan Zhitui”.

characters and pronunciation (linguistics and phonology).¹⁶⁹ He rarely directly discusses the arguments and the ideas in those classic texts. As Albert Dien has suggested, in his approach to Classics Yan was not seeking in them, or in their implications, an answer to his higher needs. The body of the Confucian canon formed for Yan the basis of learning, but it was to be taken at face value, and its place in his intellectual pursuits was limited.¹⁷⁰ This is why some of his instructions to his family are selective in their approach to Confucian tradition.

As we have already seen, he told his family that as officials they should not take unnecessary risks by offering unwanted advice that they were not required by their posts to give. He did not wish to see his descendants becoming martyrs to Confucian principles. It was necessary at times to be flexible. He told his family,

Since the Ch'un-ch'iu (春秋) period (722-481 B.C.) there have been many families annexed and nations conquered; and thus the relationship between a prince and a minister cannot be permanently maintained.¹⁷¹ A real gentleman who breaks friendship with a person should never speak ill of the latter. If suddenly he has to bend his knees in serving another person, he should not change his thoughts toward his former chief, whether the chief still exists or not. When Ch'en K'ung-chang (陳孔璋) worked under Yuan Shao (袁紹) in charge of the correspondence, he called Ts'ao Ts'ao (曹操) a jackal or wolf; while later writing official proclamations for the Wei Kingdom, he regarded Yuan Shao as a venomous serpent. He may have had no control over this, having been ordered to use such terms by the current ruler; nevertheless, this

¹⁶⁹ About how many times Yan Zhitui mentioned different Classics, see Zhou Fagao, "Appendix V" in *Yanshi jiaxun huizhu* (Taipei: Tailian guofeng chubanshe, 1975), p.212.

¹⁷⁰ Albert E. Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591): A Buddho-Confucian", in *Confucian personalities*, pp.51-54.

¹⁷¹ See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", p.240; Teng, p.92.

is a great source of trouble for men of letters. You boys must tactfully avoid it.¹⁷²

In other words, they should avoid such embarrassments if they could; but they might find themselves forced to adapt to new circumstances for the sake of family survival.

For Yan the histories were also important. Dien says,

Yen made specific reference to worth-while knowledge to be found in later literature, especially the histories, which he cited constantly in the *Instructions*. If the Classics, particularly those relating to *Li*, were the repository of codes of conduct, then the histories, beginning with the canonical ones but continuing with later ones also, were the best source of actual examples of the traditional code in operation. In this sense, the Classics and profane history could be said to merge into one, a literature of edification and instruction.¹⁷³

However, Zhang Peipei (張蓓蓓) has a different opinion. She has said that Yan liked *Han shu* (漢書) because it enabled him to discuss questions of linguistics and phonology, not because it had any teaching for personal living or for political affairs.¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, Yan's interest in linguistic and phonologic questions in historical texts was undoubtedly important to his family and their later identity. His son Yan Minchu (顏愨楚) wrote a commentary on the *Han shu*, some of which was incorporated into the more famous one by Yan's grandson Yan Shigu (顏師

¹⁷² See *YSJXJJ* ch.9, "On essays", pp.240-241; Teng, pp.92-93.

¹⁷³ Albert E. Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui(531-591): A Buddho-Concucian", in *Confucian personalities*; p.55.

¹⁷⁴ Zhang Peipei (張蓓蓓), "Cong *Yanshi jiaxun* kan zhonggu zhishi fenzi de zhuanxing (從顏氏家訓看中古知識份子的轉型)", p.19. Conference paper on 'Zhonggu wenxue, lishi yu sixiang zhong de guannian bianqian (中古文學、歷史與思想的觀念變遷)', organized and held by Taiwan daxue wenxueyuan (台灣大學文學院); 28.01.2005.

古).¹⁷⁵ Yan Zhitui himself left two books in the field of linguistics and phonology that have since been lost and also made contributions to the development of phonology.¹⁷⁶

By extending learning beyond the Confucian canon, Yan Zhitui constructed the identity of modified Confucian for himself and for his family.

As we have seen, Yan had a negative attitude toward both religious and philosophical Daoism. However, he drew on *Baopuzi* (抱朴子), a Daoist book with a strong critical character,¹⁷⁷ from time to time. Kang Shichang (康世昌) has said that there are many stories and viewpoints in *YSJX*, such as the cure of dental problems, starting learning young and encouraging study, which seem to be borrowed from Ge Hong (葛洪) and his *Bao pu zi*.¹⁷⁸ However, it seemed that Yan deliberately avoided referring to the many stories about politics in *Bao pu zi*. As Zhang Peipei has said, Yan made intellectuals less tolerant.

By the discussion above we have learned how Yan constructed the identity of modified Confucian for himself and for his family. He required the traditions of antiquity for the identity of himself and of his family but adapted them for practical needs in the reality of social circumstances of his time. His Confucian identity was adaptable and aimed at the security of his family.

To sum up, for Yan Zhitui constructing and maintaining the Yan family identity called for a clear view of priorities that put the family's status and survival

¹⁷⁵ See *Jiu Tang shu* (舊唐書) 73 "Biography of Yan Shigu (顏師古)".

¹⁷⁶ See *Sui shu* 34, "Jingji zhi (經籍志)" and Lu Guangzheng (路廣正), *Xunguxue tonglun* (訓詁學通論) (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 1996), P.384.

¹⁷⁷ See Yang Mingzhao (楊明照), *Bao pu zi waipian jiaojian* (抱朴子外篇校箋) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), p.3.

¹⁷⁸ See the chapter 8 of Kang Shichang's (康世昌) PhD dissertation: *Han Wei Liuchao jiaoxun yanjiu* (漢魏六朝家訓研究). (Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 1996)

through any future times of trouble ahead of all other considerations. Everything from education to religious practice had to serve this. The later history of the Yan family in Tang times was to show that his approach succeeded.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

In the previous three chapters I have discussed how questions of identity were reflected in three books from the Northern and Southern dynasties. The authors of the three books had their different aims, but they all dealt with identity questions in the times of change.

