Negotiating Boundaries:
Cross-Border Migrants in Early Medieval China

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ABTRACT

This dissertation is the first full-length study of cross-border migrants in early medieval China. Its focus is on the nearly four hundred southern migrants, who moved, as war captives or as asylum seekers, to the Northern Wei (386-534 CE) from the three successive southern states of Liu-Song (420-479 CE), Southern Qi (479-502 CE), and Liang (502-557 CE). It provides a bottom-up approach to early medieval interstate politics, and adds a human dimension to it. It also offers an historical perspective on contemporary issues on migration and integration.

Scholars have long recognized the four hundred years between the Han (206 BCE-220 CE) and Tang dynasties (618-916 CE) as an era of great migrations, migrations that transformed the political and cultural landscapes of southern and northern China. In this multi-power period, large-scale migrations, internal or external, occurred most frequently under the watch of the Northern Wei regime, and the Northern Wei government played an active role in facilitating and controlling migration. Accordingly, primary sources on displaced persons, especially southern migrants, who went to Northern Wei, are relatively abundant, which give an up-close picture of a group of people long neglected in Chinese history.

My thesis employs a wide variety of primary sources. It includes, besides received textual records (official and unofficial histories, geographical texts, Buddhist hagiographies, anecdotes, and legal texts), also excavated funerary inscriptions, and archaeological materials. Theoretically grounded, it draws inspiration from literature on boundary work theory in other parts of the world to examine the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion at play between southern migrants and the Northern Wei government, between southern migrants and Northern Wei elites, and within the communities of southern migrants.

Following an introduction that analyzes the meanings of the concept of "boundary work" and situates this study of cross-border migrants therein, the first chapter, "People on the Move," presents an overview of the cross-border migrants under study. It examines different patterns of side-changing and stresses the diversity among cross-border migrants. The remainder of the dissertation is a social history of cross-border migrants.

Chapter 2, "State and Cross-Border Migrants," centers on the physical side of boundary work by looking into Northern Wei policies to control migration, including the bureaucratic

terminology on border crossers, the identity verification process of migrants, and the rewards and punishments foreseen and doled out.

Chapter 3, "Integration of Cross-Border Migrants," investigates the extent to which cross-border migrants were integrated into the host society. It first analyzes how the Northern Wei elites erected boundaries between themselves and newcomers, particularly by means of food and language. It then discusses southern migrants' varying survival strategies, ranging from the quotidian act of eating northern foods to long-term tactics of marriage alliances with northern leading families, recreating their local bases in the north, and utilizing migrant networks.

The fourth chapter, "Those Who Were Left Behind," explores the negative consequences of cross-border migration on the migrants' families left behind in the south, including the difficulties of ransoming migrants, the problems of repatriating migrants' remains for burial, and the inheritance issues caused by the double marriage of their husband or father at both sides of the border.

Résumé

Les quatre cents ans entre les dynasties Han (206 av. J.-C. à 220 av. J.-C.) et Tang (618-916 apr. J.-C.) sont généralement reconnus comme une ère de grandes migrations. Cette thèse est la première étude complète des migrants transfrontaliers de la dynastie des Wei du Nord (386-534 apr. J.-C.), et se concentre sur les peuples forcés d'émigrer vers les territoires Wei du Nord depuis les états Song (420-479), Qi (479-502) et Liang (502-557) situés au sud.

Ce projet comporte quatre chapitres. Le premier offre une vue d'ensemble des migrants transfrontaliers et donne un aperçu des circonstances politiques changeantes de cette période. Le reste de la thèse gravite autour de trois questions centrales : comment l'État d'accueil a-t-il répondu à l'afflux de migrants transfrontaliers (chapitre 2)? Comment les migrants se sont-ils intégrés à la société d'accueil (chapitre 3)? Quelles ont été les conséquences des migrations pour la société et pour les populations laissées derrière (chapitre 4)? Pour répondre à ces question, j'utilise la théorie boundary-work dans le but d'analyser les dynamiques d'inclusion et d'exclusion entre les migrants du sud et le gouvernement Wei du Nord, entre les migrants du sud et les élites Wei du Nord, et parmi les migrants du sud.

Grâce à une lecture rapprochée d'une grande variété de sources écrites, incluant des annales officielles et non officielles, des inscriptions funéraires, des textes géographiques, des hagiographies bouddhistes, des anecdotes et des textes légaux, cette étude capture un grand nombre de voix et reconstitue les expériences et motivations—en fait, l'humanité—des personnes déplacées et des demandeurs d'asile eux-mêmes, dont l'histoire est encore largement méconnue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I always remember that, right after I passed my comprehensive examinations, my advisor, Griet Vankeerberghen, told me that she dreamed last night I graduated. It was the beginning of my second year at McGill. Graduation, to me, sounded very distant. I did not realize that time flies, and that it flies faster than I could imagine. Throughout six years at McGill, the first person I would like to thank is Griet. Without her unflagging support, I would not be able to slog through the PhD program. Without her guidance and thoughtful comments, I could not have finished this dissertation. Griet is more than my mentor. She is a friend that I can talk to and a wonderful travel companion that I look forward to traveling with her again. Simply put, it has been my great honor to be her first PhD student.

I was also fortunate to study and work with a group of leading scholars in the field of Chinese history and European history. Professor Gwen Bennett has been very supportive of my research on the Northern Wei. Her course on Historical Archaeology reminded me of being cautious of how and why national history was and is constructed. Another debt of gratitude is to Professor Kenneth Dean's encouragement. His course on Chinese Diaspora in Southeast Asia and his research project on Chinese transnational religious networks in Singapore for which I worked as a research assistant gave me valuable opportunity to reflect migration issue from a modern perspective. When I was struggling with a conceptual framework for this project, Professor Travis Bruce offered me a timely help. His lively seminar on Frontier in Pre-Modern Societies inspired me to take boundary-making approach to explore ancient Chinese migration history. I thank Professor Hans Beck for introducing Roman history to me, which widens my perspective on ancient empires. I would also like to express special gratitude to the members of my exam committee: Laura Madokoro, Travis Bruce, Jeremy Tai, Jeehee Hong, and Keith Knapp.

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Lastly, my gratitude is owed to my parents and my dear sister. Although they may not understand why I spend so much time studying ancient China, they never fail to believe me.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the tables

BS	*Bei shi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties)
BQS	*Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (History of the Northern Qi Dynasty)
CS	*Chen shu* 陳書 (History of the Chen Dynasty)
JS	*Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty)
LS	*Liang shu* 梁書 (History of the Liang Dynasty)
LYQLJ	*Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang)
NQS	*Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi Dynasty)
NS	*Nan shi* 南史 (History of the Southern Dynasties)
SS	*Song shu* 宋書 (History of the Liu-Song Dynasty)
WS	*Wei shu* 魏書 (History of the Northern Wei Dynasty)
ZS	*Zhou shu* 周書 (History of the Northern Zhou Dynasty)
ZZTJ	*Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government)

Chronology (Western Zhou-Qing)

Western Zhou (ca.1050-771 BCE)

Spring and Autumn (Chunqiu) Period (770-481 BCE)

Warring States (Zhanguo) Period (475-222 BCE)

Qin (221-210 BCE)

Western Han (206 BCE-9CE)

Xin (9-23 CE)

Eastern Han (25-220 CE)

Three Kingdom Period

Wei (220-265 CE)

Shu (221-263 CE)

Wu (222-280 CE)

Jin

Western Jin (265-316 CE)

Eastern Jin (317-420 CE)

Sixteen Kingdoms Period (304-420 CE)

Northern Wei (386-534 CE)

Eastern Wei (534-572 CE)

Western Wei (535-556 CE)

Northern Qi (550-577 CE)

Northern Zhou (557-581 CE)

Liu-Song (420-479 CE)

Southern Qi (479-502 CE)

Liang (502-557 CE)

Chen (557-589 CE)

Sui (581-618 CE)

Tang (618-907 CE)

Five Dynasties (907-960 CE)

Liao (907-916-1125 CE)

Jin (1115-1234 CE)

Song

Northern Song (960-1127 CE)

Southern Song (1127-1279 CE)

Yuan (1279-1368 CE)

Ming (1368-1644 CE)

Qing (1644-1911 CE)

Northern Wei Reign Dates

Posthumous Title	Temple Name	Reign Date
Emperor Daowu 道武帝	Taizu 太祖	386-409 CE
Emperor Mingyuan 明元帝	Taizong 太宗	409-423 CE
Emperor Taiwu 太武帝	Shizu 世祖	424-452 CE
Emperor Wencheng 文成帝	Gaozong 高宗	452-465 CE
Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝	Xianzu 顯祖	466-471 CE
Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝	Gaozu 高祖	471-499 CE
Emperor Xuanwu 宣武帝	Shizong 世宗	500-515 CE
Emperor Xiaoming 孝明帝	Suzong 肅宗	516-528 CE
Emperor Xiaozhuang 孝莊帝	Jingzong 敬宗	528-531 CE
Emperor Jiemin 節閔帝		531-532 CE
Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝		532-535 CE[1]

[1] Emperor Xiaowu, the last emperor of the Northern Wei dynasty, escaped to Chang'an in 534 CE to avoid a conflict with Gao Huan, who then took de facto control of the imperial court. Gao Huan soon placed a puppet emperor on the throne in Luoyang and moved the capital to Ye. Although both imperial courts claimed themselves the Wei, modern scholars generally regard that the Northern Wei dynasty ended with Emperor Xiaowu's flight in 534 CE. Also see page 8.

Liu-Song Reign Titles

Posthumous Title	Name	Temple Name	Reign Date
Emperor Wu 武帝	Liu Yu 劉裕	Gaozu 高祖	420-422 CE
Emperor Young 少帝 (deposed)	Liu Yifu 劉義符		422-424 CE
Emperor Wen 文帝	Liu Yilong 劉義隆	Taizu 太祖	424-453 CE
Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝	Liu Jun 劉駿	Shizu 世祖	453-464 CE
(The Former Deposed Emperor 前廢帝)	Liu Ziye 劉子業		464-466 CE
Emperor Ming 明帝	Liu Yù 劉彧	Taizong 太宗	466-472 CE
(The Latter Deposed Emperor 後廢帝)	Liu Yuh 劉昱		472-477 CE
Emperor Shun 順帝	Liu Zhun 劉準		477-479 CE

Southern Qi Reign Titles

Posthumous Title	Name	Temple Name	Reign Date
Emperor Gao 高帝	Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成	Taizu 太祖	479-482 CE
Emperor Wu 武帝	Xiao Ze 蕭賾	Shizu 世祖	482-493 CE
(King Yulin 鬱林王; deposed)	Xiao Zhaoye 蕭昭業		493-494 CE
(King Hailing 海陵王; deposed)	Xiao Zhaowen 蕭昭文		494 CE
Emperor Ming 明帝	Xiao Luan 蕭鸞	Gaozong 高宗	494-498 CE

(Marquis Donghun 東昏侯; deposed)	Xiao Baojuan 蕭寶卷		499-500 CE
Emperor He 和帝	Xiao Baorong 蕭寶融		501-502 CE

Liang Reign Titles

Posthumous Title	Name	Temple Name	Reign Date
Emperor Wu 武帝	Xiao Yan 蕭衍	Gaozu 高祖	502-549 CE
Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝	Xiao Gang 蕭綱	Taizong 太宗	550-551 CE
Emperor Xiaoyuan 孝元帝	Xiao Yi 蕭繹	Shizu 世祖	552-554 CE
Emperor Min 閔帝	Xiao Yuanming 蕭淵明		555 CE
Emperor Jing 敬帝	Xiao Fangzhi 蕭方智		555-557 CE

Chen Reign Titles

Posthumous Title	Name	Temple Name	Reign Date
Emperor Wu 武帝	Chen Baxian 陳霸先	Gaozu 高祖	557-559 CE
Emperor Wen 文帝	Chen Qian 陳蒨	Shizu 世祖	559-566 CE
(Deposed Emperor 廢帝)	Chen Bozong 陳伯宗		566-568 CE
Emperor Xiaoxuan 孝宣帝	Chen Xu 陳頊	Gaozong 高宗	568-582 CE

(Final Emperor 後主)	Chen Shubao 陳叔寶		582-589 CE

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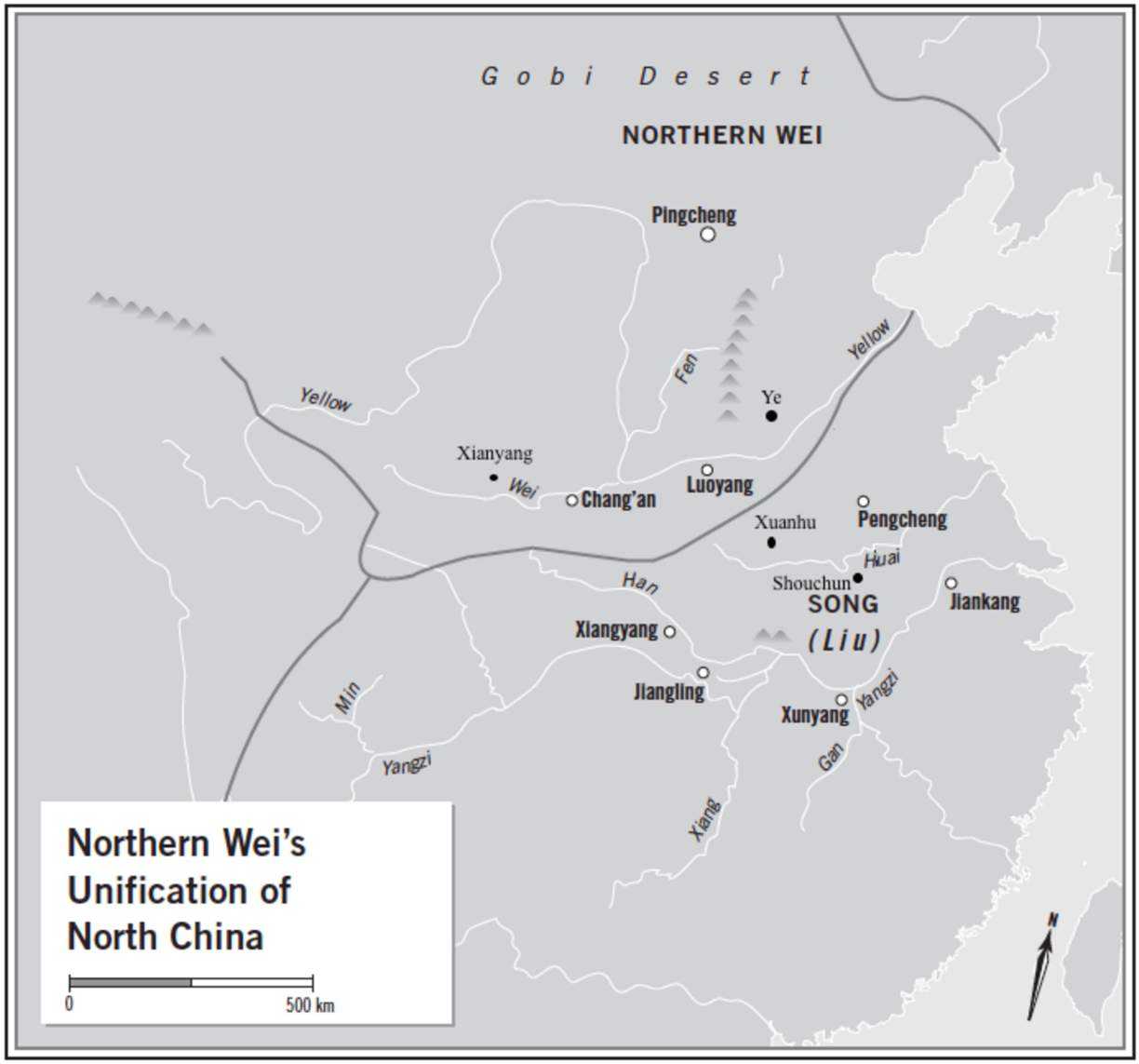
Map 1: Provinces of Contemporary China[2]

[2] This map is based on Mark Edward Lewis, *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 9.

Map 2: Cities in Early Medieval China[3]



[3] This map is created based on Mark Edward Lewis 2009, 82.

Introduction

The twentieth century has been dubbed an "Age of Migration."[1] International migration, the movement of people crossing national borders, continues to be one of the most critical global issues of the twenty-first century, for it often gives rise to political, economic, and social tensions in destination countries. Every day, one is flooded by news regarding government endeavors to control migrants, conflicts between migrants and local residents, and the plight of these migrants. Yet, migration has been a fundamental human phenomenon since time immemorial, and the role of migration and migrants in shaping the world was as great in the past as it is today.

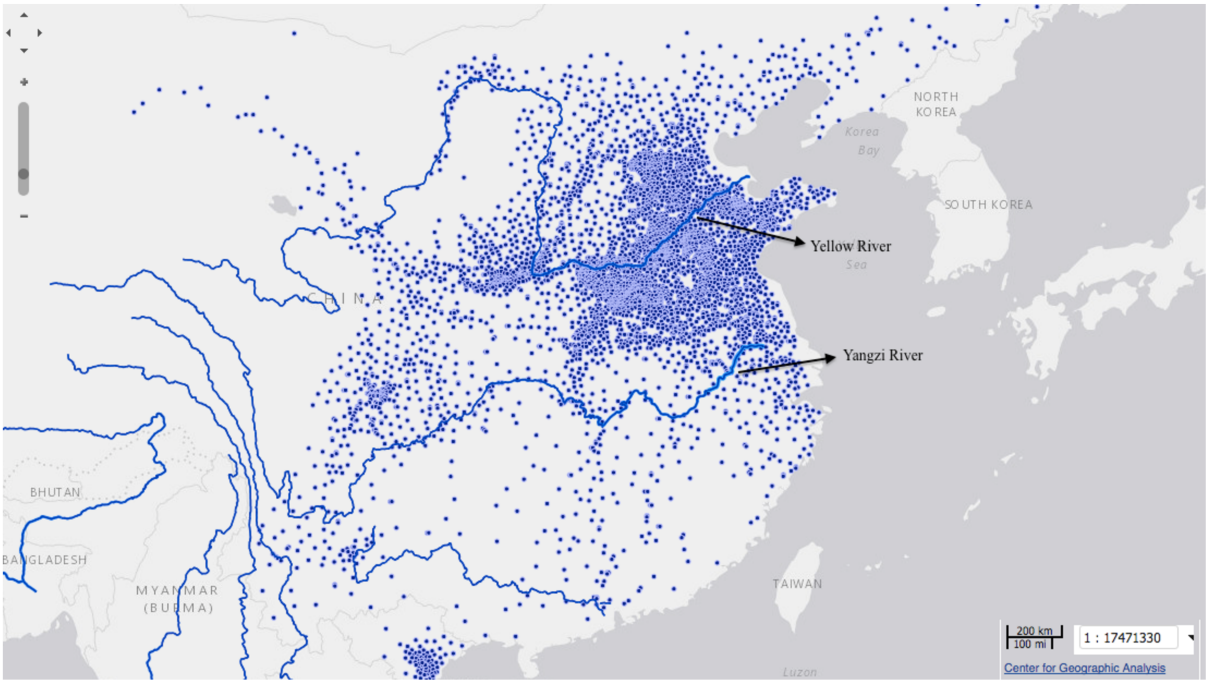
Take China as an example. Quite contrary to the stereotype that saw ancient Chinese society as static; people, goods, and knowledge travelled from and within what we now call China, to different degrees and in various forms throughout history. Whereas migration played an important role also in the relative imperial stability of the Han (206 BCE-220 CE) and Tang dynasties (618-916 CE), scholars have recognized the four hundred years between Han and Tang in particular as a great era of migration.[2]

The main path of migration in these four centuries was from north to south.[3] People had begun to move into the region south of the Huai 淮 River and the Yangzi River from the core

[1] Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (New York: Guilford Press, 2014).
[2] See Hans Bielenstein, "The Census of China During the Period 2-742 A.D," *Bulletin of the Museum for Far Eastern Antiquities* 19 (1947), 145. James Lee also emphasizes the significance of this time period by saying that "the widespread chain migrations of the fourth century A.D." was one of "three great periods of migration." See James Z. Lee, "Migration and Expansion in Chinese History," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth S. Adams (Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1978), 39.
[3] I have taken the Huai River as the dividing line between north and south, two terms frequently described in my dissertation. The reason for this is that from the establishment of the Eastern Jin down to the end of the Southern Dynasties in 589 CE, the Huai River area was the arena of constant warfare between the northern and southern regimes, and especially so between the Northern Wei based at Luoyang, south of the Yellow River, and its southern counterparts at Jiankang on the lower Yangzi River, whereas the northern border of the southern regimes changed over time.

areas of the Han Empire, located in the plain on the south side of the Yellow River, as early as the first century CE under threat of war and natural disasters (see Map 0.1).[4]

Map 0.1 Registered Population in 2 CE[5]



After the Han Empire collapsed in 220 CE, its territory was divided into that ruled by the Cao-Wei regime (220-266 CE) that took over the Yellow River valley in the north, and the Shu-Han (221-263 CE) and Sun-Wu (229-280 CE) regimes that divided the Yangzi Valley in the south among them. Sima Yan 司馬炎 (265-290 CE) defeated these three regimes and established the Western Jin dynasty (265-316 CE), controlling most of the territories that had

[4] As a result, the population in the south increased remarkably. If one compared the official population records compiled in 2 CE and in 140 CE, one would find the registered subjects in the southern part of the Han Empire had had doubled from less than four million to around seven and half million people in nearly one hundred and forty years. See Hans Bielenstein 1947, 125-63; Rafe De Crespigny, *Generals of the South: The Foundation and Early History of the Three Kingdom State of Wu* (Canberra: Australian National University, Faculty of Asian Studies, 1990), 7-8 and 17; Mark Edward Lewis, *China between Empires: The Northern and Southern Dynasties* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 2 and 6.

[5] This map is based on Peter Bol's "Registered Population in 2 CE" vector layer on Worldmap. The link is: http://worldmap.harvard.edu/maps/7069

belonged to the Han Empire. Soon after his death, however, the Western Jin fell apart because of severe fights between imperial princes that lasted from 291 to 307 CE. Furthermore, non-Han peoples, such as Xiongnu, Jie, Xianbei, Di, Qiang, who lived not only along and beyond the northern frontier of the Western Jin but had also settled within its interior northern provinces, seized the opportunity and attacked the Western Jin capital at Luoyang.

North China had sunk into chaos. As the *Jin shu* vividly depicts it, "by the Yongjia period (307-31 CE) trouble and disturbances were very widespread. From Yongzhou (modern Shaanxi area) eastward many suffered from hunger and poverty. People were sold [as slaves]. Vagrants became countless…virulent disease accompanied by the famine; the people were also murdered by bandits. The rivers were [hence] filled with floating corpses; bleached bones covered the fields…people ate people."[6] Struggling for survival, northern refugees poured into the south in unprecedented numbers, including some members of the Jin ruling house who were forced to retreat to the Yangzi River area and established the Eastern Jin (317-420 CE) dynasty at Jiankang (in present-day Nanjing), the old capital of the Sun-Wu state.

There were several waves of southward migration from the Eastern Jin throughout the succeeding four dynasties in the south—Liu-Song (420-479 CE), Southern Qi (479-502 CE), Liang (502-557 CE) and Chen (557-589 CE). Following Tan Qixiang's interpretation of a government record of 464 CE, the total increase in population resulting from southward migration is around one million, approximately one-sixth of the registered population of the Liu-Song regime.[7] This figure includes both northern migrants over the 150 years (from the

[6] See *Jin shu* 26.791. The Chinese is: 至於永嘉，喪亂彌甚。雍州以東，人多飢乏，更相鬻賣。奔迸流移，不可勝數…又大疾疫，兼以饑饉，百姓又為寇賊所殺，流尸滿河，白骨蔽野…人多相食. My translation and punctuation are modified from David Andrew Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300-900* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 47.

[7] Tan Qixiang 譚其驤, "Jin Yongjia sangluan hou zhi minzu qianxi 晉永嘉喪亂後之民族遷徙," in *Changshui ji* 長水集 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1987), 219-223. This article is originally on *Yanjing xuebao* 燕京學報

end of the Western Jin to 464 CE) and their descendants after resettlement, but it is certainly incomplete, mainly because surviving texts offer no evidence of "the numbers that had escaped registration."[8] Nonetheless, the extent of southward migration is undeniably large.

Migration does not simply go one way; many southerners moved north too. Although the total population of southern migrants during the time period under investigation is unclear owing to the limited information, the people involved were no less than 800,000.[9] Moreover, many of these southerners played key roles in government and society in the north, contributing to the formation of the Sui and Tang Empires.[10] In current scholarship, however, disproportionate attention has gone to southward migration. Who were migrants from the south to the north? Why did they move to the north? What were the impacts of their northward migration? How did the northern states respond to migrants from southern regimes? These are fundamental and essential questions that can enrich our understanding of the migration history of the four centuries between the Han and the Tang, but have not yet been adequately addressed.

This dissertation takes these inquiries as its point of departure, with particular emphasis on those who migrated from the southern regimes to the Northern Wei (386-534 CE), for primary sources on displaced persons, especially southern migrants, who went to Northern

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in 1934. Tan's calculation is based on the record of 464 CE provided by the "Zhoujun zhi 州郡志 (Treatises on Provinces and Commanderies)" of the *Song shu*. See *Song shu* 35.1027–38.1209. As to the number of southward migrants from the fourth century to the sixth century, estimates range from 900,000 to 3 million. See James Lee 1978; Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Nanchao jingnei zhi gezhong ren ji zhengfu duidai zhi zhengce 南朝境内之各種人及政府對待之政策 (Various Peoples within the Borders of the Southern Dynasties and the Government's Policies toward Them)," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunji* 魏晉南北朝史論集 (Essays on the History of the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties) (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1997), 44; Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, *Zhongguo yimin shi (di er juan)* 中國移民史 (第二卷) (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1997), 410-412; Hu Axiang 胡阿祥, "The Population Migration and Its Influence in the Period of the Eastern Jin, the Sixteen States, and the Northern and Southern Dynasties," *China Frontiers of History in China: Selected Publications from Chinese Universities* 5, no. 4 (2010): 596; Angela Schottenhammer, "China: Medieval Era Migrations," in *The Encyclopedia of Global Human Migration* Vol.2, ed. Immanuel Ness (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 997.

[8] David Graff 2002, 80. Also see Hu Axiang 2010, 591-592.

[9] This is my calculation of the number of the first-generation southern migrants during the Northern Wei dynasty, which based on the *Wei shu*. See Chapter 1 for more details.

[10] Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Sui Tang zhidu yuanyuan luelun gao; Tangdai zhengzhishi lunshu gao* 隋唐制度淵源略論稿; 唐代政治史論述稿 (Taipei: Liren shuju, 1994), 1-8.

Wei, are relatively abundant. This provides a valuable opportunity to study the life of a group of people long-neglected in Chinese history.

Northern Wei: A Mobile Dynasty[11]

Of all the regimes in the four hundred years between the Han and Tang, large-scale migrations, internal and external, occurred most frequently during the Northern Wei period, and the Northern Wei government played a critical part in facilitating and controlling migration.[12] The Northern Wei was built by the Tuoba branch of the Xianbei people, who were said to originate in the Greater Xing'an Mountains 大興安嶺 of what is now northeastern Inner Mongolia;[13] "herding and hunting formed the basis of their life."[14] They

[11] I adapt this term from Tseng Chin-yin's concept "a mobile court," by which she refers to the imperial tours of the Northern Wei rulers in order to enjoy favorable climate or inspect the realm, and to the Northern Wei's practice of mass population relocation. In doing so, Tseng argues, the Northern Wei emperors asserted the imperial power. See Tseng Chin-Yin, *The Making of the Tuoba Northern Wei: Constructing Material Cultural Expressions in the Northern Wei Pingcheng Period (398-494 CE)* (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2013), 29-39.

[12] Hu Axiang argues that during the 150 years of the Northern Wei, there are nearly 200 records on migration and the total number of the migrants reached over 5 million." See Hu Axiang 2010: 596.

[13] According to the *Wei shu*, in 443 CE, the Northern Wei emperor dispatched an official to the site of what he believed to be his original ancestral temple, and to perform sacrifices there. This official engraved the inscription of invocation on the wall of the cave, which is also recorded in the dynastic history. In the summer of 1980, a research team entered this cave (Gaxian 嘎仙 cave) and discovered the Chinese inscription, which verified the traditional account in the dynastic history. However, the question as to whether or not the Xianbei ancestors really originated from this place remains uncertain. See Charles Holcombe, "The Xianbei in Chinese History," *Early Medieval China* 19 (2013): 1-38. For an archaeological report of the inscription, see Mi Wenping 米文平, "Xianbei shishi de faxian yu chubu yanjiu 鮮卑石室的發現與初步研究," *Wenwu* 2 (1981): 1-8.

[14] The Chinese is: 畜牧遷徙, 射獵為業. See *Wei shu* 1.1. English translation after Jennifer Holmgren, *Annals of Tai: Early T'o-Pa History According to the First Chapter of the Wei-Shu* (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1982), 51. On the early history of Xianbei, see Ma Changshou 馬長壽, *Wuhuan yu Xianbei* 烏桓與鮮卑 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1962); Su Bai 宿白, "Xianbei Remains in Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Record of Xianbei Remains, Part One," *Chinese Studies in Archaeology* 1, no. 2 (1979): 3-43; Jennifer Holmgren 1982; Albert E. Dien, "A New Look at the Xianbei and Their Impact on Chinese Culture," in *Ancient Mortuary Traditions of China: Papers on Chinese Ceramic Funerary Sculptures*, ed. G. Kuwayama (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991); Thomas Barfield, *The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* (Cambridge, Mass.: B. Blackwell, 1989), 85-87; Shing Müller, "The Nomads of the Fifth Century: The Tuoba Xianbei," in *Nomads, Traders and Holy Men Along China's Silk Road: Papers Presented at a Symposium Held at the Asia Society in New York, November 9-10, 2001*, ed. Lerner A. Juliano, 2002; Tseng Chin-yin 2013; Charles Holcombe 2013; Nina Duthie, "Origins, Ancestors, and Imperial Authority in Early Northern Wei Historiography" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2015).

spoke the Xianbei language, which differs from the Chinese language. Some scholars believe that the Xianbei vocabulary was essentially Turkish, with a mixture of Mongolian elements,[15] and other scholars argue that it was an early relative of Mongolic.[16] Given that there is very little surviving evidence, all that can be conclusively said about the Xianbei language is that it must have been broadly Ural –Altaic.[17]

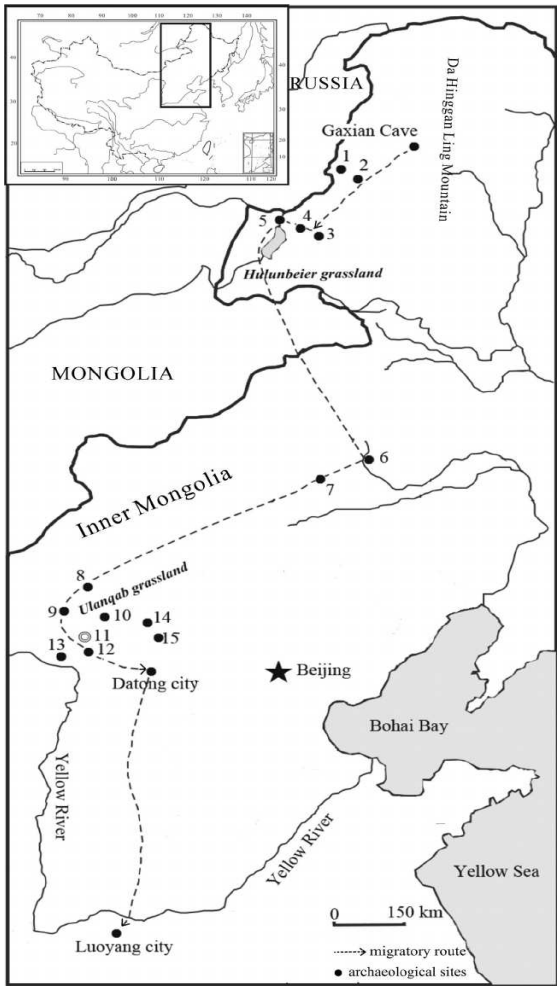
Around the third century the Tuoba Xianbei moved southward to the northern border areas of the Han and later Western Jin Empires and became their allies against other nomadic groups, particularly the Xiongnu. After the Western Jin fell, many non-Han groups ruled its northern territory and formed various short-lived regimes, among which the Xianbei was the strongest one. From the fourth century on, many northern states were ruled by different branches of the Xianbei, including the Former Yan (337-370 CE), the Later Yan (384-409 CE), the Southern Yan (398-410 CE), the Western Qin (385-431 CE), the Southern Liang (397-414 CE), the Western Yan (384-394 CE), the Tuyuhun 吐谷渾,[18] and the Dai 代.[19]

The state of Dai was founded by the Tuoba Xianbei ruler Tuoba Gui 拓拔珪 in 386 CE, whose administrative seat was in Shengle 盛樂 (present-day Horinger, Inner Mongolia). In 398 CE he moved his court southeast to Pingcheng 平城 (present-day Datong city, Shanxi province) and proclaimed himself emperor of the Wei dynasty;[20] his posthumous name is Emperor Daowu 道武帝 (r.386-409 CE). Although Northern Wei city of Pingcheng was built on the the same site as the seat of Pingcheng county (*xian* 縣) of the Han dynasty, the site

[15] See Peter A. Boodberg, "The Language of the T'o–Pa Wei," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 1, no. 2 (1936): 167-85.
[16] For example, Charles Holcombe 2013, 4.
[17] Albert E. Dien 1991, 41.
[18] Tuyuhun was a branch of the Xianbei originated from modern-day Liaodong and moved westward to the high plateau area of Northern Tibet at the end of the third century and occupied present-day Qinghai in the fourth century. Although they built the capital city in Fusi city 伏俟城 (in present-day Shinaihai village 石乃亥鄉, Gonghe 共和 county, Qinghai province) in the sixth century, received texts and archaeological remains indicate that they preserved their nomadic way of life. See Su Bai 1979, 17-18.
[19] Su Bai 1979, 5.
[20] The Wei state established by the Tuoba Xianbei is commonly called the Northern Wei in order to distinguish it from the Wei dynasty built by Cao Pi 曹丕 (r.220-226 CE) in 220 CE.

was almost completely abandoned due to incessant warfare from the late third century onward. Emperor Daowu and his successors thus needed not only to reconstruct the capital nearly from scratch, but also to populate this strategic city, a challenge that Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (r.471-499 CE) faced as well, when, in 494 CE, he relocated the Northern Wei capital south to Luoyang, a time-honored yet war-trodden city (see Map 0.2).

Map 0.2 Migratory Routes of the Tuoba Xianbei [21]



[21] This map is taken from Zhang Guowen, Yaowu Hu, Limin Wang, Chenming Cao, Xingsheng Li, Xiaonong Wu, Zudong Sun, *et al.*, "A Paleodietary and Subsistence Strategy Investigation of the Iron Age Tuoba Xianbei Site by Stable Isotopic Analysis: A Preliminary Study of the Role of Agriculture Played in Pastoral Nomad Societies in Northern China," *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 2, no. 1 (2015): 3.

The population of the ruling Xianbei, however, was far smaller in number and was not enough to fill and support the new capitals. For this reason, both Emperor Daowu and Emperor Xiaowen decreed that residents of the earlier capitals (Shengle or Pingcheng) must move to the new political center, be it Pingcheng or Luoyang, and the Northern Wei emperors also often transplanted a sizable number of war captives from other regimes. Waves of the conquered subjects hence poured into the capital cities of Pingcheng and Luoyang, among which at least 800,000 people came from the south.

Apart from forced migrants who were transported by the Northern Wei government to the capitals, many individuals from the southern regimes also fled to the Northern Wei either singly or with their family members and followers due to political pressure in their home states. Particularly, when power in the south changed hands, imperial family members of the dethroned dynasty made the choice to cross the border to seek asylum and ally themselves with the northern ruler against the usurper. High-ranking civil and military officials, too, ran northward to escape political persecutions carried out either by the emperor or by their political rivals.

One other large-scale migration that occurred at the end of the Northern Wei bears consideration, as this time it was a case of emigration, rather than immigration. In 534 CE, Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r.532-535 CE) was unwilling to serve as a nominal ruler in the shadow of the powerful general Gao Huan 高歡 (496-547 CE). He hence fled west to Chang'an to seek protection under another general Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 (507-556 CE). This eventually led to the Northern Wei splitting into two as Gao Huan soon enthroned a prince Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (r.534-550 CE) as the legitimate successor of the Northern Wei emperorship in Luoyang and then ordered the capital moved to Ye 鄴 (modern Linzhang 臨漳, Hebei province). The new court at Ye was known as the Eastern Wei (534-550 CE), while the Wei court in Chang'an was known as the Western Wei. Four hundred thousand

households of Luoyang residents were said to have abandoned their homes and moved to the new capital city of Ye.[22] These included the Northern Wei imperial family members and officials, as well as large numbers of commoners. If each household consisted of at least four people, the total number of the migrants would amount to 1.6 million.

Without any doubt, migration is a major defining feature of the Northern Wei period, and in this sense, I view the Northern Wei as a mobile dynasty. Migration enables us to see Northern Wei history through a new lens. Owing to the coexistence of so many regimes in the four centuries between the Han and Tang, some scholars designate the fourth to sixth centuries CE as an Age of Division or as a Period of Disunion, whereas others view this period as part of the Six Dynasties (*Liuchao* 六朝), meaning six successive dynasties headquartered in Jiankang from the third century onward.[23] These designations implicitly take unification as the norm, and often assume that only the southern regimes were legitimate dynasties, the northern regimes, such as the Northern Wei, being viewed as foreign conquerors responsible for China's "dark age."[24] However, as Mark Edward Lewis has pointed out, unification was not the "normal state of affairs,"[25] and the narrative of Chinese history should not be dominated by the dichotomy of unification and disunion.

In this dissertation, I suggest that the time period that the Northern Wei is situated in can be best characterized as a multi-state order, on a par with the better studied multi-state orders that prevailed during the Spring and Autumn period (770-476 BCE)[26] or the Song dynasty

[22] See *Wei shu* 82.1806 and *Bei Qi shu* 2.18.
[23] The term Six Dynasties refers to the Wu of the Three Kingdom periods, Eastern Jin, Liu-Song, Southern Qi, Liang and Chen. The capital city was called Jianye 建業 during the Sun-Wu period, but was later changed to Jiankang during the reign of the last emperor of the Western Jin. Even so, in the texts of later periods, Jianye and Jiankang were used interchangeably. For consistency, nonetheless, I use the name Jiankang throughout.
[24] For a detailed discussion on this issue, see Jennifer Holmgren, "Northern Wei as a Conquest Dynasty: Current Perceptions; Past Scholarship," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 40 (1989): 1-50.
[25] Mark E. Lewis 2009, 1.
[26] See, for example, Richard Louis Walker, *The Multi-State System of Ancient China* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1953).

(960-1279 CE).[27] From its beginning to the end in 534 CE, Northern Wei was never the only political actor on the stage. Besides with the three successive dynasties located south of the Yangzi River, the Northern Wei was contending with the Rouran 柔然,[28] Koguryo, and Tuyuhun (see Map 0.3). The Northern Wei and the neighboring regimes were all ambitious, but never as strong as the Han or Tang Empire. They therefore had to seize every chance to annex their neighbors and vie for cultural superiority over others. To survive in this multi-state rivalry, each regime engaged strategically in diplomacy and warfare with one other.

Map 0.3 Northern Wei in a Multi-State World [29]

[27] See Morris Rossabi, *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983) and Tao Jing-sheng, *Two Sons of Heaven: Studies in Sung-Liao Relations* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988).

[28] Rouran, also called Ruanruan 蠕蠕, Ruru 茹茹, Ruirui 芮芮, were a nomadic a nomadic confederacy who dominated mainly in present-day Mongloia and Siberia from the fourth century to the mid-sixth century. The Ruanruan were eventually conquered by Tujue (Turks) around 555 CE. See Thomas J. Barfield 1989, 120-127 and Charles Holcombe 2013, 37.

[29] This map is created based on Peter Bol's "448 CE Northern Wei and Liu-Song" vector layer on Worldmap. The link is: http://worldmap.harvard.edu/data/geonode:_ce_northern_wei_and_liu_song_wma

Conflict in this, nonetheless, "contains something positive. Its positive and negative aspects…are integrated; they can be separated conceptually, but not empirically."[30] This is most clearly illustrated in the case of the Northern Wei and southern regimes: while warfare between both sides brought high mortality rate and impeded cross-border movement, wartime and post-war compulsory population transfers and displacements paradoxically facilitated long-distance movements of people on an unprecedented scale. This in turn increased trans-regional and trans-cultural interactions, and created multilayered links of interaction across the border. In sum, migration across borders highlights the connectivity between these neighbouring but rivalling regimes, and hence shifts our gaze beyond the traditional focus on division and rivalry.

Defining Cross-Border Migrants

Despite the significance of migration and cross-border migrants in the Northern Wei era, there is, surprisingly, no research tradition on this topic in English as a category of independent analysis.[31] In Chinese scholarship, research on these two topics in the time period under investigation is also rather thin.

By far most attention has been paid to southern migrants' impacts on the Northern Wei and the ensuing northern dynasties. Tsai Hsing-Chuan's unpublished master's thesis is a

[30] Georg Simmel, *Conflict* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), 13.
[31] For example, even though Diana Lary's book entitled *Chinese Migrations: The Movement of People, Goods, and Ideas over Four Millennia* covers a lenthy time span, it does not include a chapter on the four centuries between the Han and Tang dynasties. See Diana Lary, *Chinese Migrations: The Movement of People, Goods, and Ideas over Four Millennia* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2012). Overall, migration in imperial China has not yet attracted many scholars' attention. Apart from Diana Lary's book, there are only four monographs in English, and all of them focus on the Ming (1368-1644 CE) and Qing (1644-1911 CE) dynasties. See JoannaWaley-Cohen, *Exile in Mid-Qing China: Banishment to Xinjiang, 1758-1820* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), Leong Sow-Theng, *Migration and Ethnicity in Chinese History: Hakkas, Pengmin, and Their Neighbors*, ed. Tim Wright (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1997); James Reardon-Anderson, *Reluctant Pioneers: China's Expansion Northward, 1644-1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2005) and Steven B. Miles, *Upriver Journeys: Diaspora and Empire in Southern China, 1570-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2017)

pioneering inquiry into political defectors of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. [32] She uses the dynastic histories to chart approximately five hundred defectors from the south to the north, and vice versa, giving a broad overview of the political defectors' backgrounds, their motives for border-crossing, and their influence on the hosting and home countries alike, in a chorological order. In two articles based on her master thesis, she subsequently offers a preliminarily examination of the problems of double marriages and burials across the North-South frontier.[33]

Additionally, Zhang Zhaokai explores southern migrants' contributions to the Northern Wei in terms of military, ritual, music, and economy.[34] Wang Yongping argues that the Northern Wei government relied on southern migrants to revise its bureaucratic system in order to successfully implement the policy of sinicization. He also stresses the contribution of southern migrants on the studies of classics and Buddhism in the north.[35] Wang Yunliang discusses how southern migrants brought about changes in the literary style of Northern Wei authors.[36] Fan Jiawei examines and emphasizes that the migration of two physician families

[32] Tsai Hsing-Chuan 蔡幸娟, "Nanbeichao xiangren yanjiu: xiyuan 398-535 nian 南北朝降人研究: 西元 398-535 年 [Research on Surrenders of the Northern and Southern Dynasties: 398-535 CE]" (master's thesis, Chengkung University, 1986).

[33] Tsai Hsing-Chuan, "Fenlie shidai renmin de hunyin yu jiating: yi Wei Jin Nanbeichao wei kaocha zhongxin 分裂時代人民的婚姻與家庭: 以魏晉南北朝為考察中心," *Chengda lishi xuebao* 成大歷史學報 21 (1995): 25-93 and Tsai Hsing-Chuan 蔡幸娟, "Ke si yiguo he luoye guigen zhijian de guo yu jia: yi Nanbeichao de xiangren wei kaocha zhongxin 客死異國和落葉歸根之間的國與家：以南北朝的降人為考察中心," *Chengda lishi xuebao* 35 (2008), 111-156.

[34] Zhang Zhaokai 張兆凱, "Lüe lun Bei Wei shiqi de Nanchao xiangren 略論北魏時期的南朝降人," *Beichao yanjiu* 北朝研究 4 (1992), 24-30.

[35] Wang Yongping 王永平, "Bei Wei shiqi Nanchao liuwang renshi xingji kaoshu: cong yige cemian kan Nan Bei Chao zhijian de wenhua jiaoliu 北魏時期南朝流亡人士行迹考述: 從一個側面看南北朝之間的文化交流," in *Beichao shi yanjiu* 北朝史研究, ed. Yin Xian 殷憲 (Beijing Shangwu yinshuguan, 2004), 120-33. Wang later published a monograph on the impact of elite migration from the Han dynasty to the end of the Sui dynasty. See Wang Yongping, *Zhonggu shiren qianyi yu wenhua jiaoliu* 中古士人遷移與文化交流 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2005).

[36] Wang Yunliang 王允亮, "Nanbeichao shiren liuwang yu nanbei wenxue jiaoliu 南北朝士人流亡與南北文學交流," *Zhongguo xue yanjiu* 中國學研究 11 (2008): 49-54.

of the Southern Dynasties contributed to medical developments in the Northern Wei and Tang dynasties.[37]

Some scholars focus on one particular group of migrants. Several of them focus on the status of "the conquered Qi people" (*Ping Qi min* 平齊民) in Northern Wei society,[38] who were originally subjects of the Liu-Song regime, living in the present-day Shandong peninsula, but were relocated by the Northern Wei government in 469 CE, when the Liu-Song lost its territory to its northern rival. Exiled members of southern elite families have also received scholarly attention. For example, Chen Diyu compares marriage circles[39] and local network of three southern exiles and their families in the Northern Wei.[40] In his comprehensive study on diplomacy between the Northern Wei and southern regimes, Tsai Tsung-hsien analyzes the various activities of envoys in the Northern Wei, and notes that from Emperor Xiaowen's reign on, many envoys were either first generation southern migrants or their descendants.[41]

Other scholars discuss the Northern Wei government policy toward southern migrants. Japanese scholar Sakuma Kichiya focuses on rewards to trace the development of the

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[37] Fan Jiawei 范家偉, "Nanchao yijia rushi Beichao zhi tantao 南朝醫家入仕北朝之探討," *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 18, no. 2 (2000): 143-66.

[38] The focus of their discussions is that whether the *Ping Qi min*'s status as forced migrant was higher than slaves or equal to the latter. Some scholars made them rank with agricultural slaves (*nongnu* 農奴); below registered commoners. See Tsukamoto Zenryu 塚本善隆, "Hokugi no Sōgiko Butsutoko 北魏の僧祇戶・仏圖戶," *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 2, no. 3 (1937): 201-26. Others argue that the conquered Qi people were part of the registered population and that their status is higher than that of slaves (*lihu* 隸戶), given that they were called "*min* 民," and that there is no evidence in the dynastic histories that shows that they were treated as slaves. See Yan Yaozhong 嚴耀中, "Ping Qi min shenfen yu Qing Qi ge shizu jituan 平齊民身分與青齊各士族集團," *Shanghai shiyuan xuebao* 上海師院學報 1 (1983): 110-15. See more discussion on Ping Qi people in Chapter 1.

[39] As to migrants' marriage circles, see also Wang Daliang 王大良, "Cong Bei Wei Diao Zun muzhi kan Nanbeichao shizu hunyin 從北魏刁遵墓誌看南北朝世族婚姻," *Beichao yanjiu* 北朝研究 2 (1992).

[40] Chen Diyu 陳迪宇, "Beigui shizu zai Beichao fazhan de jizhong moshi chutan: yi Taiyuan Jinyang Wangshi, Bohai Diaoshi, Langye Wangshi beigui ho de fazhan wei li 北歸士族在北朝發展的幾種模式初探: 以太原晉陽王氏、渤海刁氏、琅琊王氏北歸後的發展為例," *Linyi shifan xueyuan xuebao* 臨沂師範學院學報 26, no. 2 (2004): 54-57.

[41] See Tsai Tsung-hsien 蔡宗憲, *Zhonggu qianqi de jiaopin yu nanbei hudong* 中古前期的交聘與南北互動 (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2008).

Northern Wei government policy towards those who surrendered from other regimes.[42] Basing herself on Sakuma's work, Tsai Hsing-Chuan examines the treatment of northern and southern governments of the defectors from the other side of the border, including arrangement of awards[43] and guest hostels.[44] She also discusses why defectors of varying socio-political status were treated differently by their host governments.[45]

The scholarship discussed above certainly lays a foundation for further research. Often however, what is provided is only a general introduction based solely on official historical accounts without taking into account of other types of textual evidence, such as tomb inscriptions, which also left valuable information on cross-border migrants. This dissertation, while building upon previous scholarship, distinguishes itself from earlier scholarly projects in various ways. It employs a source base that is as wide as possible, including, besides received textual sources (official and unofficial histories, geographical texts, Buddhist hagiographies, anecdotes, and legal texts), also excavated funerary inscriptions, and archaeological materials. This dissertation not only examines works commissioned by the authorities, but looks for, as far as our evidence allows, southern migrants' own voices. More theoretically grounded, it draws inspiration from literature on boundary-making theory in other places of the world to create a dynamic picture of the relationships between southern migrants and the Northern Wei government, between southern migrants and Northern Wei elites, and among southern migrants.

