

# The Liang chih-kung-t'u 梁職貢圖

By Kazuo ENOKI

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## I. The Institutional Tradition

In China there existed an institution for making detailed records of the foreign countries and peoples from which embassies for the purpose of pay-

*ssü-i shu-chih-t'u* 大宋四夷述職圖 in the eighth year of Tai-chung hsiang-fu 大中祥符 (1015),<sup>13)</sup> (3) the *Ch'ien-tao hsüan-tê-tien hua-i t'u* 乾道選德殿華夷圖 in the first year of Ch'ien-tao 乾道 (1165),<sup>14)</sup> (4) the *K'ang-ting ssü-i kwei-chüan* 康定四夷龜鑑 in the first year of K'ang-ting 康定 (1217),<sup>15)</sup> and the *Hua-i lieh-kuo ju-kung t'u* 華夷列國入貢圖 edited by Tsui Chün 崔峻 or Tsui Hsia 崔峽, of which dates for the author and its compilation are not known, except that they must be sometime in Sung.<sup>16)</sup> The number of countries registered in these *chih-kung-t'u* is not known, but must be very many because very many embassies and merchants disguised as royal embassies came to China under the Sung in order to get such materials as textiles in silk, porcelain, and medicine.

As to the Yüan, no records are available concerning *chih-kung-t'u* of foreign countries which sent embassies to Yüan emperors except for the previously mentioned statement in the *Yüan-shih*, Bk. 15. In the *Ch'iu-chien hsien-shêng tai-ch'üan-wên-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集, Bk. 73, there is a post-script to a *Nan-man chao-kung-t'u* 南蠻朝貢圖 (Picture Representing Southern Barbarians who came to China to bring tribute to the Emperor). However, it depicts a T'ang event and seems to have nothing to do with the Yüan.

As to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 (1582–1664) registers in his library's catalogue, *Tu-shu min-ch'iu-chi* 讀書敏求記, Bk. 2, five items which seem to have a close connection with *chih-kung-t'u*. They are *Ch'ung-i t'u-ching* 重譯圖經 (Illustrated Book of Foreigners who came to China accompanied by Translators), in two chüan; *Ch'ien-ch'ang chu-i t'u* 建昌諸夷圖 (Pictures representing Nine Barbarous Tribes in the Region of Ch'ien-chang in Ssü-ch'uan in one chüan; *Kuei-chou chu-i t'u* 貴州諸夷圖 (Pictures of thirty-five Tribes of Barbarians in Kuei-chou) in one chüan, *Yün-nan chu-i t'u* 雲南諸夷圖 (Pictures of Thirty-seven Tribes of Barbarians in Yün-nan) in one chüan; and *Kao-li t'u-ching* 高麗圖經 in forty chüan. Among these, the last one is the same as *Hsüan-ho fêng-shih Kao-li t'u-ching* 宣和奉使高麗圖經, which, being an official report of Hsü Ching 徐競, who was sent to K'ai-ch'êng 開城, the capital of Korea in 1123, should be considered separately from *chih-kung-t'u*, and *Ch'ien-ch'ang chu-i t'u*, *Kuei-chou chu-i t'u* and *Yün-nan chu-i t'u* are scrolls representing non-Chinese peoples in the south-western borderland of China. The illustrations of these non-Chinese peoples on Chinese frontiers may be considered forerunners of the same kind of illustrations compiled and published in the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 issued in the latter half of the 18th century by the imperial order of Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 and supplemented by his successor, Emperor Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶.<sup>17)</sup>

According to the *Tu-shu min-ch'iu-chi*, the *Ch'ung-i t'u-ching* 重譯圖經 is a painted scroll consisting of 134 pictures beautifully drawn of foreigners, pictures which are originally described in such books as *Hsi-yang chao-kung tien-lu* 西洋朝貢典錄, *Huang-ming ssü-i kao* 皇明四夷考, *Tao-i chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略 and so on. These books were compiled under the Ming, except for *Tao-i*

*chih-lüeh*, which was compiled in 1349, that is to say, at the end of Yüan, by Wang Tai-yüan 汪大淵. In any case, the *Ch'ung-i t'u-ching* was a chih-kung-t'u compiled on the basis of some second-hand sources that had been published in the previous dynasty.

The Ming was succeeded by the Ch'ing 清, in which a lot of painted scrolls of tribute bearers and non-Chinese frontier peoples were made. The *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 represents pictures of two hundred eighty-eight kinds of frontier peoples and foreigners from abroad, who sent embassies to the court of Ch'ing. The pictures were selected from numerous chih-kung-t'u, some of which are still unedited and preserved at the Palace Museum in Taipei. One example is the chih-kung-t'u of the tribes of Moso 麼些 in Yün-nan 雲南 and Ssü-ch'uan 四川 provinces, which was painted in four volumes by Hsieh Sui 謝遂, of the Painting Academy 畫院 of Ch'ien-lung.<sup>18)</sup>

The Emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 (1735-1796) was the most enthusiastic in making chih-kung-t'u, which he probably considered to be the most useful and convenient way to enhance imperial prestige with the public. The Emperor Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 (1796-1820), who succeeded Ch'ien-lung, supplemented the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* with pictures of some frontier tribes which were not yet painted. Thus, the chih-kung-t'u may be said to be at its climax under the reign of Ch'ien-lung and Chia-ch'ing.

As is well known, it was under the reign of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 (141-87 B.C.) of the Former Han that the intercourse between China, unified now as a single empire, and foreign countries started to take place. Many embassies came to China to pay respect to the Chinese emperor on behalf of their rulers. They very much admired the highly advanced civilization of China. In particular, they were greatly surprised by its wealth. The emperors of China were usually very generous in giving abundant presents to foreign rulers and their embassies in return for what had been brought as tribute. In this sense, from the point of view of foreign rulers and their embassies, the bringing of tribute to Chinese emperors meant a very profitable trade, and from the point of view of Chinese emperors, the coming of foreign embassies was the international manifestation of their high virtue, which they believed was able to protect and encourage the people of foreign countries in far off regions. The chih-kung-t'u were painted as hard evidence of the prestige of Chinese emperors in the world outside China.

At the same time, merchants of foreign countries, who knew well of the extremely high profit of trade with China, disguised themselves as envoys sent by the rulers of other foreign countries from whom they had bought royal ambassadorships at very high prices and subsequently they made every effort to get to China by whatever means possible. These tribute bearers, either true or in disguise, were very much welcome by the Chinese emperors who commissioned the chih-kung-t'u.

However, there is no evidence to show that Emperor Wu-ti ordered the compilation of *chih-kung-t'u* either in picture form, in sculpture, or in any other form. Such historical records as the *Shih-chi* 史記 and the *Han-shu* 漢書 state that the Emperor Wu-ti received foreign embassies very enthusiastically. He was accompanied by them in the royal excursions which he made often, even to coastal places far away from the capital of Ch'ang-an 長安 and, whenever the travelling party passed big cities, he used to give them an enormous amount of rich presents in order to let them know how rich China was. He also entertained them with gorgeous theatrical performances of acrobats and jugglers in the royal palace. He even let them in governmental warehouses to show them the abundant materials stored there. No statement is available, however, to the effect that he ordered the compilation of *chih-kung-t'u* in book form or in sculpture.

From the point of view of world history, it was King Darius (c. 522–486 B.C.) of Achaemenian Persia who had figures of tribute bearers sculpted on the walls at the side of steps leading to the apadana (audience room) in Persepolis, which sculptures one can see even today. These sculptural presentations of tribute bearers may be called the earliest *chih-kung-t'u* now extant in the world. It is quite certain that the Emperor Wu-ti knew nothing about these sculptural pictures of tribute bearers in Perspolis, which may be the reason why no evidence is available to show the compilation of *chih-kung-t'u* in his reign.

Two theories have been advanced in connection with the origin of *chih-kung-t'u* in China. One is by the late Wang Yung 王庸 and the other by Lu Liang-chih 盧良志, both specialists in the history of Chinese maps.

Wang Yung is of opinion that there existed a sort of *chih-kung-t'u* in the reign of Emperor Yüan-ti 元帝 (49–33 C.C.) on the basis of a statement in the *Han-shu* 漢書, Bk. 9, under the 1st month of the 4th year of Chien-chao 建昭 (35 B.C.). The *Han-shu* says that the Emperor Yüan-ti reported to his enshrined ancestors the execution of Chih-chih shan-yü 郅支單于 who had been chief of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴, rebelled against the Han and was caught and executed the previous year; that court officials proposed the toast of the emperor; and that *t'u-shu* 圖書 of Chih-chih shan-yü were exhibited to court ladies 後宮貴人.<sup>19)</sup> Wang Yung takes the *t'u-shu* to be pictures of hills and rivers of the territory of the Hsiung-nu, which he looks upon as the earliest example of *chih-kung-t'u*.<sup>20)</sup>

However, the meaning of *t'u-shu* is yet to be established. Fu Ch'ien 服虔 of the Later Han, who commented on the *Han-shu*, interpretes the term *t'u-shu* in two ways. According to him, it may mean either maps and documents concerning the military expedition against Chih-chih shan-yü or pictures illustrating the landscape, hills and rivers of the territory of the Hsiung-nu. Of these interpretations the latter was rejected as unacceptable by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581–645), famous commentator of the *Han-shu* at the

*chih-lieh*, which was compiled in 1349, that is to say, at the end of Yüan, by Wang Tai-yüan 汪大淵. In any case, the *Ch'ung-i t'u-ching* was a chih-kung-t'u compiled on the basis of some second-hand sources that had been published in the previous dynasty.

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beginning of the T'ang. Yen Shih-ku, therefore, takes the *t'u-shu* as maps and documents concerning the expedition. But, seeing that the *t'u-shu* were exhibited to court ladies, it seems more probable that they were not maps and documents concerning the military operation, but pictures illustrating the landscape and the way of life of the Hsiung-nu that had been conquered by the Chinese army. From this point of view, Wang Yung's interpretation may not be unacceptable, though some more evidence may be necessary to establish it as true.

Lu Liang-chih states that the chih-kung-t'u originated in the *Shan-hai-t'u* 山海圖 or Pictures of Hills and Seas, which, according to him, were illustrations of the *Shan-hai-ching* 山海經 or Book of Hills and Seas. While the *Shan-hai-ching* is still extant, the *Shan-hai-t'u* has long been lost. In his opinion, two kinds of illustrations were included in the *Shan-hai-t'u*: one illustrating monstrous animals and men, and the other unusual men and things of foreign countries, the latter of which is considered to be the origin of chih-kung-t'u.<sup>21)</sup>

Lu Liang-chih also states that the title of chih-kung-t'u appeared under the Han, though he shows no authority for the statement. Even the existence of *Shan-hai-t'u* is not supported by any literary evidence in the Former and the Later Han. The *Shan-hai-ching* in 18 books is registered by Liu Hsin 劉歆 (32?-23 B.C.) in the *I-wên-chih* 藝文志 of the *Han-shu* as one of the books edited by him, but nothing is mentioned in the same section of the *Han-shu* about the *Shan-hai-t'u*. This means, therefore, that the *Shan-hai-t'u* did not yet exist under the Former Han. It is at the time of Kuo P'o 郭璞 (276-324), who compiled commentaries on the *Shan-hai-ching*, that a *t'u* 圖 which illustrated the *Shan-hai-ching* existed and is cited in Kuo P'o's commentaries, though no one knows if its complete title was *Shan-hai-t'u* 山海圖 or *Shan-hai-ching-t'u* 山海經圖. As is well known, Kuo P'o also wrote a book entitled *Shan-hai-ching-t'u tsan* 山海經圖讚 (Notes on the *Shan-hai-ching-t'u*), which may indicate that the *Shan-hai-t'u* was an abbreviation of *Shan-hai-ching-t'u* and that it means the Book of Illustrations of *Shan-hai-ching*. Anyway, a *t'u* or series of *t'u* to illustrate the *Shan-hai-ching* existed before Kuo P'o.

T'ao Yüan-ming 陶淵明 (365?-427) wrote a series of thirteen poems under the title of *Tu Shan-hai-ching shih-san shih* 讀山海經十三詩, in which he refers to the *Shan-hai-t'u* 山海圖 in the first poem.<sup>22)</sup>

Thus, the *Shan-hai-ching-t'u* or *Shan-hai-t'u* seem to have been enjoyed by intellectuals in the third through fifth centuries. Lu Liang-chih is quite wrong when he says that chih-kung-t'u appeared in the times of Han, by which he may mean from the time of the Emperor Wu-ti to the end of the Later Han, that is to say, from the second century B.C. to the beginning of the third century A.D., but the popularization of such picture books as *Shan-hai-ching-t'u* or *Shan-hai-t'u* may have stimulated painters to paint foreign people who came to China and to present these pictures in the form of

books or scrolls in imitation of *Shan-hai-ching-t'u*. It is in this setting that the appearance for the first time in Chinese history of *chih-kung-t'u* in the sixth century, that is to say, under the Liang 梁, may be best understood.

As will be described in the Bibliographical Introduction which follows, under the reign of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of Liang (502-549) *chih-kung-t'u* were compiled twice. The first one, entitled *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* 方國使圖 (Pictures of Embassies of Countries in All Directions) in which embassies of twenty countries were described and illustrated by P'ei Tzū-yeh 裴子野 (469-530) as is understood by the title. But, it is not clear if it was in scroll or in book form. The second one is what is generally called the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* 梁職貢圖, which is sometimes called *Fan-k'ê ju-chao-t'u* 番客入朝圖.<sup>23)</sup> It is a painted scroll made by Hsiao I 蕭繹 who later ascended the throne and was called Yüan-ti 元帝 (552-554). A copy of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* made in 1077 is available today. These two *chih-kung-t'u* were painted in order to celebrate Emperor Wu-ti's imperial prestige throughout the world, as well as his long reign. Actually, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was prefaced to the effect that it was compiled to celebrate the fortieth year of Wu-ti's enthronement<sup>24)</sup>

The *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* by P'ei Tzū-yeh was compiled by the imperial order of Emperor Wu-ti, while the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was compiled on the initiative of his son Hsiao I, who was the actual painter of the scroll and the author of its inscriptions. It goes without saying, however, that both of these scrolls were initiated by the Emperor Wu-ti, who wanted to have his imperial influence over foreign countries made manifest.

Emperor Wu-ti of Liang was one of the most eminent rulers ever to appear in China. The Liang dynasty started by him was created from political, economic, literary, and religious points of view a new epoque in Chinese history.<sup>25)</sup> The *chih-kung-t'u* may be looked upon as showing a new diplomatic policy under the emperor. At the time of Emperor Wu-ti, Liang controlled just the southern half of China, the northern half being under the rule of the Northern Wei 北魏. Emperor Wu-ti, however, intended to establish a new world order. While the Northern Wei were in the position to resume overland intercourse with countries in Central Asia and Western Asia, the Liang could expect to cultivate close relationships with countries along the Pacific and Indian Ocean coasts. The *Liang shih-kung-t'u* tells us that Emperor Wu-ti had established intercourse not only with coastal countries but also with countries in northwestern China, Central Asia and Western Asia. This shows the new expansionist diplomacy of this emperor and explained why *chih-kung-t'u* were compiled for the first time by Emperor Wu-ti. The Liang was destroyed in 557, that is to say, eight years after the death of Emperor Wu-ti, and it is a pity that the Liang were not able to achieve fully the new epoque in Chinese history that might have been expected from the talented rulership of this emperor. The idea of compiling of *chih-kung-t'u* might have come to the Emperor from the *Shan-hai-ching-t'u*



which were popular among the people of his time. In any case, the chih-kung-t'u seem to have been well matched to his world policy.

## II. A Bibliographical Introduction

Credit for producing the *Liang chih-kung-tu* scroll 梁職貢圖 (or 貢職圖) is given to Yüan-ti 元帝 Hsiao I 蕭繹 in several source works, including the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 5; the *Nan-shih* 南史, Bk. 8, *Sui shu ching-chi-chih* 隋書經籍志; the *Chiu T'ang-shu ching-chi-chih* 舊唐書經籍志; the *Yü-hai* 玉海 Bk. 56; the *Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu* 遂初堂書目; and the *Sung-shih i-wên-chih* 宋史藝文志. And modern scholars from F. Hirth on have note of it.<sup>1)</sup> The origins of its coming into existence are described as follows, in the Preface to Yüan-ti's *chih-kung-tu*, as recorded in the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚, Bk. 55:

(前略), 皇帝君臨天下之四十載, 垂衣裳而賴兆民, 坐巖廊而彰萬國, 梯山航海, 交臂屈膝, 占雲望日, 重譯至焉。(中略), 尼邱乃聖, 猶有圖人之法, 晉帝君臨, 寔聞樂賢之象, 甘泉寫閼氏之形, 後宮玩單于之圖。臣以不佞, 推轂上游, 夷歌成章, 胡人遙集, 款開蹶角, 沿泝荆門, 瞻其容貌, 訊其風俗。如有來朝京輦, 不涉漢南, 別加訪採, 以廣聞見, 名爲職貢圖云爾。<sup>2)</sup>

In other words, Hsiao I, in residence as tz'ü-shih 刺史 at 荆門 (荊州, present day 湖北省江陵), then at the upper reaches of the Yangtze, observed and surveyed the appearance and customs of those foreigners who had come to 荊州, and dispatched others to survey those who had come to the capital at 建康 (present day 南京) but not as far as 荊州, and this scroll represents his compilation of those surveys for the purpose of recording the abundance of tribute being brought to court by embassies dispatched to Liang from various countries on the occasion of forty years of rule by Emperor Wu-ti 武帝. We learn also from this preface that the scroll consisted of drawings of envoys from tribute states and of descriptions of their countries. Since Emperor Wu-ti of Liang assumed the throne on May 1, 502 (天監 1 年 4 月丙寅), those forty years would bring us into the range of 大同 7 年 (541) and 8 年 (542). On the other hand, Hsiao I served twice as 刺史 of Ching-chou 荊州, in terms of office occurring before and after those dates. The first of these terms was from the seventh month of 普通 7 年 (526) to the fifth month of 大同 5 年 (539), at which point he became 安右將軍護軍將軍領石頭戍軍事, and in the twelfth month of the following year he set off again, becoming 刺史 of Chiang-chou 江州. His second term ran between the first month of 太清 1 年 (547) through to his succession as Emperor in the eleventh month of 承聖 1 年 (552).<sup>3)</sup> Consequently, since the compiling of the *chih-kung-t'u* would then have taken place during his first term as 刺史 to 荊州, reference to the "Emperor's forty years of rule" would not necessarily mean precisely forty years

but might be taken simply as a round figure. While there is no reference in the Preface to the scroll's being dedicated to Emperor Wu-ti, we can only assume from the nature of the work that an official presentation was made possibly during the period from the seventh month of 大同 5 年 to the twelfth month of 大同 6 年 when he was in 建康 supervising military affairs. In any case, it would seem certain that the timing of the completion of the scroll may be placed with confidence in the general area of 大同 5 年 (539).

This scroll alone is referred to as 職貢圖, and as "illustrations of foreign visitors arrived for the presentation of tribute,"<sup>4)</sup> and it is extremely important, for it exists, along with a number of subsequent productions known variously as 職貢圖, 王會圖, 朝貢圖, 述職圖, etc., as the oldest of such records. As has been cited previously, it is mentioned in the *Sui-shu* 隋書 and *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, while its Preface is recorded in the Bk. 55 of the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚, compiled by 歐陽詢 (557-637),<sup>5)</sup> Bk. 47 of that same work also records its appraisal 贊. Additionally, as will be subsequently shown, parts of lost portions are preserved in the 釋迦方志, Bk. 2, 續高僧傳, Bk. 24, 法苑珠林, Bk. 29, and 翰苑, so it is clear that the work was in currency in Sui and T'ang times. As to its content, however, no tradition is recorded in Sui T'ang documents. We find only the brief notice in Bk. 7 of the *Li-tai Ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 of Chang Yen-yüan 張彥遠 (學津討源本) that

元帝蕭繹，字世誠<sup>書</sup>，武帝弟七子。初生便眇一目。聰慧俊朗，博涉技藝，天生善書畫。初封湘東王，後乃即位。年四十七。追號元帝。廟號世祖。(元帝)嘗畫聖僧，武帝親為贊之。任荊州刺史日，畫蕃客入朝圖，帝極稱善<sup>善書</sup>，又畫職貢圖并序，善畫外國來荆之事<sup>摩本</sup>。姚最云，湘東天挺生知，學窮性表，心師造化，象人特盡神妙，心敏手運，不加點理。聽訟之暇，衆藝之餘，時遇揮毫，造化驚絕，足使荀衛閣筆，哀陸韜翰<sup>遊春苑白麻紙圖·鹿圖·節利像·翰翰</sup>。

thus learning merely that, having on his own drawn pictures of foreign visitors to the court, Yüan-ti received Wu-ti's commendation, and that he drew the *chih-kung-tu* pictures, wrote its Preface, and drew beautiful illustrations of the offerings from foreign lands. According to this passage, when he served as tz'ü-shih 刺史 of 荊州, he made these drawings of the court's foreign visitors by himself as was described in detail by the *Liang-shu* 梁書 and in Bk. 152 of the *Yü-hai* 玉海 as well. We find, "the *Liang-shu* reports that Yüan-ti drew foreign visitors who have appeared with offerings in tribute," but there is no such passage to be found in the *Liang-shu* we have today. Bk. 8 of the *Nan-shih* 南史 does tell us, however, that in drawing, composition, and calligraphy Hsiao I was a consummate artist:

爲荊州刺史，起州學·宣尼廟。(中略)，帝工書畫，自圖宣尼像，爲之贊而書之。時人謂之三絕。

The *san-chüeh* 三絕 refers to the superb excellence of the drawings themselves, the text of the captions, and the calligraphy. It would seem that the *Liang-shu* seen by the compilers of the *Li-tai Ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 and the *Yü-hai* 玉海 would be of a different lineage than the one we have today, but whatever the case, they tell us that Yüan-ti made drawings on his own of foreign visitors to the court and that, moreover, he produced the *chih-kung-t'u* 職貢圖 (which we may take to mean his arrangement of those drawings with his added preface and explanations). They tell us that the 職貢圖 was *not* produced by his commissioning the work out to professional artists and writers.

Hsiao I had a love of scholarship, was a superior calligrapher, and in drawing was both technically skilled and naturally gifted, but though his output of writings was great, most of them have been lost. One collection of his writings reportedly numbered fifty volumes. The note in the *Li-tai Ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 stating "The Preface was included in this collection" means that the Preface to the *chih-kung-t'u* was included in an anthology of Yüan-ti's writings, but this anthology, as well, has failed to come down to us. Among his writings which have survived, however, there is the *Chin-lou-tz'u* 金樓子. In its fifth volume, 著書篇 10, we find recorded 職貢圖一秩一卷 (知不足齋叢書本), and the Preface to the *chih-kung-t'u* is included there, but according to a compiler's note, this is an addition taken from the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚.

Once we reach Sung era documents, a numbers of records concerning the *chih-kung-t'u* are found to have survived. The first we will consider here is from Li Chien's 李薦 *Hua-p'in* 畫品:

梁元帝爲荊州刺史日所畫粉本，魯國而上三十有五國。皆寫其使者。欲見胡越一家，要荒種落，共來王之職。其狀貌各不同，然皆野怪寢陋，無華人氣韻。如丁簡公家凌煙功臣孔子七十門人小樣，亦唐朝粉本。形性態度，人人殊品。畫家盡以此爲能筆也。此圖題字殊妙。高昌等國，皆注云，貞觀某年所滅。又落筆氣韻，閻立本所作畫貢圖亦相若。得非立本摹元帝舊本乎。或謂元帝所傳，至貞觀，後人因事記於題下。亦未可知。然畫筆神妙，不必較其名氏。或梁元帝，或閻立本。皆數百年前第一品畫也。紙縫有褚長文審定印章。長文鑑畫有名于古，定然。知此不凡也。

Li Chien's biography is found in Bk. 444 of the *Sung-shih* 宋史, in which we are told that when he was young he had an audience with Su Shih 蘇軾 in Huang-chou 黃州, that during the Yüan-yü 元祐 years (1086-1094) he successfully petitioned for the lenient treatment of Kui-chang 鬼章, who was the chief of Ch'iang 羌 tribe and had been arrested at that time, and that he died at the age of 51. The period of Su Shih's demotion to 黃州 was from the first day of the second month of the third year of Yüan-fêng 元豐 (1080) to the first day of the fourth month of the seventh year of Yüan-fêng (1087).<sup>6)</sup> Since 鬼章 was arrested in the eighth month of the second year of

Yüan-yü 元祐 (1087),<sup>7)</sup> we would seem to be safe in assuming the period of 李薦's greatest activity to have been from the 1080's through to perhaps near the end of the century. According to a passage in the *Hua-p'in* 畫品, when he saw *chih-kung-t'u* copy reportedly done by Liang's Yüan-ti, he was deeply impressed with its exquisiteness, but when he also noticed a note, under one of the country names among the illustrations, giving a certain year in Chên-kuan 貞觀 (627-640), he decided either this meant that it was a copy by 閻立本, or that some Chên-kuan 貞觀 person had written it in on a Yüan-ti copy. Information that these pictures were on paper comes from his telling us of a seal impression, 褚長文審定 (inspected carefully by Ch'u Ch'ang-wên), on the paper seam (紙縫). Information is too limited to determine who 褚長文 was, but it is clear, in any case, that such a copy existed at the time of 李薦. Ambassadors from 35 countries, beginning with Lu-kuo 魯國, are illustrated, with each respective country name inscribed, but there seems to have been no explanatory text provided.

