The last Years of Ch'ang-an

By Edward H. Schafer
University of California, (Berkeley)

Ch'ang-an was one of the great cities of the world, belonging with Babylon, Rome, London and a few others. In the eighth century it was surely the most splendid and cultured city on earth. Its origins are hidden in the mists of tribal mythology, and the contours and character of the fabulous ancestral town of the conquering founders of Chou, who raged through the lowlands in their war-chariots, are a shadowed mystery. We can see the town more clearly when revived, after half a millenium of neglect, to become the grand, barbaric capital of early Han, lacquered and gilded, thronged with pedants, sorcerers, augurs, and cameleers. After another long interval it became the luxurious metropolis of T'ang, crowded with princely mansions, flowered pleasances, holy shrines, and international bazaars. Then in the tenth century, it was an almost forgotten town, and so it has remained until our own day. After two thousand years of checkered glory — a thousand years of ignominy. The century of transition was the ninth. What happened? The abstract economic and political causes are well known. Here are only the concrete and visible signs of the city's deterioration late in the ninth century, after a hectic reflorescence, and its death at the beginning of the tenth. These are the signs which all men could see, and to which they had to adjust their lives, their ideas, their imaginations, and their emotions.

I. The Ancient City

The great towns of antiquity have been grouped in two classes, according to the way in which they were fortified against invasion. First, there was the acropolis or citadel, high on its steep and rocky eminence, such as Athens and the Capitoline Hill of Rome. Second, there was the enceinte, protected by heavy walls, and characteristic of the great river-valley civilisations. Ch'ang-an, in the valley of the Wei River, belongs to this second group. This city owed its long preeminence, under many different names, to its strategic position on the "silk road" to Central Asia, the route over which passed a multitude of valuable goods destined for the markets of China on the one hand, and of Serindia, Russia, and the Near East on the other. It was protected on the north and west by the desert,

on the south by mountains, and on the east, where it was most vulner­
able, by the fortified pass of T'ung-kuan, through which it dominated the eastern lowlands and the coast. Moreover, "In this valley also are the only practicable passes, two in number, over the Tsin-ling Mountains, which form the barrier between northern and central China. The Wei Valley is no longer a nexus of major trade routes and Mecca of merchants in our own time. It is a vast wheatfield, traversed by roads and lanes, rows of willow trees, and streams crossed by stone bridges and culverts, "... like one continued splendid park, with knolls and lawns and winding paths."

The venerable book Yü kung, which preserves a shadowy image of the archaic physical and economic regions of China, calls this excellent valley Yung-chou "The Island-Province of Yung". Yung means "embankment", and the valley "has a barrier of mountains and embankments on four fronts which makes it secure. Since prehistoric times, century after century, "Chinese" of some race have built strongholds on the profitable banks of the Wei. Hazy memories of the town of TAG, royal city of Lord Millet, totemic ancestor of the Chou kings, still survive. It is said to have been built west of the T'ang city of Ch'ang-an. Another hero of Chou legend, Kung Liu, placed his town of PYAN nearby. Also west of historical Ch'ang-an was GYEG, capital of a Chou ancestor styled "The Great King". In the same region was PYONG, later named GO, freehold of the hero we know as Wen Wang, brother of the founder of historic Chou. Finally, Wu Wang, the great founder, built his capital city of GOG on the same site, or close to it: according to tradition, this remained the great royal metropolis until the locus of power shifted eastward to the City on the GLAK in the eighth century B.C. The archaeological evidence for all of these primitive towns has still to be uncovered.

The ambitious warriors and politicians of Ch'in restored the greatness of the stronghold on the Wei in the third century B.C. After a succession of the warlords of Ch'in had made their residences there, the founder of the Empire which gave its name to all of China built his grand city of

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2 James M. Hub bard, "Singan — the Present Capital of the Chinese Empire", The National Geographic Magazine, 12 (1901), 64.
3 Hub bard, loc. cit.
4 Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang, Yung lu (in Kuan-chung ts'ung-shu), 1, 4a.
5 Mandarin T'ai. In rendering archaic place names in this paragraph I have used a simplified version of Karlgren's reconstructions, written in capital letters. Although they must be inaccurate, especially since a great lapse of time fell between the earliest and the latest of them, which is not taken into account, these versions will at least be much more suggestive of the shape of the old names than will modern Peking dialect.
6 Yung lu, 1, 8b.
7 Mandarin Pin; later Pin-chou.
8 Yung lu, 1, 9a.
9 Mandarin Ch'i.
10 Chou Ta Wang, Yung lu, 1, 9b — 10a.
11 Mandarin Feng.
12 Mandarin Hu.
13 Mandarin Hao.
14 Mandarin Lo.
GEMDYANG on this historic spot. This noble name survived, in the form Khumdan, to perpetuate the glory of the Chinese throughout Asia long after the city itself had reverted to a heap of ruins.

The first apogee of the splendor of Ch'ang-an, now at last known by that name, came with the rule of the early monarchs of Han, from about 200 B.C. Built across the river south of vanquished Khumdan, the new capital had its spiritual center in the magnificent Wei yang Palace of Wu Ti, an imposing cluster of halls erected on the summit of a quintuple terrace of rammed earth, fifty feet above the surrounding fields.

Wang Mang, founder of the era called "New", also reigned here from A.D. 8 to 23. After that the center of political and cultural gravity returned once more to Lo-yang in the east.

During the disturbed centuries which followed, the rulers of the north, few of them Chinese, occasionally placed their ephemeral capitals on the ancient and holy ground of Yung-chou. Such were the states of Early Chao (319—329), established by Liu Yao; Early Ch'in (351—385), the hegemony of the Fu family; Later Ch'in (386—417), ruled by the Yao family; Western Wei (534—557), the patrimony of the "tatars" called Tabgach; and Northern Chou (557—581), the creation of dynasts named Yü-wen.

Finally, a new era in the greatness of Ch'ang-an was inaugurated by the first monarch of Sui (581—618), a member of the Yang family, known in history as Wen Ti, who styled his capital Ta-hsing ch'eng "Greatly Exalted Walled-city". This elegant city, laid out according to a perfectly symmetrical plan, after an interval during which the second Sui ruler reigned from the southern city of Yang-chou, was chosen to be imperial capital of T'ang in 618. It was the last of the great walled towns on the banks of the Wei. Although the sovereigns of T'ang continued to occupy the Sui halls and gardens, they made many innovations, the most significant of which, the construction of the "Great Luminous Palace" (Ta ming kung) in the uplands northeast of the walled city, destroyed the perfect bilateral symmetry of the Sui city, in which the "South-facing" monarch had radiated his charisma from the north center, looking down the main avenue toward the Chung-nan Mountains, the mountains "terminal in the south". Ch'ang-an remained the T'ang capital — the greatest of all Chinese capitals — until early in the tenth century, except for such brief intervals as the removal of Empress Wu to Lo-yang, and as when Hsüan Tsung's court moved to Ch'eng-tu after An Lu-shan seized the city in 756, when Tai Tsung was driven out by the Tibetans in 763, when civil war forced

15 Mandarin Hsien-yang.
16 Yung lu, 1, 13a—14a; ADACHI KIBOKU, Chōan shiseki no kenkyū (Tōkyō, 1933), p. 19.
19 Yung lu, 1, 3b; ADACHI, op. cit., p. 21. See also the section on cities in the T'ung chih (ch. 41), which ends with the Sui capital.
20 Yung lu, 1, 3b.
Te Tsung to flee to Feng-t’ien in 783, and when Huang Ch’ao came to declare the new rule of Ch’i in 881.21

After this the metropolis of China was either further east (Lo-yang and K’ai-feng), further south (Nan-king and Hang-chou), or further North (Peking). Ch’ang-an was only a memory until, renamed Si-an “Security of the West”, it became, between 1900 and 1902, the temporary residence of the Empress Dowager of Ch’ing, expelled with the sovereign Te Tsung (Kuang Hsü) from Peking by the Boxers.

II. Ch’ang-an in the Eighth Century

During the first half of the eighth century, most of which coincided with the reign of Hsian Tsung, medieval China, and the city of Ch’ang-an with it, reached the apogee of its glory.22 The capital was built in the form of a rectangle, almost square, six miles east-west and five miles north-south.23 The outer wall, rebuilt in the spring and early summer of 730,24 was a structure of rammed earth faced with ashlar and brick,25 about 17 1/2 feet high.26 The area enclosed was laid out as a rectangular grid of streets oriented according to the cardinal directions, with the exception of the palace and government office sub-cities in the north center, and the two great market-places, symmetrically placed in the east and west. There were fourteen streets, or rather major avenues, running east and west, and eleven running north and south.27 Roughly speaking, the upper classes lived in the eastern parts of the city (Wan-nien-hsien), and the lower classes lived in its western part (Ch’ang-an-hsien) which was probably much more populous, though less well reported in belles lettres,

21 Adachi, op. cit., p. 32. The official designation of the royal city changed frequently. We note the following titles given it in the middle of the eighth century: Western Capital (742); Central Capital (757); Western Capital (761); Upper Metropolis (762). See Hsu Sung, T’ang liang ch’ing ch’eng fang k’ao (in Ts’ung-shu chi-eng), 1, 1.


24 Tsu chih t’ung chien, 213, 10b (Tokyo, 1882 edition). Construction began on April 22, and the job was finished in nine ten-day periods.

25 So were parts of the excavated wall of the Great Luminous Palace at any rate. See T’ang Ch’ang-an Ta ming kung (Chung-kuo t’ien-yeh k’ao-kun pao-kao chi; k’ao-ku-hsüeh chuan-k’an, Ser. D, No. 11; Peking, 1959), p. 4.

26 Hiraoka, Tō no Chōan, p. 334. This height was 16 T’ang feet.

27 Hiraoka, Tō no Chōan, p. 332, following Wei Shu, Liang ching hsin chi (“New Report on Both Capitals”); a description of the cities in the K’ai-yüan period (713–741), as cited in Sung Min-ch’iu, Ch’ang-an chih. I have followed Pi Yüan’s edition of this text, which may be found in ts’e 11–14 of the Ching-hsün-t’ang nien-i chung ts’un-shu; the part of this book which refers to the T’ang period is photographically reproduced in Hiraoka Takedo, Chōan to Rakuyō (T’ang Civilizazation Series, Kyōto, 1958).
Most of the merchants were also in the west. The southernmost part of the city, a broad strip running east and west from wall to wall, was thinly populated and contained very few houses, being mostly cultivated fields, with scattered shrines and gardens.

The twenty-five broad carriageways which made up the basic gridwork were flanked by drainage ditches on each side; beyond these were footpaths along the low walls of the "quarters" or "wards" (liang) which occupied the small rectangles formed by the intersections of the streets. These main avenues were broad by our standards, but not all of uniform size. The chief streets ran north and south, and were all just over 482 feet wide. One of the east-west streets, the third from the north, was also of this width; the first, second and fourth from the north were 288 feet and a fraction broad; the remainder of the east-west streets were a little more than 226 feet wide. The magnificence of these great urban roadways may be judged in comparison with Fifth Avenue, New York, which is only 100 feet wide. The integrity of these streets had to be protected by imperial decree. This was done most successfully, it appears, under the reign of Hsüan Tsung, who had the beauty of his city constantly in mind. In A. D. 740, he had fruit trees planted in the two capitals, not only in their parks, but along their roadways, and we have an undated decree of his reign declaring that, since "both metropolises, the Capital and Lo, are indeed the residences of the divine king", their streets must be kept in good repair, and in consequence the extension of ditches and walls into them was forbidden, and above all excavations in them, liable to collect foul water and refuse of all kinds, were strictly prohibited. In 766, Tai Tsung reigning, we learn that the city streets were replanted with trees. This must have been done frequently: in the autumn of 796, Te Tsung reigning, the "mayor" of the capital city, Wu Ts'ou, planted regular rows of pagoda trees along them, replacing the elms with which the hsien officials had filled out vacant spots, since these trees were "economical and convenient". In good times, then, these wide avenues were far from being what we think of as "medieval" streets — not crooked, filthy alleys, but straight, open, clean and shaded roadways.

The hundred and ten "quarters", as I have called the separate neighborhoods formed between the intersections of the main streets, which occupied most of the space inside the city walls, were themselves walled off from the

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28 HIRAOKA, Tö no Chōan, p. 340.
29 T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 2, 37.
30 HIRAOKA, Tö no Chōan, p. 341. Unofficially these were called li.
31 HIRAOKA, Tö no Chōan, p. 333. My figures are based on his estimates: 147 meters; 88 meters; 69 meters.
32 Chiu T'ang shu (K'ai ming ed.), 9, 3085a.
33 HsüAN TSUNG, "Hsiu cheng chieh ch'u fang shih chiao", Ch'üan T'ang wen, 30, 11b — 12a.
34 Ts'e lu yüan kuei, 14, 12b. In this year, the regulations against the extension of walls and other structures into the streets was reaffirmed.
35 Ching chao yin.
36 Ts'e lu yüan kuei, 14, 13a.
streets. The walls may have been nine or ten feet high, and each had a gate opening on the streets in each of the cardinal directions. These gates were closed between sunset and sunrise, so that one might walk about the lanes of a ward by night, and visit the "night markets", but could not leave it until morning. Violations were punished by flogging. This strict curfew made it difficult, as we know from popular literature of that age, for a lover to get home easily after a late visit to his mistress in another quarter — he was obliged to crouch shivering by the nearest gate until daybreak. Some of the quarters were given over mainly to the practitioners of single arts and occupations. For instance, the Ch'ung jen Quarter, between the great sub-city of government offices (Huang ch'eng) and the Eastern Market, was a major commercial center, and was also the quarter of the makers of musical instruments, while the P'ing-k'ang Quarter nearby was traversed by the alleys of the prostitutes. But otherwise we still know little about these neighborhood specialties.

Of the two great markets, the Eastern was the less populous, and the more frequented by the well-to-do classes; the Western was a busy, raucous, and multi-lingual cluster of bazaars and warehouses, whose visitors were also entertained by prestidigitators and illusionists of every nationality, not to mention story-tellers, actors and acrobats. Here one sought for the precious symbols of exotic mystery, magic and luxury. For instance, the market contained the Persian Bazaar, where, among other vendors of miracles, were to be found the famous Iranian connoisseurs of pearls, both magical and otherwise. We still know little about the shops which were scattered about the city away from the two principal markets, but there were drugshops, teashops, vendors of cakes and sweetmeats, and wineshops frequented by young literati, enticed there by the blandishments of blue-eyed "western courtesans", as accomplished at singing and dancing as at serving rare beverages.