Huijiao's main purpose was to show that Buddhist monks could be acceptable to a Chinese society based on Confucian values and traditions. The identities he emphasized for the monks in *Gaoseng zhuan* are made compatible with Chinese tradition as far as he can. The monks also could make contributions to society in many different ways. In *Luoyang qielan ji* Yang Xuanzhi had different concerns. His main purpose was to represent a magnificent and prosperous city in its glory years. Through constructing many different identities for the city Yang redefined the Chinese identity for himself and for the other educated people like him who had been living in the north and served non-Chinese rulers for a long time. By constructing his beloved lost capital city Luoyang Yang implicitly claimed that identity depended on culture not ethnic origin, and that the true heirs of Chinese tradition were not in the south but in a place like Luoyang which had a long history and high culture. In *Yanshi jiaxun* Yan Zhitui's main concern is his family identity and family survival. He instructed his family to create identities which would help them to survive in the times of disorder and maintain a high social status whatever political changes there might be. His focus was rather more narrow than those of Huijiao and Yang Xuanzhi, for Huijiao cared about the identity of all monks, his own people, and what Yang Xuanzhi cared about was the traditional Chinese

leading class, people with the same experience as him, and the development of Chinese culture in the future.

All three books had to deal with the questions of *shizu*, ethnicity, and Buddhism.

In *Gaoseng zhuan* we have seen how Huijiao tried his best to make monks have a status equivalent to gentry status. I am not saying that Huijiao regarded the identity of scholar or *mingshi* as more important than the identity of monk, but that Huijiao approved of monks who were treated as equals by the gentry. It was one of Huijiao's purposes to show how monks could acquire honorary gentry status. That would in his eyes promote the social status of monks and improve their image. The problem of *shizu* which Yang Xuanzhi met was not so simple. We have seen how he faced the challenge of the southern educated Chinese about whether they or northerners like Yang were the true heirs of Chinese tradition. We have also seen his hatred and sorrow at the destruction of Luoyang, a cultural and political centre of Chinese tradition where officials of *shizu* origin served a state that had accepted Chinese values. In *Yanshi jiaxun* Yan Zhitui showed us that keeping the identity of *shizu* was the main task he set his descendants. As I have pointed out, nearly all Yan's concern was how to maintain the identity of gentry, *shizu*.

These three books also have different concerns about Buddhism. The issue was of course central to Huijiao's *Gaoseng zhuan*. In *Luoyang qielan ji* Yang Xuanzhi seems to have mixed views about Buddhism although his book was based on the description of monasteries and convents in a Buddhist city. We have learned that he approved of monks who devoted themselves to practical and inexpensive Buddhist practices such as chanting sutras and practising meditation, and was negative about the extravagance of Buddhism. In some places in his book we find

that Yang was proud of the prosperity of Buddhism in Luoyang, but in a deep sense he was proud of the city not the Buddhism. He used Buddhism's foreign characteristics to construct Luoyang's identity as an international Chinese city. In *Yanshi jiaxun* Yan Zhitui's religious choice was very clear. He defended Buddhism against other anti-Buddhist propaganda and wanted his family to follow his path and become lay Buddhists in ways that did not challenge Confucian public values. Since his main concern was in constructing a gentry identity for his family and maintaining high social status, he advocated keeping Buddhism as a private matter for he could not allow himself and his family to go against Chinese traditional values based on Confucian ideology.

They were also all concerned with ethnic questions, but in different ways. Huijiao's main problem of ethnicity was that monks were the members of a foreign religion. Some of them were themselves foreign immigrants. The alien factor was an undeniable fact to him and to other Buddhists. His method of dealing with this problem was to play it down. In fact, the more the identities he constructed for monks were accepted by educated Chinese the less the foreign characteristics mattered. For example, when he constructed the identity of scholar and *mingshi* for some monks in his *Gaoseng zhuan*, he included some foreign monks. It meant that Huijiao intended to play down the alien characteristics of Buddhism as much as he could. On the other hand, Huijiao was not concerned about monks serving non-Chinese rulers, although we still can see that he used some negative words in his book to describe the non-Chinese regimes whose legitimacy was not recognized in the south.

Yang Xuanzhi's problem of ethnicity was much more serious and complicated than Huijiao's. As a member of the northern Chinese gentry and a Northern Wei

subject who had experienced the great but temporary success of sinification Yang Xuanzhi could not bear the reversal of sinification which was carried on after the fall of Luoyang by a Xianbei-ized Chinese ruler, Gao Huan and his family. He could not talk about it frankly as the Gao family was controlling political power when he wrote *Luoyang qielan ji*. He therefore openly attacked the Erzhu instead and used other indirect methods to imply his ethnic attitude. As we have seen Yang did not make any negative opinion about the foreigners who come from other countries to live in Luoyang; on the contrary, his attitude to those people was quite positive, because those foreign people brought to Luoyang more activity and more international recognition. His attitude was always based on culture. He always stood on the side of supporting high level culture, Chinese culture. This is why he had to fight for his cultural identity against the southerners.

Yan Zhitui's attitude to ethnic problems was somehow ambiguous. He did not talk about this sensitive question directly in his book. However, in a few places of *Yanshi jiaxun* we are still able to see something obscurely. In the book he rejects the idea of learning the *pi-pa*, a western instrument, and the Xianbei language, and objects to his family becoming military officials. We have discussed that his experience of catastrophe in his life, both becoming captive and the 573 events, were caused by non-Chinese military people. We have little direct evidence on Yan's thinking about ethnic questions; however, we can be sure that Yan had ethnic problems, according to his autobiographic prose-poem and some information in *Yanshi jiaxun*, but he did not want to talk about it in his book to his family. In his thinking, such questions were sensitive and dangerous. They could threaten his family's identity and survival. All his concerns and all his hopes were with his family's future.

Identity construction as reflected in *Yanshi jiaxun* is explicit and in *Gaoseng zhuan* and in *Luoyang qielan ji* is implicit. Cultural identity construction in *Gaoseng zhuan* is based on Huijiao's present, *Luoyang qielan ji* is based on the past and *Yanshi jiaxun* is looking at the future.

A comparative List of biographies in *GSZ* and *MSZ*

《高僧傳》與《名僧傳》傳主重出一覽表

This comparative list of biographies in *GSZ* and *MSZ* shows which monks are included in each of the two books.