Secondly, there is a description about the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* in the *Yü-hai* 玉海, Bk. 56 (Section on *T'u* 圖 or maps and scrolls). It quotes Li Kung-lin's 李公麟 notes attached to (a copy of) this painted scroll. Li Kung-lin was born in the first year of Huang-yü 皇祐 (1049), passed the chin-shih 進士 examination in the third year of Hsi-ning 熙寧 (1070) and died in the fifth year of Ch'ung-ning 崇寧 (1106) and was well known as an excellent painter.<sup>8)</sup> The notes say that Emperor Yüan 元帝 of the Liang 梁 painted the *chih-kung-t'u* when he governed at Ching-chou 荊州 or what is now Chiang-liang hsien 江陵縣 in the province of Hu-pei 湖北 and that, though he described there more than thirty countries, Li Kung-lin could see only twenty-two countries from Lu 魯 to Yen 緬 in the scroll which he saw. Li Kung-lin gives a list of these twenty-two countries. However, the statement of *Yü-hai* was based on the postscripts to the *chih-kung-t'u* which was brought to Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 (1137-1213) by a person named Fu Ch'in-fu 傅欽甫 who was a chêng-tzù 正字 or proof-reader of the Pi-shu-shêng 祕書省. The postscript of Lou Yüeh is available in the *Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, Bk. 75, collection of his literary works, as well as in the *Kung-k'uei t'i-po* 攻媿題跋, collection of his postscripts to pictures and calligraphies. By comparing the statement of *Yü-hai* with Lou Yüeh's postscript in the *Kung-k'uei-chi*, one can easily see that Li Kung-li actually noted only that the total number of countries painted in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which he saw amounted to more than thirty, while the rest is the description of Lou Yüeh about the picture scroll brought for his inspection by Fu Ch'in-fu. The full texts of Li Kung-li and Lou Yüeh are cited in the Appendices II and III to this article.

In the *Yü-hai* the *postscripts* of Lou Yüeh are summarized as follows:

“The first country is called Lu-kuo 魯國 or country of Lou, which Li Kung-lin wrote as 虜 Lü probably by mistake. However, the

country of Lu is not mentioned in both annals and biographies of the *Nan-shih* 南史 and *Liang-shu* 梁書, not even in the *T'ung-tien* 通典 and *T'ai-ping yü-lan* 太平御覽. The same thing is also said about Ping-ping-kuo 丙丙國 which Li Kung-lin enumerated as the second country described in the scroll. Other twenty countries than these two are available in the present scroll. The twenty countries are Ho-nan 河南, Chung-T'ien-chu 中天竺, Shih-tzŭ 師子, K'o-p'an-t'o 渴盤陀, Wu-hsing-fan 武興蕃, Hua 滑, Po-ssŭ 波斯, Po-chi 百濟, Kuei-tzŭ 龜茲, Wei 倭, In (mistake for chou)-ku-k'ê 因 (for 周) 古柯, Ho-po-t'an 呵跋檀, Hu-mi-tan 胡密丹, Po-t'i 白題, Mo 末, Lini 林邑, P'o-li 婆利, Tang-ch'ang 宕昌, and Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙脩, all of which sent embassies (to the court of Liang 梁). Moreover, in the annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 (of the *Liang-shu*) nine countries besides the above are recorded. They are Fu-nan 扶南, Yü-t'ien 于闐, Juan-juan 蠕蠕, Kao-li 高麗, Yü (mistake for Kan?)-t'o-li 于 (for 干?) 陟利, Hsin-lo 新羅, P'an-p'an 盤盤, and Tan-tan 丹丹. I wonder if these nine countries were left unnoticed in the scroll. No information is available about the country called Yen 緄. As the character Ping 丙 resembles to that of jui 芮, it must be identical with Juan-juan 蠕蠕."

Following the above, the *Yü-hai* says that, according to the *T'ung-chih* 通志, (the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*) describes twenty-eight countries and that the *Ch'ung-wên* (*tsung*)-*mu* 崇文(總)目 also registers *Chih-kung-t'u* in three chüan. This passage is not located in Lou Yüeh's postscript, and so this is an addition made by Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296), who is the author of the *Yü-hai*. Chêng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (1104-1162) registers in the *T'ung-chih*, Bk. 72, Liang Yüan-ti's *Êrh-shih-pa kuo chih-kung-t'u* 二十八國職貢圖 and the *Yü-hai*, Bk. 56, also quotes the *Ch'ung-wên-tsung-mu* 崇文總目 which describes the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

In short, besides the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which Li Chien describes as painting thirty-five countries, there were other copies of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which painted twenty-two or twenty-eight countries.

The third Sung record for our discussion here is also from the *Yü-hai* 玉海, with the passage of the *Chung-hsing kuan-kê shu-mu* 中興館閣書目 found in Bk. 125's section on Imperial tribute 朝貢:

金樓子其自序云，乃纂百國一卷，今存二十有七。爲湘東王時，諸蕃使入貢，圖其形貌服飾，次以本國風俗。序曰，尼邱有徒 (for 圖) 人之法，晉帝有樂象之賢 (樂之象倒置)。甘泉寫闕氏之形，後宮玩單于之圖。夷歌成章，胡人遙集。自塞以西萬八千里，路之嘔者，尺有六寸。高山尋雲，深谷絕景，占雲望目，度青邱而跨舟 (for 丹) 穴。

The 金樓子 is the title of a work by Yüan-ti, and at the same time it is also one of his own hao 號. So consequently, we may take the 金樓子其自序云, 纂百國一卷 either to mean that Yüan-ti wrote 百國一卷 in his own preface to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* or to be saying that in the author's preface (now lost) to the work known as 金樓子, there existed, as an account in its own right, "a hundred countries in a single volume." However, in the *chih-kung-t'u* Preface which is left to us today, we find no such notation, and since the 中興館閣 Catalog lists this preface separately, 纂百國一卷 would seem most probably to be a passage occurring in the preface to the work entitled 金樓子. The editors of the Catalog correctly interpret it as referring to the *chih-kung-t'u* and at the same time take 百國 literally to be one hundred countries, while noting that in the *chih-kung-t'u* stored in the palace, there were only 27 countries represented. (We may further reflect that the 纂百國一卷 might possibly be 纂百國爲一卷, from which the 爲 was left out.) We must consequently take this to be of a different lineage from the 魯國而上三十有五國 *chih-kung-t'u* seen by 李薦. The 中興館閣 Catalog was a listing, compiled in the fifth year of Ch'un-hsi 淳熙 (1178) by Imperial Archives Officials, of documents collected by the Bureau of Libraries and Astronomy (祕書省) after the removal of Sung's capital to Hang-chou 杭州. The collection was lost in its entirety in the Great Lin-an 臨安 Fire in the ninth month of the fourth year of Shao-ting 紹定 (1231).<sup>9)</sup>

The fourth Sung recording to be considered here is from the *Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu* 遂初堂書目, a listing of Yu Mao's 尤袤 archives. It reads:

梁二十八國職貢圖.<sup>10)</sup>

This clearly refers to the *chih-kung-t'u* of Liang's Yüan-ti, and in the copy of it held by the Yu 尤 family, there were illustrations (with accompanying text) of envoys from 28 countries.

Yu Mao 尤袤 (1127-1194) was a Minister of State in the Ch'un-hsi 淳熙 era, and his collection is roughly of the same period as that of the 中興館閣 Catalog. It was almost entirely destroyed by fire in the first year of Pao-ching 寶慶 (1225).<sup>11)</sup> As has been mentioned previously, the *T'ung-chih* 通志, cited in Bk. 56 of the *Yü-hai* 玉海, gives the *chih-kung-t'u* as presenting 28 countries. Since this number conforms to that in the 遂初堂 Catalog, it is just possible that the two are dealing with the same book.

As we have seen, then, with regard to the *chih-kung-t'u* of Liang's Yüan-ti, a number of related records survive from Sung times, but the number of countries recorded as being presented varies with the documents, and although it has been possible to learn some of the country names, until very recent times it was impossible to learn anything at all in detail of the actual contents of the work. In 1960, however, Chin Wei-no 金維諾 published a work entitled 職貢圖的年代與作者—讀畫札記 in *Wên-wu* 文物 (1960, 7, pp. 14-17),

revealing that a *Liang chih-kung-t'u* had existed among the collection stored by the Nanking Museum 南京博物院 and that it had been sent to the China's History Museum 中國歷史博物館 in Peking 北京. Presented in the same journal were explanatory notes and half-tone reproductions. The discovered scroll is a work which had in early Ch'ing 清 come into the possession of Liang Chiao-lin 梁蕉林 and later been put into the Ch'ing Imperial Storehouse—an object which had been noted in Bk. 32 of *Shih-ch'u pao-chi* 石渠寶笈 and which had again been returned to private ownership and come to be stored in the Nanking Museum, and it is a profound source for rejoicing in the world of scholarship that this very important piece of historical evidence, once thought to be lost, has been restored to the world.

According to Chin Wei-no, the text which remains, furnished with a new cover, includes illustrations of the envoys from 12 countries (actually 13), beginning with the country of Hua 滑國, accompanied by written passages concerning each of the countries. He indicates his opinion, on the basis of the content of the texts, that the work represented is of the Liang period, that it is none other than the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, i.e. that compiled by Yüan-ti, that the object we have today was partially destroyed subsequent to its having been recorded in the *Shi'h-chü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈 and is a Sung copy made in the tenth year of 熙寧 (1077), but that it represents invaluable data for research on the history of Liang painting, of which remaining works are scarce. Chin Wei-no's study appears essentially correct, and there is no doubt we are dealing with a copy of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. The first person to mention this scroll was Liang Chiao-lin's friend Wu Shêng 吳升, and he writes the following in Bk. 11 of the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄, which discusses works he himself appreciated:

闔立德王會圖

絹本，高八寸，長一丈二尺二寸。大設色。人物高可六寸。繪入朝番客凡二十六 (for 五) 國。冠裳結束，殊俗異製，虬髯碧眼，奇形詭態，國國不同。每一番客後，疏某國名，采錄其道里山川風土。皆小楷書，端麗謹重，具唐人法度。字繁不錄，止錄國名。第一國前已損失，止存後書十四行。第二國為波斯，三為百濟國，四為龜茲，五為倭，六為高句麗，七為于闐，八為新羅，九為宕昌，十為狼牙修，十一〔為〕鄧至國，下為周古柯，呵跋檀，胡密丹，白題國，鞞 (for 末) 國，中天竺，獅子國，北天竺，揭盤陀，武興番，高昌國，天門蠻，建平甌，臨江蠻。諸番客則以次而繪而采錄焉。子容題，在絹尾。壓宋印一方。子容者蘇頌也。有名於宋。康里子山，王叔善二跋並精妙。

According to this passage, this picture scroll was painted in color on silk and contained text and illustrations of foreigners from 25 countries. (Wu Shêng writes 26, but the number of countries that he actually presents is 25, so we must conclude that the number 26 was a simple error for the number 25. That this resulted from a misreading of an attached postscript by Wang

Shu-shan 王叔善 of the Yüan 元 dynasty will be explained later.) Following the main text there are reportedly inscriptions by Tzū-jung 子容, *i.e.* Su Sung 蘇頌 (1020–1101),<sup>12)</sup> and postscripts by K'ang-li Tzū-shan 康里子山<sup>13)</sup> and Wang Shu-shan.<sup>14)</sup> These inscriptions and postscripts are transcribed following explanatory notes to the right, and among them we have the following:

王會圖

熙寧丁巳，傳張次律國博本，杭州山堂校過，子容題，

In other words, this picture scroll had been affixed with the title 王會圖, and in 熙寧丁巳, *i.e.* the tenth year of Hsi-ning (1077), Su Sung had a book of the collection belonging to Chang Tz'ü-lu 張次律, otherwise known as Kuo-po 國博, copied, and later he provided proofreading. Su Sung was appointed to the governor of Hang-chou 杭州 in the first month of the ninth year of Hsi-ning 熙寧, and served in his post until the fifth month of the following year, 杭州山堂校過 means that he proofread the copy of the picture scroll in Hang-chou.<sup>15)</sup> It is unclear whether the title 王會圖 was put there by Su Sung or whether it had already existed on the manuscript of Chang Tz'ü-lu. The latter would seem more likely. Though we do not know the identity of Chang Tz'ü-lu, we may imagine him to have been a man of Hang-chou. Be that as it may, the scroll is a copy produced in the tenth year of Hsi-ning.

In addition to Su Sung's transcription, there is recorded a postscript by K'ang-li Tzū-shan 康里子山 (Nao-nao 巉巉) which opens:

余今觀閻立德所畫王會圖，本諸唐貞觀間。

and is continued:

是圖誠爲後世珍鑑，又非庸常繪畫所能擬議也。是宜寶之，子山記，

In other words, K'ang-li Tzū-shan is saying that this scroll is a 王會圖 produced by Yen Li-tê 閻立德 and that it is a reproduction of foreign visitors to the court at the time of the T'ang Emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗. This explanation is also supported by Wang Yü-ch'ing 王餘慶 (叔善), for following K'ang-li Tzū-shan's postscript, we find a postscript provided by Wang Yü-ch'ing which begins:

僧蘭谷得古畫蠻夷二十六國圖，以示余。傅色沈實而筆力能盡其態，誠可珍玩也。

K'ang-li Tzū-shan continues that, this scroll having come into the possession of a monk named Lan-ku 蘭谷, he was able to see it and was highly impressed. He goes on to give a brief explanation of the history of the production of Wang-hui-t'u 王會圖 in T'ang and Sung times, stating that the first



was commissioned by Yen shih-ku 顏師古 in the third year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 (629) on the occasion of the visit to court of Yüan-shên 元深, chief of the Tung-hsieh tribe 東謝蠻, and claiming this scroll indeed to be that very one, he cites the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜 theory,

宣和畫譜，則以王會圖爲閻立德之筆云，

attempting to use it as proof that the author/artist of the (original) picture scroll was Yen Li-tê.

*The Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜 (學津討原本) reads:

唐貞觀中，東蠻謝 (read 東謝蠻) 元深入朝。顏師古奏言，昔周武時，遠國歸款。乃集其事，爲王會圖。今卉服鳥章集蠻邸。實可圖寫。因命立德等圖之，其序位之際，折旋規矩，端簪奉笏之儀，與夫鼻飲頭飛人物詭異之狀，莫不備該毫末，故李嗣真云，大安博陵，難兄難弟，謂立德立本也。

claiming the Wang-hui-t'u 王會圖 by Yen Li-tê to be his rendering of the spectacle of envoys from various countries arriving in procession for the court ceremony in which they would be received in audience by Emperor T'ai-tung 太宗 and be conferred court ranks. This passage, however, is a stitching together of reports such as those seen in Bk. 179 of the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書 and the Tung-hsieh-man 東謝蠻 section of the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, Bk. 99, stating that the Wang-hui-t'u were ordered drawn for presentation to the throne by Yen Shih-ku in the third year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 (629), and a report in Bk. 9 of the *Li-tai Ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 concerning Yen Li-tê's foreign nation illustrations. The Wang-hui-t'u themselves were already long lost and were not to be found in the Hsüan-ho 宣和 archives. That is to say, the compilers of the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* had never actually seen the real Wang-hui-t'u. The *Li-tai ming-hua chi* attributes neither Wang-hui-t'u nor foreign nation illustrations (外國圖) to Yen Li-tê and with regard to Yen Li-pên only, states

時天下初定，異國來朝。詔立本畫外國圖，

and near the end of his remarks cites the explanation found in Li Ssü-chên's 李嗣真 comments on 立德 and 立本 together:

李嗣真云，博陵(立德)，大安(立本)，難兄難弟。自江左陸(探微)謝(稚)云亡，北朝子華(楊子華)長逝，象人之妙，號爲中興。至若萬國來庭，奉塗山之玉帛，百萬朝貢，接應門之位序，折旋矩度，端簪奉笏之儀，魁詭譎怪，鼻飲頭飛之俗，盡該毫末，備得人情。二閻同在上品。

He notes that both Yens 閻—立德 and 立本—sketched scenes of the "attendance at court of all nations" with equal skill. According to this, it would

seem that Li-tê produced illustrations of the same type as Li-pên 本. Further, a chih-kung-t'u attributed to Yen Li-pên came into the possession of Liang Chiao-lin 梁蕉林 (the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄, Bk. 11), but these are illustrations of scenes of foreign tribal leaders who had formed a procession to come a very great distance. Both of these types are of completely different composition from the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.<sup>16)</sup>

The (*Liang*) *chih-kung-t'u* are thus seen to have no connection either to Yen Li-tê or to Li-pên, and as the *Tai-kuan-lu* records only 25 nations, 王餘慶's placing it as 26 barbarian nations in his postscript would seem to stem from the fact that, at the time he saw the scroll, there were 26 countries recorded in it. Then, afterwards, we may imagine one of these was lost and the number reduced to 25, so that when it reached the hands of Liang Chiao-lin, there were only 25 countries in it. The fact that Wu Shêng's 吳升 commentary, as we have seen previously, speaks of 26 nations reflects his careless following suit of Wang's postscript and his never happening to notice there were actually only 25. There is, however, the Wang Yü-ch'ing 王餘慶 postscript as recorded in Bk. 32 of the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈:

僧蘭谷得故畫蠻夷二十□國圖，以示余。

turning the 大觀錄 *Tai-kuan-lu's* 古畫 into 故畫 and the 二十六國 into 二十□國. It is also possible to imagine from this that the character at the 六 in the 二十六國 of Wang's postscript was impossible to distinguish clearly, that Wu Shêng gave this character an interpretive reading of 六, and that, thus, it was already 二十五國 from the time of Wang Yü-ch'ing. But here we will assume that there were 26 countries at the time he saw it.

As may be seen from an inscribed note by Wu Shêng, at the time that it came into the possession of Liang chiao-lin, the end portion of the scroll was still complete, but the beginning portion had missing parts and was in the following condition:

第一國前已損失，止存後書十四行。

We may see now from the extant copy of the scroll housed earlier in the Nanking Museum 南京博物院 and later (at present) in the Museum of Chinese History 中國歷史博物館 in Peking that the first country is Hua-kuo 滑國 and that while this part starts out with a portrait of an envoy from Hua-kuo, the line where next should have been written Hua-kuo-shih 滑國使 has been lost, and then going to the next line, we see that most of the first line of a 14 line section of explanation is missing. (It may be, however, that around the time of Wu Shêng the 14 lines of explanation were yet complete and that this majority of first line loss occurred sometime since then.) Without examining the actually scroll, it is impossible to determine in what manner

the portion has been lost, but whatever the case may be, it is clear that there was a hiatus in the beginning portion of the scroll seen by Wu Shêng. Consequently, it is entirely possible that before it was seen by Wu Shêng, that is, at around the time it was seen by Wang Yü-ch'ing, there may have been one other country included before this first one, making the total number of countries 26. In support of this view we have the fact that there were 25 countries in the scroll seen by Li Chien 李薦, 27 in the *Ching-hsing kuan-kê shu-mu* 中興館閣書目 and 28 in the *Sui-ch'u-t'ang shu-mu* 遂初堂書目 Catalog (and 28 in the *T'ung-chih* 通志), as well as the report of Sung era books including more than 25 countries. (The one seen by Li Kung-lin 李公麟, however, had 22.) Considered in this way, it would seem appropriate to imagine that when it came into Liang Chiao-lin's possession, the scroll had one less country at its beginning than the one seen by Wang Yü-ch'ing.

As has been previously noted, the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* reports that, along with numerous other works in Liang Chiao-lin's collection, this scroll came into the possession of the Ch'ing Imperial Archives. The *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* also calls it 唐閻立德職貢圖. reports it to cover 25 countries, and says the author is unnamed. It further introduces something not mentioned by Wu Shêng, the tsan 贊 appraisal (of Yüan-ti). It states:

唐閻立德職貢圖一卷(上等地一)

素絹本，著色畫，凡二十五段。每段節錄職方志一則，無款姓氏。見跋中後贊曰，粵若稽古，辨方正位，海外有截，王延斯泊，曰夏曰殷，質文雖異，骨人象人，設官咸置。天子褒燎，萬方來王，侯服采服，執圭執璋，憬彼聲教，爰被殊方，車懸馬束，山梯來航，不斂〔=耐〕之域，不灰之木，魚文駟襄廷，蒲桃首宿，扶拔以下跋承我乾行，戒示景福。北通元以下跋並海無際，陰山接天，遐哉鳥穴，永矣雞田，青雲入呂，黃星出翼，湖開表瑞，河清呈色，尸臣外相，屢觀殊域，記爾風土，國旁作圖茲貢職，後有記語，熙寧丁巳傳(for 傳 in the Tai-kuan-lu)張次律國博本杭州山堂跋過子容題十九字，上鈐一印，並卷中半印二，俱漫漶不可識，前隔水有蕉林書屋一印，後隔水押縫，有洽溪漁隱蒼巖子二印，引首有蒼巖棠村審定二印。

Further, following this there are postscripts by K'ang-li Nao 康里巉(correctly K'ang-li Nao-nao 康里巉巉) and Wang Yü-ch'ing. Looking at these, it would seem that there were items on 25 countries and that the text itself, its inscriptions and its postscripts, scarcely varied at all from that seen by Wu Shêng. There is no mention, however, of the inscription of 王會圖 as its title, and the postscripted 贊 has not undergone summarization by Wu Shêng—when we compare it to the Yüan-ti's 贊 appraisal in the *chih-kung-t'u* quoted in the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚：

北通玄菟，南漸朱鳶。交河悠遠，合浦廻遶。茲海無際，陰山接天。遐哉鳥穴，永矣雞田。

it is clear that now we have the full text of the 職貢圖贊 and that the *I-wên lei-chü* supplements what is missing in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*. This bears separate witness that the illustrations here are the *chih-kung-t'u* of Emperor Yüan-ti of Liang and not the Wang-hui-t'u 王會圖 of Yen Li-tê 閻立德. In this connection, 冶溪漁隱蒼巖子 was probably a pseudonym for Liang chiao-lin. This, as will be explained next, may be surmised from the fact that at the end of the scroll there are the three seal impressions: 「蒼巖子」·「蕉林」·「觀其大略」

The *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*, following Wang Yü-ch'ing's postscript, comments on the seals saying:

有蒼巖子·蕉林·觀其大略三印，押縫有蒼巖一印，合同印二。

and finally:

卷高八寸四分，廣一丈三尺三寸八分。

Perhaps the difference here with the 高八寸，長一丈二尺二寸 recorded by 吳升 is a difference in the places where they measured.