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[42] Sakuma Kichiya 佐久間吉也, "Hokugi no kyakurei ni tsuite 北魏の客礼について [Research on the Guest Rituals of the Northern Wei]," in *Tōyō shigaku ronshū* 東洋史学論集, ed. Tōkyō kyōiku daigaku tōyō shigaku kenkyūshitsu 東京教育大学東洋史学研究室 (Tokyo: Shimizu shoin, 1953), 61-70.

[43] See also An Jiesheng 安介生, "Lüe lun Bei Wei shiqi de 'shangke', 'diyi ke' yu zhaohuai zhengce 略論北魏時期的"上客"、"第一客"與招懷政策," *Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu* 中國邊疆史地研究 1 (2007): 18-26.

[44] See also Wang Jing 王靜, "Bei Wei siyiguan lun kao 北魏四夷館論考," *Minzu yanjiu* 民族研究 4 (1999): 75-82 and Tsai Tsung-hsien 蔡宗憲, "Nanbeichao de keguan ji qi dili weizhi 南北朝的客館及其地理位置," *Zhongguo dili lishi luncong* 中國地理歷史論叢 24, no. 1 (2009): 73-86.

[45] Tsai Hsing-Chuan 蔡幸娟, "Bei Wei shiqi nanbei xiangren daiyu: keli yanjiu 北魏時期南北降人待遇: 客禮研究," *Chengda lishi xuebao*, no. 15 (1989): 351-408.

Before moving on, a note on my definition of "cross-border migrants" is in order. In this dissertation, I focus on two types of southern migrants under Northern Wei rule: (1) southern war captives who were collectively transplanted by the Northern Wei government to the capital Pingcheng; (2) southern imperial clansmen, members of eminent families, and border officials who mostly sought asylum, alone or in small numbers, in the Northern Wei. While their backgrounds varied and they went to the Northern Wei at different times and for different reasons, these people were forced to abandon what they had in the south. In this sense, I regard all of them as forced migrants.

The term "cross-border migrants" refers to both types of the aforementioned forced migrants; depending on the context, I refer to them more specifically as border crossers, refugees, forced migrants, émigrés, asylum seekers, side-changers, and so on. Using "cross-border migrants" as an overarching category is useful, since it spotlights the fact that they often crossed not merely political borders, but social and cultural ones. It also highlights their shared experience of border crossing, no matter when they moved.

It is important to note that this terminology does not imply that the cross-border migrants acted as a homogenous group. Rather, I underscore their "internal plurality," a concept proposed by sociologist Bernard Lahire to criticize the "homogenizing perspective on individuals in society" common in fields such as sociology, anthropology, and historiography, and to offer "a more complex vision of the individual as being less unified and as the bearer of heterogeneous habits, schemes, or dispositions which may be contrary or even contradictory to one another."[46] I will thereby analyze cross-border migrants in terms of status, place of origins, gender and so on, to highlight the internal diversification of these displaced persons.

[46] Bernard Lahire, "From the Habitus to an Individual Heritage of Dispositions: Towards a Sociology at the Level of the Individual," *Poetics* 31, no. 5-6 (2003): 344.

It should be noted, too, that this study mainly examines the first generation cross-border migrants. Nonetheless, Chapter 4 also looks at the cross-border migrants' descendants in order to analyze the impact of border crossing on family relations. Some southern migrants went to the Northern Wei with their families, some moved to the Northern Wei first and planned a reunion with their families, some even started a new family in their new country. In any case, cross-border migrants changed, sometimes remarkably, not only their own lives, but also those of their families on both sides of the border.

Boundary Work and Boundary Markers

As mentioned above, scholars studying cross-border migrants in the Northern Wei era tend to stress their political, and particularly, cultural impact on Northern Wei society, which rests on an assumption that southern culture was superior to its northern counterpart and that it was a one-way cultural import. However, such viewpoints fail to see the fact that, as a minority living, working, and even intermarrying with local people, migrants from southern regimes were inevitably influenced by or accommodated themselves to the dominant culture of their country of settlement.

Especially in a metropolitan city like Luoyang,[47] foreign travelers and migrants flocked into the Northern Wei capital, turning it into a contested space. The core of the empire, in this sense, is similar to its borderlands.[48] Various groups of people of divergent cultural backgrounds competed with each other yet, at the same time, also changing one another in the capital city. As a result, despite the state's efforts to tighten border control, communal boundaries on the ground became permeable, inviting transgressions. Such permeability is

[47] The case of Luoyang will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.
[48] Ryan Abrecht applies the theory of borderland paradigm to examine transcultural interactions in capital cities, suggesting that metropolis is an urban borderland, a contested space. See Ryan Russell Abrecht, "My Neighbor the Barbarian: Immigrant Neighborhoods in Classical Athens, Imperial Rome, and Tang Chang'an" (PhD diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2014).

due, in part, to the fact that people have multiple identities. A person was never only a border crosser from the south, but also a Northern Wei official, the husband of a Northern Wei princess, and a pious Buddhist and patron of a particular Buddhist monastery in Luoyang, and so on.[49] So, migrant identity did not always determine one's actions. The group boundary is also permeable because southern migrants, as a minority and outsiders, needed to cooperate with the members of their host communities to gain acceptance among them. For this reason, they preferred blurred boundaries to sharp distinctions between "us" and "them."

Despite this, boundaries between the migrants and their host communities did not necessarily disappear. Migrants' differences, such as their dietary habits and languages, reminded the host community members of the fact that they were living with foreigners. Whereas usually the locals were either uninterested in these differences or regarded them as exotic, they could also use these characteristics as an excuse to exclude the migrants when the latter were in competition with them over status and privileges. "Depending on the needs of the moment, people might attempt to invoke or efface a great of variety of implications of…differences,"[50] which could lead to discrimination, community tensions and integration problems. In other words, the creation and erosion of group boundaries are situational, not innate in terms of ethnicity or culture.

From this, one can infer that the roles cross-border migrants from southern regimes played in Northern Wei society were more complicated than simply as bearers of a superior culture, as the studies of Zhang Zhaokai, Wang Yongping, and Wang Yunliang have emphasized. The present study therefore brings the concepts of boundary work to bear upon the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion at play between the Northern Wei government and

[49] Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2005), xxvi-xxvii.
[50] David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), 127.

cross-border migrants, between the Northern Wei elites and cross-border migrants, and among cross-border migrants themselves.

There are three stages of the boundary making process.[51] The first stage is boundary crossing. Southern migrants changed themselves "by acquiring some of the attributes of the host identity,"[52] such as consuming northern food, wearing northern clothes and speaking northern language, in order to successfully integrate. This results in boundary blurring, the second stage of the boundary making process. Southern migrants built a closer relationship with the host community members by living in the same neighborhoods, working in the same government units, attending the same gatherings, and establishing marriage ties with one another. The distinction between the locals and southern migrants was less important than other practical concerns. Such co-existence was welcomed and encouraged by the Northern Wei state. However, to the Northern Wei elites, particularly those privileged and those in power, successful integration, in certain circumstances, was perceived as a threat "because it involves an 'unnatural act'—the transformation of strangers into members, of the not us into part of us."[53] Such viewpoints became more negative and aggressive when both sides were competitors, and the host members could eventually call for a clear group boundary in order to reassert differences. This is the third stage of boundary making process—boundary rebuilding.

This is not to say that the three stages of the boundary making process always followed one after another in strict chronological order. Different stages of the boundary making process could exist simultaneously.[54] For example, a Northern Wei official may marry his son to a daughter of a southern border crosser, but at the same time, he may try to ostracize

[51] The below discussion has been inspired by Zolberg and Woon's distinction between boundary crossing, blurring, and shifting. See Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon, "Why Islam Is Like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States," *Politics & Society* 27, no. 1 (1999): 5-38.
[52] Aristide R. Zolberg and Litt Woon Long 1999, 8.
[53] Aristide R. Zolberg and Litt Woon Long 1999, 9.
[54] Keith P. Luria 2005, xxxi.

his in-law at work. Or, boundary building might occur first, followed by boundary crossing and blurring, as in the case of how southern border crossers responded to the Northern Wei government strict policy on their free movement. Anyone could engage in boundary work. The state, the Northern Wei elites, and even southern migrants themselves all took their part in the process of boundary making, in various ways and to different degrees. Although migrants were usually the main actors crossing and blurring boundaries, some members of the host community were also likely to break the boundary. Thus, the re-erection of group boundaries aimed not merely to exclude outsiders, but also to reinforce members' group identity.

Boundaries could take various forms. According to Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier, they are "conceptual distinctions that we make to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space."[55] In other words, boundaries are mental construct and different types of boundary work are "the strategies, principles, and practices"[56] of understanding and ordering the world around us. However, they are not invisible. Even though these mental boundaries might never be explicitly demonstrated by people who draw them, they can be reflected in and can thus be recognized in physical forms, ranging from food habits to the layout of the capital city. Moreover, it is through practical activities or visible objects that these mental boundaries are maintained and further reinforced.[57]

People, too, can serve as boundaries. In her 2012 book in re-examining complex relations between Venice and Istanbul, Natalie Rothman looks at the role of intermediaries—commercial brokers, religious converts, and official interpreters (dragomans)—who regularly

[55] Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier, *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 9.
[56] Christina Nippert-Eng, *Home and Work: Negotiating Boundaries through Everyday Life* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 7.
[57] Christina Nippert-Eng 1996, 7.

crossed the Venetian-Ottoman frontier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[58] She argues that all three of these groups were boundary markers. They were, on the one hand, "objects used by others to assert their respective domains of authority;"[59] on the other, agentive subjects who drew and redrew political, religious and linguistic boundaries through their practices.[60]

Inspired by Rothman's discussions, I argue that the cross-border migrants under investigation can also be seen as boundary markers in the sense that they were utilized by the Northern Wei state and ruling elites to make distinctions and highlight dissimilarities between the Northern Wei and the southern regimes. Yet, southern migrants were not merely pawns in the efforts of the Northern Wei regime and elites to define their domains of authority, but active participants seeking "inclusion by making the boundaries permeable or reconstructing alternative boundaries."[61] Through their deft manipulation of cultural, social and political resources available to them, especially their social networks, some southern migrants managed to enhance their lives and social status in the host society. They, as much as the imperial courts of both sides, were also participants in creating the intricate web of inter-state interactions. The boundaries between them and their northern counterparts are thereby not fixed lines.

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[58] See Ella Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012). While using these concepts rooted in Western European history and different historical periods does not necessarily mean there is no danger of over-interpretation and anachronism, it can help scholars read their sources with fresh eyes. As Walter Scheidel has put it, "comparison defamiliarizes the deceptively familiar." See Walter Scheidel, ed., *State Power in Ancient China and Rome* (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 3.

[59] E. Natalie Rothman 2012, 14.

[60] In a similar vein, by studying how religious boundaries are maintained between Jewish and Muslim minority communities and the majority Christian population in the fourteenth century Crown of Aragon, David Nirenberg underscores the role of the prostitute, Christian prostitutes in particular, as a boundary marker in the sense that their bodies, although a movable and corporeal one, were used to demarcate the boundary between Christians and non-Christians: Who had right to sleep with the prostitute and who had not? What are the circumstances if people broke the law banning miscegenation? On the other hand, prostitutes as boundary markers also means that they are an active agent to identify and recognize difference of Christians and non-Christians. If the prostitute failed to report to the authority when she had sex with a non-Christian client, she would be severely punished for miscegenation. See David Nirenberg 1996, Chapter 5, particularly pp.146-147.

[61] Lan Pei-Chia, *Global Cinderellas: Migrant Domestics and Newly Rich Employers in Taiwan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 11.

Sources

The frequent migration that occurred during the Northern Wei period accordingly leaves us with a rather rich array of textual primary sources on population movement, mobility, and displacement at the time. The majority of these sources concern people crossing the border from the south into Northern Wei territory. This abundant textual record forms the main source base for this research. Dynastic histories, unofficial histories, funerary epitaphs, geographical texts, family instructions, Buddhist hagiographies, Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions (*zaoxiang ji* 造像記),[62] ghost stories, miracle tales, and contemporary anecdotes have all been used in order to incorporate as many examples as possible, and to lay the foundation of our understanding of the Northern Wei and southern regimes.

The core sources of this dissertation are dynastic histories and excavated entombed epitaph inscriptions. The dynastic histories, including the *Jin shu* 晉書 (History of the Jin Dynasty, compiled by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, 548-648 CE), *Wei shu* 魏書 (History of the Northern Wei Dynasty, comp. Wei Shou 魏收, 506-572 CE), *Bei Qi shu* 北齊書 (History of the Northern Qi Dynasty, comp. Li Baiyao 李百藥, 565-648 CE), *Zhou shu* 周書 (History of the Northern Zhou Dynasty, comp. Linghu Defen 令狐德棻, 583-661 CE), *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui Dynasty, comp. Wei Zheng 魏徵, 580-643 CE), *Song shu* 宋書 (History of the Liu-Song Dynasty, comp. Shen Yue 沈約, 441-513 CE), *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (History of the Southern Qi Dynasty, comp. Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯, 489-537 CE), *Liang shu* 梁書 (History of the Liang Dynasty, comp. Yao Silian 姚思廉, d. 637 CE), *Chen shu* 陳書 (History of the Chen Dynasty, comp. Yao Silian), *Nan shi* 南史 (History of the Southern

[62] Buddhist dedicatory inscriptions are mostly engraved on the back or the base of a Buddhist statue, and usually record the name of the donor(s), the date of making the Buddhist statue, and the reason of making such statue.

Dynasties, comp. Li Yanshou 李延壽, fl.618-676 CE) and *Bei shi* 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties, comp. Li Yanshou), provide biographies of cross-border migrants and detailed accounts of state responses to cross-border migrants from the southern regimes.

Two other historical chronicles this dissertation draws upon are *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government) and *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (Veritable Records of Jiankang). *Zizhi tongjian* was compiled by the Song scholar and statesman Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086 CE), and covers 1,362 years of history, from 403 BCE to 959 CE. It was designed to be a guide to statecraft for the rulers and officials, which is attested by the preface written by Emperor Shen 神宗 of the Song dynasty (r.1067-1085 CE). However, it has been used by scholars as a reference work, for its rich sources consulted, many of which had been lost. *Jiankang shilu*, compiled by Tang scholar Xu Song 許嵩 (fl.756 CE) in the eighth century, is a chronicle of the Six Dynasties based at Jiankang. His primary sources encompass not merely the aforementioned dynastic histories, but also many lost unofficial histories and geographical treatises.[63] Both texts contain information on cross-border migrants that is not included in dynastic histories.

I have also made extensive use of excavated funerary epitaphs dating to the Northern Wei, Eastern Wei, Western Wei, Northern Qi, Northern Zhou, Sui, and Tang dynasties, for these epigraphic records contain information concerning the first-generation migrants and their offspring skipped in the received texts. These epitaphs, for instance, usually record marriage ties of the deceased, and therefore enable us to map the social networks of cross-border migrants in a way impossible on the basis of the dynastic histories alone. Some of the inscriptions preserve often-neglected voices of female migrants, enriching our understanding of cross-border migrants and female mobility. In some cases, "dynastic-history biographies

[63] For a discussion of the primary sources used by Xu Song, see Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu*, punc. and coll. Zhang Chenshi 張忱石 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2009), 8-9, 17-25.

and biographies inscribed upon entombed epitaphs exist for the same individual."[64] Whereas sometimes transmitted texts and epigraphy complement one another, they, occasionally, provide contrary images of the deceased, showing separate agendas that different authors may have.

Many if not most, surviving sources were issued by or sponsored by the state. This inevitably provides a state-centered vision of border crossing and border crossers. For this reason, this study also takes into account personal writings authored by border crossers, such as Yan Zhitui 顏之推 (531-ca. 591 CE)'s *Yanshi jiaxun* 顏氏家訓 (Family Instructions for the Yan Clan). Yan Zhitui was an official of the southern state of Liang, but was forced to move to the north in 554 CE. In his book, Yan Zhitui gives a firsthand account of cross-border migration and offers thoughtful observations concerning the differences between north and south, one of major questions addressed in Chapter 3.

Luoyang qielan ji 洛陽伽藍記 (Record of the Monasteries of Luoyang), written by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (c.547 CE), is also significant for this study. The author began his career as a minor court official in the late Northern Wei period and then served under the Eastern Wei regime. He was said to have visited Luoyang, the last Northern Wei capital, in 543 CE because of his official duties, and was saddened when he saw the ruins of the city. He hence wrote a nostalgic account of Northern Wei Luoyang, with rich information on, not only Luoyang's Buddhist temples, but also on the urban space, people, and customs of Luoyang. His book preserves many anecdotes concerning southern migrants, and more importantly, it shows how the Northern Wei government had implemented its residential policy on migrants.[65]

[64] Timothy M. Davis, *Entombed Epigraphy and Commemorative Culture in Early Medieval China: A Brief History of Early Muzhiming* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 258.
[65] The nature of the *Luoyang qielan ji* will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Besides written sources, I also rely on archaeological reports regarding Northern Wei capital cities and tombs of cross-border migrants, in order to establish the geographical context of the present study. From these rare but valuable excavations conducted in today's Datong and Luoyang, I explore the spatial structure of the Northern Wei capital cities and distribution of cross-border migrants' tombs, and compare them with textual records, such as the aforementioned *Luoyang qielan ji*.

The goal of the close reading of primary sources is to extract as much "fact about the past"[66] as possible. Nonetheless, I am mindful of the fact that all the sources have limitations. First and foremost, there are no books written in the Xianbei language nor books written by authors of Xianbei origin. This suggests that the Xianbei language lacked a writing system.[67] Second, most of the existing evidence, particularly the dynastic histories, was written by elites, paying little attention to women, not to mention the common people. Third, most funeral inscriptions adopted formulaic expressions that could be applied to almost any dedicatee. Moreover, in order to gloss over the failures or wrong deeds of the deceased, some epitaph authors, who could be a close relative or friend of the deceased, selectively edited or even distorted the deceased's life narrative.[68]

However, this does not mean that these primary sources should be entirely discarded. The elite bias of official histories, for instance, can be, to some extent, compensated by excavated tomb inscriptions. I also carefully compare different versions of accounts of the same border-crossers recorded in transmitted and excavated texts and address such questions as to where their interpretations differ, in what ways they differ from each other, and on what points they are similar. In short, this study is not a full and authoritative account of cross-border migrants in the Northern Wei. Rather, it is a starting point to understand experiences of individual migrants and their families in this particular era.

[66] Edward Carr, *What is History* (London; New York: Macmillan & Co., Ltd.; St. Martin's Press, 1961), 6.
[67] For more discussion on the Xianbei language see Chapter 3.
[68] Timothy M. Davis 2015, 25.

Chapter Summary

This dissertation is arranged in four chapters. Chapter One, "People On the Move," gives an overview of the cross-border migrants, treating both migrants forced to move due to government-initiated resettlement and high-profile asylum seekers who left for the Northern Wei due to various political pressures at home. This chapter examines the identity and motives of cross-border migrants, be they imperial clansmen, members of leading families or border generals; it also includes Buddhist monks and women, who were from the southern regimes. The chapter gives insight into the changing political circumstances of this period, different patterns of side-changing, and the diversity among cross-border migrants.

Chapters Two through Four is a social history of cross-border migrants from the fourth to the sixth centuries. Each chapter provides in-depth analysis on the ways in which different actors engaged in boundary work from the perspectives of state, the Northern Wei elites, cross-border migrants and their families in the south.

Chapter Two, "State and Cross-Border Migrants," centers on the physical side of boundary work, including the bureaucratic terminology, the process by which the migrants' identity was checked, and the rewards and punishments foreseen and doled out. By examining changes in state policies regarding migration control, this chapter unveils how the Northern Wei positioned its own space with itself and the rest of the world affects its policies of border crossers.

Chapter Three, "Integration of Cross-Border Migrants," investigates to what extent cross-border migrants were integrated into the host society. It analyzes why and how the Northern Wei elites erected boundaries between themselves and southern border crossers. Being outsiders in a new society, southern migrants chose varying strategies to fight for their

survival, including marriage alliances with northern leading families, recreating their local bases in the north, and utilizing migrant networks. The different tactics they chose affected the fates of their families in the north, to various degrees: some eventually rose to national prominence, while others gradually sank into historical oblivion.

Chapter Four, "Those Who Were Left Behind," explores the negative impact that the border crossers had on the families they left behind down south—migrants saddled their families with the uncertainty of whether migrants were dead or alive, the difficulty of returning migrants' corpses for burial, deep conflicts between loyalty and filial piety, and family issues caused by the fact that men had wives at both sides of the border. In this way, I elucidate the ways in which migration shifted boundaries of home and family, and how the nature of border was perceived differently by the state and by people crossing it.

Chapter One: People on the Move

Before arriving in Shouchun 壽春 (modern Shou 壽 county, Anhui province)[69] in 501 CE, Xiao Baoyin 蕭寶夤 (485–530 CE)[70] never thought that he would one day become a refugee. His father and his elder brother were both emperors of the Southern Qi dynasty, and he, a sixteen-year-old prince, had already served as the Regional Inspector (*Cishi* 刺史) of South Xu province 南徐州 (administrative seat Jingkou 京口, modern Zhenjiang 鎮江, Jiangsu province). He was supposed, like so many other imperial princes before him, to enjoy his privileged and comfortable life. Yet once the Southern Qi fell to the forces of Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464-549 CE), who established the Liang dynasty in 502 CE, he had little choice but to flee to the north in the hope of allying with the Northern Wei, a regime the Southern Qi had been pitted against for twenty-three brief, yet turbulent, years. How ironic.

Xiao Baoyin was hardly unique. Indeed, despite his lofty background and relatively rich historical records about him, he was one of many southerners in this period who were forced to leave their homes and cross the North-South border. This chapter examines the identity and motives of these displaced persons, with special attention to two types of forced migrants: those who were compelled to move by a conquest state and those who were not. In so doing, the lives of these migrants will be brought to light as a research subject in their own right, paving the way for the exploration in the following chapters of the social history of cross-border migration.

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[69] Shouchun was also called Shouyang 壽陽 during the Southern Qi era. But I use Shouchun throughout this dissertation for clarity.

[70] *Nan Qi shu* notes that Xiao Baoyin died in 502 CE, whereas the *Wei shu*, *Bei shi* and *Nan shi* all maintain that Xiao Baoyin died in 530 CE. The discrepancy in Xiao Baoyin's death year may be due to a lack of reliable sources when the author of the *Nan Qi shu* compiled the official biography of Xiao Baoyin. Also, although none of the abovementioned books provided information about Xiao Baoyin's age, *Wei shu*, *Bei shi* and *Nan shi* all say that he was sixteen years old upon his arrival in Shouchun in 501 CE. It is therefore safe to assume that his birth year is 485 CE.

1. State-Organized Mobility in the Northern Wei: The Case of *Ping Qi min*

Forced relocation had been a key instrument of state policy since pre-imperial periods. Following the conquest of the Shang (c.1600-c.1046 BCE), for instance, the Zhou (1046 BCE-256 BCE) relocated the ruling Shang elite and their followers westward to the homeland of the Zhou in order to reduce the influence of the Shang leaders in the east, and to absorb professionals into the new state.[71]

The First Qin emperor (r.221-210 BCE), too, relocated one hundred and twenty thousand households of wealthy families of the realm to the capital Xianyang,[72] sent soldiers and criminals to open up wastelands in border regions,[73] and commanded corvée laborers and convicts to build royal palaces,[74] his own mausoleum,[75] imperial roads, and parts of what came to be known as the Great Wall.[76] The Western Han emperors also knew how to manage huge populations and mobilize their manpower to construct palaces and imperial tombs: they uprooted rich and powerful families from their local regions in the east to imperial mausoleum towns near the capital,[77] and systematically transferred convicts, commoners, and soldiers to defend and populate the peripheral areas of the empire. For example, Emperor Wu 武帝 (r.141-87 BCE) issued a decree in 119 BCE which transplanted nearly 730,000 poverty-stricken people from the eastern part of the empire to the northwestern and southeastern

[71] Hsu Cho-yun and Katheryn M. Linduff, *Western Chou Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 113-23; Tu Cheng-sheng 杜正勝, *Gudai shehui yu guojia* 古代社會與國家 (Taipei: Yunchen wenhua shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 1992), 352-94; Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 64-65.
[72] *Shi ji* 6.239.
[73] *Shi ji* 6.253.
[74] *Shi ji* 6.256.
[75] *Shi ji* 6.265.
[76] *Shi ji* 6.253.
[77] Michael Loewe, "The Tombs Built for Han Chengdi and Migrations of the Population," in *Chang'an 26 BCE: An Augustan Age in China*, ed. Michael Nylan and Griet Vankeerberghen (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 201-17.

frontier areas, both saving them from starvation and enlisting them in the defense of Han territory.[78]

During the Sixteen Kingdom periods (304-439 CE), the northern states of the steppe people needed labor power for land reclamation and military force, and hence, after successful campaigns, they usually forcibly removed defeated peoples from the newly conquered areas to their core territories in great numbers.[79] For example, Liu Cong 劉聰 (r.310-318 CE), the second emperor of the Former Zhao state (304-329 CE), relocated at least eighty thousand people, both men and women, from Chang'an to the capital Pingyang 平陽 (modern Linfen 臨汾, Shanxi province).[80]

As with its predecessors, the Northern Wei government continued the tradition of forced resettlement, and a large part of their deportees were war captives. In the spring of 398 CE, for example, along with more than one hundred thousand artisans and craftsmen,[81] three hundred and sixty thousand people, largely local officials and commoners, as well as people of foreign tribes, were transferred to the Northern Wei capital from present-day Hebei and Shandong provinces after the Later Yan regime was destroyed.[82] Additionally, six thousand men and women were transplanted from Helong 和龍 (present-day Chaoyang 朝陽 city,

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[78] *Han shu* 6.178.
[79] David Graff 2002, 60-61.
[80] See *Jin shu* 102.2662.
[81] Lu Yaodong argues that in this passage artisans and craftsmen were singled out because they, under the Northern Wei dynasty, were placed under a hereditary obligation to provide services to the state. See Lu Yaodong 逯耀東, "Bei Wei Pingcheng dui Luoyang guijian de yingxiang 北魏平城對洛陽規建的影響," in *Cong Pingcheng dao Luoyang: Tuoba Wei wenhua zhuanbian de licheng* 從平城到洛陽: 拓拔魏文化轉變的歷程 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 2001), 162-163.
[82] The Chinese is: 徙山東六州民、吏及徒何、高麗雜夷三十六萬，百工伎巧十餘萬口，以充京師. Yan Gengwang argues that 三十六萬 means three hundred and sixty thousand people, not thirty-six bureaus (*shu* 署), as *Bei shi* and *Zizhi tongjian* assume. See Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Zhishi jingyan tan: Bigengshi zhishi wushu zhi yi* 治史經驗談: 筆耕室治史五書之一 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan), 51. Xing Bingyan also holds the same view. See Xing Bingyan 邢丙彥, "Weishu jiaokan ji shangque yize 魏書校勘記商榷一則," *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 2 (1987): 96. On Shandong liuzhou 山東六州, see Mi Sanneng 宓三能, "Shuo Bei Wei chunian po Hou Yan hou 'qianxi Shandong liuzhou limin' de 'liuzhou' 說北魏初年破後燕後'遷徙山東六州吏民'的六州," *Zhongguo lishi dili luncong* 3 (1992): 244-46; Wu Youjiang 毋有江, "Tianxing yuannian ximin yu Bei Wei chunian de xingzheng quhua 天興元年徙民與北魏初年的行政區劃," *Lishi yanjiu* 5 (2007): 66-75 and Ge Jianxiong 1997, 546.

Liaoning province, bordering between the PRC and DPRK) after the war with the Northern Yan (409-436 CE) in 435 CE.[83] Four years later, more than thirty thousand households from Liangzhou 涼州 (modern Wuwei 武威, Gansu province) were transported back to the capital Pingcheng after the Northern Wei defeated the Northern Liang (401-439 CE).[84]

This may, at first glance, appear to be a bizarre or risky decision, because moving so many enemies to the royal center posed a serious potential threat to the emperor and his government officials. For the Northern Wei government, population transfer, nonetheless, was an essential and effective means to fill the new capital that had been severely damaged by wars following the demise of the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE) in the early third century, given that the ruling Xianbei group was numerically small. It was also a useful way of maintaining strategic control of subjugated territory, shaking up the regional power structure by uprooting leading families.[85]

Table 1.1 Migration under the Northern Wei Dynasty[86]

Time	Number	Who	From	To	Source
398 CE Emperor Daowu	360,000	commoners, local officials, Tuhe,[87] Gaoli[88] 民, 吏, 徒何, 高麗雜夷	the six regions to the east of the Taihang 太行 mountain (山東六州)	Pingcheng	*WS* 2

[83] *Wei shu* 4.85
[84] *Wei shu* 4a.90.
[85] Tseng Chin-Yin suggests that the Northern Wei government uses this to construct "a Northern Wei identity that would provide them the grounds to govern over a growing empire." See Tseng Chin-Yin 2013, 39.
[86] Tseng Chin-Yin 2013, 37.
[87] According to An Jiesheng, Tuhe 徒何 was originally a place name in present-day Jinzhou 錦州 city, Liaoning province. But Tuhe later became an alternative name for the Murong clan of the Xianbei. See An Jiesheng 安介生, *Minzu daqianxi* 民族大遷徙 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2011), 116.
[88] Ge Jianxiong argues that these Gaoli people may be those the Former Yan abducted after it destroyed Wandu city 丸都城 (northwest of present-day Ji'an 集安, Jilin province), capital of Koguryo, in 341 CE and descendants of other Gaoli people. See Ge Jianxiong 1997, 547. For a record on how the Former Yan conquered Wandu city, see *Jin shu* 109.2822.

398 CE Emperor Daowu	over 100,000	artisans and craftsmen 百工伎巧	the six regions to the east of the Taihang mountain	Pingcheng	*WS* 2
398 CE Emperor Daowu	2,000 households	commandery governors, district magistrates, wealthy and powerful people, local officials, and commoners 守宰豪傑吏民	the six regions to the east of the Taihang mountain	Pingcheng	*WS* 2
399 CE Emperor Daowu	?	Gaoju 高車 people[89]		Pingcheng	*WS* 2
402 CE Emperor Daowu	?	Gaoping people	Gaoping 高平 (present-day Guyuan 固原, Ningxia province)	Pingcheng	*WS* 2
414 CE Emperor Mingyuan	over 20,000 households			Daling 大寧	*WS* 3
418 CE Emperor Mingyuan	over 10,000 households		Longcheng 龍城 (present-day Chaoyang 朝陽, Liaoning province)	Pingcheng?[90]	*WS* 3
426 CE Emperor Taiwu	over 10,000 households	Xia 夏 people	Tongwan city 統萬城 (northeast of Jingbian 靖邊	Pingcheng	*WS* 4; *WS* 95

[89] Gaoju were nomadic, Turkic-speaking people. See David Graff 2002, 99.
[90] See Ge Jianxiong 1997, 550.

			county, Shaanxi province)		
432 CE Emperor Taiwu	over 30,000 households	people from Yingqiu, Chengzhou, Liaodong, Lelang, Daifang, Xuantu	Yingqiu 營丘、Chengzhou 成周、Liaodong 遼東、Lelang 樂浪、Daifang 帶方、Xuantu 玄菟	Youzhou	*WS* 4; *WS* 97
435 CE Emperor Taiwu	6,000	men and women from Helong	Helong 和龍 (in present-day Jiling province)	Pingcheng?	*WS* 4
439 CE Emperor Taiwu	more than 30,000 households	Liangzhou people	Liangzhou 涼州 (modern Wuwei, Gansu province)	Pingcheng	*WS* 4; *WS* 99
446 CE Emperor Taiwu	5,000 households	people from Jinxiang, Fangyu	Jinxiang 金鄉, Fangyu 方與	Hebei 河北	*WS* 4
446 CE Emperor Taiwu	over 6,000 households	people from Dongpingling, Jinan	Dongpingling 東平陵, Jinan 濟南	Hebei 河北	*WS* 4
446 CE Emperor Taiwu	2,000	artisans 工巧	Chang'an	Pingcheng	*WS* 4
447 CE Emperor Taiwu	3,000 households	Dingling 丁零	Dingzhou 定州 (administrative seat is located in present-day Dingzhou 定州 city, Hebei province)	Pingcheng	*WS* 4
448 CE Emperor Taiwu	over 5,000 households	people from Lishi, Xihe	Lishi 離石, Xihe 西河 (present-day Lishi county, Shanxi	Pingcheng	*WS* 4

			province)		
451 CE Emperor Taiwu	over 50,000 households	people from the south	south	the suburbs of Pingcheng	*WS* 4
469 CE Emperor Xianwen	?	people from Qing province	Qing province	Pingcheng	*WS* 6
481 CE Emperor Xiaowen	over 30,000	Southern Qi people	south	Pingcheng	*WS* 7
509 CE Emperor Xuanwu	over 3000 people	Liang soldier	Xuanhu 懸瓠 (present-day Runan 汝南, Henan province)	Luoyang	*WS* 8

Large-scale relocation also occurred when the Northern Wei government moved its capitals. It first moved in 398 CE from Shengle southward to Pingcheng. Nearly one hundred years later, the Northern Wei court moved much further south to Luoyang, establishing a base for ruling over its expanding territory and a command center for waging war against the southern regime, because Luoyang, compared to Pingcheng, was much closer to Jiankang, the capital of the four successive southern regimes. But how many people were forced to abandon their homes and make the long and arduous journey to the new, unfamiliar, capitals? This is a crucial, yet long-ignored question. The number of migrants moving from Pingcheng to Luoyang has been suggested to range from hundreds of thousands[91] to around one million

[91] See Lu Kaiwan 盧開萬, "Daiqianhu chutan 代遷戶初探," *Wuhan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* 武漢大學學報（哲學社會科學版）4 (1980): 44-50.

people.[92] Even if such claims are difficult to verify, the massive scale of the movement of population is unquestionable.[93]

The forced migrants mentioned above left few traces in the written records. They receive only cursory mention in the transmitted Chinese texts, and are often merely reduced to numbers. But this is not the case for *Ping Qi min*, literally, the subjects living in the Pacifying Qi commandery.[94] They were former subjects of the Liu-Song dynasty but were transferred to the Northern Wei capital area after the Liu-Song lost the war with the Northern Wei in 469 CE. Though war captives, they are relatively conspicuous in textual materials, received texts and excavated tomb inscriptions alike, because of their prominent status in their native commanderies and because some of them later played a crucial role at the Northern Wei court.

Directly after the death of Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r.453-464 CE), the Liu-Song dynasty plunged into chaos. The succeeding emperor, Liu Ziye 劉子業 (r.464-465 CE), was murdered by a servant less than two years after taking the throne, and his uncle Liu Yù 劉彧 (r.466-472 CE),[95] who was said to be responsible for the coup, immediately ascended to the throne in January 466 CE. To oppose the new emperor's rise to power, some ambitious generals took up arms in the name of Liu Zixun 劉子勳 (456-466 CE), the murdered emperor's next oldest surviving brother. Liu Zixun was later declared emperor in Xunyang 尋陽 (present-day Jiujiang 九江, Jiangxi province) on 7 February 466 CE where he was

[92] Ma Changshou 1962, 70.
[93] Hu Axiang suggests that over the course of the Northern Wei, migrations occurred nearly 200 times, and the total population of the forced migrants reached over five million. See Hu Axiang 2010, 596.
[94] Xu Fuqian suggests that *Ping Qi min* refers to people of conquered Qi province. But Xing Bingyan argues that the term designate people of conquered Three Qi (*san Qi* 三齊) areas. See Xu Fuqian 許福謙, "Ping Qi Min yu Ping Qi hu shi shi 平齊民與平齊戶試釋," *Shoudu shifan xueyuan xuebao* 首都師範學院學報 3 (1982): 54-62 and Xing Bingyan 邢丙彥, "'Ping Qi min yu Ping Qi hu shi shi' shangque《"平齊民"與"平齊戶"試釋》商榷," *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao* 4 (1983), 73. "Three Qi" refers to an old territory of Qi kingdom in present-day Shandong peninsula that was later respectively ruled by three kings, namely, Tian Shi 田市 (d.206 BCE), Tian Du 田都 (n.d.), Tian An 田安 (d.206 BCE), who were ennobled by Xiang Yu 項羽 (232 BCE-202 BCE) in 207 BCE.
[95] There were three Liu-Song emperors who have homophonous given names. For clarity, I use a different spelling to refer to each of them: Liu Yu 劉裕, Liu Yù 劉彧, and Liu Yuh 劉昱.

stationed as Regional Inspector of Jiang province 江州. He had the support of his remaining brothers, and the new ruler Liu Yù was assited by his own brothers.

The war was thus dubbed "a confrontation between uncles and nephews."[96] Yet it was also a civil war that dragged everyone into a swirl of suspicion, uncertainty, and possibilities.[97] Not only court officials, but also local military garrison commanders had to decide where they wanted to place their allegiance for greater personal advantage, and Qing 青 and Qi 齊 provinces[98] were no exceptions.[99] Even though both provinces were located north of the Yellow River, in present-day Shandong, far from the Liu-Song capital (see Map 1.1), local officials and elite families divided into deep factions. Some chose to side with Liu Zixun and others allied themselves with the Jiankang court. As a result, men from the same locality or lineage may have found themselves fighting on opposing sides.

The war was over in the fall of 466 CE, but this internecine power struggle that lasted less than a year turned out to be a prelude to an inter-state war between 466 and 469 CE. Toward the end of the civil war, some Liu-Song officials in Qing and Qi sent messengers to the Northern Wei requesting help in resolving the conflict between them and the Jiankang court, and promised to hand their cities over for protection. Sensing an opportunity to advance its agenda in expanding the territory and at the same time to weaken the Liu-Song military power, Northern Wei Emperor Xianwen 獻文帝 (r.466-471 CE) agreed to assist. He sent troops down to Qing and Qi provinces, conquered their cities one after another, and finally took Dongyang 東陽 (modern Yidu 益都, Shandong province), the administrative seat of Qing province and the last city to surrender, in 469 CE, after a three-year siege.

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[96] See David Graff 2002, 88 and Andrew Chittick, *Patronage and Community in Medieval China: The Xiangyang Garrison, 400-600 CE* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 53.
[97] Chittick has discussed this war from Xiangyang's perspective. See Andrew Chittick 2009, 52-55.
[98] Qi province was known as Ji province 冀州 when it was still under the control of the Liu-Song dynasty, but later was renamed as Qi by the Northern Wei. For the sake of clarity, I use the name Qi province throughout.
[99] For a detailed analysis of how this war affected to Qing and Qi province see Jennifer Holmgren, "The Making of an Elite: Local Politics and Social Relations in Northeastern China During the Fifth Century A.D.," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 30 (1984): 1-79. See also Timothy Davis 2015, 67-69.

In the middle of 469 CE, the Northern Wei government began to remove the subjugated peoples of Qing and Qi provinces in the aftermath of the war (see Map 1.1). According to the biography of Murong Baiyao 慕容白曜 (d.470 CE) who led the Northern Wei troops in conquering Qing and Qi provinces, prestigious families of Licheng 歷城 (present-day Ji-nan 濟南, Shandong province) and Liangzou 梁鄒 (northeast of Zouping 鄒平 county, Shandong province) cities of Qi province were relocated first to Xiaguan 下館 (southeast of present-day Shuozhou 朔州, Shanxi province) and thereafter the Northern Wei government established two counties, Huaining 懷寧 and Gui'an 歸安 under Ping Qi commandery, southwest of the capital city of Pingcheng, to settle them. The remaining residents of Licheng and Liangzou were taken as slaves and bestowed upon the Northern Wei court officials.[100] Another account in the *Wei shu* says that Liangzou people were transferred to Huaining county and Licheng people were moved to Gui'an.[101] Meanwhile, the Imperial Annals of Emperor Xianwen in the *Wei shu* records that "in the fifth month [of the third year of the Huangxing 皇興 era (469 CE)], people of Qing province were transferred to the capital."[102]

Curiously, in most cases of deportation, the Northern Wei government did not shy away from saying how many deportees were involved in the transfer. Yet, even though the forced removal of Qing and Qi people is frequently mentioned in sources from this period, we have no indication of the numbers involved, except that hundreds of households of elite families, who helped the commander of Licheng defend the city, were resettled.[103]

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[100] The Chinese is: 徙二城民望於下館，朝廷置平齊郡，懷寧、歸安二縣以居之。自餘悉為奴婢，分賜百官. See *Wei shu* 50.1119.

[101] The Chinese is: 以梁鄒民為懷寧縣…以歷城民為歸安縣. See *Wei shu* 43.966 and 975.

[102] The Chinese is: 五月，徙青州民於京師. See *Wei shu* 6.129.

[103] The Chinese is: 徙青齊士望共道固守城者數百家於桑乾. See *Wei shu* 24.630. According to the biography of Murong Baiyao, when the Northern Wei army conquered Dongyang, they captured forty-one thousand people, as well as at least three hundred households of "*man* 蠻." Yet, it is unclear if these people were all sent to the Northern Wei capital as slaves. See *Wei shu* 50.1119. *Man*, usually translated as barbarian, is a term applied to various unassimilated peoples of southern China.

Map 1.1 Forced Relocation in 469 CE[104]

Though the exact number of migrants is unknown, it is clear from the above that the Northern Wei applied different policies to not only the inhabitants of Qing and Qi provinces, but also different standards to eminent family members and other people from Qi province.

As some scholars have argued,[105] the people of Qing province, especially those from Dongyang, were relocated to the capital Pingcheng, not Ping Qi commandery. This is because they fought arduously and resisted the Northern Wei army until the last moment, and thus received relatively poor treatment after their surrender. Many of them were enslaved and given to court officials as war booty, and some of whom may have been bestowed again, as evidenced by an inscription that reads, "eighty state slaves from Licheng and Qing province" were bestowed upon a royal member of the northern Rouran Khaganate who submitted to the

[104] This map is created based on Peter Bol's "448 CE Northern Wei and Liu-Song" vector layer on Worldmap. The link is: http://worldmap.harvard.edu/data/geonode:_ce_northern_wei_and_liu_song_wma

[105] Xu Fuqian is the first one who suggests that Qing and Qi captives were treated differently, but Xing Bingyan disagrees with him. See Xu Fuqian 1982, 54-62 and Xing Bingyan 1983 and Shu Peng 舒朋, "Du shi er ti 讀史二題," *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao* 首都師範大學學報 3 (1984): 72-76, 71.

Northern Wei during the Taihe 太和 era (477-499 CE).[106] Some, if not many, of the transportees were subject to being registered as hereditary military households (*binghu* 兵戶) and were sent to the front whenever and wherever the state saw fit.[107] Two Qing province natives were initially assigned to Yunzhong 雲中 Garrison (near present-day Hohhot, Inner Mongolia) as soldiers. They were only allowed to stay in the capital because a high-ranking Northern Wei government official intervened on their behalf.[108]

Apart from Qing province natives, temporary visitors in Dongyang were transferred to Pingcheng as well. One instance was Xu Jian 徐謇 (d.512 CE) who was a well-known physician from Dongguan 東莞 (modern Ju 莒 county, Shandong province) but traveled for unknown reasons to Dongyang before the Northern Wei-Song war broke out. Like others in Dongyang, he was sent to Pingcheng. It is possible that he was initially drafted as a solider, but then became an imperial physician, for his outstanding medical skills.[109]

With regards to the people of Qi province, the Northern Wei government divided them in terms of background. Eminent families of Qi province, such as the Cui 崔, Fang 房, Liu 劉 and Ming 明 families,[110] were settled in Ping Qi commandery, far from the capital. Other deportees were largely sent to the capital and, like the people from Qing province, worked as government slaves. Some women became servants of the palace, such as Lady Shen 申氏 (n.d.). The reason of her crossing is not explicitly stated in our sources, but given that her

[106] The text reads: 青州歷城官口八十人. The text is from the tomb inscription of Yujiulü Gong 郁久閭肱. According to Wang Lianlong, Yujiulü Gong and his father possibly submitted to the Northern Wei during the Taihe era of Emperor Xiaowen. See Wang Lianlong 王連龍, *Xin jian Beichao muzhi jishi* 新見北朝墓誌集釋 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 2013), 16.
[107] For a discussion of military households, see Wang, Yi-t'ung, "Slaves and Other Comparable Social Groups During the Northern Dynasties (386-618)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16, no. 3-4 (1953): 293-364; Scott Pearce, "Status, Labor, and Law: Special Service Households under the Northern Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51, no. 1 (1991): 89-138; Gao Min 高敏, "Bei Wei de binghu zhi ji qi yanbian 北魏的兵户制及其演變," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao bingzhi yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝兵制研究 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe, 1998), 299-322.
[108] *Wei shu* 68.1520 and *Wei shu* 91.1970.
[109] *Wei shu* 91.1966.
[110] On these families see Timothy Davis 2015, particularly Chapter 1.

natal family hailed from Licheng, the administrative seat of Qi province, and that several of her family members held posts in Qi and Qing provinces, including her uncle, Shen Tan 申坦 (d.ca.457 CE) who was Regional Inspector of Xu province 徐州 (administrative seat Pengcheng 彭城) from 454 CE to 457 CE,[111] Lady Shen may have lived in Qi province by the time the Northern Wei took Licheng. For this reason, Lady Shen was sent to the north and became a palace woman.[112]

The inscriptions of three Northern Wei palace women who initially came from Qi province attest that they too were taken as slaves in the inner imperial palace after the Northern Wei-Song war. One of them, Lady Yang 楊氏 (d.ca.521 CE), Director of the Palace Women Offices (*Neisi* 內司),[113] entered the Northern Wei palace at the age of fifteen when Licheng submitted to the Northern Wei.[114] These three women all had fathers who served as governors in Qi province but their families were only mid-level aristocratic families, compared to the above-mentioned Cui and Fang clans.

Most of the deportees in Ping Qi commandery that we know of are males, whereas only a few females are known to us. These migrants, whether young or old, were compelled to leave their homes. Some traveled only with their mothers[115] while others moved with their entire families.[116] Their relocations were organized and supervised, probably by military officers, but we have no way of knowing if they traveled on foot or by some other means. It is

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[111] For Shen Tan's biography see *Song shu* 65.1725. See also Jennifer Holmgren 1984, 27.
[112] Having been a palace woman for some time, Lady Shen was later bestowed to a Northern Wei official Qifu Jü 乞伏居 (n.d.), but it is unclear if this was as a wife or concubine. For Lady Shen's story see *Wei shu* 86.1883.
[113] *Neisi*'s rank is comparable to that of Imperial Secretary. See *Wei shu* 13.321. The Chinese is: 內司視尚書令、僕.
[114] For the inscription of Lady Yang, see Zhao Chao 趙超, *Han Wei Nanbeichao muzhi huibian* 漢魏南北朝墓誌彙編 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2008), 126. The other two examples were Zhang Anji 張安姬 (457-521 CE) and Liu Asu 劉阿素 (454-520 CE). For the funeral inscription of Zhang Anji see Luoyang shi wenwu ju 洛陽市文物局, ed., *Luoyang chutu Bei Wei muzhi xuanbian* 洛陽出土北魏墓誌選編 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2001), 58. For the epitaph of Liu Asu, see Zhao Chao 2008, 114-115.
[115] See Jennifer Holmgren 1984, 51.
[116] The epitaph of Cui You 崔猷 (d.511 CE) mentions that Cui You "moved northward with his entire family." The Chinese is: 闔門北徙. For his epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 66-68.

therefore unclear how women, children, and the elderly would have been transported, nor do we know if anyone died along the way.[117] Still, one thing is certain: the trek was hardly comfortable. The *Wei shu* states that when the transported elites of Qing and Qi provinces came to Pingcheng, they were all cold and hungry.[118] Two women who traveled with the Northern Wei army were said to look "old, sick, thin, and pallid" upon their arrival in Pingcheng.[119]

Although most of them were financially well off in their hometowns, Ping Qi people were very likely obliged to leave their possessions behind, and the Northern Wei government does not appear to have supported the migrants once they reached their destinations. Even worse is that the newcomers reportedly suffered from famines in their new homes for years.[120] The *Wei shu* thus often highlights the hardships they endured in the early years in their new homes, and descriptions such as "lived in poverty"[121] and "cold and hungry for decades" are common.[122]

Fortunately, the migrants had either extended family networks or knowledge upon which they could rely. Many migrants came from great clans that originally lived in the north, but their ancestors migrated to Qing and Qi provinces in late fourth century. Regardless of the distance, their families had maintained ties with their relatives in Pingcheng. Some of such migrants therefore used such family connections to avoid starvation.[123] However, not everyone got a welcoming hand; the famous Northern Wei scholar Liu Fang 劉芳 (453-513

[117] But it is imaginable that not all migrants safely arrived in Pingcheng. For example, in 427 CE, a third of forced migrants from Tongwan city died on the way to Pingcheng. See *Zizhi tongjian* 120.3791. The Chinese is: 統萬徙民在道多死，能至平城者什才六七.
[118] The Chinese is: 時諸士人流移遠至，率皆飢寒. See *Wei shu* 48.1089.
[119] The Chinese is: 老病憔悴. See *Wei shu* 47.1062.
[120] The Chinese is: 頻歲不登，郡內飢弊. See *Wei shu* 24.630.
[121] The Chinese is: 居家貧. See *Wei shu* 66.1476.
[122] The Chinese is: 飢寒十數年. See *Wei shu* 70.1551.
[123] For more discussions see Chapter 4.