Less regular than the streets were the canals which traversed the city, bringing water and providing transport. The more considerable of these were the Yung an Canal and the Ch'ing ming Canal, both running roughly...
north and south, and the Ts'ao Canal, running east and west in the west part of the city. Ultimately these connected with the Wei River in the north, and were the chief waterways on which the merchandise from all parts of the empire was carried into the urban emporiums.\(^{47}\)

Little is yet known of the private houses of Ch'ang-an, except for some slight conception we may gain of the gardened homes of the educated or wealthy classes, which are often the subject of rapturous praise in poetry. A notable change took place in the middle of the eighth century, after the troubles which led to the abdication of Hsüan Tsung. Up to that time, the palace buildings were undoubtedly the most splendid in the city. But during the mid-century period of doubt and confusion, the mansions of the aristocrats went beyond all former bounds in size and luxury of appointments. The vast palatial residences of such magnates as Yuan Ts'ai, Ma Lin, and Li Chung-i earned the vulgar name of "wooden monsters."\(^{48}\) The chief hall in Ma Lin's private compound, for instance, cost 20,000,000 strings of cash. All of these huge and costly structures were torn down by imperial order in the late summer of A. D. 779. But the characteristics of the houses of the artisans, the merchants, and the anonymous poor of this age are hidden from us.

Medieval Ch'ang-an\(^{49}\) was a city of temples, some of them of a magnificence rivalling that of the imperial palace. It is reported that during the first half of the eighth century the city contained 64 Buddhist monasteries, 27 Buddhist nunneries, 10 Taoist monasteries, 6 Taoist nunneries, 2 "Persian" temples (one Manichæan and one Nestorian), and four temples devoted to the Iranian god Ahura Mazda.\(^{50}\) The great majority of these places of worship were erected in the western part of the city, where we would expect a greater concentration of piety among the poor and the alien, but they were by no means absent from the east—Buddhism and Taoism still enjoyed much prestige among the upper classes, and distinguished ambassadors from Turkish and Iranian nations of the West needed religious services. We may gain some idea of the temple buildings themselves from artistic representations, such as those in the Tun-huang murals, and from examples of T'ang-style wooden temple architecture surviving in Japan, notably the Kôdô and the Kondô of Tôshôdaiji, seventh century constructions near Nara.\(^{51}\)

The great Sui palace-city just inside the north wall of Ch'ang-an was renovated by the T'ang conquerors, and officially styled Kung ch'eng "Walled-city of the Palace", and also Ta nei "Great Interior", that is, great secluded sanctum or penetralia. After it was abandoned as the usual residence of the Son of Heaven and his court in 662, it was called Hsi nei

\(^{47}\) HIRAOKA, Tô no Chôan, p. 340.
\(^{48}\) mu yao.
\(^{49}\) Ch'ang-an chih, 7, 10b.
\(^{50}\) ADACHI, Chôan shiseki, p. 217, based on Ch'ang-an chih, 7, which in turn quotes Wei Shu.
\(^{51}\) See SIRÉN, Tch'ang-nyan, p. 46.
"Western Interior", and also, from 710, T'ai chi kung "Palace of the Grand Ultimate".52

Through most of the rule of T'ang, the imperial palace par excellence was the palace built on the grounds of the imperial hunting park (chin yüan) north of the eastern part of the north wall of the city, a great reserve extending to the Wei River in the north, and including in its western part the site of the old Han city of Ch'ang-an.53 The nucleus of this new palace was built by T'ai Tsung in 634 on the dry uplands of "Dragon Head Plain" (lung shou yüan) as a residence for the retired sovereign, Kao Tsu, with the name "Palace of Eternal Security".54 This was thought to be a healthier region than the low damp ground of the old palace, but in fact the old man took to his deathbed before the completion of the new cluster of rich buildings, and never actually lived in it. The palace was renamed "Great Luminous Palace" in 635.55 In 662, the ailing Kao Tsung, fearing the damp humors of the old palace grounds, moved to the new palace, which was much enlarged during the following year by the architect Liang Hsiao-jen, and hopefully renamed "P'eng-lai Palace", after the island home of the immortals in the eastern sea. In 670, Kao Tsung restored the old name of "Great Luminious", and so it remained through the rule of T'ang, whose principal palace it became, though sometimes it was called "Eastern Interior" (Tung nei) to distinguish it from the old palace in the west. The main approach to the great palace was through the middlemost of five gates perforating the north wall of the city proper, the Gate of the Cinnabar Phoenix, whose symbolism matched that of the Gate of the Red Sparrow in the south wall of the old palace. Hence the "Way of the Dragon Tail" (lung wei tao), built of bluish stone, wound up to the chief entrance of the palace on the "Dragon's Head" highlands in a series of convolutions imagined to resemble the curvings of a dragon's tail. Then, walking along the north-south axis of the palace, one passed through a series of great basilicas in a northward trending series. The three most important were, from south to north, the Han yüan tien "Enclosing the Prime", where the great ceremonious levees were held; behind it the Hsüan sheng tien, "Promulgating the Regime", the ordinary audience hall; and behind that the Tzu ch'en tien "Purple Throne", where the Son of Heaven gave informal receptions.56

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52 T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 1, 2; 1, 16.
53 Adachi, Chōan shiseki, p. 171.
54 Yung an kung. T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 1, 17; Adachi, Chōan shiseki, p. 171.
55 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 194, 7b; T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 1, 17; Hiraoka, Tō no Chōan, pp. 342—343.
56 T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 1, 17; Adachi, Chōan shiseki, pp. 171—172.
57 CHIANG CHI (tenth century), Chia shih t'an lu (in Shou shan ko ts'ung shu), 5a; Yung lu, 3, 13a.
58 Han yüan; the name of the great hall is a classical phrase suggesting "that which incorporates or embodies the primal spirit". See Shih ch'i, 27, 0108a, commentary of SZU-MA CHEN of T'ang.
59 T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 1, 18; 1, 20.
Here then were the elegantly painted wooden buildings which housed the chief family of the nation and its servants, in a bright landscape planted with weeping willows and richly colored flowers. From its noble eminence, on a clear day, one could plainly see the blue-shadowed Chung-nan Mountains south of the city, and below, in the city itself, all its wards, markets, streets and lanes precisely delineated. This palace remained the glory of the realm throughout the eighth century — suffering only from the looting of mutineers late in 783, the last great ordeal of the metropolis until Huang Ch’ao’s uprising a century later.

Another T’ang palace, less important than the others, was the “Palace of Exalted Felicity” (Hsing ch’ing kung), otherwise called the “Southern Interior” (Nan nei), originally a group of mansions for the sons of Jui Tsung. One of these last, the great monarch posthumously styled Hsüan Tsung, made it a “traveling palace” (hsing kung), that is, a detached, informal royal residence, after his accession.

One more great landmark distinguished the holy city. This was the gorgeous water-park of twisted shape, named Ch’ü chiang ch’ih “Pond of Bent Kiang”. The name goes back to the time of Han Wu Ti. It was an alteration of the name Che chiang “Broken Kiang”, in the Han province of Kuang-ling in the gardened south. The word ch’ü “bent” also had the nuance of “byway, secluded spot”, and was used of scenic places on varied terrain, as “Wei’s ch’ü” and “Tu’s ch’ü”, south of the city. This serpentine garden-lake — comparable in name, form and function to the Serpentine in London’s Hyde Park — a tract of great natural beauty enhanced by human artifact, had been associated with a place called Chi-chou south of the Ch’in capital of GEMDYANG (Khumdan) in the third century B.C., and then named “Park Suited to Spring” (I ch’un yüan). Famous for its lotus pools, it was styled “Garden of Lotuses” (Pu-jung yüan) by Sui Wen Ti. This latter name was also applied to a water-garden within the park in T’ang times. The whole was richly enhanced by Hsüan Tsung, who placed many beautiful plants and pavilions in it, and replenished its water by creating the Yellow Canal extending eastward from the garden to the River Ch’an, a tributary of the Wei.

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61 From Sung times on, the imperial palaces of China were more dark and austere, landscaped in the main with catalpas and pagoda-trees. The “flowers and willows” of T’ang were celebrated in contemporary poetry. P’ANG YUAN-YING (fl. 1082–85), Wen ch’ang tsu lu (Ts’ung shu chi ch’eng ed.), 4, 45. Liang Hsiao-jen, the architect of the Great Luminous Palace, also planted rows of white poplars there, but was later persuaded that these would spread evil vapors, and so had them replaced by pines and other conifers. T’ang liang ching ch’eng tang k’ao, 1, 17.

62 Chu Tz’u was supposed to defend the capital from them, but allowed himself to be elevated as monarch of Great Ch’in; in 784 the forces of Te Tsung, then in Feng-t’ien, recaptured the capital. Tsu chih t’ung chien, 228, 9b ff.

63 ADACHI, Chōan shiseki, p. 178.

64 Ming i t’ung chih, 32, 14b; T’ang liang ching ch’eng tang k’ao, 3, 86.

65 ADACHI, Chōan shiseki, p. 184.

66 T’ang liang ching ch’eng tang k’ao, 3, 87; ADACHI, Chōan shiseki, pp. 185–186.
Of many excellent structures outside the walls of eighth century Ch'ang-an I shall mention only two: the Floriate Clear Palace (Hua ch'ing kung) and the imperial tombs.

The palace was a beautiful complex of bathing pools, shaded pavilions, and luxurious halls, built on the wooded slopes of Mount Li, east of the city, on the site of holy arsenical springs famous since antiquity. It had been first given form in 644 by the royal architect Yen Li-te and, beginning in 713, was the usual winter residence of Hsüan Tsung. Its name is closely connected with the long intimacy between that monarch and his beloved Lady Yang. From the year 756, following upon Hsüan Tsung's flight to Szechwan and the execution of his favorite, literature was immediately enriched by a multitude of nostalgic, melancholy verses, describing its desolation, especially as it appeared in autumn, the season of decay, a typical image of vanished glory and great love turned to ashes:

The warm springs flow into the Han detached place;
By palace trees, row on row, the bathing hall is empty...

("Han detached palace" is safely archaistic, disguising "T'ang winter palace.") Or again:

The jade coach has ascended to heaven, the men are all gone now;
But the old palace still has trees which live long.

Such were the common sentiments of poets who lived during the final decades of the eighth century, anticipating the retrospective and romantic escapism of the poets of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, when much more than this single palace had disappeared.

The great imperial tumuli, enhanced by their associated groves and gardens, memorial shrines and sculptured figures, were prominent landmarks in the early eighth century. The most striking mound was the mysterious tomb of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in Chao-ying-hsien, east of the city. Almost equally awesome were the Han barrows north of the Wei River in Hsien-yang-hsien. Much more modern, and zealously attended as the haunts of the sacred spirits of the T'ang ancestors, were the seventh century tombs scattered about the fields near the modern capital.

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68 Aichi, Ch'uan shiseki, pp. 182-183. The present buildings at the hot springs were built during the Ch'ien lung reign and afterwards.

69 Chang Chi (ca. 765-830), "Hua ch'ing kung", Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 6, ts'e 6, ch. 5, 11b.

70 Li Yüeh (B. 780), "Kuo Hua ch'ing kung", Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 5, ts'e 6, 3a.

71 Li Chi-fu, (758—814), Yuan ho ch'en hsien t'u chih (1880 ed.), 1, 5b, 11a—11b.

72 The locations of these mounds, from those of T'ai Tsu on, are given in Yuan ho ch'en hsien t'u chih, 1, 6a—7a. The imperial tombs suffered in the ninth century, but I have not treated these disasters in this article, as beyond the proper subject of inquiry.
Such, in brief, was the metropolitan scene whose fortunes during the
ninth and early tenth centuries, at first a period of hardly detectable
decay but finally of quick collapse, we are about to trace.

III. Ch'ang-an in the Ninth Century

The troubles of the middle and late parts of the eighth century had not
proved disastrous to the city. An Lu-shan’s occupation in 756 had left
the great palace intact, while the Tibetans, who invaded and looted the
city in 763, had fired only private residences. The populace suffered, but
the form of the city remained essentially the same. The last great calamity
of the century, the rebellion of Chu Tzu in 784, apparently did not damage
the capital seriously. And after that there was a century of peace for the
great metropolis. Except for localized destruction resulting from the
 xenophobic religious persecutions of Wu Tsung in 841—845, the “divine
beauty” of the city was essentially what it had been during the happy
years of Hsüan Tsung’s reign. The usurpation of Huang Ch’ao brought this
second age — we might call it the “silver” age of T’ang civilization — to
an end in 881. Then the sunset of the ravaged city’s glory faded rapidly
into the night of the tenth century 73.

But there is a blank in this otherwise mildly pleasant record. As the
chronicle of construction and destruction which constitutes the next
section of this study will show, there is a long and surprising lull before
the storm of Huang Ch’ao. The basic sources yield no single event
relating to the condition of the city between 851 and 880. This remarkable
hiatus — if we can depend on the surviving official histories — corres-
ponds to much of the reign of Hsüan Tsung, all of that of I Tsung, and the
beginning of that of Hsi Tsung. It seems inexplicable. Surely a hall must
have been burnt down somewhere; surely a new pavilion must have been
erected. The standard books are simply silent. Then suddenly Huang
Ch’ao arrives on the scene, and there is a deluge of disaster 74.

The report of an Arabian traveller 75, IBN WAHAB, made to the chronicler
ABU ZAYD in the middle of the ninth century, shows Ch’ang-an (he called
it Khumdan), as it was in the finest days of the ninth century — not much
changed from what it had been in the good days of the eighth:

73 T’ang shu, 225c, 4177b; Tzu chih t‘ung chien, 223, 4a—5b; K’ang Pien (fl. 877),
Chü t‘an lu (in Chin tai pi shu Ser. 9, vol. 9), b, 29a.
74 There is a lu on the two capitals, Ch’ang-an and Lo-yang, the “Liang ching
lu”, written by Li Yü, with a floruit in I Tsung’s reign. This is preserved in
Ch‘üan T‘ang wen, 740, 1a—11b. The section on the Western Capital is pp.
1b—7b. It is a florid and not very interesting ode in praise of the great imperial
establishments, glorifying them as equal to the fabled capitals of Ch’in and Han.
It yields us little useful information, except perhaps that the city remained in
good condition through the “Great Hiatus”.
75 Eusebius Renaudot, Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohamme-
dan Travellers Who went to those Parts in the 9th Century; Translated from
ARABIC. With Notes, Illustrations and Inquiries by the same Hand (Anonymous
He told us that the City was very large, and extremely populous; that it was divided into two great Parts, by a very long and very broad street; that the Emperor, his chief Ministers, the Soldiery, the supreme Judge, the Eunuchs, and all belonging to the imperial Household, lived in that part of the City which is on the right hand Eastward; that the people had no manner of Communication with them; and that they were not admitted into places watered by Canals, from different Rivers, whose Borders were planted with Trees, and adorned with magnificent Dwellings. The Part on the left hand Westward, is inhabited by the People and the Merchants, where are also great Squares, and Markets for all the Necessaries of Life. At break of Day you see the Officers of the King’s Household, with the inferior Servants, the Purveyors, and the Domestics of the Grandees of the Court, who come, some on foot, others on Horseback, into that Division of the City, where are the public Markets, and the Habitations of the Merchants; where they buy whatever they want, and return not again to the same Place till the next Morning.