However, when this scroll came into the possession of the Nanking Museum 南京博物院 half of the illustrations and main text had already been lost, as had all of the inscriptions and postscripts. Let us make a comparison, first of all, of the country names. Of the *chih-kung-t'u* recorded in the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄 (which is equal to what is in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈) we have the following 25:

(1) lost-named (滑國; just as with the copy held by the Nanking Museum, the country name has been lost but it can be understood to be 滑國 on the basis of the main text.) (2)波斯, (3)百濟, (4)龜茲, (5)倭, (6)高句麗, (7)于闐, (8)新羅, (9)宕昌, (10)狼牙修, (11)鄧至, (12)周古柯, (13)呵跋檀, (14)胡蜜丹, (15)白題, (16)末, (17)中天竺, (18)師子, (19)北天竺, (20)竭盤陀, (21)武興番, (22)高昌, (23)天門蠻, (24)建平甌, (25)臨江蠻. The Nanking Museum copy has 13, with the following lost: the latter half of the text for (5); (6); (7); all of the text for (8); the first half of the text for (9); half of the text for (16); and all of the text from (17) through (25).

It is certain that these parts went their way either at the Imperial Palace in Peking or in the Ku-kung Po-wu-yüan 故宮博物院, that they were lost before coming to the Nanking Museum, and one can only remark that this loss is a matter for very deep regret.

Then, how many countries were described in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* and in what order? In the preface of the *Chin-lou-tzū* 金樓子 Hsiao I 蕭繹 himself confirmed that he wrote a book or scroll entitled *Pai-kuo* 百國, that is to say, *A Hundred Countries*. However, in this case a hundred may have

meant not exactly one hundred but many or a lot of, just like *Pai-chia* 百家 means many families and *Pai-hsing* 百姓 also many families or many people. The most important key to solve the question is the *Chu-i-chuan* 諸夷傳 of *Liang-shu* 梁書. One can easily see that the *Chu-i-chuan* is largely based on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* by comparing the texts of these two records. The *Chu-i-chuan* of *Liang-shu* describes thirty-two countries, countries of south and south-eastern Asia 海南 nine, of Eastern Asia 東夷 eight, and of north-western Asia 西北諸戎 fifteen. Among these thirty-two, there are three countries which were non-existent or fabulous. They are the countries of *Wên-shên* 文身, *Tai-han* 大漢, and *Fu-sang* 扶桑, respectively meaning the Tattooed people, Giants, and the Trees named fu-sang. So, excluding these three countries, the *Chu-i-chuan* of the *Liang-shu* describes twenty-nine countries. The number will roughly equal to that of countries described in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. According to the *Hua-p'in* 畫品 of Li Chien 李薦, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* described thirty-five countries at the top of which was the country of Lu 魯, and according to the notes of Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 or *Li Kung-lin* 李公麟 who copied Lou Yüeh about more than thirty, of which the country of Lu 魯 was at the top and the country of Yen 纒 at the end. In my opinion, the thirty-five countries given by Li Chien may be taken as the most reliable number because he does not say that there were any lacunas in the descriptions of the scroll.

Next, what was the order by which the countries were arranged in the original copy of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*? In order to make the matter clear, the names of countries are here drawn up in four lines, each of which represents respectively (1) the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄, Bk. 11, and the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, Bk. 32, (2) the MSS. copy of 1077, (3) the postscript of Lou Yüeh 樓鑰, and (4) the *Chu-i-chuan* 諸夷傳 of *Liang-shu* 梁書.

| (1) <i>Tai-kuan-lu</i> and <i>Shih-ch'ü pao-chi</i> | (2) The MSS. copy of 1077 | (3) Lou Yüeh | (4) <i>Liang-shu</i> |
|---|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (1) (滑 國)   | (1) (滑 國)                 | (9) 滑        | (19) 滑 國             |
| (2) 波 斯   | (2) 波 斯 國                 | (10) 波 斯     | (28) 波 斯 國           |
| (3) 百 濟 國   | (3) 百 濟 國                 | (11) 百 濟     | (11) 百 濟 國           |
| (4) 龜 茲   | (4) 龜 茲 國                 | (12) 龜 茲     | (24) 龜 茲             |
| (5) 倭 國   | (5) 倭 國<br>(後半缺)          | (13) 倭       | (13) 倭               |
| (6) 高 句 驪   | (6) 缺                     |              | (10) 高 句 驪 國         |
| (7) 于 闐   | (7) "                     |              | (25) 于 闐 國           |
| (8) 新 羅   | (8) "                     |              | (12) 新 羅 國           |
| (9) 宕 昌   | (9) 宕 昌<br>(前半缺)          | (21) 宕 昌     | (29) 宕 昌 國           |
| (10) 狼 牙 修  | (10) 狼 牙 修 國              | (22) 狼 牙 修   | (6) 狼 牙 脩 國          |
| (11) 鄧 至 國  | (11) 鄧 至 國                |              | (30) 鄧 至 國           |
| (12) 周 古 柯  | (12) 周 古 柯 國              | (14) 因(周)古柯  | (20) 周 古 柯 國         |
| (13) 阿(呵)跋檀   | (13) 呵 跋 檀 國              | (15) 呵 跋 檀   | (21) 呵 跋 檀 國         |

| (1) <i>Tai-kuan-lu</i> and <i>Shin-ch'ü pao-chi</i>                                | (2) The MSS. copy of 1077 | (3) Lou Yüeh | (4) <i>Liang-shu</i> |
|--|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (14) 胡密丹   | (14) 胡蜜丹國                 | (16) 胡密丹題    | (22) 胡蜜丹國            |
| (15) 白題國   | (15) 白題國                  | (17) 白題      | (23) 白題國             |
| (16) 靺國  | (16) 末國(不完)               | (18) 末       | (27) 末國              |
| (17) 中天竺   | (17) 以下缺                  | (4) 中天竺      | (8) 中天竺國             |
| (18) 師子國   | (18) "                    | (5) 師子       | (9) 師子國              |
| (19) 北天竺   | (19) "                    | (6) 北天竺      |                      |
| (20) 師盤陀   | (20) "                    | (7) 渴盤陀      | (26) 渴盤陀國            |
| (21) 武興番   | (21) "                    | (8) 武興       | (31) 武興國             |
| (22) 高昌國   | (22) "                    |              | (18) 高昌國             |
| (23) 天門蠻   | (23) "                    |              |                      |
| (24) 建平蠻   | (24) "                    |              |                      |
| (25) 臨江蠻   | (25) "                    |              |                      |
| (Tsan贊) <i>Tai-kuan-lu</i> does not record, but <i>Shih-ch'ü pao-chi</i> does.     |                           | (1) 魯國       |                      |
| (Postscripts跋) by Su Sung 蘇頌, by K'ang-li Tzū-shan 康里子山, and by Wang Yü-ch'ing 王餘慶 |                           | (2) 丙丙(芮芮)   | (32) 芮芮國             |
|  |                           | (3) 河南       | (17) 河南王             |
|  |                           | (19) 林邑      | (11) 林邑國             |
|  |                           | (20) 婆利      | (2) 扶南國              |
|  |                           |              | (3) 盤盤國              |
|  |                           |              | (4) 丹丹國              |
|  |                           |              | (5) 干陁利國             |
|  |                           |              | (7) 婆利國              |
|  |                           |              | (14) 文身國             |
|  |                           |              | (15) 大漢國             |
|  |                           |              | (16) 扶桑國             |

(The number given to each country in the above list is the order by which the country is described in each record.)

The MSS. copy of 1077 starts with the description of the country of Hua 滑, the preceding parts, including the Preface, having been lost when the copy was obtained by Liang Chiao-lin 梁蕉林. It is, therefore, quite likely that the descriptions of about ten countries were in these parts already lost.

The above list will show that the twenty-five countries mentioned in the *Tai-kuan-lu* and the five countries which are not mentioned by the *Tai-kuan-lu* but by Lou Yüeh, that is to say, thirty countries in all were described in the original copy of *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. These thirty countries roughly equals to the twenty-nine countries described in the *Liang-shu*, which are considered to have really existed in the times of Liang. This may mean that the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was covering about the same area as the *Chu-i-chuan* of the *Liang-shu*. Moreover, one may be able to understand that the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* had been one of the source materials to compile the *Chu-i-chuan* of the *Liang-shu*. For this reason, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* should be considered as one of the fundamental source materials to investigate many Asian countries in the sixth century.

The compilation of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was not necessarily based on an original idea of Yüan-ti, and seems as if it may have been based on something else. The precursor for the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was P'ei Tzū-yeh's 裴子野 *Fang-kuo-shih t'u* 方國使圖,<sup>17)</sup> and there are indications that the *chih-kung-t'u* was based on this and that it was produced to augment it. P'ei Tzū-yeh (471-532) was P'ei Sung-chih's 裴松之 great grandson<sup>18)</sup> and a scholar from about the same time as Hsiao I 蕭繹 or Emperor Yuan-ti of Liang. He was appointed cho-tso-lang 著作郎 by Wu-ti 武帝 and administered the Imperial Edicts of the Chung-shu 中書. At that time, the two countries of Po-t'i 白題 and Hua 滑 dispatched envoys with tribute for the Court, but as, in past history, neither of these states had ever made such tribute, no one knew them. P'ei Tzū-yeh 裴子野, however, won the admiration of his contemporaries by pointing out that the 白題 were the descendants of the 白題 of 胡 (=匈奴), whom Marquis Ying-yin 穎陰侯 of Han 漢 had killed, and that the 滑 were the descendants of Pa-hua 八滑 who was a member of the royal family of the kingdom of Posterior Country of Ch'ê-shih 車師後國, which, in obedience to Han's 定遠侯, had attacked and defeated the lu 虜 (北匈奴). So it was that Wu-ti ordered P'ei Tzū-yeh to compile the *Fang-kuo-shih t'u*, which would describe 20 countries which had brought tribute, and which would extol the glories of Liang. Bk. 30 of the *Liang-shu* 梁書 (= Bk. 33 of the *Nan-shih* 南史) relates P'ei Tzū-yeh's story this way:

是時西北徼外，有白題及滑國。遣使由岷山道入貢。此二國歷代弗賓，莫知所出。子野曰，漢穎陰侯斬胡白題將一人，服虔注曰，白題胡名也，又定遠侯擊虜，八滑從之，此其後乎。時人服共博識。敕仍使撰方國使圖，廣述懷來之盛，自要服至于海表，凡二十國，

and in the catalog of written works at the end of this biographical sketch, it lists 方國使圖一卷. Po-t'i 白題 is a transliteration of Bakhdhi, i.e. Balkh.<sup>19)</sup> According to the Annals of *Liang-shu*, 白題國 brought tribute on 普通 3 年 8 月甲子 (Sept. 2, 523). Further, Hua-kuo refers to the Ephthalites, and Hua is thought to be a phonetic rendering of \*Ghwar, the medieval name for the Ghûr or Ghôr area of the upper-stream region of the Hârî-Rûd River to the east of Herât, which at that time was a center of the Ephthalites.<sup>20)</sup> In the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* and the Annals of *Liang-shu* it says that tribute was brought in 天監 15 年 (516) and 普通 1 年 (520), and in the *Chu-i-chuan* 諸夷傳 of the *Liang-shu* that it was brought again in 普通 7 年 (526). The Annals of *Liang-shu* does not record its being brought in 526, but does for 普通 1 年 3 月丙戌 (April 17, 520) and 普通 7 年 1 月丁卯 (Feb. 26, 526). Consequently, we may imagine that Po-t'i 白題 and Hua 滑 did not come with tribute at the same time, and that P'ei Tzū-yeh's identification was made either on separate occasions of the two nation's tribute visits or on the single occasion of 滑國's visit to the court in 522.

The story of Han's 穎陰侯's having killed a warrior leader of the Po-t'i 白題 of Hu 胡 is related in the biography of Kuan-Ying who was the Marquis of Ying-yin 穎陰侯灌嬰 of the 史記 *Shih-chi*, Bk. 95, and the *Han-shu* 漢書, Bk. 41. It is hardly necessary to point out that 灌嬰 Kuan Ying was one of those influential in their cooperation in the founding of the Han Dynasty.

In the 史記 we find:

復從擊韓信胡騎晉陽下，所將卒斬胡白題將一人(服虔曰，胡名也)，

while concerning Pa-hua we see in Bk. 181 西域傳 of the *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書, in the 車師後王國 section:

永建元年(126)，(班)勇率後王農奇子加特奴及八滑等，發精兵，擊北虜呼衍王破之。勇於是上立加特奴爲後王，八滑爲後部親漢侯。

While it is unnecessary to explain that Pa-hua is the name of the son of the ruler 車師後部王, there is no single standard theory with regard to what Po-t'i means. Whatever it might be, there is no disputing the fact that P'ei Tzū-yeh's identification consisted of no more than this: though he had prided himself on his extensive knowledge in connecting the names of Po-t'i and (Pa-) hua with ones that had been seen in written records for anywhere from 400-700 years previous, the agreement of those names was purely coincidental. What is meaningful for us, however, is the fact that P'ei Tzū-yeh's explanation was adopted in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. Its section on 白題國 has:

白題，匈奴旁別種胡也。漢初〔灌嬰 the two characters are supplemented on the basis of the *Liang-shu*〕，與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人，

and its section on 滑國 has:

〔滑國者車師之別種也，漢永建元年，八滑從班勇，擊北虜 these twenty-two characters are supplemented on the basis of *Liang-shu*〕，有功。勇與八滑□□部 (the *Liang-shu* says that 勇上八滑爲後部親漢侯)。

According to the Annals of Yüan-ti of Liang in the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 5, and the *Nan-shih*, Bk. 8:

世祖 (=元帝) 性不好聲色。頗有高名。與裴子野·劉蕭子雲·張讚及當時才秀，爲布衣之交，(梁書)

Yüan-ti and P'ei Tzū-yeh were on close terms. We may imagine that Yüan-ti heard the explanation of 白題 and 滑 directly from P'ei Tzū-yeh or that he knew of it as a topic of conversation current among the intellectuals of the day, but when we add to our considerations the fact that P'ei Tzū-yeh had written the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u*, it would seem that Yüan-ti probably took it



from that work. More than that, the idea for the *Chih-kung-t'u* itself was very likely taken from the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* itself, and the *Chih-kung-t'u* a supplemental edition to the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u*. The date of production for the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* was after 白題 tribute presentation on 普通3年8月甲子 (Sept. 2, 523), perhaps within a period not too long afterwards. Twenty countries are recorded in the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* and the *Chih-kung-t'u* increases that to 35, nearly double. Further, the compilation of the *Chih-kung-t'u* took place during the period of Yüan-ti's first term in office as 荊州刺史—from 普通7年 (526) to 大同8年 (539). Considering these facts together, it would not seem too much to imagine that, following the compiling of the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u*, the *Chih-kung-t'u* was produced to augment it. Just as its name implies, the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* contains illustrations of envoys from various countries. It must surely have had illustrations of the ministers of the twenty countries, plus explanations of the country names, and that is indeed the very same format as the *Chih-kung-t'u*.

As a final point, I would like to introduce Li Kung-lin's 李公麟 view of Lu-kuo 魯國, which is placed at the head of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. He states, as we have previously seen:

梁元帝鎮荊州作職貢圖。首虜而終龜，凡三十餘國。今纔二十有二。其一曰魯國。南史及通典太平御覽，皆無魯國與丙丙。(中略)，疑丙丙與芮芮相類。卽蠕蠕也。

That 丙丙 is a mistake for Jui-jui 芮芮 would seem most certainly to be just as he says. There is also a Jui-jui 芮芮 entry in the *Chu-i chuan* of the *Liang-shu* 梁書. The Lu 虜 of 首虜而終龜 is likely a mistake for 魯, and this character 魯 itself is no doubt a corruption of 稟 or 壤. Further, as will be shown, it may be imagined that as this would represent 拂稟, from which the 拂 has dropped out, it would correspond to the transliteration of Fröm, Früm, Pröm, or Prüm and refer to the Eastern Roman Empire. According to Tao-hsüan's 道宣 *Shih-chia fang-chih* 釋迦方志 (see *Tripitaka Taishö*, Vol. 54, p. 809):

波刺斯國，(中略)，西北接拂懷(一本琳)國(非印度)。出伯狗子。本赤頭鴨生於穴中。案梁貢職圖云，去波斯北一萬里，西南海島有西女國(非印度)，拂懷年別送男夫配焉。

This same item may be seen in Tao-shih's 道世 *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑珠林, Bk. 29, compiled in 668. This portion of both separate accounts is based on the *Hsi-yü-chi* 西域記, while in Bk. 11 of the *Hsi-yü-chi* we have:

波刺斯國，(中略)，西北接拂懷國。境壤風俗，同波刺斯。形貌語言，稍有乖異。多珍寶，亦富饒也。拂懷國西南海島，有西女國。皆是女人。略無男子。多諸珍貨。附拂懷國。故拂懷王歲遣丈夫配焉。(京都帝國大學文科學部叢書本)

Comparing the two, we see that the following is not in the *Hsi-yü-chi*:

出伯狗子，本赤頭鴨生於穴中。案梁貢職圖云，去波斯北一萬里，

and all of it appears to be in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. According to the Po-ssü 波斯 section of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

波斯，(中略)，北万里即沉壙國，

沉 is the same character as 沈, so this may either have originally been 沕 (pronounced the same as 物) or it may have been a miswriting of 拂. The 魯 of 魯國 was certainly produced by losing the first half of 沕壙 or 拂壙 and by a miswriting of the second. The account of producing Po-kou-tzū 伯狗子 in 拂壙國 and of ch'ih-t'ou-ya 赤頭鴨 being born in a hole is nowhere to be seen in the Po-ssü section of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, but this may suggest that there was a special section in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which contained it. There is no reference in the *Liang-shu* to an embassy being dispatched to Liang from Eastern Rome. Bk. 5 of the Annals of the *Wei-shu* 魏書 under 太安 2 年 (456) 11 月 section relates the tribute visit of P'u-lan 普嵐. The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was compiled some 70 years after that, but the name of the Eastern Roman Empire was known in Liang, as well, and Yüan-ti might surely have added it to the *Chih-kung-t'u*. The purpose of the *Chih-kung-t'u* was to provide a record of the greatness of the number of visits to the court by foreigners, and as a result, it would be no great surprise to learn that a country which had not in fact brought tribute had been included.<sup>21)</sup>

I have herein, through the opportunity presented by the appearance of a copy of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* copied in 1077 set down some thoughts on the origins of *Chih-kung-t'u* and on the countries included, and I have pointed out that this copy is a fundamentally important piece of evidence for studies of the various nations of Asia during the Liang Period. My arguments may be summarized as follows:

1. The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was produced by Yüan-ti 元帝 Hsiao I 蕭繹 during his term of office as governor in 荊州 (526-539); in it he illustrated, in his own hand, foreign envoys who had, for the most part, come to that region: and he added explanatory text.
2. It may be thought that 35 nations were treated therein.
3. P'ei Tzū-yeh's *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* 方國使圖 was utilized in its compilation and the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* may be considered a supplementary edition to the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u*.
4. It may be thought that the *Chu-i chuan* of the *Liang-shu* were based to a large degree on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, and among the accounts in *Liang chih-kung-t'u* we have left to us today, there is not a little of importance that has been omitted from the *Liang-shu*.
5. The work is invaluable, in particular, for its portraits of the envoys,

which provide us a view of the appearance and dress of people from various sixth century nations.

6. The Northern Sung copy of the *Chih-kung-t'u* which had come into the possession of the Nanking Museum 南京博物院 at first and later removed to the Museum of Chinese History 中國歷史博物館 in Peking and which was presented for the first time by Chin Wei-no 金維諾 in the *Wên-wu* 文物 (1980, No. 7) should be, as Chin points out, be considered the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. Further, it is a completely different item from those works known as the 王會圖, 外國圖 or *chih-kung-t'u* of Yen Li-tê 閻立德 or Yen Li-pên 閻立本.

### III. The Texts of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* with Corresponding Passages of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54.

III-0: The Preface 序 to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* 梁職貢圖 by Hsiao I 蕭繹 or Yuan-ti 元帝 of Liang.

竊聞職方氏掌天下之圖，四夷八蠻，七閩九貉，其所由來久矣。漢氏以來，南羌旅距，西域憑陵，創金城，開玉關，絕夜郎，討日逐，觀犀甲則建朱崖，聞蒲陶則通大宛。以德懷遠，異乎是哉。皇帝君臨天下之四十載，垂衣裳而賴兆民，坐巖廊而彰萬國。梯山航海，交臂屈膝，占雲望日，重譯至焉。自塞以西，萬八千里，路之峽者，尺有六寸，高山尋雲，深谷絕景，雪無冬夏，與白雲而共色，水無早晚，與素石而俱貞。踰空桑而歷昆吾，度青丘而跨丹穴。災風弱水，不革其心，身熱頭痛，不改其節。故以明珠翠羽之珍，細而弗有，龍文汗血之驥，却而不乘。尼丘乃聖，猶有圖人之法，晉帝君臨，寔聞樂賢之象。甘泉寫闕氏之形，後宮玩單于之圖。臣以不佞，推轂上游。夷歌成章，胡人遙集，款開蹶角，沿泝荆門，瞻其容貌，訴其風俗。如有來朝京輦，不涉漢南，別加訪採，以廣聞見，名爲貢職圖云爾。

This is the preface to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* 梁職貢圖 quoted in the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚, Bk. 55, of which a Ming edition with an editorial preface of Hu Ch'ien-tsung 胡潛宗 was referred to here. The biography of Hu Ch'ien-tsung is not well known except that he worked as a 承宣布政司左參政 of Chê-ching 浙江 during the period of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1522-1566). At the end of the editorial preface he is entitled 大中大夫浙江布政使司左參政 which may mean the same thing as above and it tells us that the preface was written sometime in the Chia-ching period. His name is also written as 胡纘宗 Cf. *Kuan-hsü Chê-ching t'ung-chih* 光緒浙江通志 Bk. 118, fol. 8. So, the Ming edition here referred to was certainly printed sometime during the Chia-ching period.

In 1965 and 1982, the Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局 published two editions in movable type of the *I-wên lei-chü*, of which the 1982 edition is very convenient and useful to handle because of index of authors and titles of books quoted. However, the texts are not always correct and reliable as is

shown in the above text in which the Chung-hua shu-chü editions writes 犀申 instead of 犀甲.

The Preface to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* is also quoted in the *Yü-hai* 玉海. Bks. 16, 52 and 152. But it is not the complete text but a part of it. The Preface is quoted, too, in the *Chin-lou-tzũ* 金樓子, Bk. 5, which is one of the writings of Hsiao I now extant, but the quotation was made not from the original but from the *I-wên lei-chü*. Wang Mo 王謨 also quotes the Preface, as well as the postscript 贊, from the *I-wên lei-chü*, which he includes in his *Han-T'ang ti-li-shu-ch'ao* 漢唐地理書鈔, p. 185 (reprinted edition by Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, Peking, 1961).

Now, in the Preface Hsiao I makes a general survey of the development of international relationship between China and foreign countries from Chou 周 up to his own time, that is to say, Liang 梁. He states that the chih-kung-t'u or painted scrolls of foreign embassies started from the time of Confucius and that emperors of Han 漢 and Chin 晉 made the same kind of pictures. The statement that the emperor of Han, which probably means Yüan-ti 元帝, arranged to have the portrait of the ê-shih 閼氏 or the queen of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 painted in the Kan-ch'üan-kung 甘泉宮 Palace and the pictures of shan-yü 單于 or the king of the Hsiung-nu were enjoyed by the court ladies of the Han 甘泉寫閼氏之形, 後宮玩單于之圖 may mean that Hsiao I looked upon these pictures as early examples of the chih-kung-t'u just like Wang Yun 王肅 who expressed the same opinion in his *Chung-kuo ti-t'u shih-kang* 中國地圖史綱, Peking: San-lien shu-tien 三聯書店, 1956, p. 5.

As is written at the end of this Preface, Hsiao I states that he painted the portraits and costumes of foreign embassies who came to the capital, that is to say, Chien-k'ang 建康 or what is now Nanking, as well as to Chin-mên 荊門 or Chiang-ling 江陵 that is to say, what is now Chin-chou 荊州, where he stayed as the governor, and that, as of the portraits and costumes of embassies who did not come as far as Chin-mên, he sent men to the places where they were available in order to sketch them. As Hsiao I stayed at Chiang-ling as governor twice in 526-539 and 547-552, the fortieth year of the reign of the Emperor Wu-ti, which fell on 541 or 542, coincided with sometime between these two terms of office. So, it may have been during the first term that he collected materials necessary for compiling of chih-kung-t'u and dedicated it in 541 or 542, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of his father's enthronement.