CE)[124] once reached out his distant cousin Lady Cui upon arrival in Pingcheng with his adoptive mother,[125] but was rejected because Lady Cui felt ashamed of Liu Fang's poverty.

Liu Fang did not give up. Instead, he made a living by transcribing sutras for Buddhist monks. His calligraphy was reportedly so excellent that one scroll (*juan* 卷) he transcribed was worth one bolt (*pi* 匹) of fine silk, and he was able to earn more than one hundred bolts of silk each year.[126] Like Liu Fang, many deportees worked as transcribers. Cui Guang 崔光 (449-522 CE) and Cui Liang 崔亮 (460-521 CE),[127] who later became important Northern Wei court officials were said to transcribe manuscripts during their stay in Ping Qi commandery. Before fleeing back to the south, Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標 (462-521 CE), a famous commentator of a fifth century collection of anecdotes titled *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (A New Account of Tales of the World), reportedly transcribed Buddhist translations recited by foreign monks and Venerable Tanyao 曇曜 (fl. fifth century) who was in charge of the construction of the Yungang 雲岡 Grottoes.[128] In addition to this, some migrants "ploughed during the day and studied at night"[129] or worked as waged laborers,[130] in order to support themselves and their parents.

The migrants' family connections and the knowledge they possessed suggest that they may have been chosen through a deliberate selection process. Therefore, the Northern Wei government, instead of killing them, took the trouble to resettle these war captives in its

[124] Liu Fang participated in drafting court etiquette and codifying and revising imperial laws and statutes. See *Wei shu* 55.1235.
[125] Liu Fang was adopted as heir by his uncle on paternal side; accordingly, his uncle's wife became his adoptive mother. The Chinese is: 芳出後伯父遜之. See *Wei shu* 55.1219.
[126] For an explanation of *jian* 縑 (silk), see Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, *Yuan Bai shijian zhenggao* 元白詩箋証稿 (Beijing: Sanlian shuju, 2001), 265-266.
[127] Cui Liang carried out the reform of the Northern Wei officialdom during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen. See *Wei shu* 66.1476.
[128] See, for example, Shi Sengyou 釋僧祐 (445-518 CE), *Chu Sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2013), 2.62-63.
[129] The Chinese is: 晝耕夜誦. *Wei shu* 67.1487.
[130] The Chinese is: 戮力傭丐. *Wei shu* 70.1551.

capital area. The Northern Wei government meant not merely to fill the newly established capitals and undermine these former Liu-Song subjects' regional influence, preventing them from leading future revolts, but may have also planned to transfer knowledge for the interests of the state.

From Emperor Taiwu's reign on, the Northern Wei government transported numerous artisans, scholars, physicians, Buddhist monks, and other professionals from the conquered countries to the capitals. Without the new migrants, some of the great achievements of the Northern Wei, such as the translation of Buddhist sutras and the construction of the capital Luoyang, would not have materialized. But the transportees from the Qing and Qi areas were not highly regarded until much later, when the Northern Wei government finally realized that the process of forced removal disturbed the local society of Qing and Qi, and it was unable to control the two areas without the cooperation of the leading local families. Several Northern Wei officials also submitted memorials to the court, warning that the southern regime would take advantage of this power vacuum to incite more riots in the Qing and Qi areas.[131] The Northern Wei emperor for these reasons decided to allow Ping Qi people to return their hometowns around 482 CE after they stayed in Pingcheng for nearly two decades,[132] and to provide opportunities for local leaders to advance through service to the Northern Wei state.

2. Asylum Seekers, Exiles and Defectors

Apart from the mass deportation of southern war captives, there were many individuals who entered the Northern Wei from the southern regimes, two hundred and fifty-one of whom left traces in extant textual materials from this period. Despite the fact that they were

[131] Such memorials see *Wei shu* 50.1120-1122 and 60.1132.
[132] Tang Changru 唐長孺, "Bei Wei de Qing Qi tumin 北魏的青齊土民," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晉南北朝史論拾遺 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 112.

all forced to cross the border, geographically and politically, the Northern Wei applied separate standards to them and accorded differential treatment to certain groups, particularly imperial kinsmen, members of the northern émigré families, and border officials from provincial elite families. The current section thus follows the Northern Wei practice and introduces these migrants separately, in order to better examine their differing treatment in the next chapter.

Given the limitations of the sources, our discussion inevitably concentrates on male elites, but this is not to say that they were the only actors in border crossing. Buddhist monks appeared to play a critical role in helping southerners cross into the Northern Wei; women, albeit rarely seen in our sources, were on the road too, either because of war, or in the hopes of reuniting with their husbands who fled to the Northern Wei. Thus, the current section also discusses these travelers.

The information presented here is far from comprehensive since there must have been more migrants than those mentioned in the extant sources; yet, through a sampling of recorded cases of border crossers, this section sheds some light on the heterogeneity of migrants and the complexity of political and social realities of the time that sparked cross-border movement.

2.1 Imperial Clansmen

The second type of forced migration to the Northern Wei occurred principally in the context of political turmoil. Many members of the southern royal clans defected to the northern regimes as the central authority waned near the end of the dynasty, or when political power changed hands. Among these imperial exiles the Sima royal clansmen were the majority. They were mostly distant relatives of the Eastern Jin imperial house.

One such example is Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之 (d.417 CE) who was a descendant of Sima Xun 司馬遜 (d.266 CE), uncle of the Western Jin founding emperor Sima Yan. Owing to a deep distrust of a powerful general, Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369-404 CE), who planned to usurp the throne,[133] Sima Xiuzhi, then the Regional Inspector of Jing province 荊州, fled for asylum to the Southern Yan regime based in present-day Shandong peninsula. Although he returned south after Huan Xuan was killed, he left again and fled to Later Qin (384-417 CE) in 416 CE after being targeted by general Liu Yu 劉裕 (363-422 CE) who replaced Huan Xuan to serve as de facto ruler of the Eastern Jin until he took the throne in 420 CE. Yet Sima Xiuzhi only stayed in the Later Qin capital Chang'an briefly, for Liu Yu defeated the Later Qin the following year. Having no choice, Sima Xiuzhi surrendered to the Northern Wei but died on the way to the capital city at Pingcheng. For the same reason as Sima Xiuzhi, Sima Guofan 司馬國璠 (d.ca.419 CE) and Sima Shufan 司馬叔璠 (n.d.), both descended from Sima Yan's great-uncle Sima Fu 司馬孚 (180-272 CE), fled first to the Southern Yan, then to the Later Qin and to the Great Xia (407-431 CE),[134] and eventually joined the Northern Wei.

Clearly, these three moved back and forth between northern and southern regimes, yet this was not always the case. Sima Chuzhi 司馬楚之 (390-465 CE) was one of the eighth generation descendants of Sima Kui 司馬馗 (n.d.), another great-uncle of the Western Jin founder. At age seventeen, Sima Chuzhi was compelled to flee from Jiankang when Liu Yu was purging the Sima family members, no matter how distant, in order to clear the way to make himself emperor. In the beginning, Sima Chuzhi hid in the northern frontier area of the Liu-Song regime and gradually built up local support with over ten thousand followers,

[133] Huan Xuan deposed Emperor An 安帝 (r.396-419 CE) of the Eastern Jin and declared himself emperor of the Chu 楚 in 403 CE, but committed suicide the following year when defeated by Liu Yu. See *Jin shu* 99.2594-2601.

[134] Great Xia was one of the Sixteen states, which founded by a Xiongnu leader Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (r.407-425 CE) in present-day northern Shaanxi and central Inner Mongolia. For the biography of Helian Bobo, see *Jin shu* 130. 3201-3214.

posing a serious challenge to the authority of the Liu-Song court, so much so that Liu Yu allegedly tried to have Sima Chuzhi assassinated. Despite his dominance at the North-South border, Sima Chuzhi eventually chose to serve the Northern Wei in exchange for its assistance to oppose Liu Yu.[135]

Little is known about the reasons for which Sima Chuzhi stayed in the border area in the first place rather than immediately moving to a northern regime, such as Later Qin, as his great-uncle Sima Xuizhi had. However, these examples suggest that people at the time had greater freedom to decide which regime to serve, mainly resulting from the existence of multiple states. None of these states was strong enough to absorb its rivals. Each of them survived and thrived by carefully choosing allies and waging war against foes at the right moment. To this end, each state required not solely formidable armies and sufficient logistical support, but people that could best serve its interests, including, sometimes, those from the other side of the border. Furthermore, if an emperor did not accept the allegiance of someone like Sima Xiuzhi who had a distinguished family background and military power, he took the risk of losing a capable man to his rival. Rulers in the early fifth century were thus more tolerant of border crossing. Sima Xiuzhi could cross back and forth between the Eastern Jin and the Southern Yan; he was also able to choose between the Northern Wei and the Later Qin before heading to the latter.[136] Sima Xiuzhi's allegiance changing was not unusual. There were many people like him who made similar decisions at the end of the Eastern Jin.

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[135] Before surrendering to the Northern Wei, Sima Chuzhi submitted a memorial to the Northern Wei court and requested an official title granted by the Northern Wei in the hope of securing popular local support. See *Wei shu* 37.855. Sima Chuzhi's family in the north is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3.

[136] See *Wei shu* 37.758. According to the *Wei shu*, Sima Xiuzhi and his followers initially attempted to join the Northern Wei, but changed their mind upon hearing that a Northern Wei top-ranking official, who defected from the Southern Yan, was executed by Emperor Daowu. They later fled to the Later Qin and Southern Yan. The validity of this story is questionable. The distance between Northern Wei capital Pingcheng and Eastern Jin capital Jiankang is far from that between Later Qin capital Chang'an and Jiankang. Moreover, before his defection, Sima Xiuzhi was Regional Inspector of Jing province and stationed at Xiangyang, which is much closer to Chang'an rather than Pingcheng. It is therefore difficult to know why Sima Xiuzhi was first attempting to go to Pingcheng, not Chang'an.

Nonetheless, such an exodus of the Sima imperial clansmen to the north was rarely seen after 439 CE, when the Northern Wei held unchallenged sway in the north. During the next fifty years, the situation was similar to that in the second half of the tenth century, which Naomi Standen has described: "the multiple options of the earlier years had been reduced to a polarized duality,"[137] and the two states that now respectively dominated the north and the south "could exercise a significant degree of control over the people and territory they claimed as their own."[138] Accordingly, if someone from the southern regime wanted to seek asylum in the north, the only destination was the Northern Wei. Yet, since the Liu-Song period, intriguingly, there were few records on the crossing of imperial clansmen until the final years of the Liang dynasty. Even though the members of the dethroned dynasties were persecuted by the new rulers during the Song-Qi[139] and Qi-Liang transition periods, very few imperial clansmen crossed to the other side of the border. Liu Chang 劉昶 (d.497 CE) and Xiao Baoyin were two notable exceptions.

Liu Chang was the ninth son of the Liu-Song Emperor Wen 文帝 (r.424-453 CE) and a younger brother of Emperor Xiaowu. He was enfeoffed as Prince of Yiyang 義陽王 by his father and given the position of Regional Inspector of Xu province by his brother. However, possibly because Emperor Xiaowu ascended the royal throne illegitimately,[140] and because Liu Chang, as a regional magnate residing in strategically important Pengcheng along the

[137] Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007), 104.
[138] Naomi Standen 2007, 172. One of the differences between the time period under study and the tenth dynasty is that it was the Shanyuan 澶淵 treaty between the two states of the Northern Song (960-1126 CE) and the Liao (907-1125 CE) that put end to the crossing of the tenth century while there was no official treaty to define the borderline between the Northern Wei and its southern neighbor.
[139] Qing dynasty scholar Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814 CE) has noted that every time a new Liu-Song emperor took the throne, he would decimate descendants of the previous ruler in order to remove any possible contender who would threat his legitimacy and his own heir. In a similar manner, the Southern Qi founding emperor also had the last Song emperor's direct descendants and his remaining brothers killed. See Zhao Yi, *Nie er shi zhaji jiaozheng* 廿二史札記校証 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984),11. 240-241.
[140] Liu Shao 劉劭 (424-453 CE), Emperor Wen's eldest son and heir apparent, murdered his father in 453 CE. Liu Jun, the third son of Emperor Wen and later Emperor Xiaowu, waged war against Liu Shao and eventually took the throne. See *Song shu* 6.110.

North-South border, was a potential threat to the court, rumor began circulating that Liu Chang, who was often reprimanded by his brother, was plotting rebellion.

The situation was worsened after Emperor Xiaowu's passing, as the succeeding emperor Liu Ziye soon became suspicious of Liu Chang's power and loyalty. Although Liu Chang dispatched his Document Clerk (*Dianqian* 典籤) to the capital, demonstrating his loyalty to the new emperor, his attempt at reconciliation was rejected. The young ruler scolded Liu Chang's messenger, for the latter failed to report Liu Chang's purported scheme.[141] Sensing his precarious position, the messenger secretly fled back to Pengcheng, offering the emperor an excuse to personally lead armies northward to Pengcheng. Forewarned, Liu Chang tried to call on the troops loyal to him to resist the emperor's forces, yet won no support from governors in his jurisdiction. Liu Chang thus fled in fear of his life and submitted to the Northern Wei in the fall of 465 CE.[142]

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, Xiao Baoyin was a prince of the Southern Qi dynasty but ended up in exile in the Northern Wei. However, our sources disagree on the reason Xiao Baoyin fled to the north. The northern dynastic histories, *Wei shu* and *Bei shi*, claim that Xiao Baoyin fled to the Northern Wei out of fear of Xiao Yan's persecution,[143] which came about because of the emperor Xiao Baojuan 蕭寶卷 (Deposed Emperor of the Qi

[141] From Emperor Xiaowu's reign on, each Liu-Song emperor assigned his own family members, either brothers or sons, to the major provincial commanders in order to bring the empire under the direct control of the central government. But at the same time the emperor dispatched low-ranking officials as *Dianqian* to monitor and report the movement of these princely governors to the court. For this reason, the emperor excoriated Liu Chang's *Dianqia*n for his inability to carry out his duty. For discussions on the role of the *Dianqian*, see, for example, Ian Buttars, "The Formation and Demise of Royal Houses in the Period of the Southern Dynasties: A History of the Xiao Family during the Song, Southern Qi and Liang (and Later Liang) Dynasties (420-581)" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 1998), 53 and David Graff 2002, 88 and Gao Min 高敏, "Nanchao Dianqian zhidu kaolue 南朝典籤制度考略," in *Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunkao* 秦漢魏晉南北朝史論考 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2004), 217-62.

[142] For Liu Chang's biographies in dynastic histories, see *Song shu* 72.1868-1869, *Wei shu* 59.1307-1311, and *Nan shi* 14.403.

[143] See *Wei shu* 59.1313 and *Bei shi* 29.1050.

齊廢帝, r.498-500 CE) assassination of Xiao Yan's elder brother.[144] Xiao Yan soon took up arms against Xiao Baojuan in the winter of 500-501 CE, murdering him to avenge his brother's death. What is more, Xiao Yan aimed to exterminate all of Xiao Baojuan's remaining brothers, and proceeded to establish the Liang dynasty in 502 CE. Only two of Xiao Baojuan's brothers survived: one was spared by Xiao Yan because of physical disability [145] and the other was Xiao Baoyin who narrowly escaped with help from his servants.

By contrast, the southern dynastic histories offered interpretations that differ from the northern records, but also conflict with one another. In the *Nan Qi shu* (*History of the Southern Qi Dynasty,* compiled by a Southern Qi imperial clansman, Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (487-535 CE) in Liang times), the Basic Annals (*Benji* 本紀) of Emperor He 和帝 (r.501-502 CE) state that Xiao Baoyin fled to the Northern Wei in the third month of 502 CE without mentioning any reason[146] while Xiao Baoyin's biography in the same book records that he was executed for treason in 502 CE.[147] The authors of the *Nan shi* probably noticed the discrepancy and the inaccuracy of the *Nan Qi shu*, for they also compiled the *Bei shi,* which clearly describes the life of Xiao Baoyin in the north. For this reason, it is plausible that they combined the two versions of stories and therefore stated, in Xiao Baoyin's biography in the *Nan shi*, that Xiao Baoyin fled to the Northern Wei due to his unsuccessful rebellion.[148]

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[144] In the early sixth century, Xiao Yan's brother Xiao Yi 蕭懿 (d.500 CE?), Director of Department of State Affairs (*Shangshuling* 尚書令) and a distant member of the Southern Qi imperial house, was said to plan to dethrone the nineteen-year-old emperor Xiao Baojuan who was one of the most infamous emperors in Chinese history due to his cruelty and mercilessness. Interestingly, Xiao Yi, despite his political influence, does not have an independent biography either in the *Nan Qi shu* nor in the *Liang shu*; he has a short biographical notice appended to that of his son Xiao Yuanye 蕭淵業 (478-526 CE) in the *Liang shu*. See *Liang shu* 23.359-360.
[145] Xiao Baoyi 蕭寶義 (fl. 494-501 CE) was the eldest son of Emperor Ming of the Southern Qi 齊明帝 (r.494-498 CE). According to the *Nan Qi shu*, Xiao Baoyi was afflicted by a crippling ailment (*feiji* 廢疾) which deprived him of the throne of the Southern Qi and therefore would not make him a threat to Xiao Yan. See *Nan Qi shu* 50.863. English translation of *feiji* follows Richard Mather. See Liu Yiqing 劉義慶, *A New Account of Tales of the World*, trans. Richard B. Mather. (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 236.
[146] *Nan Qi shu* 8.114.
[147] *Nan Qi shu* 50.865.
[148] *Nan shi* 44.1122.

On the discrepancy in the southern historical records, Ian Buttars suggests that "perhaps the Qi had decided not to admit this desertion of a royal prince to the northern enemy and altered some of the archives during its time in power," arguing that the author of the *Nan Qi shu* "was either trying to maintain the point of view of the Qi court (to which he was related) within the biographies while letting the truth stand within the imperial annals or he was simply allowing archival material to be blindly and uncritically copied."[149]

Considering that the *Nan Qi shu* was compiled during the reign of Xiao Yan, another possibility is that the author, Xiao Zixian, tried to cover up the emperor's mercilessness towards Xiao Baojuan's brothers. Xiao Yan had carefully constructed his self-image as a virtuous emperor,[150] which effectively influenced the perceptions of contemporaries and later generations,[151] so his involvement in the death of Xiao Baojuan's brothers would contradict this idealized image. Moreover, it was surely not wise for Xiao Zixian to preserve this incident in the dynastic history that he was going to present to the emperor after completion since he, a member of the Southern Qi royal house, was alive only because of Xiao Yan's mercy.[152]

There are few records on the crossing of imperial clansmen during Xiao Yan's long reign that lasted from 502 to 549 CE, except for the cases of Xiao Zhengde 蕭正德 (d.555 CE?) and Xiao Zong 蕭綜 (502-532 CE). Unlike their counterparts in the previous dynasties, Xiao Zhengde and Xiao Zong's crossings did not occur during the transition to a new dynasty, but

[149] Ian Buttars 1998, 9. Here I follow the *Wei shu*, for Xiao Baoyin died in the Northern Wei, and the author of the *Wei shu*, who served in the Northern Wei court when he was young, should have been able, compared to his counterparts in the south, to access more reliable sources regarding Xiao Baoyin.

[150] Xiao Yan was very sensitive of being perceived as a usurper or an immoral ruler. More than once, he felt compelled to justify why he replaced the Qi royal house with his own. This is evident in his conversation with Xiao Zike 蕭子恪 (478-529 CE) and his younger brothers, who were grandsons of the Southern Qi founder. See *Liang shu* 35.507-509.

[151] One such example is the commentary of Yao Cha 姚察 (533-606 CE) in the biography of Xiao Zike in the *Liang shu*. See *Liang shu* 35.516. Ian Buttars suggests that Yao Cha may use examples from the past, such as Xiao Yan's treatment to the descendants of the Southern Qi founder, to enlighten future rulers who may consult his work. See Ian Buttars 1998, 261-262.

[152] While Xiao Zixian and his brothers were spared, the nine sons of Xiao Ying 蕭映 (458-489 CE), the third son of the Southern Qi founder, were said to have been executed for the eldest one's treason in Liang times. See *Nan Qi shu* 35.622-623.

in the middle of Xiao Yan's reign. They, furthermore, did not flee to the Northern Wei under pressure from a jealous emperor in the south; on the contrary, they were Xiao Yan's beloved son and nephew. So, why did these two princes decide to defect?

The *Liang shu*, the official history of the Liang dynasty, which was compiled in the seventh century, does not specify Xiao Zhengde's motive for crossing the border, but hints that his reason was jealousy. Xiao Zhengde was initially adopted by his uncle Xiao Yan who thought he would be forever heirless. After Xiao Yan entered Jiankang in 501 CE and ascended the throne the following year, Xiao Zhengde naturally dreamt of being an emperor one day. Yet his dream fell apart when Xiao Tong 蕭統 (501-531), Xiao Yan's first son, was born and was eventually installed as crown prince in the eleven month of 502.[153] Disgruntled and betrayed, Xiao Zhengde was since said to have been up to no good and attempted to find some way back to power. But it is not until 523 CE[154] that he left for the Northern Wei.

After entering the north, in a memorial submitted to the Northern Wei court, Xiao Zhengde claimed himself a deposed heir apparent of the Liang[155] and fled to the Northern Wei to evade danger. [156] He might have been able to convince the Northern Wei emperor and court officials had Xiao Baoyin, then Deputy Director of the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu zuo puye* 尚書左僕射, Rank 2b),[157] not doubted his sincerity and hence submitted a memorial to the emperor. Xiao Baoyin persuaded the court, and Xiao Zhengde did not

[153] See *Liang shu* 8.165 and *Nan shi* 53.1307. When Xiao Tong was born in 501 CE, Xiao Yan was already forty years of age, which was very late according to the standard of early medieval China. Wang Ping states that the adoption occurred in 499 CE when Xiao Yan's first wife passed away, but she did not specify the evidence. See Wang Ping, *The Age of Courtly Writing: Wenxuan Compiler Xiao Tong (501-531) and His Circle* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 7.
[154] With regard to the year of his crossing, the *Wei shu*, *Nan shi* and *Bei shi* say 523 CE while *Liang shu* says 525 CE. See Ian Buttars 1998, 266.
[155] This information is only noted in the *Nan shi*. See *Nan shi* 51.1279.
[156] The *Wei shu* says that the local government of Yang province submitted the memorial that records Xiao Zhengde's reason for defection before he headed to the capital Luoyang. This actually reveals the Northern Wei standard process of identity check, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 2.
[157] See *Wei shu* 113. 2994.

receive the treatment he expected upon arriving in Luoyang.[158] As a result, he defected again, this time to the Liang, shortly after.[159]

Xiao Zong was another disgruntled Liang prince, but for a different reason. As in Xiao Baoyin's case, our sources disagree on Xiao Zong's birth year, death year, and the cause of his death.[160] Yet, they all agree on the reason for his defection. After killing Xiao Baojuan in 500 CE, Xiao Yan took over not only the dynasty, but also one of Xiao Baojuan's favorite concubines, who, seven months later, gave birth to a boy named Xiao Zong. To our modern eyes, Xiao Zong may have been a premature baby, but the rumor in the sixth century that he was in fact Xiao Baojuan's posthumous son began circulating and spread fast, possibly by concubines who were jealous of Xiao Yan's affection to Xiao Zong's mother.

Such gossip may have led to Xiao Zong's mother falling out of favor with the emperor and, more seriously, affected how people saw Xiao Zong. Hearing the gossip had a strong impact on Xiao Zong, for it challenged his legitimacy as Xiao Yan's son. Although Xiao Yan purportedly never changed his attitude toward Xiao Zong, the young prince may not have been able to stand the pressure. According to the *Liang shu* and *Nan shi*, Xiao Zong started acting irrationally,[161] trying to prove his blood ties with Xiao Baojuan, the deposed emperor of the Southern Qi. He eventually defected to the Northern Wei in 525 CE, in order to reunite with Xiao Baoyin, one of Xiao Baojuan's surviving brothers.

2.2 Members of the Northern Émigré Families

[158] *Bei shi* argues that the reason Xiao Zhengde was neglected was because the Northern Wei court considered him too mediocre to be useful to its political agenda. See *Bei shi* 29.1058.
[159] See *Wei shu* 59.1322.
[160] *Liang shu* says that Xiao Zong was executed at age 49 after Xiao Baoyin took up arms in Chang'an in 528 CE, whereas *Wei shu* argues that Xiao Zong died of illness at the age of thirty-one. See *Wei shu* 59.1325-1326. *Liang shu* 55.824. Interestingly, Xiao Zong's age is not articulated in the *Bei shi* and *Nan shi*, and there is even no mention of his cause of death in the *Nan shi*. Such omission could be on purpose, perhaps because the compilers of the *Bei shi* and *Nan shi* noticed the discrepancy in both accounts, yet they lacked sufficient evidence that missed at the end of the Northern Wei period.
[161] Our sources generally blame Xiao Zong's wrong deeds, but the *Nan shi*, particularly, records a number of incidents depicting Xiao Zong in a more negative light. See *Nan shi* 53.1316.

Of the three hundred and fifty-one cross-border migrants under study, most hailed from northern émigré families, whereas only six were from native southern families, seventy-three were of unknown origin, and a further twenty-six were classified as "*man* 蠻" (uncivilized people) (See Appendix 1). Despite the fact that the data are suggestive rather than definitive given the small number of cross-border migrants we have any record of, it reveals a remarkable disproportion between southern migrants from northern émigré families and others. Such disproportion is not coincidental, but the result of the displacement of northern émigré families.

Beginning in the Eastern Jin period, northern émigré families were commonly divided into two subgroups: early arrivals who followed the Jin imperial kinsmen to the south in the early fourth century,[162] and late-crossing northerners (*wandu beiren* 晚渡北人)[163] who entered the south after the middle of the Eastern Jin period. Regardless of the time of border crossing, they were all displaced persons in the sense that they left their homeland in the north. What is more, compared to the great families who insisted on staying in their northern hometowns even after the fall of the Western Jin, and to leading local families in the south, the northern émigré families lacked the support of lineages and strong connections in the southern lands. To survive in this new environment, they either worked with the court, or rebuilt their local base in the south.

[162] Yan Zhitui's own commentary to his "Guan wo sheng fu" 觀我生賦 (Rhapsody Reflecting on My Life) says: 'When the caps and sashes of the middle kingdom crossed the Yangtze with the Jin court, there were hundreds of them and as a result there was the Hundred Families Genealogy in the southeast.' See *Bei Qi shu* 45.621. The Chinese is: 中原冠帶隨晉渡江者百家 , 故江東有百譜. Translation after Wang Ping 2012, 237.

[163] Translation follows Andrew Chittick 2009, 23. For details on late-crossing northerners in the south, see Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Wandu beiren 晚度北人," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史札記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 190-92. For discussions of this group, see Hu Baoguo 胡寶國, "Wandu beiren yu Dong Jin zhongqi de lishi bianhua 晚渡北人與東晉中期的歷史變化," *Beida shixue* 北大史學 14 (2009): 94-111; Lü Chunsheng 呂春盛, "Dong Jin shiqi 'wandu beiren' de xingcheng ji qi buyu de yuanyin 東晉時期「晚渡北人」的形成及其不遇的原因," *Taiwan shida lishi xuebao* 臺灣師大歷史學報 50 (2013): 1-32, to just name a few.

Upon arriving in the south, early migrants had nothing but their lofty pedigrees stretching back to great families of the Eastern Han dynasty and a multi-generational tradition of office holding. In order to continue their political influence and social prestige, émigré elites chose to serve the Eastern Jin imperial house that also came from the north, and had since forged a close and lasting bond with the imperial families until the end of the Southern Dynasties. The fledging Eastern Jin dynasty, on the other hand, needed these émigré families to enhance its legitimacy and to secure support of the local gentry,[164] for the Eastern Jin founder, Sima Rui 司馬睿 (r.317-323 CE), was only a distant member of the imperial Sima clan.[165] Therefore, the Eastern Jin court bestowed official titles to early arrivals and established marital alliances with these elite families, in order to maintain their loyalty. In the meantime, by publicly recognizing these families, the Eastern Jin court lent legitimacy to its authority.

Through marriage and imperial patronage, early arrivals dominated most powerful positions at court and in the provinces, and stood at the top of the social ladder. However, this came at a price, as they did not have a stable base in the south. Early arrivals knew that it was their family background that won them imperial patronage, so they took great care in maintaining this boundary of group membership by contracting exclusive marriages with imperial family members and a handful of elite families of northern origin who settled in Jiankang around the same time. In doing so, the early arrivals differentiated themselves from local elite families, such as the Gu 顧, Lu 陸, Zhu 朱 and Zhang 張, who had established

[164] It is evident in the case of Wang Dao 王導 (276-339 CE) and Sima Rui. According to the *Jin shu*, Sima Rui "went to pacify Jiankang, but the people of Wu did not accept him, and after being there for more than one month, there were neither scholars or commoners who came to him, and Wang Dao worried about this." Therefore, he asked his cousin Wang Dun 王敦 (266-324 CE), famous general of the time, for help. Wang Dao said to Wang Dun, "although the King of Langya (i.e., Sima Rui)'s benevolence and virtue is broad, his reputation is still slight. My brother, your greatness is already well established, you should be the one to help alleviate this issue." See *Jin shu* 65.1745. Translation follow Matthew V. Wells, "From Spirited Youth to Loyal Official: Life Writing and Didacticism in the *Jin Shu* Biography of Wang Dao," *Early Medieval China*, no. 21 (2015), 14.

[165] See Tian Yuqing 田餘慶, *Dong Jin menfa zhengzhi* 東晉門閥政治 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1996), 8.

themselves south of the Yangzi River over a hundred years earlier. Yet they also lost a chance to build alliances with local families that may have been helpful in time of need.

Furthermore, northern émigré families were not registered in the existing southern administrative units and were correspondingly not part of the official registered population that owed the state tax and corvée labor. Instead, they were classified under émigré commanderies (*qiaojun* 僑郡), while most of them in fact lived in the capital.[166] Émigré commanderies, despite the fact that most of them lacked physical territory, were created to register northern migrants by the southern regimes from the Eastern Jin dynasty onward and were named after the home districts to which these émigrés belonged in the north.[167] Later on, the southern regimes tried to incorporate these migrants into the imperial household registers, but northern émigrés were strongly opposed to this imperial plan and insisted on staying in the register of the immigrant commanderies. This suggests that the northern émigrés had no plan for permanent settlement in the south,[168] an that they wanted to preserve their privileges in the south.[169]

As a result, even though early migrants accumulated extensive land with substantial tenants, their urban gardens and country estates were not equivalent to a local base, or hometown, inhabited by people with the same surname, with affinal kin around them, and fellow countrymen at their disposal. In spite of their illustrious status, they were unable to

[166] Much ink had been spilled on the importance of establishing immigrant commanderies and counties. See, for example, Nakamura Keiji 中村圭爾, "Guanyu Nanchao guizu diyuanxing de kaocha: yi dui qiaojunxian de tantao wei zhongxin 關於南朝貴族地緣性的考察—以對僑郡縣的探討為中心," in *Huiwang ru meng de Liuchao: Liuchao wenshi lunji* 回望如夢的六朝：六朝文史論集, ed. Li Hongtian 李洪天 (Nanjing: Fenghuang chubanshe, 2009), 11-39; William G. Crowell, "Northern Émigrés and the Problems of Census Registration under the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties," in *State and Society in Early Medieval China*, ed. Albert Dien (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991), 171-210; Hu Axiang 胡阿祥, "Dong Jin Nanchao qiaozhou junxian de shezhi ji qi
dili fenbu 東晉南朝僑州郡縣的設置及其地理分佈." In *Zhongguo minghao yu zhonggu dili tansuo* 中國名號與中古地理探索 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2013), 205-249.
[167] See *Sui shu* 24.673-674.
[168] See *Jin shu* 75.1986.
[169] Nakamura Keiji 2009, 15 and Hu Axiang 2013, 210-212.

mobilize extensive human resources from the local population when necessary,[170] and lacked a family base that served as a haven in times of crisis.[171] If they lost favour with an emperor or failed during a power struggle, they lost everything. Some members of these families, for this reason, defected to the Northern Wei.

Wang Huilong 王慧龍 (d.440 CE) was from one of such families, the prestigious Wang family of Taiyuan 太原王氏.[172] Many members in his family held high positions in the Eastern Jin bureaucracy and played a key role, particularly in the late Eastern Jin. For example, Wang Huilong's grandfather Wang Yu 王愉 (d.404 CE) supported Emperor Xiaowu's younger brother Sima Daozi 司馬道子 (d.403 CE)[173] while at the same time maintaining close relations with Sima Daozi's rival Huan Xuan. Wang Yu was not only Vice President of the Department of State Affairs under Huan Xuan, he was also Huan Xuan's brother-in-law. Thus, when Liu Yu took up arms against Huan Xuan who held Eastern Jin Emperor An under duress and declared himself emperor of Chu in 403 CE, Wang Yu began to worry about his fate and his family's future if Liu Yu was ultimately victorious. Wang Yu's concern was not solely based on his affinal tie with Huan Xuan, but also on the fact that his eldest son had long laughed at Liu Yu's humble origin.[174] Fearing Liu Yu's revenge, Wang Yu and his eldest son were said to have plotted an attack that attempted to catch Liu Yu off guard. Their scheme, however, was somehow leaked. The southern sources state that

[170] One example, as Mark Edward Lewis has noted, is that none of these families played a military role against Hou Jing's 侯景 rebellion (548-557 CE) that led to the downfall of the Liang dynasty. See Mark E. Lewis 2009, 131-132. Timothy Davis has also noted, "as long as families like the Pingyuan Liu resided in the vicinity of their ancestral homelands landholding and the capacity to mobilize retainers remained effective sources of influence. Those that migrated south gave up these sources of power for prestige dispensed by the southern imperial courts." See Timothy Davis 2015, 67, n.137.
[171] Mark E. Lewis 2009, 133.
[172] Taiyuan was located in the southwest of present-day Taiyuan, Shanxi province.
[173] Sima Daozi was full brother of Emperor Xiaowu. He dominated the court during his brother's reign, but eventually triggered an internecine war with Emperor Xiaowu, thereby speeding the fall of the Eastern Jin. He was killed during the rebellion of Huan Xuan. For the biography of Sima Daozi, see *Jin shu* 64.1732-1741. For a discussion of the war between Emperor Xiaowu and Sima Daozi and its impact to the development of the Taiyuan Wang family during the Eastern Jin, see Tian Yuqing 1996, 257-291.
[174] See *Song shu* 1.9.

Wang Yu, his sons, and grandsons were executed in 404 CE, yet both the *Wei shu* and *Bei shi* make this incident appear more dramatic, recounting that Wang Yu's entire family was wiped out with the exception of Wang Huilong.

By the time Wang Yu was killed, fourteen-year-old Wang Huilong reportedly escaped with help from a Buddhist monk. They travelled westward, first to Jiangling, then to Xiangyang, and finally crossed the Yangzi River to Chang'an, the capital of the Later Qin. We do not know exactly what happened to him during his stay in Chang'an. The next we hear of Wang Huilong is in 417 CE, when Liu Yu conquered the Later Qin. Wang Huilong, according to the *Wei shu*, once again was forced to cross the border of political allegiance. Unable to return south, Wang Huilong headed to the Northern Wei.

Another figure worthy of close scrutiny is Wang Su 王肅 (464-501 CE), who also hailed from an esteemed northern émigré family, the Wang family of Langye 琅琊王氏.[175] His family was perhaps the most distinguished of those in the south, for his direct ancestor Wang Dao aided Sima Rui to establish the Eastern Jin dynasty, and had been the prime minister for three emperors. Wang Dao's dominance in Eastern Jin politics is unquestionable, so much so that the saying goes that "Wang and [Si]ma co-ruled All Under Heaven."[176] Wang Dao laid a solid foundation for the Wang family in the south. Since then, many members of his family had held top positions at the Eastern Jin court; moreover, the Langye Wangs had intermarried with the imperial house.[177] Even though the transfer of imperial power from the Eastern Jin to the subsequent four dynasties, the Langye Wang family continued to prosper.

However, to Wang Su's family, this political and social influence proved to be a double-edged sword. Despite relying on its support, southern rulers were wary of the power of the Langye Wangs. For example, on his deathbed, Liu-Song Emperor Ming ordered Wang Su's

[175] Langye was located in present-day Linyi 臨沂, Shandong province.
[176] The Chinese is: 王與馬共天下. See *Jin shu* 98.2554.
[177] For example, Emperor An married a daughter of the Wang family of Langye, and two daughters of Emperor Jianwen 簡文帝 (r.371-372 CE) were married to the Wang family of Langye.

great-uncle Wang Jingwen 王景文 (413-472 CE) to commit suicide; his concern was to remove his brother-in-law Wang Jingwen who could have acted as regent for his young successor and, given the opportunity, could have usurped the throne. In a similar vein, when a member of the Langye Wangs rebelled against the Southern Qi court in 482 CE, Wang Su's father Wang Huan 王奐 (435-493 CE) was also suspected of rebellion by Xiao Ze 蕭賾, future Southern Qi Emperor Wu 齊武帝 (r.482-493 CE), not only because the rebel was Wang Huan's first cousin, but also because Wang Huan was a member of "the consort family of the Song imperial house."[178] This may explain why Xiao Ze later took a strong stance on Wang Huan's revolt in 493 CE.[179] Wang Huan and his sons were executed, except for Wang Su and Wang Bing 王秉 (n.d.) who both somehow escaped the execution.

Wang Su, then Vice Director of the Palace Library (*Mishucheng* 秘書丞),[180] fled from Jiankang all the way to the Northern Wei when his father and elder brothers were killed.[181] Eight years later, according to the *Wei shu*, Wang Su's younger brother Wang Bing also sought asylum in the Northern Wei, along with three nephews. The *Wei shu* fails to specify the reason of their delayed flight, yet the epitaph of Wang Song 王誦 (481-527 CE), Wang Su's nephew, claims that they did so to escape the war during the transition from the Southern Qi to the Liang.[182]

2.3 Border Officials

[178] The Chinese is: 宋家外戚. See *Nan Qi shu* 49.847.
[179] According to the epitaph of Wang Hui 王惠 (552-607 CE), Wang Su's grandson, Wang Huan and his sons were massacred because the Qi ruler was wary of the power of the Wang family. The Chinese is: 齊主忌其隆盛, 欲執誅夷. For Wang Hui's epitaph, see Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌匯編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 224-225.
[180] For the position of the Vice Director of Palalce Library, see *Nan Qi shu* 16.324.
[181] See *Wei shu* 63.1407 and *Nan Qi shu* 57.994. As to Wang Huan's revolt, see Andrew Chittick 2009, 74-75.
[182] See *Wei shu* 63.1412. As to Wang Song's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008.241-243.

Generally speaking, border officials were the dominant group of the forced migrants in this period. In an era of frequent conflicts between the northern and southern courts, changing political allegiance was not unusual to those who lived along the North-South border. Some of them were forced to surrender after losing wars with the Northern Wei, whereas others chose to submit to the northern regime because their lives were threatened by suspicious southern rulers. Some defectors were heads of provinces; therefore, as Naomi Standen points out, when provincial heads changed the boundary of political allegiance, they changed the state borderline too.[183] Once they did so, their subordinates were either forced to surrender with them or fled back to the south.

Among these border officials, many were late-crossing northerners themselves or descendants of the late-crossing northerners. They were commonly despised in the south and were edged out by the early arrivals, as the early migrants feared that the eminent pedigrees and cultural capital of the later border crossers could lead to them establishing their authority in the south, as the earlier migrants had already done. The early movers hence criticized the late-crossing northerners for "marriages and posts failing to match their social status (*hunhuan shilei* 婚宦失類)," [184] meaning that the latecomers' ancestors either had served the northern regimes that were regarded as barbarians by the southern court, or had intermarried with families of non-Han descent.[185] Simply put, the latecomers were believed to be

[183] Naomi Standen 2007, 19-20.
[184] *Jin shu* 84. 2200.
[185] Du Tan 杜坦 (n.d.) is one such example. His fourth-generation ancestor Du Yu 杜預 (222-285 CE) had been one of the most influential officials and military strategists during the early Western Jin period, assisting the founder of the Western Jin conquering the Sun-Wu state and further bringing the north and south under a single rule. In the end of the Western Jin, nonetheless, along with many elites who wanted to escape from chaos in the capital, Du Tan's third-generation ancestor sought asylum in relatively peaceful Liangzhou, a cultural center in the northwest at the time, serving the local warlord. Some fifty years later, Former Qin armies took control of Liangzhou and relocated a great number of Liangzhou people back to the capital Chang'an, including Du Tan's grandfather and father. When Liu Yu launched his second northern expedition in the early fifth century and seized Chang'an, Du Tan came to the south with Liu Yu, serving at the Jiankang court. Although being trusted by Liu Yu and his successor, Du Tan was still being looked downed by most court officials and even emperor himself as a late-crossing northern boor. For this reason, it was unlikely for him to hold a pure high-profile position. See *Song shu* 65.1720 and *Nan shi* 70.1699. See also Andrew Chittick 2009, 23. For a discussion of

contaminated. Since marriage and office holding were two things contemporaries had valued first and foremost, and since the early arrivals were influential at court and in society, the late-crossing northerners were usually unable to hold positions in the central administration, which were regarded as "pure (*qing* 清)" offices. Most of them held provincial administrative positions or served in military service, which were seen as "turbid" (*zhuo* 濁) positions.[186] The difference of official positions, pure versus turbid, mark a clear boundary between the early arrivals and the later-arriving immigrants.

Unlike the early arrivals, the late-crossing northerners had a stronger local base in the south. They usually migrated to border provinces which were closer to where they came from. They intermarried with other late-crossing northern families of the same class and sometimes from the same place of origin, and gradually and steadily occupied important positions in the province they resided in. Some of these families who had long lived in the south were even willing to be added into the imperial registers, and changed their place of origin to the place where they lived in the south. In some ways, they were "localized." Their power was closely tied to their family and the local society their families relied upon, not to the imperial court, which was a major reason why they switched political allegiances more frequently than others. Due to their regional influence, they and their followers were usually allowed to maintain their original positions in the province after their surrender.

In what follows, emphasis will be placed on two military men from such families: Xue Andu 薛安都 (d.469 CE) and Pei Shuye 裴叔業 (438-500 CE). I choose these figures as a

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the Du family of this time, see Wang Liping 王力平, *Zhonggu Dushi jiazu de bianqian* 中古杜氏家族的變遷 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2006).

[186] See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Nan Qi shu Qui Lingju zhuan shishi jianlun Nanchao wenwu guanwei ji qingzhuo 《南齊書•丘靈鞠傳》試釋兼論南朝文武官位及清濁," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lunji* 魏晉南北朝史論集 (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe, 1998), 102-26; Yan Buke 閻步克, *Pinwei yu zhiwei: Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao guanjie zhidu yanjiu* 品位與職位*:* 秦漢魏晉南北朝官階制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002); Ueda Sanae 上田早苗, "Guizu guanliao zhidu de xingcheng: qingguan de yulai yu qi tezheng 貴族官僚制度的形成─清官的由來與其特徵," in *Riben zhongqingnian lun zhongguoshi: Liuchao Sui Tang juan* 日本中青年學者論中國史·六朝隋唐卷, ed. Liu Junwen 劉俊文 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1995), 1-26.

case study for two reasons. First, they both came from émigré families and were important military leaders in the south. With their military power, they built patron-client relations with the imperial clansmen, thereby gaining high position in the province. However, once they had to make a choice between the security of their families and the state they served—they chose the former, without any reluctance. Second, when they surrendered, they handed over the border cities under their jurisdiction, which greatly helped the Northern Wei expand its territory to the far south without the use of force. They were therefore highly regarded by the Northern Wei rulers, and their families accordingly became so prosperous that they were designated surnames of national prominence in Tang times.[187] For this reason, they attracted the attention of contemporary chroniclers and we are thus left with relatively rich information.

Xue Andu was a first-generation border crosser. He came from one of the leading families from Hedong 河東 (southwest of present-day Shanxi province), which is described by the *Song shu* as "a powerful clan of generations [of the area in which] the households with the same surname [Xue] numbered three thousand,"[188] and his father was a strongman of the lineage, which may be the reason why he was appointed as Governor of Shangdang 上黨 (near modern Changzhi 長治, Shanxi province) after Liu Yu re-conquered Luoyang and Chang'an in the late Eastern Jin.

The Hedong Xues were not a scholarly family. Xue Andu, from his youth, was noted for his bravery and had pursued a military career. He originally served the Northern Wei, but later rebelled against the state. After his defeat, he fled to Xiangyang to join the then Regional Inspector of Yong province 雍州[189] (administrative seat Xiangyang) and future Liu-

[187] In his famous essay "Shizulun 氏族論 (Treatise on genealogy)," Tang genealogist Liu Fang 柳芳 (fl.760 CE) wrote: "Within the Passes, they were also called 'prefectural clans'; the Weis, Peis, Liŭs, Xues, Yangs, and Tus headed them." The Chinese is: 關中亦號郡姓, 韋、裴、柳、薛、楊、杜首之.

[188] The Chinese is: 世為強族, 同姓有三千家. See *Song shu* 88.2215.

[189] Liu Jun was appointed Regional Inspector of Yong province in 445 CE and served there until 448 CE. He was the first imperial prince in charge of Xiangyang garrison since the Eastern Jin. See *Song shu* 100.109. This assignment was due to Emperor Wen's attempt to reorganize Xiangyang as the launching point of the west wing

Song Emperor Xiaowu, Liu Jun in 444 CE.[190] Xue Andu's valor against the Northern Wei may have impressed the fifteen-year-old prince, so he was soon offered the position of commandery governor in the Xiangyang area. A patron-client bond was thus established.[191]

Xue Andu later joined Liu Jun's personal military staff and eventually assisted Liu Jun in a crucial campaign against the heir apparent who murdered Emperor Wen in 453 CE, helping the prince take the throne. Xue Andu was accordingly awarded a position in the imperial army after Liu Jun's ascent to the throne. He relocated to the capital from the Xiangyang region and gained prestige through several military positions at the capital and the office of regional inspector. In Liu Jun's final years on the throne, Xue Andu served as one of the two heads of personal guards of the heir apparent, Liu Ziye, and remained in the post until the death of Liu Jun,[192] suggesting the emperor's confidence in his loyalty.

Quite plausibly, his service to the heir apparent won him the future emperor's trust too. Not long after Liu Ziye's enthronement, Xue Andu was promoted to General Right Guard (*Youwei jiangjun* 右衛將軍), a position that entailed responsibility for imperial palace security and was therefore exclusively given to the emperor's most trusted man.[193] Moreover, despite the fact that the Hedong Liŭs 河東柳氏, Xue Andu's affinal kin, were purged in 465 CE, for their support of Prince Liu Yigong's 劉義恭 (413-465 CE) coup against Liu Ziye, Xue Andu was not put to death. He was reassigned to serve the post of Regional Inspector of

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of his northern campaign. Yong province was an immigrant province established during the reign of Eastern Jin Emperor Xiaowu but did not have real territory until 449 CE. See *Song shu* 37.1135.

[190] See Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, "Bei Wei shiqi de Hedong Shu Xue 北魏時期的河東蜀薛," in *Jiazu yu shehui* 家族與社會, ed. Huang Kuanchung 黃寬重 and Liu Tsengkuei 劉增貴 (Beijing: Zhongguo dabaike quanshu chubanshe, 2005), 259-81; Song Yanmei 宋豔梅, "Yongjia zhi luan hou Hedong Xueshi nanqian jiangzuo kaoshu 永嘉之亂後河東薛氏南遷江左考述," *Xuchang xueyuan xuebao* 許昌學院學報 1 (2010), 14-18.

[191] Andrew Chittick 2009, 32.

[192] His position was called Left Defense Guard Commandant of the Heir Apparent (*Taizi zuoweishuai* 太子左衛率), which was rank 5 in Liu-Song times, yet it was the military official position of the highest ranking under the administration of the Heir Apparent. See *Jin shu* 24.743.

[193] See *Song shu* 40.1254. On General Right Guard in Liu-Song times, see Zhang Jinlong 張金龍, *Wei Jin Nanbei chao jinwei wuguan zhidu yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝禁衛武官制度研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2004), 443-454.

Yan province 兗州 and Xu province even though both postings were far from his base in Xiangyang.

Xue Andu's strong ties to Liu Jun and Liu Ziye made him later choose to join Liu Ziye's brother Liu Zixun in taking up arms against Emperor Ming who was thought to have murdered Liu Ziye.[194] After a year-long civil war, Liu Zixun was nevertheless executed and his supporters were largely purged, leading to Xue Andu's decision to surrender to Emperor Ming. In an attempt to awe Xue Andu with his striking military power, Emperor Ming, against the advice of his officials, sent the army to Xu province. Xue Andu understandably took this as a signal that Emperor Ming deeply distrusted him for his personal connections to Liu Jun and Liu Ziye, and for his military prowess. Xue Andu hence called on the Northern Wei for help in 466 CE by turning over Pengcheng, an important border city, which was merely a prelude to the rapid loss of the entire region north of the Huai River for the Liu-Song, between 466 and 469 CE.