This is a remarkably accurate account. The "two Parts" of Khumdan are the two administrative divisions, Wan-nien-hsien and Ch’ang-an-hsien, east and west respectively. The great street between the two hsien was the Street of the Vermilion Sparrow, named for the holy symbolic bird of the South, leading to the south gate of the city. The great palace was in the east, as were the great majority of the mansions of the aristocracy — but so were the high class courtesans, many artisans, and those merchants who catered to the rich. In the western half of the city was the mass of the citizenry, and that great and often riotous center of public life, the Western Market, just as in the eighth century.

We owe some of our best descriptions of the Ch’ang-an of the ninth century to the poet Po Chü-i, as in his poem "The Temple", which tells of the Wu-chen Monastery outside the city in 814, from which he sees the Wei River and the Han tombs far off. We are fortunate in having a translation by Arthur Waley. Here the poet sees the dusty but shaded avenues of the capital:

I look down on the Twelve City Streets: —
Red dust flanked by green trees.

In another composition he contrasts the busy metropolis with the quiet hills to the south:

The snow has gone from Chung-nan; spring is almost come.
Lovely in the distance its blue colours, against the brown of the streets.
A thousand coaches, ten thousand horsemen pass down the Nine Roads;
Turns his head and looks at the mountains — not one man!

76 Translated by A. Waley in The Temple and Other Poems (2nd printing, 1925), pp. 103—112.
Or again, in a night scene written in 827:
Hundreds of houses, thousands of houses — like a great chess-board.
The twelve streets like a huge field planted with rows of cabbage.
In the distance I see faint and small the torches of riders to Court,
Like a single row of stars lying to the west of the Five Gates.78

But here is a complete poem by a less well-known writer of the ninth
century, Ch'en Yü, telling his private thoughts as he lies ill on an autumn
night in the capital city. This translation is my own:
The Nine-fold Gates are locked — autumn in the Tabooed City;
The moon passes the Southern Palace — gradually lights up its
towers.
Night is deep by the purple paths — dew drips from pagoda-trees;
Clouds are gone from the cyan void — the Star of Fire glides by.
Where the wind is clearing, a graded clepsydra informs the Three
Basilicas;
In an upper-class mansion a chime of bells makes music for the Five
Marklords.80

(Here, “purple paths” is a cliché for “suburbs; outlying fields”; “Star of
Fire” is usually Mars, but perhaps “fiery stars” is intended; “graded
clepsydra”, more literally “graduated dripper or percolator”, is the water­
clock in the palace which advises all in its great halls of the time of night;
“Five Marklords” is a conventional expression for “the great barons of
every rank”.)

It was a city of about a million souls — including between five and ten
thousand imperial guards, forty or fifty thousand Buddhist and Taoist
priests, nuns and temple slaves, and an unnumbered floating population
from the provinces and foreign countries, much of it concentrated around
the Western Market.81 A very important feature of ninth century Ch'ang­
an was its foreign population. How its character differed from that of the
eight century, however, can be guessed only partially. There were fewer
Persians, fewer Arabs, fewer Sogdians — that is, fewer visitors from the
Far West; there were more Turks (Uighurs above all), and more Tibetans
and Manchurians of one tribe or another. These nearer neighbors were less
welcome than their more exotic predecessors had been. As the power and
prestige of T'ang slowly declines, the tide of xenophobia slowly rose, and
although Wen Tsung, for instance, a good monarch, extended his pro­
tection to foreign merchants in his commercial cities of the South, to
protect them from intolerable exactions, on another occasion he forbade
financial transactions between his subjects and “the several colored
peoples” because of the increasing indebtedness of Chinese to these

80 Ch'en Yü, “Ch'ang-an wo ping ch'u yeh yen hual”, Ch'üan T'ang shih, han
6, ts'e 1, 3a.
81 Hiraoka, Tō no Chōan, pp. 337—340. These rather impressionistic figures are
based primarily on phrases from the writings of Han Yü and Yuan Chen, for the
end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century.
82 Ch'üan T'ang wen, 75, 3a.
foreigners, especially to the Uighur usurers, which inhibited commerce and was productive of social ills. Nonetheless, such reliable ninth century observers as Tuan Ch'eng-shih tell of foreign businessmen still thronging the Western Market.

Despite relative prosperity and security, however, individual citizens did not enjoy absolute safety. Robberies and assassinations, to say nothing of lesser crimes, took place in the streets of this carefully tended city. An example: early one morning in 837, the high minister Li Shih, starting off on horseback from his home in the Ch'in jen Quarter to attend the early levee at the palace, was attacked and pursued by a bandit armed with a bow; hit in the shoulder by an arrow, his horse injured by a thrown stone, he still managed to escape. This incident did not take place in some dirty slum, but in an upper class residential district, which contained an important Taoist "nunnery" where the poetess Yü Hsüan-chi had once lived, the home of the literateur Liu Tsung-yüan, and the mansions of various royal princesses and high officials. But despite such occasional unpleasant affairs, the capital seems to have been kept in fairly good order by several official agencies. Most important of these was the "Guards of the Golden Apotropaion" (Chin wu wei), a kind of imperial police, whose first duty was the "monitory patrol of the palace and the capital city", for the purpose of "maintaining resistance to wrongs and offenses". Lesser officers with similar responsibilities were the bailiffs of the "mayor" or "prefect" of the county (Ching chao yin) which included the capital city, and the agents of the "commandants" (ling) of the two townships (hsien) into which the city was divided, Wan-nien and Ch'ang-an.

What was true of the constantly renewed Sui metropolis was equally true of the Great Luminous Palace, that splendid excrescence added by the T'ang outside of the north wall of the city. Except for the occasional dismantling of an office building or the remodelling of a royal hall, the appearance of a new row of trees or the fading of an old garden, the silting up or the dredging out of an ancient shaded pool, the structural pattern and overall appearance of this earthly paradise was much what it had been in the eighth century — until 881. K'ANG P'IEN'S description of its main ceremonial hall, the Han yüan tien, and its impressive approaches, showing it raised high on its noble terrace like a Mayan sanctuary, though written late in the ninth century, could have described it in the eighth — and indeed, for all we can tell from...
the language, this might be a timeless and idealized description of something already vanished:

The Basilica Enclosing the Prime was established and constructed early in the nation's history; Dragon Head Ridge was excavated to make its base and foundation. Its vermilion-painted courtyard with its flagstones inset with gemstones, is [was?] at a height of more than fifty feet. To its left and right stand two pylons - those of the Perching and the Soaring Luan-phoenixes. Dragon Tail Way goes forth from in front of these pylons. If, leaning on the balustrade, you gaze out and below, the mountains in front of you are as if set in your palms. From the basilica to the Five Gates [of south outer wall] it is two miles (li). At every gathering for the Levee of the Prime Conjunction [New Year's], both the Army of the Taboo and the Standard [bearers] of the Autocrat are lodged in the court of the basilica. Golden armor and feather-covered (?) halberds, intermingled with damasks and embroideries, appear in orderly ranks and rows. [The court officials] both civil and military, in hat-tassels and belt-pendants, stand in order of precedence, while the chieftains and seigneurs of tributary and barbarian nations look upwards to the Golden Seat, as if to Empyrean Han [the remoteness beyond the sky]. Knowledgeable persons make it out that from the dynasties of Chi [Chou] and Han down to the fall of Sui there has not been its like in magnificence.

Some reasonable repairs and modest new construction were carried out in the palace during the reign of Hsien Tsung, early in the ninth century - a reign notable for a fair prosperity and a new florescence of culture. The monarch himself was no spendthrift, and in 810 expressed doubts that expensive repairs to older palace buildings were feasible. After this relatively conservative reign came two extravagant ones. Mu Tsung "rejoiced in the florid and gorgeous". Two new paints were invented for the decoration of the walls of his new buildings, a glittering white styled "snow-flower" [i.e. snowflake] paste, and a brilliant vermillion, which he named "Ch'ang ch'ing (LongFelicity) Red" after the name of his own era; his attempt to build a "hundred foot loft building" in 821 caused a public outcry, and the reaction to his attempt to expand an aristocratic park in 822 made him abandon the plan. His short-lived successor, Ching Tsung, showed the same love of ostentatious building. Wen Tsung, a more sober prince, razed many of Ching Tsung's new structures, or had them converted to practical purposes. However, as in Hsien Tsung's time, there was some restoration of older buildings, and an occasional new under-

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88 Chü I'an lu, b, 28b—29b.
89 See "Chronicle" below. But we note a new hall, the Szu cheng tien, in the records of his reign, though it is not certain when it was built. Yü hai (1806 ed.), 160, 14a.
90 T'ao Kū, Ch'ing i lu (Hsi yin hsüan ts'ung shu ed.), b, 7b.
91 "Chronicle".
92 "Chronicle", for 825.
93 "Chronicle", for 827.
taking, such as the construction of a horse-course and a ball-field on the
castle grounds, and extensive renovation of the Ch'ü chiang park. But
in Wen Tsung's reign too were the disastrous fire of 829 and the hurricane
of 835.

Although somewhat detached from the capital proper, the ancient Wei
yang Palace of the early Han emperors deserves mention here, since its
prolonged existence appealed to the pious antiquarianism of many rulers,
so that it still survived in the ninth century — in some fashion. It had
suffered in a fire in the winter of 816/817; then, after some years of neglect,
it was restored in 826 by Ching Tsung. Then, in 841, his first year as
emperor, Wu Tsung had it rebuilt again. This monarch's reign is not noted
for important changes in the palaces — rather for ecclesiastical architec-
ture, some kinds annihilated, some kinds constructed, as we shall see.
As for the contributions of the remaining T'ang rulers to palatial
architecture we know almost nothing. Of some special interest, however,
is the Chao ching tien, a royal hall of the reign of Chao Tsung, the last
sovereign of the dynasty. This was built, it seems, after the disasters of
Huang Ch'ao's brief usurpation. In it were kept the portraits of Chao
Tsung's eighteen royal predecessors, excluding (it must be) that of the
Empress Wu.

We see no change of great importance in respect to buildings employed
by the administration during this century, unless perhaps we choose to
notice repairs to the "prefectural" offices of the Ching chao yin in the
Kuang te Quarter during Hsüan Tsung's reign (847—859), and the
establishment of a new camp for the Right Army of Divine Stratagems
in the Fu hsing and Hsiiu te Quarters by Chao Tsung after his return to the
old capital from Hua-chou. This move placed these arrogant praetorians,
formerly invisible in the hunting park, inside the city itself.

The magnificent Buddhist temples, whose halls of worship and offering,
pagodas, monastic residences and ancillary buildings covered areas com-
parable to the imperial palaces themselves, and whose feasts provided
entertainments which were to the masses what the court festivals were to
the aristocracy, were, in the first half of the ninth century, much what
they had been in the eighth. There were new religious buildings, new
paintings, new images, new gardens — and there were old ones too: many
Sui establishments still survived, with some modifications. Some of these
antiquated structures, however, were in a dilapidated condition. A poem
of Szu-k'ung Shu, written at about the end of the eighth century, tells of
such a relic:

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94 "Chronicle"; Ch'ang-an chih, ch. 6; KISHIBE SHIGEO, Tödai ongaku no rekishi-
teki kenkyu (Vol. 2; Tökyö, 1960), p. 305.
95 "Chronicle".
96 Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 9b.
97 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 103.
98 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 98; Ch'ang-an chih, 10, 1a.
p. 57.
By the yellow leaves — a temple from an earlier reign;
No monks are there — the cold basilica stands open.
Where the pool shows fair, a turtle comes out and suns itself;
Where the pines make a shade, a crane flies out and around.
On old flagstones, the steles are crossed with grass;
In shadowed galleries, the pictures are patched with moss.
Even the "Palace of Contemplation" is spent and melted away —
This world of dust still wants more of our grief.  

But despite such nostalgic sentimentality, inspired by symbols of decaying values and transient life, the splendid religious life of T'ang continued unabated during the early decades of the ninth century. But Wu Tsung's persecution brought the Buddhist establishments low. We cannot yet tell how many buildings were actually destroyed and how many converted to new ends — but there was certainly much destruction. Left as functioning temples, at any rate, were only the Ta tz' u en szu, the Ta chien tu szu (whose pagodas survive in the twentieth century), the Hsi ming szu and the Chuang yen szu, the last two being in the poorer western half of the city. Although Hsüan Tsung re-established eight Buddhist temples in Ch'ang-an immediately after Wu Tsung's death in 846, and step by step reversed the anti-Buddhist policy of the preceding reign, the full glory of Chinese Buddhism was never restored.

The most wonderful of all the Buddhist establishments in the capital, the Ta hsing shan szu, was a chief sufferer in the persecution. This colossal monument to piety and the arts — a kind of Far Eastern Vatican — situated in the Ching shan Quarter a little south of the city's center, had been founded in Chin times, many centuries earlier, with the name Tsun shan szu; its modern name had been given to it in Sui times. The famous pilgrim Hsüan-tsang had stayed there in the seventh century; the great Tantrist Wu-k'ung had studied there in the eighth; the pious Japanese Ennin described it as it was late in 840, emphasizing its holy traditions, edifying mandalas, and portraits of ancient saints; Tuan Ch'eng-shih's account of it, written in the summer of 843, not long before the persecution, emphasizes, despite Tuan's devotion to the faith, natural wonders such as old trees and beautiful flowers, and images considered more as art objects.
than as icons. This museum of the treasures of the past, with mural paintings in many colors and images of brass and jade, mostly of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, was a favorite spot for the excursions of the gentry. It also boasted outstanding examples of modern — and not exactly religious — art, such as a painting of a pair of pines done by Liang Hsia early in the ninth century. The poet Lu Tsung-hui (fl. 815) described the view from the upper storey of this temple's pagoda: near at hand he saw the image of a "soaring luan", a "glaucous dragon", and a "dew basin". To the north, beyond a vermilion railing, "the Waters of Wei shone coldly", while in the south were "peaks of jade, fair-sky hued". "The pylons of the Ninefold Palace" rose closer at hand. It was an unrivalled panorama of Ch'ang-an and its vicinity, comparable only to that seen from the Han yuan tien on its high terrace. Wu Tsung brought all of this to an end.