There are some opinions which want to deny the authorship of Hsiao I or Emperor Yüan-ti of the chih-kung-t'u for the reason that he could have no time to make such a painting scroll or to manage to keep it undestroyed when he set his huge library and all of his writings and paintings on fire when he lost the battle with the army of Western Wei and some of his relatives who were attacking him. Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 (*Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, Bk. 75 or *Kung-k'uei t'i-pa* 攻媿題跋, Bk. 7, under the note on the chih-kung-t'u in

the possession of Fu Ch'in-fu 傅欽甫所藏職貢圖) and Sung Lien 宋濂 (*Sung hsieh-shih chi* 宋學士集, Bk. 12, under his note on the chih-kung-t'u of the Emperor Yüan of Liang 題梁元帝畫職貢圖) are of this kind of opinion. cf. Appendices III and IV. However, the destruction of library and writing took place in the eleventh month of the third year of Ch'eng-shêng 承聖, which corresponds December 2, 554, through January 10, 555. The chih-kung-t'u, which was made thirteen or fourteen years earlier, could well survive the catastrophe.

The beginning part of the manuscript of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* now extant is missing. It has been missing since the time when manuscript was described by Wu Shêng 吳升 in the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄, Bk. 11, as well as by learned officials of Ch'ien-lung in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, Bk. 32, both of which mistake it for the work of Yen Li-tê 閻立德 (?-656). It is, therefore, impossible to reconstruct the missing part to identify the names of country there originally described. In the following part, the extant texts of the manuscript are copied faithfully line by line, to each of which the number is given according to the order in the manuscript.

A lot of Chinese characters of the MSS. are written in particular form or in a wrong way. For the convenience of printing, their common or right form is shown with black dot at the bottom. The reader is asked to consult the photographic reproduction attached here to see their original form in the manuscript. When original characters are lost or decipherable in a vague way, they are supplemented between parentheses or in a square line. As to the characters entirely lost and impossible to restore, they are shown just by a square line with no character in it.

Corresponding passages of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, are quoted for comparison. In order to make the reading easier, punctuations are given temporarily.

III-1: The ambassador of the country of **Hua** 滑 or the Ephthalites who occupied the region of Ghûr or Ghôr in the valleys of the River Hârî-Rûd.

[滑國使]

- 1 有功。勇與囚滑□□
- 2 部。索虜入居桑乾，滑爲小國。屬芮芮。齊時始走莫獻而居。後強大。
- 3 征其旁國，破波斯·槃槃·罽賓·烏纏·龜茲·疎勒·于闐·勾槃等國，開地
- 4 千里。其土溫暖。多山川，少林木。有五穀，國人以麩及羊肉爲糧。獸有師子，兩
- 5 脚駱駝。野驢有角。人善騎射。着小袖長身袍。金玉爲絡帶。女人被裘頭上，

- 6 刻木爲角。長六尺。金銀飾之。少女子。兄弟共妻。無城郭，毳屋爲居，東向
- 7 開戶。其王坐金床，隨太歲轉。與妻並坐，接賓客。無文字，以木爲契，刻之
- 8 約物數。與旁國通，則使旁國胡爲函書。羊皮爲紙。無職官。所降小國，使
- 9 其王爲函隸。事天神。每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止。止即鳴其
- 10 王手足。賤者鳴王囚。圍以木爲槲。父母死，子截一耳。葬已即去。魏晉
- 以
- 11 來，不通中國。天監十五年，國王姓厭帶名夷栗陀始使蒲多達<sup>□</sup>獻
- 12 延賓<sup>□</sup>耗名纈杯。普通元年，又遣<sup>□</sup>何了了。獻黃師子。白貂裘。
- 13 波斯<sup>□</sup>子錦。王妻<sup>□</sup>，亦遣使康符真同貢物。其使人羣頭剪髮。
- 14 著波斯錦褶<sup>□</sup>錦袴，朱麀皮長壘鞞，其語言則河南人重譯而通焉。

The title which is lost must be the Ambassador of the Country of Hua 滑國使。A detailed study of this passage is made in the Appendix I: *The Liang chih-kung-t'u on the Origin and Migration of the Hua or Ephthalites.*

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows. As to the *Liang-shu*, the so-called Punctuated edition 標點本 is used here.

滑國者，車師之別種也。漢永建元年，八滑從班勇擊北虜有功，勇上八滑爲後部親漢侯。自魏，晉以來，不通中國，至天監十五年，其王厭帶夷栗陀始遣使獻方物。普通元年，又遣使獻黃師子·白貂裘·波斯錦等物。七年，又奉表貢獻。

元魏之居桑乾也，滑猶爲小國，屬芮芮。後稍強大，征其旁國波斯，盤盤，鬪賓，焉耆，龜茲，疏勒，姑墨，于闐，句盤等國，開地千餘里。土地溫暖，多山川樹木，有五穀。國人以麩及羊肉爲糧。其獸有師子，兩脚駱駝，野驢有角。人皆善射。著小袖長身袍，用金玉爲帶。女人被裘，頭上刻木爲角。長六尺，以金銀飾之。少女子，兄弟共妻。無城槲，毳屋爲居，東向開戶。其王坐金牀，隨太歲轉，與妻並坐接客。無文字，以木爲契。與旁國通，則使旁國胡爲胡書，羊皮爲紙。無職官。事天神，火神，每日則出戶祀神而後食。其跪一拜而止。葬以木爲槲。父母死，其子截一耳，葬訖即吉。其言語待河南人譯然後通。

### III-2: The Ambassador of the country of **Po-ssü** 波斯 or Sassanide Persia.

- 1 波斯國使
- 2 波斯蓋波斯匿王之後也。王子祇陀之子孫，以王父字爲氏，因爲國稱。
- 3 釋道安西域諸國志，撻陀越西，西海中，有安息國。撻陀越南，波羅
- 4 陀國。波羅陀國西，有波羅斯國。城周回三十二里，高四丈皆築土爲基。
- 5 城門皆有樓觀。城內屋宇數百間。城外有寺一百。西十五里有土山。

- 6 湧泉下流向南。山中有鷲鳥，噉羊，時時下地銜羊而去。土人患之。有優鉢
- 7 曇花。出龍駒馬。別有鹹池。主 (read 出) 珊瑚馬腦，虎 (read 琥) 魄，眞珠，玫瑰 (read 瑰) 等寶。土人不甚
- 8 珍。交易用金銀，婚禮以金帛，奴婢，牛，馬，羊等。以四疋馬爲輦 (read 輦輿)，五彩爲蓋。
- 9 迎婦，兄弟把手付度。國東萬五千里滑國，西萬里極婆羅門國。南萬里有
- 10 又 (read 又有) 婆羅門國。北萬里即沉 (read 沕) 壙國。大通二年，遣中李安馬越奉表獻佛牙。

As is pointed out in Chapter II: A Bibliographical Introduction, the *Shih-chia fang-chih* 釋迦方志, Bk. 2, under Po-ssü-kuo 波斯國, quotes the statement of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* concerning Fu-lin-kuo which runs as follows:

案梁職貢圖云，〔拂憐國〕去波斯北一萬里，西南海島有西女國。〔非印度〕。拂憐年別送男女配焉。彼圖〔=梁職貢圖〕又言，波羅斯西一萬里極婆羅門國，南一萬里又是婆羅門。以今往度，疑太遼遠。(Tripitaka Taishó, Bk. 51, p. 968. Also See the Glossory 一切經音義 of Hui-lin 慧琳, which writes 拂憐. cf. Tripitaka Taishó, Bk. 54, p. 809)

This passage clearly shows that Hsüan-chuang 玄奘 describes Fu-lin-kuo in his *Hsi-yü-chi* 西域記, Bk. 11, pp. 36-37 (edition *Kyôto Teikoku Daigaku Bunka Daigaku Sôsho* 京都帝國大學文科大學叢書) on the basis of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. Here is the *Hsi-yü-chi* referring to Fu-lin-kuo:

波刺斯國，(中略)，西北接拂憐國。境壤風俗同波刺斯。形貌語言，稍有乖異。多珍寶。亦富饒也。拂憐國西南海島，有西女國。皆是女人，略無男子。多諸珍寶。附拂憐國。故拂憐王歲遣丈夫配焉。

It goes without saying that Fu-lin-kuo means Byzantium or Constantinople.

As to Po-ssü, the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 54, says as follows:

波斯國，其先有波斯匿王者，子孫以王父字爲氏，因爲國號。國有城，周廻三十二里。城高四丈，皆有樓觀。城內屋宇數百千間，城外佛寺二三百所。西去城十五里有土山。山非過高，其勢連接甚遠。中有鷲鳥噉羊。土人極以爲患。國中有優鉢曇花。鮮華可愛。出龍駒馬。鹹池生珊瑚樹，長一二尺。亦有琥珀，馬腦，眞珠，玫瑰等，國內不以爲珍。市買用金銀。婚姻法，下聘訖，女婿將數十人迎婦。婿著金線錦袍，師子錦袴，戴天冠。婦亦如之。婦兄弟便來捉手付度。夫婦之禮，於茲永畢。國東與滑國，西及南俱與婆羅門國，北與汎憐國接。中大通二年，遣使獻佛牙。

III-3: The Ambassador of the Country of **Po-chi** 百濟 [Paekche].

- 1 百濟國使
- 2 百濟舊來 (read 東) 夷馬韓之屬。晉末駒瑟畧有遼東。樂浪亦有遼西晉
- 3 平縣。自晉已來，常修蕃貢。義熙中，其王餘映，宋元嘉中，其王餘毗，齊永明
- 4 中，其王餘大，皆受中國官爵。梁初以太爲正 (= 征) 東將軍。尋爲高句驪所破。普
- 5 通二年，其王餘隆遣使奉表云，累破高麗。所治城曰固麻。謂邑曰檐魯 (魯?)。於
- 6 中國郡縣。有二十二檐魯 (魯?)。分子弟宗族爲之。旁小國有叛波，卓多羅，前羅，
- 7 斯羅，止迷，麻連，上巳文，下枕羅等，附之。言語衣服，畧同高麗。行不張
- 8 拱，拜不申足。以帽爲冠，襦白 (read 曰) 復 (複?) 衫，袴曰禪。其言參諸夏。亦秦韓之遺俗。

On this passage, see Lee Hong-jik 李弘植, *On the "Pictures of Envoys of Tributary States (職貢圖) in the Days of the Liang (梁) Dynasty of China—Especially on the Paekche (百濟) Envoy's Picture and Record Thereof—*, In: 高麗大學校60周年記念論文集〈人文科學篇〉, 1965, pp. 295–329, with two pictures of envoys of Po-chi and Wei-kuo 倭國 or Japan. As to the costumes of the ambassador of Po-chi, see Huang Hu-kên 黃迺根, 韓國裝身具美術研究 (*The Study on Art of Korean Cernaments*), Seoul: —社志, n.d., pp. 114–116.

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

百濟者，其先東夷有三韓國，一曰馬韓，二曰辰韓，三曰弁韓。弁韓，辰韓各十二國，馬韓有五十四國。大國萬餘家，小國數千家，總十餘萬戶。百濟卽其一也。後漸強大，兼諸小國。其國本與句驪在遼東之東，晉世句驪旣略有遼東，百濟亦據有遼西，晉平二郡地矣。自置百濟郡。晉太元中，王須，義熙中，王餘映，宋元嘉中，王餘毗，並遣獻生口。餘毗死。立子慶。慶死，子牟都立。都死，立子牟太。齊永明中，除太都督百濟諸軍事，鎮東大將軍，百濟王。天監元年，進太號征東將軍。尋爲高句驪所破，衰弱者累年，遷居南韓地。普通二年，王餘隆始復遣使奉表，稱「累破句驪，今始與通好」。而百濟更爲強國。其年，高祖詔曰，「行都督百濟諸軍事，鎮東大將軍百濟王餘隆，守藩海外，遠脩貢職，廼誠款到。朕有嘉焉。宜率舊章，授茲榮命。可使持節，都督百濟諸軍事，寧東大將軍，百濟王。」五年，隆死，詔復以其子明爲持節，督百濟諸軍事，綏東將軍，百濟王。號所治城曰固麻，謂邑曰檐魯。如中國之言郡縣也。

其國有二十二檐魯，皆以子弟宗族分據之。其人形長，衣服淨潔。其國近倭，頗有文身者。今言語服章略與高驪同。行不張拱，拜不申足則異。呼帽曰冠，襦曰複衫，袴曰禪。其言參諸夏，亦秦，韓之遺俗云。中大通六年，大同七年，



累遣使獻方物，并請涅盤等經義，毛詩博士，并工匠，畫師等。敕並給之。太清三年，不知京師寇賊，猶遣使貢獻。既至，見城中荒毀，並號慟涕泣。侯景怒，囚執之，及景平，方得還國。

Concerning some terms in this passage of the *Liang-shu*, see Yasukazu Suematsu 末松保和, *Ryōsho Shinra-den kō* 梁書新羅傳考, In: *Shinrashi no shomondai* 新羅史の諸問題, Tokyo; Tōyō Bunko, 1954, pp. 375-41.

### III-4: The Ambassador of the Country of **Kuei-tzū** 龜茲 or Kuci.

- 1 龜茲國使
- 2 龜茲，西域(之舊國也)。所居曰延城(read 城)。漢以公主(妻?)烏孫。烏孫遣其女至漢學鼓
- 3 琴。龜茲請為妻。其王降匈奴。以得曰漢外孫。願□，既及京師。□賜
- 4 印綬，加其妻以公主之號，錫車騎，笏鼓。既歸，慕漢制，乃治宮室，作紋
- 5 道□衛，出入傳呼，頗自強大。歷魏，晉，至梁，歲獻名馬。普通二
- 6 年，遣使康石憶丘波那，奉表入朝。

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

龜茲者，西域之舊國也。後漢光武時，其王名弘，為莎車王賢所殺，滅其族。賢使其子則羅為龜茲王。國人又殺則羅。匈奴立龜茲貴人身毒為王，由是屬匈奴。然龜茲在漢世常為大國。所都曰延城。魏文帝初即位，遣使貢獻。晉太康中，遣子入侍。太元七年，秦主苻堅遣將呂光伐西域，至龜茲。龜茲王帛純載寶出奔。光入其城。城有三重，外城與長安城等。室屋壯麗，飾以琅玕金玉。光立帛純弟震為王而歸。自此與中國絕不通。普通二年，王尼瑞摩珠那勝遣使奉表貢獻。

According to the *Han-shu* 漢書, Bk. 96b, it is Ti-shih 弟史 who was the eldest daughter of Wēng-kui-mi 翁歸靡, king of the U-sun 烏孫, and his wife Chieh-yu 解憂, grand daughter of Liu Wu 劉戊 who belonged to the royal family of Han and the king of Ch'u 楚, that the king of Kuei-tzū 龜茲 took as his wife. The marriage took place sometime before the third year of Pên-shih 本始 (71). The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* here gives us a detailed description about the marriage, which is not available in any other sources now extant.

### III-5: The Ambassador of the Country of **Wei** 倭 or Japan.

- 1 倭國使
- 2 倭國，在帶方東南大海中。依山島居。自帶方循海水乍南下，東對
- 3 其北岸。歷三十餘國。丁(read 可) 萬餘里。倭王所止，大扞(read 抵) 在會稽東。氣暖地溫。

- 4 出眞珠，青玉。無牛馬虎豹羊鵠□□□□面文身，以木綿帖首。衣  
5 橫幅無縫，但結（以下欽文・欽行）

The latter half of the passage has been lost. The portrait of the ambassador here represented is too shabby to be taken as the ambassador of Japan. Li Hong-jik 李弘植 (*op. cit.*, p. 325) says that the portrait was painted on the basis of the *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, Bk. 30, in which costumes of Japanese of the 3rd century are described. However, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* painted so well the looks and atmosphere of a Japanese that it is quite unthinkable that it was painted just on the basis of a written record. It is, therefore, quite likely that a Japanese fisherman who drifted ashore at some place of the territory of Liang was taken as model. Among the portrait of ambassadors in the present painted scroll, it is the ambassador of Po-ch'i who is the most gorgeously dressed, while that of Japan is the most miserably.

The corresponding part of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

倭者，自云太伯之後。俗皆文身。去帶方萬二千餘里，大抵在會稽之東，相去絕遠。從帶方至倭，循海水行，歷韓國，乍東乍南，七千餘里始度一海。海闊千餘里，名瀚海。至一支國。又度一海千餘里。名未盧國。又東南陸行五百里，至伊都國。又東南行百里，至奴國。又東行百里，至不彌國。又南水行二十日，至投馬國。又南水行十日，陸行一月日，至邪馬臺國。即倭王所居。其官有伊支馬，次曰彌馬獲支，次曰奴往〔read 佳〕靺。民種禾稻紵麻，蠶桑織績。有薑，桂，橘，椒，蘇。出黑雉，眞珠，青玉。有獸如牛，名山鼠。又有大蛇吞此獸。蛇皮堅不可斫，其上有孔，乍開乍閉，時或有光，射之中，蛇則死矣。物產略與儋耳，朱崖同。地溫暖。風俗不淫。男女皆露紵。富貴者以錦繡雜采爲帽。似中國胡公頭。〔食飲用籩豆。其死，有棺無槨。封土作冢。人性皆嗜酒。俗不知正歲。多壽考，多至八九十，或至百歲。其俗女多男少。貴者至四五妻，賤者猶兩三妻。婦人無姪妬。無盜竊，少諍訟。若犯法，輕者波其妻子，重則滅其宗族。〕

漢靈帝光和中，倭國亂。相攻伐歷年。乃共立一女子卑彌呼爲王。彌呼無夫婿，挾鬼道，能惑衆。故國人立之。有男弟佐治國。自爲王，少有見者。以婢千人自侍，唯使一男子出入傳教令。所處宮室，常有兵守衛。至魏景初三年，公孫淵誅後，卑彌呼始遣使朝貢。魏以爲親魏王，假金印紫綬。正始中，卑彌呼死，更立男王。國中不服。更相誅殺，復立卑彌呼宗女臺與爲王。其後復立男王，並受中國爵命。晉安帝時，有倭王贊。贊死，立弟彌。彌死，立子濟。濟死，立子興。興死，立弟武。齊建元中，除武持節，督倭新羅任那伽羅秦韓慕韓六國諸軍事，鎮東大將軍。高祖卽位，進武號征東大將軍。〕

III-6: [The Ambassador of the Country of] **Kao-li** 高麗 [Kao-kou-li 高句麗 or Koguryo].

It is clear from the statement of the *Tai-kuan-lu* 大觀錄, Bk. 11, that the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which was seen by the author contained the description of Kao-li 高麗. Fortunately, a fragmentary passage of *Liang-chih kung-t'u* on Kao-li is quoted in the *Han-yüan* 翰苑.

The *Han-yüan* was compiled by Chang Ch'u-chin 張楚金 who was famous for his filial piety, as well as dignified conducts, and took service to the T'ang government under Kao-tsung 高宗 (649-683) and Tsé-t'ien wu-hou 則天武后 (690-705). He was falsely slandered by Chou Hsing 周興, infamous official for his wickedness, and died in Ling-piao 嶺表 or Kuang-chou 廣州 where Chang held the office of governor. The date of his birth and death is not known except that he led an active life as an official and a scholar in the latter half of the seventh century.<sup>1)</sup> The *Han-yüan* now lost, which consisted of thirty chüan 卷,<sup>2)</sup> looks like to be an encyclopedic work for general education, and, according to the postscript of Chang Ch'u-chin, he was inspired to compile the *Han-yüan* by a dream on the twelfth day of the third month of the fifth year of Hsien-ch'ing 顯慶 (May 1, 660) and edited the *Han-yüan*, which indicates the date of compilation. One section of the *Han-yüan* dealing with foreigners 蕃夷 exists in Japan, which was reproduced three or four times<sup>3)</sup> and studied by Japanese scholars. The *Kan-en ko-shaku* 翰苑校釋, by Yukihiro Yuasa 湯淺幸孫, Tokyo: Kokusho Kankôkai 國書刊行會, 1983, is the best among them.

According to Yuasa, the *Han-yüan* consists of texts and commentaries, both of which were compiled by Chang Ch'u-chin, to which a man called Yung Kung-jui 雍公叡<sup>4)</sup> added some small commentaries at the time of Sung 宋. In the commentaries made by Chang Ch'u-chin to the texts concerning Kao-li 高麗 a passage of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* is quoted, which is as follows:

梁元帝職貢圖云，高麗婦人衣白而男子衣結〔紅〕錦，鈿〔飾〕以金銀。貴者冠情〔幘〕而後以金銀爲鹿耳〔茸〕，加之幘上。賤者冠折風，穿耳以金銀。上衣白衫，下曰長袴，要〔腰〕有銀帶，左佩帶，而右佩五子刀，足履豆禮鞞〔鞞〕。  
(characters between brackets are the right form).

Concerning this passage, see Yuasa, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-92.

The *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, describes about Kao-kou-li or Kao-li. The passage which corresponds to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* quoted above is as follows:

其公會衣服皆錦繡，金銀以自飾。大加，主簿頭所著，似幘而無後，其小加著折風，形如弁。

III-7: [The Ambassador of the Country of **Hsin-lo** 新羅 or Silla].

In the *Hsü Kao-sêng-chuan* 續高僧傳, Bk. 24, Tao-hsüan 道宣 (596-667) quotes a passage of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* on Hsin-lo 新羅 in the biography

of Tz-ü-ts'ang 慈藏 who was born in Hsin-lo, came to Ch'ang-an 長安 in the twelfth year of Chên-kuan 貞觀 (638) and came back to his native country in the seventeenth year of Chên-kuan (643). The passage runs as follows:

案梁職貢圖，其新羅國，魏曰斯盧，宋曰新羅。本東夷辰韓之國夷。 (*Tripitaka Taishô*, Vol. 50, p. 639 upper column).

Seeing that Tao-hsüan quotes a passage of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* on Po-ssü 波斯 or Sassanide Persia with special reference to Fu-lin 拂憐 in his *Shih-chia fang-chih* 釋迦方志, Bk. 2, (see p. 99 of this article), he certainly possessed a copy of *Liang-chih-kung-t'u* for his own use.

The same passage of the *Liang-chih-kung-t'u* on Hsin-lo is quoted in the Book 3 of the *Hung-tsan Fa-hua-chuan* 弘贊法華傳, a collection of episodes of Buddhist monks and believers up to the time of Tang, compiled by Hui-yang 慧詳 of T'ang 唐, in the biography of Yüan-kuan 緣光, who was a Buddhist monk from Hsin-lo. The date of compilation is not known, but, according to the postscript, it was revised and printed on the seventeenth day of the first month of the fifth year of T'ien-ch'ing 天慶 (February 20, 1115) under the Liao 遼. See the *Tripitaka Taishô*, Vol. 51, p. 20 upper column. It is not certain, however, whether the quotation was made directly from the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* or from the *Hsü Kao-sêng-chuan*.

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

新羅者，其先本辰韓種也。辰韓亦曰秦韓，相去萬里，傳言秦世亡人避役來適馬韓，馬韓亦割其東界居之。以秦人，故名之曰秦韓。其言語名物有似中國人，名國爲邦，弓爲弧，賊爲寇，行酒爲行觴。相呼皆爲徒，不與馬韓同。又辰韓王常用馬韓人作之。世相係。辰韓不得自立爲王，明其流移之人故也。恒爲馬韓所制。辰韓始有六國，稍分爲十二。新羅則其一也。其國在百濟東南五千餘里。其地東濱大海，南北與句驪，百濟接。魏時曰新盧，宋時曰新羅，或曰斯羅。其國小，不能自通使聘。普通二年，王姓募名秦，始使使隨百濟奉獻方物。

### III-8: [The Ambassador of the Country of **Tan-ch'ang** 宕昌].

(宕昌國) 前文缺

- 1 貢方物。齊永明中，有 (以下缺文)
- 2 監十 (read 十四) 年，梁彌博表獻甘草當歸。詔爲□ (=使) □ (=持) □ (=節) □ (=都) □ (=督) □ (=河) □ (=涼) 二州安西軍
- 3 護 (for 東) 羌授 (read 校) 尉河涼二州刺史隴西公。衣物風俗，與河南國畧同。

The Tan-ch'ang tribe lived in the region of what is now Tan-ch'ang-chou 宕昌州 in the Kan-ssü 甘肅 Province. They were a kind of the Ch'iang 羌. The beginning part of the description was lost together with the portrait of the ambassador.