No 序號	Dynasty 朝代	Place / Monastery / Monk 地方 / 寺院 / 僧人	GSZ 高僧傳	MSZ 名僧傳
1	Han 漢	Luoyang Baima si / Kasyapamatanga 雒陽 / 白馬寺 / 攝摩騰	●	●
2		Luoyang Baima si / Dharmarakcha 雒陽 / 白馬寺 / 竺法蘭	●	●
3		Luoyang / Anqing 雒陽 / 安清	●	●
4		Luoyang / Lokasema 雒陽 / 支樓迦讖	●	●
5		Zhu Fosuo 竺佛朔	●	
6		Anxuan 安玄	●	
7		Yan Fodiao 嚴佛調	●	
8		Zhiyao 支曜	●	
9		Kangju 康巨	●	
10		Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳	●	
11	Wei 魏	Luoyang / Dharmakala 雒陽 / 曇柯迦羅	●	
12		Sam!ghavarman 康僧鎧	●	
13		Tandi 曇帝	●	
14		Mianyan 帛延	●	
15		(Wu) Jianye / Jianchu si / Kang Senghui (吳)建業 / 建初寺 / 康僧會	●	●
16		Zhiqian 支謙	●	
17		Wu Wuchang / Vighna (吳)武昌 / 維祇難	●	
18		Fali 法立	●	
19		Faju 法巨	●	
20		Chang'an Dharmarak (Zhu Fahu) 長安 / 竺曇摩羅剎 (竺法護)	●	●
21		Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠	●	
22	Jin 晉	Nie Daozhen 聶道真	●	
23		Chang'an Boyuan 長安 / 帛遠	●	
24		Bo Fazuo 帛法祚	●	●
25		Wei Shidu 衛士度	●	
26		Jiankang / Jianchu si / Śrimitra 建康 / 建初寺 / 帛尸梨蜜	●	●

27		Chang'an Sajghabhūti 長安 / 僧伽跋澄	●	●
28		Fotu luocha 佛圖羅剎	●	
29		Chang'an / Dharma-nandi 長安 / 曇摩難提	●	●
30		Zhaozheng 趙正	●	
31		Lushan Sajghadeva 廬山 / 僧伽提婆	●	●
32		Sam!gharaks!a 僧伽羅叉	●	
33		Chang'an / zhu Fonian 長安 / 竺佛念	●	●
34		Jiangling / Xin si / Dharma-yaśas 江陵 / 辛寺 / 曇摩耶舍	●	
35		Zhu Fadu 竺法度	●	
36		Chang'an / Kumārajīva 長安 / 鳩摩羅什	●	●
37		Chang'an Punyatāra 長安 / 弗若多羅	●	
38		Chang'an / Dharmaruci 長安 / 曇摩流支	●	●
39		Shouchun / Shijian si / Vimalākṣa 壽春 / 石澗寺 / 卑摩羅叉	●	●
40		Chang'an / Buddhayaśas 長安 / 佛陀耶舍	●	●
41		Jingshi / Daochang si / Buddhābhadrā 京師 / 道場寺 / 佛馱跋陀羅	●	●
42		Hexi / Dharma-rakṣa 河西 / 曇無讖	●	●
43		Daojin 道進	●	●
44		Anyang hou 安陽侯	●	
45		Daopu 道普	●	●
46		Fasheng 法盛	●	●
47		Fawei 法維	●	●
48		Sengbiao 僧表	●	●
49		Luoyang / Zhu Shixing 洛陽 / 朱士行	●	●
50		Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭	●	
51		Wuluocha 無羅叉	●	
52		Huaiyang / Zhi Xiaolong 淮陽 / 支孝龍	●	●
53		Yuzhang shan / Kang Sengyuan 豫章山 / 康僧淵	●	●
54		Kang Fachang 康法暢	●	
55		Zhi Mindu 支敏度	●	
56		Gaoyi / Zhu Faya 高邑 / 竺法雅	●	●
57		Pifu 毘浮	●	
58		Tanxiang 曇相	●	
59		Tanxi 曇習	●	
60		Zhongshan / Kang Falang 中山 / 康法朗	●	●
61		Ling Shao 令韶	●	
62		Dunhuang / Zhu Fasheng 燉煌 / 竺法乘	●	●
63		Zhu Faxing 竺法行	●	
64		Zhu Facun 竺法存	●	
65		Yandong / Yangshan / Zhu Faqian	●	

		剡東 / 仰山 / 竺法潛		
66		Zhu Fayou 竺法友	●	●
67		Zhu Fayun 竺法蘊	●	●
68		kang Fashi 康法識	●	
69		Zhu Faji 竺法濟	●	
70		Yan / Wozhoushan / Zhidun 剡 / 沃洲山 / 支遁	●	
71		Zhi Faqian 支法虔	●	
72		Zhu Fayang 竺法仰	●	●
73		Yanshan / Yu Falan 剡山 / 于法蘭	●	●
74		Zhu Faxing 竺法興	●	
75		Zhi Fayuan 支法淵	●	
76		Yu Fadao 于法道	●	
77		Yan / Baishan / Yu Fakai 剡 / 白山 / 于法開	●	●
78		Yu Fawei 于法威	●	
79		Dunhuang / Yu Daosui 燉煌 / 于道邃	●	●
80		Yan / Gexianshan / Zhu Fachong 剡 / 葛峴山 / 竺法崇	●	●
81		Daobao 道寶	●	
82		Shining shan / Zhu Fayi 始寧山 / 竺法義	●	●
83		Dongwan / Zhu Sengdu 東莞 / 竺僧度	●	●
84		Zhu Huichao 竺慧超	●	●
85		Chang'an / Wuji si / Shi Daoan 長安 / 五級寺 / 釋道安	●	●
86		Puban / Shi Fahe 蒲坂 / 釋法和	●	●
87		Taishan / Kunlun yan / Zhu Senglang 泰山 / 崑崙巖 / 竺僧朗	●	●
88		Zhi Sengdun 支僧敦	●	●
89		Jingshi / Waguan si / Zhu Fatai 京師 / 瓦官寺 / 竺法汰	●	●
90		Tanyi 曇壹	●	
91		Taner 曇貳	●	
92		Feilong shan / Shi Sengxian 飛龍山 / 釋僧先	●	
93		Daohu 道護	●	
94		Jingzhou / shangming si / Zhu Sengfu 荊州 / 上明寺 / 竺僧輔	●	●
95		Jingshi / Waguan si / Zhu Sengfu 京師 / 瓦官寺 / 竺僧敷	●	●
96		Jingzhou / Changsha si / Shi Tanyi 荊州 / 長沙寺 / 釋曇翼	●	●
97		Sengwei 僧衛	●	●