Tuan Ch'eng-shih is our chief informant about other ninth century temples. He tells, for instance, how Wen Tsung cut down the junipers in the Buddhist Temple of the Holy Flower (Ling hua szu) in the Ta l'ung Quarter to provide timber for new palace buildings; how Hsien Tsung saw in a dream the removal of a clay image of the famous eighth century monk Li-she from its hall at the An kuo Temple to make room for an imperial portrait, and had the statue restored to its rightful place; of the excellent mural paintings at the Chao tu szu in the Ch'ung i Quarter, including a figure of the goddess Hāriti painted by Li Chen at about the beginning of the century; and how Hsien Tsung ordered faithful copies made of the wall-paintings of Wu Tao-hsüan at the Bodhi Temple in the P'ing k'ang Quarter, which were rapidly deteriorating.

Even before Wu Tsung's time there were many Taoist temples in Ch'ang-an. No doubt a large proportion of these owed their construction or elaboration to that other greaty patron of the Taoists, Hsüán Tsung. But some were even older. The writer Liu Yu-hsi tells of the beautiful flowering peaches which were planted at the Hsüan tu kuan in the Ch'ung i Quarter in the center of the city during his absence between 805 and 815 (this was a region of many temples both Taoist and Buddhist), only to find

103 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 213.
104 T'ang liang ching ch'eng t'ang k'ao, 2, 36.
105 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 213.
106 Lu Tsung-hui, "T'ung Ch'ang-an Tz'u en szu t'a", Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 8, tse 2, 1a.
107 Only the T'ien wangi ko and Ta shih ko survived the destruction of 845. ADACHI, Chōan shiseki, p. 220.
108 Tz'u po. In Szechwan, the term is used for the Chinese Hemlock-spruce (Tsuga chinensis) and for Juniperus squamata. Otherwise it is used for Juniperus chinensis, which I take to be the tree meant here.
109 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 217. See also A. C. SoPER, "A Vacation Glimpse of the T'ang temples of Ch'ang-an, The Ssu-t'a chi by Tuan Ch'eng-shih", Artibus Asiae, 23 (1960), 15-40.
110 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 215.
111 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 215.
112 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 6, 224.
113 Yu yang tsu tsu, hsü 5, 219.
them gone when he returned from another stay in the provinces in 828 and
replaced by wild oats and other vegetable symbols of decline. This
establishment was a survival from Sui times.

But after a century of comparative indifference on the part of the court,
there was a great revival of Taoist building in the years 841—845, though
whether sufficient to compensate for the loss of the Buddhist and
Manichaean buildings would be difficult to judge. Older Taoist structures
got new attention in this period too, as when Wu Tsung established a new
hall for his official portrait in the Taoist nunnery called "Golden Sylph"
((Chin hsien nü kuan kuan), one of two such nunneries built in 713 for the
daughters of Jui Tsung in the Fu hsing Quarter. This activity apparently
came to an end with the accession of Hsüan Tsung in 846, as imperial
support was gradually transferred to the Buddhists. An anecdote about the
new ruler illustrates this change: infuriated by the rich clothing and florid
makeup of a Taoist "nun" at the Chih le nü kuan kuan, which he visited
incognito, he ordered all of the women driven from the place, and appoint­
ed two men as its custodians.

Smaller in size but not always less luxurious than palaces and temples
were the private estates of the great magnates of the capital. Their fine
houses and gardens were concentrated, as in the eighth century, in the
eastern and central parts of the city. The extravagance of the third quarter
of the eighth century, repressed at the end of Tai Tsung's reign, seems to
have shown itself again in the early years of the ninth, for when Wen
Tsung took the throne in 827 he handed down a sweeping decree requiring
simplicity and sobriety in costume, makeup, ornamentation, carriages and
even in conduct (merchants and priests, for instance, were forbidden to ride
horses). This edict extended to the houses of the upper classes, which
were to be strictly regulated as to size. But the enactment occasioned
great resentment, and the "mayor" (yin) of the capital did not enforce
the unpopular rule with any enthusiasm, so that in the end the emperor's
will was frustrated. A particularly rich district was in the vicinity of the

115 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 91; Liu Yü-hsi wrote poems on each
of his visits. For the last, see Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 6, ts'e 3, ch. 12, 9a.
116 Another Taoist garden much celebrated in the ninth century was in the
Close of Jade Stamens (Yu jui yuan) in the T'ang ch'ang kuan in the An-yeh
Quarter. Its great claim to fame was the appearance there, in Hsien Tsung's time,
of a beautiful fairy maiden. She was thought by bystanders to be some court lady
picking flowers, until she disappeared into the sky. This apparition was a favorite
theme for poets, including Yen Hsin-fu, Yuän Chen, and Liu Yü-shi. Chü t'an lu,
8b — 10a.
117 "Chronicle".
118 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 99. The other was the Yu chen nü
kuan kuan.
119 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 2, 33, quoting T'ang yu lin.
120 T'ang shu, 24, 3683b. The rules were to be: no double bracketed ceilings;
halls: 3rd class officers — 5 spaces, 9 beams; 5th class officers — 5 spaces,
7 beams; 6th and 7th class officers — 3 spaces, 5 beams; commoners — 4 beams;
gates: 3rd class — 3 spaces, 5 beams; 5th class — 3 spaces, 2 beams; below that
1 space, 2 beams. Apparently we have here standard measurements of building
size, the "beam" (chia) being a tenth of a "space" (chien). But I cannot tell
what areas were involved. (This usage appears to differ from that referred to in
Chien Tu Temple. Here were the homes of aristocrats, ministers and respected literateurs — such men as Yuan Tsai, Ling-hu Ch’u, Yuan Chen and Tu Mu. Tu Mu himself reports that a house in this neighborhood cost 3,000,000 cash (ch’ien)\(^{121}\).

Such men as these took as much pride in their gardens as in their fine mansions. Many of these handsome creations were celebrated by distinguished poets of this century — notably by Po Chü-i, who went boating in the pond at the residence of the magnate P’ei Tu in the Hsing hua Quarter\(^ {122}\), and was enthralled by the bamboo-shaded pool of the former “mayor” Yang P’ing in the Yung ning Quarter\(^ {123}\). Another admired bamboo garden was at the mansion of the minister P’ei Hsiang in the Hsin ch’ang Quarter — it was complex enough to provide a refuge for fleeing murderers\(^ {124}\). Most splendid of all, probably, was the residence of Li Te-yü during the reigns of Wen Tsung and Wu Tsung. This establishment in the An i Quarter near the Eastern Market was notable both for the great size of its buildings and for the advanced taste of its gardens, with their “fantastic stones and ancient pines, as austere as those in a painted picture”\(^ {125}\). Li Te-yü’s cultivation of the wild “natural” taste in garden design is well known\(^ {126}\); this statement also indicates that the taste for rugged stones and twisted trees was also prevalent among the painters of the ninth century. (The minister also kept a pavilion at this estate in which he displayed masterpieces of painting and calligraphy.)

The gentry prided itself on gorgeous arrangements of garden plants, ranging down from flowering trees, such as the redbuds (tzu ching) in Tuan Ch’eng-shih’s garden\(^ {127}\), to the tenderest herbaceous plants. Most popular of all were the tree-peonies (mu-tan). A vogue for planting elegant varieties of this shrub, hardly known before T’ang times, swept the aristocracy in the last decades of the eighth century, and in the early ninth approximated the tulipomania of the Netherlands in the seventeenth. Po Chü-i has described the Ch’ang-an flower market at the height of the peony season in spring\(^ {128}\), and Tuan Ch’eng-shih reports that in his lifetime a single flower might cost several ten thousand ch’ien\(^ {128}\). Famous

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\(^{121}\) T’ang liang ching ch’eng lang K’ao, 2, 33—35. These were the An-jen and K’ai-hua Quarters. See also Hsi-an li-shih shu-lüeh, p. 84, for private homes in the ninth century.

\(^{122}\) Ch’ang-an chi h, 9, 9b.

\(^{123}\) Ch’ang-an chi h, 8, 7a.

\(^{124}\) Ch’ang-an chi h, 9, 5a.

\(^{125}\) Chü t’an lu, b, 3a — 4b. Li Te-yü’s garden villa, P’ing ch’üan chuang, 30 li south of Lo-yang is even more famous.


\(^{127}\) T’ang liang ching ch’eng lang K’ao, 3, 76, quoting Yu yang tsa tsu.

\(^{128}\) Waley, Hundred and Seventy, p. 187.

\(^{152}\) Yu yang tsa tsu, hsü 9, 247.
peony fanciers in the capital were the minister Ling-hu Ch'ü,130 the provincial legate Li Chin-hsien (who had his clumps covered with brocaded canopies)131, and the poet Hsü Yin132, who survived the disorders of the end of the century to continue his career in the upstart state of Min in Fukien. Most famous of all peony gardens was, characteristically, that of the great Ts'ü en szu, where there were two plots of flowers by the “bath hall” (yü t'ang), each with five or six hundred blooms. Though the popular colors in this age were a pale pink and a deep “purple” (tzu), this magnificent garden boasted a unique bed of deep, rich crimson flowers133.

In addition to fine architecture and garden landscaping, birds were a desired feature of the best gardens — not only the wild birds attracted by the luxuriant foliage and its offerings of berries and insects as food, but domestic fowl procured to decorate pond and stream. An example is the Feng family mansion in the Ch'in jen Quarter which maintained, in mid-century, a great flock of ducks, geese and “various other fowl” under a special caretaker134.

The appearance of the anti-aristocrat Huang Ch'ao and his proletarian army brought most of this beauty and luxury to an end. Much of the gentry was slaughtered, though many magnates were able to escape into the mountains south of Ch'ang-an, where their heirs survived in abundance in Hu-hsien and Tu-hsien in the tenth century135.

At the excellent boundary of our Divine Lord's town, Is the old pond of Khumdan the capital136. These words introduce the well-wrought lu (rhapsodic description) of Wang Ch'i, written late in the ninth century, about the great pleasure garden of the aristocracy in the southeastern corner of the metropolis. Most celebrated among its attractions were the “Lotus Garden” (Fu-jung yüan) and the “Loft Building of Purple Clouds” (Tzu yün lou) in its southwestern part and the “Apricot Garden” (Ling yüan) in its northwestern part137. The Arab Ibn Wahab reported to Abū Zayd that the common folk of the capital were excluded from the beautiful parks along its canals and other waterways138. I have seen no Chinese evidence to support this statement, though indeed the surviving literature makes these gardens out to be the particular (even if not the exclusive) haunt of the gentry. Certainly there is abundant evidence that men of the upper classes could go there to recreate themselves whenever they chose. Po Chü-i, for instance, as many of his poems attest, was a frequent visitor to the Ch'ü chiang. He

130 Ch'ang-an chih, 7, 7a, quoting Yu yang tsa tsu.
131 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 94.
132 T'ang liang ching ch'eng lang k'ao, 4, 94.
133 Chü t'an lu, b, 4a.
134 Ch'ang-an chih, 8, 6a, quoting Lu shih tsa shuo.
135 Chia shih t'an lu, 3b—4a.
136 Ch'ang-an chih, 7, 7a, quoting Yu yang tsa tsu.
137 Another contemporary account of the Ch'ü chiang is Ou-yang Chan (ca. 785 — ca. 827), "Chü chiang ch'ih fu", Chüan T'ang wen, 770, 20a—21a. This proves to be a philosophic reflection, not a true description.
138 Chü t'an lu, b, 30a; cf. Ch'ang-an chih, 9, 5b.
139 RENAUDOT, Ancient Accounts, pp. 58—59.
liked to go there on horseback, dismount, and stroll among the willows along its banks. Richly planted with trees and flowers, including willows, poplars, pink lotuses, marsh-grasses and reeds, and attracting wildfowl of every sort, the gardens brought visitors from among the elite at every season. They were as popular in the autumn, when the cries of wild teal and geese were heard, and when "the tender chrysanthemums are gold colored, the deep springs are mirror clear", as it was in the spring. The long lake itself was a fascinating object of contemplation. Wang Ch'i wrote of it that,

When the auspicious sun begins to ascend the eastern rampart,
It is deeply imbued with aerial images.
That is, as soon as it is light, the lake shows images of the sky, clouds, flying birds, and the like, as if they were immersed in it. That the study of such reflections was a serious aesthetic occupation in the ninth century we know from contemporary accounts of "bowl pools" (p'en ch'ih), which provided both literal and ideal "reflections" for such persons as Han Yu.

The park was an earthly paradise, through which strolled the earthly simulacra of the immortal sylphs in the blessed isles:

Why need we wait for luan and crane at Three Mounts?
Year after year this land is Ocean Island.
The park was at its most brilliant during the great annual festivals. During the shang-szu feast (on "Upper Ophidian" day; a New Year's festival), the sovereign entertained his court there, with decorations provided by the the Ching chau yin and the magistrates of the two hsien. The high-born throng disported itself on the finest mats and in multicolored silken tents along the banks of the lake, listening to performances of the court orchestras, both classical (with stone chimes) and exotic-modern (with lutes), while the most exalted officials reclined in painted boats on the waters of the lake.

Equally brilliant were the gatherings to view spring flowers and foliage at the time of "Solar Concord" (yang ho), that is, in mid-spring:

Reins of jade and whips of gold,
Engraved chaises with embroidered wheels,
   Pell-mell jostling,
   Hugger-mugger rumbling,
The tents of a thousand families spread halcyon-blue,
The dust of many neighborhoods congealed with perfume;
Son of lord or grandson of prince —
   He is not avid for an Assembly at Orchid Kiosk;
Moth-eyebrows and cicada-lovelocks —
   From afar she might be the Person of the Lo Estuary.