Here is the corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54.

宕昌國，在河南之東南，益州之西北，隴西之西。羌種也。宋孝武世，其王梁瓘忽始獻方物。天監四年，王梁彌博來獻甘草，當歸。詔以爲使持節，都督河涼二州諸軍事，安西將軍，東羌校尉，河涼二州刺史，隴西公，宕昌王，佩以金章。彌博死，子彌泰立。大同七年，復授以父爵位。其衣服，風俗，與河南略同。

III-9: The Ambassador of the Country of **Lang-ya-hsiu** 狼牙修。

- 1 狼牙修國使。
- 2 狼牙修，在南海中。去廣州二萬一千里。國界東西三十日行，南北二十日行。土
- 3 氣恒 (written as 恒 to avoid 恒 which is the name of Chên-tsung 眞宗, the third emperor of Sung) 暖，草木常榮，無雪霜，多金銀，波律，沉香。男女悉袒而被髮
- 4 古貝繞身。國王以雲霞布覆軀，貴臣着草屨腰金繩，耳着
- 5 金鑲，女子被布，加以纓絡，壘磚爲城。重門，樓閣。閣有三層。王行駕象。
- 6 有幡毘旂 (= 旗) 鼓，罩白 (read 台) 蓋，兵衛甚設。國人說，自初立國四百餘年，後胤 (= 胤)
- 7 衰弱。王族有賢者，百姓歸之。王收繫之而鑲自折三。不敢誅。斥之出境。遂
- 8 奔天竺。天竺妻以長女。俄而狼牙修王死。舉國迎立之。二十餘年死。子婆
- 9 伽達多立。天監十四年，遣使阿撒多奉表貢獻。

The location of Lang-ya-hsiu which obviously represents Lankasu(ka) is one of the most controversial questions in the history of South-East Asia or South Asia. Many scholars locate it at Kedah or Patani in the middle of the Malay Peninsula, while others in Ceylon. A general survey of controversies is given by Hisayuki Miyagawa 宮川尙志 in his article entitled *Sôsho Ryôsho ni mieru Indo Tónan Ajiya shokoku* 宋書・梁書に見えるインド・東南アジア諸國 (Countries in India and in South-East Asia as described in the *Sung-shu and Liang-shih*), I and II (*Okayama Shigaku* 岡山史學, Vols. 12 and 14, 1962 and 1964, off-print pp. 1-17 and 1-23) and by Paul Wheatley in his *The Golden Khersonese, Studies in the Historical Geography of the Malay Peninsula before A. D. 1500*, Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, pp. 253-267. Wheatley's bibliography is comprehensive and he quotes a lot of Japanese works. However, he makes no mention to the works of Japanese scholars and it seems that he has never given a perusal to any of them. This lacuna will be filled up by Miyagawa who has made a general survey of studies made by both Japanese and western specialists.

Generally, Lang-ya-su and the country called by the same or similar names are identified with Lankasuka in the region of Patani of the Malay Peninsula, while some people try to locate it in Ceylon. However, Ichisada Miyazaki is of opinion that *Lang-ya-su* as described in the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 54, and the *Nan-shih* 南史, Bk. 78, should be identified with Ceylon (Lingga Singkep Islands), while other countries called by the same and similar appellations with Lankasuka in the Malay Peninsula. See his article entitled *Rôgashû-koku to Rôgasu-koku* 狼牙脩國と狼牙須國, In: *Haneda hakase Shôju kinen Tôyôshi Ronsô* 羽田博士頌壽記念東洋史論叢, Kyoto, 1950, pp. 915-948. (See Weatley, p. 356).

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 54, is as follows:

狼牙脩國，在南海中。其界東西三十日行，南北二十日行。去廣州二萬四千里。土氣物產，與扶南略同，偏多箴沈婆律香等。其俗男女皆袒而被髮，以古貝爲干縵。其王及貴臣乃加雲霞布覆胛，以金繩爲絡帶，金鑲貫耳。女子則被布，以瓔珞繞其身。其國累樓爲城，重門樓閣。王出乘象。有幡旛旗鼓，單台蓋，兵衛甚設。國人說，立國以來四百餘年，後嗣衰弱。王族有賢者。國人歸之。王聞知，乃加囚執。其鑲無故自斷，王以爲神，因不敢害，乃斥逐出境。遂奔天竺。天竺妻以長女。俄而狼牙王死。大臣迎還爲王。二十餘年死。子婆伽達多立。天監十四年，遣使阿撒多奉表曰，「大吉天子足下。離淫怒癡，哀愍衆生，慈心無量。端嚴相好，身光明朗，如水中月，普照十方。眉間白毫，其白如雪，其色照曜，赤如月光。諸天善神之所供養，以垂正法寶。梵行衆增，莊嚴都邑。城閣高峻，如乾陁山。樓觀羅列，道途平正。人民熾盛，快樂安穩。著種種衣，猶如天服。於一切國，爲極尊勝。天王愍念羣生，民人安樂。慈心深廣，律儀清淨。正法化治，供養三寶，名稱宣揚，布滿世界。百姓樂見，如月初生。譬如梵王，世界之主，人天一切，莫不歸依。敬禮大吉天子足下，猶如現前。忝承先業，慶嘉無量。今遣使問訊大意。欲自往，復畏大海風波不達。今奉薄獻。願大家曲垂領納。」

### III-10: The Ambassador of the Country of *Têng-chih* 鄧至.

- 1 鄧至國使。
- 2 鄧至，居西涼州界。善(read羌)別種也。宋文帝世，鄧至王象屈就遣其所置里
- 3 水鎮將象破羌，上書獻駿馬。天監五年，國王象舒彭遣厲僧崇獻
- 4 黃者四百斤，馬四疋。其俗呼帽曰突阿。其衣服與宕昌畧同。

*Têng-chih-kuo* means the country of *Têng-chih* tribe, which were a kind of the *Ch'iang* 羌 people. The country was situated between what is now *Wên Hsien* 文縣 in the southern border of the province of *Kan-ssü* 甘肅 and *Sung-p'an Hsien* 松潘縣 of the province of *Ssü-ch'uan* 四川.

Here is the corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54.

鄧至國，居西涼州界。羌別種也。世號持節，平北將軍，西涼州刺史。宋文帝時，王象屈就遣使獻馬。天監元年，詔以鄧至王象舒彭爲督西涼州諸軍事，號安北將軍。五年，舒彭遣使獻黃耆四百斤，馬四匹。其俗呼帽曰突何。其衣服與宕昌同。

III-11: The Ambassador of the Country of **Chou-ku-k'ê** 周古柯。

- 1 周古柯國使。
- 2 周古柯，滑旁小國。普通元年，隨滑使朝貢。奉表曰，一切所恭敬，一切吉具。
- 3 足，如天靜無雲滿月明曜。天子身清靜，具足亦如此。爲四海弘願以爲舟。
- 4 舫。揚州閩浮堤第一廣大國，人民布滿，歡樂壯嚴，如天上不異。周。
- 5 古柯王禮弁拜，問訊天子□□，今上金□一，琉璃碗一，馬一疋。

Chou-ku-k'ê is identified with what is now Karghalik. In Chinese records it is transcribed in various ways. Here are some examples: 子合國(後漢書·佛國記)，朱駒波國(洛陽伽藍記)，悉居半，朱居槃，朱居國，朱俱波國(魏書)，遮拘迦國(續高僧傳闍那崛多傳)，斫句迦國舊曰沮渠(大唐西域記)，朱俱波一名朱俱槃(新唐書)。See Ed. Chavannes, *Voyage de Sung-yün*, pp. 307-306, A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907, pp. 91-92, the *Collected Works of Shiratori Kurakichi* 白鳥庫吉全集, Vol. VI, pp. 131-132, and *Hsi-yü ti-ming* 西域地名 by P'ing Ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞 and revised and augmented by Lu Chün-ling 陸峻嶺, Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1982, p. 44.

The corresponding passage of *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

周古柯國，滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使遣滑來，獻方物。

III-12: The Ambassador of the country of **Ho-po-t'an** 呵跋檀。

- 1 呵跋檀國使。
- 2 呵跋檀，滑旁小國。普通元年，隨滑使入貢。其[表]曰，最所遷恭敬吉天子，東方大地呵跋檀王問訊，兆一過，乃百千罔億，天子安隱(read穩)。我今遣使手送此書。書不空。故上馬一疋，銀器一故。

Ho-po-t'an represents Qawādhīyān or Kabādiyān, which is situated in the valley of the river Kafirnigan, a right tributary of the Amu Darya, south-western corner of Tadzikistan, SSR. In Chinese records, the name is written besides 呵跋檀 in such a way as 鞠和衍那(西域記)，俱德建國(西陽雜俎, BK. 10)，久越得健(新唐書地理志)，久越得健(唐會要，冊府元龜, BK. 999) (See the *Hsi-yü ti-ming* 西域地名 by P'ing Ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞 and Lu Chün-ling 陸峻嶺, p. 78 under Quwadhīyan). As to Arabic records in which this place is described, see J. Märkwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938, Index under Kabādiyān, Kawādiyān and Qawādiyān.

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, is as follows:

呵檀跋國，亦滑旁小國也。凡滑旁之國，衣服容貌皆與滑同。普通元年，使使隨滑使來獻方物。

III-13: The Ambassador of the Country of **Hu-mi-tan** 胡蜜丹。

- 1 胡蜜丹國使。
- 2 胡蜜丹，滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使隨滑使來朝。其表曰，楊 (read 揚) 州天子
- 3 出處，大國聖主胡蜜王，名口業，遙長跪合掌，作禮千万。今滑使到聖
- 4 國，用附函啓，并水精鍾一口，馬一疋。聖主有若所敕，不敢有異。

Hu-mi-tan represents Kumêdh or Kumîdh which was situated in the valley of the Surkhâb or Wakshâb in the southern part of Tadzikistan, SSR. Concerning Kumêdh or Kumîdh, see Ed. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Toukiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, p. 164, Do., *Voyage de Sung-yün*, p. 401, the *Collected Works of Kurakichi Shiratori* 白鳥庫吉全集, Vol. VI, p. 33 ff., Vol. VII, pp. 19, 20, and 27 (also see K. Shiratori, *On the Tsung-ling traffic route described by C. Ptolemaeus*, In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 16, 1657, pp. 34),<sup>5)</sup> J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, pp. 54-57. P'ing Ch'êng-chün 馮承鈞 and Lu Chün-ling 陸峻嶺 give the following Chinese transcriptions of the name: 居密, 久末陀 (魏書本紀), 拘謎陀 (大唐西域記), 拘迷支 (悟空行記) and 俱密 (新唐書西域傳) (See *Hsi-yü ti-ming* 西域地名, ed. 1982, p. 56). In addition to the above should be added such transcriptions as Chiapei 伽倍 in the *Pei-shih* 北史, Bk. 97, p. 1295 (*Po-na-pên* 百衲本 edition in minimized size) and the *Wei-shu* 魏書, Bk. 90, p. 1321, Hu-mi 胡蜜 in the *Wang Wu-t'ien-tu-kuo chuan* 往五天竺國傳 by Hui-ch'ao 慧超, edition 1910 and 1931 by Toyohachi Fujita 藤田豐八, and Hu-mi 胡蜜 of the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, Bk. 221b, p. 1158. Hu-mi-tan of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which is followed by the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, p. 457, and *Nan-shih* 南史, Bk. 79, p. 807.

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

胡蜜丹國，亦滑旁小國也。普通元年，使使隨滑使來，獻方物。

III-14: The Ambassador of the Country of **Po-t'i** 白題。

- 1 白題國使。
- 2 白題，匈奴旁別種胡也，漢初 (灌嬰) 與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人。今在滑
- 3 國東六十日行。西極波斯二十回。土地出粟麥。菓食衣物與滑國
- 4 畧同，國王姓支，名使靺靱。普通三年，白題道釋彪獨活，使安
- 5 遠憐伽，到京師貢獻。



Po-t'i is a transcription for Bakhdi which is identical with ancient Bactria or what is now Balkh. Concerning it, see pp. 97-99 of this article. The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, is as follows:

白題國，王姓支，名史稽毅，其先蓋匈奴之別種胡也。漢灌嬰與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人。今在滑國東。去滑六日行。西極波斯。土地出粟，麥，瓜菓。食物略與滑同。普通三年，遣使獻方物。

III-15: The Ambassador of the country of **Mo** 末.

- 1 末國使。
- 2 末國，漢世且(讀且)末國[ ]。勝兵萬餘戶，(北與丁零，東與白)
- 3 題接，西與波斯接。土人剪髮，着氊(帽小袖，衣爲衫，開頸而縫前，多牛羊)
- 4 騾驢。今二(for 王 or 主)姓安石末深盤，(普通五年，遣使來貢獻)。

The country of Mo is to be identified not with Ch'ieh-mo, that is to say, what is now Cherchen, at the time of Han, but with Merv (more strictly with the ruin in the neighbourhood of what is now Marv in Turkmenistan, SSR.) This identification is confirmed by the description of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which locates the country of Mo near Po-t'i or Balkh in the north, as well as near Po-ssü or Persia in the west.

The corresponding passage of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, Bk. 54, runs as follows:

末國，漢世且末國也。勝兵萬餘戶。北與丁零，東與白題，西與波斯接。土人剪髮，著氊帽，小袖衣，爲衫則開頸縫前。多牛羊騾驢。其主安石末深盤，普通五年，遣使來貢獻。

III-02: The **Appraisal** 贊 to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

At the end of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* Hsiao I added tsan 贊 or appraisal. The *I-wén lei-chü* 藝文類聚, Bk. 74, quotes a part of it, which runs as follows:

梁元帝職貢圖贊曰，北通玄兔，南漸朱鷺。交河悠遠，合浦迴遭。茲海無際，陰山接天。遐哉鳥穴，永矣雞田。

However, a complete text is available in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, Bk. 32 (or Bk. 5 in the edition of *Pi-tien chu-lin* 秘殿珠林), which copied the tsan to the scroll erroneously identified with the *Wang-hui-t'u* 王會圖 painted by Yen Li-tê 閻立德. Concerning this point, see the second chapter of this article. Here is the text in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi*, of which one character noted as missing is made up by what is quoted by the *I-wén lei-chü*.

後贊曰。粵若稽古，辨方正位。海外有截。王廷斯泊。曰夏，曰殷。質文雖異，骨人象人，設官咸置。天子廷燎，萬方來王。侯服采服，執珪執璋。憬彼聲教，爰被殊方。車懸馬束，山梯海航。不斂(=耐)之城，不灰之木，魚文駟裏，蒲桃苜蓿。扶拔(以下)承我乾行，戒爾景福。北通元(以下)並海無際，陰山接天。遐哉鳥穴，永矣雞田。青雲入呂，黃星出翼。湖開表瑞。河清呈色。尸臣外相。屢觀殊域。記尔風土。國(舊作)茲貢職。

### Appendix I: The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* on the Origin and Migration of the Hua or Ephthalites

The original *Liang chih-kung-t'u* 梁職貢圖 was a scroll painting, depicting the envoys of thirty-five countries, who were sent to the court of Liang to pay tribute in the reign of the Emperor Wu. It also contained a description of each country, its intercourse with the Liang and the costume of the envoy. The original painting and the description were the work of Hsiao I 蕭繹, the seventh son of the Emperor Wu, who reigned as the Emperor Yüan 552-554, during the time when he was stationed as governor at Ching-chou (mod. Chiang-ling, Hupei) between 526 and 539. Hsiao I also wrote a preface and a *tsan* (appraisal) on the scroll. It is not known how long the original survived, but several copies were made and circulated in the period between Sui and Ming, when all copies were believed to have been lost.<sup>1)</sup>

In 1960, however, Mr. Chin Wei-no 金維諾 discovered a Sung copy of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, which had been mistakenly attributed to Yen Li-té 閻立德 (died 656), among the paintings in the Nanking Museum. He published a facsimile of it with a detailed bibliographical study.<sup>2)</sup> The scroll, which is painted in colour on silk, is a copy made in 1077 from an older copy. It had been in the collection of Liang Chiao-lin 梁蕉林<sup>3)</sup> before being transferred to the Ch'ing Imperial Collection, probably in the reign of Ch'ien-lung,<sup>4)</sup> and was recorded and described in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, 32. When the scroll was in the collection of Liang Chiao-lin and the Ch'ing Imperial Collection, it contained the pictures of the envoys and the descriptions of twenty-five countries, as well as the *tsan* and three postscripts, written by Su Sung 蘇頌 (1620-1101) of Sung and K'ang-li K'uei-k'uei (or Nao-nao; Tzū shan 康里巉巉, 子山 1294-1345) and Wang Yü-ch'ing 王餘慶 of Yüan. The beginning of the scroll, which must have contained the preface and the pictures of the envoys and the descriptions of ten countries, had already been lost. To make matters worse, the scroll was still more damaged by the time it came into the possession of the Nanking Museum, when it contained pictures of only twelve envoys and the descriptions of only thirteen countries and of these two were incomplete.

The reproduction of the scroll published by Mr. Chin is not particularly good and leaves many points unclear, both in the pictures and the written sections. In 1963 another reproduction was published in *Chûgoku Bijutsu* (Chinese Art), Vol. 1 (pp. 124-126), a volume of the series *Sekai Bijutsu Taikei* (Outline of the Art of the World), edited and published by Kôdansha, Tokyo. This is much clearer than that published by Mr. Chin, but still leaves some uncertainties. It has, however, given one full page to the reproduction of the picture of the envoy of Japan in its original colour, which allows one to realize the quality of the original. Fortunately, I have obtained black and white photographs of the original, which are the clearest reproductions at present available and which serve to clarify several points of obscurity in the two reproductions published hitherto.

The Sung copy of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* incomplete as it is, is a very important source of information about the thirteen represented Asian countries in the sixth century and is especially precious for its quite unique pictures of the envoys from those countries. I have already published six articles discussing the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, the costumes and physiognomy of the envoys and the description of the country of the Hua or the Ephthalites.<sup>5)</sup> Here I should like to publish my latest opinion on the origin and migration of the Hua as described by the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

The Hua is the name by which the Ephthalites were known to the Chinese of the Liang period. "Hua" 滑 is considered to be a transcription of the Middle Iranian form of the modern Ghur (Ghûr) or Ghor (Ghôr) on the River Hârî-Rûd and to have included the region of Herât.<sup>6)</sup> The Ephthalites who sent embassies to the Liang court called themselves by the name of the place where they had established one of their headquarters and from where they despatched their envoys. The reason why the Ephthalites who sent embassies to Liang from 516 to 541 called themselves Hua, while the same tribe, when it sent embassies to Northern Wei from 456 to 532, was known as Yen-ta<sup>7)</sup> 嚙噠 is not clear.

As I have already pointed out in earlier articles, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* can be regarded as an enlarged edition of the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* 方國使圖 in one chüan by P'ei Tzû-yeh 裴子野 (471-532), in which twenty countries were described with pictures of their envoys.<sup>8)</sup> At the same time, *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was used as a main source for the Chu-i chuan (Account of Foreign Countries) chapter of the *Liang-shu* (Bk. 54).<sup>9)</sup> Thus, though the *Fang-kuo-shih-t'u* probably replaced by the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* and was lost a long time ago, it is still possible to restore missing or defective parts of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* by comparison with Bk. 54 of the *Liang-shu*. So I shall now compare the account of the *Liang-chih-kung-t'u* of the origin and development of the Hua with that of the *Liang-shu*.

*Liang chih-kung-t'u*

... [Yung 勇 and] rendered a distinguished service. Yung [appointed Pa-hua 八滑 to Ku-?] *pu* [故]部. When the So-lu 索虜 (Northern Wei) entered (the Chinese frontier) and settled in (the valley of the river) Sang-kan, 桑乾 the Hua was (still a small country and under the rule of the Jui-jui 芮芮. In the Ch'i period (479-502) they left (their original area) for the first time and shifted to Mo-hsien 莫獻, where they settled. After that, (they became) [stronger?] and bigger and, attacking their neighbouring countries, conquered Po-sü (Persia), P'an-p'an 槃槃 (Walwaliz?), Chi-pin 罽賓 (Kashmir), Wu-ch'an 烏纏 (Khotan?),<sup>10)</sup> Kuei-tzü 龜茲 (Kucha), Su-le 疎勒 (Kashgar), Yü-t'ien (Khotan) 于闐, Chü-pan 句般 (Karghalik), and other countries. (And thus they) extended (their) territory by a thousand *li*.

*Liang-shu*

The country of the Hua was originally a branch of Ch'e-shih 車師 (the present Turfan basin). In the first year of Yung-chien (126) Pa-hua 八滑 under the command of Pan Yung 班勇 attacked the Pei-lu 北虜 (the Hsiung-nu) and rendered a distinguished service. Yung promoted Pa-hua to *Hou-pu Ch'in Han-hou* 後部親漢侯 (Marquis of the Posterior Ch'e-shih who is intimate with Han). When the Yüan-Wei (Northern Wei) settled in (the valley of the river) Sang-kan 桑乾 (398-495), the Hua was (still) a small country and under the rule of the Jui-jui 芮芮. After that, they became a little stronger and bigger and conquered their neighbouring countries such as Po-sü (Persia), P'an-p'an 槃槃 (Walwaliz?), Chi-pin 罽賓 (Kashmir), Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashar), Kuei-tzü 龜茲 (Kucha), Su-le 疎勒 (Kashghar), Ku-mo 姑墨 (Aksu), Yü-t'ien 于闐 (Khotan) and Chü-pan 句盤 (Karghalik) and extended (their) territory by more than a thousand *li*.

The comparison of these two versions clearly shows that the description of the *Liang-shu* is based on that of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. The beginning of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* is incomplete, but it is not difficult to reconstruct the original text from the *Liang-shu*: "The country of the Hua was a branch of Ch'e-shih. In the Han period, Pa-hua under the command of Pan Yung attacked the Pei-lu (Hsiung-nu) and rendered a distinguished service. Yung appointed Pa-hua to *Ku-* (read *Hou-*) *pu*". The section between [ ] in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* is more or less legible. It has [*Ku?*] *pu* where the *Liang-shu* has *Hou-pu Ch'in-Han-hou*. This will mean that the present scroll is not a correct and faithful copy of the original. Where the *Liang-shu* reads: *Yung shang Pa-hua wei Hou-pu Ch'in-Han-hou* ("Pan Yung promoted Pa-hua to Hou-pu Ch'in-Han-hou"), the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* reads: *Yung yü*<sup>11)</sup> *Pa-hua wei Ku? pu* ("Yung appointed Pa-hua Ku-? pu"), which also shows that the present scroll is not a correct copy of the original.

The theory of the *Ch'e-shih hou-pu* (the present region of Jimsa, north of the Turfan Basin beyond the T'ien-shan Range) origin of the Hua or Ephthalites was invented by P'ei Tzū-yeh. It is stated in his biography in the *Liang-shu* (Bk. 30; cf. *Nan-shih*, Bk. 33) that, when the Hua, who had had no intercourse with China, sent embassies to the court of Liang, no one could tell of their country, and it was P'ei Tzū-yeh who identified the Hua with the descendants of Pa-hua who attacked the Hsiung-nu under the command of Pan Yung during the Later Han. He was accordingly admired for his wide knowledge. As the Hua sent embassies in 516, 520 and 526, P'ei's identification may have been made in 516,<sup>12)</sup> at the time of the first embassy. In any case it was one of the reasons why P'ei was ordered by the Emperor Wu to compile the *Fank-kuo shih-t'u*.

That Pa-hua was appointed *Hou-pu Ch'in-Han-hou* by Pan Yung because of the meritorious service he rendered in attacking the Hsiung-nu is recorded under *Ch'e-shih Hou-wang-kuo* (the kingdom of Posterior Ch'e-shih) in the *Hou-Han-shu*, Bk. 118. It is quite clear that P'ei Tzū-yeh merely connected Hua with Pa-hua because of the character *hua* being common to both names. So it goes without saying that the connection is forced and that there is no foundation for regarding Pa-hua of *Ch'e-shih Hou-pu* or *Ch'e-shih Hou-wang-kuo* as the ancestor of the Hua.