98	Jingzhou / Changsha si / Shi Fayu 荊州 / 長沙寺 / 釋法遇	●	●
99	Shangming si / Shi tan hu 上明寺 / 釋曇徽	●	●
100	Chang'an / Fuzhou shan / Shi Daoli 長安 / 覆舟山 / 釋道立	●	●
101	Changsha si / Shi Tanjie 長沙寺 / 釋曇戒	●	
102	Wuqian / Qingshan si / Zhu Fakuang 於潛 / 青山寺 / 竺法曠	●	
103	(Wu) Huqiu shan / Dongshan si / huDaoyi (吳)虎丘山 / 東山寺 / 竺道壹	●	●
104	Bo Daoyou 帛道猷	●	●
105	Daobao 道寶	●	●
106	Shanyin / Jiexiang si / Shi Huiqian 山陰 / 嘉祥寺 / 釋慧虔	●	
107	Jingyan 淨嚴	●	
108	Lushan / Shi Huiyuan 廬山 / 釋慧遠	●	●
109	Shu / Longyuan si / Shi Huichi 蜀 / 龍淵寺 / 釋慧持	●	●
110	Huiyan 慧巖	●	●
111	Senggong 僧恭	●	
112	Daohong 道泓	●	
113	Tanlan 曇蘭	●	
114	Lushan / Shi Huiyong 廬山 / 釋慧永	●	
115	Sengrong 僧融	●	●
116	Lushan / Shi Sengji 廬山 / 釋僧濟	●	●
117	Xinyang / Shi Faan 新陽 / 釋法安	●	
118	Lushan / Shi Tanyong 廬山 / 釋曇邕	●	●
119	Wutai si / Shi Daozu 吳臺寺 / 釋道祖	●	●
120	Huiyao 慧要	●	
121	Tanshun 曇順	●	
122	Tanshen 曇詵	●	●
123	Fayou 法幽	●	
124	Daoheng 道恆	●	
125	Daoshou 道授	●	
126	Chang'an / Da si / Shi Senghuo 長安 / 大寺 / 釋僧割	●	●
127	Hongjue 弘覺	●	

128		Pengcheng jun / Shi Daorong 彭城郡 / 釋道融	●	●
139		Chang'an / Shi Tanying 長安 / 釋曇影	●	
140		Chang'an / Shi Sengrui 長安 / 釋僧叡	●	●
131		Sengkai 僧楷	●	
132		Chang'an / Shi Daoheng 長安 / 釋道恆	●	●
133		Daobiao 道標	●	
134		Chang'an / Shi Sengzhao 長安 / 釋僧肇	●	
135		Yezhong / Buddhacinga (Fotucheng) 鄴中 / 竺佛圖澄	●	●
136		Daojin 道進	●	
137		Luofu shan / Dan Daokai 羅浮山 / 單道開	●	●
138		Changshan / Zhu fodiao 常山 / 竺佛調	●	●
139		Luoyang / Qiyu 洛陽 / 耆域	●	●
140		Luoyang / Panchi shan / Jiantuole 洛陽 / 磐鴉山 / 犍陀勒	●	●
141		Luoyang / Luozhi shan / Heluojie 洛陽 / 樓至山 / 訶羅竭	●	●
142		Xiangyang / Zhu Fahui 襄陽 / 竺法慧	●	●
143		Fancai 范材	●	
144		Luoyang / Dashi si / Anhuize 洛陽 / 大市寺 / 安慧則	●	
145		Huichi 慧持	●	
146		Chang'an she gong 長安 / 涉公	●	
147		Xiping / Shi Tanhuo 西平 / 釋曇霍	●	
148		Shangyu / Longshan / Shizong 上虞 / 龍山 / 史宗	●	
149		Jiangzuo / Zhu Sengxian 江左 / 竺僧顯	●	●
150		Yan Yinyue shan / Bo Sengguang 剡 / 隱岳山 / 帛僧光	●	●
151		Shifeng / Chicheng shan / Zhu Tanyou 始豐 / 赤城山 / 竺曇猷	●	●
152		Huikai 慧開	●	
153		Huizhen 慧真	●	
154		Chang'an / Shi Huiwei 長安 / 釋慧嵬	●	

155		Guanghan / Yanxing si / Shi Xianhu 廣漢 / 閻興寺 / 釋賢護	●	
156		Shifeng / Chicheng shan / Zhi Tanlan 始豐 / 赤城山 / 支曇蘭	●	●
157		Shu / Shishi shan / Shi Faxu 蜀 / 石室山 / 釋法緒	●	
158		Huoshan / Shi Sengqun 霍山 / 釋僧群	●	●
159		Heyin / Baima si / Shi Tansui 河陰 / 白馬寺 / 釋曇邃	●	●
160		Yuecheng si / Shi Faxiang 越城寺 / 釋法相	●	●
161		Tangai 曇蓋	●	●
162		Sengfa 僧法	●	●
163		Shanyin / Xianyi si / Zhu Fachun 山陰 / 顯義寺 / 竺法純	●	●
164		Shu / Sanxian si / Shi Sengsheng 蜀 / 三賢寺 / 釋僧生	●	●
165		Bingzhou / Zhu Huida 并州 / 竺慧達	●	●
166		Wuling / Pingshan / Shi Huiyuan 武陵 / 平山 / 釋慧元	●	
167		Zhu Huizhi 竺慧直	●	
168		Jingshi / Waguan si / Shi Huili 京師 / 瓦官寺 / 釋慧力	●	●
169		Jingshi / Anle si / Shi Huishou 京師 / 安樂寺 / 釋慧受	●	
170		Zhongshan / Bo Faqiao 中山 / 帛法橋	●	●
171		Sengfu 僧扶	●	
172		Jingshi / Jianchu si / Zhi Tanyue 京師 / 建初寺 / 支曇籥	●	●
173		Jingshi / Zhihuan si / Shi Faping 京師 / 祇桓寺 / 釋法平	●	●
174		Fadeng 法等	●	●
175	Song 宋	Jiangling / Xin si / Shi Faxian 江陵 / 辛寺 / 釋法顯	●	●
176		Huanglong / Dharmodgat 黃龍 / 釋曇無竭	●	
177		Jiankang / Longguang si / Fo Tuoshi 建康 / 隆光寺 / 佛陀什	●	
178		Hexi / Buddhavarman 河西 / 浮陀跋摩	●	
179		Jingshi / Zhiyuan si / Shi Zhiyan 京師 / 枳園寺 / 釋智嚴	●	●
180		Liuhe shan / Shi Baoyun 六合山 / 釋寶雲	●	●
181		Jingshi / Zhihuan si / Gunavarman 京師 / 祇洹寺 / 求那跋摩	●	●
182		Jingshi / Fengcheng si / Sajghavarman	●	●