It should be noted that when Xue Andu migrated to the south he did not go alone, but moved with his clansmen.[195] They settled in Xiangyang where many émigré families from his ancestral home had settled, such as the Hedong Liŭs and the Hedong Peis 河東裴氏. With his pedigree in the north and his family's influence in Hedong, Xue Andu appeared to have developed a social network with the other powerful émigré families in Xiangyang by engaging in military service led by local headmen and through intermarriages. Notwithstanding, his family seemed to have limited roots in Xiangyang, in part because Xue Andu only stayed in the south for twenty-two years and when he again surrendered to the Northern Wei, most of his family members also followed him. Even though some Xues

[194] Before eradicating rebels, Emperor Ming sent a messenger to Xu province in order to persuade Xue Andu surrender. Xue Andu rejected it, because he "did not want to betray Emperor Xiaowu." See *Song shu* 88.2220. Even if we cannot take Xue Andu's account at face value—he may have supported the young prince Liu Zixun for his own interests—it reveals his strong bond between him and his old masters.

[195] This includes Xue Andu's own family, but also a number of his collateral relatives, such as his nephews, cousins, and uncles. See, for example, *Song shu* 88.2216.

stayed in the south after Xue Andu's defection,[196] the Hedong Xues never regained the prominence during the Southern Dynasties that Xue Andu had held in the past.

As with Xue Andu, Pei Shuye also hailed from an eminent local family from Hedong. Yet, unlike Xue, Pei's family had lived in the south for three generations. His grandfather was said to have migrated south in the late Eastern Jin;[197] more specifically, he probably followed Liu Yu back to the south after the latter retook Chang'an in 417 CE. According to the *Wei shu*, Pei's family first stayed in Xiangyang, but later moved to Yu province's 豫州 administrative seat Shouchun,[198] and became one of the local leading families. Skilled at horse riding and archery since his youth, Pei held many military positions under the Southern Qi founder Xiao Daocheng 蕭道成 (r.479-482) and his successor Xiao Ze, yet most of these were low-level postings.

Pei's career finally took a turn in 487 CE when Xiao Daocheng's nephew Xiao Luan 蕭鸞, the future Southern Qi Emperor Ming, took on the office of Regional Inspector of Yu province and recruited Pei as his Assistant Commander (*Sima* 司馬), likely due to Pei's family influence in the area. Such experience developed the personal bonds of trust between the two men, and Pei was subsequently loyal to Xiao Luan, clearing the way for the latter to usurp the throne in 494 CE. In return Xiao Luan granted Pei the office of Palace Attendant

[196] According to a Tang epitaph, one of Xue Andu's sons was left in the south and later served under the Liang. See Zhao Shuijing 趙水靜, "Luoyang chutu Xue fujun furen Zhangshi muzhi, Xue Wenxiu muzhi kaoshi 洛陽出土《薛府君夫人張氏墓志》、《薛文休墓志》考釋," *Tangshi luncong* 唐史論叢 20 (2015): 329-40.

[197] According to Pei Yingqi's 裴英起 biography in the *Bei Qi shu*, Pei Shuye's family moved to the south in the late Eastern Jin. Pei Yingqi was Pei Shuye's great grandnephew. See *Bei Qi shu* 21.300. Pei Shuye's biography in the *Nan Qi shu* also says that his ancestor came to the south in the late Yixi 義熙 era (405-419 CE). See *Nan Qi shu* 51.869. Andrew Chittick notes that Pei Shuye's family migrated southward during the early Qi period, but he does not explain why this is the case. See Andrew Chittick 2009, 72.

[198] There is no direct evidence to approve the *Wei shu*'s statement. It is unclear why Pei Shuye's family moved from Xiangyang where many Hedong émigré families lived in Shouchun. Based on the *Liang shu* and *Sui shu*, Lin Zong-Yue suggests that Pei Shuye's grandfather moved to Shouchun in order to serve for Liu Yu who claimed himself King of Song 宋王 and resettled in Shouchun in 419 CE, a year before his usurp to the throne. See Lin Zong-Yue 林宗閱, "Wei Jin Nanbeichao de Hedong Peishi: zhengzhi huodong ji qi kuadiyu fazhan 魏晉南北朝的河東裴氏: 政治活動及其跨地域發展" (master's thesis, Taiwan University, 2008), 177-178 and 180-181. Also see *Liang shu* 28.413 and *Sui shu* 66.1548.

Serving within the Yellow Gate (*Jishi huangmen shilang* 給事黃門侍郎), a position which was mainly in charge of the imperial edicts and so only granted the emperor's trusted men.[199] He also gave to Pei a noble title of earl with a five hundred household fief . Xiao Luan continued to rely on Pei Shuye's military prowess, so he assigned Pei Shuye to Xu province as regional inspector against Northern Wei incursions when the Northern Wei Emperor Xiaowen led his troops southward in 499 CE. Not long after this, he reassigned Pei Shuye to Regional Inspector of Yu province, the first time, we are told, that a native of the region took this post.[200]

As a descendant of late-crossing northerners, Pei enjoyed eminence and power during Xiao Luan's reign. It is likely that he would have risen much higher if Xiao Luan had lived longer, but Xiao Luan died five years after his usurpation. This dramatically changed Pei's life again, for he had not established as strong a patron-clientage bond with the young ruler Xiao Baojuan as he had with Xiao Luan. Pei's worries deepened after a series of executions targeting court officials ordered by Xiao Baojuan, so much so that he finally sent his son and a relative to Luoyang in 500 CE, a year after Xiao Baojuan's enthronement, to ask the Northern Wei for military assistance and to hand over Shouchun, a critical border city. Pei Shuye did not make it to the north but instead soon died of illness. It is his nephew Pei Zhi 裴植 (d.ca.516 CE) who took over the responsibility of leading most of the Peis and "powerful families of Yu province"[201] to submit to the Northern Wei.

Several aspects of both men's careers stand out in contrast with the imperial clansmen and the early arrivals and their descendants. The cases of Xue and Pei demonstrate that their allegiance lay more with the local society they grew up in than with the imperial court of the south. Moreover, after they submitted to the Northern Wei, they were usually allowed to

[199] See *Nan Qi shu* 16.323.
[200] Han Shufeng 韓樹峰, *Nanbeichao shiqi Huai Han yi bei de bianjing haozu* 南北朝時期淮漢迤北的邊境豪族(Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2003), 95.
[201] The Chinese is: 豫州豪族. See *Liang shu* 28.413.

serve as Regional Inspectors at the same place they served in the south. Xue Andu, for example, was appointed as Regional Inspector of Xu province. Their followers, too, were appointed to the same positions and stayed at their familiar place. Such appointments were meant to placate new side-changers by promising that changing political allegiance would not hurt their interests in local society. The Northern Wei's generosity had certainly circulated widely. Therefore, when Pei Shuye was considering surrender, he told a friend that he would rather surrender to the north, instead of being killed in the south, because the northern court would grant him a title of Duke of Henan (*Henan gong* 河南公),[202] a promise of safety and prestige that was rooted in local society.

2.4 Buddhist Monks

It should be noted that Buddhist monks appear repeatedly in the stories of border crossers. For example, when Liu Yu persecuted the royal Sima family members, Sima Chuzhi escaped by a hair's breadth only because he hid in the midst of monks and thereby crossed the Yangzi River.[203] Wang Huilong's biography in the *Wei shu* also records a similar experience, but provides more details. It states that because of Liu Yu, all members of Wang Huilong's family were massacred except for fourteen-year-old Wang Huilong who hid and was protected by a Buddhist monk named Sengbin 僧彬 (n.d.). Both men lay low for over three months until Sengbin thought the authorities had dropped their guard. When he and Wang Huilong were trying to cross the Yangzi River, they somehow drew the ford officer's attention who asked, "'you looked so hurried and hesitant. Is [this young man], by any chance, a son of the Wang family?' Sengbin answered, 'I followed my master for years who lived on the west bank [of the Yangzi River]. Today I just want to pay a short visit to him and

[202] The Chinese is: 天下大勢可知，恐無復自存之理。不若回面向北，不失作河南公. See *Wei shu* 71.1566.
[203] See *Wei Shu* 37.855.

will soon return. He was a follower of mine. How could he be the person you spoke of?'"[204] Apparently, Sengbin was convincing enough that they were allowed to leave and eventually entered the Northern Wei.

These two accounts indicate a close relationship between elites of the Southern dynasties and Buddhist monks,[205] as has been extensively discussed by many scholars.[206] Both stories, more significantly, reveal that Buddhist monks of this period enjoyed relative freedom of movement compared to other people. This is particularly evident in the second story where it was Wang Huilong, not Sengbin, who was suspected by the ford officer.

Indeed, our sources, such as *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks),[207] show that many, if not most, monks travelled between the north and the south.[208] They either travelled to spread Buddhist teachings or undertook genuine study tours across state borders to meet and study with some of the most famous Buddhist monks of their time.[209] Only in one case do we see a Buddhist monk travelling from Mount Tai 泰山 (in present-day Shandong province) to Xu province asked for a travel certificate by the local magistrate.[210]

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[204] The Chinese is: 慧龍年十四，為沙門僧彬所匿。百餘日，將慧龍過江，為津人所疑，曰：「行意匆匆徬徨，得非王氏諸子乎？」僧彬曰：「貧道從師有年，止西岸，今暫欲定省，還期無遠。此隨吾受業者，何至如君言。」See *Wei Shu* 38.875.

[205] Kitamura Kazuto has noted this, but we come to different conclusions. See Kitamura Kazuto 北村一仁, "Lun Nanbeichao shiqi de 'wangming': yi shehui shi cemian wei zhongxin 論南北朝時期的"亡命": 以社會史側面為中心," *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 22 (2005): 190-208.

[206] For example, Tang Yongtong 湯用彤, *Han Wei liang Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi* 漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, 1991), 96-106; Masumi Fujiyoshi 藤善真澄, "Rikuchō bukkyō kyōdan no ichisokumen- kanchō, iesō monshi, kōkei saie 六朝佛教教団の一側面—間諜・家僧門師・講経斎会," in Chūgoku bukkyō shi kenkyū: Zui Tō bukkyō e no shikaku 中国佛教史研究: 隋唐佛教への視覚 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan, 2013), to name but a few.

[207] Buddhist monk Shi Huijiao 釋慧皎 (497-554 CE) allegedly compiled *Gaoseng zhuan*, the oldest extant Buddhist hagiographies of monks in Chinese history.

[208] Shi Tandu 釋曇度 (d.489 CE) was one such example. He travelled from Jianye, Xu province and eventually arrived in Pingcheng. See *Gaoseng zhuan* 8.305. Also, *Mingxiang ji* 冥祥記 (Records of Signs from the Unseen Realm), compiled by Wang Yan 王琰 (b.451-?, alt. 454 CE) of the Liu-Song dynasty, records several stories of Buddhist monks who traveled from either Chang'an or Luoyang to the south during the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (424-453 CE).

[209] See Wang Yunliang 王允亮, *Nanbeichao wenxue jiaoliu yanjiu* 南北朝文學交流研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2010), Chapter 1.

[210] Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667 CE), *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (New Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 587.

Anecdotes on the free movement of Buddhist monks in religious writings may be used as rhetorical devices to persuade readers of the monks' wide religious influence, but similar accounts also appear in other texts, such as the *Wei shu*, suggesting that the northern and southern regimes of this era, under the influence of Buddhism, plausibly granted Buddhist monks many privileges, not the least of which is free movement.

The mobility of Buddhist monks undoubtedly helped the rapid spread of Buddhism across northern and southern China, while at the same time they facilitated illegal migration, whether consciously or not, such as the crossings of Sima Chuzhi and Wang Huilong mentioned above. In one example, a northern Buddhist monk who reportedly "travelled between the south and the [Northern] Wei very frequently"[211] even made use of his freedom to act as a go-between for Xiao Zong and his uncle Xiao Baoyin in the north, and further helped Xiao Zong entered the Northern Wei.[212]

Hence it comes as no surprise that many southerners disguised themselves as monks when they tried to cross the border into the Northern Wei, such as Wang Su who purportedly dressed as a Buddhist monk on his flight to the north after the southern emperor had Wang Su's father and elder brother killed.[213] We can also see similar examples in the cases of people fleeing from the north to the south. One was a southerner, Fang Chongji 房崇吉 (n.d.), who surrendered to the Northern Wei in the late fifth century, yet not long afterwards defected again and successfully went back to the south by shaving his head to pretend to be a monk.[214] Likewise, when the Liang general Chen Qingzhi 陳慶之 (484-539 CE), who

[211] The Chinese is: 往來通魏尤數. See *Nan shi* 53.1317.
[212] *Nan shi* 53.1317.
[213] This account is only mentioned by *Jiankang shilu*. The Chinese is: 肅初為道人奔虜. See Xu Song, *Jiankang shilu* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), 648.
[214] He soon died of illness after his return to the south. See *Wei shu* 43.975.

escorted the exiled Prince of Beihai 北海王 Yuan Hao 元顥 (494-529 CE)[215] back north and assisted him in ascending the throne in 529 CE, was later expelled by a Northern Wei general, he narrowly escaped only by shaving his head to hide his identity.[216]

2.5 Women

Among cross-border migrants from south to north, one more group we should not neglect is women. Most scholarship concerning cross-border migrants of this period rarely mention women, let alone treat female migrants as a subject of its own. This is likely because women were dismissed as trivial by the compilers of official histories and very rarely appear as individuals, which greatly narrows the sources that available to us. Nonetheless, with the increasing number of excavated funerary epitaphs in recent decades, much information on women came to light, and, fortunately for this study, some of which belong to female cross-border migrants. Making use of both new funerary inscriptions and transmitted texts provides a rare glimpse into women's migration experiences and the challenges faced by them in this chaotic age. But in view of the fact that the compilation of funerary inscriptions and the construction of mortuary steles and graves were expensive, female migration, inevitably, is largely visible only in the case of the elite women.

Women, like their male counterparts, crossed the state borderline for a variety of reasons. Some of them went to the Northern Wei with their male relatives who sought refuge in a new country or were forced to surrender to the northern regime. For example, when Cui Xieli 崔邪利 (n.d.), a Liu-Song official who turned his allegiance to the Northern Wei, was sent to

[215] Yuan Hao was a Northern Wei prince, grandson of Emperor Xianwen. After Erzhu Rong 爾朱榮 (493-530 CE) sacked and took Luoyang in 528 CE, Yuan Hao fled to the south and sought military assistance from the Liang dynasty. For his official biography, see *Wei shu* 21a.564-566.
[216] See *Liang shu* 32.463.

Pingcheng, two of his daughters, as well as at least one grandson, also traveled with him.[217] When the Liu-Song prince Liu Chang fled to the Northern Wei, he brought his favorite concubine, while leaving his mother and wife behind.[218]

Cui Xieli's daughters and Liu Chang's concubine were in some sense fortunate, because they at least were with their loved ones; however, many women were not. Most entered the Northern Wei simply because they were abducted, and were usually forced into slavery, irrespective of age. At nearly sixty, a Liu-Song official's wife Lady Huangfu 皇甫氏 (n.d.) was abducted in a war and was bestowed to a eunuch as a servant. Only because her husband managed to ransom her was she later able to reunite with her family.[219] Similarly, when fifteen-year-old Zhang Fengji 張豐姬 (d.522 CE), a Southern Qi official's daughter, was preparing her wedding, the Northern Wei army suddenly attacked her hometown and carried her off to the north. She was enslaved to be an artisan who worked in a government workshop,[220] making clothes for noble men and women. Unlike the comfortable life she might have had before, Zhang Fengji certainly lived in fear in the north, for, according to her epitaph, she "was extremely cautious as if walking on ice and fire."[221] Unlike Lady Huangfu, Zhang Fengji never returned to the south.

There are many such instances, none of which is as dramatic as Lady Li 李氏 (d.456 CE), who, like the abovementioned women, was from an elite family.[222] In 450 CE, Emperor

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[217] See *Wei Shu* 24.628.

[218] This was certainly a disaster for Liu Chang's wife Lady Chi 郗氏, not only because she lost her husband, but also because Liu Chang's mother Lady Xie 謝氏, according to the *Song Shu*, was a toxic person, scolding everyone whenever she could, and bullying Lady Chi. Not surprisingly, Lady Chi died relatively young. Later, Emperor Ming of the Liu-Song dynasty, who was a half-brother of Liu Chang, issued an edict that reprimand Lady Xie's cruelty, and had her surname changed as a punishment. See *Song shu* 72.1869-1870.

[219] See *Wei shu* 61.1369. On the practice of ransom at the time, see Chapter 4.

[220] For a discussion of artisan households of Northern Wei, see Scott Pearce, "Status, Labor, and Law: Special Service Households under the Northern Dynasties," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 51, no. 1 (1991): 95-98.

[221] The Chinese is: 小心戰戰, 如履冰火. For her epitaph see Zhao Junping 趙君平 and Zhao Wencheng 趙文成, *He Luo muke shiling* 河洛墓刻拾零 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007), 28.

[222] Lady Li's *Wei shu* biography does not mention her father's official post under the Liu-Song dynasty, but her brother Li Jun's 李峻 (n.d.) biography in the *Wei shu* says that their father, Li Fangshu 李方叔 (n.d.), was a Governor of Jiyin 濟陰. See *Wei shu* 83a.1824.

Taiwu sent his nephew Tuoba Ren 拓拔仁 (d.453 CE), Prince of Yongchang 永昌王, led an army to invade Liu-Song. On his way to Shouchun, Tuoba Ren met Lady Li and took her back to the north.[223] We hear nothing further about what happened between the prince and Lady Li. She was mentioned again by the author of the *Wei shu* only after Tuoba Ren was executed for rebellion in 453 CE and Lady Li was transferred to the imperial palace for collective responsibility. She was supposed to work in the palace as a slave, yet upon her arrival in the imperial palace she attracted the attention of Emperor Wencheng 文成帝 (r.452-465 CE) and had an affair with him. She later gave birth to a boy, the future Emperor Xianwen. Not long afterwards, however, she was put to death when her son was appointed heir apparent in the year of 456 CE, based on the Northern Wei law on compulsory suicide for the mother of the heir apparent in an attempt to prevent the intervention of harem women and their relatives in court politics.[224]

Not everyone was passive. Some women took the initiative to cross the North-South border in the hope of reuniting with their husbands who had earlier switched their allegiance to the Northern Wei. Though we hear of such stories only rarely, there may well have been many instances that have gone unrecorded. A notable example is Wang Su's wife Lady Xie 謝氏 (n.d.). She was from the Xie family of Chenjun 陳郡謝氏,[225] which stood at the top of the social hierarchy of the Southern Dynasties, along with the Wang family of Langye that her husband hailed from. They were a perfect match, but her life took an unexpected turn in

[223] Lady Li's hometown was Meng county 蒙縣, Liangguo 梁國 (present-day Meng city, Anhui province), which was located north of Shouchun. According to Li Hongzhi's 李洪之 (d.ca. 492 CE) biography in the *Wei shu*, Lady Li and her younger sister were both taken to the north by Tuoba Ren. For Li Hongzhi's biography, see *Wei shu* 89.1918-1920. For Tuoba Ren's brief biography, see *Wei shu* 17.415.

[224] For discussions on the practice, see Jennifer Holmgren, "The Harem in Northern Wei Politics, 398-498 A.D.: A Study of T'o-Pa Attitudes Towards the Institution of Empress, Empress-Dowager, and Regency Governments in the Chinese Dynastic System During Early Northern Wei," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 26, no. 1 (1983): 71-96, Tian Yuqing 2011, 1-49 and Scott Pearce 2009, 290. For Lady Li's biography, see *Wei shu* 13.331.

[225] Lady Xie's grandfather Xie Hongwei 謝弘微 (392-433 CE) and her father Xie Zhuang 謝莊 (421-466 CE) both have official biographies in the *Song shu*. See *Song shu* 58.1590-1594 and 85.2167-2177. Also, her niece was empress of Emperor Shun 順帝 of the Liu-Song dynasty (r.477-479 CE). See *Song shu* 41.1298.

the year of 493 CE, when her father-in-law was executed, followed by her husband's escape to the Northern Wei, leaving Lady Xie and young children behind.

Little is known about how she dealt with this mess while at the same time raising her children; she may have asked for help from her natal family. Nonetheless, eight years later, she, for reasons unknown, decided to go northward.[226] It was surely a long and difficult journey for a woman with three children,[227] but even more so when she trekked all the way to Shouchun, where Wang Su was stationed and in charge of all military affairs south of the Huai River. On her arrival, she discovered that a Northern Wei princess had taken her place as primary wife and that her husband was dying.[228]

3. Conclusion

There are many ways of studying migration history in the modern world and in ancient societies, but the first and the most important question migration historians usually encounter is how we define migration. Some focus on the length of time, and some center on the degree of free choice involved. But studying migration history in the ancient world is not easy mainly due to the limited sources. Historians hence find it difficult to know whether or not

[226] It should be noted that Wang Su's wife and her three children also went to the Northern Wei nearly at the same time as Wang Su's nephews, but no evidence indicates whether or not both groups travelled together.
[227] According to the *Wei shu*, Lady Xie bore Wang Su three children: Wang Puxian 王普賢 (487-513 CE), Lady Wang (name unknown), Wang Shao 王紹 (492-515 CE), and traveled with them to the Northern Wei. However, the *Wei shu* also mentions that Wang Su had another son called Wang Li 王理 (n.d.) who was left in the south and later moved to the north during the early reign of Emperor Xiaojing 孝靜帝 of the Eastern Wei (r.534-550 CE). See *Wei shu* 63.1412. Based on his son Wang Hui's 王惠 funerary epitaph, Wang Li's highest position was Regional Inspector of Xu province under the Northern Qi rule. For Wang Hui's epitaph, see Zhou Shaoliang 1992, 224-225. In addition to Wang Shao and Wang Li, Wang Su seemed to have the third son named Wang Qi 王緝 (n.d.) who served as Editorial Director (*Zhuzuolang* 著作郎) under the Southern Qi dynasty. Like Wang Li, Wang Qi also moved to the north rather late and held several high posts under the Northern Qi dynasty, such as Great Arbiter (*Da Zhongzheng* 大中正) of Xu province. But he had no official biography in the *Bei Qi shu* and other dynastic histories. Wang Qi only has a brief notice in the epitaph of his great granddaughter Wang Wan 王婉 (625-696 CE). For this epitaph, see Wu Gang 吳鋼, ed., *Quan Tang wen buyi* 全唐文補遺 (Xi'an: San Qin chubanshe, 1994), 2. 8-10.
[228] I will discuss Wang Su's marriages in more detail in Chapter 4.

the migrants they study planned to permanently stay in the host society, nor can they understand individuals' inner motives.

In this dissertation, and in this chapter particularly, I have sought to minimize the above problems by focusing on specific forms of migration and paying special attention to the role of the state in them. I suggest that there were two types of southern migrants under Northern Wei rule: one is the southern war captives who were transported and transplanted by the Northern Wei government to the capital Pingcheng; the other is the southern imperial clansmen, eminent family members, and border officials who mostly sought asylum, alone or in small numbers, in the Northern Wei. While their backgrounds varied and they travelled to the Northern Wei at different times, these people were forced to abandon what they had in the south. In this chapter, I also brought to light two neglected groups: Buddhist monks who assisted the migrants in question cross the North-South border, and female migrants who crossed the border either because they were captured or because they aimed to reunite with their husbands who fled or surrendered to the northern regime.

It is widely believed that the Northern Wei government always welcomed migrants from the south. But as this chapter shows that the state in fact drew multiple lines among southern migrants: between people from Qing province and Qi province; between provincial eminent families and middle-level elite families in Qi province. With this in mind, the next chapter will examine the Northern Wei government's boundary work more closely by focusing on naming, border control, rewards, and punishments.

Chapter Two: State and Cross-Border Migrants

Boundary work, according to Christena E. Nippert-Eng, "is first and foremost a mental activity, but it must be enacted and enhanced through a largely visible collection of essential, practical activities."[229] This chapter accordingly examines the physical side of boundary work from the perspective of the state, including policies of naming, identity checks, and rewards and punishments towards cross-border migrants, in order to elucidate the Northern Wei government's perceptions of cross-border migrants from the south, the manner in which the perceptions were transformed over time, and in what context.

The Northern Wei left us very few primary materials on its legal system, so it is difficult for historians to claim with complete certainty that Northern Wei statues on border crossers existed. Nonetheless, much of surviving evidence, primarily from received texts and funerary inscriptions, suggests that the Northern Wei government did frame policy regarding border crossers from the southern regimes, and applied such policy in practice. The state adopted particular forms of address for border crossers in official documents and purposefully chose names for the places where they were resettled. It carefully examined the identity of southerners who attempted to enter the Northern Wei. Furthermore, it bestowed rewards on border crossers that were both symbolic and material; yet if border crossers betrayed the state, the Northern Wei government would punish, sometimes relentlessly, the turncoats and their family members, as well as their accomplices.

1. Naming "Others"

[229] Christena E. Nippert-Eng 1996, 7.

During the Northern Wei period, there were a variety of terms used to describe submitting foreigners: *touhua ren* 投化人 (literally "people coming and being transformed"), *guihua ren* 歸化人 (lit. "people returning and being transformed") , *wang ren* 亡人 (absconders), and *xiang ren* 降人 (people who surrender).[230] All of these terms could be used to name any foreigner regardless of status, ranging from exiled royal family members to commoners. Still, there are some important differences among these labels: *touhua ren* is only used in the Northern Wei texts, while the other terms can be seen in the texts compiled in the Southern Dynasties; *touhua ren* is seen most frequently in the Northern Wei texts including government documents, dynastic histories,[231] literary works,[232] and tomb inscriptions. There are also many permutations of the term, such as *touhua ke* 投化客 (literally "guest coming and being transformed")[233] and *touhua ruanraun* 投化蠕蠕 (literally "Ruanruan people coming and being transformed").[234]

In addition, surviving texts show that *touhua ren*, as well as *guihua ren*, primarily refers to people from the southern regime. For example, before marching on the Southern Qi,

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[230] For a brief discussion on political implications of the terms *guihua* 歸化 and *touhua* 投化 in Chinese history, see Quan Haizong 全海宗, "Shi lun dongyang gudai shi shang 'guihua' de yiyi 試論東洋古代史上「歸化」的意義," in *Zhong Han guanxi shi lunji* 中韓關係史論集 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1997), 93-117.

[231] For example, *Wei shu* 54.1202; *Wei shu* 70.1556.

[232] For example, *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.89. For references to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, I have used the Zhonghua shuju edition. See Zhou Zumo 周祖謨, *Luoyang qielan ji jiaoshi* 洛陽伽藍記校釋 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010).

[233] In an epitaph excavated from a tomb dated to around 484 CE at Datong city, the capital of the Northern Wei between 398 and 494 CE, one sentence reads, "A *touhua ke*, Yang Zhongdu (417-484 CE) of Chouchi, who was General of Jianwei of Dai, Viscount of Lingguan, Governor of Jianxing, died at the age of sixty-seven." The Chinese is: 仇池投化客楊眾度, 代建威將軍, 靈關子, 建興太守, 春秋六十七, 卒. Given that the surname of Chouchi 仇池 rulers was Yang and high-status official positions Yang Zhongdu held, it is very possible that he was a royal of Chouchi. See Yin Xian 殷憲, "Yang Zhongdu zhuanming yanjiu 楊眾度磚銘研究," *Zhongguo shufa* 中國書法 6 (2007), 81-84. Chouchi was a collective term for regimes built by people of Di 氐 origin during the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms. It refers to Former Chouchi (296-371 CE) and Later Chouchi kingdoms (385-443 CE) based in present-day Gansu province. Chouchi kingdom was conquered by the Northern Wei in 443. For the history of Chouchi, see Li Zuhuan 李祖桓, *Chouchi guo zhi* 仇池國志 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1986) and Hu Zhijia 胡志佳, "Liang Jin shiqi Chouchi guo de fazhan 兩晉時期仇池國的發展," *Donghai xuebao* 東海學報 30 (1989): 53-68.

[234] Anagui 阿那瓌 (d.552 CE), former leader of a Rouran nomadic confederation and asylum seeker in the Northern Wei, referred to two of his tribesmen as *touhua Ruanruan* in his memorial to the Northern Wei ruler. See *Wei shu* 103.2301.

Emperor Xiaowen ordered Wang Su to recruit soldiers and lead his army. He went on to declare, perhaps to show his mercy and trust to his newly submitted subjects, that among those enlisted, people who came from the southern regime and held posts of the fifth rank and below were to have priority to be appointed to better official positions in the army.[235] Of note, in this edict, it is the term *touhua ren* that was chosen to refer to people who passed across the border from the south to the Northern Wei.

Another example can be seen in a memorial presented much later, possibly during the reign of Emperor Xiaoming 孝明帝 (r.515-528 CE), in which the author questioned the motives of two brothers who were initially from the Liang dynasty yet recently changed their allegiance to the Northern Wei. He asked the emperor's approval to further investigate the reliability of the two *touhua ren*, as he called them, and the reasons of their surrender.[236]

Besides, before Emperor Xiaowen waged war against the Southern Qi, he received a memorial from the provincial government of Xu in which the official in charge asked for permission to provide grains to *guihua ren*, people who were once the subjects of the southern regime yet now submitted themselves to the Northern Wei.[237]

The usage of the terms *touhua ren* and *guihua ren* in the edicts and memorials indicates that both were likely formal terminologies used in the government documents,[238] and that while both were interchangeable, they were by no means randomly chosen. There are two implications behind the naming of the recently submitted people as *touhua ren* and *guihua ren*. The first one is pragmatic. It was a means of classifying foreigners, regardless of place of

[235] The Chinese reads: 若投化之人, 聽五品已下先即優授. See *Wei shu* 63.1408.
[236] See *Wei shu* 41.932.
[237] See *Wei shu* 27.670. The Chinese is: 徐州表給歸化人稟. For more examples on *guihua ren*, see *Song shu* 81.2076 and *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 19.237-1.
[238] It should be noted that both examples are cited from the *Wei shu*, a dynastic history of the Northern Wei compiled under the commission of the founding emperor of the Northern Qi (550-577 CE). While this source was completed after the collapse of the Northern Wei, the author Wei Shou participated in the compilation of the *History of the (Northern Wei) State* (*Guoshi* 國史) at the end of the Northern Wei, so he had greater chance to access the official documents preserved only in the imperial archive, such as edicts, incorporating them into his work *Wei shu*. For this reason, I suggest the abovementioned texts were originally part of the edict and memorials yet edited, whether slightly or not, by Wei Shou.

origin, ethnicity, or social status, as a single and coherent social group. By doing so, it separated subjects under Northern Wei rule from those beyond its control.[239] We do not know, due to the scarcity of sources, whether anyone within this category paid certain taxes or provided corvée labor, and whether or not their descendants automatically belonged to this category.[240] Neither do we know if these people who were lumped into the same category, either *touhua ren* or *guihua ren*, forged a corresponding collective identity.

The language choice of the Northern Wei is also a symbolic "act of self-definition that testified to one's ownership of 'the cause' and legitimized one's position,"[241] because *hua* 化 means not merely transformation but refers to morality and the ritual order, which implies that the individual designated by this term traveled not solely across a political boundary from his homeland to a new country, but also crossed cultural boundaries from a less cultured place to a civilized state. It is therefore interesting to see that the term *touhua ren*, as previously noted, was used exclusively in the Northern Wei, an imperial dynasty founded by people "the Han Chinese regularly called 'foreign enemies,' 'barbarian,' or 'northern tribe.'"[242]

In a similar vein, during its Luoyang period (494-534 CE), the Northern Wei government built special guest hostels and wards to settle foreigners. The guest hostels in which newcomers were required to stay were known as Jinling 金陵, Yanran 燕然, Fusang 扶桑 and Yanzi 崦嵫. Jinling was the ancient name of the capital of Jiankang of the Southern Dynasties, so southerners would be placed in the hostel named after Jinling; Yanran refers to

[239] Adam Bohnet, "Migrant and Border Subjects in Late Chosŏn Korea" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008), 24.
[240] For example, the status of "submitting foreigners" (Kr. *hwanghwain*/Chin. *xianghua ren* 向化人) in late Chosŏn Korea was lower than the native Chosŏn people. See Adam Bohnet 2008, 19-20. These people were referred to as Ukanju by the Qing government (Chin. *tau ren* 逃人; deserter). See Li Menghen 李孟衡, "Cong Chaoxian, Manzhou jian de taoren shuahuan wenti kan shiqi shiji dongbei Ya guoji zhixu bianqian 從朝鮮、滿洲間的逃人刷還問題看十七世紀東北亞國際秩序變遷" (master's thesis, National Taiwan University, 2014).
[241] Andrew Hopper, *Turncoats and Renegadoes: Changing Sides During the English Civil Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9.
[242] Qian Zhongshu 錢鍾書, "The Concepts 'Chinese' and 'Barbarian'," trans. Ronald Egan, in *Limited Views: Essays on Ideas and Letters* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 374.

a northern mountain in present-day Mongolia, therefore people from the north would reside in the Yanran hostel; Fusang refers to the divine Fusang tree in the East, in Chinese mythology, from where the sun rises; and Yanzi was said to be the mountain where the sun sets, so people from the east and west would reside at these two places. These four names reveal the Northern Wei's imperial worldview: there were foreign countries from the east, west, south, and north, highlighting the fact that the Northern Wei was at the center of the world.

After three years in the guest hostels, foreigners were allowed to move to Guizheng 歸正 (lit. returning to rectitude/legitimacy), Guide 歸德 (lit. returning to virtue), Muhua 慕化 (lit. admiring ritual order) and Muyi 慕義 (lit. admiring righteousness)[243] wards. All of these names, compared to those of the guest hostels, are value-laden terms and have nothing to do with the origins of the foreigners.[244]

It is worth noting that it is during Emperor Xiaowen's reign that most, if not all, of these terms began to appear. It could be because we have not found evidence from the Pingcheng period, but more likely it shows the Northern Wei government's changing attitude towards foreigners. When the Northern Wei government used such terminologies to denote foreigners and their residential areas, particularly southerners who thought themselves the heirs of the Han dynasty and Chinese culture, and who are recognized as such by many scholars nowadays, it redefined the line between the civilized and uncivilized.

The Northern Wei's intent is evident in a comparison of similar terms used by other dynasties. From the Han dynasty to the Western Jin, the imperial courts usually conferred titles using the phrase *guiyi* 歸義 (lit. "coming back to the righteousness"), such as *Han guiyi*

[243] *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.129.
[244] These special guest hostels and wards for foreigners will be discussed in more detail below.

Qiang zhang 漢歸義羌長 (Qiang chieftain who submitted to Han dynasty),[245] to the leaders of alien people who now gave their allegiance to the new authority.[246] During the Song dynasty, another multi-state era, the imperial government referred to people who submitted to the Song as *guiming ren* 歸明人 (lit. people coming from the darkness back to the light), *guichao ren* 歸朝人 (lit. people coming back to the court), or *guizheng ren* 歸正人 (lit. people coming back to rectitude/legitimacy), mainly based on their place of origin.[247] These terminologies all have their political implications.[248] For example, *guichao* implies the political legitimacy of the Song court, and *guizheng* and *guiming* both assert its moral superiority. However, none of these indicates that the Song dynasty was culturally superior to others, as *touhua ren* and *guihua ren* do.

Simply put, to impose a name is to impose a boundary. Although Emperor Xiaowen once stated that *guihua ren* were his *min* 民 (lit. subjects) and that he was the father and mother of the people,[249] *touhua ren* and *guihua ren* are, nonetheless, two labels which intentionally separate the imperial center and the margins, conveying a sense of cultural hierarchy by which the Northern Wei claimed its own cultural legitimacy and envisaged the other side, where the *touhua ren* or *guihua ren* came from, as inferior and uncivilized.

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[245] Wang Rencong 王人聰, *Xinchu lidai xiyin jilu* 新出歷代璽印集錄 (Hong Kong: Art Museum of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1982), 14.
[246] Joshua A. Fogel, *Japanese Historiography and the Gold Seal of 57 C.E.: Relic, Text, Object, Fake* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 182.
[247] For example, according to Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130-1200 CE), a famous Southern Song scholar, "*guizheng* people are those who were originally from the Central Plain and who fell under barbarian [rule] but then returned to the Central Plain; they have escaped wickedness and returned to rectitude;" by contrast, *guiming ren* are "people who were originally not from the Central Plain. They are like the Yao people who lived in caves and have come to the Central Plain, emerging from the darkness into the light." The Chinese is: 歸正人原是中原人, 後陷於蕃而復歸中原, 蓋自邪而歸於正也。歸明人, 原不是中原人, 是徭洞之人來歸中原, 蓋自暗而歸於明也. Translation see Mark C. Elliott, "Hushuo: The Northern Other and the Naming of the Han Chinese," in *Critical Han Studies: The History, Representation, and Identity of China's Majority*, ed. Thomas S. Mullaney, James Leibold, Stephane Gros and Eric Vanden Bussche (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 187 and 317.
[248] Huang Kuanchung 黃寬重, "Cong hezhan dao nanbei ren: Nan Song shidai de zhengzhi nanti 從和戰到南北人: 南宋時代的政治難題," in *Shishi, wenxian yu renwu: Songshi yanjiu lunwenji* 史事、文獻與人物*:* 宋史研究論文集 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gufeng youxian gongsi, 2003), 15.
[249] The Chinese is: 王者民之父母. See *Wei shu* 27.670.

2. Identity Check

How did the Northern Wei government check the identity of border crossers? This would be particularly challenging during the time when the northern and southern regimes had no diplomatic relations,[250] which not only damaged bilateral political relations, but also hindered transmission and exchange of news between both sides.

One method, a less reliable one, was to assign someone who knew the newcomer to vouch for his identity. Yet the results hardly convinced people. For example, when the Southern Qi official Wang Su arrived in the Northern Wei, it was said that "no one can recognize him because he looks so poor and wan due to long journey."[251] To verify Wang Su's identity, Emperor Xiaowen ordered an official named Cheng Yan 成淹 (d.ca.502 CE) who once served at the southern court to visit Wang Su. Cheng Yan later confirmed Wang Su's identity, but other court officials distrusted Cheng Yan's judgment,[252] so much so that Emperor Xiaowen had to personally settle the issue.

A regular process of identity verification can be seen in the following two stories. In the first story, Xiao Baoyin is, once again, the protagonist. When Xiao Yan took the Southern Qi throne and was persecuting the deposed emperor Xiao Baojuan's brothers, Xiao Baoyin successfully escaped with the help of his servants. His official biography in the *Wei shu* states that Xiao Baoyin arrived in the Garrison of Eastern City (*Dongcheng shu* 東城戍) of Shouchun in 501 CE, and was said to appear poorly and walk on foot.[253] He must have looked more like a peasant boy than a young prince; moreover, since he left in a hurry, he likely had nothing to prove his identity as an imperial prince of the Southern Qi. Likewise, it

[250] Tsai Tsung-hsien points out that there were no diplomatic relations between the Northern Wei and its southern regimes from 495 CE to 522 CE. See Tsai Tsung-hsien 2008, 41. Also see *Liang shu* 21.326: 普通初, 魏始連和, 使劉善明來聘.
[251] The text reads: 羈旅窮悴，時人莫識. See *Wei shu* 48.1039.
[252] The officials accused Cheng Yan's investigation of being "careless" (*bushen* 不審). See *Wei shu* 79.1753.
[253] The Chinese is: 徒步憔悴. See *Wei shu* 59.1313.

was a problem for the Northern Wei government to check Xiao Baoyin's identity. By the year of Xiao Baoyin's defection, the Northern Wei government had not yet resumed diplomatic relations with the southern state, and accordingly could hardly gather intelligence from the other side of the border through official channels.

According to Xiao Baoyin's biography:

> "Magistrate of the Garrison, Du Yuanlun, inspected Xiao Baoyin ['s identity and his reasons for submission] and was then convinced that Xiao Baoyin was indeed a descendant of the Xiaos [of the Southern Qi ruling house]. [Du Yuanlun] treated Xiao Baoyin very politely and at the same time sent a messenger to notify Regional Inspector of Yang province,[254] Prince of Rencheng, Yuan Cheng. [Yuan] Cheng sent chariots, horses, and guards to welcome Xiao Baoyin… and received [him] according to the guest ritual… On the leap fourth month of the third year of the Jingming era (502 CE), the emperor issued an edict: "Xiao Baoyin thoroughly understands initiatory mechanisms,[255] and submitted to the righteous side. He ran a grave risk, lived in danger, and offered himself to the palace gate. Even Weizi,[256] Chen [Ping], Han [Xin][257] could not surpass [his intelligence and braveness]. [I] dispatch Director of the Palace Guard, Acting Principle Scribe,[258] Liu Taofu, to go there (i.e. Shouchun) and welcome [Xiao Baoyin to

[254] Xu Shaolin 許少林, "Bei Wei shiqi de Yangzhou cishi shulun 北魏時期的揚州刺史述論," *Hefei xueyuan xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 合肥學院學報 (社會科學版) 32, no. 6 (2015): 55-60.
[255] Timothy Davis says, "'Initiatory mechanisms' are those subtle factors that motivate action or set events in motion. The term originally referred to a crossbow trigger." See Timothy Davis 2015, 269.
[256] Weizi 微子 (n.d.) was an elder brother of King Zhou 紂王 of the Shang dynasty (d.ca.1046 BCE). Although he tried to advise King Zhou, assisting him in being a moral ruler, all he did simply annoyed the king. Weizi thus resigned and went into hiding. After the King Wu 武王 of the Zhou (r.1049/45-1043 BCE) conquered the Shang dynasty, Weizi submitted himself and was enfeoffed as the first duke of the Song state.
[257] The term *chenhan* could refer to two people: Chen Ping 陳平 (d.178 BCE) and Han Xin 韓信 (d.196 BCE). They were both under the leadership of Xiang Yu who established a short-lived regime Chu, yet later defected to Liu Bang 劉邦 (256-195 BCE), the founding emperor of the Western Han dynasty. See *Zizhi tongjian* 69.2200 for Sima Guang's comment: 陳、韓謂韓信、陳平去楚歸漢.
[258] *Zhushu* 主書 may be an abbreviation for *Zhushu lingshi* 主書令史, whose rank is 7a and 7b. See Zheng Qinren 鄭欽仁, *Bei Wei guanliao jigou yanjiu xupian* 北魏官僚機構研究續篇 (Taipei: Daoxiang chubanshe,

the capital]. [I also] task Imperial Secretary [of the Department of State Affairs] that makes [his staff] prepare what [Xiao Baoyin] would need for living, robes and caps, chariots and horses, as well as [Xiao Baoyin's] mansion in the capital."[259]

This passage clearly shows that the local government was required to investigate a newcomer and report such cases to the provincial government, and the provincial government to the imperial court. And it is only with the approval of the emperor that the newcomer was permitted to go to the capital. However, Xiao Baoyin's case provides little detail about how, exactly, each level of government carried out the investigation.

Fortunately, another story in the *Wei shu* gives us a glimpse of how the imperial court verified the identity of newcomers. This case occurred during the reign of Emperor Xiaoming. One day, two brothers, Xu Zhou 許周 (n.d.) and Xu Tuan 許團 (n.d.), fled to Xu province from Jiankang. According to the statement they later presented to the Northern Wei, Xu Zhou claimed that he originally held a position of Attending Secretary within the Imperial Yellow Gate (*Huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎) of the Liang dynasty, but longed for the life of a recluse. He had thus sent in his resignation several times, yet had always been turned down by Liang Emperor Wu. Eventually, his continuous attempts to resign annoyed the emperor who demoted him to a minor provincial post in the far south.[260] Either disappointed by the emperor's reaction, or feeling that he was being disgraced with banishment, Xu Zhou and his brother switched allegiance to the Northern Wei. The local government of Xu province soon

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1995), 105-114; Kubozoe Yoshifumi 窪添慶文, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao guanliao zhi yanjiu* 魏晉南北朝官僚制研究, trans. Tu Zongcheng 涂宗呈 et al. (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2015), 52, n.42. Also see *Wei shu* 113.2990.

[259] See *Wei shu* 59.1313. The Chinese is: 戍主杜元倫推檢，知實蕭氏子也，以禮延待，馳告揚州刺史、任城王澄，澄以車馬侍衛迎之。…… 澄待以客禮。……景明三年閏四月，詔曰：「蕭寶夤深識機運，歸誠有道，冒險履屯，投命絳闕，微子、陳、韓亦曷以過也。可遣羽林監、領主書劉桃符詣彼迎接。其資生所須之物，及衣冠、車馬、在京邸館，付尚書悉令豫備。」

[260] He was banished to Qikang 齊康 commandery. According to the *Nan Qi shu*, Qikang commandery was established during the Southern Qi period. It was under Gaung province 廣州, located in present-day Guangdong province. See *Nan Qi shu* 14.265.

reported the news regarding their submission to the imperial court, which was purportedly welcomed by Northern Wei court officials, with only one exception.

Yuan Zigong 源子恭 (d.538 CE) then concurrently held the positions of "Director of the Section of Northern Visitor Receptions under the Office of the Secretary [of the Ministry of Personnel of the Department of State Affairs] (*Shangshu Bei Zhuke langzhong* 尚書北主客郎中)" and "[Director of] the Section of Southern Visitor Receptions (*Nan Zhuke* 南主客),"[261] both posts were the two main Northern Wei governmental agencies in charge of inter-state relations. Compared to his colleagues, Yuan Zigong was certainly well informed about the affairs of the Liang dynasty, and may have met some defectors like Xu Zhou and his brother before. With his knowledge and experience, he sensed that the Xu brothers' story was full of holes. Yuan Zigong accordingly submitted a memorial to the throne in which he questioned the two brother's motives.

His argument was based on two reasons. The first one is his understanding of Liang Emperor Wu, Xiao Yan. Yuan Zigong argued that Xiao Yan's behavior was always based on proper rites,[262] and it is therefore unthinkable that Xiao Yan would force people who preferred a reclusive life to serve in the imperial bureaucracy. Second, he observes, upon their arrival, the Xu brothers had eagerly attempted to establish every possible contact, which contrasts with Xu Zhou's claim about his pursuit of a reclusive life; moreover, it was strange to see that they were seemingly indifferent to the fate of their family members in the south who could have been punished for their defection.

[261] The Chinese is: 尚書北主客郎中, 攝南主客事. See *Wei shu* 41.932. Both offices will be discussed in more detail below.

[262] Xiao Yan was viewed by his contemporaries as a representative figure among elites. His rival Gao Huan, de facto ruler of the Eastern Wei, once commented on Xiao Yan's potential political and social influence in the north, "there is an old man of Wu at the east of the Yangzi River called Xiao Yan, who pays attention to robes and caps, rites, and ritual music. Elites in the Central Plain look on him as the one who has the Mandate of Heaven." The Chinese is: 江東復有一吳兒老翁蕭衍者, 專事衣冠禮樂, 中原士大夫望之以為正朔所在. See *Bei Qi shu* 24.347.

Yuan Zigong distrusted the Xu brothers, but admitted that it is hard to judge the authenticity of their statement because it was just one side of the story. He thus suggested the emperor send people to Xu and Yang provinces, two provinces bordering the Liang regime, to carry out a secret investigation and collect intelligence. Yuan Zigong believed the truth would then be revealed. The Northern Wei emperor approved Yuan Zigong's proposal, and the result of the ensuing investigation confirmed what Yuan Zigong had suspected: Xu Zhou lied about the official title he held at the Liang court, and even worse, the reason he fled to the north was because he had committed a crime in the south.

Looking closely at both stories, alongside several similar examples in the *Wei shu*,[263] we can reconstruct the process of how the Northern Wei authorities verified the identity of a border crosser. A complete investigation would involve three levels of government — municipal (such as the garrison or county), provincial, and central government. Upon entering the territory of the Northern Wei, the border crosser would be inspected by the magistrate of the district in which he first arrived, such as Du Yuanlun in the case of Xiao Baoyin. The local official would make a report based on his investigation and the border crosser's statement. At this level, the local official had no power to make decisions, so he needed to send the report to his superior at the provincial level, such as the Regional Inspector of Yang province, and await instructions.

While our sources fail to specifically mention any, provincial officials in charge very likely conducted another investigation in order to verify the report submitted by the local office. Yet they, similarly, had no authority to make the final decision and were hence required to submit a formal memorial (*biao* 表) to the imperial court: Yuan Zigong mentioned that the *biao* he examined was provided by Xu province, and the *Wei shu* records four memorials concerning the surrender of border crossers, all of which were submitted by

[263] See *Wei shu* 19.466, 59.1321, 61.1376.

three provinces bordering the southern regime, including Xu province, Yu province[264] and Yang province.[265] This suggests that the *biao* is a type of official report submitted by the provincial government, which may contain at least two parts: a summary of the case and an investigation of the newcomer's statement.