Now, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* states that the Hua had been under the rule of the Jui-jui, when the Northern or T'o-pa Wei had their capital at Tai or P'ing-ch'eng in the valley of the river Sang-kan, i.e. from 398 to 495, before they moved their capital to Lo-yang. The *Liang-shu* faithfully copies this statement, while it omits the other that the Hua settled at Mo-hsien, which they reached in the period of (Southern) Ch'i (479-502). This statement appears only in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. In both Mr. Chin's and the Kôdansha reproductions the second character *hsien* is completely missing, while it is clearly to be seen in my photograph. The character is by the same hand as the rest of text and there is no doubt that it is original. Previously, when I studied the reproduction published by Mr. Chin, I had wondered whether this *Mo*? represented Mo-shui (the river Mo or \*Wah), *Mo-ch'u* 莫藟 (the River Wakhshu), or Mo-nan (south of the River Mo or \*Wah), \*Wah or Wakhshu meaning the River Amu.<sup>13)</sup> When I found *Mo-hsien* 莫猷 in my photograph, I first thought that it would represent (Sa)markan(d).<sup>14)</sup> Seeing, however, that the basin of the River Amu formed the most important part of the domain of the Ephthalites, and that Hua is to be located in the basin of the Hârî-Rûd to the south of the River Amu, I should now like to propose that *Mo-hsien* is a scribal error for *Mo-yu*, 莫猷 \*mâk-shu, which is an obvious transcription of Wakhshu.

If this emendation is accepted, the Hua moved from the region of Jimsa, made themselves independent of the Jui-jui and established their new empire in the basin of the River Amu during the (Southern) Ch'i period, which lasted

from May 479 to 3rd May, 502. The truth is, however, that the Ephthalites had occupied the basin of the River Amu as early as 457, when they supported the Sassanian emperor Pêrôz (457 and 459-484), who contested the throne with his brother Hormizd III (457-459).<sup>15)</sup> The intervention of the Ephthalites in the war of succession between Pêrôz and Hormizd III is placed between 457 and 459. This means that the Ephthalites had settled in the basin of the Amu, bordering on the frontier of Persia and intervened in the affairs of the Sassanids twenty years before the establishment of the Southern Ch'i dynasty. Thus, from a chronological point of view, the statement of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* cannot be accepted.

Why then was so erroneous a statement made? As I said above, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* undoubtedly copied the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* in identifying the ancestor of the Hua with Pa-hua, a member of the royal family of Ch'e-shih hou-wang-kuo (or Ch'e-shih hou-pu) under the Later Han, which was simply a forced identification. The territory of Ch'e-shih hou-wang-kuo of the Later Han formed part of the territory of the Jui-jui during Northern Wei. The *Pei-shih* Bk. 97 (cf. *Wei-shu*, c. 101) states that the country of Ch'e-shih is also named Ch'ien-pu (Anterior); its king has his residence at Chiao-ho-ch'eng 交河城(mod. Yarkhoto), which is situated at a distance of 10,050 *li* from Tai, the capital of Northern Wei; and the country borders on the frontier of the Juan-juan 蠕蠕 (= the Jui-jui) in the north. This means that the region of Ch'e-shih hou-pu (*i.e.* Posterior Ch'e-shih) or Ch'e-shih hou-wang-kuo was part of the territory of the Juan-juan during Northern Wei to which Ch'e-shih sent embassies from 423 to 451. The Juan-juan then extended their territory as far as the Turfan Basin, annexing Ch'e-shih, and conquering Kao-ch'ang 高昌 (Qarakhoja) to the south of Ch'e-shih in 460.<sup>16)</sup>

The Juan-juan had, however, to abandon the region of Ch'e-shih hou-pu, as well as the Turfan Basin, because of the rise of the Kao-ch'e 高車 or Ting-ling 丁零 tribe. The Kao-ch'e, which had been under the rule of the Juan-juan became powerful enough to gain its independence and establish its headquarters in the region of the Ch'e-shih hou-pu. Even Shan-shan 鄯善 and Yü-t'ien (Khotan) came under its control.<sup>17)</sup> The independence of the Kao-ch'e was gained either at the end of 485 or, at the latest, at the beginning of 486,<sup>18)</sup> and their conquest of both Shan-shan and Yü-t'ien took place before the mission of Chiang Ching-hsüan 江景玄 who was sent to the Juan-juan sometime between 491 and 493.<sup>19)</sup> If we take into consideration these changes in the political situation of Ch'e-shih hou-pu or Ch'e-shih hou-wang-kuo, it is quite easy to guess that the Hua, as the presumed descendants of Pa-hua, were considered to have moved from Ch'e-shih hou-pu, which had been under the rule of the Juan-juan, to the basin of the River Amu at the time of the conquest of Ch'e-shih hou-pu by the Kao-ch'e. The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* states that the Hua had been under the rule of the Jui-jui, when the capital of Northern Wei was situated in the valley of the Sang-kan, *i.e.* Tai or P'ing-

ch'eng. Since the Northern Wei shifted their capital from P'ing-ch'êng to Lo-yang in 495, about ten years after the independence of the Kao-ch'e from the Juan-juan or Jui-jui, it is obvious that the compilers of the *Fang-kuo shih-t'u* and the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* regarded the independence of the *Kao-ch'e* as closely related to the so-called westward migration of the Hua. In other words, they tried to explain how and when the Hua moved from Ch'e-shih hou-pu, which they had identified as the native area of the Hua, to the basin of the River Amu, where the Hua settled in the Liang period. There is, however, no factual evidence to support such an explanation. Since the theory of the Ch'e-shih hou-pu origin of the Hua is without foundation, the story of their migration from Ch'e-shih hou-pu to the basin of the River Amu must have been a fabrication of the compilers.

In fact, there is a similar explanation given in the case of the Po-t'i 白題. The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* contains the following statement about this country: "The Po-t'i are a kindred tribe of the Hsiung-nu living in their neighbourhood. At the beginning of Han, [Kuan Ying 灌嬰] fought with the Hsiung-nu and killed one Po-t'i horseman. At present, they situated at a distance of sixty days' (the *Liang-shu* reads 'six days') journey to the east of Hua (= Ghur)". This is also based on the *Fang-kuo-shih-t'u* of P'ei Tzū-yeh. The biography of P'ei Tzū-yeh states that, when embassies came to the Liang court from the Po-t'i, P'ei Tzū-yeh identified them with the Po-t'i, of which a general was killed by Ying-yin-hou or the Marquis of Ying-yin (= Kuan Ying). Once again, he was admired for his wide knowledge by those who knew nothing about the country of the Po-t'i. In fact, it is recorded in the biography of Kuan Ying in the *Shih-chi* (Bk. 95) and the *Han-shu* (Bk. 41) that a soldier under the command of Kuan Ying killed a general of the Hsiung-nu named Po-t'i, during fighting with the Hsiung-nu soldiers of Han Hsin 韓信 at Chin-yang (mod. T'ai-yüan, Shansi). Fu Ch'ien, the commentator to the *Shih-chi* explains Po-t'i as the name of the Hsiung-nu general. Thus the same kind of forced identification is made as in the case of the migration of the Hua.

Po-t'i is a Chinese transcription of Bakhdi (mod. Balkh), which, as the name of a country, has nothing to do with General Po-t'i, killed by a soldier of Kuan Ying at the beginning of the Han. The expression "at present" also clearly shows that the compiler wanted to call the reader's attention to the fact that the descendants of Po-t'i who fought at Chin-yang in China had shifted to a place east of Hua and were settled there in his time, *i.e.* the Liang period. The only difference from the statement about the Hua is that the compiler possessed no piece of information from which he could invent a story to account for the migration of the Po-t'i.

Thus the statement of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* on the Ch'e-shih hou-pu origin of the Ephthalites, as well as the story of their move to Mo-hsien (emend to Mo-yu = Wakhshu = the River Amu), where they are said to have

stayed from the Ch'i to the Liang period, cannot be considered fact but an invention probably of P'ei Tzŭ-yeh.

The rest of the account of the country of the Hua and of its intercourse with Liang in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* is more or less the same as in the *Liang-shu*. There are, however, four points which do not appear in the current edition<sup>20)</sup> of the *Liang-shu*. The first is that the Ephthalites enslaved the kings of the small countries which they conquered. The second is that three names of Ephthalites envoys to the court of Liang in 516 and '20 are given: P'u-to-ta-? 蒲多達(?) in 516 and Fu-ho-liao-liao 富何了了 and K'ang-fu-chen-t'ung 康竹真同 in 520.<sup>21)</sup> Thirdly, there is the description of the hair and costume of the envoy, and fourthly, there is the picture of the envoy himself, painted at the head of the present scroll. The last three features are of very great importance for determining the language and nationality of the Ephthalites. A discussion of these will be given in an English translation with commentary of the whole text of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, which I plan to publish in the near future. (Reprinted from the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 1 & 2, December, 1970)

#### Appendix II: Li Kung-lin's 李公麟 Note on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

Li Kung-lin 李公麟 (1049–1106) was a famous scholar and painter at the end of Northern Sung. His tzŭ was Po-shih 伯時 and hao Lung-mien 龍眠. He was also an excellent appreciator of pictorial works and made copies of many ancient pictures. The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* was one of the works copied by him, concerning which he made a note. Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223–1296) records Li Kung-lin's note in his *Yü-hai* 玉海, Bk. 56, as follows:

李公麟有帖。云，梁元帝鎮荊州作職貢圖。首虜而終蠻。凡三十餘國。今纔二十有二。其一曰魯國。南史及通典，太平御覽，皆無魯國與丙丙國。其下二十國則有之。河南，中天竺，師子，北天竺，渴盤陀，武興蕃，滑，波斯，百濟，龜茲，倭，因古柯，呵跋檀，胡蜜丹，白題，末，林邑，婆利，宕昌，狼牙脩。皆朝貢於梁者。武帝紀中，又有扶南，鄧至，于闐，蠕蠕，高麗，于阇利，新羅，盤盤，丹丹九國。豈圖之所遺邪。亦不見所謂蠶者。疑丙丙與芮芮相類。卽蠕蠕也。

However, Wang Ying-lin copied the note made by Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 (1137–1213), of which Li Kung-lin's note occupies only a part. This is very clear if one refers to Lou Yüeh's note on the *chih-kung-t'u* brought to him for his appreciation by his friend Fu ch'in-fu 傅欽甫 which is reproduced in Appendix III. As to the actual Li Kung-lin's note in the above statement of *Yü-hai*, it is only the passage at the very beginning, which runs as follows:



梁元帝鎮荊州作職貢圖。首虜而終種。凡三十餘國。

the rest being the description made by Lou Yüeh. Lou Yüeh quotes two more passages from Li Kung-li's note, one of which expresses Li Kung-li's regret at the unskilfulness of his copying the genius of the Emperor Yüan-ti 恨筆墨凡惡而未究真 and the other says that the Emperor Yüan-ti painted the manners and customs of foreign people 狀其形而識其土俗。

Li Kung-lin himself painted a scroll of ten foreign countries under the title *Shih-kuo-t'u* 十國圖, to which Liu K'o-chuang 劉克莊 (1187-1269) wrote a postscript or colophon.

According to Liu K'o-chuang, the *Shih-kuo-t'u* consists of pictures of Japan 日本, Khotan 于闐, Country of people with three eyes 三瞳子, Indochina 日南, Byzantium 拂菻, Country of Women 女國, Kirghiz 堅昆, Persia 波斯, and one more country of which the name is unknown. Liu K'o-chuang rejects the traditional view which attributes the authorship of the original picture copied by Li Kung-li to Wu Tao-tzū 吳道子, famous painter of T'ang, as false and attributes it to the Emperor Yüan-ti of Liang. But, seeing that among the ten countries painted in the scroll, such countries as Khotan, Indochina, Byzantium, the country of Women, Kirghiz and the country of Three Eyed people are not contained in the *chih-kung-t'u* of the Emperor Yüan-ti, it is very unlikely that the original picture of *Shih-kuo-t'u* was painted by the Emperor Yüan-ti. For the reference of readers, Liu K'o-chuang's postscript is reproduced here from the *Hou-ts'un t'i-pa* 後村題跋, Bk. 4 (*Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書 edition).

#### 李伯時畫十國圖

十國者，日本即倭國，于闐在蔥嶺北，三瞳國人眼皆有三睛，童瞳通用，此誤題爲三瞳，日南古越裳氏，唐爲驩州，天竺即漢身毒國，拂菻一名大秦，一名犁鞞，女國有二，一在扶桑東，一在蔥嶺南，堅昆在康居西北，波斯在達曷水之西，又一國失其名。皆去漢唐舊都萬餘里。然日本、日南、波斯，至今猶與中國相關。則所圖亦非虛幻恍惚意貌爲之者。其王或蓬首席地，或戎服踞坐，或剪髮露肝，或丫鬢跣行，或與羣下接膝而飲，或瞑目酣醉，曲盡鄙野乞索之態。惟天竺者，乘象往來。國俗皆然。不必文殊普賢也。荒遠小夷，非有衣冠禮樂之教。而其國人所以奉其主者甚恭。或執蓋，或奏伎，或獻寶，或雜舞，或膜拜，或進酒，或扶上鞍，其筵簫鼓笛樽罍牲果之類，亦與今同。又一國不知名者，爲鷲獸將犯穹廬，或張弓抽矢，或徒手欲搏之狀。華人尊君親上無以加也。畫外國人物，非一家精妙鮮有及此。舊題云，李伯時學吳道子畫。按梁元帝自畫職貢圖。至唐猶存。似非道子作古。竊意此畫源流甚遠，留觀數日。以歸竹谿。

**Appendix III:** Lou Yüeh's 樓鑰 Note on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* brought to him by his friend Fu Ch'in-fu.

Lou Yüeh 樓鑰 made a long note on the *chih-kung-t'u* brought to him for his appreciation by his friend Fu Ch'in-fu 傅欽甫 who held the office of chêng-tzŭ 正字 or proof-reader. The note is reproduced in the *Kung-k'uei chi* 攻媿集, Bk. 75 or in the *Kung-kuei t'i-pa* 攻媿題跋 Bk. 7 (edition *Shih-yüan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書). Lou Yüeh is of opinion that the *chih-kung-t'u* brought to him is a copy made by Li Kung-lin 李公麟 (from the original of Hsiao I). He says that the scroll contains pictures of (embassies of) twenty-two countries, which are listed on page 95-96 of this article. Among these twenty-two countries, there are five which are not recorded in any other descriptions concerning the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. They are Lu-kuo 魯國 which may be a scribal error for Lin-kuo 稟國, that is to say, an abbreviated form of Fu-lin-kuo 拂稟國 representing Frôm or Byzantium, Ping-ping 丙丙, which, as Lou Yüeh has suggested, may also be a scribal error for Jui-jui 芮芮, generally identified with Avars, Ho-nan 河南, that is to say, T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾, Lin-i 林邑 or Champa in Indochina, and P'o-li 婆利 which is probably identical with Bali. Yen 蠻 which Li Kung-lin is said to have seen at the end of *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, according to the statement of Lou Yüeh and the *Yü-hai*, may probably designate a tribe named Chien-ping-yen 建平蠻 who lived in the region of Chien-ping or what is now Wu-shan 巫山 in the province of Ssü-ch'uan 四川. In the *chih-kung-t'u* inspected by Sung Lien 宋濂 nine countries were described, one of which was Chien-ping-yen 建平蠻. This will confirm the Yen's 蠻 identity with Chien-ping-yen in spite of a small difference of character. On this, see the Appendix IV. It is quite likely that these four countries were painted by the Emperor Yüan in his *chih-kung-t'u*.

跋傅欽甫所藏職貢圖

河南，出鮮卑慕容氏。吐谷渾之後也。地在河南。古之流沙也。梁天監元年，遣使朝貢，獻瑪瑙鍾。後或歲再三至，或再歲一至。

中天竺國，一名身毒。天監初，其王屈多遣使，獻琉璃唾壺等。

師子國。大通元年，其王迦葉伽羅訶黎邪〔遣〕使貢獻。

北天竺國，天監三年，遣使朝貢。

渴盤陀國，于闐中小國也。中大通元年，始通江左，遣〔使〕獻方物。

武興蕃國，本仇池。天監初，封武都王。後以為東益州。

滑國，車師之別種。天監十五年，其王厭帶夷栗陁遣使獻方物。

波斯國，中大通五年，始通江左。遣使獻佛牙。

百濟國，東夷三韓，馬韓有五十四國。百濟其一也。天監十一年，遣使朝貢。

龜茲國，西域之舊國。自晉渡江不通。天監元年，遣使朝貢。

倭國。武帝進其王武為征東大將軍。

因古柯國案梁書及南史並作厲古柯國，此因字似誤。阿跋檀國。胡蜜丹國，並滑國之旁小國也。普通元年，使使，隨滑國使，來獻方物。

白題國，匈奴之別種胡也。漢灌嬰與匈奴戰，斬白題騎一人。普通三年，遣使來獻方物。

末國，漢世且末國也。普通五年，始通江左，遣使來貢獻。

林邑國，古之越裳。漢日南郡象林縣。天監九年，其王范天凱奉獻白猴。

婆利國，去廣州二月日行。天監十年案梁書及南史並作天監十六年，遣使奉表獻金席。

宕昌國，西羌種。天監四年，其王梁彌博來獻甘草，當歸。

狼牙脩國，在南海中。去廣州二萬四千里。天監十四年，遣使阿撤多奉表。

右二十國亦有屢至者。姑築其略。

正字傳欽甫攜職貢圖見示。不惟畫筆精好，其上題字亦自合作。李龍眠有帖。云，梁元帝蕭繹鎮荆時，作職貢圖。首虜而終龜。凡三十餘國。今此卷纒二十有二。必有遺脫者，余試攷之。其一曰魯國。使龍眠以爲首虜而此曰魯。豈有誤耶。徧閱南史梁之記傳及通典，太平御覽，皆無魯國與丙丙國。其下二十國則有之。既列於前。皆曾朝貢於梁者也。武帝紀中又有扶南，鄧至，于闐，蠕蠕，高麗，干陁利，新羅，盤盤，丹丹九國。豈圖之所遺耶。亦不見所謂龜者。按，海南諸國晉代通中國者蓋鮮。故不載史官。及宋，齊至梁，其奉正朔修職貢，航海往往而至。自晉氏南渡介居江介〔read 左〕，北荒西裔，隔礙莫通。至於南徼東邊，界壤所接，宋元嘉象浦之捷，威震冥海。於是鞮譯相係，無絕歲。時以泊齊梁，職貢有序。元帝字世誠。武帝第七子也。工書，善畫。自圖宣尼像，爲之贊而書。時人謂之三絕。江陵城陷，聚圖書十餘萬卷，盡燒之。著書甚多。內有職貢圖一卷。此幾是矣。然尙有可疑者。既曰圖書盡燒。何由得傳，使不在煨燼中。去今已六百五十三年。紙之壽雖過於絹素，亦不應尙爾全好。恐是龍眠摹本，前帖卽其自跋也。故又云，恨筆墨凡惡而未究真。此蓋其自謙之辭也。標題小楷，與帖字頗類。疑亦龍眠之筆。又帖云，狀其形而識其土俗。今不見所識。又疑止摹其形也。況龍眠好臨古名畫。如張僧繇善神，李將軍。海岸圖，吳道子，韓幹者尤多。晉天福中，胡嚴徵臨道子善神，亦曾搨未澹巖。張公右丞達明龍眠之甥。亦言，伯時於前人遺跡靡所不叩。則元帝之畫，當是其所臨者。貞觀。開元等印，高下勻布，如出一時。貞觀既在御府。不應百濟之下書顯慶四年減。又內殿圖書內合同印集賢院御書等，雖皆是李後主印。然近世工於臨畫者，僞作古印甚精。玉印至刻滑石爲之。真可亂真也。姑罄所聞，更俟博識之士訂之。噫龍眠之筆，在今日誠不易遇。欽甫寶之。安知他日不獲其餘也。

欽甫云，通鑑宋元嘉二十七年將北伐。詔云，芮芮亦聞遣使遠輸誠款，誓爲犄角。疑丙丙與芮芮相類。恐傳寫之誤。然南史亦無芮芮之名。姑俟詳攷，〔以上第一跋〕

梁書西北諸戎傳，芮芮國蓋匈奴別種。魏晉世匈奴分爲數百千部。各有名號。芮芮其一部也。自元魏南遷，因擅其故地。宋引之，共伐魏。天監十四年，遣使獻貂裘。是後數歲一至。貞觀中，中書舍人裴孝源公私畫錄云，梁元帝畫六

卷並有題印。卻不及此。又云，職貢圖三卷，江僧寶畫。隋朝官本。亦有陳梁年號。名畫記云，元帝畫職貢圖，并序外國貢事。又梁書云，任荆時，畫番客入朝圖。下元日，再書以助博聞。

初疑，芮芮恐是蠕蠕。北史蠕蠕傳甚詳。攷之不見，而南史蠕蠕傳與梁史芮芮傳，首尾止二百餘字，事絕相類，乃知芮芮果蠕蠕也。蠕蠕貢獻，已見前跋。在武帝紀中，因併書之。〔以上第二跋〕

#### Appendix IV: Sung Lien's 宋濂 Note on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

Sung Lien 宋濂 (1310-1381), eminent scholar-official and literary figure (Dictionary of *Ming Biography*, p. 1225), made a long remark on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* of the Emperor Yüan-ti (*Sung hsieh-shih chi* 宋學士集, Bk. 12).

There are three kinds of collection of his literary works, in which this remark is included. The first is the *Sung hsieh-shih chi* 宋學士集, Bk. 12, published in the *Chin-hua ts'ung-shu* 金華叢書, the second is the *Hsin-k'an Sung hsieh-shih chi* 新刊宋學士集, printed in Japan in the pre-Meiji period, and the third is the *Sung Wên-hsien-kung chi* 宋文憲公集, Bk. 12, edited by Fu Hsü-yüan 傅旭元 and others. Among these three, the last one which is unreliable because of scribal changes given to the text. So the following quotation was made from the first one. The second one printed in Japan may be based on the same text as the first one, but Bk. 12 of this edition which at my hand is written by hand and contains a lot of scribal errors.

The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* examined by Sung Lien was painted on silk and contains pictures of nine countries which are as follows: 且末·中天竺·訶羅·北天竺·渴槃陀·武興蠻·高昌·建平蠻 and 臨江蠻. However, Sung Lien criticized this scroll which can not be looked upon as the work of the Emperor Yüan-ti of Liang for the following four reasons: (1) There is no reliable evidence that the Emperor Yüan-ti actually painted the *chih-kung-t'u*. Though the *Liang-shu* 梁書 or the *Standard History of Liang* and the *Li-tai ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記 say that he himself painted the pictures representing foreign embassies who came to Liang to pay respect to the emperor, but P'ei Hsiao-yüan 裴孝源 does not register any *chih-kung-t'u* among the works of the Emperor Yüan-ti except four items which have nothing to do with the *chih-kung-t'u* (*Chên-kuan (kung-ssü) hua-shih* 貞觀 (公私) 畫史); (2) The Emperor Yüan-ti destroyed his huge library consisting of more than fourteen hundred thousands of books, as well as all of his writing including pictures in Ching-mên 荆門 or Chiang-liang 江陵, which was his capital, when he was defeated by the army of the Western Wei and his relatives against him. It means that it is quite unlikely that the *chih-kung-t'u*, even if he really painted it, could survive the destruction and came down to later period; (3) The

number of countries painted in the *chih-kung-t'u* is not fixed. Li Lung-mien (= Li Kung-lin) says as more than thirty, while the *chih-kung-t'u* in the collection of Fu Ch'in-fu 傅欽甫 only twenty-two. The scroll examined by him contains only nine countries. Moreover, these countries would not have been able to send embassies from abroad to Liang covering a lot of waters. It shows that there were so many *chih-kung-t'u* and no one can identify which one is the true *chih-kung-t'u*; (4) The inscriptions of the scroll were made in the third year of Kuang-shun 廣順 (953) by T'ao Ku 陶穀 (903–970)<sup>22</sup> as is clearly inscribed on the scroll. Then, why is it possible for the Emperor Yüan-ti to leave the open space left on the scroll so that T'ao could make inscriptions there about four hundred years later?