		京師 / 奉承寺 / 僧伽跋摩		
183		Shangdinglin si / Dharmamitra 上定林寺 / 曇摩蜜多	●	●
184		Jingzhao / Shi Zhimeng 京兆 / 釋智猛	●	●
185		Jingshi / Daolin si / Kālayaśas 京師 / 道林寺 / 曇良耶舍	●	●
186		Sainklesadatta 僧伽達多	●	●
187		Sengqie luoduoduo 僧伽羅多哆	●	●
188		Jingshi / Zhongxing si / Gunabhadra 京師 / 中興寺 / 求那跋陀羅	●	●
189		A na mo di 阿那摩低	●	
190		Jingshi / Longguang si / Zhu Daosheng 京師 / 龍光寺 / 竺道生	●	●
191		Baolin 寶林	●	●
192		Fabao 法寶	●	●
193		Huisheng 慧生	●	
194		Jingshi / Wuyi si / Shi Huirui 京師 / 烏衣寺 / 釋慧叡	●	●
195		Jingshi / Dong'an si / Shi Huiyan 京師 / 東安寺 / 釋慧巖	●	●
196		Fa zhi 法智	●	●
197		Jingshi / Daochang si / Shi Huiguan 京師 / 道場寺 / 釋慧觀	●	●
198		Sengfu 僧馥	●	●
199		Faye 法業	●	●
200		Jingshi / Zhihuan si / Shi Huiyi 京師 / 祇洹寺 / 釋慧義	●	●
201		Sengrui 僧睿	●	●
202		Jingshi / Pengcheng si / Shi Daoyuan 京師 / 彭城寺 / 釋道淵	●	
203		Huilin 慧琳	●	●
204		Jingshi / Pengcheng si / Shi Sengbi 京師 / 彭城寺 / 釋僧弼	●	●
205		Dong'e / Shi Huijing 東阿 / 釋慧靜	●	●
206		Jingshi / Zhihuan si / Shi Sengbao 京師 / 祇洹寺 / 釋僧苞	●	●
207		Fahe 法和	●	●
208		Yuhang / Fangxian si / Shi Sengquan 餘杭 / 方顯寺 / 釋僧詮	●	
209		Jiangling / Xin si / Shi Tanjian 江陵 / 辛寺 / 釋曇鑒	●	●
210		Daohai 道海	●	
211		Huikan 慧龕	●	
212		Huigong 慧恭	●	

213		Tanhong 曇泓	●	●
214		Daoguang 道廣	●	
215		Daoguang 道光	●	
216		Lushan / Lingyun si / Shi Huian 廬山 / 凌雲寺 / 釋慧安	●	
217		Huainan / zhong si / Shi Tan Wucheng 淮南 / 中寺 / 釋曇無成	●	●
218		Tanjiong 曇罔	●	●
219		Jingshi / Lingwei si / Shi Senghan 京師 / 靈味寺 / 釋僧含	●	
220		Daohan 道含	●	
221		Jiangling / Pipa si / Shi Sengche 江陵 / 琵琶寺 / 釋僧徹	●	●
222		Sengzhuang 僧莊	●	
223		(Wu) Huqiu shan / Shi Tandi (吳)虎丘山 / 釋曇諦	●	●
224		Shouchun / Shijian si / Shi Sengdao 壽春 / 石澗寺 / 釋僧導	●	●
225		Sengyin 僧因	●	
226		Sengyin 僧音	●	●
227		Sengwei 僧威	●	●
228		(Shu) Wudan si / Shi Daowang (蜀)武擔寺 / 釋道汪	●	●
229		Puming 普明	●	●
230		Daoyin 道闇	●	●
231		Shanyin / Tianzhu shan / Shi Huijing 山陰 / 天柱山 / 釋慧靜	●	●
232		Changsha / Lushan / Shi Famin 長沙 / 麓山 / 釋法愍	●	●
233		Sengzong 僧宗	●	●
234		Jingshi / Bei Duobao si / Shi Daoliang 京師 / 北多寶寺 / 釋道亮	●	●
235		Jinglin 靜林	●	●
236		Huilong 慧隆	●	●
237		Danyang / Shi Fanmin 丹陽 / 釋梵敏	●	●
238		Sengyue 僧籛	●	●
239		Jingshi / Zhongxing si / Shi Daowen 京師 / 中興寺 / 釋道溫	●	●