At the central level, court officials in charge would review the documents sent from the provincial government, and at the same time assign people to conduct another investigation.[266] Once the investigation was finished, the officials would debate the reliability of the newcomer at a court conference.[267] If there was any official, like Yuan Zigong, who cast doubt on either the documents or the investigation process, the emperor would dispatch people to the southern border area to collect more evidence. After the second investigation was completed, the court officials would discuss again based on the new information. They might reach a consensus on the treatment of the newcomer, or might have heated debates but no conclusions. In any case, they would eventually report to the emperor and wait for his judgment. The entire process certainly took time. This may explain why Xiao Baoyin did not go directly to the capital of Luoyang upon his arrival in the north, but stayed in Shouchun for at least four months before he was finally summoned by Emperor Xuanwu.[268]

Since conducting an investigation was time-consuming and costly for both the local government and the central government, one may wonder whether or not this policy applied to everyone from the southern regime. It is possible that it did. In 498 CE,[269] a southerner by

[264] The administrative seat of Yu province is Shangcai 上蔡 (present-day Runan 汝南, Henan province).
[265] For four memorials see *Wei shu* 27.670, 19.466 and 59. 1321.
[266] In the memorial, Yuan Zigong mentioned that "recently [we] conducted an investigation, but could not find any proof," which suggests that the central government, like the local and provincial governments, would conduct its own investigation on the credibility of the statement. However, it is unclear who conducted the investigation. The text reads: 比加採訪, 略無證明. See *Wei shu* 41.932.
[267] One example is Xue Andu. See *Wei shu* 36.833. On court conferences during the Northern dynasty, see Kubozoe Yoshifumi 2015, 56 and 369-397.
[268] As to the date of Xiao Baoyin going to Luoyang, I agree with *Wei shu* because Xiao Baoyin died in the Northern Wei, and given that both sides had not yet reassumed diplomatic relations at the time when he compiled the book, the author of the *Wei shu*, compared to his southern counterparts, was easier to access the primary sources about Xiao Baoyin.
[269] See *Nan Qi shu* 51.870.

the name of Bian Shuzhen 邊叔珍 (n.d.) fled, accompanied by his wife and children, from Shouchun[270] to Woyang 渦陽 (in modern Bozhou 亳州, Anhui province), a strategically important border city controlled by the Northern Wei. Meng Biao 孟表 (435-515 CE), then Governor of Matou 馬頭 (southeast of modern Huaiyuan 懷遠 county, Anhui province) stationed in Woyang, inspected Bian Shuzhen and was convinced that Bian's surrender was due to his appreciation of the good administration of the Northern Wei.

If everything was going well according to procedure, Meng Biao should have sent Bian and his family to the capital, like the Xiao Baoyin and Xu Zhou. Nevertheless, Woyang was suddenly besieged by the Southern Qi army, so Bian and his family had no way out and stayed in Woyang. Shortly thereafter Meng Biao discovered that Bian looked somewhat anxious. With doubts in mind, he inspected Bian again and this time Bian confessed that he was actually a spy dispatched by Pei Shuye, then the Southern Qi general.[271] Meng Biao understood that this news, once leaked, would undermine the morale of Woyang people. Accordingly, Meng Biao, without hesitation, executed the spy.[272] Note that *Wei shu* makes no specific mention of the identity of Bian Shuzhen, which suggests that he may have been a commoner or a low-level soldier.

3. Rewards

After a border crosser's identity was checked and verified, he would be sent to the Northern Wei capital. In its Pingcheng period, the Northern Wei government had developed a sophisticated system for the treatment of southern border crossers, categorizing them into

[270] It was not until 500 CE that the Northern Wei controlled the city Shouchun.
[271] Also see *Nan Qi shu* 51.870-871 and *Wei shu* 63.1410.
[272] *Wei shu* 61.1376.

three groups: the highest-ranking guest (*shangke* 上客),[273] the secondary-ranking guest (*cike* 次客),[274] and the lowest-ranking guest (*xiake* 下客),[275] and granting them noble and official titles, as well as gifts that varied in accordance with their new category. In some cases, a highest-ranking guest's sons, male relatives, and subordinates who followed him to the Northern Wei would be awarded ranks or gifts too, but the bestowal seemed to be subject to an age-limit.[276] Their offspring could also inherit their noble title and fortune.[277]

It is unclear, however, which government offices were put in charge of border crossers upon their arrival at the capital. Very likely, the newcomers were under the jurisdiction of the Imperial Secretary (*Shangshu* 尚書). In the aforementioned case of Xiao Baoyin, Emperor Xuanwu explicitly stated in the edict that he "tasked the Imperial Secretary that leads his staff to prepare what Xiao Baoyin would need for living, robes and caps, chariots and horses, as well as his house in the capital."[278] Likewise, before the exiled Rouran chieftain Anagui returned to the northern steppe, Emperor Xiaoming ordered in his edict that Anagui's "travel clothing and money should be provided reasonably by the Imperial Secretary."[279]

The meaning of "Imperial Secretary" is ambiguous. It could mean the office of the chief councilor in the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu sheng* 尚書省), which was the head

[273] See *Wei shu* 38.873.
[274] See *Wei shu* 43.970.
[275] See *Wei shu* 43.970.
[276] A Northern Wei official named Liu Wenye 劉文曄 (d.ca.513 CE) who told Emperor Xiaowen that he was not qualified to be listed on the award roll because he was too young. When his grandfather Cui Xieli, Governor of Lu commandery 魯郡 of the Liu-Song, defected to the Northern Wei along with him and his mother, Liu Wenye was only two *sui* 歲 (in the Chinese method of calculating age, a newborn baby is one *sui* and turns two *sui* at the next lunar new year, regardless of the birth date. So, in the case of Liu Wenye, he was one year old by the Western standard). See *Wei shu* 43.966. This reference suggests that there was an age limit for rewarding border crosser's family members.
[277] Yang Chun 楊椿 (455-531 CE), an important court official in the late Northern Wei era, wrote an admonition to his sons and grandsons, stating that "when our family entered the Wei, [our ancestor was rewarded] as the highest ranking guest. [The court] gave [our family] lands and dwellings, and bestowed slaves, horses, oxen and goats, thereby our family became rich [in the north]." The Chinese reads: 我家入魏之始, 即為上客, 給田宅, 賜奴婢, 馬, 牛, 羊, 遂成富室. See *Wei shu* 58.1289.
[278] *Wei shu* 59.1314.
[279] The Chinese is: 其行裝資遣, 付尚書量給. See *Wei shu* 9.231.

of the Northern Wei administration.[280] But it most likely refers to the office of the Secretary of the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu shangshu* 吏部尚書), a subunit of the Department of State Affairs. In this office, the Section of Northern Visitor Reception (*Bei Zhuke cao* 北主客曹) and the Section of Southern Visitor Reception (*Nan Zhuke cao* 南主客曹) were two of the major subordinate agencies,[281] both of which were in charge of the reception of foreign envoys, and possibly border crossers too.[282] Therefore, when Xu Zhou and his brother were approved by the majority of the court officials, only Yuan Zigong, Director of the Section of Northern Visitor Reception and Acting Head of the Section of Southern Visitor Reception, stood out to suspect their identity.

From the above examples, we know that both Sections of Visitor Reception were responsible for border crossers' basic needs in the capital, such as food, clothing, and transport. They also provided housing to new arrivals, not only during the period at Pingcheng, but also after the Northern Wei moved its power base to Luoyang. When a border crosser of noble origin returned to his home country, the corresponding section of Visitor Reception would proffer provisions for his journey. In the case of Anagui, for example, it was the Section of Northern Visitor Reception that prepared the Rouran leader with enough travel money and clothing.

[280] See Li Hu 黎虎, *Han Tang waijiao zhidu shi* 漢唐外交制度史 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 1998), 168-169.
[281] According to the *Tang liu dian* 唐六典 (Compendium of administrative law of the six divisions of the Tang dynasty), " [according to] the Ordinance of Official Ranks (*Zhipin ling* 職品令) of the Northern Wei, in mid-Taihe era, the Secretary of the Ministry of Personnel supervises the Section of Southern Visitor Reception and the Section of Northern Visitor Reception." The Chinese is: 後魏職品令, 太和中, 吏部尚書管南主客、北主客. See Li Linfu 李林甫 (683-752 CE) et al., ed. *Tang liu dian* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 4.129. Also see Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, "Bei Wei shangshu zhidu kao 北魏尚書制度考," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 18 (1948), 313-314. Han Xuesong 韓雪松, "Bei Wei waijiao zhidu yanjiu 北魏外交制度研究" (PhD diss., Jilin University, 2009), 55-57.
[282] See Li Hu 1998, 177-181; Han Xuesong 2009, 55-61.

Such treatments not solely showed the hospitality of the host country, but strongly imply that an interpersonal "relationship occurs between actors of unequal power and status."[283] This is also revealed in the bureaucratic terminology that the Northern Wei government chose to designate these people as "*ke* 客,"[284] namely, the highest-ranking guest, the secondary-ranking guest, and the lowest-ranking guest. The single character *ke* can be translated as "guest" or "client." Through the bestowal of gifts, whether material or symbolic, the Northern Wei emperor established a patron-client tie with a border crosser who was expected in turn to offer his services and loyalty.[285] This relationship is personal and one-to-one, which may explain why certain border crossers, particularly those of high status, were required to go to the capital and participate in the imperial audience.[286]

How was each border crosser's category determined? Tsai Hsing-Chuan argues that several factors determined one's category, such as his status in the south, the degree of willingness of his surrender, motives of surrender, as well as the importance of the city a border crosser surrendered to the Northern Wei, if any.[287] From 468 to 469 CE, the Northern Wei had been trying to take Qing and Qi provinces from the Liu-Song, which forced many Liu-Song civil and military officials to surrender. Among them, Xue Andu, Bi Zhongjing 畢眾敬 (d.491 CE) and Fang Fashou 房法壽 (n.d.) were designated as the highest-ranking

[283] Robert Kaufman, "The Patron-Client Concept and Macro-Politics: Prospects and Problems," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 16, no. 3 (1974): 285.
[284] Jonathan Karam Skaff, *Sui-Tang China and Its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power and Connections, 580-800* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 136 and 344.
[285] For discussions of patron-client relations, see, for example, Patricia Buckley Ebrey, "Patron-Client Relations in the Later Han," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 3 (1983): 533-42; Andrew Chittick 2009; Miranda Brown, *The Politics of Mourning in Early China* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2007), particular Chapter 4.
[286] Chittick provides four elements of patronage: personal, inequality, reciprocity, and voluntarism. He defines the last one as the "client and patron choose one another and are able to change allegiance." See Andrew Chittick 2009,7. However, as I argued earlier, it is difficult to know to what degree a border crosser voluntarily submitted himself, so it is also unclear about the degree of voluntarism associated the relationship between emperor and border crosser.
[287] Tsai Hsing-Chuan 1989, 366-373.

guest; Fang Chongji was of the second ranking; Cui Daogu 崔道固 (n.d.), Liu Xiubin 劉休賓 (d.472 CE) and Shen Wenxiu 沈文秀 (426-486 CE) were the lowest.[288]

What caused them to be categorized and treated differently? The main reason may be that Xue Andu and Bi Zhongjing submitted to the Northern Wei without struggle in 466 CE, so both were accordingly given lavish presents. Fang Fashou and Fang Chongji surrendered to the Northern Wei at the same time in late 466 CE, but the latter did not plan to surrender in the first place. Fang Chongji was later forced to change his mind, for his mother and wife were captured. He, for this reason, was one rank lower than his cousin Fang Fashou. Cui Daogu, Liu Xiubin, and Shen Wenxiu fought harshly against the Northern Wei, so they were categorized as the lowest-ranking guest after their surrender.

The Northern Wei drew different boundaries among border crossers on the basis of their assigned category and their corresponding treatment, which sometimes involved a much finer calibration. Shen Wenxiu, Cui Daogu, and Liu Xiubin were all classified as lowest-ranking guests, but only Shen Wenxiu was said to be "given coarse cloth and vegetable" [289] by the Northern Wei government. This is mainly because he broke his promise to surrender many times before his final submission, which caused the Northern Wei to take nearly three years to conquer Dongyang in which Shen Wenxiu was stationed. In addition, Fang Fashou, Xue Andu, and Bi Zhongjing were both highest-ranking guests, but Fang Fashou's treatment was purportedly secondary to the latter two.[290] This is because Xue Andu and Bi Zhongjing submitted two strategically important cities, Pengcheng and Xuanhu 懸瓠 (south of present-

[288] According to the *Wei shu*, "after Licheng and Liangzou counties fell [to the hand of the Northern Wei], (Fang) Fashou, (Fang) Chongji, etc., and Cui Daogu, Liu Xiubin all went to the capital (of the Northern Wei). (The court) designated (Fang) Fashou as the highest-ranking guest, (Fang) Chongji as the second-ranking guest, and Cui (Daogu) and Liu (Xiubin) as the lowest-ranking guests." The Chinese is: 及歷城, 梁鄒降, 法壽、崇吉等與崔道固、劉休賓俱至京師. 以法壽為上客, 崇吉為次客, 崔劉為下客. See *Wei shu* 43.970.
[289] *Wei shu* 61.1367. The Chinese reads: 給以粗衣蔬食.
[290] The Chinese is: 法壽供給, 亞於安都等. See *Wei shu* 43.970.

day Runan 汝南, Henan province), which was regarded by the Northern Wei emperor and his officials as "[an amazing chance] only happen once in a thousand year."[291]

The Northern Wei seemed to also draw boundaries among border crossers based on their social status in the south. This is particularly evident in two aspects: the bestowal of princesses and assignment of residential areas, both of which will be taken up below. Here we simply note that, after 469 CE, according to Table 2.1, there is no record of the bestowal of the titles listed above.

Table 2.1 Treatment towards Southern Border Crossers

No.	Name	Emperor	Title	Source
1	Yang Zhen 楊珍	Emperor Daowu[292]	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 58.1289
2	Yuwen Huobo 宇文活撥	367 CE Emperor Daowu	The first-ranking guest 第一客	*WS* 44.1000
3	Xue Datou 薛達頭	367 CE Emperor Daowu[293]	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 44.995
4	Yuan Shi 袁式	417 CE Emperor Mingyuan	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 38.880

[291] The Chinese reads: 千載一會. See *Wei shu* 61.1354.
[292] Su Peng argues that Yang Zhen arrived Pingcheng around 408 CE. See Shu Peng 舒朋, "Yang Chun 'Jie zisun shu' tuowen 楊椿誡子孫書脫文," *Shoudu shifan daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 首都師範大學學報（社會科學版), no. 3 (2002): 112-12.
[293] See *Wei shu* 44.995.

5	Diao Baohui 刁寶惠	417 CE Emperor Mingyuan	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 38.873
6	Yan Leng 嚴稜	422 CE Emperor Mingyuan[294]	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 43.959
7	Wang Yue's 王悅 father	436 CE Emperor Taiwu	The first-ranking guest 第一客	Tomb Stele for [Lady] Guo, the Wife of Gentleman Wang [Yue], the late Northern Wei Commander-in-chief Commissioned with Special Powers, General Pacified the West, and Regional Inspector of Qin and Luo provinces 魏故使持節平西將軍秦洛二州刺史王(悅)使君郭夫人墓誌銘[295]
8	Tang He 唐和	451 CE Emperor Taiwu	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 43.963
9	Tang Xuanda 唐玄達	451 CE Emperor Taiwu	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 43.963
10	Duan Hui 段暉	Emperor Taiwu	The highest-ranking guest	*WS* 52.1158

[294] See *Wei shu* 29.699 and 43.959.
[295] For this epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 310-311.

			上客	
11	Xue Andu 薛安都	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 61.1354
12	Xue Daoyi 薛道異	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The first-ranking guest 第一客	*WS* 61.1355
13	Xue Zhendu 薛真度	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 61.1355
14	Bi Zhongjing 畢眾敬	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 61.1361
15	Bi Zhong'ai 畢眾愛	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The first-ranking guest 第一客	*WS* 61.1364
16	Bi Yuanbin 畢元賓	466 CE Emperor Xianwen	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 61.1361
17	Fang Fashou 房法壽	467 CE Emperor Xianwen	The highest-ranking guest 上客	*WS* 43.970
18	Fang Chongji 房崇吉	467 CE Emperor Xianwen	The secondary-ranking guest 次客	*WS* 43.970
19	Cui Daogu 崔道固	468 CE Emperor Xianwen	The lowest-ranking guest	*WS* 43.970

			下客	
20	Liu Xiubin 劉休賓	468 CE Emperor Xianwen	The lowest-ranking guest 下客	*WS* 43.970
21	Shen Wenxiu 沈文秀	469 CE Emperor Xianwen	The lowest-ranking guest 下客	*WS* 61.1367

However, this system seems to have been effective. Evidence shows that from Emperor Xiaowen's reign onward to the end of the Northern Wei, many people from the southern regime were "received according to guest ritual" (*dai yi keli* 待以客禮). The *Wei shu* also frequently refers to "precedents for guests" (*keli* 客例). Chunyu Dan 淳于誕 (470-529 CE) of the Liang dynasty switched his allegiance to the Northern Wei during Emperor Xuanwu's reign and was "later appointed Commander of the Palace Guard as his entry-level post following the precedent of guests."[296] Li Miao 李苗 (485-530 CE) submitted to the Northern Wei around the same time and was "later appointed Supernumerary Honorary Cavalier Attendant Gentleman and General High Awe based on the precedent of guests."[297] An Jiesheng suggests that "precedent of guests" might refer to codified statues regarding foreign guests.[298] It is likely, but we know very little about the content and function of the statutes.

3.1 The Bestowal of Imperial Princesses

[296] The Chinese reads: 後以客例, 起家除羽林監. See *Wei shu* 71.1593.
[297] The Chinese is: 後以客例, 除員外散騎侍郎, 加襄威將軍. See *Wei shu* 71.594.
[298] An Jiesheng 2007, 24-25.

Below I will to take a closer look at the way in which the Northern Wei government drew a boundary between noblemen of the southern regimes and other submitted southerners by the means of political marriages. Interstate and interracial marriages began as early as the Western Zhou.[299] The Western Han continued such policy, marrying off imperial princesses to their long-term enemy, the Xiongnu, in the northern steppe in order to secure peace, which had been carried out until the reign of Emperor Wu who thought the *heqin* 和親 (lit. "harmony through kinship") policy humiliating and insufficient to stop border conflicts.[300] Thereafter, when northern China was divided by many coexistent short-lived regimes during so-called Sixteen Kingdoms Period (304-439 CE), the rulers of these polities used marriage alliance to win over allies and compete with rivals.

The Northern Wei dynasty, which eventually ended the Sixteen Kingdoms era, also adopted this policy in its early years.[301] Yet Northern Wei emperors modified the policy in the way that they rarely married princesses off (see Table 2.2),[302] and instead bestowed them upon Inner Asian chieftains or members of foreign royal houses who sought asylum in the Northern Wei.

[299] Maria Khayutina, "Marital Alliances and Affinal Relatives (*sheng* 甥 and *hungou* 婚媾) in the Society and Politics of Zhou China in the Light of Bronze Inscriptions," *Early China* 37 (2014), 39–99. Armin Selbitschka, "Early Chinese Diplomacy: Realpolitik Vs. The So-Called Tributary System," *Asia Major, Third Series* 28, no. 1 (2015): 61-114.

[300] Pan Yihong, "Marriage Alliances and Chinese Princesses in International Politics from Han through T'ang," *Asia Major* 3d ser. 10.1–2 (1997), 95–131; for a list of Western Han *heqin* treaties, see Sophia-Karin Psarras, "Han and Xiongnu: A Reexamination of Cultural and Political Relations (I)," *Monumenta Serica* 51 (2003), 55–236 and Armin Selbitschka 2015, 61-114.

[301] Pan Yihong 1997, 103-107; Jonathan Skaff 2012, 209-210.

[302] Of thirteen interstate marriage proposals between the Northern Wei and other foreign regimes, there were six cases where Northern Wei emperors agreed to give imperial princesses as a bride, but only two cases succeed. In 434 CE, Emperor Taiwu married off a princess to a Rouran chieftain Chilian Qaghan 敕連可汗 and took the latter's sister as an imperial consort. See *Wei shu* 103.2293-2294. Four years later, Emperor Taiwu married a Northern Liang princess and sent his younger sister Princess Wuwei 武威公主 (fl.433 CE) to the Northern Liang ruler Juqu Mujian 沮渠牧犍 (d.447 CE). See *Wei shu* 99.2206. For a brief account of Juqu Mujian and his family members, see Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, "Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth-Century North China: The Background and Significance of the Gaiwu Rebellion," *Asia Major* 15, no. 1 (2002): 11, 19.

Table 2.2 Northern Wei Interstate Marriage Proposals

No.	Polity	Date	Emperor	Outcome	Source
1	Later Qin	400 CE?	Emperor Daowu	Emperor Daowu requested a match; Later Qin emperor accepted, then canceled.	*JS* 118
2	Later Qin	415 CE	Emperor Mingyuan	Later Qin emperor married off his daughter to Emperor Mingyuan	*WS* 3; *WS* 95
3	Liu-Song	433 CE	Emperor Taiwu	Northern Wei emperor proposed a marriage for his son. Liu-Song emperor accented but the bride died.	*WS* 97
4	Northern Yan	433 CE?	Emperor Taiwu	King of Northern Yan asked to present his daughter to Emperor Taiwu, and Emperor Taiwu accepted	*WS* 97
5	Rouran	434 CE	Emperor Taiwu	Emperor Taiwu married Princess Xihai 西海公主 to a Rouran chieftain Chilian Qaghan	*WS* 103.2294

6	Rouran	434 CE	Emperor Taiwu	Emperor Taiwu married Chilian Qaghan's younger sister	*WS* 103.2294
7	Northern Liang	437 CE	Emperor Taiwu	Northern Liang king married his sister to Emperor Taiwu	*WS* 52.1153
8	Northern Liang	437 CE	Emperor Taiwu	Emperor Taiwu married his sister to Northern Liang king	*WS* 99.2206
9	Liu-Song	450 CE	Emperor Taiwu	The two sides arranged a marriage between Emperor Taiwu's grandson and Liu-Song emperor's daughter, and between Emperor Taiwu's daughter and Liu-Song emperor's son. But both negotiations failed.	*WS* 4b; *SS* 71
10	Rouran	475 CE	Emperor Xiaowen	A Rouran chief Yucheng proposed a marriage with Emperor Xianwen, who was then the regent of Emperor Xiaowen; Emperor Xianwen accepted but the wedding did	*WS* 103

				not occur	
11	Koguryo	476 CE?	Emperor Xiaowen	King of Koguryo presented his daughter to Emperor Xianwen, but later canceled	*WS* 60; *WS* 100
12	Rouran	478 CE	Emperor Xiaowen	Yucheng proposed a marriage again; Emperor Xiaowen agreed, but the marriage did not proceed	*WS* 103
13	Rouran	532 CE	Emperor Xiaowu	A Rouran chieftain Anagui proposed a marriage between his son and a Northern Wei princess. Emperor Xiaowu agreed, but the marriage did not proceed	*WS* 103

As Table 2.2 demonstrates, the majority of marriage proposals during the Northern Wei period were made before 439 CE, the year when Emperor Taiwu finally ruled over north China. Prior to this, the Northern Wei regime aimed to consolidate its power and expand its influence in the north. To do so, it had waged wars against stubborn enemies while using strategic marriages to seal or maintain political alliances. Once the Northern Wei became the sole authority in northern China, marriage alliances were not necessary anymore. From this, it is understandable why Emperor Taiwu and his southern counterparts arranged an interstate

marriage twice, but the proposals ultimately failed. Moreover, during the wars with the Liu-Song, Emperor Taiwu may have been concerned about "the possibility of women from other, rival communities acting as a fifth column within Wei."[303]

The fear of outsider women may explain why neither the Northern Wei nor the southern dynasties had since initiated any marriage alliances with each other.[304] It also helps to understand why Northern Wei rulers, despite the fact that they never successfully established marriage ties with the reigning southern emperors, bestowed princesses relatively frequently upon asylum seekers of the southern royal houses.

Of approximately eighty known cases of princess-bestowals during the Northern Wei,[305] fifteen princesses were bestowed upon asylum seekers from the south (see Table 2.3). Most of them were given in marriage to three imperial family members of the southern regimes, including the Sima family of the Eastern Jin, the Liu family of the Liu-Song, and the Xiao family of the Southern Qi.[306] These recipient families maintained their marital relations with the Northern Wei imperial house over generations. Take the Sima family for example. After his defection to the Northern Wei, Sima Chuzhi, an Eastern Jin imperial clansman, was bestowed a new wife, the Princess of Henei 河内公主. Since then, there were repeated bestowals upon successive generations within his family, which lasted until the end of the

[303] Jennifer Holmgren 1983, 55. The same concern could be shared by the emperors of the southern states. They knew how their counterparts would use imperial princesses to act in the Northern Wei's interest, and thus had no confidence in Tuoba women either. For example, Princess Wuwei reportedly assisted Emperor Taiwu to overthrow her husband's regime Northern Liang. See *Wei shu* 83a.1824. For a discussion of the relations between Northern imperial princesses and their natal families, see Pan Yihong 1997, 106-107; Huang Zhiyan 黃旨彥, *Gongzhu zhengzhi: Wei Jin Nanbeichao zhengzhishi de xingbie kaocha* 公主政治: 魏晉南北朝政治史的性別考察 (New Taipei City: Daoxiang chubanshe, 2013), particularly Chapter 3.
[304] Pan Yihong 1997, 106.
[305] See Huang Zhiyan 2013, 134-140.
[306] In her dissertation, Tang Qiaomei has noticed this phenomenon but her focus is on whether or not the imperial princesses' husbands faced the two principle wives (*liangdi* 兩嫡) dilemma. See Tang Qiaomei, "Divorce and the Divorced Woman in Early Medieval China (First through Sixth Century)" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2016), 150-153. The only exception was Wang Su, who descended from prominent Wang family of Langye of the Southern Qi. He was also bestowed a princess. While the Langye Wang family had been politically influential in the south, the members of this family were nonetheless not imperial clansmen. The reason Wang Su was chosen to wed a sister of Emperor Xiaowen was to protect him, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

Northern Wei — his son Sima Baolong 司馬寶龍 (d.495 CE) married Princess Zhaojun 趙郡公主, his grandson Sima Yue 司馬悅 married a princess,[307] his great-grandson Sima Fei 司馬朏 married Princess Huayang 華陽公主, and Sima Fei's son Sima Hong 司馬鴻 married Grand Princess of Boling 博陵長公主.[308]

Table 2.3 Northern Wei Princess-Bestowal upon Border Crossers from the Southern Regimes[309]

No.	Name of Groom	Background of Groom	Emperor	Princess	Background of Northern Wei Bride	Source
1	Sima Chuzhi 司馬楚之	Eastern Jin imperial clansman	Emperor Taiwu	Princess of Henei 河內公主	Daughter of a prince of the royal family[310]	*WS* 37; *BS* 29

[307] According to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, Sima Yue held the title of Commandant Escort (*Fuma duwei* 駙馬都尉), a position has been granted almost exclusively to husbands of imperial princesses during the Northern Wei period. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.68. Also see *Tongzhi* 通志 55.683-2: "後魏駙馬都尉亦為尚公主官, 雖位高卿尹, 而此職不去." Nevertheless, neither Sima Yue's biography in the *Wei shu* nor his funerary inscription mentions that he married an imperial princess. For his biography, see *Wei shu* 37.858-859; For his tomb inscription, see Shang Zhenming 尚振明, "Mengxian chutu Bei Wei Sima Yue muzhi 孟縣出土北魏司馬悅墓志," *Wenwu* 12 (1981): 44-46.

[308] Similarly, Liu Chang, an exiled Liu Song prince and his two sons, Liu Chengxu 劉承緒 and Liu Hui 劉輝, married imperial princesses; Liu Chuang himself even successively wed three princesses. Xiao Baoyin, imperial prince of the southern Qi, and his son Xiao Lie 蕭烈 were both husbands of two Northern Wei princesses.

[309] For discussions on the bestowal of princesses during the Northern Wei, see, for example, Lu Yaodong 逯耀東, "Cong Pingcheng dao Luoyang: Tuoba Wei wenhua zhuanbian de licheng 從平城到洛陽: 拓拔魏文化轉變的歷程" (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), 230-236; Kenneth Klien 1980, 103-104; Jennifer Holmgren, "Wei-Shu Records on the Bestowal of Imperial Princesses During the Northern Wei Dynasty," *Papers on Far Eastern History* 27 (1983): 21-97; Huang Zhiyan 2013, Chapter 4.

[310] The Chinese reads: 諸王女. See Jennifer Holmgren 1983, 42.

2	Sima Mituo 司馬彌陀[311]	Sima Wensi's 司馬文思 son	Emperor Wencheng	Princess of Linjing 臨涇公主	Unknown	*WS* 37; *WS* 46
3	Sima Baolong 司馬寶龍	Sima Chuzhi's son	Emperor Xiaowen?	Princess of Zhaojun 趙郡公主	Unknown	*WS* 37; *BS* 29
4	Liu Chang 劉昶	Liu-Song prince	Emperor Wencheng	Princess of Wuyi 武邑公主	Unknown	*WS* 59; *BS* 29
			Emperor Xianwen	Grand Princess of Jianxing 建興長公主	Unknown	
			Emperor Xianwen	Grand Princess of Pingyang 平陽長公主	Unknown	
5	Liu Chengxu 劉承緒	Liu Chang's son	Emperor Xiaowen	Grand Princess of Pengcheng 彭城長公主	Emperor Xiaowen's younger sister	*WS* 59
6	Sima Yue 司馬悅	Sima Chuzhi's grandson	Emperor Xiaowen?	Unknown	Unknown	*LYQLJ* 2
7	Wang Su 王肅	Southern Qi official; scion of the Langye	Emperor Xuanwu	Grand Princess of Chenliu	Princess Chenliu and Grand Princess of	*WS* 63; *WS* 13; *WS* 64; *WS* 64; *WS* 94; *BS* 13, 29,42,43; *NQS* 57;

[311] He declined the offer. See *Wei shu* 46.1030. As to the meaning of *xuanshang* 選尚 (lit. select and marry), see Huang Zhiyan 2013, 98

		Wangs		陳留長公主	Pengcheng were the same person[312]	Epitaph of Wang Puxian 王普賢墓誌
8	Sima Fei 司馬朏	Sima Yue's son	Emperor Xuanwu	Princess of Huayang 華陽公主	Emperor Xuanwu's younger sister	*WS* 37; *WS* 19; *BS* 18, 29
9	A certain Wang of Langye 琅琊王某[313]	Scion of the Langye Wangs	Emperor Xuanwu	Princess of Ningling 寧陵公主	Prince Pengcheng Yuan Xie's daughter	Epitaph of Princess of Ningling 寧陵公主墓誌[314]
10	Liu Hui 劉輝	Liu Chang's son[315]	Emperor Xuanwu	Grand Princess of Lanling 蘭陵長公主	Emperor Xuanwu's second elder sister	*WS* 59; *BS* 29
11	Xiao Baoyin 蕭寶夤	Southern Qi prince	Emperor Xuanwu	Grand Princess of Nanyang 南陽長公主	Daughter of Emperor Xiaowen?	*WS* 59; *BS* 29

[312] *Nan Qi shu* records that the Princess of Chenliu was the sixth younger sister of Emperor Xiaowen. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.998.

[313] Some scholars claim that Princess Ningling's husband was Wang Su's nephew Wang Song, and that the funeral inscriptions of Princess Ningling and Wang Song were found in the same cemetery. Most of them may base their argument on an article written by Wang Ze, yet Wang Ze failed to give an explanation either as to the location of the cemetery and the archaeological report of the cemetery. See Wang Ze 王則, "Wei gu Ningling gongzhu muzhi kaoshi 魏故寧陵公主墓志考釋," *Beifang wenwu* 北方文物 3 (2004): 58-60. Zhao Wanli also claims that Wang Song was Princess Ningling's spouse, but his source seems to come from anonymous Luoyang residents. See Zhao Wanli 趙萬里, *Han Wei Nan Bei chao muzhi jishi* 漢魏南北朝墓誌集釋 (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2008), 109.

[314] See Zhao Chao 2008, 57. Also see Zhao Wanli 2008, 190.

[315] Holmgren argues that Liu Hui and his elder brother Liu Wenyuan 劉文遠 were sons of Liu Chengxu 劉承緒 (Liu Chang's legitimate heir who died young) and Grand Princess of Pengcheng. If so, it would be difficult to explain why the Grand Princess helped her niece, the Grand Princess of Lanling, not her own son, when the young couple later had a fierce fight, which led to the tragic death of the Grand Princess Lanling. As such, I argue that Liu Hui was a son of Liu Chang by his concubine. See Jennifer Holmgren 1983, 86. Also see Luo Xin 羅新, "Chenliu gongzhu 陳留公主," *Dushu* 讀書 2 (2005): 125-34. For a detailed discussion on the domestic violence case between Liu Hui and the Grand Princess of Lanling, see Lee Jen-der, "The Death of a Princess: Codifying Classical Family Ethics in Early Medieval China," in *Presence and Presentation: Women in the Chinese Literati Tradition*, ed. Sherry Mou (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 1-37.

				[316]		
12	Xiao Lie 蕭烈	Xiao Baoyin's eldest son	Emperor Xiaoming?	Princess of Jiande 建德公主	Emperor Xiaoming's younger sister	*WS* 59; *BS* 29
13	Xiao Zan/Xiao Zong 蕭贊 (蕭綜)	Reportedly Xiao Baoyin's nephew	Emperor Xiaozhuang [317]	Grand Princess of Shouyang 壽陽長公主	Emperor Xiaozhuang's elder sister	*WS* 59; *LYQLJ* 2; *NS* 53; *BS* 29
14	Sima Yi 司馬裔	Sima Yue's son	Unknown	Princess Xiangcheng 襄城公主[318]	Daughter of Prince Guangping?	Stele of Northern Zhou Grand General Sima Yi 周大將軍司馬裔碑[319]
15	Sima Hong 司馬鴻	Sima Fei's son	Unknown	Grand Princess of Boling 博陵長公主 [320]	Daughter of Prince of Qinghe 清河王 Yuan Yi 元懌	*BQS* 39; *BS* 47; Epitaph of Yuan Shao[321]

[316] The Grand Princess of Nanyang may have been a sister of Emperor Xuanwu, for she was always with Emperor Xuanwu's brothers when she is mentioned by the *Wei shu*. For example, she was once impeached, along with Prince Guangping 廣平王 Yuan Huai 元懷 (485-517 CE) and Prince Runan 汝南王 Yuan Yue 元悅 (d.533 CE). See *Wei shu* 72.1603. According to the *Wei shu*, upon learning of the good relationship between Xiao Baoyin and the Grand Princess of Nanyang, Prince Qinghe 清河王 Yuan Yi 元懌 (487-520 CE), younger brother of Emperor Xuanwu, not only became closer to Xiao Baoyin but more respected the latter. See *Wei shu* 59.1315.

[317] *Luoyang qielan ji* says Xiao Zong married the Grand Princess of Shouyang in the middle of Yong'an 永安 era (528-530 CE). See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.58.

[318] According to her husband's stele, Princess Xiangcheng was great granddaughter of Emperor Xianwen and the third daughter (*jinu* 季女) of Prince Mu of Zhao 趙穆王. Her father could be Prince Guangping Yuan Huai, whose posthumous name is Mu 穆. See *Wenyuan yinghua* 文苑英華 904.4758-1. If that is the case, Princess Xiangcheng was one of the sisters of Emperor Xiaowu, the last Northern Wei emperor. In addition, *Bei shi* says that she was granted by Emperor Wen of the Northern Zhou the title Princess of Xiangcheng Commandery 襄城郡公主. *Bei shi* also mentions that her name is Yuan 元. Since she was a descendant of Emperor Xianwen, Yuan possibly refers to her surname, which was adopted by the Tuoba ruling family during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen, and her first name is missing. See *Bei shi* 29.645.

[319] See *Wenyuan yinghua* 904.4756-2. 4758-2.

[320] According to the *Bei Qi shu*, Grand Princess of Boling was an aunt of Eastern Wei Emperor Xiaojing 孝靜帝 (r.534-550). See *Bei Qi shu* 39.514. Yuan Shao 元邵's (d.528) tombstone inscription says the princess was Yuan Shao's younger sister, and her style name is Zhongqian 仲蒨. Yuan Shao was son of Yuan Yi, younger brother of Emperor Xuanwu.

[321] See Zhao Chao 2008, 223.

Interestingly, as table 2.3 shows, most cases occurred during the reigns of Emperor Xiaowen and particularly Emperor Xuanwu.[322] Although such increase of the records, as Holmgren has pointed out, may due to the fact that "fifth- and sixth-century historians were primarily interested in interstate relations and thus zealously recorded all known cases of interstate marriages contracts,"[323] it may indeed indicate a change in marriage bestowal policy that therefore caught contemporary historians' attention. My assumption is that, to Emperor Xiaowen and Emperor Xuanwu who both prepared and led several southern campaigns, forming marriage ties with southern asylum seekers of noble origin was not merely a reward for these side changers and a gift to ensure their loyalty; such practice was also a strategy to forge a close connection between northern and southern royal houses.

Liu Chang is a good example that can illustrate how the Northern Wei government envisaged defectors of southern royal origin. After Liu Chang's defection in 465 CE, the Northern Wei government enfeoffed Liu Chang as Prince of Song 宋王, granted him several official posts, and gave him imperial princesses in marriage. If it is unclear at first why the Northern Wei emperor treated an exiled Liu-Song prince so well, his intentions became clear when the Liu Song was overthrown by a rebel general Xiao Daocheng, who founded Southern Qi dynasty in 479 CE.

Emperor Xiaowen soon prepared a major attack on the Southern Qi dynasty. Before heading to the south, he summoned Liu Chang, saying, "Your ancestral temple will not receive blood sacrifice anymore. Upon learning this news, I was deeply sad and angry. Now I dispatched [you] Grand General, leading soldiers from southern provinces, in order to repel the rebels, weed out the fierce enemy, and eliminate the scourges. Once the polluted atmosphere is purified, I will bestow you the land to the south of Yangzi River, making [your]

[322] Holmgren also noticed this phenomenon although she does not offer further explanation. See Jennifer Holmgren 1983, 82-83.
[323] Jennifer Holmgren 1983, 39.

vassal state flourish [again]."[324] In other words, to justify his military action, Emperor Xiaowen claimed his goal is to reestablish the Liu-Song state in the name of Liu Chang,[325] but at the same time, he subtly reminded Liu Chang of his patronage and the fact that the future Liu-Song regime under the rule of Liu Chang, if the Northern Wei's southern campaign succeeded, would be nothing more than a tribute state.

Xiao Daocheng and his officials were well aware of Emperor Xiaowen's plan and the potential threat of Liu Chang to the legitimacy of the new dynasty. Upon receiving a report on the invasion, Xiao Daocheng told one of his generals that "I have only recently attained All under Heaven. [However,] the barbarian caitiff fails to realize the Mandate [of Heaven], so [he] will certainly dispatch his people [to attack us] with the excuse of sending Liu Chang back."[326] He thereby ordered the general prepare the defense of northern borders in anticipation of a major attack, which the Northern Wei did launch in 480 CE.

As long as the Northern Wei could help Liu Chang to restore the Liu-Song imperial house, the Liu-Song would become one of its tribute states. Not only this, but Liu Chang's son by his Northern Wei wife would succeed him as the next emperor. Through in-law and blood relationships, the Northern Wei could exert influence over the southern state, and thereby become de facto ruler of All under Heaven. Emperor Xiaowen's plan eventually failed. But he and his successors continued to bestow imperial princesses to the noblemen from the south until the end of the dynasty.

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[324] The Chinese reads: 卿宗廟不復血食, 朕聞斯問, 矜忿兼懷. 今遣大將軍率南州甲卒, 以伐逆豎, 克蕩兇醜, 翦除民害. 氛穢既清, 即眐卿江南之土, 以興蕃業. See *Wei shu* 59.1038.

[325] After the Southern Qi dynasty was established, Gao Lian 高璉 (r.413-491 CE), ruler of Koguryo, sent envoys to pay tribute to the Qi emperor. But his men were captured by the Northern Wei. Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei issued an edict to condemn Gao Lian's behavior, for Gao Lian, as a subject of the Northern Wei, had interaction with foreign leaders without his permission. In the edict, Emperor Xiaowen again stated that he is going to "revive the demolished state in old lands and reestablish the broken Liu line of succession." The Chinese is: 興滅國於舊邦，繼絕世於劉氏. See *Wei shu* 100.2216.

[326] The Chinese reads: 我新有天下，夷虜不識運命，必當動其蟻衆，以送劉昶爲辭. See *Nan Qi shu* 25.461. Similarly, a Southern Qi official also suggested that the Southern Qi should prepare its northern border defense mainly because "Xiongnu [i.e., Northern Wei] has not been routed and Liu Chang is still alive." The Chinese reads: 匈奴未滅, 劉昶猶存. See *Nan Qi shu* 28.525.

3.2 Zoning Policy of the Northern Wei

The most salient boundary between northerners and southerners, and between southerners of different status, was etched by the Northern Wei government into the space of the capital city. The Northern Wei moved its base twice: first to Pingcheng, and next to Luoyang. Each migration came with numerous people being forced to move from the old capital to the new one. Additionally, both capitals were metropolitan cities where foreign migrants outnumbered the Northern Wei ruling group. This caused the imperial government to grow concerned over the following questions: how to settle its own people who moved from its previous base to the new capital, and how to keep the foreign population under control.

3.2.1 Pingcheng

Almost all of what is known about Northern Wei Pingcheng comes from the literary sources, along with a few discoveries from archaeological excavations. Northern Wei Pingcheng was reconstructed on the basis of the old site of Han dynasty Pingcheng county that was almost completely abandoned due to consecutive wars since the mid-third century.[327] The new Pingcheng consisted of a palace city, an outer city to the south of the palace city, and an outermost city wall that was 32 *li* 里 (about 14.72 kilometers) in circumference.[328] It was huge, compared to the capital Jiankang of the southern regimes that

[327] See *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 元和郡縣圖志 14: 雲中縣，本漢平城縣，屬雁門郡. 漢末大亂, 其地遂空… 後魏於此建都, 屬代尹, 孝文帝改代尹為恆州, 縣屬不改.

[328] See *Wei shu* 3.62. There are many discussions on the city layout of Northern Wei Pingcheng see, for example, Cao Chenming 曹臣明 and Ma Zhiqiang 馬志强, "Bei Wei Mingyuandi houqi zhi Wenchengdi shiqi de Pingcheng buju 北魏明元帝後期至文成帝時期的平城布局," *Shanxi Datong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 山西大同大學學報 (社會科學版) 31, no. 2 (2017): 57-63; Cao Chenming and Qiao Liping 喬麗萍, "Bei Wei Daowudi zhi Mingyuandi qianqi Pingcheng buju chubu tantao 北魏道武帝至明元帝前期平城布局初步探討," *Shanxi Datong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 30, no. 6 (2016): 42-45; Duan Zhijun 段智鈞 and Zhao Nadong 趙娜冬, *Tianxia Datong: Bei Wei Pingcheng Liao Jin Xijing chengshi jianzhu shigang* 天下大同: 北

was only 20 *li* (about 9.2 kilometers) in circumference. Its palace city was dominated by the imperial palaces, as well as the Grand Granary[329] and at least one Buddhist nunnery.[330] The outer city, according to a southern description,[331] was the major residential area for officials[332] and commoners alike, and was divided into wards (*fang* 坊) that ranged in size from seventy families to as many as five hundred. In addition, the outer city also housed government offices, the Imperial Academy,[333] and the Grand Market,[334] as well as many Buddhist monasteries.[335]

As to the population of Pingcheng, apart from Pingcheng natives, one can surmise that it included the Northern Wei ruling group, officials and other migrants from the Northern Wei's previous power base Shengle to Pingcheng. Many scholars suggest that Pingcheng's population also included migrants of foreign origin,[336] such as former subjects of the southern regimes, the Greater Xia regime, the Northern Yan, and the Northern Liang, and Goguryeo tribesmen, as well as Buddhist monks and merchants from central and southern Asia.[337] All of them were reportedly resettled to Pingcheng. One hundred thousand Eastern Jin artisans and craftsmen, for instance, were relocated to Pingcheng "to fill the capital" (*yi chong jingshi*

魏平城遼金西京城市建築史綱 (Beijing: Zhongguo jianzhu gongye chubanshe, 2011). During the Northern Wei dynasty, one *li* was approximately 0.46 kilometers. See Duan Zhijun and Zhao Nadong 2011, 18.

[329] Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 and Datong shi kaogu yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, "Shanxi Datong caochangcheng Bei Wei erhao yizhi fajue jianbao 山西大同操場城北魏二號遺址發掘簡報," *Wenwu* 4 (2016): 4-25.

[330] Temple Zigong 紫宮寺 (lit. Purple Palace Temple) is one such example. See *Shuijing zhu* 13.313. For references from the *Shuijing zhu*, I have used the Zhonghua shuju edition.

[331] *Nan Qi shu* 57.985.

[332] See, for example, *Wei shu* 33.777 and 34.801.

[333] According to the *Wei shu*, Emperor Taiwu built the Imperial Academy to the east of the city in 426 CE. The Chinese is: 世祖始光三年春，別起太學於城東. See *Wei shu* 84.1842. For a discussion of the Imperial Academy of the Northern Wei, see Zhang Jinlong 張金龍, "Bei Wei taixue yu zhengzhi wenhua 北魏太學與政治文化," in *Bei Wei zhengzhi yu zhidu lungao* 北魏政治與制度論稿 (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2003), 221-43.

[334] See *Wei shu* 53. 1175.

[335] For example, Temple Changqing 長慶寺 (lit. Long Celebration Temple). See Wang Yintian 王銀田 and Yin Xian 殷憲, "Bei Wei Pingcheng Changqingsi zaota zhuanming kaolue 北魏平城長慶寺造塔磚銘考略," *Shanxi Datong daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban)* 25, no. 1 (2011): 26-32.

[336] Shing Müller suggests that, based on foreign vessels and glass found in the southern suburbs of Datong city, there was "a foreign colony or a religious community" there. See Shing Müller 2002, 39-41.

[337] See *Luoyang qielan ji*, Chapter 4; in recent decades, archeologists have also found more and more evidence on bilateral trade between the Northern Wei and central Asia. See, for example, Wang Yintian, "Sashan Bosi yu Bei Wei Pingcheng 薩珊波斯與北魏平城," *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 2 (2005): 52-57.

以充京師) in 398 CE,[338] and thirty thousand households of the Northern Liang people "were transferred [back] to the capital" (*xi zai jingshi* 徙在京師)[339] in 439 CE. The estimated number of forced migrants is around one million, while estimates of the population of Pingcheng range from a low of one million to a high of two million.[340]

However, neither received texts nor archeological findings offer sufficient evidence about the scale, exact location, and physical area of Pingcheng. It is therefore unclear whether or not forced migrants lived within the city walls. Given the aforementioned population, a more reasonable possibility is that the capital (*jingshi* 京師) in the accounts above refers to the Greater Pingcheng area; namely, Pingcheng city and surrounding imperial domain together.[341]

Pingcheng residents were diverse in terms of country of origin, ethnicity, language, culture, social status, and occupation. Such a large number of people transformed Pingcheng into a dynamic and multicultural city, but also threatened the capital's security. The Northern Wei government hence enforced a zoning policy, beginning in its early years. Emperor Daowu reportedly "differentiated the elites and commoners and prohibited the mingling of their domiciles. Additionally, performers, craftsmen, butchers, and liquor vendors all had their respective quarters."[342] He segregated the elites from commoners, but also singled out four base professions in society and confined them to special quarters. It is clear that the emperor imposed imperial authority over the capital city in order to "map social hierarchy onto the urban landscape."[343]

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[338] *Wei shu* 2.32.
[339] *Wei shu* 4a.84.
[340] Angela Schottenhammer suggests that forced migration made the total population of the Pingcheng area reach up to one and a half to two million people. But she does not specify her source. See Angela Schottenhammer 2013, 997-998.
[341] Ge Jianxiong 1997, 542.
[342] The Chinese is: 分別士庶, 不令雜居, 伎作屠沽, 各有攸處. See *Wei shu* 60.1341. Translation follows Ho Ping-ti, "Lo-Yang, A.D. 495-534: A study of physical and socio-economic planning of a metropolitan area," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 26 (1966): 83, with modification.
[343] Ryan Russell Abrecht 2014, 237.

Taking security a step further, his successor, Emperor Mingyuan, seemed to impose a curfew to control the capital city residents' routines. In 416 CE, he ordered the construction of a tower inside the palace city[344] and later installed a drum on it. Each dawn and dusk, the drum was beaten one thousand times. The sound was loud and gradually transmitted from the palace to every ward of the capital, then all the gates of the wards were opened and closed.[345] The drumbeats were evidently a symbol of political order and each of these beats was imbued with the emperor's authority, through which he set the temporal boundary for the entire city and its residents.[346] Each ward was also managed and patrolled by officers in charge (*Zhusi* 主司) and wardens (*Lizai* 里宰).[347] In this way, people's freedom to move was restricted. People had to live as close as possible to the government offices, if they were officials, or to their places of business, if they were venders or artisans, in order to avoid violating the curfew.[348] For this reason, each group of them clustered in certain areas of the capital, and the wards they lived in look more like miniature cities that were isolated from and distinguished from one another.