These four reasons, however, do not make sense. As to the first, when the *Liang-shu* and *Li-tai ming-hua-chi* state that the Emperor Yüan-ti made *chih-kung-t'u*, why Sung Lien can deny it on the basis of P'ei Hsiao-yüan who does not mention of it, which may only mean that the *chih-kung-t'u* was not available in both imperial and private collections known to P'ei Hsiao-yüan. Does it mean that no *Liang chih-kung-t'u* existed in the whole region of the T'ang China and that Emperor Yüan-ti never painted such a kind of work? As to the second, some of the writings of Emperor Yüan-ti still exist even today. It is very strange that such an eminent scholar as Sung Lien did not know of the *I-wên lei-chü* 藝文類聚 in which so many passages are quoted from so many writings of this eminent emperor of Liang, which means that so many works were still available at the time when Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 edited the book at the beginning of T'ang (completed in 624). Sung Lien's reasoning is senseless. The third and the fourth reasons just mean that so many copies were made especially during the Sung.

Chiao Hung's 焦贛 (1541–1620) *Kuo-shih ching-chi chih* 國史經籍志, Bk. 3, registers *Chih-kung-t'u* 職貢圖 in one *chüan* by Emperor Yüan of Liang and *Chih-kung-t'u* in three *chüan*, of which no author is given. As these two books are registered by Cheng Ch'iao 鄭樵 (*T'ung-chih* 通志, Bk. 66) just in the same order, it looks like that Chiao Hung just copied the *T'ung-chih*. But, the fact that Sung Lien had a look at the so-called *chih-kung-t'u* of Liang, it is not unlikely that Chiao Hung actually saw the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which was probably a copy made by someone in later years.

Anyway, Sung Lien's description is interesting as a proof that a copy of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* made in the tenth century was available at the beginning of Ming.

#### 題梁元帝畫職貢圖

梁元帝職貢圖一卷。自且末，中天竺，師子，北天竺，渴槃陀，武興番，高昌及建平蠻，臨江蠻，凡九國。前圖使者形狀，後列其土俗貢獻歲月。而各國咸如之。絹素剝蝕，幾若不可觸。古誠古矣。然猶有可辯者。據梁元帝，卽蕭繹。其字世誠。武帝第七子也。梁書稱，其任荆日畫番客入朝圖。名畫記遂因其說

亦云，畫職貢圖，并序外國貢事。又據裴孝源公私畫錄所載，梁元帝畫，六卷，並有題印。而無職貢圖。又云，職貢圖三卷，江僧寶畫。乃隋朝官本。上有陳、梁年號。後來議者謂，裴貞觀中人，官為中書舍人。距繹時尚未遠。其言當可徵。洛陽任子羔一祖裴說而駁史氏之妄。踰數百年，則此圖已不能定於何人所作矣。況繹以湘東王鎮江陵，與岳陽王詵互相攻戰，曾無寧日。詵遂降魏。魏遣柱國於謹取江陵。繹焚古今圖書十四萬卷，歎曰：文武之道今夕盡矣。繹尋遇害。竊計其時，繹亦何暇娛情於繪畫之事。脫誠有之，亦與十四萬卷同歸灰燼矣。惡能至於今日哉。此濂之所未喻也。又據李龍眠手帖云，梁職貢圖首虜而終蠻。凡三十餘國。而所謂三十餘國又皆不與史合。自晉氏渡江，南北分統，北虜豈能越海而來貢邪。嗜古之家又謂，此圖唯傅正字欽父所藏者為真。首河南而終狼牙修。凡二十二國。其國與龍眠所言又有同異。且似疑龍眠首虜之說。而易虜為魯，魯乃伯禽之裔，東表元侯之國，四裔之中，亦豈有所謂魯邪。今以此卷較之傳本，又絕不同。均號職貢圖。而乃復參差如此。此又濂之所未喻也。又據此卷，題曰梁元帝畫，每段所寫土俗貢獻之事，則云陶學士書。豈繹畫此時特留餘地而候陶之書邪。此又姑置之。陶自跋其後，初書廣順三年云云，中間字多麤爛。不可屬讀。後復書云，夏五月二十九日，汴上雨中，書北海。陶穀時具位珥貂三載也。據陶名穀，字秀實。邪之新平郡人。邪即豳也。古在雍州之域。漢屬安定北地郡。漢末置新平郡。今易北地為北海。亦當有其說邪。陶起家校書郎，在周為翰林學士，入宋歷禮刑戶部三尚書，遷承旨。年六十八卒。贈右僕射。陶嘗自言，頭骨當珥貂。因人笑之，自悔不復言：況在翰林日初不珥貂。安肯自書以衒人邪。陶博學善記，以辭翰擅一世。今所書字形體窘束，絕無俊逸之氣，頗類書經手所為。觀其書，佛作仏，壻作聶。蓋未能猝變者。此又濂之所未喻也。然其畫意渾璞而無世俗纖陋之態。固不得為真梁物，要亦為宋代名筆所作，世之粗工塗青抹紅以欺人者，見之必循牆而避矣。濂與王君子充同觀青溪上。偶因吻創在告。援筆題之，不覺其辭之多也。

#### Appendix V: List of Reproductions of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*

- (1) *Wên-wu* 文物, 1960, 7, pp. 14-17.
- (2) *Sekai bijutsu taikei* 世界美術大系, Vol. 8, pp. 124-126, published by Kôdansha 講談社, 1963.
- (3) *Chûgoku Rekishi Hakubutsukan* 中國歷史博物館 (*Museums of History of China*), In: *Chûgoku no Hakubutsukan* 中國の博物館 (*Museums in China*), Vol. 5, Tokyo: Kôdansha 講談社, 1982, Plate No. 158 with Comments on pp. 234-235.

Appendix VI: List of Articles concerning the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

- (1) Chin, Wei-no 金維諾, *Chih-kung-t'u ti nien-tai yü tso-che—Tu-hua cha-chi* 職貢圖的年代與作者—讀畫札記 (*On the date and author of the Chih-kung-t'u—Notes of studies on pictures*), In: *Wên-wu* 文物, 1960, No. 7, pp. 14–17.
- (2) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *Ryôshokkôzu ni tsuite* 梁職貢圖について (*On the Liang chih-kung-t'u*), In: *Tôhógaku* 東方學, No. 26, 1963 pp. 31–46.
- (3) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *Kakkoku ni kansuru Ryôshokkôzu no kiji ni tsuite* 滑國に關する梁職貢圖の記事について (*On the descriptions of the Liang chih-kung-t'u on the country of Hua or the Ephthalites*), In: *Tôhógaku* 東方學, No. 27, 1964, pp. 12–33.
- (4) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, “*Ryôshokkôzu ni tsuite*” no hoki 「梁職貢圖について」の補記 (*Supplementary notes to the article entitled “On the Liang chih-kung-t'u”*), In: *Tôhógaku* 東方學, No. 27, 1964, p. 23.
- (5) Nishijima, Sadao 西嶋定生, *Ryôshokkôzu kaisetsu* 梁職貢圖解説 (*What is the Liang chih-kung-t'u?*), In: *Chûgoku Bijutsu* 中國美術, *Sekai Bijutsu Taikei* 世界美術大系 Vol. 8, published by the Kôdansha 講談社, 1963, pp. 124–126.
- (6) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *Ehutaru no jinshuron ni tsuite* エフタルの人種論について (*Who were the Ephthalites? Their racial problem*), In: *Tôhógaku* 東方學, No. 29, 1965, pp. 1–29.
- (7) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *Chinchô subeki hûzokuga Ryôshokkôzu ni tsuite* 珍重すべき風俗畫梁職貢圖について (*On the Liang chih-kung-t'u which is a series of precious and interesting genre pictures*), In: *Gekkan Kyôiku* 月刊教育, Vol. 13, No. 22, 1964, pp. 8–9.
- (8) Lee, Hong-jik 李弘植, *On the “Pictures of Envoys of Tributary States (職貢圖) in the Days of the Liang (梁) Dynasty of China—Especially on the Paekch'e (百濟) Envoy's Picture and Record Thereof—*, In: the 高麗大學校60周年記念論文集〈人文科學篇〉(*A Collection of articles to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the establishment of the Kao-li University, Section on Humanity*), (in Korean), Seoul, 1965, pp. 295–329, with two pictures of envoys of Po-chi 百濟 and Wei-kuo 倭國.
- (9) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *Ryôshokkôzu no ruden ni tsuite* 梁職貢圖の流傳について (*On the transmission and diffusion of the Liang chih-kung-t'u*), In: *Kamata Hakase Kanreki-kinen Rekishigaku ronsô* 鎌田博士還曆記念歴史學論叢 (*A Collection of articles of historical studies dedicated to Professor Dr. Shigeo Kamata on his sixtieth birthday*), Tokyo, 1969, pp. 131–144.

- (10) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *The Liang chih-kung-t'u on the origin and migration of the Hua or Ephthalites*, In: *Journal of the Oriental Studies of Australia*, Vol. 7, No. 1/2, December, 1970, pp. 37-45.
- (11) Enoki, Kazuo 榎一雄, *The Oldest Portrait of a Japanese*, In: *Revista de História*, No. 102, 1975, pp. 539-550.

## NOTES

## Chapter I:

- 1) 唐會要, 卷六三, 史館上, 諸司應送史館事例。  
祥瑞, 禮部每季具錄送, 天文祥異, 太史每季所占候祥驗同報, 蕃國朝貢, 每使至, 鴻臚勘問土地風俗, 衣服貢獻, 道里遠近, 并其主名字報, (下略)  
(edition *Kuo-hsieh chi-pên ts'ung-shu* 國學基本叢書, p. 1089)
- 2) 唐六典, 卷之五, 職方,  
郎中員外郎, 掌天下之地圖及城隍鎮戍烽候之數, 辨其邦國都鄙之遠邇及四夷之歸化者。凡地圖, 掌州府, 三年一造, 造與板籍, 偕上省。其外夷, 每有番客到京, 委鴻臚, 訊其人本國山川風土爲圖以奏焉。副上於省。(下略) (edition collated by Ichiro Konoe 近衛家熙, Bk. 5, fol. 30 v.)
- 3) 舊唐書, 卷四三, 兵部, 職方,  
郎中一員, 員外郎一員, (中略), 郎中·員外郎之職, 掌天下地圖及城隍·鎮戍·烽候之數, 辨其邦國都鄙之遠近及四夷之歸化。(下略) (Po-na-pên 百衲本 minimized edition 縮印百衲本, p. 495)
- 4) 新唐書, 卷四六, 兵部, 職方,  
郎中·員外郎各一人。掌地圖·城隍·鎮戍·烽候·防人·道路之遠近及四夷歸化之事。凡圖經非州縣增廢, 五年乃脩。歲與版籍偕上。凡蕃客主, 鴻臚訊其國山川風土爲圖奏之, 副上於職方。殊俗入朝者, 圖其容狀衣服以聞。(Po-na-pên minimized edition, p. 319)
- 5) As to the *Wai-kuo-t'u* made by the suggestion of Yen Shih-ku, see Chang Yüan-yüan 張彥遠, *Li-tai ming-hua-chi* 歷代名畫記, Bk. 3, which attributes the painting to Yen Li-pên.
- 6) As to the *Wang-hui-t'u* made by the suggestion of Yen Shih-ku, see the *Chiu-T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, Bk. 197, and the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, Bk. 99, and the *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜, Bk. 1. Also see the poem of Su Shi 蘇軾 or Su Tung-po 蘇東坡, entitled *Yen Li-pên chih-kung-t'u* 閻立本職貢圖 in the 增刊校正王狀元集注分類東坡先生詩, Bk. 13, and Bk. 13, and Shih Shêng-tzū's 史繩祖 comments on the poem in the *Hsieh-chai chan-pi* 學齋佔筆, Bk. 2, under the title *On the difference between Wang-hui-t'u and Chih-kung-t'u* 王會貢職兩圖之異. Yen Li-pên is also recorded as to have painted *Hsi-yü chu-kuo fêng-wu t'u* 西域諸國風物圖 or the Illustrated Accounts of Scenery of Western Countries in the *T'ung-chih* 通志, Bk. 66, I-wên-lüeh 藝文略.
- 7) The *Hsi-chia-ssü chao-kung t'u-chuan* is also called *Hsia-chia-ssü chao-kung-t'u*. The *Hsin-T'ang-shu*, Bk. 58, records it under the former name and attributes it to Lu Shu, while the *Sung-shih* 宋史, Bk. 204, calls the book *Hsia-chia chao-kung-t'u* and attributes it to Li Tê-yu. According to the *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題, Bk. 5, Li Tê-yu, who knew nothing about the Kirghiz when they sent the embassy, instructed to compile a book entitled the *Ssü-i chao-kung-lu* 四夷朝貢錄 in twenty chüan (later rearranged in ten chüan) which described about two hundred and ten foreign countries. The author was Kao Shao-i 高少逸. Li Tê-yu's preface to the *Hsi-chia chao-kung t'u-chuan* is in his collected works. See *Li Wên-jao wên-chi* 李文饒文集, which is also called the *Hui-ch'ang i-p'in-chi* 會昌一品集, Bk. 2. The preface is entitled 點憂斯朝貢圖傳序. In the same collection of his works, Bk. 18, there is his Memorial to the Emperor to whom he dedicated the work, which is entitled 進點憂斯朝貢圖傳狀. In Bk. 19 there is his Memorial of thanks



to the Emperor who praised his work on the Kirghiz, which is entitled 謝宣示所進點焉斯朝貢圖深愜于懷狀, The *Yü-hai* 玉海, Bks. 56 and 153 may be referred to, too.

- 8) 五代會要; 卷十八, 諸司送史館事例,  
後唐同光二年四月 (May 12-30, 925), 史館奏, 本朝舊例, 中書并起居院諸司及諸道州府, 合錄事件報館如右(左?). (中略) 蕃客朝貢使至, 鴻臚寺勅風俗·衣服·貢獻物色道途遠近, 并具本國王名錄報(後略).
- 9) 宋史卷一六三, (p. 1796), 禮部,  
主客郎中, 員外郎, 掌以賓禮待四夷之朝貢. 凡郊勞, 授館, 宴設, 賜予, 辦其等而以式頒之. 至則圖其衣冠, 書其山川風俗. 有封爵禮命, 則承詔頒付. (後略)
- 10) The *Sung-hui-yao chih-kao*, *Chih-kuan*, 13, p. 2687, quotes the *Standard History of the Emperor Shên-tsung*, which runs as follows:  
神宗正史, 職官志, 主客郎中, 員外郎, 參掌諸蕃國朝貢. 凡本司所治之所事, 契丹國遣使朝賀, 應接送館, 伴官所用饌物, 皆預令有司爲之辦具. 高麗亞契丹. 其餘蕃國, 則按其等差, 以式給之. 至則圖其形像, 圖其形像, 書其山川風俗. 若有封爵禮命之事, 則承詔頒付.

It is clear that the *Sung-shih* quoted in Note (9) is taken from the *Shêng-tsung chêng-shih* here quoted.

The *Sung-hui-yao chih-kao*, *Chih-kuan*, 35, p. 3016, under *Ssü-fang-kuan* 四方館, 35, p. 3016, states as follows:

(慶曆)六年九月十七日 (October 25, 1046), 史館言, 每外夷人入見, 其管伴所申送國邑風俗形貌圖軸外, 其夏國囊霄人使, 每入朝貢, 未見引伴官司供到文字. 欲乞下四方館, 牒報引伴夏國官員, 依外夷入見令, 詢問國邑風俗, 道途遠近, 及寫衣冠形貌兩本, 一以進呈, 一送史館. 從之.

(慶曆)七年四月二十七日 (May 30, 1047), 入內內侍省言, 乞下四方館勘會, 已曾差人進奉去處, 更不須寫形貌. 差有異國創初差人進奉去處, 到闕即令潛高, 令本處子佃保明, 報館伴使臣. 從之.

Concerning the *Wei-i ju-chiang-li* 外夷入見令 appeared in the second quotation, see my short note in the *Tôhógaku* 東方學, Vol. 27, 1964, p. 21.

- 11) 元史, 卷一五, p. 177, 元二十五年三月壬寅, 禮部言, 會同館蕃夷使者時至, 宜令有司做古職貢圖, 繪而爲圖, 及詢其風俗土產, 去國里程, 籍而錄之. 實一代之盛事. 從之.
- 12) The *Yü-hai*, Bk. 16, says as follows:  
太平興國三年 (978) 正月丁亥, 知廣州李符獻海外諸域圖. 嶺表花木圖各一.  
However, it is not certain whether it was a collection of maps of foreign countries or it also contained pictures of foreign people.
- 13) The *Hsü tzü-chih t'ung-chien chang-pien* 續資治通鑑長編, Bk. 85, under the day of *ken-shên* 庚申 (13) of the ninth month of the eighth year of *Tai-chung* *hsiang-fu* (November 3, 1015), says as follows:  
權判鴻臚寺刊部郎中直史館張復上言, 請纂集大中祥符八年已前朝貢諸國, 續畫其冠服, 采錄其風俗, 爲大宋四裔述職圖, 上表聖主之懷柔, 下以備史臣之廣記. 從之.  
及(張)復以圖來上, 上曰, 二聖已來, 四裔朝貢無虛歲. 何但此也. 乃詔禮儀院增修焉.  
增修乃明年四月  
爲己亥, 今并書.
- The Emperor *Chên-tsung* who was not satisfied with the number of foreign countries described in the catalogue of *Chang Fu*, which he found insufficient, instructed to prepare an augmented edition. The augmented edition was completed next year probably under the same title.

- 14) The *Yü-hai*, Bks. 14 and 160. Actually, it was not a book nor a picture scroll, but a picture or series of pictures painted on a lacquered screen in the palace named *Hsüan-tê*. The pictures represented civil officials and military generals, who contributed to the development and prosperity of the Sung empire, as well as foreign embassies who came to China to pay respect to the Sung emperors. The date of construction of this palace is recorded as either in the first year of *Ch'ien-tao* 乾道 (1165) or of *Ch'un-hsi* 淳熙 (1174).

Here the 1165 theory is taken temporarily.

- 15) The *Yü-hai*, Bk. 16, which records as follows:  
 康定元年 (1217) 九月四日丙辰, 學士王堯臣等上渭川推官魏庭堅所撰四夷龜鑑三十卷.
- 16) The *Sung-shih* 宋史, Bk. 204, p. 2349, registers as 崔峽列國入貢圖二十卷, while the *Yü-hai*, Bk. 16, records on the basis of the *Kuo-shih-chih* 國史志, that is to say, the *I-wên-chih* 藝文志 of the *Kuo-shih*, Tsui Chün's 崔峻 *Hua-i li-kuo ju-kung t'u* 華夷列國入貢圖 in twenty chüan. However, as there were so many *kuo-shih* which were compiled under the Sung (see the *Yü-hai*, Bk. 16), it is not clear which *kuo-shih* was meant here and it is not possible to know the date of Tsui and his picture scrolls.
- 17) In the *Hua-yang kuo-chih* 華陽國志, Bk. 4 (edition *Ssü-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊, fol. 7b; edition 1984 of Pa-shu shu-shê 巴蜀書社, p. 364), it is stated that Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 (181-234) made a series of pictures which he gave to the natives in the region of Ning-chou 寧州 or what is now Hua-ning-hsien 華寧縣 of the Yün-nan 雲南 Province. The first series consisted of pictures of heaven and earth, sun and moon, rulers, and a central city 城府; the second heavenly dragon 神龍, lung-shêng-i 龍生夷 or natives descended from the sacred dragon which they revered as their totem, cows, horses, and sheep; the third the (Chinese) governor in chief 部主吏 who was on horse back and put up an umbrella on his way of inspection of people; and the fourth the natives who took the cows carrying bottles of liquor and treasures of gold on their back to pay respect to the governor. Wang Yung 王庸 is of opinion that the picture scrolls are considered to be a sort of *chih-kung-t'u*. (*Chung-kuo ti-t'u shih-kang* 中國地圖史綱, Peking: San-lien shu-tien 三聯書店, 1953, p. 6). However, the above statement means that Chu-ko Liang made the pictures to let the natives know what the heaven and earth, sun and moon, and so on are like and that the pictures were not to represent the natives themselves nor their manners and customs. So, it is unlikely that the pictures were forerunners of *chih-kung-t'u*.
- 18) According to the *Ssü-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要, Bk. 71, the compilation of the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 was started by the imperial order of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 on the first day of the sixth month of the sixteenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1751.7.23) and finished in the twenty-second year of Ch'ien-lung (1757). The *Ssü-k'u* says that originally it consisted of seven books 七卷, to which one was added later for the reason of increase of country which sent embassies to China. However, seven books must be a mistake for eight books because the *Ssü-k'u* states that the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* is of nine books 九卷. Moreover, judging from the illustrations of the Torgut men and women in the ninth book, it must have been brought to completion sometime after the ninth month of the thirty-sixth year of Ch'ing-lung (1771.10.5) when the Torguts, a Mongolian tribe which removed from western part of Mongolia to the valley of the rivers Volga in 1736, came back to the region of the river Ili and were accepted as subjects to the Ch'ing.

One more correction. The *Ssü-k'u* says that the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* contains more than three hundred kinds of people or tribe, but actually two hundred and eighty-eight.

The *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* is usually known as a book of nine chüan 九卷, but, originally, it was the name given to the scrolls in which were painted the landscape, manners and customs, costume, natural products, and so on of foreign countries or peoples which sent embassies to the court of Ch'ing to pay respect to the emperor. Paintings were usually of one scroll or more than one and were made by one painter or more than one who collaborated with each other. The *Kuo-chao in-hua lu* 國朝院畫錄 prefaced in the twenty-first year of Chia-ch'ing 嘉慶 (1816) and described by Hu Ching 胡敬 states that a *Chih-kung-t'u* in one chüan was painted in collaboration of five painters who were Ting Kuan-p'êng 丁觀鵬, Chia Ch'üan 賈全, Chin Ting-piao 金廷標, Yao Wên-kan 姚文幹, and Ch'êng Liang 程梁. Hu Ching also states of a supplement of *chih-kung-t'u*, entitled

the *Pu chih-kung-t'u* 補職貢圖 in four chüan, which was painted by Chung Yü-tê 莊豫德, Ch'en Huan 沈煥, Li Ming 黎明, Ch'eng Lin 程琳, Ch'en Ch'ing-lan 沈慶蘭, P'ing Ning 馮寧, Chiang Mao-tê 蔣懋德, and Chang Shu 張舒. At the top of the scroll, were inscribed a poem by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung of the date of the seventh month of the thirty-sixth year of Ch'ien-lung (1771) and another poem by the Emperor Chia-ch'ing of the date of the eleventh month of the tenth year of Chia-ch'ing (1805), both of which were followed by several poems of celebration by high officials. According to Hu Ching, the first book of the *Pu chih-kung-t'u* contains seventy-three pictures representing officials, and common people of Korea 朝鮮, Ching-hai 景海, and some other countries; the second sixty pictures of natives of Kuan-tung E-ch'o 廣東鄂綽, Lu-chou 陸州 in the western part of Kuang-hsi Province 廣西省; the third book ninty-two pictures of natives of Ho-chou 河州, Kan-su Province 甘肅省, and Fu-ho-ying 阜和營 of Ssü-ch'uan Province 四川省; the fourth book seventy-eight pictures of natives in Yün-nan 雲南省 and Kuei-chou Provinces 貴州省. When one compares these descriptions with the content of Book nine of the present *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u*, one can easily understand that the latter is a summary or selection of the former. At the time of Hu Ching, the scroll painted by Ting Kuan-p'êng and other four painters, which was preserved in the Ch'ien-ch'ing-tien Palace 乾清殿 had been lost and he could not describe the content of the scroll. (Cf. *Kuo-chao in-hua lu*, Bk. 2, fol. 27r and v.) The *chih-kung-t'u* of Moso tribe in four chüan, painted by Hsieh Sui 謝遂, which is now kept in the Palace Museum in Taipei, shows us what the original form of *chih-kung-t'u* was like. Hsieh Sui was one of the painters belonged to the Picture Academy 畫院 at the time of Ch'ien-lung and is described by Hu Ching as skilful in portrait painting. As to the pictures of the Moso tribe of Hsieh Sui, see the *Ku-kung shu-hua lu* 故宮書畫錄, Bk. 4 (in the second volume of the revised edition, Taipei, 1965, pp. 2279), and the article by Li lin-ts'an 李霖燦 published in the *Ku-kung wên-wu* 故宮文物, Vol. 1, no. 1, 1983, pp. 12-18. Concerning the *Pu Chih-kung-t'u*, see the *Ku-kung shu-hua lu*, pp. 279-284.