139 Ch'ü chiang ch'ih lu.
140 Ch'ü chiang ch'ih lu.
141 E. g. Han Yü, in Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 5, ts'e 10, ch. 8, 9a — 9b.
142 Yung Yu-chih (fl. 813), "Ch'ü chiang ch'ih shang", Ch'üan T'ang shih, han 7, ts'e 9, 4a.
143 Chü tan lu, b, 30a — 31a.
144 Chü chiang ch'ih lu.
(Here the images are a mixture of old and new: the tents of "halcyon-blue" remind us of Po Chü-i's sky-blue Turkish tent, an early ninth century fad; the "Orchid Kiosk" was the meeting place of Wang Hsi-chih and a band of literateurs beside the eponymous "Bent Water" (ch'ü shui) in Chekiang in the spring of 353, where all wrote poems — unlike the modern T'ang lordlings who gathered for more frivolous purposes; "cicada-lovelocks" was a hairdo invented in the third century; the "Person of the Lo Estuary" was Fu Fei, goddess of the Lo River.) On this occasion too there were performances by the court orchestras, and also by jugglers and mountebanks. The Son of Heaven himself attended. In the fall as well, on the ninth day of the ninth month, the day of the "Double Solarity" (ch'ung yang) feast, the gentry gathered for picnics, entertainments, and drunken brawls. A restricted festival was the celebration for the newly elected "Advanced Gentlemen" (chin shih) at a pavilion overlooking the Apricot Garden. This party, held early in the year, was at the same time an occasion for "testing the spring", and there was a keen competition to find the earliest blooms. (This celebrated garden grew more than the apricot blooms for which it was named: Po Chü-i wrote of the despised jujubes there, base plebeian trees, with bark as wrinkled as a tortoise's skin and little leaves "like rats' ears"; yet even these showed handsome flowers in spring, and they were useful creatures, not to be despised among their gorgeous neighbors, for the noble lords needed their wood to make the wheels and axles for the carriages which brought them to the Ch'ü chiang park.) Close by the Apricot Garden were the opulent towers of the Tzu'en Temple, whose pagoda (called "Great Goose Pagoda" in our own times) was climbed by the successful young scholars after their picnic, who wrote their names on its walls. Unfortunately these graffiti have not survived. Yet, despite the fine language of Wang Ch'i and other admirers of the water-park, the Ch'ü chiang at the beginning of the ninth century was by no means what it had been before the An Lu-shan uprising. Its splendor was never quite recovered, though poets and connoisseurs of natural beauty and bygone days continued to visit it after that disaster. We suspect that the early ninth century descriptions are pregnant with nostalgia, though no doubt aristocratic parties paid their seasonal visits in the good times of Hsiien Tsung. Mu Tsung did some partial reconstruction there, such as his abortive attempt to expand the Lotus garden, but a semblance of its former glory was not achieved until 835, when Wen Tsung, inspired by the words of Tu Fu lamenting the deterioration of the gardens and lake after 756, had the lake dredged and the gardens restored.
and Hsüan Tsung’s Purple Clouds Tower and Colored Sunset-clouds Pavilion reconstructed.

Another royal garden outside the palace precincts was the Feng ch'eng Garden, in the An l Quarter. This had been the home of the minister Ma Sui and his rich son Ma Ch’ang, until Te Tsung forced the family to surrender it to the throne in 797. It is frequently referred to in the prose and poetry of the ninth century, especially, as Waley says, “... as a symbol of the transitoriness of worldly possessions and glory.”

We note now a few changes in the structure of the capital during the ninth century. Though the busy Western Market seems not to have changed appreciably since the eighth century, although ravaged more than once by fire, the Eastern Market, formerly purveying goods to the upper classes in that part of the city, had by the beginning of the ninth century become largely a residential district. It too suffered from a destructive fire in the summer of 843. Since these two great centers of trade were closed during the hours of darkness, what shopping was done after sunset was restricted to the local night markets.

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The ninth century also witnessed the rapid development of public houses of prostitution, accompanying the rise of the merchant class and a money economy in the latter part of T’ang. These institutions were to be found near all such busy places as the city gates, markets and temples, but the representative quarter of the harlots was “North Town” (Pei li), which occupied the northeastern part of the P’ing k’ang Quarter, and had already been in existence in Hsüan Tsung’s time in the first half of the eighth century. “North Town” had three east-west running alleys (ch’ü), each it seems with several dozen houses and several dozen women in typical houses. In “South Alley” lived the greatest number of famous courtesans; “North Alley” had the fewest. The smallest houses contained only a single girl with her “foster-mother”, who supplemented their income by selling sweetmeats and other refreshments.

In this age there was also a great evolution of cafés (“kiosks with flags”, ch’i t’ing) and bars (“loft houses with wine”, chiu lou). This development, which also changed the appearance of the capital, paralleled the decline of aristocratic culture and the rise of the bourgeoisie, and was related to the proliferation of the Uighur usurers in Ch’ang-an late in the eighth and

151 “ Chronicle”; ADACHI, Chōan shiseki, p. 187; T’ang hui yao, (in Ts’ung shu chi ch’eng), 30, 563; T’ang liang ching ch’eng t’ang k’ao, 3, 86.
152 T’ang liang ching ch’eng t’ang k’ao, 3, 71; Waley, Life and Times, p. 17.
153 “ Chronicle”, for 820 and 836.
154 Waley, Life and Times, p. 31. But, as the Chronicle shows, rich goods were still bought and sold there.
155 “ Chronicle”.
156 “ Chronicle”.
157 KISHIBE, Tōdai ongaku, pp. 95-99.
158 KISHIBE, Tōdai ongaku, p. 98.
early in the ninth century — they made it possible for young men to enjoy themselves in the big city.

Conscientious research may some day reveal what new trades and businesses developed in ninth century Ch'ang-an, and how these changed the face of the city. Merely as a token I suggest the exploration of popular tales and anecdotes. The Kan sun tz'u of Wen T'ing-yün, for instance, tells of what appears to be a bank in the Western Market, called "Quarter of Caskets" (k'uei fang), where a man kept his money on deposit, and of a lapidary in the Yen shou Quarter, east of the Western Market, to whom pieces of Khotanese jade were taken for appraisal.¹⁵⁸

IV. Chronicle of the Fortunes of Ch'ang-an in the Ninth Century

Here are listed the events, great and small, which affected the city of Ch'ang-an as a physical entity, and more remotely as an object of thought, imagination and emotion, during the last century of its life, the ninth. The chronicle includes, on the one hand, references to new buildings and repairs or additions to old ones, and to gardens and the like. Most dated notices of such activities refer to the first half of the century. The opposite side of the picture is chiefly a record of disasters. These are of three sorts: first, misfortunes of natural origin — fires and floods; second, the results of official persecution of religions, in particular the attacks on the Manichaens and Buddhists culminating in the great persecution of 845; third, the ravages of war and insurrection, most terribly, the occupation of the capital by Huang Ch'ao early in 881. The city was never quite the same after this disaster, in spite of attempts to rebuild it in part. We are fortunate in having a contemporary ballad,¹⁶⁰ a tale of arson, pillage, rape, and cannibalism, of rustics masquerading as ministers, of aristocratic bodies sunk in mud and blood — an account, in short, of the condition of Ch'ang-an immediately after the departure of Huang Ch'ao. It tells, as no bare chronicle could do, the reality of life in the shattered city. Here is an excerpt from "The Lament of the Lady of Ch'in", by Wei Chuang translated by Lionel Giles:¹⁶¹

Ch'ang-an lies in mournful stillness: what does it now contain?
— Ruined markets and desolate streets, in which ears of wheat are sprouting.
Fuel-gatherers have hacked down every flowering plant in the Apricot Gardens,

¹⁵⁸ Wen T'ing yün, Kan sun tz'u, quoted in T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 4, 106.
¹⁶⁰ Gleaned from the pages of the "Wu hsing chih" in both T'ang histories.
¹⁶¹ T'oung pao, 24 (1926), 305—380. This excerpt is on pp. 343—344. The ballad is the work of Wei Chuang, written when he was a young man in Lo-yang in the 880's. It is extant in five MMS. from Tun-huang, three in the Stein collection, and two in the Pelliot collection. The MMS. in London are all of the tenth century, one bearing the date 919. See Giles, Lament, pp. 305, 307, 318.
Builders of barricades have destroyed the willows along the Imperial Canal.

All the gaily-coloured chariots with their ornamented wheels are scattered and gone,

Of the stately mansions with their vermilion gates less than half remain.

The Han-yüan Hall is the haunt of foxes and hares,

The approach to the Flower-calyx Belvedere is a mass of brambles and thorns.

All the pomp and magnificence of the olden days are buried and passed away;

Only a dreary waste meets the eye; the old familiar objects are no more.

The Inner Treasury is burnt down, its tapestries and embroideries a heap of ashes;

All along the Street of Heaven one treads on the bones of State officials.

"The Chronicle"


[2/25—3/26]: fire in the Chia ling szu ("Office of Household Commands"), the office of the manager of the crown prince's household, in the Huang ch'eng.

804 [5/13—6/10]: fire in the K'ai yeh szu, a Buddhist establishment first erected (as its name shows) in early Sui times, in the Feng le Quarter near the center of the city.

806: a Tai lou yüan "Close for Attending the Clepsydra", where the great officers of state awaited the opening of the palace gates at the end of the fifth watch of the night, was built in the Kuang tse Quarter. This was adjacent to the Chien ju ("Fortune Established") Gate in the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace.

—: Trees were blown down by a high wind.

807 [7/9—8/6]: a new outer wall (chia ch'eng "hemming wall") was built by troops of the palace guard north of the Great Luminous Palace. A gate, named "Arcane Transformation" (Hsiüan hua), and a loft, named "Brilliance of Morning" (Ch'ien hui lou), were made for it. (Part of this wall, adjacent to the gate has recently been excavated.)

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163 Ts'e ju yüan kuei, 14, 13b. Dates in brackets represent western equivalents of a Chinese month or lesser period specified in the text, where the exact day is omitted.

164 T'ang shu, 34, 3713d; T'ang hui yao, 44 787.

165 Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205c; T'ang hui yao, 44, 787; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 4, 89.

166 Yung lu, 8, 12b; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 3, 48.

167 T'ang hui yao, 44, 794.

168 Tso shen ts'e ch'un, commanded by a eunuch-official. For shen ts'e "divine stalks/divine stratagems" see Gnes, Lament, p. 310 and n. 3, and Waley, Life and Times, p. 59. This most powerful of the palace guards were compared by Waley to the Nazi SS.

169 Ts'e ju yüan kuei, 14, 13b; T'ang hui yao, 30, 562.

158 T'ang Ch'ang-an Ta ming kung, pp. 14—15.
May 19: a great wind demolished a considerable length of the balustrade by the west portal of the Han yüan tien. This was interpreted as presaging war 170.

[10/23–11/21]: repairs to the Ta t'ung ("Great Identity") Basilica (93 "spaces") and to 1600 spaces of walls and lesser buildings in the Hsing ch'ing kung. Also work on two loft buildings, "Zealous Administration" (Ch'in cheng) and "Brightly Shining" (Ming kuang) 171.

809 [3/20–4/18]: fire in a Buddhist sanctuary in the Yü shih t'ai ("Tribunal of Notaries to the Autocrat"), which issued impeachments, in the Huang ch'eng. The officer on duty, Li Ying, was fined three months' salary 172.

[7/16–8/14]: elaborate reconstruction and new work in the An kuo szu, an important Buddhist temple in the Ch'ang je Quarter near the entrance to the Great Luminous Palace 173.

— the great revolving book-case and its housing (chuan lun tsang ching ko), made to house the Buddhist canon at the Ta hsing shan szu, were probably built this year 174.

810 [12/1—12/29]: Hsien Tsung told his ministers that although many of the older palace buildings badly needed repairs, he was doubtful whether such expensive undertakings were feasible 175.

811 [5/26–6/24]: The "Pavilion of Southern Bamboos" (Nan chu t'ing) by the Hsing an ("Exalted Security") Gate, in the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace, was razed 176.

813 July 10: much destruction of houses in a wind storm. Many citizens killed by falling roof tiles. Floods south of the city; the waters entered the Ming te ("Illuminating Virtue") Gate and flooded the streets. (The next day, the Wei River, north of the city, overflowed its banks and its bridges collapsed 177.)

814 [6/21—7/20]: the Li pin yüan ("Close for Courtesies to Guests"), the office which made arrangements for the reception of guests of the state, was established in the Ch'ang hsing Quarter, south of the Huang ch'eng, moved here from the Ch'ung jen Quarter to the northeast 178.

816/817 [12/23—1/20]: floods damaged the fields of Ching-chao-lu 179. (Uncertain if the city itself was affected.)

[12/23—1/20]: ruffians, the agents of the conspirators Wang Ch'eng-tsung and Li Shih-tao, set fires at the old Han palace, the Wei yang kung, and at the pastures of the imperial stables (lei lung ts'ao ch'ang "grass tract of flying dragons") 180.

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170 T'ang shu, 35, 3714d; Chiu T'ang shu, 37 3205a; T'ang hui yao, 44, 794. "West portal" is hsi ch'üeh, i.e. the ceremonial entrance to the basilica. T'ang shu and Chiu T'ang shu both state that 27 spaces (chien) were destroyed, T'ang hui yao makes it only 14 spaces.

171 Ts'e tu yüan kuei, 14, 13b; T'ang hui yao, 30, 562. T'ang hui yao, 30, 559, has part of this passage wrongly under the year T'ai ho 3 instead of Yuan ho 3.

172 Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205c; T'ang hui yao, 44, 787; Ch'ang-an chih, 7, 4b; Tang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 5, 41.

173 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 513, 19a; T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 3, 66.


175 T'ang shu, 35, 3714d; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205a; T'ang hui yao, 44, 794.

176 Ts'e tu yüan kuei, 14, 13b; T'ang hui yao, 30, 562.

177 T'ang shu, 35, 3714d; 36, 3717b; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3204d.

178 Ts'e tu yüan kuei, 14, 13b; T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 2, 40. See under 825 below for subsequent use of these buildings.