240		Sengqing 僧慶	●	●
241		Huiding 慧定	●	●
242		Sengsong 僧嵩	●	●
243		Jingshi / Zhuangyan si / Shi Tanbin 京師 / 莊嚴寺 / 釋曇斌	●	●
244		Tanji 曇濟	●	●
245		Tanzong 曇宗	●	
246		Jingshi / Heyuan si / Shi Huiliang 京師 / 何園寺 / 釋慧亮	●	
247		Xia Dinglin si / Shi Sengjing 下定林寺 / 釋僧鏡	●	●
248		Tanlong 曇隆	●	●
249		Jingshi / Linggen si / Shi Sengjin 京師 / 靈根寺 / 釋僧瑾	●	●
250		Tandu 曇度	●	
251		Xuanyun 玄運	●	●
252		Jingshi / Xinghuang si / Shi Daomeng 京師 / 興皇寺 / 釋道猛	●	●
253		Daojian 道堅	●	
254		Huiluan 慧鸞	●	
255		Huifu 慧敷	●	
256		Sengxun 僧訓	●	
257		Daoming 道明	●	
258		Shanyin / Lingjia si / Shi Chaojin 山陰 / 靈嘉寺 / 釋超進	●	
259		Tanji 曇機	●	
260		Daopin 道憑	●	
261		Wuxing / Xiaoshan / Shi Fayao 吳興 / 小山 / 釋法瑤	●	●
262		Tanyao 曇瑤	●	●
263		Jingshi / Xinan si / Shi Daoyou 京師 / 新安寺 / 釋道猷	●	●
264		Daoci 道慈	●	
265		Huizheng 慧整	●	●
266		Jueshi 覺世	●	●
267		Jingshi / Yecheng si / Shi Huitong 京師 / 冶城寺 / 釋慧通	●	●
268		Jingshi / Beidu 京師 / 杯度	●	●
269		Seng quzha 僧佉吒	●	
270		(Bei Wei) Chang'an / Shi Tanshi (北魏)長安 / 釋曇始	●	●
271		Gaochang / Shi Falang 高昌 / 釋法朗	●	●

272		Zhizheng 智整	•	•
273		Minshan / Tongyun si / Shaoshuo 岷山 / 通雲寺 / 邵碩	•	
274		Jiangling / Pipa si / Shi Huian 江陵 / 琵琶寺 / 釋慧安	•	
275		Senglan 僧覽	•	
276		Fawei 法衛	•	•
277		(Bei Wei) Pingcheng / Shi Xuangao (北魏)平城 / 釋玄高	•	•
278		Huichong 慧崇	•	
279		Tanyao 曇曜	•	
280		Chang'an / Hanshan / Shi Sengzho 長安 / 寒山 / 釋僧周	•	•
281		Sengliang 僧亮	•	•
282		Chang'an / Taiho si / Shi Huitong 長安 / 太后寺 / 釋慧通	•	
283		Yuhang / Shi Jingdu 餘杭 / 釋淨度	•	
284		Shifeng / Pubu shan / Shi Sengcong 始峰 / 瀑布山 / 釋僧從	•	•
285		Guanghan / Shi Facheng 廣漢 / 釋法成	•	•
286		Jingshi / Zhongxing si / Shi Huilan 京師 / 中興寺 / 釋慧覽	•	
287		Jingzhou / Changsha si / Shi Faqi 荊州 / 長沙寺 / 釋法期	•	•
288		Daoguo 道果	•	•
289		Chengdu / Shi Daofa 成都 / 釋道法	•	•
290		Shu / Anle si / Shi Puheng 蜀 / 安樂寺 / 釋普恒	•	•
291		Jiangling / Shi Huiyou 江陵 / 釋慧猷	•	•
292		Wu / Xianju si / Shi Sengye 吳 / 閑居寺 / 釋僧業	•	•
293		Huiguang 慧光	•	•
294		Jingshi / Changle si / Shi Huixun 京師 / 長樂寺 / 釋慧詢	•	•
295		Jingshi / Zhuangyan si / Shi Sengqu 京師 / 莊嚴寺 / 釋僧璩	•	•
296		Daobiao 道表	•	

297		Pengcheng jun / shi Daoyan 彭城郡 / 釋道儼	●	●
298		Huiyao 慧曜	●	●
299		Jiangling / Shi Sengyin 江陵 / 釋僧隱	●	●
300		Chengju 成具	●	●
301		Guanghan / Shi Daofang 廣漢 / 釋道房	●	
302		Jingshi / Xianxin si / Shi Daoying 京師 / 閑心寺 / 釋道營	●	
303		Huiyou 慧祐	●	
304		Pengcheng / Jiashan / Shi Tancheng 彭城 / 駕山 / 釋曇稱	●	●
305		Gaochang / Shi Fajin 高昌 / 釋法進	●	●
306		Sengzun 僧遵	●	●
307		Wei jun / Tingwei si / Shi Sengfu 魏郡 / 廷尉寺 / 釋僧富	●	●
308		Qin / Puban / Shi Fayu 秦 / 蒲坂 / 釋法羽	●	●
309		Huishi 慧始	●	●
310		Linchuan / Zhaoti si / Shi Huishao 臨川 / 招提寺 / 釋慧紹	●	●
311		Sengyao 僧要	●	●
312		Lushan / Zhaoyin si / Shi Sengyu 廬山 / 招隱寺 / 釋僧瑜	●	
313		Jingshi / Zhulin si / Shi Huiyi 京師 / 竹林寺 / 釋慧益	●	●
314		Shu / Wudan si / Shi Sengqing 蜀 / 武擔寺 / 釋僧慶	●	●
315		Yan / Fahua tai / Shi Fazong 剡 / 法華臺 / 釋法宗	●	●
316		Jingshi / Nanjian si / Shi Daojiong 京師 / 南澗寺 / 釋道冏	●	
317		Lushan / Shi Huiqing 廬山 / 釋慧慶	●	●
318		Lingwei / Shi Puming 臨渭 / 釋普明	●	
319		Jingshi / Daochang si / Shi Fazhuang 京師 / 道場寺 / 釋法莊	●	●
320		Jingshi / Wagan si / Shi Huiguo 京師 / 瓦官寺 / 釋慧果	●	●
321		Jingshi / Dong'an si / Shi Fagong 京師 / 東安寺 / 釋法恭	●	●
322		Senggong 僧恭	●	●
323		Jingshi / Pengcheng si / Shi Sengfu 京師 / 彭城寺 / 釋僧覆	●	●
324		Jingshi / Chongming si / Shi Senghui 京師 / 崇明寺 / 釋僧慧	●	