The Northern Wei government increased control of foreign migrants by segregating them from the general populace of Pingcheng. Some migrants were separated temporarily while others were not. As mentioned above, the Northern Wei government categorized certain border crossers into three groups: the highest-ranking guest, the secondary-ranking guest, and the lowest-ranking guest. Evidence shows that all three groups were first brought to Pingcheng shortly after surrendering to the Northern Wei and were temporarily assigned to live in the guest hostels (*kedi* 客邸). While the location of the guest hostels is unknown, we

[344] See *Wei shu* 13.331.
[345] *Shuijing zhu* 13.313: 魏神瑞三年, 又建白樓. 樓甚高竦, 加觀榭于其上, 表裏飾以石粉, 皜曜建素, 赭白綺分, 故世謂之白樓也. 後置大鼓于其上, 晨昏伐以千椎, 為城里諸門啟閉之候, 謂之戒晨鼓.
[346] Wu Hung, "Monumentality of Time: Giant Clocks, the Drum Tower, the Clock Tower," in *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Rose Olin, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 107-32.
[347] See *Wei shu* 68.1514.
[348] See Ryan Russell Abrecht 2014, 237-239.

can assume that the guest hostels were located in the same area as the hostels provided for envoys.[349]

Fortunately, we have better information for the location of the envoy hostels (*shidi* 使邸). In 492 CE, Emperor Xiaowen was about to offer sacrifice at the ritual building Bright Hall (*Mingtang* 明堂) to his father, Emperor Xianwen. At that time, three Southern Qi envoys had just arrived at Pingcheng and paid a court visit to Emperor Xiaowen. The emperor thus invited them to come "to the south side of the hostels, to see [how the Northern Wei government] performed ritual practices."[350] Since the Southern Qi envoys could see the ritual performance from the south side of the hostels, it is clear that the hostels were located to the north of the *Mingtang*.[351] The excavation of the remains of the *Mingtang* in 1995 demonstrates that the *Mingtang* was located in the southern suburb of the Northern Wei city of Pingcheng.[352] As such, the guest hostels where the defectors lived were possibly also located south of the city, outside the outermost city wall.

It is uncertain whether the Northern Wei government had strict regulations on how long the southern border crossers should stay in the guest hostels. Xue Andu and Bi Zhongjing, who were the highest-ranking guests, only lived in the guest hostels for around one year and were soon bestowed mansions inside the capital.[353] Yet other surrendered generals and

[349] There is no evidence yet that can prove my argument. But it is very likely that those who surrendered to the Northern Wei were arranged to live in the same area as those who came as official envoys from southern regimes, because, first, the surrendered who were allowed to live in the guest hostels were regarded as guests regardless of ranking, and second, to cluster them in the same area made it easier for the Northern Wei government to monitor their actions.

[350] *Wei shu* 79.1753. The Chinese text reads: 館南矚望行禮.

[351] Tsai Tsung-hsien already noted this. See Tsai Tsung-hsien 2009, 81-82.

[352] Wang Yintian, "Bei Wei Pingcheng Mingtang yizhi yanjiu 北魏平城明堂遺址研究," *Zhongguo shi yanjiu* 中國史研究, no.1 (2000): 38-45.

[353] Xue Andu held an audience with the Northern Wei Emperor in 468 CE, but died in the next year right after he was bestowed a splendid house. So, he apparently did not live in the guest hotel for a long time. See *Wei shu* 61.1354. The biography of Bi Zhongjing also mentions that he was encouraged to "stay and was bestowed a mansion of the highest quality." The Chinese is: 因留之，賜甲第一區. See *Wei shu* 61.1360.

officials spent years in the guest hostels. Thereafter, they were appointed to a new position and left the capital.[354]

A great number of southern side-changers were not as lucky as the cases mentioned above. Those who were categorized the lowest-ranking guests, along with two hundred households of prominent families of Qing and Qi provinces who captured in the war of 469 CE, were relocated in the newly established Ping Qi commandery to the south of the Sanggan 桑乾 River, some 60 kilometers southwest of the capital city of Pingcheng.[355] Those with known relatives in the southern regime were also forced to move to Sanggan area.[356] Once they arrived, they were not allowed to leave freely.[357] Most of them stayed there for at least a decade,[358] and some of their descendants were even born in Sanggan.[359] It was not until Emperor Xiaowen modified this migration policy around 482 CE that these forced migrants were permitted to return their hometowns.[360]

The Northern Wei authorities took an active interest not only in where people lived, but also where people were buried. In 445 CE, Emperor Taiwu issued an edict to prohibit any cemetery within the city walls unless approved by the emperor.[361] This decision may be

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[354] One example is Cui Daogu's nephew Cui Sengyou 崔僧祐. See *Wei shu* 24.631. In addition, Zhang Anshi 張安世, who surrendered with Xiaohou Daoqian during Emperor Xuanwu's reign, stayed in the guest hostel for several years before he was finally appointed a position of Governor. But it is unclear if he was the highest-ranking guest. See *Wei shu* 61.1370.

[355] Hou Xudong 侯旭東, "Bei Wei Shen Hongzhi muzhi kaoshi 北魏申洪之墓誌考釋," in *1-6 shiji Zhongguo beifang bianjiang. minzu.shehui guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 1-6 世紀中國北方邊疆.民族.社會國際學術研討會論文集, ed. Jilin daxue guji yanjiusuo 吉林大學古籍研究所 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2008), 219.

[356] For example, Liu Xiaobiao, famous commentator of *Shishuo xinyu*, was relocated to Sanggan when the Northern Wei people learnt that Liu Xiaobiao has relatives in the south regime. The Chinese is: 魏人聞其江南有戚屬, 更徙之桑乾. See *Liang shu* 50.701.

[357] For example, in 469 CE, Liu Shanming's 劉善明 (432-480 CE) mother, who was then in Qing province, was captured by the Northern Wei army, while Liu Shanming served at the Liu-Song court. Perhaps for this reason, she was thereafter resettled to Sanggan and Liu Shanming spend years to ransom his mother. See *Nan Qi shu* 28.523. On Liu Shanming and his mother, see Chapter 4.

[358] Fu Yong 傅永 (434-516 CE), Cui Daogu's former military staff, was said to reside in Sanggan in poverty for at least a decade. See *Wei shu* 70.1551.

[359] For example, Fang Jingbo 房景伯 was born in Sanggan. See *Wei shu* 43.977.

[360] For example, Fang Jingxian 房景先 was allowed to "go back to [his] homeland because of precedent (*li* 例) during the middle of the reign of Taihe." The Chines text reads: 太和中, 例得還鄉. See *Wei shu* 43.978

[361] A Buddhist monk Huishi 惠始 was buried outside the southern suburb of Pingcheng because of the edict of Emperor Daowu. See *Wei shu* 114.3033. Also, a Northern Wei general Lai Daqian 來大千 died in battle. When

mainly due to the need for space to support a growing population, but it may be also due to the considerations of urban sanitation. The emperor's ban was certainly carried out carefully for decades to come until the Northern Wei moved its capital to Luoyang, given that recent archaeological discoveries have confirmed that none of Northern Wei Pingcheng tombs that have been discovered so far were found inside the capital city. Most of them were located to the eastern and southern suburbs of the capital,[362] with the exception of the mausoleum of Emperor Xiaowen's grandmother, Empress Dowager Wenming 文明太后 (d.490 CE), which is located to the north of Pingcheng city.[363]

Emperor Taiwu's ban also applied to cross-border migrants from the southern regimes. An imperial decision (*zhi* 制) cited in the *Wei shu* specifies that "all southerners who submitted to [our] country must be buried in Sanggan."[364] Southerners' cemeteries were confined to the same area, which is far from the capital, regardless of their rank or place of death,[365] suggesting that cemeteries of southern migrants and those of other people were not allowed to mix together. A few southerners, with imperial approval, were able to be buried elsewhere. For example, Wang Huilong who took refuge in the Northern Wei in 417 CE was supposed to be buried in Sanggan like other southerners. Yet his subordinate, who was entrusted with Wang Huilong's last will, petitioned Emperor Taiwu to bury the remains of

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his coffin was transferred back to Pingcheng, it was placed to the south of Pingcheng, which was likely because of the edict. When Emperor Taiwu learnt this, he permitted Lai Daiqian's coffin to be buried inside the city. See *Wei shu* 30.725.

[362] Cao Chengming, "Pingcheng fujin Xianbei ji Bei Wei muzang fenbu guilu kao 平城附近鮮卑及北魏墓葬分布規律考," *Wenwu* 5 (2016): 61-69. Also see Shing Müller 2002, 39-41.

[363] See *Wei shu* 13.328-330. Tomb of Empress Dowager Wenming, located to the north of present-day Datong city, was excavated in 1976. For the archeological report of this tomb, see Datong shi bowuguan 大同市博物館 and Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委員會, "Datong Fangshan Bei Wei Yongguling 大同方山北魏永固陵," *Wenwu* 7 (1978), 29-33.

[364] The text reads: 時制，南人入國者皆葬桑乾. See *Wei shu* 38.877. Nonetheless, there is no archeological evidence yet to attest the textual record.

[365] Take Shen Hongzhi 申洪之 (d.472 CE), who fled to the Northern Wei from president-day Shandong peninsula in the early fifth century, as an example. Although died in the capital, he was buried in Sanggan, and his funeral inscription shows that his cemetery was located "to the south of Sanggan River." The texts reads: 平城桑乾河南. See Hou Xudong 2008, 207-223. For a full translation of this epitaph, see Timothy Davis, "Texts for Stabilizing Tombs," in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014), 601-602.

Wang Huilong in Zhou county 州縣 of Henei 河內 commandery (present-day Qinyang 沁陽, Henan province),[366] which lies right at the border between the north and south.[367] The emperor agreed. However, Wang Huilong's story indeed prove that such case is rare and privileged.

3.2.2 Luoyang

After almost one hundred years in Pingcheng, the Northern Wei initiated another mass migration while relocating its power base, this time to Luoyang, which had served as a dynastic capital during the periods of the Eastern Han, Cao-Wei, and Western Jin. Yet when Emperor Xiaowen visited the time-honored city in 493 CE, a year before he ordered all Pingcheng residents to move with the imperial court,[368] he found this once traditional Chinese political center in ruins due to long-term chaos in the north. It must have been a bleak image, but Emperor Xiaowen was determined to rebuild this city nearly from scratch. He planned the city layout of New Luoyang, beginning with the construction and renovation of palaces and office buildings. After his untimely death, his young successor Emperor Xuanwu continued the construction project of palaces, and thereafter turned his attention to

[366] According to the *Wei shu*, the reason Wang Huilong chose Zhou county of Henei as his place of final rest is that he wished to repay the Northern Wei, after he became a ghost, as long as there was war between both sides. This alludes to the story of Wei Ke 魏顆 (n.d.). According to the *Zuozhuan* 左傳, Wei Ke of Jin state 晉國 led an army against General Du Hui 杜回 (n.d.) of Qin state 秦國 in 594 BCE. At the battle at Fushi 輔氏 (in present-day Dali 大荔 county, Shaanxi province), Wei Ke saw an old man was tying knots of grass to trap Du Hui. Du Hui, despite a man of unusual strength, fell down and was thus captured by Wei Ke. That night, Wei Ke dreamt the old man who told him that his daughter was a favorite concubine of Wei Ke's father and what he did at the battle was to repay Wei Ke remarrying his daughter after Wei Ke's father died, rather than burying her with his father. For this story, see *Zuo zhuan*, Duke Xuan 15. Also see Stephen W. Durrant, Wai-yee Li, and David Schaberg, eds. and trans, *Zuo Tradition = Zuozhuan: Commentary on the "Spring and Autumn Annals"* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 682-683. Chen Shuang, however, argues that the real reason Wang Huilong was rather buried in Henei than in his ancestral home Taiyuan is that Wang Huilong had no connection with the Wang clans in Taiyuan since his ancestors had long settled in the south for generations. See Chen Shuang 陳爽, *Shijia dazu yu Beichao zhengzhi* 世家大族與北朝政治 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), 121. I agree with Chen Shuang's observation, but it is still unclear why Wang Huilong was buried in Henei, not in another place.

[367] For the location of Zhou county of Henei, see *Wei shu* 106a. 2481 and *Sui shu* 30.848.

[368] See *Wei shu* 19b.464-465 and 65.1451.

space outside the palace complex, dividing the city into three hundred and twenty-three walled wards.[369]

Under the great care of the Northern Wei emperors, Luoyang flourished, becoming the world's largest and the most populous city by early sixth century, even though its construction was never completed even by the time the dynasty collapsed.[370] *Luoyang qielan ji*, written by a Northern Wei official Yang Xuanzhi, informs us that the last capital of the Northern Wei was about ten kilometers from east to west and nearly eight kilometers from north to south, covering an area of nearly eighty square kilometers,[371] in stark contrast to the Theodosian walls of fifth-century Constantinople, the largest city in the West, that enclosed fourteen square kilometers.[372]

The peak population living in Luoyang is estimated at between four hundred and forty thousand and five hundred and fifty thousand, according to Yang Xuanzhi,[373] but the actual number of Luoyang residents was surely much higher when taking unregistered people, such as slaves, into consideration. Either way, Luoyang was far more populous than Constantinople, whose population amounted to between two hundred thousand and four hundred thousand.[374] In addition to Luoyang natives, the Xianbei ruling group, court officials, soldiers, and other migrants from Pingcheng, as well as Buddhist monks and nuns, all resided in Luoyang. Numerous foreign Buddhist monks and merchants also came to Luoyang along

[369] *Wei shu* 8.194. Also see Meng Fanren 孟凡人, "Bei Wei Luoyang waiguocheng xingzhi chutan 北魏洛陽外郭城形制初探," *Zhongguo lishi bowuguan guankan* 中國歷史博物館館刊 4 (1982): 41-48; Albert E. Dien, *Six Dynasties Civilization* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 434, n.40.
[370] Northern Wei Luoyang might have been the biggest city in Chinese history. See Liu Shufen 劉淑芬, *Liuchao de chengshi yu shehui* 六朝的城市與社會 (Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju,1992), 393-394.
[371] Duan Pengqi mentions that the remains of Han-Wei Luoyang cover a square-shaped region about ten kilometers on each side. See Duan Pengqi 段鵬琦, *Han Wei Luoyang gucheng* 漢魏洛陽故城 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2009), 16.
[372] Ryan Abrecht 2014, 233-234; Victor Cunrui Xiong, *Capital Cities and Urban Form in Pre-Modern China: Luoyang, 1038 BCE to 938 CE* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 95.
[373] *Luoyang qielan ji* 5.227: 京師東西二十里，南北十五里，戶十萬九千餘.
[374] J. A. S. Evans, *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 23 and 275, n.26.

the Silk Roads, as attested by extant Buddhist hagiographies[375] and tomb epitaphs.[376] Moreover, Luoyang housed many exiles and sojourners from southern regimes, Central Asia kingdoms, Rouran to the north, and Koguryo to the east. Simply put, under the Northern Wei, Luoyang was a cosmopolitan city.

To keep Luoyang's diverse population under control, Northern Wei emperors instituted a set of rules and regulations for the city's layout. Northern Wei Luoyang consisted of a palace city, an inner city, and an outer city. There were three gates on the east, four on the south, four on the west, and two on the north.[377] Ho Ping-ti notes that an east-west imperial thoroughfares that connected Xiyang 西陽 gate (the third gate of the west wall from the north) and Dongyang 東陽 gate (the middle gate of the east wall) divided the inner city into two halves. He argues that the northern half of the inner city was exclusively a palace complex; accordingly, there was only one residential ward to the north of this horizontal axis of the city,[378] and no market built in this special area.[379]

In the southern half of the city, Emperor Xiaowen and his successors implemented zoning policies to "differentiate government offices from one another and to prevent the intermixing of the four classes of people."[380] Government offices were mainly grouped along the north-

[375] For example, Venerable Bodhiruci 菩提流支 (fl.508 CE) from present-day India visited Luoyang during Emperor Xuanwu's reign. He was entrusted by Emperor Xuanwu with the translation of Buddhist sutras and for this reason resided in imperial Yongning Monastery 永寧寺 (lit. Eternal Peace Temple). By the time he moved into Yongning Monastery, it was said that there were seven hundred Indian Buddhist monks who already live there. See Daoxuan 道宣 (596-667 CE), *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (New Continuation of the Biographies of Eminent Monks) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014),1.13-14.

[376] Many Sogdians had settled in Luoyang during the Northern Wei period. One of them was Kang Po 康婆 (d.647 CE). According to his tomb inscription, his ancestors migrated from central Asia to Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen. For his epitaph, see Zhou Shaoliang 1992, 96.

[377] *Luoyang qielan ji*, "Preface," 26-32.

[378] A powerful eunuch, Liu Teng 劉騰 (463-523 CE), and court favorite (*enxing* 恩倖), Ru Hao 茹皓 (d.504 CE), were permitted to build luxurious mansions in this ward. They were clearly exceptions. See *Wei shu* 38.878 and 93.2001.

[379] See Ho Ping-ti 1966, 70-78.

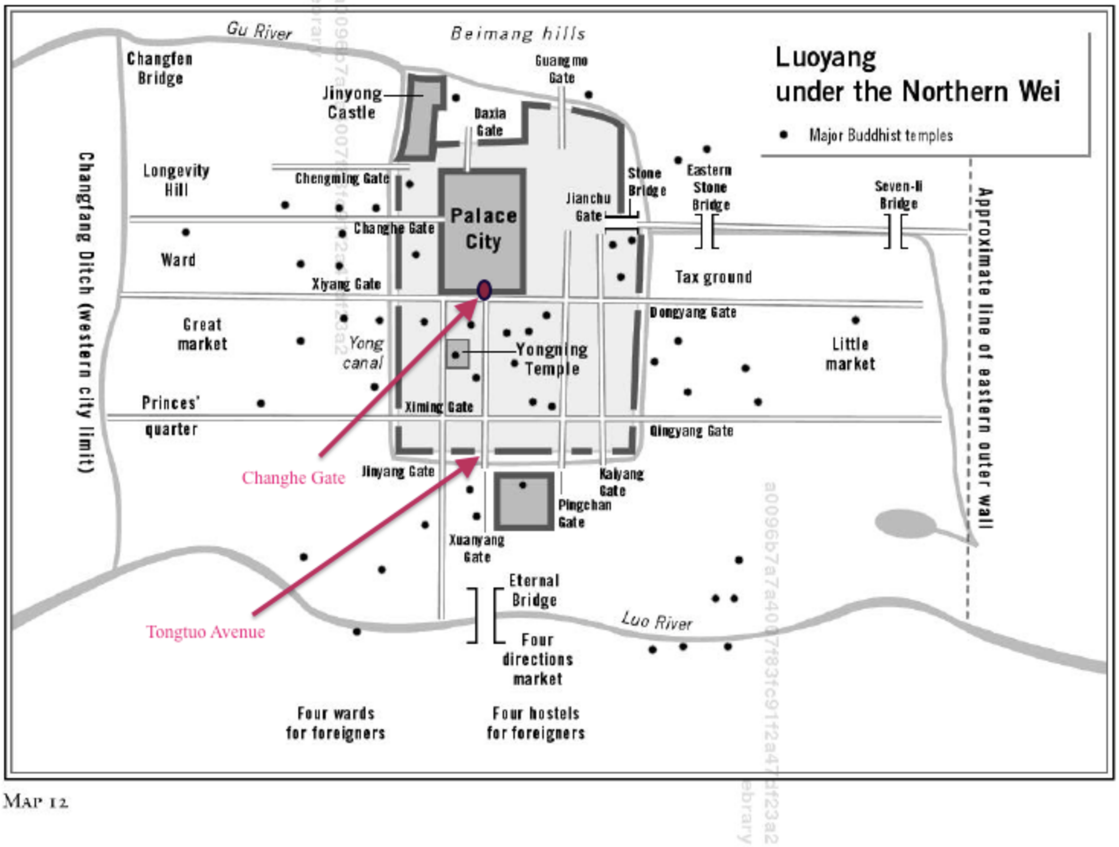
[380] The text reads: 使寺署有別, 四民異居. See *Wei shu* 60.1339. The term Four classes of People (*simin* 四民) refers to *shi* (gentlemen/scholars 士), *nong* (farmers 農), *gong* (artisans 工), and *shang* (merchants 商).

south axial thoroughfare,[381] Tongtuo 銅駝 Avenue, which ran from the Changhe 閶闔 gate (the main southern gate of the palace city)[382] to the Xuanyang 宣陽 gate (the second gate of the south wall of the inner city from the west) and beyond (see Figure 2.1). Residential areas were also built primarily south of the abovementioned horizontal line, but most of them were located outside the inner city.

Received texts and tomb epitaphs show that only noblemen and high-ranking officials were allowed to live in the inner city, especially those of non-Han background.[383] High officials of Han origin mostly lived in the eastern suburb. Whether aristocratic families of Han origin that had long lived in the north, such as the Cui family of Qinghe 清河崔氏, or new elite families who emerged because of imperial favor by Northern Wei emperors, such as the Li family of Longxi 隴西李氏, they dwelled in the same wards in the eastern part of Luoyang over generations.[384]

[381] Such as Office of the Great Commandant (*Taiwei fu* 太尉府) and Office of the Minister of Public Instruction (*Situ fu* 司徒府). See *Luoyang qielan ji* 1.2.
[382] There were two Changhe gates in Luoyang. One is the gate of the palace city, and the other is the gate of the inner city. See Map 2.2.
[383] For instance, the Grand Mentor (*Taifu* 太傅) Zhangsun Zhi 長孫稚 (d. 535 CE) of the Xianbei root, and Baron of Jinyang (*Jinyang nan* 晉陽男) Wang Zhen 王禎 (d.514 CE) who was from Koguryo, lived in the inner city. See *Wei shu* 25.647 and Zhao Chao 2008, 80.
[384] For example, the Northern Wei official Yang Bo 楊播 (d.513 CE) and his family of four generations lived together under one roof in Yiren 依仁 Ward in the eastern suburb of Luoyang. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.88; *Wei shu* 58.1302.

Map 2.1 Northern Wei Luoyang[385]



Map 12

Artisans and traders settled around four markets—the Little Market in the eastern suburb, two in the south set up by foreigners,[386] and the Great Market (*Luoyang dashi* 洛陽大市) that reportedly "comprised eight wards (*zhou hui ba li* 周迴八里)"[387] in the western suburb. Some professionals of low status, such as musicians, singers, brewers, coffin-sellers, and butchers,

[385] This map is based on Mark Edward Lewis 2009, 103.

[386] *Luoyang qielan ji* mentions two markets built by or for southerners: Sitong Market 四通市 (lit. Four Directions Market, also known as the Eternal Bridge Market 永橋市) and Yubie Market 魚鱉市 (lit. Fish and Turtle Market). See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.89 and 3.117.

[387] Here I follow Ho's interpretation. Some scholars, such as Yang Kuan, state that the phrase *zhou hui ba li* 周迴八里 means the Great Luoyang Market surrounded by eight wards. If so, as Ho Ping-ti notes, "the total distance between the west side of the Shouqiu ward and the west wall of the city would be ten *li,*" which is more than the seven *li* as stated in the *Luoyang qielan ji*. See Yang Kuan 楊寬, "Bei Wei Luoyang 'shi' yu 'li' xiang jiehe de 'Dashi' zhidu 北魏洛陽「市」與「里」相結合的「大市」制度," in *Zhongguo gudai ducheng zhidu shi yanjiu* 中國古代都城制度史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1993), 226-27 and Ho Ping-ti 1966, 101.

not only conducted their business in the Great Market but also lived in their respective wards that were named after their professions.

The southern suburb is famous as an enclave for foreigners. If one left the Xuanyang Gate, the main southern entrance of the inner city, and crossed the Eternal Bridge (*Yongqiao* 永橋) on the Luo River, one would find the Four Foreigners' Hostels (*Siyi guan* 四夷館) and Four Foreigners' Wards (*Siyi li* 四夷里) were symmetrically placed to the east and west of the imperial thoroughfare, Tongtuo Avenue.[388] Whether exiles, foreign merchants, or envoys, all newcomers were required to live here.

As for the northern suburb, armies seemed to be the main inhabitants. Albert Dien argues that this place was sandwiched between the city wall and the Mang 邙 Hills, so potential residential space was inevitably small.[389] This may explain why *Luoyang qielan ji* mentions very few wards in the northern suburb of the city.

In short, the Northern Wei government consciously and cautiously separated the palace complex from its own administrative offices, and also segregated the palace complex and government buildings at the center of the city from commoner residences and markets at the margins of city.[390] Moreover, from Emperor Xiaowen onward, each Northern Wei emperor tried to limit monasteries to outside the inner city walls.[391] In this way, absolute imperial authority was underlined, and social hierarchy was physically presented in a way that reminded people of their status on a daily basis. The only exception is imperial clansmen.

[388] The texts read: 永橋以南，圜丘以北，伊洛之間，夾御道東有四夷館，一曰金陵，二曰燕然，三曰扶桑，四曰崦嵫。道西有四夷里：一曰歸正，二曰歸德，三曰慕化，四曰慕義. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.129.
[389] Albert Dien 2007, 30. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 5.181.
[390] Hou Xudong 侯旭東, "Beichao de 'shi': zhidu, xingwei yu guannian 北朝的"市": 制度、行為與觀念," in *Beichao cunmin de shenghuo shijie* 北朝村民的生活世界 (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2005), 177-180.
[391] It is apparent that their plans were in vain if we look at how many monasteries were built inside the inner city walls in *Luoyang qielan ji*. Also see *Wei shu* 114.3044-3047.

Many members of the extended royal family occupied a large area in the western suburb of Luoyang that was roughly equal to thirty regular wards.[392] Some imperial princes even owned more than one house.[393]

Luoyang residents were separated and regrouped together based on differences in status, occupation, ethnicity, and country of origin. Each group was confined in their respective areas, walled by the same wards of regular shape and uniform size,[394] and monitored by the Commandant of the Capital Patrol (*Buwei* 部尉),[395] the Commandant of the Capital Street Patrol (*Jingtu wei* 經途尉),[396] and Ward-heads (*Lizheng* 里正).[397] Perhaps for this reason, each suburb, except the northern one, had its own markets that provided residents in each area with daily necessities. At dusk, markets were closed at the time marked by drumbeats, implying that curfew was imposed upon the capital's residents.[398] Spatial and temporal restrictions were so evident that they certainly left a lasting mark on the perceptions of Luoyang residents about the empire, the city, and the relationship between themselves and other residents.

Foreigners, as noted earlier, were required to live in the southern suburb, particularly in the Four Foreigners' Hostels and they would be assigned to a particular hostel based on their country of origin. After staying in the hostel for three years, it would be arranged for the newcomer to move to one of the four foreigner's wards. However, there were exceptions to

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[392] This area, collectively referred to as Shouqiu 壽丘 (lit. Longevity Hill) Ward, was therefore nicknamed by the general public the Princes' Ward (*Wangzi fang* 王子坊). See *Luoyang qielan ji* 4.163.
[393] For example, the Prince of Guangping Yuan Huai had a house in the Xiaojing 孝敬 ward of the eastern suburb and one in the southern suburb. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.94. *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.140.
[394] *Luoyang qielan ji* 5.212: 方三百步為一里. However, Duan Pengqi speculates that wards inside the inner city were irregular. See Duan Pengqi 2009, 70.
[395] Translation after Charles O. Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Taipei: Southern Materials Center, Inc., 1988), 136. It might be short for *Luoyang Buwei* 洛陽部尉. See *Wei shu* 8.202.
[396] Charles O. Hucker 1988, 172-173.
[397] According to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, each ward has four gates, and each gate is controlled by two ward-heads, four constables, and eight gatemen. The Chinese is: 里開四門，門置里正二人，吏四人，門士八人. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 5.227-228. On ward-heads, see also *Wei shu* 68.1514 and 14.363.
[398] *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.71: 陽渠北有建陽里，里內有土台，高三丈，上作二精舍。趙逸云：「此台是中朝旗亭也。」上有二層樓，懸鼓擊之以罷市.

this rule. Some cases show that people who were placed in an assigned ward could move somewhere else, as long as they had imperial approval. The exiled Southern Qi prince Xiao Baoyin, for instance, asked his wife to petition her younger brother, Emperor Xuanwu, to permit them to move into the inner city. A Northern Wei official Xu Jian 徐踐 (n.d.) petitioned Emperor Xiaoming (r.515-528 CE) to allow his nephew Xu Zhicai 徐之才 (d.572 CE), who surrendered from the Liang dynasty, to move out of the Hostel in order to live with the Xu family in the north.[399]

According to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, Xiao Baoyin eventually moved to the inner city,[400] while little is known about whether or not Xu Zhicai left the southern suburb. These two examples nonetheless indicate that the residence policy regarding foreigners, southerners in particular, was strictly enforced until the last days of the dynasty. Such a policy is unprecedented. The Han dynasty had established the *Manyi di* 蠻夷邸 (lit. Hostels for Barbarians) that housed foreign chieftains, envoys and their followers.[401] But the Northern Wei government took a big stride forward in the sense that it designed and prescribed an exclusive residence area—Four Foreigners' Hostels and Four Foreigners' Wards—for all newcomers, whether they were sojourners or long-term migrants, whether imperial exiles or merchants. A move from hostel to ward was also unique and, as Tsai Tsung-hsien points out, meaningful: when a foreigner lived in the hostel, he was viewed and treated as a guest by the Northern Wei government; once moving to one of the Four Foreigners' Wards, the individual was incorporated into the Northern Wei population and became a new subject of the empire.[402]

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[399] The text reads: 孝昌二年，至洛，勅居南館，禮遇甚優。從祖謇子踐啟求之才還宅. See *Bei Qi shu* 33.444. For the medical accomplishments of the Xu family, see Fan Jiawei 2004, 96-99.
[400] See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3:130.
[401] For a discussion of *Manyi di* of the Western Han, see Wang Jing 王靜, *Zhongguo gudai zhongyang keguan zhidu yanjiu* 中國古代中央客館制度研究 (Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, 2002), 19-30.
[402] See Tsai Tsung-hsien 2009, 79.

Even so, foreigners were confined to the areas outside the inner city, and were separated from the inner city and its residents by the Luo River. Some scholar have proposed that the site of Four Foreigners' Hostels and Four Foreigners' Wards was carefully chosen because it was near the Luo River and the Yi 伊 River, where people, especially southerners, were able to easily access aquatic products they were used to eat.[403] This is possible, yet a more likely explanation is the region's proximity to government offices. The Western Han *Manyi di* was located to the north of Weiyang Palace 未央宮, the main palace of the Western Han Chang'an, because the Western Han bureaucracy was located to the northwest of Weiyang Palace.[404] In light of this, and given that most of the Northern Wei government offices were placed along the inner city section of the Tongtuo Avenue, the fact that Four Foreigners' Hostels and Four Foreigners' Wards were also built along the Tongtuo Avenue should not be dismissed as coincidence, but rather seen as a strategic calculation that placed foreigners under direct control of the government.

4. Punishments

The Northern Wei government encouraged southerners to defect, and generously awarded royals and high-profile officials who submitted from the southern regimes to the north. But how did it react if these side-changers switched allegiance again?[405] In 474 CE, Emperor Xiaowen issued an edict, saying, "From now on, apart from those guilty of plotting rebellion, great sedition, threatening the order of the state,[406] defection,[407] any [other] crimes do not

[403] See, for example, Victor Xiong 2017, 98.
[404] Wang Jing 2002, 24-25.
[405] Ren Jau-Shin already notices that the Northern Wei government punished side-changers if they fled to the south, but does not elaborate his point. See Ren Jau-Shin 任昭信, "Bei Wei zhengquan xia Dong Jin Nanchao liuwang renshi fazhan 北魏政權下東晉南朝流亡人士發展" (master's thesis, Cheng Kung University, 2009), 94, no. 394.
[406] G*anji* 干紀 may be short for *ganguo zhi ji* 干國之紀 (threaten the order of the state). See *Wei shu* 40.905.

implicate their (i.e., the criminal's) family members."[408] Emperor Xiaowen's edict shows that the Northern Wei government set a policy on defection and such policy applied to anyone who surrendered to any regime.[409] Still, the phrase *nanpan* 南叛 (defection to the south) is seen repeatedly in the *Wei shu*, which suggests that such cases appeared more often than other kinds of defection and that the ongoing tension between the Northern Wei and southern regimes had been of great concern to both sides. The imperial edict also reveals that defection, in the eyes of Northern Wei government, was undoubtedly a felony and for this not only the defector himself, but also his relatives, would be punished (See Table 2.4). The question remains as to what charges the culprit and his family members each faced.

In general, if a border crosser tried to desert to the south yet did not succeed in his objective, his punishment was nothing less than execution.[410] Even though there was no real defection, but merely a plot to defect, everyone involved would be executed once the scheme was uncovered. One example is Sima Guofan 司馬國璠 (d.420 CE). He was an imperial clansman of the Eastern Jin, but sought asylum in the Northern Wei. One day, when drinking with his distant relative Sima Wensi 司馬文思, Sima Guofan, drunk, revealed to the latter that he was going to "defect (*waipan* 外叛)," along with several dozen men. Sima Wensi, who in fact detested Sima Guofan, immediately denounced Sima Guofan's conspiracy to the state. As a result, Sima Guofan and his accomplices were all put to death.[411]

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[407] For examples on *waiben* 外奔 (defection), see *Song shu* 88.2225 and *Wei shu* 2.44.
[408] The Chinese is: 自今已後, 非謀反, 大逆, 干紀, 外奔, 罪止其身而已. See *Wei shu* 7.140 and 111.2876.
[409] For example, *Wei shu* 2.44 and 46.1042.
[410] One exception is Dong Luan 董巒 (n.d.), who was former Regional Inspector of Ning province 寧州 of the Southern Qi dynasty but was caught by the Northern Wei army in battle. He tried to flee back to the south twice. He failed the first time, but was not executed. Instead he was sent to the far northern frontier. It is uncertain about the reason why Dong Luan was sentenced to exile rather than given the death penalty. It might be due to Emperor Xiaowen's leniency toward him, or due to a change of policy during Emperor Xiaowen's reign. For the biography of Dong Luan, see *Wei shu* 61.1375. See Table 2.4.
[411] See *Wei shu* 37.854 and *Wei shu* 3.60. It is noteworthy that this story is found only in the biography of Sima Wensi and in the Basic Annals of Emperor Mingyuan of the *Wei shu*, but not in the biography of Sima Guofan in the *Wei shu*.

Defection, especially defection to the south, was severely punished, so much so that it was sometimes used as an excuse to remove one's enemy. Li Hui 李惠 (d.479), maternal grandfather of Emperor Xiaowen, was accused by Empress Dowager Wenming of attempting to defect to the southern state. The motivation behind the empress dowager's false accusation was very likely the rivalry between the two imperial consort families. Accordingly, not only Li Hui, but also his sons and two younger brothers were all executed.[412]

A deserter's family members were guilty by virtue of their relationship to him, based on the idea of collective responsibility, whether or not they were aware of the plot beforehand. These included the defector's father, sons, brothers, and cousins. In one case, even the deserter's adopted brothers were condemned as well,[413] suggesting the range of collective responsibility was wide.[414] Yet their punishment differed based on the degree of their relationship with the defector.[415] Evidence shows that the deserter's father would be executed;[416] sons aged fifteen or above would also face the death penalty, even if the son denounced his own father to the state before the act of treachery was carried out.[417] The

[412] See *Wei shu* 83a.1825. Also see Zhang Jinlong 張金龍, *Bei Wei zhengzhi shi・liu* 北魏政治史・六 (Lanzhou: Gansu jiaoyu chubanshe, 2008), 16-17.

[413] Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后 (d.528 CE) was a regent after her son, Emperor Xiaoming, assumed the throne. But the eunuch Liu Teng and the Commander of the Armed Forces (*Lingjun* 領軍) Yuan Cha 元叉 (d.525 CE) removed her from power and placed her under house arrest in 520 CE. When Empress Dowager Ling resumed her regency in 525 CE, Liu Teng had been dead. Empress Dowanger Ling wanted revenge so much that she ordered Liu Teng's coffin dug up, and had his bones scattered, both of these acts were considered a serious disgrace to the dead. Furthermore, when an adopted son of Liu Teng defected to the Liang regime in the south, all of his brothers, who were also adopted by Liu Teng, were banished to the far north by the infuriated empress dowager. See *Wei shu* 94.2027-2028.

[414] See Joanna Waley-Cohen 1991, 221-222.

[415] See Geoffrey MacCormack, "On the Pre-Tang Development of the Law of 'Treason': *Moufan*, *Dani*, and *Pan*," *Journal of Asian Legal History* 5 (2005), 2.

[416] For example, Pei Zhi, who submitted to the Northern Wei during Emperor Xuanwu's reign, was initially sentenced to *Dapi* 大辟 for his eldest son's desertion but pardoned by the emperor. See *Wei shu* 71.2027: 後以長子昕南叛，有司處之大辟. *Dapi* means death penalty. See *Wei shu* 19b.509 and 60.1337.

[417] For example, Dong Jingyao 董景曜 and his father Dong Luan surrendered to the Northern Wei during Emperor Xiaowen's reign, but Dong Luan had nonetheless always attempted to flee back to the south. He failed the first time. When he tried again, his son Dong Jingyao immediately went to Luoyang denouncing his betrayal. It is nonetheless too late because Dong Luan had successfully crossed the border. Dong Jingyao was thus scorned by the emperor and eventually decapitated. See *Wei shu* 61.1375.

defector's son aged fourteen or under[418] could spare the death penalty, but would be forced to undergo castration and later sent to serve as eunuch in the imperial palace.[419] For this reason, Cui Mo 崔模 (n.d.),[420] former Governor of Xingyang 滎陽 (northeast of modern Xingyang, Henan province) under the Liu-Song regime, refused to leave with an envoy whom his family in the south bribed to smuggle him back.[421] This was because Cui Mo feared, once he escaped, that his son born by his northern wife would be sentenced to castration. He was right. He later passed along this opportunity to another southerner Shen Mo 申謨, who immediately seized the chance, heading back to the south.[422] Yet Shen Mo's poor northern son who was left behind suffered castration.[423]

Usually the defector's male siblings, biological and adopted, and cousins were sentenced to exile.[424] Such punishment was chosen for two reasons. First, since they were neither the principle offender nor the criminal's family members with a three-year mourning obligation,

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[418] Emperor Taiwu ordered that children aged 14 or below who were held liability for the crimes of their family should be castrated. See *Wei shu* 111.2874. But this law was modified thereafter during Emperor Wencheng's reign. According to the *Wei shu*, a court official suggested Emperor Wencheng that if a child aged 13 or below knows nothing about his relative's scheme of rebellion, he should be spared the death penalty and forfeit to the government as a slave. See *Wei shu* 41.920: 若年十三已下, 家人首惡，計謀所不及，愚以為可原其命，沒入縣官. This is evidenced by Wang Xin's epitaph (see below), which says that Wang Xin was no more than fourteen years old when he was castrated.

[419] Received texts were all silent about these children' lives after their punishment. Fortunately, Wang Xin's 王忻 (485-546 CE) valuable epitaph sheds some light on this regard. The epitaph says that Wang Xin was castrated during Emperor Xiaowen's reign because of his father's desertion to the Southern Qi. Thereafter, Wang Xin was sent to serve as a eunuch. He later managed to have a successful career in the imperial palace and was well trusted by Northern Wei royal members. One of positions he served as was Director of the Household at the household of Grand Princess Lanling (*Lanling zhanggongzhu jialing* 蘭陵長公主家令). For Wang Xin's epitaph, see Zhao Wencheng 趙文成 and Zhao Junping 趙君平, eds., *Qin Jin Yu xinchu muzhi souyi xubian* 秦晉豫新出墓誌蒐佚・續編 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2015), 110.

[420] For Cui Mo's official biography, see *Wei shu* 24.626-627 According to the *Song shu*, Cui Mo died in battle. See *Song shu* 95.2333. For a brief discussion on Cui Mo, see Jennifer Holmgren1984, 31-32.

[421] For Cui Mo and his family in the south, see Chapter 4.

[422] Shen Mo was from one of locally powerful émigré families in Shandong peninsula. According to the *Song shu*, after returning to the Liu-Song, he was appointed to the rank of Governor of Jingling 竟陵 in the mid of the Yuanjia 元嘉 era (424-453 CE). He had at least two sons in the south. See *Song shu* 65.1723.

[423] Another example is Chang Zhenqi 常珍奇 (n.d.). He initially surrendered to the Northern Wei during the reign of Emperor Xianwen, yet merely a year later crossed over back to the south again. While he escaped troops pursuing him, both of his sons did not. His elder son was killed in battle and his younger son suffered castration after getting caught and being sent to the capital. See *Wei shu* 61.1366.

[424] For discussions on exile of the Northern Wei period, see Deng Yiqi 鄧奕琦, *Beichao fazhi yanjiu* 北朝法制研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2005), 149-151 and Chan Chun-Keung 陳俊強, "Beichao liuxing de yanjiu 北朝流刑的研究," *Fazhishi yanjiu* 法制史研究 10 (2006): 33-83.

such as sons,[425] the death penalty was deemed too severe for them. Thus, their sentence was instead commuted from the death penalty to banishment, in order to show imperial benevolence. Second, exile was an effective means for increasing the number of soldiers who could defend the border. In 456 CE, a court official Yuan He 源賀 (407-479 CE) submitted a memorial to Emperor Wencheng, proposing that those who did not commit a great felony nor murder should be banished to the frontier instead of being executed, which could, on the one hand, strengthen the border defense and on the other hand reduce garrison soldiers' heavy burden.[426] Yuan He's proposal was reportedly adopted by the emperor[427] and was put into effect.

But exile did not become a formal legal penalty contained in statutes until 492 CE, when Emperor Xiaowen, along with several of his trusted officials, revised the laws and statutes of the Northern Wei, including banishment.[428] This coincides with the fact that the cases of the exiles who were implicated by their relatives fleeing to the south mainly appeared since Emperor Xiaowen's reign.[429]

Of note in Yuan He's proposal, is that he did not specify to which frontier area the convicts should go to. There were many exile destinations during the Northern Wei, such as Liangzhou (west of Luoyang)[430] and Dunhuang 敦煌 (west of Luoyang),[431] as well as Yangzhou (south of Luoyang).[432] Yet, the brothers and cousins of the defectors submitting to the south were all sent to the northern frontier. Very likely, such an arrangement was

[425] According to the *wufu* 五服 (five degrees of mourning) system, one only mourns for one year for his brothers and cousins. See *Yili zhushu* 儀禮注疏 26.639-50.
[426] *Wei shu* 51.1131.
[427] *Wei shu* 41.920-921.
[428] See Deng Yiqi 2005, 83 and Chan Chun-Keung 2006, 43-45.
[429] For example, Liu Wenye, son of surrendered Liu-Song general Liu Xiubin, was banished to the northern frontier during Emperor Xiaowen's reign because of his cousin's defection. Besides, Liu Teng's adopted sons were also sentenced to exile during the reign of Emperor Xiaoming for their brother's desertion. See *Wei shu* 43.966 and 94.2028.
[430] *Wei shu* 14.186 and 28.682.
[431] *Wei shu* 83a.1817, 93.1999 and 111.2886.
[432] *Wei shu* 66.1468.

intended to keep them away from the southern regimes, severing their ties with relatives on the other side of the border. For this reason, unless the exiles were granted an amnesty by the emperor,[433] they were generally banished for life.[434]

Women were rarely the focus of received texts and surviving tomb inscriptions; thus, we do not have sufficient evidence to prove whether or not a defector's wife and his female blood relatives were liable. Yet this possibility cannot be ruled out. In the case of the exiled Liu-Song prince Liu Chang's youngest son, Liu Hui, who was married to Grand Princess Lanling but was caught having an affair with two women around 519 CE, court officials argued that the brothers of Liu Hui's two lovers should be punished for their sisters' misdeeds. One official, Cui Zuan 崔纂 (d.ca.523 CE), opposed the decision to punish Liu Hui's lovers' brothers, and his reason was that "an unmarried woman should be responsible for charges against her parents, whereas a married woman should be punished for [crimes committed by] her husband's family,"[435] and claimed that this was "the common principle in the past and the present."[436] This suggests that a defector's wife and his unmarried daughter could be held liable for the crime.[437]

As such, the Northern Wei government evidently took a strong stand against turncoats for several reasons. By punishing those who dared to challenge, and thereby damage, imperial authority, it reinforced its legitimacy; meanwhile, it sought to prevent future desertions and overawe wavering opportunists. Still, some people frequently changed sides with impunity.

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[433] For example, although Liu Wenye was banished to the northern frontier, Emperor Xiaowen "particularly allowed him returning to the capital (*te ting huan dai* 特聽還代)" during the middle of the Taihe era (477-499 CE). The phrase *te ting* 特聽 suggests that Liu Wenye's case was an exemption and exception. See *Wei shu* 43.966.

[434] Chan Chun-Keung 2006, 50.

[435] The Chinese is: 在室之女，從父母之刑；已醮之婦，從夫家之刑. See *Wei shu* 111. 2887. Translation after Lee Jen-der, "Women and Marriage in China During the Period of Disunion" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1992).

[436] The Chinese is: 古今之通議. See *Wei shu* 111.2887.

[437] This may explain why, when the abovementioned Li Hui was executed by Emperess Dowager Wenming, his wife, Lady Liang, died too. But what about a defector's mother? When Xue Yuan 薛淵 (d.494 CE) fled back to the south, his mother was left behind. Perhaps unable to support herself, she later married a man of Chang'an, suggesting that a defector's mother may not be punished for her son's crime. See *Nan Qi shu* 30.554.

For instance, after the Liu-Song general Xue Andu defected to the north, he soon regretted his decision and planned to flee back to the south. However, his plot was uncovered. The Northern Wei government did not punish him, but instead executed Xue's son-in-law who died as a scapegoat to cover up Xue's crime. Additionally, after Xiahou Daoqian, a southern border general who repeatedly switched his allegiance between the northern and southern regimes, defected again to the Northern Wei in 505 CE, he was not merely pardoned by the Northern Wei emperor, he even received several appointments and a noble title. Likewise, Pei Zhi, who submitted to the Northern Wei in 501 CE, was supposed to be sentenced to death for his eldest son's defection to the south, but he was eventually granted an amnesty by the emperor.[438]

All of them have one thing in common: they handed over important border cities neighboring the Northern Wei— Xue Andu delivered up Pengcheng, Xiahou Daoqian gave Nanzheng 南鄭 (present-day Hanzhong 漢中, Shangxi province), and Pei Zhi surrendered Shouchun, which greatly helped the Northern Wei in expanding its southern territory and gaining an upper hand in the wars with the southern states. Compared with their achievement of "making a high mountain," their later crime for defection, or their collective responsibility for their criminal relatives therefore, as Emperor Xuanwu told Xiahou Daoqian who begged forgiveness for his repeated defection, is merely "a stain [like] a single load of earth."[439]

Moreover, by pardoning them or giving them lesser sentences, the Northern Wei government distinguished them from other convicts, in order to encourage more border generals to surrender from the south.[440] Put simply, "the manner in which they were treated

[438] *Wei shu* 71.1570.
[439] *Wei shu* 71.1583: 世宗曰: 卿建為山之功, 一簣之玷, 何足謝也.
[440] For example, when Xue Zhendu 薛真度 (d.ca. 510 CE), who was granted the title of the highest-ranking guest after he surrendered with his cousin Xue Andu, was repeatedly defeated by generals of the Southern Qi, the official in charge submitted a memorial to the throne, proposing to remove Xue Zhendu from office and deprive of his noble title as punishment. Yet the emperor did not adopt his proposal. The emperor instead highly praised Xue Zhendu and his cousin's invaluable contribution to the Northern Wei, for they handed over Pengcheng and Xuanhu, so much so that he thought that Xue Zhendu's military failure mattered little. He even

reveals the particular concerns of the contending parties at specific moments."[441] Nonetheless, the Northern Wei government once again marked boundaries among border crossers from the southern regimes, and between southern migrants and other side changers.

Table 2.4 Defection to the South

No.	Name	Emperor	Reason	Outcome	Source
1	Sima Guofan 司馬國璠	Emperor Mingyuan	His attempted defection	Execution	*WS* 37
2	Shen Lingdu 申靈度	Emperor Taiwu	His father, Shen Mo, defected to the south	Castration	*WS* 24
3	Duan Hui 段暉	Emperor Taiwu	Duan Hui was falsely accused of defection to the south	Execution	*WS* 52
4	Chang Shami 常沙彌	Emperor Xianwen	His father, Chang Zhenqi, defected to the south	Castration	*WS* 61
5	Li Hui 李惠	Emperor Xiaowen (co-reigning with Empress Dowager Wenming)	Li Hui was falsely accused of defection to the south	Execution	*WS* 83

alleviated Xue Zhendu's punishment, which distinguished him from other defeated generals. See *Wei shu* 61.1356.

[441] Andrew Hopper 2012, 179.

6	Li Xin 李訢	Emperor Xiaowen (co-reigning with Empress Dowager Wenming)	Li Xin was falsely accused of defection[442]	Execution	*WS* 46
7	Zhang Jingshu 張敬叔	Emperor Xiaowen (co-reigning with Empress Dowager Wenming)	He planned to defect to the south	He was pardoned	*WS* 61
8	Fang Boyu 房伯玉	Emperor Xiaowen?	Fang Boyu's younger brother defected to the south	Exile	*WS* 43
9	Liu Wenye 劉文曄	Emperor Xiaowen	His cousin, Liu Wenwei 劉聞慰, defected to the south	Exile	*WS* 43
10	Dong Luan 董巒	Emperor Xiaowen	Dong Luan defected to the south, but failed	Exile	*WS* 61
11	Dong Jingyao 董景曜	Emperor Xiaowen	His father, Dong Luan, defected to the south	Execution	*WS* 61

[442] Before Li Xin died, he served as Regional Inspector of Xu province, whose administrate seat was in Pengcheng, a strategic city bordering the territory of the Liu-Song. Zhang Jinlong argues that Empress Dowager Wenming purposely appointed Li Xin to this job in order to later accuse him of defection. See Zhang Jinlong 2008, 13-14.