179 T'ang hui yao, 44, 785.

180 Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205c; T'ang hui yao, 44, 787.
817, February 25: a Buddhist temple, the Yüan ho sheng shou szu, was established at the encampment of the imperial guards, the Right Army of Divine Stratagems, outside the Hsüan Wu Gate, north of the Great Luminous Palace.181

[4/20–5/19]: soldiers of the Right Army of Divine Stratagems were employed to build a “hemming wall” (chia ch'eng) parallel to the western part of the north wall of the city; it extended from the northwest corner of the old palace (T'ai chi kung) westward along the north wall of the Hsüan Te Quarter as far as the Hsing fu Temple in its northwestern corner. A “new market” was established south of the Fang lin (“Fragrant Forest”) Gate, which was now inside the new wall.182

[5/20–6/18]: fire at the Buddhist Temple of the Divine Dragon (Shen lung szu) in the grounds of the old palace.182

[6/19–7/17]: a gallery of 400 chien was built around P'eng-lai Pool in the northeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace.184

August 13: heavy rain: a pillar of the Han yüan tien gave way; the water stood three feet deep in the marketplaces. More than 2000 houses were damaged.185

818 [3/11–4/8]: a western gallery was built for the royal hall styled “Unicorn Virtue” (Lin te tien). Outside the east inner wall of the palace, in the “Inner Park”, the Dragon Head Pool (Lung shou chih) was dredged, and the basilica named “Receiving Brilliance” (Ch'eng hui tien) was raised beside it; this hall was luxuriously ornamented, and its vicinity planted with flowers and trees brought from the great Buddhist monasteries of the city.186

—: the people of the Western Market held a great “unrestricted” (wu she) feast for the Buddhist clergy at the Gate of the Fragrant Forest in the north wall of the city.186

819 [1/30–2/27]: the Chang nei chiao lang (“Instruction Quarter Within the Armory”), a remnant of the famous “Instruction Quarter” for training musicians and dancers in the palace of Hsüan Tsung’s time, was moved to the Yen cheng (also called Ch'ang te) Quarter in the northeastern part of the city.187

[3/30–4/27]: the Loft Building of Zealous Administration (Ch'in cheng lou) in the Hsien chiing Palace was restored by a force of 2000 soldiers.190

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181 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 52, 8b. For this army (Yu shen ts'e chün), cf. n. 167.
182 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 14, 14a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 562; T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 4, 96. The last-named source says that the gate of the new wall was “Kuang-hua” and its tower “Ch'en-hui” apparently confusing this with the hemming wall north of the Great Luminous Palace built in 807.
183 T'ang hui yao, 44, 787. This temple was also named “Buddha's Light” (Fo kuang szu). T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 1, 5–6.
184 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 14, 14a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 562.
185 T'ang shu, 36, 3717b; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3204d; T'ang hui yao, 44, 785.
186 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 14, 14a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563; the pool and new hall were in a gardened part of the “Inner Park”, an extension of the hunting park between the inner and outer walls of the Great Luminous Palace. T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 1, 27.
187 Po hsing. Are we to understand resident merchants?
188 T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 1, 32.
189 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 14, 14a. See KISHBE Tōdai ongaku, pp. 90–91, for the history of this institution. He believes that by this time it was restricted mainly to “unclassified music”, i.e. acrobatic performances and the like. Later in the century it seems to have located in the Hsüan-p'ing Quarter, south of the Eastern Market, along with the “Office of Drum and Blast” (military bands). Cf. T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 3, 73. For “armory” see entry under 829, November 6, and footnote. See also the entries under 826 and 841.
190 Ts'e fu yüan kuei, 14, 14a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 559. Ts'e fu yüan kuei has kuan t'u, but the kuan chien of T'ang hui yao, which I have rendered simply as “soldiers”, is probably correct, being a well attested term local troops receiving regular pay in the form of clothes and rations.
November 24: fire in the government finance office (Tu chih) in the Huang ch'eng.

820 [1/19—2/17]: a great number of persons perished in a fire in the Western Market.

3/18—4/16: a new gateway was made in a gallery near the southern entrance to the Great Luminous Palace to give high officials easier access to the Yen ying (“Attracting Nobility”) Road in the palace complex.

[8/13—9/10]: soon after Hsien Tsung’s death, his successor, Mu Tsung, had two new “basilicas” built in the parkland between the Great Luminous Palace and the old palace in the west — the Yung an tien (“Eternal Security”) and the Pao ch'ing tien (“Precious Felicity”) — and had repairs made to two gateways, the Jih hua men (“Splendor of the Sun”) and the T'ung ch'ien men (“Communicating with the Empyrean”), as well as to the buildings and galleries of the audience hall (ch'ao t'ang) near the palace gate. All of these last were in the Great Luminous Palace.

[9/11—10/10]: 3000 men of the Divine Stratagems guards were assigned to dredge the Pool of Fish and Wrack (Yü tsao ch'ih) in the imperial hunting park.

October 11—14: great rain and snow storms: large numbers of trees fell along the city streets and in the imperial park. The north gates of the Markets and Quarters were ordered closed as an exorcistic measure.

[11/10—12/8]: 1000 men from the guard (of the Right) were assigned to build a wall and construct watch-towers in front of the Shuo yang yüan (“Close of the Lesser Solarity”) in the southeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace.

821 [6/4—7/2]: a “Hundred Foot Loft Building” (Po ch'i'h lou) was built in the Great Luminous Palace. Because of shortages in the treasury, troubles in the realm, and a great amount of expensive construction, there was much criticism of this project.

822, July 8: a great lightning storm knocked the finials from the “Grand Shrine” (T'ai miao), the ancestral temple of the Son of Heaven in the Huang ch'eng, and overthrew all the trees at the Tribunal of Notaries to the Autocrat (Yü shih t'ai).

October 14: Mu Tsung had previously ordered the enlargement of the Lotus Park (Pu jung yüan) by the Ch'ü chiang in the southeastern corner of the city. This required the removal of the residences and private cemeteries along the south side of the park. Because of the public outcry, the undertaking was suspended by imperial decree.

824, July 2: a violent wind destroyed the two eastern gates of the Huang ch'eng — the Yen hsi (“Extending Joy”) and the Ching feng (“Spectacular Wind”).

825 [7/20—8/17]: Ching Tsung, over strong ministerial objections, built a new basilica in the “Close of Clear Thought” (Ch'ing szu yüan) in the Great Luminous Palace, and had new pictorial panels (t'u chang) painted for the “Basilica of Solar...
Virtue" (Yang te tien)\(^2\). For the former he required 100,00 pieces of gold and silver foil, and 3000 catties of mirror-bronze\(^3\).

— The Li pin yün "Close for Courtesies to Guests" in the Ch'ang hsing Quarter was abolished, and the buildings given over to an Instruction Quarter (chiao iang) for training acrobats, athletes, and prestidigitators\(^4\).

826, February 16: 20,000 men of the palace and the police (Huang ch'eng tso yu Ch'ü Ch'in wu) were conscripted to excavate a new pond with a royal hall beside it, presumably in the Great Luminous Palace. Ching Tsung had the officers catch fish in the Pool of Concealed Indigo (Ning pi ch'ih) in the hunting park, and transferred the largest of these to the new pond\(^5\).

June 23: Soldiers of the palace guards had been assigned the task of restoring the Wei yang Palace of the Han Emperors, whose ruins remained in the hunting park. During their excavations they discovered a couch or bed, six feet long, of "white jade" (marble)\(^6\).

827 [4/30—5/29]: the "Pavilion where Ducks are Freed" (Fang ya t'ing), east of the Sheng yang tien ("Basilica of Ascending Solarity") in the hunting park, and the Observation Loft Building (K'an lou) beside the Wang hsien ("Watching for the Sylphs") Gate in the Great Luminous Palace, both constructions of Ching Tsung, were razed\(^7\).

September 8: grounds and buildings taken for park and garden use late in Ching Tsung's short reign from the Men hsia sheng (privy seal office) in the Great Luminous Palace, including the Ju ching Granaries, were returned to that office\(^8\).

— all of the official residences in the Yeng k'ang Quarter, near the Western Market, were converted for occupancy by the royal princes\(^9\).

828 [9/13—10/12]: repairs to the An fu lou ("Loft Building of Security and Fortune"), apparently in the Yen shou Quarter near the Western Market, and to 188 "spaces" of the grounds and buildings of the Nan tien yün ("Close of the Southern Basilica")\(^10\); also, the Liang i tien ("Basilica of Both Observances") and the Kan lu tien ("Basilica of Sweet Dew") were restored, 172 "spaces" in all. These last named buildings were in the old palace\(^11\).

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\(^{202}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 14b. The location of the Yang-te tien is unknown.

\(^{203}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 14b. Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 9a, has "3000 bronze specula" and "100,000 pieces (cakes) of gold foil". Whichever is correct, it appears that contemplation was assisted by extensive metallic reflecting surfaces in this hall.

\(^{204}\) Ch'ang-an chih, 10, 11a. In the eighth century this "close" had been in the Ch'ung jen (also called Ch'ang hua) Quarter, but was abolished until restored here in 814. T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 3, 50. On August 5, 826, Ching Tsung ordered an entertainment on the palace grounds, with performances by the "Instruction Quarters of the Left and Right Armies", i.e. the palace guards. They put on a polo game, a boxing contest (shou p'o), and other shows, including illusory mainmings and decapitations. See Tzu chih t'ung chien, 243, 14b. It appears that a number of institutions, including the army, had their own chiao lang in the ninth century. Kissing seems to be right in thinking that the purely musical and choreographic aspects of the chiao lang had disappeared since Hsüan Tsung's time. See under 819 and 841.

\(^{205}\) T'ang shu, 8, 3652d; Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 6a.

\(^{206}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 15a; Chiu T'ang shu, 17a, 3119a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563. T'ang hui yao gives the year as 823, apparently in error.

\(^{207}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 15a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563; T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 1, 28, and 1, 17.

\(^{208}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 15a. Ju ching is a quotation from the Shih ching said to mean "[grain piled up] like a monument (ch'ing)".

\(^{209}\) T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 4, 104.

\(^{210}\) Unlocated; perhaps an error for Nan t'ing yün in the Great Luminous Palace.

\(^{211}\) Ts'ê lu yün kuei, 14, 15b; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563; T'ang liang ching ch'eng k'ao, 1, 4; 1, 23; 4, 102.
[10/13—11/10]: the erection of an extending wall from the Chi hsien yüan ("Close of Assembled Worthies"), a kind of research library in the Great Luminous Palace, to the Chao ch'ing ("Radiant Felicity") Gate near the southwestern corner of the palace, and 39 chien of buildings south of the close, were authorized.

— : the gallery of the Devaräja (T'ien wang ko) built in 821/824 inside the Ch'ün ming ("Spring Luminosity") Gate — the central gate in the west wall of the city — which boasted the largest sacred image in the world, was moved to the Ta hsing shan szu, Ch'ang-an's most magnificent temple.

829, January 1: fire broke out in the Chao te szu (Buddhist "Temple-office of Radiant Virtue") in the southeastern part of the Great Luminous Palace. Fanned by a rising wind, it spread to the east wall and gate of the Hsüan cheng tien, the great audience hall, and to the Men hsia sheng. The court was ordered to assemble at the Jih hua Gate nearby (three responsible officers who failed to appear were fined a month's salary). Residents of the section south of the temple, which was known as "wild fox's lair" (yeh hu lo), tried to escape by climbing over walls, but several hundred were trapped and burned to death. The palace guards were mobilized to fight the conflagration, but it continued to burn for several days.

November 6: fire in the armory (chang nei).

834 [6/11—7/9]: fire in the imperial stables — those of the "Flying Dragons" (tie lung) and the "Divine Colts" (shen chü).

July 13: the city office of Ch'uan-an hsien, which governed the western half of the capital, and a pagoda in the Chung hsing szu (Cankrama Temple) in the Ch'ung hua Quarter, were blown down in a wind storm.

835 [1/3—2/2]: fire in the Chao ch'eng ("Radiant Perfection") Buddhist Temple in the Great Luminous Palace.

[3/3—4/1]: a decree, noting the deterioration of the beautiful Ch'ü chiung in recent years, and the destruction of its fine pavilions, encouraged new building and landscaping there.

April 11: an earthquake, with a great rattling of windows, shook the tiles from the roofs in the capital city.

May 27: 10,000 trees were thrown down in a violent wind storm. The four kite-tail finials of the Han yüan tien were blown away, and three trees in the courtyard of the great hall were overthrown. The buildings of the Chin wu armories (capital police patrol) were destroyed. A great many gates and towers

211a Ts'e lu yüan kuei, 14, 15b; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 1, 2.  
212 Yu yang tsa tsu, hsü 5, 214; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 2, 36.  
213 Some texts have kung "palace" instead of szu, wrongly assuming that the fire was in the "palace" of that name in the hunting park.

214 T'ang shu, 34, 3713 d; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205 c; T'ang hui yao, 44, 788; Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 9 a; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 1, 21.

215 T'ang shu, 34, 3713 d. Chang "staves, pikes and other long weapons, ceremonial batons, etc." appears in Tang also as the name of a public building, perhaps an abbreviation of chang yüan. For instance, the police (Chin wu) had a right and left chang near the entrance to the Great Luminous Palace, an the office of entertainment (chiao fang) was in this century styled "Instruction Quarter within the chang" (Chang nei chiao fang), presumably after its new quarters. See Ch'ang-an chih, 6, 6 a; 8, 10 b. See also entry under 819, above. I take the term to mean in these contexts "repository of weapons and ceremonial insignia". Very likely the burned armory was that of the Chin wu.

216 T'ang hui yao, 44, 788.

217 T'ang shu, 35, 3714 d; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205 a.

218 T'ang shu, 34, 3713 d. There was a temple of this name in the Tao kuang Quarter of Lo-yang (T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 5, 178), but I find no record of such a one in the Ch'ang-an palace.

219 Ts'e lu yüan kuei, 14, 15 b.

220 T'ang shu, 35, 3715 b.
of the city wall were ruined. Much destruction along the wall west of the Kuang hua ("Shining Transformation") Gate, the westernmost of the gates in the city's north wall, along a distance of 77 paces 221.

[6/30—7/28]: fire in the Western Market 222.

[7/29—8/27]: Wen Tsung ordered the dredging of the neglected Ch'ü chiang and the rebuilding of two eighth century (Hsüan Tsung) structures on its southwestern shore, the "Loft Building of Purple Clouds" (Tzü yün lou) and the "Pavilion of Colored Sunset-clouds" (Ts'ai hsi t'ing). He encouraged the nobility to build new pleasure houses in the lake-garden, granting them land for the purpose 223.

[8/28—9/25]: street commissioners (chieh shih) were ordered to renew tree plantings along the city streets, the work to be completed within eight months 224.

[9/26—10/25]: seated in the gate tower of the Left Gate of the Silver Terrace (Yin t'ai men) in the west wall of the Great Luminous Palace, Wen Tsung inspected 1500 of the palace guards who, with their commander, Ch'ou Shih-liang, and a military band, were celebrating the beginning of the restoration work at Ch'ü chiang. The monarch presented them with name-boards for the architraves of the buildings, and received in turn copies of the reconstruction plans 225.

[10/26—11/23]: the emperor was asked to authorize the dismantling of the Silver Terrace Gates, and their replacement by triple gateways in two-storey edifices (san men lou) 226.

[10/26—11/23]: 2000 soldiers were assigned to fill in the Dragon Head Pool by the east wall of the palace and convert it into a field for ball games 227.

836, February 25: the city was shaken by an earthquake 228.

837, November 14: the engraving of the Classics on stone steles at the Kuo tzu chien, the state school for the nobility, in the Wu pen Quarter just south of the Huang ch'eng, was completed 229.

840/841 [12/28—1/26]: the night markets of the capital were abolished 230.

841 [3/27—4/24]: Wu Tsung ordered the construction of a Ling lu ying sheng yüan ("Close of the Numinous Talismans Responsive to the Sapient One") by the Dragon Head Pool (re-excavated? cf. 835 above), one of a number of Taoist structures produced during his reign 231.

[6/23—7/21]: he ordered Taoists, led by Chao Kuei-chen, to build a "Nine Heavens Tao Tract" (Chiu t'ien tao ch'ang) at the Triple Basilica (San tien — another name for the Unicorn Virtue Basilica [Lin te tien] in the Great Luminous Palace), and went in person to receive a talisman 232.