325		Shanyin / Fahua shan / Shi Sengyi 山陰 / 法華山 / 釋僧翼	●	
326		Daojing 道敬	●	●
327		Yuzhou / Shi Senghong 豫州 / 釋僧洪	●	
328		Jingshi / Shi Sengliang 京師 / 釋僧亮	●	
329		Jingshi / Yanxian si / Shi Fayi 京師 / 延賢寺 / 釋法意	●	●
330		Jingshi / Baima si / Shi Sengrao 京師 / 白馬寺 / 釋僧饒	●	●
331		Daozong 道綜	●	●
332		Chaoming 超明	●	●
333		Minghui 明慧	●	●
334		Anle si / Shi Daohui 安樂寺 / 釋道慧	●	●
335		Song / Xie si / Shi Zhizong 宋 / 謝寺 / 釋智宗	●	●
336		Huibao 慧寶	●	
337		Daoquan 道詮	●	
338		Jingshi Zhihuan si Shi Daozhao 京師 / 祇桓寺 / 釋道照	●	●
339		Huiming 慧明	●	●
340		Changgan si / Shi Tanying 長干寺 / 釋曇穎	●	●
341		Waguan si / Shi Huiqu 瓦官寺 / 釋慧璩	●	●
342		Linwei si / Shi Tanzong 靈味寺 / 釋曇宗	●	●
343		Sengyi 僧意	●	●
344		Linwei si / Shi Tanguang 靈味寺 / 釋曇	●	●
345	Qi 齊	Jiankang / Zhengguan si / Guṇavidḍhi 建康 / 正觀寺 / 求那毗地	●	
346		Sajghavarman (Savghapāla)僧伽婆羅	●	
347		(BeiWei) Jizhou / Shi Sengyuan (北魏) 濟州 / 釋僧淵	●	●
348		(Bei Wei) Shi Tandu (北魏)釋曇度	●	●
349		Jingshi / Zhuangyan si / Shi Daohui 京師 / 莊嚴寺 / 釋道慧	●	●
350		Xuanqu 玄趣	●	●
351		Sengda 僧達	●	
352		Jingshi / Zhongxing si / Shi Sengzhong 京師 / 中興寺 / 釋僧鍾	●	●

353		Tanchen 曇讖	●	●
354		Tanqian 曇遷	●	●
355		Sengbiao 僧表	●	
356		Sengzui 僧最	●	●
357		Minda 敏達	●	●
358		Sengbao 僧寶	●	●
359	Qi 齊	Jingshi / Tianbao si / Shi Daosheng 京師 / 天保寺 / 釋道盛	●	●
360		Jingshi / Xianggong si / Shi Hongchong 京師 / 湘宮寺 / 釋弘充	●	
361		Faxian 法鮮	●	●
362		Gaochang jun / Shi Zhilin 高昌郡 / 釋智林	●	
363		Jingshi / Linggen si / Shi Fayuan 京師 / 靈根寺 / 釋法瑗	●	●
364		Faai 法愛	●	●
365		Fachang 法常	●	
366		Zhixing 智興	●	
367		Shu / Qihou shan / Shi Xuanchang (蜀) 齊后山 / 釋玄暢	●	●
368		Shang Dinglin si / Shi Sengyuan 上定林寺 / 釋僧遠	●	
369		Daoping 道憑	●	●
370		Faling 法令	●	●
371		Huitai 慧泰	●	
372		Jingzhou / Zhulin si / Shi Senghui 荊州 / 竹林寺 / 釋僧慧	●	
373		Tanshun 曇順	●	
374		Huichang 慧敞	●	●
375		Sengyou 僧岫	●	
376		Shang Dinglin si / Shi Sengrou 上定林寺 / 釋僧柔	●	●
377		Hongcheng 弘稱	●	
378		Sengba 僧拔	●	●
379		Huixi 慧熙	●	●
380		Shanyin / Fahua shan / Shi Huiji 山陰 / 法華山 / 釋慧基	●	●
381		Sengxing 僧行	●	●

382		Huixu 慧旭	●	
383		Daohui 道恢	●	●
384		Huiyong 慧永	●	
385		Huishen 慧深	●	
386		Fahong 法洪	●	
387		Jingshi / Xie si / Shi Huici 京師 / 謝寺 / 釋慧次	●	
388		Sengbao 僧寶	●	
389		Sengzhi 僧智	●	
390		Fazhen 法珍	●	●
391		Sengxiang 僧響	●	●
392		Sengmong 僧猛	●	
393		Fabao 法寶	●	
394		Huiyuan 慧淵	●	
395		Jingshi / Heyuan si / Shi Huilong 京師 / 何園寺 / 釋慧隆	●	
396		Zhidan 智誕	●	
397		Sengbian 僧辯	●	●
398		Sengxuan 僧賢	●	●
399		Daohui 道慧	●	
400		Fadu 法度	●	
401		Jingshi / Taichang si / Shi Sengzong 京師 / 太昌寺 / 釋僧宗	●	
402		Tanzhun 曇准	●	●
403		Fashen 法身	●	●
404		Fazhen 法真	●	
405		Huiling 慧令	●	
406		Faxian 法仙	●	
407		Fazui 法最	●	
408		Sengjing 僧敬	●	
409		Daowen 道文	●	
410		Sengxian 僧賢	●	
411		Jingshi / Zhong si / Shi Faan 京師 / 中寺 / 釋法安	●	●
412		Huiguang 慧光	●	
413		Jingyi 敬遺	●	●
414		Guangzan 光贊	●	
415		Huitao 慧韜	●	
416		Daozong 道宗	●	

417		Taozong 道宗	•	
418		Jingshi / Zhongxing si / Shi Sengyin 京師 / 中興寺 / 釋僧印	•	•
419		Huilong 慧龍	•	
420		Langye / Nieshan / Shi Fadu 瑯琊 / 聶山 / 釋法度	•	•
421		Fashao 法紹	•	•
422		Senglang 僧朗	•	
423		Huikai 惠開	•	
424		Fakai 法開	•	
425		Sengshao 僧紹	•	
426		Jingshi / Zhiyuan si / Shi Fagui 京師 / 枳園寺 / 釋法匱	•	
427		Fakai 法楷	•	
428		Jingzhou / Shi Senghui 荊州 / 釋僧慧	•	
429		Huiyuan 慧遠	•	•
430		Shouchun / Shi Huitong 壽春 / 釋慧通	•	•
431		Wuchang / Fanshan / Shi Fawu 武昌 / 樊山 / 釋法悟	•	•
432		Daoji 道濟	•	
433		Jingshi / Lingjiu si / Shi Sengshen 京師 / 靈鷲寺 / 釋僧審	•	•
434		Sengqian 僧謙	•	•
435		Chaozhi 超志	•	
436		Fada 法達	•	
437		Huisheng 慧勝	•	
438		Qiantang / Lingyin shan / Tanchao 錢塘 / 靈隱山 / 曇超	•	•
439		Shifeng / Chicheng shan / Shi Huiming 始豐 / 赤城山 / 釋慧明	•	
440		Zhongshan / Lingyao si / Shi Zhidao 中山 / 靈曜寺 / 釋志道	•	•
441		Chaodu 超度	•	•
442		Jingshi / Duobao si / Shi Faying 京師 / 多寶寺 / 釋法穎	•	•
443		Huiwen 慧文	•	•
444		Shu / Lingjian si / Shi Falin 蜀 / 靈建寺 / 釋法琳	•	•
445		Jingshi / Anle si / Shi Zhicheng	•	•