12	Xue Huzi 薛虎子	Emperor Xiaowen	He was falsely accused of defection to the south	His name was cleaned, and the accusers were punished	*WS* 44
13	Wang Xin 王忻	Emperor Xiaowen	His father, Wang Yu, defected to the south	Castration	*Qin Jin Yu xinchu muzhi souyi xubian* 秦晉豫新出墓誌蒐佚・續編[443]
14	Pei Zhi 裴植	Emperor Xuanwu	His son, Pei Xin 裴昕, defected to the south	He was initially sentenced to the death penalty, but his sentence was revoked by special edict	*WS* 71
15	Chen Huya 陳虎牙	Emperor Xuanwu	His father, Chen Bozhi 陳伯之, defected to the south	He was killed by the Northern Wei people	*LS* 20
16	Liu Wenyuan 劉文遠	Emperor Xuanwu	He tried to defect to the south	Execution	*WS* 59
17	Liu Teng's 劉騰 adopted sons	Emperor Xiaoming	One of their adopted sibling defected to the south	They were sentenced to exile, but were all assassinated on the way to their exile destination	*WS* 94

[443] See Zhao Wencheng and Zhao Junping, eds., 2015, 110.

18	Yang Shen 羊深	Emperor Xiaozhuang	His brother, Yang Kan 羊侃, defected to the south	He was pardoned by the emperor, but was removed from of his positions	*WS* 77

5. Conclusion

Border crossers posed a threat to the social order. They were outsiders from the other side of the border, but now attempted to become insiders, making themselves anomalies that existed neither solely inside nor outside.[444] They were polluters, and, as Mary Douglas points out, "the polluter becomes a doubly wicked object of reprobation, first because he crossed the line and second because he endangered others."[445] To return to order, the Northern Wei government hence drew multiple boundaries between the North and the South through naming, identity verification, rewards and punishments.

Naming divides the civilized and uncivilized, imposing meaning and hierarchy on the world; identity checks tightened border control, separating insiders and outsiders; rewards and punishments differentiated loyalists and traitors who traversed the boundary again. Among these, spatial segregation is the most salient boundary line: the Northern Wei government placed border crossers in specific areas to "prevent pollution." To draw distinctions between order and chaos, from clean and polluted, strangers must be segregated and kept at arm's length. Once the danger of pollution was removed, the boundary was again fixed and safe. The state would grant these border crossers permission to move. However, there was no guarantee that side-changers would not change sides again. Punishments, which

[444] This is well illustrated by the case of Yang Kan 羊侃 (495-549 CE), who was former Northern Wei Governor of Taishan 泰山 yet defected to the Liang in 528 CE. He once told Liang Emperor Wu, "although northerners say your servant [i.e., Yang Kan] is a (man of) Wu, the southerners call your servant a caitiff." The Chinese is: 北人雖謂臣為吳, 南人已呼臣為虜. See *Liang shu* 39.558.

[445] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo* (London; New York: Routledge, 2005), 172.

embody the anxiety of transgression, hence served as a means of preventing people from endangering the boundary.

Clearly, in the eyes of the Northern Wei government, disparate southern migrants "share an essentialized negative identity as dangerous strangers;"[446] nonetheless, the state still opened its doors to southern defectors that fit its agenda, thereby delineating boundaries among southern border crossers.

But government policy merely tells part of boundary work story. How did Northern Wei elites respond to the existence of southern border crossers that potentially could replace their position at the Northern Wei court? The next chapter will address this question in examining why and how the northern elites self-consciously distinguished themselves from those they were not, demarcating boundaries between members and nonmembers in everyday practices,[447] especially through food and language.

Faced with the threat of exclusion, southern border crossers by no means only passively accepted the reality, but, as the following chapter will argue, actively crossed political, social and cultural boundaries by way of marriage alliances, local connections, and migrant networks. In so doing, border crossers showed that boundaries, whether built by the state or by the receiving communities, are not stable constructs; on the contrary, they are contested sites that are repeatedly challenged and shifted.

[446] Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon 1999, 6.
[447] Zolberg and Woon 1999, 8.

Chapter Three: Integration of Cross-Border Migrants

In his monograph-length essay "Foreign Groups in Rome during the First Centuries of the Empire," George La Piana describes immigrant groups in ancient Rome as follows:

> "It is to-day, and has always been everywhere, the natural tendency of a body of immigrants from the same nationality in a foreign city to live together as much as possible in the same district, where they can reproduce the main characteristics of the social and religious life of the country from which they came. They form sections of their own, separate to a certain extent from the rest of the population, and keep their own language and customs at least as long as the current of immigration remains active. This is a universal phenomenon, of which we have evidence on a large scale in the numerous communities of immigrants from Europe and Asia in the large cities of America. There are reasons for believing that the foreign populations of ancient Rome were no exception to this rule, and that they yielded to this tendency so far as the social and economic conditions of the city allowed them to follow this instinctive need."[448]

To the author, each immigrant group in ancient Rome was like "an island, entire of itself," with its own distinct cultural characteristics. He also hints that such isolated communities were stagnant and unchangeable. Such a statement is undoubtedly problematic and outdated in the sense that it fails to explain the dynamics and individual heterogeneity within immigrant groups nowadays. And, recent research shows that La Piana's theory does not fit ancient Roman society either.[449] However, this passage does provide some food for thought

[448] George La Piana, "Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire," *Harvard Theological Review* 20.4 (1927), 204.
[449] Laurens E. Tacoma, *Moving Romans: Migration to Rome in the Principate* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

on causes of boundary maintenance: Are boundaries internally generated, so immigrant groups La Piana discusses tend to be residentially segregated? Could they be externally generated?[450] The above passage also reminds us of contemporary representations of migrants: How are they talked about, written about, and referred to in the received texts? What vocabularies are deployed in these discourses on displaced persons?[451] All of these questions are central to the following two-part discussion on southern migrants in Northern Wei society.

The first half of the chapter analyzes how Northern Wei elites delineated boundaries in their everyday interactions that excluded southerners trying to become insiders. It also asks why the Northern Wei elites felt the need to draw boundaries, and why they demarcated boundaries around certain areas to the exclusion of others.

Having examined host government policies and the receiving communities' attitudes toward southern migrants, the second half of the dissertation turns focus to southern migrants per se and looks into how they integrated into the host society by recreating a new home in the north. The term "home" here does not mean a physical building, but a place of security, a place of belonging, and a place of identity.

1. Forever Outsiders?

As Chapter 2 has shown, whether during the Pingcheng or Luoyang period, most, if not all, southern migrants were not free to choose their place of residence. The Northern Wei government decreed that southerners, regardless of their status in the south, had to live in certain districts, spatially segregating them from others. In some ways, the state created an enclave for these displaced persons. Yet, what did southern migrants think about the Northern

[450] Rogers Brubaker, *Grounds for Difference* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2015), 124.
[451] Nevzat Soguk, *States and Strangers: Refugees and Displacements of Statecraft* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 25.

Wei government's zoning policy which targeted them? What did Northern Wei natives perceive the zoning policy and southerners? How did such policy affect intergroup relations on a daily basis?

These questions are hard to answer because we have little evidence about intercommunal interaction. Two stories below, nonetheless, provide a rare opportunity to see the reactions of southern migrants and members of the receiving society. In the previous chapters, we have seen that the exiled Southern Qi prince, Xiao Baoyin, made the arduous trek north with an uncertain outcome. When he finally arrived in Luoyang in 502 CE and had an audience with Emperor Xuanwu, he was given a house in Guizheng ward, one of Four Foreigners' Wards to the south of Luoyang city. A year later he was ennobled as the Prince of Qi 齊王 and married the Grand Princess of Nanyang. On the surface, his life seemed to be back to normal. Nevertheless, according to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, Xiao Baoyin "felt humiliated at living (and also being classified) among barbarians,"[452] so he asked the princess to petition Emperor Xuanwu to allow them to move into the inner city where only imperial clansmen and high-ranking officials were allowed to live. The emperor agreed and gave Xiao Baoyin a house in the Yong'an 永安 ward.[453]

Luoyang qielan ji records another anecdote regarding Four Foreigners' Wards. During Emperor Xiaoming's early reign, Xun Ziwen 荀子文 (n.d.), scion of the old Xun family of Yingchuan 潁川荀氏, went to visit Pan Chonghe 潘崇和 (n.d.), who was lecturing on *Fushi chunqiu* 服氏春秋 (Mr. Fu Qian's Spring and Autumn Annals commentary) in the east side of the city at the time, and became his disciple. Perhaps being jealous of young Xun Ziwen's

[452] The Chinese is: 恥與夷人同列. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.115.

[453] The inner city of Luoyang consisted of a number of imperial palace complexes, government offices, monasteries, and several residential wards. Of these wards, there were two wards whose names starting with Yong 永, Yongkang 永康 and Yonghe 永和. Both of them were residential areas in which high officials, especially those of non-Han background and imperial clansmen lived; therefore, Yonghe, in which most high officials lived, was known as "Noble Ward (*guili* 貴里)." See *Luoyang qielan ji* 1.48. Although little is known about Yong'an ward, it may be as an affluent area as Yongkang and Yonghe wards.

intelligence, who was then only thirteen years old, Li Cai 李才 (n.d.), one of Pan Chonghe's students, ridiculed Xun Ziwen:

> "Where do you live, Mr. Xun?" (Xun) Ziwen replied, "I live in the Zhong-gan ward." "Why do you live south of the city?' asked Li Cai, teasing him because the Foreigners' Hostels [and Wards] were located south of the city.[454]

The two stories are illuminating, for both reflect southern migrants' and receiving community members' respective negative views of the foreigner's neighborhood. Some southerners like Xiao Baoyin were said to have been ashamed of living in such neighborhoods and were eager to move to other residential areas, living with Northern Wei natives.[455] This might be interpreted in different ways. One is that these southern migrants discriminated against other foreigners who were also assigned to live in the Four Foreigners' Hostels and Wards. This viewpoint has been widely accepted by historians, but if it is true, it is interesting, then, to think how southern migrants viewed the Northern Wei ruling group.[456] There is another interpretation, however, that cannot be excluded, namely, that these newcomers hoped to integrate into the Northern Wei society. They did not want to be ridiculed like Xun Ziwen and seen forever as outsiders.

This then raises the question as to how and why the host communities differentiated insider and outsider. As described in the previous chapter, the Northern Wei government

[454] The Chinese is: 趙郡李才問子文曰：「荀生住在何處？」子文對曰：「僕住在中甘里。」才曰：「何為住城南？」城南有四夷館，才以此譏之. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.125.

[455] Another example is Zhang Jingren 張景仁 (n.d.). He followed Xiao Baoyin when the latter fled to the Northern Wei, and was therefore bestowed a house in the Guizheng ward to the south of the city wall. Yet, according to the *Luoyang qielan ji*, "Zhang found living here so humiliating that he moved to the Xiaoyi 孝義 ward (in the eastern suburb)." See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.89.

[456] In the textual sources of the southern regimes, like the *Song shu*, the compilers usually use a civilization-centric term *lu* 虜 (caitiff) to refer to Xianbei people, such as *luzhu* 虜主 (chief of the caitiffs) and *beilu* 北虜 (northern caitiffs). One reference in the *Luoyang qielan ji* also mentions that southerners always thought that "everybody north of the Yangzi River is a barbarian." The Chinese is: 長江以北盡是夷狄. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.93.

generously rewarded the southern migrants who submitted willingly with noble titles, fiefs, high official posts, abundant gifts and, occasionally, imperial marriages. Nonetheless, the more powerful these southerners became, the more dangerous they appeared to be, at least in the eyes of the Northern Wei elites.

In a discussion of material culture of the Northern Wei dynasty, Albert Dien has pointed out that the Northern Wei ruling group consciously "wore distinctive clothing and in other ways maintained their individuality" and "avoid merging with the Chinese population" because "it was their membership in the ruling elite that brought the rewards and perquisites."[457]

We could push this argument further. Not only was there a tension between the ruling Xianbei group and their so-called Chinese subjects, there was also a tension between non-Xianbei elites in the north and southern migrants. By non-Xianbei elites I refer to those who hailed from northern elite families that could trace back their ancestry to as early as the Eastern Han dynasty. In order to effectively govern the newly occupied territory in northern China, Northern Wei emperors worked closely with these families. The northern elites hence had the emperor's affection, with its associated prestige and fortune. Yet, they found that the emperor's attention gradually shifted to their southern colleagues who either had prestigious family backgrounds like their own, or had received refined classical education, or both.[458] To the Northern Wei elites, this means that border crossers from the south, compared to other foreigners, such as nomadic Rouran people, who were considered to be essentially different,

[457] See Albert Dien, 2007, 284.
[458] Mark Edward Lewis 2009, 53. The tension between Northern Wei officials and their southern counterparts can be strongly felt in an episode in the *Nan Qi shu*. It states that Emperor Xiaowen always thought highly of Southern Qi envoys and always told his officials that, "there are many good officials in the south." His comment certainly hurt his officials' pride so greatly that an official once challenged him, saying that, "there are so many good officials in the south, but they changed their masters every year; there are no good officials in the north, yet there is only one master in one hundred years." The Chinese is: 江南多好臣, 歲一易主; 江北無好臣, 而百年一主. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.992.

had the greatest potential to become one of *us*, which created the potential for blurred boundaries.

Fearful of falling from power if they lost their membership, Northern Wei elites, whether or not of Xianbei descent, thus consciously drew firm lines between *us* and *them*,[459] *north* and *south*. To achieve this, they used mainly food and language, the two most distinct cultural differences in daily life, as boundary markers.[460]

1.1 Food

In the *Luoyang qielan ji*, the author Yang Xuanzhi provides several interesting anecdotes regarding how "food had become a significant marker between northern and southern cultures,"[461] which has been cited frequently and has often been used as a straightforward example of northerners' cultural prejudice toward southerners. This is primary because Yang Xuanzhi began his career in the late Northern Wei and served in a minor post at court, which lent his book credibility. Yet, the *Luoyang qielan ji* was written in the Eastern Wei dynasty, one of the successors of the Northern Wei. When he reportedly revisited Luoyang in 543 CE because of his official duty, the once glorious capital had laid in ruins for seven years, after the fall of the Northern Wei. Why, then, did he want to write such a book after the dynasty collapsed, not before? The author says that he compiled this record "out of fear that they [i.e., palaces, monasteries and people] might not be known to later generations,"[462] yet modern scholars argue that his motivation might have been to utilize examples of the Northern Wei to

[459] Albert Dien 1991, 55.
[460] Jonathan Felt has pointed out that people of the time usually used food as a marker of regional identity and he gives a detailed discussion in this respect by analyzing the *Wei shu*, *Song shu*, *Luoyang qielan ji* and *Yanshi jiaxun*. See Jonathan Felt, "Patterns of the Earth: Writing Geography in Early Medieval China" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2014), 214-268, particularly 238-245. I also suggest that food is used as boundary marker in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, but my interpretation differs from Felt's. See below for my discussion.
[461] Jonathan Felt 2014, 238.
[462] The Chinese is: 恐後世無傳. See *Luoyang qielan ji*, "preface," 25. Translation follows Wang Yi-t'ung 2014 (1984), 7.

criticize the politics of the Eastern Wei.[463] Moreover, the *Luoyang qielan ji* uses diverse sources, such as dynastic histories, Buddhist records, gossip, miracle tales, and poems, which were compiled with different authorial and editorial agendas. We hence need to bear in mind that stories in the *Luoyang qielan ji* cannot be taken at face value.

Taken together, I suggest perceiving the *Luoyang qielan ji* not as an eyewitness account to Northern Wei Luoyang but as a narrative by which the author presented his own version of Luoyang story by mixing textual records of the city and, more critically, what people remembered about Luoyang and its residents at the time Yang Xuanzhi compiled the book, including what some, if not many, northerners felt when encountering southerners. In reading the *Luoyang qielan ji* in this way, we should pay attention to what the author emphasizes in the text and what is not problematized.

Of all the southern border crossers mentioned in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, Wang Su is given great attention by the author. Such an arrangement should not surprise us since Wang Su was a scion of the prestigious Wang family of Langye in the south. Even though he was initially a political refugee in the north, Wang Su, with his talent and family background, soon rose high in the favor of Emperor Xiaowen. Furthermore, he himself, as well as his two daughters, intermarried with the Northern Wei imperial house.[464]

His success was in no way unusual at the time, for it was part of the Northern Wei state policy towards southern border crossers, but some northerners were jealous of this foreigner to the extent that a Northern Wei prince accused Wang Su of attempted defection.[465] Their dissatisfaction can be strongly felt from an anecdote on Wang Su in the *Luoyang qielan ji*. The anecdote consists of two parts, the first one is about Wang Su's two marriages before and

[463] William J. F. Jenner, *Memories of Loyang: Yang Hsüan-Chih and the Lost Capital (493-534)* (Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1981), 3-15 and Dorothy Wong, *Chinese Steles: Pre-Buddhist and Buddhist Use of a Symbolic Form* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 196, n.36.
[464] I will discuss Wang Su's family marriage ties with the Northern Wei imperial house in more detail below.
[465] See *Wei shu* 63.1410.

after his surrender to the Northern Wei,[466] and the second one, which is the focus of the following discussion, centers on a change in Wang Su's dietary habits.

It was said that, when Wang Su first came to the Northern Wei, he did not eat northern foods like mutton and *lojiang* 酪漿,[467] but continue to consume carp soup (*jiyu geng* 鯽魚羹) and tea that were characteristic of southern cuisine. Years later, however, at a palace banquet Wang Su was seen eating mutton and *lojiang* with ease. Surprised by Wang Su's change, Emperor Xiaowen asked Wang Su about differences between northern and southern foods. Wang Su's answer is "mutton is the best product of the land, while fish leads among seafood. Depending on one's preference, both are considered delicacies. In terms of taste there certainly is a difference between the superior and inferior. Mutton is comparable to such large states as Qi or Lu; fish such small states as Zhu[468] and Ju.[469] Only tea is incapable, so becomes the servant of *lo* 酪."[470]

Emperor Xiaowen was reportedly pleased by Wang Su's answer. But it did not please everyone. The Prince of Pengcheng 彭城王, Yuan Xie 元勰 (473-508 CE), seemed to have a different opinion from his brother, the emperor. He questioned Wang Su, "you do not esteem the large states of Qi and Lu, but prefer the small states of Zhu and Ju."[471] Wang Su admitted,

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[466] For his and other southern migrants' double marriage issue, see Chapter 4.

[467] *Lojiang* refers to a type of fermented milk product made of cow or ewe milk. See Miao Qiyu 繆啟愉, *Qimin yaoshu jiaoshi* 齊民要術校釋 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), 6.431-439 and H. T. Huang, *Science and Civilisation in China. Volume 6: Biology and Biological Technology. Part V: Fermentations and Food Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 250-254. David Knechtges translates *lo* as milk curd. See David R. Knechtges, "Gradually Entering the Realm of Delight: Food and Drink in Early Medieval China," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 117, no. 2 (1997): 229-39.

[468] Zhu 邾 was located south of Lu 魯 state. Its capital is present-day Zou county 鄒縣, Shandong province.

[469] Ju 莒 was located east of Lu State. Its capital is modern Ju county 莒縣, Shandong province.

[470] The Chinese is: 羊者是陸產之最, 魚者乃水族之長. 所好不同, 並各稱珍. 以味言之, 甚有優劣. 羊比齊魯大邦, 魚比邾莒小國. 唯茗不中, 與酪作奴. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.110. Translation modified from Wang Yi-tung 2014 (1984), 142. Both Wang Yi-tung and Felt translate *nu* 奴 as "slave," which is possible, yet I read *nu* as "servant" because Northern Wei officials, according to the *Song shu*, "refer to themselves as *nu* when talking to their master, as in the case of central kingdoms, people address themselves as servants." The Chinese is: 虜群下於其主稱奴, 猶中國稱臣也. See *Song shu* 74.1923. Also see Jonathan Felt 2014, 240.

[471] The Chinese is: 卿不重齊魯大邦, 而愛邾莒小國. See *Luoyang qielan ji*, 3.111.

"[it is because] one cannot help but like what is preferred in his native land."[472] The Prince of Pengcheng then invited Wang Su to his house the next day, and said that he will prepare "Zhu and Ju food" and "the servant of *lo*," which are fish and tea, Wang Su's favorite.

The story does not end here. It goes on to uncover what Prince of Pengcheng really thought about Wang Su and his favorite southern food. A court official called Liu Gao 劉縞 (n.d.) was said to "admire Wang Su's style"[473] so much that he immersed himself in learning how to drink tea. Upon hearing this, the Prince of Pengcheng ridiculed Liu Gao, saying that "You do not value the eight delicacies nobles eat, but favor the tea[474] [my] servants like. [It is like] the man by the sea who seek the foul smelling body odor [of a man][475] or the [ugly] woman [i.e., Dongshi 東施] within the ward who imitates the frown [of beautiful Xishi 西施]."[476] The *Luoyang qielan ji* tells us that the Prince of Pengcheng had in his household a slave from the south (*wunu* 吳奴),[477] so he made fun of Liu Gao as such. As a result, "from then on, at the banquets, high profile court aristocrats were all ashamed of taking tea,

[472] The Chinese is: 鄉曲所美, 不得不好. See *Luoyang qielan ji*, 3.111.

[473] The Chinese is: 慕肅之風. See *Luoyang qielan ji*, 3.111. I translate *feng* 風 as "style", not "custom" that Felt chose to use, for the protagonist of this story is Wang Su, and the reason why Liu Gao wanted to drink tea is out of his admiration for Wang Su, not because drinking tea is a popular southern custom. For Felt's explanation on his translation of *feng*, see Jonathan Felt 2014, 243, n.56.

[474] The original text uses *shuier* 水厄 (water peril) here, which indeed means drinking tea. It is an allusion to Wang Meng's 王濛 story. According to the *Shishuo xinyu*, "Wang Meng liked tea. As a rule he forced his visitors to drink it, which greatly troubled all literati. Each time one who wanted to visit with him would say: 'Today I will have water peril.'" The Chinese is: 司徒 (王濛) 好飲茶, 人至輒命飲之, 士大夫皆患之. 每欲候 (濛), 必云: '今日有水厄'. Translation modified from Wang Yi-tung 2014 (1984), 143, n.102.

[475] According to Wang Yi-tung, this alludes to "an anecdote about a man with offensive odor. None of his relatives, brothers, sisters, wife, or concubines could stand him, so he withdrew into the seas. There, however, some people who were particularly fond of his odor followed him day and night" in order to enjoy the smell. See *Lu shi chunqiu* 呂氏春秋 14.88. Translation modified from Wang Yi-tung 2014 (1984), 143, n.104.

[476] The Chinese is: 卿不慕王侯八珍, 好蒼頭水厄. 海上有逐臭之夫, 里內有學顰之婦. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.111.

[477] I translate *nu* 奴 here as "slave" because, as discussed in Chapter 2, there were many southerners who were either captured in battle or abducted. These displaced southerners were later bestowed or sold as slaves to Northern Wei nobles and officials.

although it was provided. Only those surviving refugees from the south, who came to surrender from afar, liked it."[478]

We do not know whether or not the conversations in this story actually occurred, nor can we ascertain if northerners were indeed shamed of drinking tea since. Yet, this story is an instructive example of how boundary work is physically performed in daily life.

Using food to mark regional differences between north and south had been taking place as early as the Three Kingdoms period. For example, Cao Pi, the founder of Cao-Wei dynasty, often made such comments as "the south produces longans and lychees; how can they compare with the grapes and rock honey of the western kingdoms? They are quite sour, and their taste is inferior even to that of the ordinary date of the Central Kingdom, not to mention Anyi's dates presented to the throne."[479] Cao Pi, as Tian Xiaofei has argued, intentionally extolled northern food while denigrating the products of the south in order to highlight the cultural superiority and political legitimacy of the Cao-Wei (Central Kingdom in his remark) over his rivals—the state of Sun-Wu in the southeast and the state of Shu-Han in the southwest. Simply put, he made an evaluation in terms of not only food, but also of culture and politics.

In the following centuries, there are many similar examples in transmitted texts ranging from dynastic histories, poems, to tales. Yet, in many of these stories, *lo* became the representative of northern food and southerners often faced jeers and insults because they were not accustomed to *lo*. For example, *Xiaolin* 笑林 (The Forest of Laughs), a collection of

[478] The Chinese is: 自此朝貴讌會雖設茗飲, 皆恥不復食. 唯江表殘民遠來降者好之. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.111. Translation modified from Wang Yi-tung 2014 (1984), 144.
[479] The Chinese is: 南方有龍眼荔枝, 寧比西國蒲萄石蜜乎? 酢, 且不如中國凡棗味, 莫言安邑御棗也. This alludes to one of Cao Pi's edict "Zhao qunchen" 詔群臣. See *Yiwen leiju* 87.1486. Translation follows Tian Xiaofei, "Material and Symbolic Economies: Letters and Gifts in Early Medieval China," in *A History of Chinese Letters and Epistolary Culture*, ed. Antje Richter (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 168. Anyi was located in modern Yuncheng 運城 city, Shanxi province.

jokes purportedly written by Handan Chun 邯鄲淳 (ca.130-ca.225 CE), who served at the Cao-Wei court, recounts the following story:

> A man of Wu went to the capital [Luoyang] and was given a meal which included *losu* 酪蘇.[480] He did not know what it was, but he forced [himself] to eat it. After returning home, he vomited and after that felt completely exhausted. He said to his son: "I do not regret to die with the northerner (*cangren* 傖人), but you must be careful about it."[481]

An anecdote in the *Shishuo xinyu*, which conventionally attributed to Liu Yiqing of the Liu-Song period, also says:

> Defender-in-chief Lu [Wan 陸玩 (278-342 CE)] once went to visit Counselor-in-chief Wang [Dao], who treated him with some *lo*. After Lu had returned home he soon got sick. The following morning, he wrote Wang a note, saying "Yesterday I ate a little too much *lo* and [hence] was uncomfortable all night. Though I'm a native of Wu, I nearly became a northern ghost (*canggui* 傖鬼)!"[482]

Both anecdotes are short and highlight the reaction of southerners, but each from the northern and southern perspective respectively.[483] One of the protagonists of the first story is

[480] *Su* 蘇 could be an variant of *su* 酥. In her study on *Xiaolin*, Giulia Baccini translates *losu* as butter milk, while Richard Mather translates it as curd. See Giulia Baccini, "The Forest of Laughs (*Xiaolin*): Mapping the Offspring of Self-Aware Literature in Ancient China" (PhD diss., Università Ca' Foscari Venezia, 2011), 177, n.740 and Richard Mather, trans., *A New Account of Tales of the World* (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), 439.

[481] The Chinese is: 吳人至京師, 為設食者有酪蘇, 未知是何物也, 強而食之. 歸吐, 遂至困頓, 謂其子曰: "與傖人同死, 亦無所恨; 然汝故宜慎之." Translation modified from Giulia Baccini 2011, 177.

[482] The Chinese is: 陸太尉詣王丞相, 王公食以酪. 陸還, 遂病. 明日與王箋云: "昨食酪小過, 通夜委頓. 民雖吳人, 幾為傖鬼. See *Shishuo xinyu* 25/10. 790–91. Translation modified from Richard Mather 2002, 439. Note that *cang* 傖 was a derogatory term used to call northerners, which literally means boor.

generically identified by the name of his place of origin while the other is nameless. Readers therefore lacked a proper context to understand the author's actual intention except that he touted southerner parochial ignorance as entertaining. As to the second story, the identity of the two protagonists is obvious: Lu Wan was an official from one of the most prominent southern families, and Wang Dao was a northern émigré and right-hand man of the Eastern Jin founder. Considering their family background and the tension between northern émigré and native southerners in the early years of the Eastern Jin dynasty, food provided more than a symbol of regional culture, but a metaphor for immigrants' inability to integrate (Wang Dao still consumed northern *lo* after he fled to the south!) that had created "discomfort" among local communities in the south.

Compared to above examples, the *Luoyang qielan ji* compiled in the sixth century by an northern official provides a much longer paragraph to elaborate what northerners, and perhaps the author too, understood to be the regional differences between north and south, and why, in some occasions, they brought such distinctions to the fore.

In the *Luoyang qielan ji*, Wang Su, a southerner who crossed the border to the Northern Wei, changed his dietary habits from only taking southern food in the beginning to consuming both northern and southern cuisine, which manifests his willingness to integrate into the new society and culture. However, it was in fact this mobility and adaptability that rendered him, and other southerners like him, so dangerous, because Wang Su first traversed the interstate boundary and then blurred the intergroup boundary. Moreover, Wang Su, Emperor Xiaowen's favorite official, wielded such great political influence that Liu Gao, a

[483] One more example is Lu Ji 陸機 (261-303 CE). A famous literati of the former Sun-Wu state, Lu Ji went with his brother to the Western Jin court after Sun-Wu was conquered. According to his biography in the *Jin shu*, when Lu Ji visited Wang Ji 王濟 (n.d.), a leading Western Jin court official, the latter pointed to goat *lo* before him and asked, "What do you have in the Southlands to match this?" Lu Ji responded, "Soup made by watershield in *Qianli* lake, without salted beans added." The Chinese is: 嘗詣侍中王濟, 濟指羊酪謂機曰: 「卿吳中何以敵此？」答云：「千里蓴羹, 未下鹽豉。」. See *Jin shu* 54.1472.

northerner, imitated his style, including drinking tea, which crossed the group boundary between northerners and southerners.[484]

Fear of being absorbed by the other and henceforth losing their exclusive memberships and privileges, the Prince of Pengcheng, as defender of the Xianbei people and even all northerners as a whole, took action to redraw the group boundary between northerners and southerners. He did not refuse to offer southern cuisine to his southern guests, but made sure that northerners only took northern cuisine and that southerners only ate southern food. To him, the intergroup boundary must be hard and closed.

The logic behind the Prince of Pengcheng's statement and the whole story was "you are what you eat." This old adage used to refer to the relationship between food and the temperament of people. But it has another meaning too, namely, the connection between food and group identity.

As Steven Shapin notes, "European colonists were anxious about the possible effects of exposure to an exotic environment, and especially to an exotic diet, on their own constitutions. What would happen to them in the East or West Indies if they lived and ate as the natives did? Would their constitutions change, and if so, in what ways? Who would they and their descendants then be?"[485] Here the colonists seemed to care merely about personal health, yet their true concern, Shapin points out, is that "eating local foodstuffs would transform it [i.e., the colonial body] into the flawed native body."[486]

In other words, the colonists were afraid that mingling with natives would threaten their group membership and the right to rule the natives. For this reason, the colonists took great care to maintain dietary and then constitutional difference between them and the colonized. It

[484] Not only Liu Gao, many northerners were also said to purchase fish at the Four Directions Market, amid the foreign quarters in the southern suburb of Luoyang. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.117.
[485] Steven Shapin, "You Are What You Eat: Historical Changes in Ideas About Food and Identity," *Historical Research* 87.237 (2014): 383-384.
[486] Steven Shapin 2014, 384.

is clear that the crisis of group boundary was shown through the metaphor of food, as in the case of Wang Su and the Prince of Pengcheng in the *Luoyang qielan ji*.

1.2 Language

In our sources, language, compared to food, is a less obvious yet still critical boundary marker. When southern migrants went to the north, they would encounter language barriers in some ways, among which the most prominent was Xianbei language.[487] Linguistic heterogeneity within the multi-culture and multi-ethnic Northern Wei society is beyond doubt, but it may have been so quotidian that it was not regarded as worthy of mention in the records of contemporary sources. Nevertheless, some details of the use of Xianbei language can be gleaned from textual materials, particularly dynastic histories.[488]

We are told that, at the time of the conquest of most of North China in the middle of the fifth century, the Northern Wei founding emperor used only the Xianbei language to command his army.[489] The Xianbei people spoke their native language at court, and Northern Wei official titles were largely pronounced in Xianbei.[490] Expertise in the Xianbei language was also encouraged by the government in opening a path to advancement for the talented

[487] For detailed discussions of Xianbei language during the Northern Wei dynasty, see Peter A. Boodberg 1936, 167-85; Miao Yue 繆鉞, "Beichao zhi Xianbei yu 北朝之鮮卑語," in *Dushi cungao* 讀史存稿 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1962), 53-77; Kawamoto Yoshiaki 川本芳昭, "鮮卑の文字について―漢唐間における中華意識の叢生と関連して," in *Higashiajia kodai ni okeru shominzoku to kokka* 東アジア古代における諸民族と国家 (Tōkyō: Kyūko Shoin, 2015).

[488] Epigraphic evidence also preserves much valuable information on the Xianbei language. The most famous one from this period is *Bei Wei Wenchengdi nanxun bei* 北魏文成帝南巡碑 (Stele of Northern Wei Emperor Wencheng's Southern Inspection Tour), which records nearly three hundred Xianbei official titles. For the archaeological report of the stele, see Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo 山西省考古研究所 and Lingqiu xian wenwuju 靈丘縣文物局, "Shanxi Lingqiu Bei Wei Wenchengdi nanxun bei 山西靈丘北魏文成帝《南巡碑》," *Wenwu* 12 (1997): 70-79.

[489] The Chinese is: 初定中原, 軍容號令, 皆以夷語. See *Sui shu* 32.947.

[490] Many Xianbei official titles are still known to us, some of them are transcribed in Chinese and preserved in the *Nan Qi shu*. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.985.

non-Xianbei people.[491] All of this suggests that the Xianbei language was the dominant language of power in the early years of the Northern Wei period.

Yet, many Northern Wei court officials, although their numbers are unclear, were Sinitic speakers and may not be capable of speaking the Xianbei language. The need for communication prompted the Northern Wei government to establish translation officials from the beginning, such as the Interpreter-Sectary (*Yilingshi* 譯令史) in the Department of State Affairs.[492] A southern source written in the early sixth century, too, notes that "the (Northern Wei) government has storehouses, and each have corresponding officials, all of them are made to be fluent in the Xianbei language and Chinese, for use in the postal relay system."[493] In addition, some people called *Qiwanzhen* 乞萬真, a Xianbei term for "interpreter," also worked for the Northern Wei government.[494]

Xianbei people and their non-Xianbei people may have had difficulty understanding each other in their daily interactions. Many, if not most, of the Xianbei people kept their multi-syllable Xianbei surnames and given names,[495] and purportedly spoke only the Xianbei

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[491] According to the *Wei shu*, a non-Xianbei man called Chao Yi 晁懿 (n.d.) was promoted to the post of Palace Attendant Serving within the Yellow Gate (*Huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎), which was mainly in charge of the imperial edicts, because he mastered the language of the Northern Wei ruling group. This indicates that not every non-Xianbei man of the time was capable of speaking the Xianbei language.

[492] For example, in 401 CE, Emperor Daowu reestablished thirty-six sections of the Department of State Affairs. Each section was assigned with one Interpreter-Sectary along with one Sectary (*Lingshi* 令史) served by a Xianbei man (*Dairen* 代人) and two Scribe-Sectaries (*Shulingshi* 書令史). The Chinese is: 十二月, 復尚書三十六曹, 曹置代人令史一人, 譯令史一人, 書令史二人. See *Wei shu* 113.2973.

[493] The Chinese is: 諸曹府有倉庫, 悉置比官, 皆使通虜漢語, 以為傳驛. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.985. Translation modified from Andrew Eric. Shimunek, "The Serbi-Mongolic Language Family: Old Chinese, Middle Chinese, Old Mandarin, and Old Tibetan Records on the Hsien-Pei (Xianbei) Languages and Their Relationship to Mongolic, with Notes on Chinese and Old Tibetan Phonology" (PhD diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, 2013), 142. Note that *yi* 驛 may be a variant of *yi* 譯 (translate). If so, the translation of "*yiwei chuanyi*" 以為傳驛 would be "in order to provide translation services."

[494] The Chinese is: 通事人為乞萬真. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.985. For more on interpreters in the Northern Wei dynasty see Zheng Qinren 鄭欽仁, "Yiren yu guanliao jigou: Bei Wei zhengzhi zhidushi yanjiu de qianti zhi yi 譯人與官僚機構：北魏政治制度史研究的前提之一," in *Bei Wei guanliao jigou yanjiu xupian* 北魏官僚機構研究續篇 (Taipei: Daohe chubanshe, 1995), 215-44.

[495] *Wei shu* and southern histories preserved many Northern Wei people' original Xianbei names, although they used Chinese characters to represent the sounds of these names. One such example is Emperor Taiwu. His surname is Tuoba or Tabgach in its original Altaic form, and his child name is *foli* 佛貍, which Albert Dien suggests "ancient Chinese pronunciation pjuet-lji, a transcription of Turkish *buri* (wolf)." See Albert Dien 2014, 59, n.58. Also see *Song shu* 95.2330. But during Emperor Xiaowen's reign, the royal surname of Tuoba was

language.[496] This situation did not change even after the Northern Wei court relocated its capital to Luoyang in the late fifth century. Thus, Emperor Xiaowen had to order a Xianbei official to translate the gist of the *Classic of Filial Piety* into the Xianbei language to instruct the Xianbei people.[497] The same Xianbei official, according to the *Sui shu*, also compiled two glossaries of names of objects in the Xianbei language,[498] which may have been intended to help his people adapt to the new environment.

Some southerners may have learned some Xianbei words after living in the north for years, such as the exiled Liu-Song prince Liu Chang who was said to use the Xianbei language and his own native language to scold his servants.[499] Yet, if a southern migrant wanted to enter into Northern Wei officialdom, he would either need to excel in the Xianbei language or depend on interpreters to communicate with his Xianbei colleagues who were unable or unwilling[500] to speak the local languages used in either Pingcheng or Luoyang.

Notwithstanding communication problems between Xianbei and non-Xianbei people, none of Northern Wei rulers required his non-Xianbei subjects to learn the Xianbei language. It was not until Emperor Xiaowen's decree in 495 CE that the Northern Wei government finally tackled the language issue. But, what Emperor Xiaowen did was to ban the speaking of the Xianbei language at imperial court.

A lot of Xianbei nobles opposed this new policy, even a non-Xianbei official tried to persuade Emperor Xiaowen that " the language the emperor uses is the correct one, so why

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reduced to a single-character family name Yuan 元 (lit. beginning; first). For a discussion on the Xianbei personal and family names, see Jennifer Holmgren 1982, 11-14.

[496] See *Sui shu* 32.935. Also see David Graff 2002, 97.

[497] The Chinese is: 魏氏遷洛, 未達華語, 孝文帝命侯伏侯可悉陵, 以夷言譯孝經之旨, 教於國人, 謂之國語孝經. See *Sui shu* 32.935. Given the limited information available it is difficult to ascertain whether the Northern Wei official in this reference used the Xianbei script to translate *Classics of Filial Piety* or used the Chinese script to write the Xianbei language.

[498] The titles of the books are *Guoyu wuming* 國語物名 (Names of Objects in National Language) and *Guoyu zawuming* 國語雜物名 (Names of Various Objects in National Language). See *Sui shu* 32.945.

[499] The Chinese is: 呵詈童僕, 音雜夷夏. See *Wei shu* 59.1308.

[500] For example, Prince of Dongyang 東陽王 Yuan Pi 元丕 (422-503 CE) strongly opposed Emperor Xiaowen's edict in 495 CE on banning the usage of Xianbei language at imperial court. See *Wei shu* 14.360.

do we need to change the old customs and follow new ones?"[501] But Emperor Xiaowen insisted that court officials under the age of thirty must learn *Zhengyin* 正音 (lit. correct/standard pronunciation),[502] in opposition to the Xianbei language; moreover, anyone who disobeyed the order would be deprived of official post, his noble rank would be demoted too.[503] *Zhengyin,* in this context, refers to the Luoyang language. Luoyang served as capital for three imperial dynasties, including the Eastern Han, Cao-Wei, and Western Jin, and hence the vernacular spoken in Luoyang was thought to be the standard language and the language of high culture during the time period under study. Seen in this light, Emperor Xiaowen's new language policy clearly aimed to not merely efface the language barrier, but also enhance the legitimacy of the Northern Wei.

Emperor Xiaowen's edict, as Charles Holcombe notes, "could not possibly have transformed the linguistic situation overnight."[504] And his decree only forbade the Xianbei language from all state communication. Yet, the fact that Xianbei language was not the administrative language anymore meant that fewer and fewer non-Xianbei people had any motivation to learn and speak the Xianbei language.[505] And the Xianbei people who were outnumbered by their neighbors were inevitably influenced by local customs in Luoyang, so that many of them gradually lost their mother tongue.[506]

Apart from the linguistic distinctions between Xianbei and non-Xianbei people, language differences also existed between northerners who resided in the area of the Yellow River

[501] The Chinese is: 帝者言之, 即為正矣, 何必改舊從新. See *Wei shu* 21a. 536.
[502] Emperor Xiaowen believed that it is difficult for people over thirty years of age to change their old habits immediately. The Chinese is: 年三十以上, 習性已久, 容或不可卒革. See *Wei shu* 21a.536.
[503] *Wei shu* 21a. 536. Also see *Wei shu* 7c.177.
[504] See Charles Holcombe, "The Xianbei in Chinese History," *Early Medieval China* 19 (2013), 27.
[505] It was not until the Northern Qi that the Xianbei regained their power. During the Northern Qi dynasty, almost all state communication used the Xianbei language. For this reason, according to Yan Zhitui, many non-Xianbei people encouraged their children to learn the Xianbei language in order to increase their opportunity to work at the imperial court. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 2.21. In addition, beginning around 549 CE, the old Xianbei surnames were restored in an official policy under the Western Wei dynasty built by a Xianbei leader Yuwen Tai. Xianbei surnames were even bestowed to the selected non-Xianbei people. See Charles Holcombe 2001, 140.
[506] The Chinese is: 後染華俗, 多不能通. See *Sui shu* 32.947.

basin and southerners who lived to the south of the Yangzi River, and even within northern and southern tongues. As Andrew Chittick notes, southern languages included at least elite vernacular at the capital of Jiankang,[507] the local speech of the Wu,[508] and other languages of the far south[509] that differ from each other.[510] Some people may be bilingual or polylingual, but most southerners were likely monolingual and were therefore unable to understand their compatriots from other parts of the country.

Regardless of this complex linguistic situation on the ground, northern authors of this time period, as Andrew Chittick observes, tended to reduce the diversity into a simple north-south dichotomy.[511] They highlighted such binary more frequently than the dissimilarity between the Xianbei language and others, and often praised the northern language, while disparaging the southern tongue. In one anecdote in the *Luoyang qielan ji*, a Northern Wei official denounced a Liang general's argument that only the Liang dynasty held political legitimacy by claiming that "although Qin remnants and Han convicts who spoke the language of the Central Plains were sent to the south, they could not change the difficult languages of Min and Chu."[512] The author of the *Wei Shu* also commented in the biography of Sima Rui, the founding emperor of the Eastern Jin, that "the officials of the Central Plains

[507] Jiankang elite vernacular was believed to preserve the pronunciation and vocabularies of the Western Jin capital of Luoyang, which were transplanted by northern émigré families who migrated south in the early fourth century in order to escape war in Luoyang. With the passage of time, it inevitably underwent some changes. Therefore, Xie An 謝安 (320-385 CE), a leading statesman in the late Eastern Jin, was praised and emulated by his contemporaries, for he could chant poems using Luoyang pronunciation. See *Jin shu* 79.2077.

[508] The Wu language, which was referred in our sources as *Wuyin* 吳音 (Wu sound) or *Wuyu* 吳語 (Wu language), was native language widely used not merely by the indigenous population in the south but also among northern émigré. Chen Yinke notes that there is a hierarchy between Jiankang elite vernacular and Wu language, for the former is used mainly by elites and the latter common folks; therefore the local Wu people consciously chose not to use the Wu language at court and in social life. See Chen Yinke 陳寅恪, "Dong Jin Nanchao zhi Wuyu 東晉南朝之吳語," *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 7.1 (1936): 1-4.

[509] These languages may include but not limited to languages of "Ba, Shu, Man, Liao, Xi, Li, Chu, and Yue [peoples]." The Chinese is: 巴、蜀、蠻、獠、谿、俚、楚、越. See *Wei shu* 96.2093.

[510] Andrew Chittick, "Vernacular Languages in the Medieval Jiankang Empire," *Sino-Platonic Papers* 250 (2014), 1-25. For more on languages used in the southern land of the time, see Richard B. Mather, "A Note on the Dialects of Loyang and Nanking During the Six Dynasties," in *Wen Lin: Studies in the Chinese Humanities*, ed. Chow Tse-tsung 周策縱 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 247-56.

[511] Andrew Chittick 2014, 8.

[512] The Chinese is: 雖復秦餘漢罪，雜以華音，復閩楚難言，不可改變. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.91.

exclaim that Jiangdong people (i.e., the southerners) are all acting like badgers"[513] and southern languages sounds like birds, unintelligible and dissimilar to northern tongues.[514]

Southern texts, similarly, underline contrasts between northern and southern languages, but are less polemic than their northern counterparts. The *Liang shu* reports on three northern scholars who traveled to the south to teach: "At that time among Confucian scholars who had come from the north there was Cui Ling'en 崔靈恩 (n.d.), Sun Xiang 孫詳 (n.d.), and Jiang Xian 蔣顯 (n.d.); they all assembled disciples and gave lectures, but their enunciation and phrases were vulgar and turbid;[515] only [Lu] Guang's 盧廣 (n.d.) speech and arguments were clear and elegant, not like a northerner"[516] The differences between northern and southern tongues seemed to be a matter of pronunciation and word choice. Could they be serious enough to erect language barriers between the northern masters and their southern students? Very likely. According to a southern official, Sun Xiang and Jiang Xian "mixed the northern and southern languages, so no pupils came to [their lectures]."[517] Yet, it is also plausible that the southern official exaggerated both men's northern accents in order to, as is clear from the latter part of the story, recommend his countryman for the position of Academician of the Five Classics (*Wujing boshi* 五經博士).

In his *Family Instructions*, Yan Zhitui, like other writers before him, compared regional differences in languages, but from a relatively impartial perspective in the sense that northern

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[513] The Chinese is: 中原冠帶呼江東之人, 皆為貉子. See *Wei shu* 96.2093.
[514] The Chinese is: 鳥聲禽呼, 言語不同. See *Wei shu* 96.2093.
[515] "Turbid" probably means that the northern languages of the time contained many voiced consonants. Two examples can help us get a sense of what "turbid" voice sounded like at the time. According to the *Jin shu*, Xie An caught a nasal congestion which made his voice heavy and turbid. But his contemporaries admired him so greatly that emulated his singing style by pinching their noses. The Chinese is: 安本能為洛下書生詠, 有鼻疾, 故其音濁, 名流愛其詠而弗能及, 或手掩鼻以斅之. On another occasion, reported in the *Shishuo xinyu*: "Someone asked Gu Changkang, 'why don't you ever chant poems in the style of the scholars of Luoyang?' Gu replied, 'Why should I make a noise like an old serving-maid?'" The Chinese is: 人問顧長康: 何以不作洛生詠？答曰, 何至作老婢聲? Changkang is courtesy name (*zi* 字) of the famous Eastern Jin artist Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (d.ca. 410 CE). See *Shishuo xinyu* 26.
[516] The Chinese is: 時北來人, 儒學者有崔靈恩、孫詳、蔣顯, 並聚徒講說, 而音辭鄙濁; 惟廣言論清雅, 不類北人. See *Liang shu* 48.678. Translation modified from Andrew Chittick 2014, 9.
[517] The Chinese is: 北人孫詳、蔣顯…音革楚、夏，故學徒不至. See *Liang shu* 48.679.

and southern tongues, to him, both have their strengths and limitations: "The southern environment is mild and agreeable, so the sounds [of southerners] are clear, high, and hasty. Yet, their shortcoming is that they are shallow and words are mostly vulgar. By comparison, northern topography is deep and solid, so the voices of northerners are sonorous and turbid. [Northern tongues'] advantage is unadorned [and their] expression is full of ancient phrases… Southern [language] is influenced by [the languages of] Wu and Yue, while the northern one is mixed with [the languages of] barbarians and caitiffs. Both have their deep-rooted defects which are too numerous to be fully discussed."[518]

Yan Zhitui's relatively neutral stance on the evaluation of regional customs might be, as Jonathan Felt suggests, related to his personal experience.[519] Yan Zhitui, was himself a descendant of an old northern émigré family in Jiankang, which was removed to the north after the Western Wei defeated the Liang dynasty in 554 CE. Since then he travelled from one northern regime to another, staying first in the Northern Qi until 577 CE, and then in the Northern Zhou and Sui until he died of illness around 591 CE.[520] With his extensive travel experience and direct observation, Yan Zhitui was thus interested in details of regional differences, no matter how minor they were, and was legitimately able to correct errors in other works. He believed that only correct and broad knowledge laid a solid foundation for good education,[521] which was the only thing people, especially Yan Zhitui's descendants, could rely on and thereby maintain their status in response to changing political circumstance.[522]

[518] The Chinese is: 南方水土和柔, 其音清舉而切詣, 失在浮淺, 其辭多鄙俗. 北方山川深厚, 其音沈濁而鈋鈍, 得其質直, 其辭多古語… 南染吳越, 北雜夷虜, 皆有深弊, 不可具論. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 18.529. Translation modified from Teng Ssu-yü 1968, 189.
[519] Jonathan Felt 2014, 252.
[520] For the biography of Yan Zhitui, see *Bei Qi shu* 45, 617-626. For a full English translation of Yan Zhitui's biography, see Albert E. Dien, *Pei Ch'ishu 45: Biography of Yen Chih-T'ui* (Bern: Herbert Lang, 1976).
[521] See *Yanshi jiaxun* 3.222.
[522] See *Yanshi jiaxun* 3.148.