- 19) 漢書, 卷九, 元帝本紀, 建昭三年秋, 使護西域騎都尉甘延壽·副校尉陳湯, 橋發戊巳校尉·屯田吏士及西域胡兵, 攻鄯支單于, 冬, 斬其首傳京師, 縣蠻夷邸門。四年春正月, 以誅鄯支單于, 告祠郊廟, 赦天下。群臣上壽。置酒, 以其圖書, 示後宮貴人。
- 20) 王庸, 中國地圖史綱, 北京: 三聯書店, 一九五三年, pp. 5-6.
- 21) 盧良志, 中國地圖學史, 北京: 測繪出版社, 一九八四年, p. 8.
- 22) See, for example, A. R. Davis, *T'ao Yüan-ming: His Works and Their Meaning*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1982, Vol. 1, p. 154, and Vol. II, p. 126.
- 23) For example, *Chao Lan-po so-tsang Shu-hua-lu* 趙蘭坡所藏書畫錄, Bk. I, p. 185 (edition *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu* 美術叢書, (Fourth series, Vol. 10) and *Yün-yen kuo-yen-lu* 雲煙過眼錄, Bk. I, p. 13 (edition *Mei-shu ts'ung-shu*, Second Series).
- 24) Hsiao I or the Emperor Yüan-ti is also known as the author of *Pai-kuo* 百國 in one chüan. The *Yü-hai* 玉海, Bk. 56, quotes the *Ch'ung-wên tsung-mu* 崇文總目, which was the catalogue of books of the imperial libraries of the Northern Sung and compiled in 1041, to the effect that at that time the description of only twenty-seven countries survived. Nothing is known about its content, though *Pai-kuo* did not necessarily mean one hundred countries but perhaps just many countries. Probably, it was another edition of *Liang chih-kung-t'u* without pictures or its enlarged edition by adding many other countries not described in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.
- 25) It is Professor Chou I-liang 周一良 who has discussed in detail the Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of Liang as one of the most eminent rulers China has ever had. In his article *On the Emperor Wu-ti of Liang and his Time* 論梁武帝及其時代 published in the *Chung-hua hsieh-shu lun-wên-chi* 中華學術論文集, Peking: *Chung-hua shu-chü* 中華書局, 1981, pp. 123-154, he discussed seven points as the characteristics of his policy and personality, which are as follows: (1) He gave protection to some members of the royal family of

Chi 齊 which was the proceeding dynasty; (2) he appointed officials of the proceeding dynasty, whom he considered to be of use, to high and important offices of the new government; (3) he attached great importance not only to persons of high birth but also to those who came out of low and poor families, so long as they were considered to be able and useful; (4) in the military operations he was as talented as other founders of contemporary dynasties such as Liu Yü 劉裕 who was the Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 (420-422), founder of the Sung 宋, Hsiao Tao-ch'êng 蕭道成 or the Emperor Kao-ti 高帝 (479-482), founder of the Chi 齊, and Ch'en P'o-hsien 陳霸先 or the Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 (557-559), founder of the Ch'ên 陳; (5) one drawback of his policy in late years of his reign was his too much enthusiasm in Buddhism, which Professor Chou criticized as crazy; and (6) he himself was a good writer who published many books and held in high respect to science; and (7) he was a man of hu-ch'ien 護前, who hated to be criticized as inferior to other persons in rulling of nation and anything else.

I agree to the opinion of Professor Chou except (5). The Emperor Wu-ti of Liang is usually criticized as a crazy Buddhist by general historians who do not make serious researches in his study of Buddhism. He is criticized as crazy only because of the fact that he donated himself to a Buddhist temple 捨身 three times and that the government had to pay so much to take out the emperor of the temple and put him on the throne. However, no researches have been made so far concerning his learning and understanding of Buddhism. I am not in the position to say anything about it, but it seems to me that he intended to establish a new system of Buddhism which he considered to be right and true. So, one must make a new research on his Buddhism from a point of view which should be free from the traditional one.

As to (6), one may add one more fact which should not be neglected, that is to say, he had such eminent sons as Hsiao T'ung 蕭統 who is the editor of *Wên-hsüan* 文選 and Hsiao I 蕭憺 who wrote and compiled so many books including the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*. Hsiao I, who was so much fond of learning, established a huge library which he intentionally set on fire when Ching-chou 江陵 or what is now Chiang-liang 荊州, where the capital was situated, was attacked in 554 by the army of the Western Wei 西魏 and one of his relatives hostile to him. He was a very good writer, skilful calligrapher and painter. He is, therefore, another subject to be investigated anew.

The Emperor Wu-ti also made some reform in the currency system. As to the reform, see Professor Ochi Shigeaki's 越智重明 article entitled *Ryô jidai no Kahei Ryûtsû o megutte* 梁時代の貨幣流通をめぐって (Concerning some reform of currency system made by the Emperor Wu-ti of Liang), In: *Tôyôshi Kenkyû* 東洋史研究, Vol. 43, no. 3, 1984, pp. 460-485.

## Chapter II:

- 1) F. Hirth, *Ueber die chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntnis Central-Asiens unter der Herrschaft der Sassaniden etwa der Zeit 500 bis 650*, In: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. 10, 1896; p. 227: *Do.*, *Ueber die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte der chinesischen Malerei von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum 14. Jahrhundert*, München & Leipzig: G. Hirth's Verlag, 1897, p. 10: *Do.*, *Native Sources for the History of Chinese Pictorial Art*, revised edition, New York, 1917, p. 7: *Do.*, *Biographical Notes on some Chinese Ancient Painters*, In: *T'oung Pao*, 1905, p. 434: Fritz Jäger, *Leben und Werk des P'ei Kû. Ein Kapitel aus der chinesischen Kolonialgeschichte*, II, In: *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, IX, 1920/1922, pp. 216-218: P. Pelliot, *Notes sur quelques artistes des Six Dynasties et des T'ang*, In: *T'oung Pao*, 1923, p. 265 note: K. Shiratori, *A New Attempt at the Solution of the Fu-lin Problem*, In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 15, 1956, pp. 250-253 (= K. Shiratori *Saikiishi Kenkyû* 西域史研究, new edition, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1981, pp. 503-508).
- 2) The Preface is also published in Yen K'e-chün 嚴可均, ed. by, 全梁文, Bk. 17, and Wang

- Mo王謨, ed. by, 漢唐地理書鈔 (中華書局影印本, p. 187)
- 3) Annals of Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of the *Liang-shu* 梁書 and of Emperor Yüan-ti 元帝.
  - 4) This is according to the passage of the *Nan-shih* 南史 and of the *Liang-shu* 梁書, quoted in the *Yü-hai* 玉海, Bk. 152, under the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* 梁職貢圖. However, there is no such a passage in the current edition of *Nan-shih* and *Liang-shu*.
  - 5) Chien Liang-fu 姜亮夫, ed. by and corrected by T'ao Ch'iu-ying 陶秋英, *Li-tai jên-wu nien-li pei-chuan tsung-piao* 歷代人物年里碑傳綜表, Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü 中華書局, 1959, p. 118.
  - 6) See Wang Tsung-chi 王宗稷, *Tung-p'o nien-p'u* 東坡年譜.
  - 7) The Annals of the Emperor Chê-tsung 哲宗 of the *Sung-shih* 宋史.
  - 8) As to the biography of Li Kung-lin, see the *Sung-shih* 宋史, Bk. 444. The date of his birth and death is based on *A Sung Bibliography*, Hong Kong, 1978, p. 269.
  - 9) See the *Yü-hai*, Bk. 52: *Shan-t'ang k'ao-so* 山堂考索, Bk. 19; and the *Wên-hsien t'ung-kao* 文獻通考, Bk. 174. All these are quoted by Yao Ming-ta 姚名達 in his *Chung-kuo mu-lu-hsieh nien-piao* 中國目錄學年表, (國學小叢書), Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1940, pp. 76 and 78.
  - 10) *Shuo-fu* 說郛, Bk. 28 (edition of the Commercial Press, f. 28 r.).
  - 11) Yao Ming-ta, *Chung-kuo mu-lu-hsieh nien-piao*, p. 78. As to the date of birth and death of Yu Mao 尤袤, see *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 567, and Chien Liang-fu, *op. cit.*, p. 303 and *A Sung Bibliography*, p. 567.
  - 12) *Sung-shih* 宋史, Bk. 340, and Chien Liang-fu, *op. cit.*, 256.
  - 13) As to K'ang-li Tzū-shan 康里子山, famous calligrapher under the Yüan, see Ch'ên Yüan 陳垣, *Yüan Hsi-yü-jên hua-hua k'ao* 元西域人華化考, Bk. 2, fol. 10 v-11 r, etc., (= *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols, translated and annotated by Ch'ien Hsing-hai* 錢星海 and L. Carrington Goodrich, Monumenta Serica Monograph, XV, Los Angeles, 1966, see Index under Nao-nao). Concerning the correct pronunciation of Nao-nao, which is sometimes read as K'uei-k'uei, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, *K'uei-k'uei or Nao-nao*, In: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. X, 1947, pp. 1-12 with three plates.
  - 14) As to Wang Yü-ch'ing 王餘慶, *tzu* Shu-shan 叔善, who came from Chin-hua 金華 of Chê chiang 浙江, studied under Hsü Ch'ien 許謙, and at the beginning of Chih-chêng 至正 (1341-1368) took service as chien-t'ao-kuan 檢討官 at ching-yang 經筵 (the place for the exposition of the classics for the emperor), then was appointed as Nan-tai yü-shih 南臺御史, and died in Kuang-tung 廣東 where he was sent as an imperial censor. He was also known as a good scholar of Confucianism and as an excellent calligrapher as well. See the *Yüan-shih* 元史, Bk. 190, *Shu-shih hui-yao* 書史會要, Bk. 7, and many other sources registered in the *Yüan-jên chuan-chi tzü-liao so-yin* 元人傳記資料索引, Vol. 1, p. 216.
  - 15) Wu T'ing-hsieh 吳廷燮, *Pei-sung ching-fu nien-piao* 北宋經撫年表, Bk. 4 (*Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-p'ien* 三十五史補篇, Vol. 6, p. 7884).
  - 16) The *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈, Bk. 32 (fols. 5v-7r, edition of Han-fên-lou 涵芬樓) registers a wang-hui-t'u 王會圖 by Yen Li-pên 閻立本 and a chih-kung-t'u which is attributed to Yen Li-pên because of its resemblance of style to that of the former. The latter is a silk scroll on which are painted ambassadors of twenty-four countries, of which the names are written in square style. On the scroll there are inscriptions 書贊 of Wang K'en-tang 王肯堂 and three seals stamped. These two are now preserved at the National Palace Museum in Taipei. It should be investigated if they have got any relationship to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* in their composition.
  - 17) K. Enoki, *On the Nationality of the Ephthalites*, In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 18, 1958, pp. 3-4.
  - 18) As to the date of birth and death of P'ei Tzū-yeh, I take the description of *Liang-shu*, Bk. 30. However, Chien Liang-fu 姜亮夫, p. 79, gives 467-528.
  - 19) Mikinosuke Ishida 石田幹之助 *Chôan no haru* 長安の春, ed. Sôgensha, p. 72 note 18: K. Enoki, *Kidâra ôchô no nendai ni tsuite* キダラ王朝の年代について (*On the Date of*

- the Kidarites*), In: *Tōyōgaku*, Vol. 41, no. 3, pp. 292-293; K. Enoki, *On the Nationality of the Ephthalites*, In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 18, pp. 3 and 28.
- 20) K. Enoki, *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6, 28-29. The region of Ghūr was the place where the Ghūrīds established their capital in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A part of the ruins were investigated by the Délégation archéologique Française en Afghanistan in 1957 and André Maricq and Gaston Wiet published *Le minaret de Djam, la découverte de la capitale des sultans Ghorides (XII<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, 1959. Later the Italian archaeological mission under the leadership of the late Professor G. Tucci made investigations in the Herat-Djam region.
- 21) A poem entitled *Shang-yün-yüeh* 上雲樂 (Pleasures of going up as high as the clouds) by Chou Shē 周捨 (469-524) is a song to praise Wên K'ang 文康 who was an old *hu* 胡 and, after a long journey in all parts of the world, came to China under the Liang and dedicated to the emperor the songs, music, and dances to pray for his long life and prosperity. It is in the *Ch'uan-Liang-shih* 全梁詩, Bk. 11, pp. 1236-1237, edition of Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959. Wên K'ang is described as of green eyes and with long white hair, eyebrows reaching to the beard and the top of the nose drooping to the mouth, which may mean that he was either an Iranian or an Aryan. However, it is not clear whether his native country was registered in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* or not. On the other hand, the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* registers a Japanese who came to the court of Liang to bring tribute. But, Japan had never sent embassies to Liang to pay respect. It seems, therefore, that the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* painted a Japanese ambassador in order to increase the number of tribute-bearing countries to Liang. The same thing is said with the *Huang-Ch'ing chih-kung-t'u* 皇清職貢圖 which has drawn a male and a female of Japan which was not a tribute-bearing country.

### Chapter III:

- 1) The biography of Chang Ch'ü-chin is in the *Chiu T'ang-shu* 舊唐書, Bk. 187a, and the *Hsin T'ang-shu* 新唐書, Bk. 191. Some of his literary works are collected in the *Ch'uan-T'ang-wên* 全唐文, Bk. 234, and the *Ch'uan-T'ang-shih* 全唐詩, Bk. 100, and some of his conducts are recorded in the *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi* 太平廣記, Bks. 121, 162, 171 and 202.
- 2) This is according to his biography of the *Ch'iu T'ang-shu*. The *Hsin T'ang-shu*, Bk. 59 (*I-wên-chih* 藝文志 under *Lei-shu* 類書 and the *T'ung-chih* 通志 in its *I-wên-lüeh* 藝文略, 7, record it as in seven chüan while the *Sung-shih* 宋史, Bk. 207, registers the *Han-yüan* of Chang Ch'ü-chin with commentaries by Yung Kung-jui in eleven chüan and the *Nihon Genzaisho mokuroku* 日本現在書目錄 by Sase Fujiwara 藤原佐世 which is considered to have been edited in or round 891, that is to say, about forty years earlier than the *Chiu T'ang-shu*, states it as of thirty chüan. On this point, see Yuasa, pp. iii-iv.
- 3) The first reproduction was published in 1922 by the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University (京都大學影印舊鈔本第一集) and all of the later reproductions are based on the first one.
- 4) Ch'üan Hai-tsung 全海宗 identifies Yung Kung-jui with Kao Jui 高叡 who was killed by the T'u-chüeh 突厥 in 697 in his *Bibliographical Studies of the Tung-i-chüan* 東夷傳—an Examination of Statements of *Wei-lüeh* 魏略, *San-kuo-chih* 三國志, and *Hou-han-shu* 後漢書 relating to *Tung-i* (in Korean), Seoul: I-ch'ao-ké—潮閣, 1980, pp. 44-46. However, his argument is quite unacceptable. See K. Enoki, *Gishi Wajinden to sono shūhen* 魏志倭人傳とその周邊, In: *Yamadaikoku* 邪馬臺國, Vol. 17, 1983, pp. 94-95.
- 5) As to Shiratori's article, see the recension of A. M. Мандельштам in the *Проблемы Востоковедения*, 1959, 2, pp. 233-234 and also A. Н. Белинский, *Древние пути Памира* in the *Страны и Народы Востока*, III, 1964, pp. 99-119.

### Appendices

- 1) For a bibliographical introduction to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*, see K. Enoki, Ryō-shokkōzu

- ni tsuite (On the *Liang chih-kung-kung-t'u*), *Tôhógaku*, XXVI (1963), pp. 31-46; Ryô-shokkôzu ni tsuite no hoki (A supplementary note to the article on the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*), *Tôhógaku*, XXVII (1964), p. 32; Ryô-shokkôzu no ruden ni tsuite (On the transmission of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*) in *Kamata Hakushi Kanreki Kinen Shigaku Ronbunshû*, Tokyo, 1970, pp. 131-144. The last mention of a copy of this scroll painting was made by Sung Lien (1310-1381), see *Sung Hsüeh-shih wen-chi (I-k'o Chin-hua ts'ung-shu* ed.), Bk. 12. Probably the same copy as seen by Sung Lien is listed by Chiao Hung (1541-1620) in *Kuo-shih ching-chi chih*, Bk. 3. In the extant *Liang chih-kung-t'u* the latest date given for the coming of an embassy is 528 (Ta-t'ung 2nd year); see under Po-ssü (Persia). Thus the original scroll was made in 528 or later.
- 2) Chin Wei-no, *Chih-kung-t'u ti nien-tai yü tso-che: Tu-hua cha-chi* (On the date and author of the *Chih-kung-t'u*: some notes on pictures studied), *Wen-wu*, 1960, No. 7, pp. 14-17.
  - 3) *Ta-kuan lu* 大觀錄 (1920 ed.) Bk. 11, under the title *Yen Li-tê Wang-hui-t'u*.
  - 4) The *San-hsi-t'ang ching-chien hsi*, the seal of Ch'ien-lung, is imprinted on the scroll.
  - 5) In addition to the three articles mentioned in note 1, "Chinchô subeki fûzokuga Ryô-shokkôzu ni tsuite" (On the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* which is precious as representing costumes of several Asian countries), *Gekkan Kyôiku*, XIII. 32 (1964, XII. 1), pp. 8-9; "Katsukoku ni kansuru Ryô-shokkôzu no kiji ni tsuite" (The description of the country of Hua as given in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*), *Tôhógaku*, XXVII (1964), pp. 12-32; "Efutaru-minzoku no Jinshuron ni tsuite" (On a recent theory concerning the nationality of the Ephthalites), *Tôhógaku*, XXIX (1965), pp. 1-29.
  - 6) K. Enoki, *On the Nationality of the Ephthalites*, In: *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 18, pp. 5-6 and 28-29.
  - 7) On the orthographies of the name of the Ephthalites as they appear in Chinese and Central and Western Asian records, see my article in *Tôhógaku*, XXIX, pp. 10-11. There I tried to establish that the name of the Ephthalites is to be distinguished from Yüehpan 悅般 \*iwät-puât/pat, which, however, can be looked upon as a metathesis of \*iwap-tuât/tat = Ephthal. I am investigating whether this hypothesis can be confirmed from other historical evidence.
  - 8) *Tôhógaku*, XXVI, pp. 12-13.
  - 9) The *Liang chih-kung-t'u* contains, however, some important statements missing in the present *Liang-shu*. For a comparison of the account of the Hua or Ephthalites in the *Liang chih-kung-t'u* with that in the *Liang-shu*, see my article in *Tôhógaku*, XXVII, pp. 12-32.
  - 10) As Yü-t'ien (Khotan) appears later, this Wu-ch'an must be a scribal error for Yen-ch'i 焉耆 (Karashar), the corresponding name in the *Liang-shu*.
  - 11) yü is probably a scribal error for i on account of the similarity of their sounds.
  - 12) P'ei Tzû-yeh not only identified Hua with Pa-hua, but also Po-t'i in the Liang period with Po-t'i at the beginning of Han. See p. 121 below. The biography speaks as if P'ei made the two identifications at the same time. But the Hua embassies came in 516, 520 and 526, whereas that of the Po-t'i in 523. Therefore, the identifications could have been made on separate occasions or else together in 523. On this point see *Tôhógaku*, XXVI, p. 12.
  - 13) See *Tôhógaku*, XXVII, pp. 16-17. The Hâri-Rûd was also called rô-t-i Wâh or Wâh rô-t, both of which mean the River Wâh.
  - 14) See *Tôhógaku*, XXIX, p. 22.
  - 15) *Tabri*, ed. de Goeje, I, 2, p. 872; Th. Noeldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden*, Leyden, 1879, pp. 115, 117, n. 3; *Tôhógaku*, XXVII, pp. 17, 30, n. 5 and XXIX, pp. 6, 23.
  - 16) *Wei-shu*, Bk. 102 (= *Pei-shih*, Bk. 97), under Kao-ch'ang.
  - 17) *Nan-Ch'i-shu*, Bk. 59. See *Tôhógaku*, XXVII, p. 18.
  - 18) Hisao Matsuda, *Kodai Tenzan no Rekishichiriteki kenkyû* (An Historico-geographical

- Study of the Ancient T'ien-shan), p. 211.
- 19) Chiang Ching-hsüan was sent to the Kao-ch'e by Liu Ch'üan 劉俊 who was governor of I-chou (Ch'eng-tu). According to *Liang-shu* (Basic annals), Liu Ch'üan was stationed at I-chou from 491. I. 27 to 493. III. 29. Therefore the mission of Chiang Ching-hsüan was undertaken in this period. See *Tôhögaku*, XXVII, p. 18.
  - 20) There must have been several editions of the *Liang-shu* which contained passages not in the current edition. For example, both the *Li-tai ming-hua chi* (*Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yüan* ed.) Bk. 7 and *Yü-hai*, Bk. 152, state that the *Liang-shu* records that Hsiao I (the Emperor Yüan) painted foreigners who came to pay tribute, but this is missing in the current edition of the *Liang-shu*, Bk. 5.
  - 21) *Liang-shu*, Bk. 3, under the day *hsin-wei* of the 3rd month of the 1st year of Ta-t'ung (535. V. 14), records that the king of the country of Hua, An-lo-sa-tan-wang 安樂薩丹王 sent an envoy to pay tribute. This An-lo-sa-tan-wang should be taken as the name of the king of Hua. For, when the *Liang-shu* records the arrival of envoys of two or more countries, it usually states that such and such countries respectively sent envoys; see, for example, *Liang-shu*, Bk. 2, under the 10th month of the 1st year of T'ien-chien (502) and under the 7th month of the 2nd year of T'ien-chien (503). Moreover, *Nan-shih*, Bk. 7, records the arrival of the envoy of the country of Hua only on the day *hsin-wei* of the 3rd month of the 1st year of Ta-t'ung. The wang of An-lo-sa-tan-wang may mean "king", while An-lo-sa-tan is his name.
  - 22) As for the biography of T'ao Ku 陶穀, see the books indicated in the *Index to Biographical Materials of Sung Figures* (宋人傳記資料索引), Vol. III, Taipei: 鼎文書局 1975, p. 2676.

### Addenda:

T'ien I-heng 田藝蘅 (1524-1574?) published a list of materials which the Government of Ming confiscated from Yen Shih-fan 嚴世蕃 (1513-1565) and Yen Sung 嚴嵩 (1480-1565) in his *Liu-ch'ing jih-cha* 留青日札, Bk. 35, fols. 5-12 (edition of *Rare Books concerning the history and institutions of Ming and Ch'ing Period collected by Hsieh Kuo-chên* 瓜蒂庵藏明清掌故叢刊, Vol. III, Shanghai: Shanghai Ku-chieh ch'u-pan-shé 上海古籍出版社, 1985). In the list one can find the Chih-kung-t'u 職貢圖 painted by Yen Li-pên 閻立本 of T'ang (fol. 9 v). The same statement is also made in the abstracted edition 摘鈔 of the *Liu-ch'ing jih-cha* of the *Chi-lu hui-pien* 紀錄彙編, Bk. 190, as well as of the *Shêng-chao i-shih* 勝朝遺事, Series II, Bk. 2. In the *T'ien-sui ping-shan lu* 天水永山錄 (edition of the *Chi-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不齋叢書 fol. 227 r), which is also a list of materials confiscated from the Yen family (fol. 227 r), one can find the same record. The latter list is much more detailed than the former, but, according to a preface to the latter by one Yen Yen 嚴言, the *T'ien-sui ping-shan lu* was copied from a printed list which had already been incomplete, which also may have been the source of the statements of *Liu-ch'ing jih-cha*. The painted scroll was transferred to the Government of Ch'ing and, therefore, seems to have been registered in the *Shih-ch'ü pao-chi* 石渠寶笈 as the *Wang-hui-t'u* 王會圖 of Yen Li-pên.

### Corrigenda:

Page 83, lines 6-7 and page 84, line 4      Cross out the *Sui-shu ching-chi-chih* 隋書經籍志 and the *Sui-shu* 隋書, respectively. The *Sui-shu* makes no mention of the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.

Page 102, line 4      Cross out (Bk.) 52 (of the *Yü-hai* 玉海) which has nothing to do with the Preface to the *Liang chih-kung-t'u*.