		京師 / 安樂寺 / 釋智稱		
446		Congchao 聰超	●	
447		Jingshi / Jianchu si / Shi Sengyou 京師 / 建初寺 / 釋僧祐	●	●
448		Longxi / Shi Faguang 隴西 / 釋法光	●	●
448		Facun 法存	●	
450		Jiaozhi / Xian shan / Shi Tanhong 交趾 / 仙山 / 釋曇弘	●	●
451		Jingshi / Gaozuo si / Shi Huijin 京師 / 高座寺 / 釋慧進	●	●
452		Sengnian 僧念	●	●
453		Yongxing / Bolin si / Shi Hongming 永興 / 柏林寺 / 釋弘明	●	
454		Jingshi / Linggen si / Shi Fayu 京師 / 靈根寺 / 釋法豫	●	
455		Fayin 法音	●	
456		Shangdinglin si / Shi Gaosong 上定林寺 / 釋高嵩	●	
457		Shangdinglin si / Chaobian 上定林寺 / 超辯	●	●
458		Faming 法明	●	●
459		Sengzhi 僧志	●	●
460		Fading 法定	●	●
461		Shanyin / Tianzhu shan / Shi Fahui 山陰 / 天柱山 / 釋法慧	●	●
462		Tanyou 曇遊	●	
463		Jingshi / Hougang Shi Senghou 京師 / 後岡 / 釋僧侯	●	●
464		Huiwen 慧溫	●	●
465		Nanghai / Yunfeng si / Shi Huijing 南海 / 雲峰寺 / 釋慧敬	●	●
466		Nanghai / Zangwei shan / Shi Faxuan 南海 / 藏微山 / 釋法獻	●	●
467		Shangdinglin si / Shi Faxian 上定林寺 / 釋法獻	●	●
468		Xuanchang 玄暢	●	
469		Wuyi si / Shi Tanqian 烏衣寺 / 釋曇遷	●	●
470		Fachang 法暢	●	●
471		Daoyan 道琰	●	●

472		Dongan si / Shi Tanzhi 東安寺 / 釋曇智	●	●
473		Daolang 道朗	●	
474		Faren 法忍	●	
475		Zhixin 智欣	●	
476		Huiguang 慧光	●	
477		Anle si / Shi Sengbian 安樂寺 / 釋僧辯	●	●
478		Senggong 僧恭	●	
479		Baima si / Shi Tanpin 白馬寺 / 釋曇憑	●	
480		Daoguang 道光	●	
481		Beiduobao si / Shi Hui ren 北多寶寺 / 釋慧忍	●	●
482		Falin 法鄰	●	
483		Tanbian 曇辯	●	
484		Huinian 慧念	●	
485		Tangan 曇幹	●	
486		Tanjin 曇進	●	
487		Huichao 慧超	●	
488		Daoyin 道音	●	
489		Tandiao 曇調	●	
490		Xingfu si / Shi Huifen 興福寺 / 釋慧芬	●	●
491		Qifu si / Shi Daoru 齊福寺 / 釋道儒	●	●
492		Sengxi 僧喜	●	●
493		Waguan si / Shi Huizhon 瓦官寺 / 釋慧重	●	●
494		Fajue 法覺	●	●
495		Zhengsheng si / Shi Faxia 正勝寺 / 釋法顯	●	
496		Qilong si / Shi Fajing 齊隆寺 / 釋法境	●	
497		Daoqin 道親	●	
498		Baoxing 寶興	●	
499		Daodeng 道登	●	
500	Liang 梁	Jingshi / Yecheng si / Shi Zhixiu 京師 / 冶城寺 / 釋智秀	●	
501		Sengruo 僧若	●	
502		Sengrui 僧璿	●	
503		Daosheng 道乘	●	
504		Jingzhou / Shi Huiqiu 荊州 / 釋慧球	●	
505		Jingshi / Lingyao si / Shi Sengsheng	●	●

		京師 / 靈曜寺 / 釋僧盛		
506		Faxin 法欣	●	
507		Zhichang 智敞	●	
508		Fajiong 法冏	●	
509		Senghu 僧護	●	●
510		Sengshao 僧韶	●	
511		Shanyin / Yunmen shan si / Shi Zhishun 山陰 / 雲門山寺 / 釋智順	●	
512		Jingshi / Lingwei si / Shi Baoliang 京師 / 靈味寺 / 釋寶亮	●	
513		Daoming 道明	●	
514		Sengcheng 僧成	●	●
515		Sengbao 僧寶	●	
516		Shangdinglin si / Shi Fataog 上定林寺 / 釋法通	●	
517		Zhijin 智進	●	
518		Jingshi / Zhaoti si / Shi Huiji 京師 / 招提寺 / 釋慧集	●	
519		Yan / Fahua tai / Shi Tanfei 剡 / 法華臺 / 釋曇斐	●	
520		Fazang 法藏	●	
521		Mingqing 明慶	●	
522		Jingshi / Shi Baozhi 京師 / 釋保誌	●	
523		Daoxiang 道香	●	
524		Senglang 僧朗	●	
525		Shangdinglin si / Shi Huimi 上定林寺 / 釋慧彌	●	
526		Faxian 法仙	●	
527		Fuyang Qijian si / Shi Daolin 富陽 / 齊堅寺 / 釋道琳	●	
528		Yan / Shicheng shan / Shi Senghu 剡 / 石城山 / 釋僧護	●	
529		Jingshi / Zhengjue si / Shi Fayue 京師 / 正覺寺 / 釋法悅	●	
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