221 T'ang shu, 35, 3714 d; Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3205 a.
222 Chiü T'ang shu, 37, 3205 c; T'ang hui yao, 44, 788.
223 T'ang hua yao, 30, 563; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 3, 86. Ts'e lu yün kuei, 14, 15 b has part of this in the 2nd month and part in the 10th month. The second of these certainly wrong, in any case.
224 T'ang hui yao, 86, 1576.
225 Ts'e lu yün kuei, 14, 16 a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563; T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 3, 86.
226 Ts'e lu yün kuei, 14, 15 b.
227 Ts'e lu yün kuei, 14, 14 b. "Ball field" (chü ch'ang) may well mean a polo field.
228 T'ang shu, 35, 3715 b. Chiu T'ang shu, 37, 3203 c also reports this earthquake, describing the damage in the same words used in T'ang shu of the earthquake of April 11, 835.
229 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 245, 19 a—19 b.
230 T'ang hui yao, 86, 1583.
231 Chiu T'ang shu, 18 a, 3126 d; Ts'e lu yün kuei, 14, 16 a; T'ang hui yao, 30, 563.
232 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 246, 11 b. For the meaning of "Triple Basilica" see T'ang liang ching ch'eng tang k'ao, 1, 22.
October 12: heavy snowfall for a day and night. Trees broke under the weight of the snow.

— a kind of barracks for page-boys (Nei yuan hsiao erh fang) was established in the “Inner Park” between the inner and outer walls of the palace. Next to it was the “Instruction Quarter Within the Basilica for Watching Music” (K’an yüeh tien nei chiao fang), apparently another institute for acrobats, dancers and musicians, similar to the “Instruction Quarter Within the Armory” (Chang nei chiao fang). See above, under 819 and 826.

— Wu Tsung visited the ruins of the Wei yang Palace while hunting in the imperial park. He ordered its reconstruction, with a central basilica, pavilions to east and west, and a main gateway. The literateur P‘ei Su wrote a florid account of this which still survives.

843 [5/14—5/23]: a persecution of the Manichaean sect in China followed the decline of Uighur power; their temples and treasures were confiscated. In Ch‘ang-an, seventy two female followers of Mani perished, while many Uighurs died in the provinces. So began the xenophobic outrages of the mid-ninth century.

July 28: a great fire broke out during the night in the Eastern Market. Some 4,000 houses and other buildings, and an enormous quantity of goods, including currency, precious metals, textiles and drugs, were destroyed.


July 30: fire in a hayloft outside the Ch‘ang-je Gate of the old palace. Ennin relates this and other fires to the persecution of the Buddhists; possibly we are to understand that these were cases of arson, reprisals by zealots and activists against Wu Tsung’s anti-Buddhist policy — or possibly set by imperial agents and blamed on the Buddhists? Though the great persecution did not show its full force until 845, Ennin makes it clear that already in 843 and 844 there was much destruction of Buddhist temples, images and books, and persecution of priests, especially in the capital.

— Wu Tsung, deeply impressed by the beauty of a Taoist priestess of the “Observatory of the Golden Sylph” (Chin hsien kuan), had this “convent” in the Fu hsing Quarter west of the old palace, reconstructed and beautified.

845 [2/11—3/11]: Wu Tsung built a “Sylph Terrace” (hsien t’ai), 150 feet high, with a rock garden constructed of stones from the Chung-nan Mountains, and planted with conifers.

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233 Ennin’s Diary, p. 310.
234 Ch‘ang-an chih, 6, 6a.
235 Ch‘ang-an chih, 6, 5b; T‘ang liang ching ch‘eng lang k‘ao, 1, 29. P‘ei Su’s T‘ang ch‘ung hsiiu Han Wei yang kung chi is in Ch‘uan T‘ang wen, 764, 18b—21a. See above, winter of 816/817, for the fire in the Wei yang Palace.
236 T‘ang hui yao, 49, 864; Ennin’s Diary, p. 327; ADACHI Ch‘oan shiseki, p. 239.
237 Ennin gives the precise week of the persecution.
238 T‘ang shu, 34, 3713d; Chiu T‘ang shu, 37, 3205c; T‘ang hui yao, 44, 788; Ennin’s Diary, p. 333.
239 T‘ang shu, 34, 3713d; Chiu T‘ang shu, 37, 3205c; T‘ang hui yao, 44, 788. Ennin’s Diary, p. 333, gives the name of the place as the Shen nung szu. RESCHAUER suggests the emendation Szu nung szu, the agricultural office in the Great Luminous Palace, which is the wrong palace. In fact, Ennin heard nung for lung “dragon”, which may tell us something about Ch‘ang-an dialect, or about Ennin’s informant.
240 Ennin’s Diary, pp. 333, 3412—342, 353, and elsewhere.
241 Ennin’s Diary, pp. 343—344; T‘ang liang ching ch‘eng lang k‘ao, 4, 99.
242 Ts‘e lu yuan kuei, 14, 16a; T‘ang hui yao, 40, 563; Ennin’s Diary, pp. 351—354. There is some doubt about the location of this “terrace”.

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July 16: a "Loft Building for Looking for the Sylphs" (Wang hsien lou), with associated galleries and lesser buildings, 539 "spaces" in all, was erected in the Great Luminous Palace.

[8/7-9/5]: Buddhist shrines and monasteries, public and private, throughout the empire were destroyed. Two temples were allowed to remain in the two capitals; in Ch'ang-an, the Tzu en suz and the Chien fu suz were spared, with 30 monks to care for each (their pagodas survive in the twentieth century). All other Buddhist monks and nuns in the capital, along with Mazdeans and Nestorians, were secularized. The rich possessions and lands belonging to the temples were confiscated, and the materials of the condemned buildings were employed in the construction and repair of public buildings, post stations, and other secular edifices. Bronze images, bells, and chimes, were melted down to make coins.

(Later, Buddhism made some recovery; the Persian and Christian religions made none.)

September 12: the imperial government announced the destruction of more than 4,500 great Buddhist temples throughout the realm, along with more than 40,000 cauthusia (choo-l'i) and aranya (lan-jo), i.e. private shrines, chapels and hermitages.

— : Wu Tsung had been irritated by the sight of private ("Confucian") shrines (miao) along the way as he proceeded to make the sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb at the winter solstice, and ordered all such shrines removed. Now he modified his decree to the extent of limiting the prohibition to the six Quarters along the south edge of the Huang chieng, those along both sides of the Street of the Red Sparrow, the main south-leading street, and near the Ch'ü chiang lake-park.

847 [2/19-3/20]: the reconstruction of the "Basilica Close of the Hundred Fortunes" (Po lu tien yuán) in the old palace was ordered, an area of 80 spaces.

[4/19-5/17]: the new monarch, Hsüan Tsung, allowed the reconstitution of Buddhist temples to the extent of providing accommodation for famous priests long associated with them.

[8/16-9/13]: Hsüan Tsung was very attentive to his princely brothers, and established a "Basilica of Concord and Harmony" (Yung ho tien) for them, with 700 spaces of associated buildings, in the Close of Loved Relations (Mu ch'in yuán) in the northeast corner of the city. Here he visited them frequently and drank wine with them, took part in musical performances, and played polo.

848, February 11: the construction of five new Buddhist temples (in addition to those established earlier) on the main street of Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang was authorized, three of them for monks, two for nuns. Each new establishment could ordain 50 persons. Similar arrangements were made for the provinces.

[2/9-3/8]: repairs were made to the Right Silver Terrace Gate of the Great Luminous Palace, and to the wall as far as the "Wisely Martial Loft Building"...
(Jui wu lou), the tower of the gate formerly called Hsüan wu in the north wall of the palace.

849, October 20: an earthquake destroyed many buildings and killed several dozen people in Shensi, including the capital city.

851 [2/5-3/7]: the construction of Buddhist edifices and the ordination of monks and nuns was freely permitted throughout the realm. (Later in this year some limitations were put on this freedom.)

852 Many Buddhist temples were renamed in Hsüan Tsung’s reign, perhaps as part of their restoration after the persecution. In this year we note: the Cankrama Temple (Ching hsing szu; cf. 834, July 13) was renamed Lung hsing (“Dragon Ascension”) szu. (There was a Taoist establishment of the same name nearby.) The Feng en (“Offered Grace”) szu in the Chü te Quarter in the western part of the city was renamed Hsing lu (“Ascended Fortune”) szu. The Alamkāraka Temple (Ta chuang yen szu), built in the Yang yang Quarter in the southwestern corner of the city in Sui times, was renamed Sheng shou (“Sapience and Longevity”) szu. The Hua tu (“Conversion and Salvation”) szu, another Sui temple in the I ning Quarter in the western part of the city, which boasted a gold-lettered name-board given by Ching Tsung in 825/826, was renamed Ch'ung lu (“Revered Fortune”) szu. The Hsi ming (“Illumination in the West”) szu in the Yen k'ang Quarter near the Western Market, whose peonies were celebrated by Po Chü-i, was renamed Fu shou (“Fortune and Longevity”) szu.

852/879: THE GREAT HIATUS.

880 [5/13-6/11]: a great rain and hail storm. The wind uprooted trees along the streets of the capital.

881, January 6: Huang Ch'ao took T'ung-kuan and advanced on Ch'ang-an.

881, January 8: disorderly government troops and other dissidents, leading the vanguard of the rebels, looted the capital and burned the Western Market. When Huang Ch'ao entered the city he proclaimed his affinity with ordinary folk, and told them to be without fear. But many of his troops, inspired by hatred of the rich and aristocratic, could not be restrained, and in a few days went about plundering and murdering, until “dead men filled the streets.”

January 15: Huang Ch'ao entered the Great Luminous Palace.

January 16: Huang Ch'ao ascended the throne, styling his nation “Ch'i”, and the era “Authority of Metal” (Chin t'ung).

883 [4/11-5/10]: Li K'o-yung, in conflict with Huang Ch'ao and his lieutenants, encamped on the north bank of the Wei River, across from the city, and sent his agents into the capital by night to set fires and kill rebels.

May 18: having defeated Huang Ch'ao's army south of the Wei, Li K'o-yung entered the capital city, coming by way of the Kuang l'ai (“Brilliant and Grand”) Gate near the southern end of the east wall of the imperial hunting park, not far from the Great Luminous Palace. Huang Ch'ao and his party set fire to the palace, and fled southwards toward Lan-t'ien, dripping gems along the road. The T'ang army completed the looting of the capital which had been begun by Huang Ch'ao’s men, then went after the fleeing rebels. They failed to catch up with them, being preoccupied with picking up abandoned treasures along the road.

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251 Ts'e lu yüan kuei, 14, 16 b; T'ang hui yao, 30, 564; T'ang liang ching ch'eng fang k'ao, 1, 18.
252 T'ang shu, 35, 3715 b.
253 T'ang hui yao, 48, 854.
254 T'ang liang ching ch'eng liang k'ao, 4, 104--105 and 117--121.
255 T'ang hui yao, 44, 794.
256 T'ang shu, 225 c, 4176 c; Tzu chih t'ung chien, 254, 4 a--4 b.
257 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 254, 4 b.
258 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 254, 4 b.
259 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 255, 11 a.
260 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 255, 13 a.
Hsi Tsung, in exile, directed Wang Hui and T'ien Tsung-i to go and take charge of the restoration of the ravaged city.

885, March 31: Hsi Tsung returned to his capital. "Thorns and brambles filled the walled city; foxes and hares ran this way and that."

[11/11-12/9]: Chu Mei, a rival of Li K'o-yung, and one of several men struggling for the possession and favor of the puppet Hsi Tsung, had his men commit arson and murder in the city, and spread rumors that these were the work of Li K'o-yung.

886, January 31: Li K'o-yung defeated Chu Mei and Li Ch'ang-fu at Sha-yuan in T'ung-chou. Two days later Li K'o-yung and his Sha-t'o Turkish troops pressed close to the capital; the powerful eunuch T'ien Ling-tzu fled with Hsi Tsung to Feng-hsiang. During these disorders, the building and restoration work achieved in the palace area by Wang Hui, the "Lieutenant-Warden" of the Great Luminous Palace, was annihilated.

887, January 14: Chu Mei and his adherents were caught and killed in Ch'ang-an by Wang Hsing-yü, his former lieutenant. Hsing-yü allowed his soldiery to run wild, burning and looting. Many of the citizenry, deprived of clothing, froze to death: "the dead covered the ground." 896 [8/29-9/6]: Chao Tsung fled from Ch'ang-an to Hua-chou. The capital was occupied by Li Mao-chen. All of the new building completed since the Huang Ch'ao occupation was destroyed by fire.

898 [1/26-2/24]: Chao Tsung commanded Han Chien to go to the capital from Hua-chou and undertake the rebuilding of the palace area.

900: "Flying bridges" and other structures were built leading from the Szu yüan Gate inside the Great Luminous Palace, to facilitate attendance at imperial audiences.

V. The Death of Ch'ang-an in the Tenth Century

What little remained of significance or beauty in the capital after the calamities of the last decades of the ninth century was quickly wiped out in the first decade of the tenth. On February 11, 904, Chu Ch'üan-chung, the emperor's "protector", having killed all of his sovereign's personal attendants and replaced them with his own men, compelled the removal of the court from Ch'ang-an to Lo-yang. So began the final exodus, with the monarch himself leaving on February 15. Palace buildings, public offices and private dwellings were dismantled, made into rafts on the Wei River, and floated down to Lo-yang. "In consequence, Ch'ang-an was earth-heaps and waste-land." Soon afterwards, Chu Ch'üan-chung had Chao Tsung himself murdered, and the final struggle among the great warlords for power in the land began.

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281 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 255, 13b. Wang Hui was Lieutenant-Warden (Liu shou) of the Great Luminous Palace, while T'ien Tsung-i was Regulating and Dispensing Commissioner for the Capital Demesne (Ching chi chih chih shih).
282 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 256, 6a.
283 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 256, 9b.
284 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 255, 10a.
285 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 255, 16b.
286 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 260, 16a.
287 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 261 9b.
288 Ch'ang-an chu t, 6, 9b; T'ang liang ching ch'eng isang K'ao, 1, 23.
289 Tzu chih t'ung chien, 264, 13b; T'ang shu, 10, 3658d; ADACHI, Chōan shi- seki, p. 153.
290 T'ang shu, 10, 3658d.
nated Han Chien, formerly Chao Tsung’s agent, military governor of the deserted metropolis.\(^ {271}\)

This man set about the demolition of the city walls (904—906), and built a new rampart enclosing a town which corresponded approximately to the old government office area, the *Huang ch’êng*, in size and location. This constricted area is essentially the modern town of Hsi-an.\(^ {272}\) At about this same time, after a protracted storm, the *Ch’ü chiang* lake dried up. The Yellow Canal which supplied it was cut off, and the whole park was soon converted into cultivated fields.\(^ {273}\) Here is how Han Wo saw the lake on an autumn day, apparently before it had completely disappeared:

> Slanting smoke in wispy shreds — where herons and egrets roost;  
> Aroma of decay from lotus leaves — snapped off in barren mud. A certain exalted monk, as if placed in a painted picture,  
> Holds a sutra and stands droning, west of the impounded waters.\(^ {274}\)

As for the rest of the city:

> How could we have known that these myriad acres of rich and flowering land  
> Would now, the greater half, be heaps of sherds and rubble?

So wrote Tzu-Lan, a literatus of Chao Tsung’s court who became a Buddhist monk, in his poem “Lament for Ch’ang-an”.\(^ {275}\)

And here is Wei Chuang, now best known for his “Lament of the Lady of Ch’in”, in “An Old Precinct of Ch’ang-an”.

> Filling my eyes — walls and doorways, where herbs of spring are deep;  
> Wounded times! wounded affairs! even more — wounded hearts!  
> The carriage wheels, the horses’ traces — where are they now?  
> At the twelve towers of jade they are nowhere to be found.\(^ {276}\)

In the early summer of 907, when Chu Chüan-chung took the purple as ruler of Liang, he designated Pien-chou, renamed K’ai-feng-fu, as his Eastern Capital, and made Lo-yang his Western Capital. Ch’ang-an was given the new style of Ta-an-fu. In 908, the Yu-ko Army stationed there was renamed Yung-p’ing Army.\(^ {277}\) But the dignity of the former western capital had not quite vanished for ever. Chu Chüan-chung’s dynasty was overthrown by the family of the Sha-t’o Li K’o-yung, and the “Later T’ang” kingdom restored to the city its old titles of Ching-choo-fu and “Western Capital”. But soon, under the alien dynasts of Later Chin, the town became an army area again.\(^ {278}\) None of these changes in administrative labels seem to have had much effect on the fortunes of the neglected city. We read,

\(^ {271}\) With the title *Yu kuo chieh tu shih*.
\(^ {272}\) ADACHI, Chôan shiseki, pp. 153—154.
\(^ {273}\) *T’ang liang ching ch’êng leng K’ao*, 3, 86; ADACHI, Chôan shiseki, p. 189.
\(^ {274}\) HAN Wo, “Ch’ü chiang ch’ên jih”, *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 10, ts’e 7, ch. 3, 12a.
\(^ {275}\) Tzu-Lang (fl. 900), “Pei Ch’ang-an”, *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 12, ts’e 2, 4a.
\(^ {276}\) Wei Chuang, “Ch’ang-an chu li”, *Ch’üan T’ang shih*, han 10, ts’e 9, ch. 5, 4b—5a.
\(^ {277}\) Tzu chih t’ung chien, 266, 5a; T’ai p’ing huan yü chi, 25, 3b.
\(^ {278}\) T’ai p’ing huan yü chi, 25, 3b.
however, that on September 17, 924, its magistrates petitioned the Later T'ang court to restore the famous hot springs at the Floriate Clear Palace, outside the city proper. I do not know if the petition was granted. In the second half of the tenth century, at any rate, the handsome buildings at the thermae had quite disappeared, though the outer wall of the palace could still be seen — but for that matter so could remnants of the stone supports of the ancient double road to the hot springs built by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti in the third century B. C. But the conifers planted on the mountain slopes there by Hsüan Tsung two centuries earlier had spread to cover the entire region with a dense shade. On the site of the former capital itself, palace trees had not fared so well. Thus, of the abundant weeping willows, pagoda-trees and elms in the old Southern (Hsing ch'ing) Palace, the greater part had been cut down by the common people, so that only a few rows survived until the foundation of the Sung state. Of the Great Luminous Palace even less survived. The Sung gazetteers do not mention it at all. Presumably it was completely obliterated in the wanton destruction of Huang Ch'ao's time and the purposeful wrecking of Chu Ch'üan-chung. Shao Po, who visited the holy site on Dragon Head heights in the first half of the twelfth century, found some ruined foundations at the entrance, and little else but cultivated fields where the gilded halls of T'ang had once stood.

VI. Modern Times

Despite occasional, partial and far from accurate restorations of individual buildings during the intervening centuries, little was done to recover the medieval city until our own century. Indeed, there was still more destruction of surviving relics during the Muslim insurrection of the 1860's. We owe our present knowledge of the great city not so much to preservation and restoration as to the labors of literary scholars. After the maps of Lü Ta-fang (eleventh century) and of Li Hao-wen (fourteenth century), and the books of Sung Min-ch'iu (eleventh century), Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang (twelfth century), and Hsi Sung (nineteenth century), upon which I have relied so heavily here, the greatest credit goes to Pi Yüan (1730—1797), the most eminent of all connoisseurs of the famous metropolis. Not only did he make a restoration of the Ta hsing shan szu in 1785, but, in addition to many other books on philology and epigraphy, he sponsored the publication of the gazetteer Hsi-an-fu chih (printed in 1779), and wrote the illustrated archaeological and antiquarian gazetteer Kuan-chung sheng-
chi t'u chih (printed in 1781). In recent years students of the T'ang capital are much indebted to the work of Hiraoka Takeo, and to the T'ang Civilization Series published by the University of Kyoto.

At the beginning of the twentieth century the most conspicuous relics of the T'ang city were the "Great Goose Pagoda", which stood formerly in the Tz'u en szu, and the "Small Goose Pagoda", formerly in the Chien tu szu, both built of brick and both standing in the fields south of the modern town. There are also bits of the western part of the south wall of the "old" palace, near the northwest corner of the Huang ch'eng, traces of the south wall of the Great Luminous Palace with the Dragon Tail way and two galleries of the Han yüan tien (doubtless the same remains observed by Shao Po in the twelfth century), the site of the Nestorian temple, and even traces of the tenth century wall of Han Chien, erected on the foundations of the earlier wall of the Huang ch'eng.

In 1957, the Institute of Archaeology of Academia Sinica began the systematic excavation of the Great Luminous Palace. The positions of more than twenty palace halls (tien, my "basilicas") were discovered, and the remains of one of these, the Lin te tien, completely excavated. This stood on a rammed earth platform, and was surrounded by a colonnade, of which 192 pillar-bases have been uncovered. Among many other important finds, the remains of the northern Hsüan wu Gate and of the P'eng-lai Pool have been traced.

### Dates of Accession of Ninth Century Rulers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ruler</th>
<th>Accession Year</th>
<th>Year until</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Te Tsung</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>814</td>
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<tr>
<td>Shun Tsung</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>821</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hsien Tsung</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>821</td>
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<td>Mu Tsung</td>
<td>821</td>
<td>847</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ching Tsung</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>889</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wen Tsung</td>
<td>827</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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286 Most of his writings were brought together and printed in the Ching-hsün-t'ang ts'ung-shu (reprinted 1887). See A. W. Hummell, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period, Vol. II (Washington, 1944), 622–625.
287 See Adachi, Chōan shiseki, p. 207; Siren, Tch'ang-ning, pp. 98–99.
288 Adachi, Chōan shiseki, p. 215; Siren, Tch'ang-ning, p. 100.
289 For surviving ruins see also Hsi-an li-shih shu-lyeh, pp. 101–106.
290 Adachi, Chōan shiseki, pp. 157–159.
291 T'ang Ch'ang-an Ta ming kung, passim.

* The title of the great eighth century ruler will be written Hsüan Tsung to distinguish it from this one.
Standardized Translations of Architectural Terms

1. Complex of Buildings

ch'eng
- "city wall; walled city" (a city protected by a wall; a great walled subdivision of a city; the Ch'ing ch'eng was Ch'ang-an itself; the Kung ch'eng was the "palace city" within it; the Huang ch'eng was another sub-city, containing government offices.)

lang
- "quarter" (a walled residential ward, sometimes containing also temples, shops and gardens; commonly also called li.)

kuan
- "[Taoist] temple" (lit. "lookout; observatory").

kung
- "palace"

szyu
(a) "office" (important government institution; e.g. Chia ling szu, see "Chronicle" for 803.)
(b) "[Buddhist] temple" (Buddhist monastery, called because of the tradition of the establishment of the first Chinese Buddhist institution in a government office building.)

yuan
- "close" (group of buildings, usually for a single institution, surrounded by a wall; normally a subdivision of a palace or temple.)

2. Single Buildings

ko
- "gallery" (a building of moderate size, usually with an open front or promenade for a pleasant prospect; also sometimes a place of storage [cf. our "art gallery"]; but I have sometimes called the covered ways and wings between buildings or gardens lang "galleries").

lou
- "loft building" (a two-storey building with provision for important functions on the second story; sometimes translated "tower", but this wrongly suggests verticality.)

miao
- "shrine" (a private chapel, ancestral or "Confucian" temple.)

t'ai
- "terrace" (usually a large earthen platform in one more stages, faced with stone, and supporting one or more buildings. Sometimes only an archaic metaphor, as in Yu shih t'ai, "Terrace [tribunal] of Notaries to the Autocrat, the office which originated impeachments.)

t'ang
- "hall" (a place for audiences and other public functions, but not as holy and grand as a tien.)

tien
- "basilica" (great ceremonial hall in the imperial palace, or on the grounds of an important temple; locus of royal epiphanies and sacred images.)

t'ing
- "pavilion" (or "kiosk", a comparatively small building, often taller than long, primarily for recreational purposes.)

3. Others

yuan
- "garden"

yu'an
- "park" (especially a hunting park, but sometimes used loosely for an important garden.)
## Glossary

### BUILDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ko (galleries)</th>
<th>Ch'ing (galleries)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chuan lun tsang ching</td>
<td>Jui wu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ta shih</td>
<td>K'an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ien wang</td>
<td>Ming i</td>
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<tr>
<td>kuan (Taoist temples)</td>
<td>Ming kuang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chih te (nü kuan)</td>
<td>Po ch'ih</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chin hsien (nü kuan)</td>
<td>San men</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hsüan tu</td>
<td>Tzu yün</td>
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<tr>
<td>T'ang ch'ang</td>
<td>Wang hsien</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yü chen (nü kuan)</td>
<td>men (gates)</td>
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<tr>
<td>kung (palaces)</td>
<td>Ch'ang le</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hsing ch'ing</td>
<td>Chao ch'ing</td>
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<td>Ta ming</td>
<td>Chien fu</td>
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<td>Wei yang</td>
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<td>Yung an</td>
<td>Fang lin</td>
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<td>lou (loft buildings)</td>
<td>Hsüan hua</td>
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<td>An fu</td>
<td>Hsüan wu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ch'en hui</td>
<td>Jih hua</td>
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</table>

勤政
睿武
睿武
明儀
明光
百尺
三門
紫雲
望仙
門
長樂
昭慶
建福
景風
芳林
玄化
玄武
日華
光化
光泰
明德
Szu yüan 通基
T'ung ch'ien
Wang hsien 望仙
Yen hsi 延喜
Yin t'ai 銀台

szu (Buddhist temples; government offices)

K'ai yeh
Ling hua
Lung hsing
Shen lung
Shen nung
Sheng shou
Szu nung
Tsun shan
(Ta) Tz'u en

Yüan ho sheng shou
lien (basilicas)

Ch'eng hui
Han yüan
Hsüan cheng
Kan lu
K'än yüeh
Lin te
Liang i
Pao ch'ing
Sheng yang
Szu cheng
Yang te

開業 神龍 聖壽
龍興 神濃 聖壽
司農 遵善
(大)慈恩 元和聖壽

殿

承暉 含元 宣政
甘露 看樂
麟德 兩儀
寶慶 昇陽
思政 陽德
永安
雍和
Yung an
Yung ho

舖 (pavilions)
T'ing

放鴨
南竹
Chia ch'eng
Chiu t'ien tao ch'ang

Chu ch'ueh chieh
Hsi ch'ueh

Huang ch'eng
Ju ching ts'ang
Po-szu li
Pei li

Ping ch'uan chuang
Tai miao
Yen ying lu
QUARTERS

楽善
礼賓
集賢
清思

Ling fu ying sheng
Mu ch'in

Nan tien
Nan t'ing
Po fu tien

An i
An jen
An yeh

Ch'ing hsiing
Ch'ang hsing
Ch'ang hua
Ch'ang le

Ch'in jen
Ch'ung hua
Ch'ung jen

Chü te

夾城
九天道場
朱雀街
西闕
皇城

如京倉
波斯邸
北里

平泉莊
太廟
延英路

坊

安邑
安仁

Quarters

Aiyeh
An yeh
Ch'ing hsiing
Ch'ing hou
Ch'ing jen

Tai lou
Yen ying lu
Lipin

Ch'ao tang

(others)

Chü te
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gardens (園)</th>
<th>Pools (池)</th>
<th>Canal (渠)</th>
<th>Institution</th>
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</table>
TITLES
Chieh shih
Ching chao yin
Ching chi chih chih shih
Liu shou

PERSONS
Chang Chi (8 cent.)
Chang Chi (10 cent.)
Chang Hu
Ch'en Yü
Ch'eng Ta-ch'ang
Ch'ou Shih-liang
Chu Mei
Chu Tz'u
Fu (family)
Han Chien
Hsiang Ta
Hsü Sung
Hsü Yin
Huang Ch'ao
K'ang P'ien
Kung Liu
Li Ch'ang-fu
Li Chen
Li Chi-fu
Li Chin-hsien
Li Chung-i
Li Hao-wen
Li K'o-yung
Li Mao-chen
Li Nao
Li-she
Li Shih
Li Ying
Li Yü
Liang Hsiao-jen
Ling-hu Ch'u
Lu Tsung-hui
Lü Ta-fang
Ma Ch'ang
Ma Lin
Ma Sui
Ou-yang Chan
P'ang Yüan-ying
P'ei Hsiang
P'ei Su

李真
李吉甫
李進賢
李忠翼
李好文
李克用
李茂貞
李澤
李涉
李石
李應(膺)
李庚
梁孝仁
令狐楚
盧宗回
呂大防
馬暢
馬璘
馬燧
歐陽詹
龔元英
裴向
裴素
Ch'in chung sui shih chi
Kan sun tzu
Lu shih tsa shuo
Wen ch'ang tsa lu

WORDS
chao-t'i
ch'i t'ing
chia "beam"
chien "space"
chiou lou
fang "quarter"
fei lung

hu chi
kuan chien
k'uei fang
lan-jo
li
mu yao
shen chü
shou po
t'u chang
tzu ching
tz'u po