From the above discussion, we can conclude that language was a medium of communication and also a means of integration: to Emperor Xiaowen, it was an important strategy to strengthen relations between his Xianbei and non-Xianbei subjects and further enhance the legitimacy of the Northern Wei dynasty. For this reason, he broke down the linguistic boundary. To southern migrants, mastering the language of the host society was an expression of integration and a route to advancement even though little is known about how many southerners at the time were able to speak the Xianbei language. Such transgression of linguistic boundaries, nonetheless, was threatening in the eyes of the privileged, the Xianbei nobles and northern elites alike. They hence demanded differentiation, in order to identify themselves and others.[523] They emphasized language differences between north and south, and some of them refused to speak any languages other than their own. In this way, I suggest, language choice also acted as a symbol of resistance to assimilation.[524]

"Did language help in fostering or creating a migrant group identity?"[525] It is a difficult question to answer. Southern migrants may have used their native languages at home and informal gatherings with other southerners. Also, since the Northern Wei government created an enclave for them, some migrants may have only spoken their native languages despite living in the heart of the Northern Wei. But, to what extent they recognized people speaking the same languages as members of the same group remains problematic.

2. From Outsider to Insider

[523] Rogers Brubaker 2015, 5.
[524] One example is the aforementioned Prince of Dongyang Yuan Pi. Additionally, Ruanruan Princess 蠕蠕公主 (fl.545 CE), daughter of Rouran ruler Anagui, reportedly "refused to speak *Hua* language for life" after she was brought from her northern steppe lands to marry Northern Qi founding emperor Gao Huan. The Chinese is: 一生不肯華言. *Hua* language here may refer to the language used in northern China, particularly the Luoyang dialect. See *Bei shi* 14.518.
[525] Laurens Tacoma 2016, 215.

In the north, southern migrants took divergent routes. Some of them first served in high posts under the Northern Wei court but their descendants sunk into historical obscurity; some endured poverty in the beginning yet later managed to achieve positions of political prominence in the northern government, and their families were able to maintain national prestige over generations. What explains their different fates? Holding central government office was certainly an important factor for upward advancement, even to cross-border migrants with distinguished family background in the south; yet, office holding could not guarantee the future of one's family. It was even more so for southern migrants whose political and familial ties to the south had been mostly cut off. The newcomers needed to develop and employ all of the strategies in order to overcome potential challenges and eventually achieve success. Of such strategies, marriage alliances, connections to local society, and migrant networks deserve special attention.

2.1 Marriage Alliances

Relatives by marriage played crucial roles in the survival of southern migrants. They could provide cloth, food, or money to migrants upon migrants' arrival in the Northern Wei. One example is the eminent Northern Wei scholar Gao Yun 高允 (390-487 CE) who was said to "disperse money and exhaust fortune to provide support"[526] to many forced migrants from Qing and Qi provinces in 469 CE, who were members of his marriage networks (*yingou* 姻媾).[527] Cui Xiu 崔休 (472-523 CE), son of a Southern Qi border crosser, also received

[526] The Chinese is: 散財竭產, 以相贍賑. See *Wei shu* 48.1089

[527] He was Director of the Secretariat (*Zhongshu ling* 中書令) during Emperor Xianwen's reign. For his biography, see *Wei shu* 48.1067-1089.

financial support from his elder sister's father-in-law who greatly admired Cui Xiu's talent and reputation.[528]

Such marital networks could expand very widely. Lu Dushi 盧度世 (419-471 CE), for instance, was admired by contemporaries, for he took great care of two forced migrants from Shengcheng 升城 (west of Changqing 長清, Shandong province) in 468 CE. One of them, Lady Jia 賈氏, was his aunt's daughter, and the other, Lady Fu 傅氏, was his maternal step-grandmother's brother's daughter-in-law. Despite their distant kinship, Lu Dushi still served Lady Fu as though his own mother. "When he made visits, he kneeled and asked after her; moreover, he oftentimes sent Lady Fu cloth, blankets, and food"[529] to help her get through the hardships of her early years of relocation.

In addition to material assistance, affinal kin could be critical political patrons for southern migrants, particularly during the Pingcheng period, when many if not most northerners claimed that, "southerners should not be entrusted with military duties."[530] In such a context, southern migrants needed to rely upon their northern kinsmen to gain office and promotion.[531] For example, among the aforementioned forced migrants helped by Gao Yun, many were also recommended by him to the Northern Wei emperor. Although critics argued that the newly submitted could not be trusted, Gao Yun insisted that the government should select talents and appoint capable men, instead of restraining and ignoring them simply because of where they were from.[532]

Jiang Shaoyou 蔣少遊 (d.501 CE) was one of those who benefited from Gao Yun's patronage. He was despised by northerners of the time, for he came from a less well-known

[528] See *Wei shu* 69.1525.
[529] The Chinese is: 每覲見傅氏, 跪問起居, 隨時奉送衣被食物. See *Wei shu* 47.1062.
[530] The Chinese is: 南人不宜委以師旅之任. See *Wei shu* 38.875.
[531] Recommendation was the major way to access to office dring the Northern Wei dynasty (see further discussions below). See Yu Lunian 俞鹿年, *Bei Wei zhiguan zhidu kao* 北魏職官制度考 (Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe, 2008), 369-373.
[532] The Chinese is: 時議者皆以新附致異, 允謂取材任能, 無宜抑屈. See *Wei shu* 48.1089.

family in Qing province, and because he was famous early in his career for his skills in painting and crafts, which were looked down upon by the elites who extolled the study of the classics. Fortunately, Gao Yun often praised Jiang Shaoyou's talent in front of the emperor. Moreover, Jiang Shaoyou secured a patron in Li Chong 李沖 (450-498 CE), Emperor Xiaowen's favorite official, because his uncle Cui Guang 崔光 (451-523 CE) married Li Chong's second cousin. Emperor Xiaowen therefore appointed Jiang Shaoyou chief architect of Pingcheng and Luoyang palaces.[533]

These examples demonstrate the importance of affinal kin in supporting southern migrants when they just arrived in the north, but fail to explain why some border crosser families prospered while others did not. To answer this question, we need to take a closer look at two cases: Wang Huilong and Wang Su. Both were from esteemed southern aristocratic families, yet their different choices of marriage partners after joining the Northern Wei played a decisive role in the future of their northern families.

Wang Huilong, as discussed in Chapter 1, was descendant of the Taiyuan Wang family. Nevertheless, his eminent family background brought neither fame nor opportunities to access to office in his early years in the Northern Wei; instead, many if not most northerners thought his claim to descent from the Taiyuan Wangs was dubious. Even worse, a southerner whose father supported Wang Huilong's flight to the north asserted that Wang Huilong was in fact a servant, not offspring, of Wang Yu, whom Wang Huilong claimed as his grandfather.[534] In an era when distinguished ancestry and illustrious pedigree were glorified, Wang Huilong, with his suspicious pedigree, very likely would have had no chance for advancement had he not gain the help from Cui Hao 崔浩 (d.450 CE), the most influential official during Emperor Taiwu's reign.

[533] See *Wei shu* 91.1971.
[534] This anecdote was mentioned only in the *Wei shu*, but was omitted in the biography of Wang Huilong in the *Bei shi*. For Wang Huilong's biography in the *Bei shi*, see *Bei shi* 35.1287-1290.

Their relations began with Wang Huilong's marriage to Cui Hao's niece. Following this, Cui Hao was very supportive of Wang Huilong's career. Even after Wang Huilong's genealogy scandal, Cui Hao was still on Wang Huilong's side for the sake of his niece. For example, because of the rumor, Wang Huilong held only a minor position over years. He was only promoted to the post of Commandant of the Southern *Man* (*Nanman xiaowei* 南蠻校尉) after Cui Hao found an opportunity to appeal to the throne.[535]

Cui Hao also took seriously the task of finding Wang Huilong's children spouses. He first arranged a marriage for Wang Huilong's only son to his granddaughter, a Fanyang Lu 范陽盧氏 by birth,[536] and, Wang Huilong's only daughter was married to Li Cheng 李承 (431-475 CE).[537] Both marriage partners were not selected randomly. The Fanyang Lu family had been one of clans of the top rank (*jiazu* 甲族) from the Northern Wei through the Tang dynasty.[538] Li Cheng, grandson of the Western Liang 西涼 king Li Gao 李暠 (r.400-417 CE), was a Northern Wei official esteemed by Emperor Taiwu and hence laid a solid foundation, along with his famous younger brother Li Chong, for his family—the Longxi Li family.[539]

Through marriage alliances with northern eminent families, Wang Huilong's family was able to strengthen its own position in Northern Wei society. And, by choosing marriage partners wisely, the Taiyuan Wangs showed that they valued their membership in this

[535] See *Wei shu* 38.876.
[536] The bride here was actually daughter of Cui Hao's daughter and Lu Xia 盧遐 (n.d.).
[537] This is recorded in the epitaph of Li Cheng's son Li Rui 李蕤 (464-505 CE). For the epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 48. For the biography of Li Cheng see *Wei shu* 39.886-887. Given that Wang Huilong died in 440 CE and Li Cheng went to Pingcheng from today's Dunhunag in 442 CE, the marriage of Wang Huilong's daughter was very likely to be arranged by Cui Hao who died in 450 CE.
[538] See Chen Shuang 陳爽, "Sixing bianyi: Beichao menfa tizhi de queli guocheng ji qi lishi yiyi 四姓辨疑：北朝門閥體制的確立過程及其歷史意義," in *Shijia dazu yu Beichao zhengzhi* 世家大族與北朝政治 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1998), particular Chapter 3.
[539] Even the royal house of the Tang dynasty claimed descent from the Longxi Li family. See Chen Yinke 1999, 153-165.

exclusive social circle and understood the significance of status distinctions,[540] while in so doing they drew a line between themselves and other southerners.

The Taiyuan Wang family gradually altered its standing as outsiders. Its prestige also increased during Emperor Xiaowen's reign. According to the *Zizhi tongjian*, Emperor Xiaowen "extolled families and clans, [so] he married daughters of the Four Lineages:[541] Lu Min 盧敏 (n.d.) of Fanyang, Cui Zongbo 崔宗伯 (n.d.) of Qinghe, Zheng Xi 鄭羲 (d.492 CE) of Xingyang, and Wang Qiong 王瓊 (d.ca.528 CE) of Taiyuan, because these four lineages were generally admired by the elites."[542] Wang Qiong was the grandson of Wang Huilong. The marriage between Wang Qiong's daughter and the emperor suggests that the imperial house recognized Wang Huilong's pedigree, despite the fact many still doubted it.[543] It also indicates, to Emperor Xiaowen, that the status of the Taiyuan Wangs was equal to that of the other three old northern families. So it came as no surprise that, when Emperor Xiaowen issued an edict in determining the status of elite families of realm, the Taiyuan Wangs was among those ranked the highest, which helped it rise to the position of national importance, a position it maintained until the Tang dynasty.[544]

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[540] Extant sources tell us that contemporaries took such distinctions seriously. For example, a certain Northern Wei official always used the examples of Gongsun Sui 公孫邃 (d.495 CE) and Gongsun Rui 公孫叡 (n.d.) to tell people of the importance of choosing a right marriage partner: "The elites (*shidafu* 士大夫) should seek to marry well. The two Gongsuns were first cousins, yet when the clan assembled for weddings or funerals, there was as much difference between them as between elite (*shi* 士) and commoner." The reason for this is their mothers' different family background: Gongsun Sui's mother was a Li 李 of Yanmen 雁門, while Gongsun Rui's mother hailed from the prominent Feng 封 family of Bohai 渤海. The Chinese is: 士大夫當須好婚親, 二公孫同堂兄弟耳, 吉凶會集, 便有士庶之異. See *Wei shu* 33.786. Translation modified from David G. Johnson, *The Medieval Chinese Oligarchy* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), 154-155.

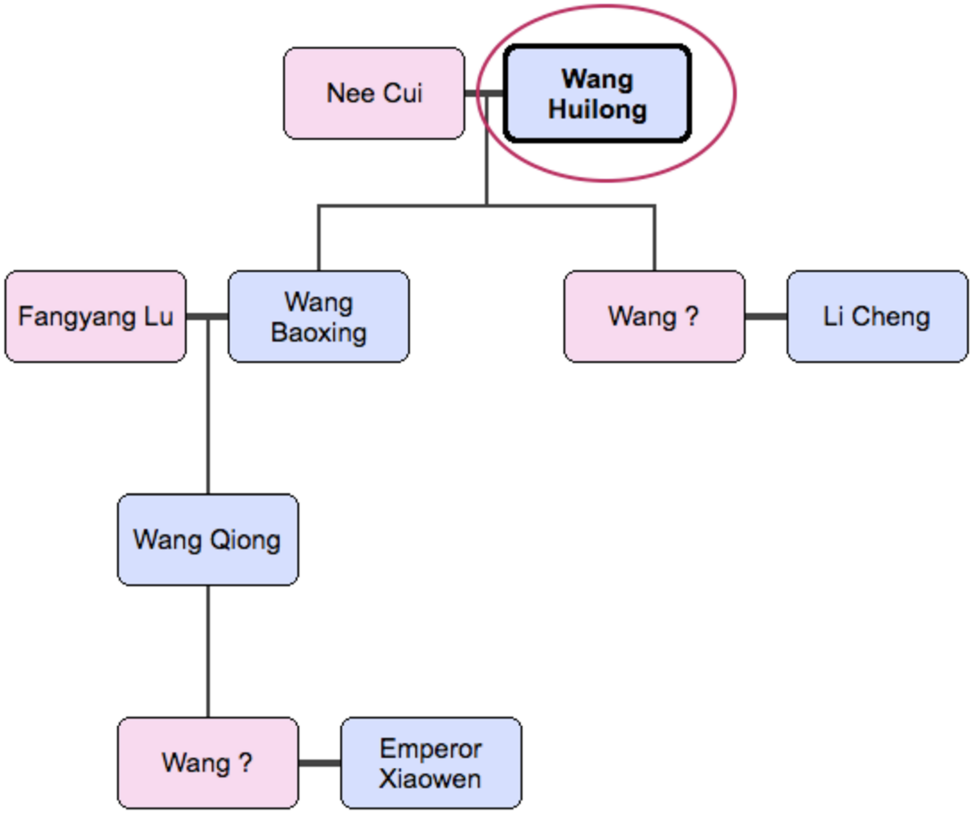
[541] I follow Albert Dien in translating *sixing* 四姓 as four lineages. See Albert E. Dien, "Elite Lineages and the T'o-Pa Accommodation: A Study of the Edict of 495," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 19. 1 (1976), 70. A number of scholars have extensively discussed the meaning of four lineages of the Northern Wei. Apart from Albert Dien's article, see, for example, Tang Changru 唐長孺, "Lun Bei Wei Xiaowendi ding xingzu" 論北魏孝文帝定姓族," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shilun shiyi* 魏晉南北朝史論拾遺 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), 79-91 and Chen Shuang 1998, 42-80.

[542] The Chinese is: 魏主雅重門族, 以范陽盧敏, 清河崔宗伯, 滎陽鄭羲, 太原王瓊四姓, 衣冠所推, 咸納其女以充後宮. See *Zizhi tongjian* 140.4393. See Chen Shuang 1998, 53-54.

[543] See, for example, *Wei shu* 64.1427.

[544] See *Xin Tang shu* 95.3842.

Genealogy 3.1　Wang Huilong and His Descendants



Like Wang Huilong, Wang Su also came from a leading family in the south—the Wangs of Langye. Yet, Wang Su had an impeccable pedigree, which demarcated his career trajectory in the Northern Wei from Wang Huilong's from the start. Upon his arrival in the north in 493 CE, Wang Su was warmly welcomed by Emperor Xiaowen and impressed the emperor by his erudite knowledge and military insights. Emperor Xiaowen, who had been planning southern campaign, thus commanded Wang Su, a southerner, to lead a military expedition against the southern state of Qi the following year. After winning the war, the

emperor was said to entrust Wang Su the duty of the creation of the court institution,[545] and took his advice of the construction of the new capital Luoyang[546]. The latter two records may be fabricated, for one source is from the south, which may have been a display of cultural chauvinism by the author; the other is from the *Luoyang qielan ji*, whose limitations were discussed above. Still, both demonstrate the influence of Wang Su in the Northern Wei court in the eyes of contemporaries.

On his deathbed, in 499 CE, Emperor Xiaowen appointed Wang Su Director of the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshu ling* 尚書令, Rank 1) to assist and advise his young successor, the future Emperor Xuanwu. Under new leadership, Wang Su continued to serve in several positions of power, including his last as Regional Inspector of Yang province where he took charge of defense of newly occupied border city Shouchun. He was also granted an imperial marriage with Emperor Xiaowen's younger sister.

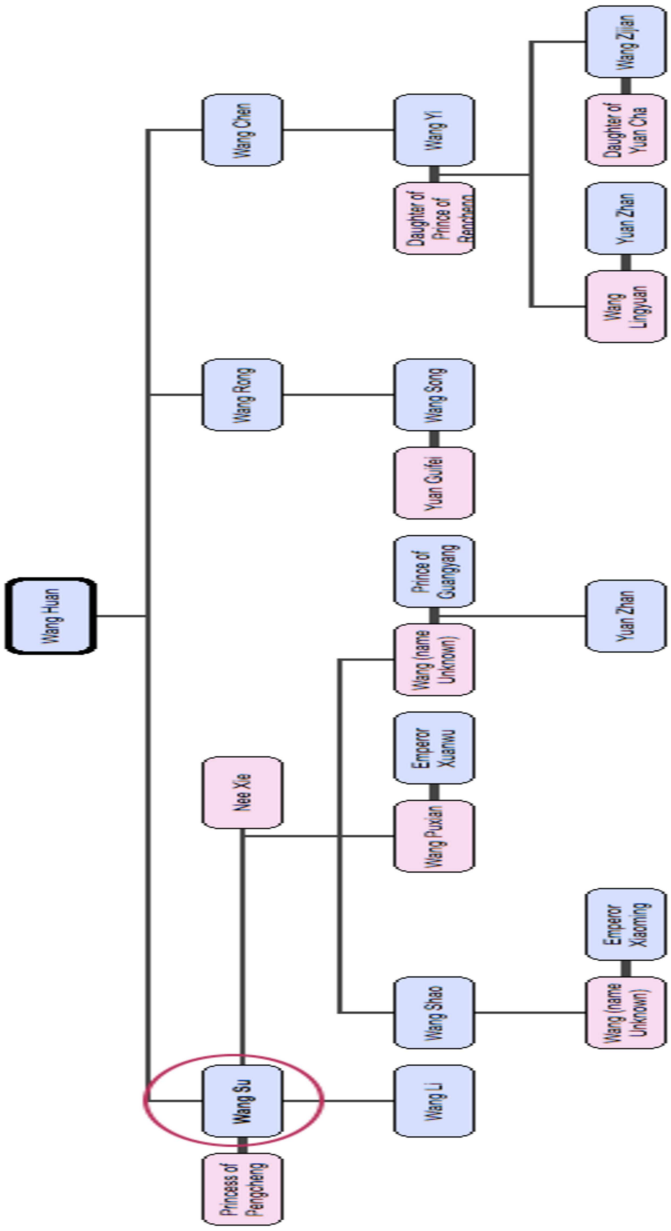
Wang Su died at the age of thirty-eight, eight years after his defection. His untimely death notwithstanding, his family seemed to remain strongly tied to the Northern Wei royal house through marriages: Wang Su's eldest daughter was consort of Emperor Xuanwu,[547] his youngest daughter was married to the Prince of Guangyang 廣陽王, Yuan Yuan 元淵 (485-527 CE),[548] and his granddaughter became imperial concubine of Emperor Xuanwu's heir, Emperor Xiaoming.[549] Moreover, two of his nephews also married Northern Wei imperial clansmen—Wang Song's wife was Yuan Guifei 元貴妃 (488-517 CE), daughter of the Prince of Anfeng 安豐王, Tuoba Meng 拓拔猛 (d.489 CE);[550] Wang Yi 王翊 (485-529 CE)

[545] The Chinese is: 王肅爲虜制官品百司, 皆如中國. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.998.
[546] The Chinese is: 時高祖新營洛邑. 多所造制論. 肅博識舊事, 大有裨益. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.108-109.
[547] Wang Su's eldest daughter's name is Wang Puxian. For her epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 69-70.
[548] This is recorded in the epitaph of Yuan Zhan, Yuan Yuan's son. See Zhao Chao 2008, 356. Wang Su's youngest daughter's first name is unknown.
[549] See *Wei shu* 63.1412. She was Wang Su's eldest son Wang Shao's daughter, yet we do not know her name.
[550] For the epitaph of Yuan Guifei, see Zhao Chao 2008, 92-93.

married the daughter of Prince of Rencheng 任城王, Yuan Cheng 元澄 (467-519 CE),[551] and his daughter Wang Lingyuan 王令媛 (522-542 CE) married the aforementioned Yuan Yuan's heir, Yuan Zhan 元湛 (510-544 CE).[552] Wang Yi also arranged a marriage for his younger son to the daughter of Yuan Cha,[553] who controlled the court during Emperor Xiaoming's early reign. Even though Wang Yi was criticized for his association with Yuan Cha, he nonetheless rose through the ranks quickly.[554]

[551] This marriage is mentioned in Wang Yi's daughter Wang Lingyuan's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 358.
[552] For Wang Lingyuan's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 358-359. For Yuan Zhan's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 356-358.
[553] This marriage is mentioned in the epitaph of Yuan Cha. See Zhao Chao 2008, 184.
[554] See *Wei shu* 63.1413.

Genealogy 3.2　Wang Su and His Descendants



Within three generations, there were nine members, including Wang Su, of the Langye Wang family in the north who extensively intermarried with the Northern Wei royals, and this is what we have known so far about this family's marriage ties. There is no reference, surprisingly, as to whether or not Wang Su's family had ever built marriage alliances with other northern elite families, as Wang Huilong and his offspring did. Such a strategy surely elevated in short order the status of the Langye Wang family in the north, but put all their eggs in one basket. Moreover, it seems that most of Wang Su's relatives, after the death of Wang Su, failed to gain posts of political influence, which greatly damaged the development of his family. Therefore, with the collapse of Northern Wei, the Langye Wang family lost its patron and declined in political importance, eventually disappearing from the historical record.

Whether establishing marriage alliances with the imperial house or with national elite families, the aim of southern migrants was to enlarge their social networks and "envelope themselves in a protective human web."[555] Yet, in the case of southern migrants, marriage also acted as a necessary means of proving one's loyalty. Even though the Northern Wei government, generally speaking, welcomed people to defect from the south, it, as discussed in Chapter 2, discouraged re-defection. One approach it took was the bestowal of wives to high-profile border crossers, forcing the latter to establish new families in the north in order to show their determination to not merely stay but also set down permanent roots. The same rule also applied to other southern migrants. If one insisted on remaining single or rejected an arranged marriage for whatever reasons, it may have been viewed as a sign of attempted defection. Thus, after Xue Cheng 薛憕 (n.d.), a distant relative of Xue Andu and Xue Zendu, submitted to the Northern Wei around 526 CE but had since been isolated socially, Xue

[555] Pekka Hämäläinen, *The Comanche Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 168.

Zhendu, so worried, asked him, "after you came back to the hometown [i.e., Hedong], you did not manage property and refused to marry. Are you planning to return south again?"[556]

Another example is Wang Su. He seemed to have had no plan to remarry upon his arrival in the north, perhaps partly because he observed three years of mourning for his father and brothers who were executed by the Southern Qi emperor in 493 CE,[557] and partly because he had married in the south. But those were not legitimate excuses in the eyes of those who suspected Wang Su of his loyalty to the Northern Wei. It, therefore, should not surprise us that Wang Su remarried immediately after he was acquitted of the charge of defection (see below).[558]

2.2 Back to the Ancestral Home

The second strategy southern migrants would employ was to rebuild ties with local society. Scholars have noted that some southern migrants moved back to their ancestral homes in the north, particularly from Emperor Xiaowen's reign on, but very few inquire into the motives in establishing such connections, and the ways in which southern migrants moved back to, and eventually took root, in a place that their ancestors had fled from in early third century and ever since lost contact with for at least one hundred years.[559]

Indeed, it was not easy for either southern migrants or their descendants to move to a place they claimed as their ancestral home and settle down there without any effort. Kinship was highly valued in the north to the extent that, according to a southern source, "(people of)

[556] The Chinese is: 汝還鄉里, 不營產業, 不肯取妻, 豈復欲南乎? See *Zhou shu* 38.683.
[557] Emperor Xiaowen once issued an edict to praise Wang Su's filial piety because the latter observed three years of mourning for his late father and brothers, but in the same edict the emperor discouraged Wang Su to wear mourning for more than three years. In such context, it is hard to believe that Wang Su was in the mood for his second marriage. For Emperor Xiaowen's edict to Wang Su, see *Wei shu* 63.1408.
[558] See *Wei shu* 63.1410.
[559] One exception is Guo Jinsong 郭津嵩, "Huigui guli yu chongsu jiuzu: Beichao Sui Tang de Henei Sima shi jiazu 回歸故里與重塑舊族: 北朝隋唐的河內司馬氏家族," *Tang yanjiu* 唐研究 17 (2011): 159-177, to which some of the discussion below is indebted.

the northern lands value people with the same surname, and call the latter 'flesh and bone (i.e., 'blood kin').' If anyone with the same family name comes from afar to seek refuge, without exception, people should use every ounce of their strength to provide assistance. If they do not exert themselves to the fullest, they will be regarded as unrighteous and rejected by their village community."[560] Even so, a temporal and spatial separation of more than a century inevitably caused emotional separation and hence loosened the kinship bonds. Southern migrants, to their northern relatives, were more strangers than long-lost kin.

More critically, the return of southern migrants involved the redistribution of privilege and power. During the Northern Wei dynasty, there were four major methods of recruitment into the bureaucracy, including official recommendation, direct appointment by special edicts, the Imperial Academy, and hereditary *yin* 蔭 (protection) privilege.[561] Recommendation could be made by either Arbiters of the candidate's home commandery (*Jun Zhongzheng* 郡中正), heads of the candidate's home commandery and province, or any powerful official, among which the Commandery Arbiter's recommendation was the most important channel of appointment.

In theory, a Commandery Arbiter should select talented and capable candidates for office, and submit his list to the Great Arbiter (*Da Zhongzheng* 大中正) at the provincial level, who would later forward it to the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu* 吏部) in the capital for final approval. Yet, in reality, especially after Emperor Xiaowen ordered to have the status of great clans identified, family background mattered most.[562] Members of eminent families were given priority to enter into officialdom and were exempted from government labor service; high-ranking officials' sons and grandsons could also serve in office through the hereditary

[560] The Chinese is: 北土重同姓，謂之骨肉，有遠來相投者，莫不竭力營贍；若不至者，以為不義，不為鄉里所容. See *Song shu* 46.1391. Translation modified from Mark Edward Lewis 2009, 130.
[561] Yu Lunian 2008, 369-373.
[562] In 505 CE, Emperor Xiaowu issued an edict that reclaimed, "What Arbiters choose is only family background." The Chinese is: 中正所銓, 但存門第. See *Wei shu* 8.199.

privilege, and their families, in this way, could pass on and maintain their family power.[563] Even more, Arbiters of commanderies and provinces were chosen from local prominent families, meaning that if one became Arbiter, his family members would have a better chance for office. Therefore, unsurprisingly, there were many social climbers of this time who fabricated their ancestries and choronyms that asserted ties to eminent families.[564]

The question is, how to determine a family's status? Lofty pedigree was important, yet many scholars maintain that, during the Northern Wei dynasty, it was not so much ancestry but how many family members who held rank and office at court that played a decisive role in the status of a family.[565] A memorial to Emperor Xiaowen dating from the late fifth century clearly says, "whenever the court selects people [for office], they are compared marriage by marriage and office by office to decide their relative rank."[566] For this reason, despite their glorious past, local prominent families still competed amongst one another for scarce resources. In this context, returnees were hardly welcomed.

This may explain why Guo Zuo 郭祚 (450-516 CE) was dissatisfied with Emperor Xiaowen's decision to appoint Wang Qiong, grandson of Wang Huilong, as Great Arbiter of Bing province 幷州.[567] Like the Taiyuan Wangs, Guo Zuo's family was a prominent family in Taiyuan and perhaps the most influential one in Taiyuan in the early Northern Wei, for its distinguished genealogy that can date back the Cao Wei dynasty and a long tradition of office

[563] Tang Changru 1983, 90.
[564] To protect their exclusive membership, elite families took great care of compiling and revising family genealogical records and submitted regularly to the government for their reference. When Arbiters recruited people for office, they would consult these family genealogical records to verify one's family background. For a detailed analysis of family genealogical records of this time, see Chen Shuang 陳爽, *Chutu muzhi suo jian zhonggu pudie yanjiu* 出土墓誌所見中古譜牒研究 (Shanghai: Xueling chubanshe, 2015).
[565] See Tang Changru 1983, 81-83 and Cheng Shuang 1998, 65.
[566] The Chinese is: 朝廷每選舉人士, 則校其一婚一宦, 以為升降. See *Wei shu* 60.1341.
[567] The Chinese is: 初, 高祖之置中正, 從容謂祚曰:「并州中正，卿家故應推王瓊也。」祚退謂密友曰：「瓊真偽今自未辨, 我家何為減之？然主上直信李沖吹噓之說耳。」See *Wei shu* 64.1427. Taiyuan was one of the commanderies in Bing province during the Northern Wei period.

holding. However, Guo Zuo's family now had to make way for a southern border crosser's family, because the latter enjoyed imperial support.[568]

Emperor Xiaowen's decision may have stirred up discontent among local communities in Bing province, and Wang Huilong's family may have failed to gain strong local support, because of Wang Huilong's dubious genealogy and his status as an outsider. Thus, as soon as Emperor Xiaowen passed away, Guo Zuo replaced Wang Qiong as the new Great Arbiter of Bing province.[569]

Still, some southern migrant families managed to take root in their ancestral homes, such as the Simas of Henei 河内司馬氏.[570] As shown in Chapter 1, many Eastern Jin imperial clansmen fled to the Northern Wei in the early fifth century to seek asylum, among them the most successful was Sima Chuzhi. After pledging his allegiance to the Northern Wei, Sima Chuzhi, with his military talent and royal background, was very active. He was ennobled as Prince of Langye 琅琊王, the same title held by the Eastern Jin founder Sima Rui before ascending the throne; Sima Chuzhi and his two sons were also stationed at Yunzhong, where the ancestral tombs of the Northern Wei royal house were located, for more than half a century. Father and sons also intermarried with the Northern Wei imperial house: Sima Chuzhi married a Northern Wei prince's daughter who was later bestowed the title Princess of Henei, his son Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 (d.484 CE) married Emperor Taiwu's niece,[571] and his youngest son Sima Baolong married the Princess of Zhaojun.[572] Furthermore, Sima

[568] For a detailed study of the competition between the Taiyuan Wangs and Taiyuan Guos, see Fan Zhaofei 范兆飛, *Zhonggu Taiyuan shizu qunti yanjiu* 中古太原士族群體研究 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2014), 122-131.
[569] See *Wei shu* 64.1422.
[570] For a detailed discussion of the Sima family of Henei from the Northern Wei to the Tang dynasty, see Guo Jinsong 2011, 159-177. Also see Horiuchi Junichi 堀内淳一, "北魏における河内司馬氏: 北朝貴族社会と南朝からの亡命者," *Shigaku zasshi* 119, no. 9 (2010): 1528-1550.
[571] For Sima Jinlong's biography, see *Wei shu* 37.857. His tomb was discovered in 1965. For the formal archeological report of his tomb, see Shanxi sheng Datong shi bowuguan 山西省大同市博物館 and Shanxi sheng wenwu gongzuo weiyuanhui 山西省文物工作委員會, "Shanxi Datong Shijiazhai Bei Wei Sima Jinlong mu 山西大同石家寨北魏司馬金龍墓," *Wenwu* 3 (1972): 20-29, 64.
[572] For Sima Baolong's biography, see *Wei shu* 37.859-860.

Chuzhi was buried next to imperial mausoleums, which was undoubtedly an honor for Sima Chuzhi and his immediate family.

Nevertheless, surviving texts offer no evidence of the return of Sima Chuzhi or his sons to their ancestral home, namely, Wen county 溫縣 of Henei 河內 commandery (present day Wen county, Henan Province). It is true that Sima Chuzhi's wife was granted the title of Princess of Henei and his son Sima Baolong's noble title was Duke of Henei 河內公, both of which were named after the Simas' ancestral home.[573] Yet, considering that the Northern Wei government in its early years enforced strict policies regarding southerners' residential areas and burial places, one can infer that these displaced persons rarely had chance to move back to their ancestral homes. Bestowing such noble titles, thus, cannot be simply seen as the Northern Wei government's attempt to reconnect new returnees with local communities.

This situation, however, began to change during Emperor Xiaowen's reign, especially after he relocated his capital to Luoyang in 494 CE. Northern Wei policies toward southern migrants' residential areas and burial areas were revised, or possibly even abandoned. We are told that Ping Qi people were allowed to return or rebury their dead in their hometowns in Qing and Qi provinces.[574] Very likely, other southerners exiled in the Northern Wei also began to move back to their northern ancestral homes around the same time.

This can be attested in the case of Sima Chuzhi's family. First, starting from Sima Yue, Sima Chuzhi's grandson, many Simas were buried in Henei. Sima Yue died in 508 CE and was buried in Wen county in 511 CE.[575] His first cousin Sima Sheng 司馬昇 (494-535 CE)

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[573] In the early Northern Wei, many southern border crossers were bestowed noble titles that name after their ancestral homes. For instance, Yuan Shi 袁式 (d.467 CE) hailed from Yangxia 陽夏 county in Chen commandery 陳郡 was given the title Baron (*zi* 子) of Yangxia in 417 CE. Xue Andu of Hedong was enfeoffed Duke of Hedong 河東公 by Emperor Xianwen. And Bi Zhongjing, whose ancestral home was Xuchang 許昌, Dongping 東平, held the title of Duke of Dongping 東平公.

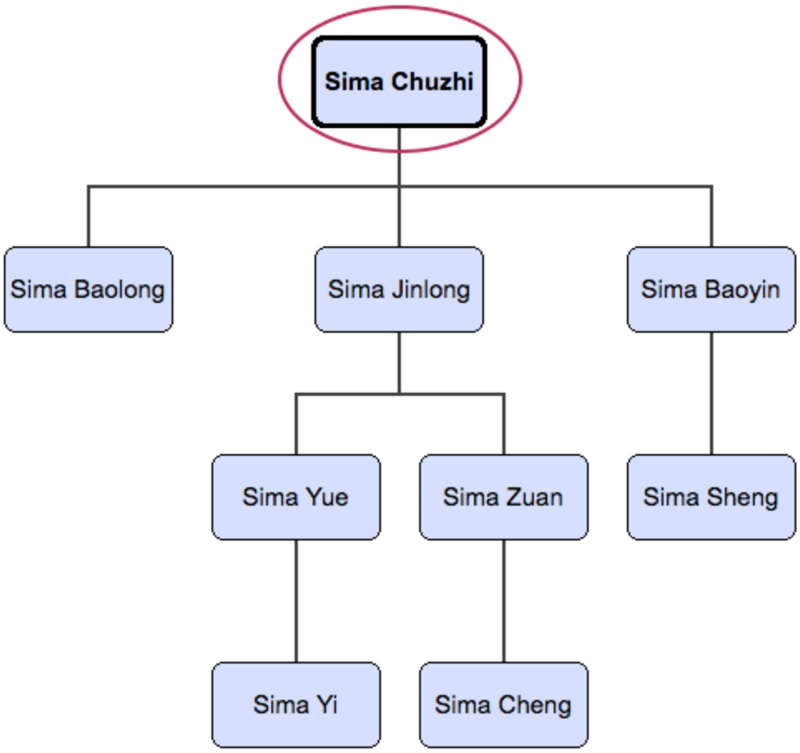
[574] This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

[575] For Sima Yue's funerary inscription, see Zhao Chao 2008, 57-59. His tomb was found in Doujitai village 鬥雞台村, Mengzhou 孟州 city, Henan province, in 1979. For the formal archaeological report of Sima Yue's tomb, see Shang Zhenming 1981, 44-46.

was also buried nearby in 535 CE.[576] Not only Sima Chuzhi's family, but another exiled Eastern Jin imperial clansman, Sima Shufan's grandson Sima Shao 司馬紹 (d.493 CE),[577] Shao's son Bing 昞 (d.520 CE)[578] and Bing's wife, Meng Jingxun 孟敬訓 (471-513 CE),[579] were all buried in Wen county. It is worth noting that, even though Sima Shao died in 493 CE and was probably buried in Pingcheng, he was reinterred in Wen county in 511 CE. Similarly, Meng Jingxun passed away in Shouchun in 513 CE, but her families still buried her in Wen county two years later. This suggests that some of the Simas had developed a strong sense of local identity, to the extent that they were willing to go to the trouble of burying the remains of their family members in their ancestral home. Considering that family graveyards of the Northern Dynasties were usually located near where families of the deceased lived,[580] it is likely that some Simas had moved back to Wen county. This is hinted at in the inscription of Sima Bing. The author tells us that Sima Bing was interred in his home county (*benxiang* 本鄉). And the inscription of his wife also says Meng Jingxun was buried in "the cemetery of [her] hometown" (*xiangfen* 鄉墳).

[576] For Sima Sheng's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 316-317. It is reported that this epitaph was discovered in modern Goucun town 緱村鎮, Mengzhou city, Henan province. See Luo Huojin 羅火金 and Liu Gangzhou 劉剛州, "Suidai Sima Rong muzhi kao 隋代司馬融墓志考," *Zhongyuan wenwu* 中原文物 3 (2009): 94-97.
[577] For the epitaph of Sima Shao, see Zhao Chao 2008, 59-60.
[578] For Sima Bing's tomb inscription, see Zhao Chao 2008, 117-118.
[579] For the epitaph of Meng Jingxun, see Zhao Chao 2008, 72-73.
[580] See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, "Beichao zhi zhongzheng 北朝之中正," in *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史札記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), 362-265 and Guo Jinsong 2011, 169.

Genealogy 3.3　Sima Chuzhi and His Descendants

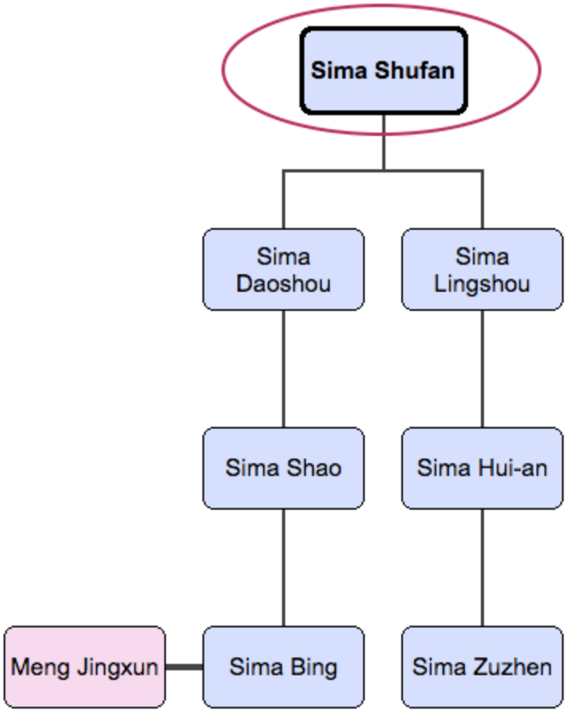


In addition, many of Sima Chuzi's family members held provincial or prefectural postings in their ancestral home (see Table 3.1). Sima Yue himself held office as an Administrative Aide (*Biejia* 別駕) of Si province 司州 (in modern Henan province),[581] second only to the Regional Inspector. Sima Zuan 司馬纂 (d.508 CE), Sima Yue's elder brother, was appointed Arbiter of Henei commandery,[582] and Zuan's son Cheng 澄 (n.d.) was

[581] Henei commandery was located in Si province. During the Northern Wei, Si province was first created in 487 CE to govern all commanderies of the capital of Pingcheng area. After the capital was relocated to Luoyang, the location of Si province changed and original Si province renamed Heng province 恆州. See *Wei shu* 106a.2497. Also see Wu Yojiang 毋有江, "Bei Wei zhengqu dili yanjiu 北魏政區地理研究" (PhD diss., Fudan University, 2005), 79-81.
[582] See *Wei shu* 37.857.

Honored Student (*Xiucai* 秀才) of Si province. Sima Yue's son Yi 裔 (508-571 CE) once served as Officer of Merit (*Gongcao* 功曹) of Henei.[583] Sima Yue's cousin, Sima Sheng, was the Magistrate (*Ling* 令) of Huai county 懷縣 of Henei. Aditionally, Sima Shufan's great grandson, Zuzhen 祖珍 (n.d.), was also Honored Student of Si province. Given the fact that, during the Northern Wei, local government staff was usually selected from local prominent families,[584] the aforementioned Simas who held posts in Si province may have resided in Wen county of Henei, and the Sima family had successfully transformed itself into one of leading families in Henei commandery.

Genealogy 3.4　Sima Shufan and His Descendants



[583] This is recorded in the epitaph of Sima Yi, which was written by Yu Xin 庾信 (513-581 CE), one of the most famous writers of the time. For Sima Yi's funerary inscription, see Yu Xin, *Yu Zishan jizhu* 庾子山集注, anno. Xu Yimin 許逸民 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1980), 962-969. For Sima Yi's biography, see *Zhou shu* 36.645-646.
[584] Yan Gengwang 1990, 863-866.

Table 3.1 The Simas who Held Posts in Si Province

Name	Title
Sima Yue 司馬悅	Administrative Aide of Si province 司州別駕
Sima Zuan 司馬纂	Arbiter of Henei commandery 河內邑中正
Sima Cheng 司馬澄	Honored Student of Si province 司州秀才
Sima Yi 司馬裔	Officer of Merit of Henei 河內功曹
Sima Sheng 司馬昇	Magistrate of Huai county of Henei 河內懷縣令
Sima Zuzhen 司馬祖珍	Honored Student of Si province 司州秀才

With the death of Sima Yue, few of his relatives had long or successful careers, which led to a gradual decline of the Sima family's political influence at national level. Perhaps Sima Yue had foreseen this, so he and his brother began to cultivate their local base through the means of moving back to Wen county,[585] holding local posts, and finally establishing a family graveyard there.[586] By so doing, the Simas were able to develop personal and face-to-

[585] Living in one's hometown was an essential factor in winning local support. This is evident in the case of Feng Jin 封津 (477-538 CE), a court favorite in the late Northern Wei. He was powerful during Emperor Xiaoming's reign. Even so, when he went back to his hometown to console survivors of a large-scale rebellion that was waged by a messianic cult leader, Faqing 法慶 (d.515 CE), he was reportedly "not welcomed by his countrymen, for his family had long left the hometown." The Chinese is: 津世不居桑梓, 故不為州鄉所歸. See *Wei shu* 94.2033.

[586] It seems that only after completing these procedures was one's family believed to have established roots in a specific place. As mentioned above, many status seekers of this time forged their family genealogical records and their approach is *yishu* 移屬 or *xishu* 徙屬. Both terms may refer to the transfer of household registers,

face relations with the locals, and to show that they identified themselves with Wen county, Henei commandery, and Si province.

Such strategies appeared to have worked, which helped, at the very least, the Simas to navigate the crisis of the split of the Northern Wei into the Western Wei and Eastern Wei. The *Zhou shu* tell us that Sima Yi, Sima Yue's youngest son, chose to go back to Wen county in 534 CE, not to other major cities, waiting for four years before he led over four thousand households of his "countrymen and associates" (*xiangjiu* 鄉舊) in Henei to repel Eastern Wei armies and pay allegiance to the ruler of the Western Wei. This suggests that Wen county, after more than three decades (from at least the year of the death of Sima Yue to the fall of the Northern Wei), had transformed into the Simas' local base, an area where they owned land and enjoyed social influence.

Therefore, after the Northern Wei collapsed, Sima Yi and his family could support themselves for several years without holding any official posts, and could gather a great number of followers to defend themselves in this chaotic moment. This influence was further turned into political capital. After he submitted to the Western Wei, Sima Yi was accordingly appointed Governor of Henei commandery and from then on he had a rather successful military career during both the Western Wei and the ensuing Northern Zhou periods.[587]

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moving to the place in which they preferred to establish link. For example, if a certain Wang of low origin wanted to claim that he descended from the Taiyuan Wang family, he would need to transfer his household register to Taiyuan. Such a transfer required the approval of the emperor. Once the request was permitted, he would be, in most cases, appointed Great Arbiter of the province to which his fabricated ancestral home belonged, and his family members would then occupy local postings as well. Moreover, he and his family members would be buried in their "ancestral home." In some cases, status seekers even relocated the remains of their grandfathers or fathers who formerly buried somewhere else to the new "ancestral home." We are told that some of these families did become upper class families and were even more active than the members of those authentic ones. For discussions of such families see He Dezhang 何德章, "Weituo wangzu yu maoxi xianzu: yi Beizu ren muzhi wei zhongxin: du Beichao beizhi zhaji zhi er 偽託望族與冒襲先祖: 以北族人墓誌為中心—讀北朝碑志札記之二," *Wei Jin Nanbeichao Sui Tang shi ziliao* 魏晉南北朝隋唐史資料 17 (2000): 135-41 and Chou Luming 仇鹿鳴, "'Panfu xianshi' yu 'weimao shiji': yi Bohai Gaoshi wei zhongxin de yanjiu "攀附先世"與"偽冒士籍"—以渤海高氏為中心的研究," *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 2 (2008): 60-74.

[587] Sima Yi was also bestowed a noble title Duke of Langye 琅琊公, which was inherited at least by three generations of his descendants. This information is recorded in the epitaph of Sima Quan 司馬詮 (664-731 CE) of the Tang dynasty. See Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良, ed. *Tangdai muzhi huibian* 唐代墓誌匯編 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1992), 1387-1388.

2.3 Migrants Networks

Apart from marriage alliances and local connections, new arrivals also relied upon migrant networks to survive in their new society. Previous scholarship tends to either view southern border crossers as isolated individuals or take their families respectively as a unit of study, but rarely examines their lateral ties to other southern migrants. Looking at southern migrants in the context of migrant networks, however, enables us to discover easily-overlooked contacts that were established before exile but nonetheless played a key role in their lives during and after exile.[588] Examining migrant networks, particularly the motives of participating in and leaving the network, also helps us further understand the internal heterogeneity among cross-border migrants that is commonly assumed as a homogeneous group.

Migrant networks were mostly built on the basis of the same political background, not common regional origin. Members of the same network might meet each other, go on excursions, and host gatherings at which they may eat food they are familiar with, speak the same language, and gossip about other southerners who were absent.[589] These activities provide some familiarity, or even a sense of home, for these displaced persons, and at the same time offer an opportunity and a meeting point for newcomers to connect to old members.[590] Nevertheless, if two border crossers, at least in the case of the first generation

[588] As Swen Steinberg puts it, "networks in exile also mean networks before and after exile." See Swen Steinberg, "How to Become Isolated in Isolation? Networks in the German Political and Trade Union Exile after 1933," in *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany: Continuities, Reorientations, and Collaborations in Exile*, ed. Helga Schreckenberger (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 107.

[589] Xiaohou Guai 夏侯夬 (n.d.), the son of Liang general Xiaohou Daoqian, was said to go on excursions and host gatherings all the time with several southerners. The Chinese is: [夏侯]夬與南人辛諶、庾道、江文遙等終日遊聚. See *Wei shu* 71.1584.

[590] Zhang Jingren, who accompanied Xiao Baoyin to surrender to the Northern Wei, also invited his old associate Chen Qingzhi, a Laing general, to the banquet he had prepared when the latter escorted Yuan Xian to Luoyang to usurp the throne in 529 CE and was later appointed to the post of Palace Attendant (*Shizhong* 侍中)

migrants, served different southern regimes and fought respectively with each other for their own rulers before defecting to the north, they were less likely to cluster together when living in the north, nor would they identify each other as members of the same migrant group.

Generally speaking, migrant networks developed around a focal individual who was a leader and also an intermediary, by using his influence, resources, and social capital, to help other members of the network engage with each other, and to assist newcomers to settle in the new environment.[591] Take Liu Chang as an example. Liu Chang, as discussed previously, was a Liu Song prince who sought asylum in the Northern Wei. Given his lofty status, Liu Chang was rewarded by the Northern Wei court in many ways for his side-changing. One of the privileges Liu Chang enjoyed was that he was allowed to keep his compatriots on his staff. For instance, Wei Xinzong 韋欣宗 (n.d.),[592] Shen Baochong 沈保冲 (n.d.)[593] and Shen Jingyi 申景義 (n.d.),[594] whose fathers were all former Liu-Song generals, were appointed to serve under Liu Chang during the reign of Emperor Xiaowen.

Liu Chang also took initiatives to put migrants he knew in contact with each other. Yuan Xuan 袁宣 (n.d.),[595] who served under former Liu-Song Regional Inspector of Qing province Shen Wenxiu, was said to have been in poverty after being removed to Pingcheng in 469 CE. Liu Chang thus took Yuan Xuan under his wing and even claimed that Yuan Xuan was his maternal grandfather's relative. Moreover, Liu Chang ordered his subordinate Yuan Ji 袁濟

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at the Northern Wei court. It is said that, two other southerners were also present at the party. See *Luoyang qielan ji* 2.104.

[591] Helga Schreckenberger, "Introduction," in *Networks of Refugees from Nazi Germany: Continuities, Reorientations, and Collaborations in Exile* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 5.

[592] His father was Wei Daofu 韋道福 (n.d.), who was a governor during the reign of Liu-Song Emperor Xiaowu, but submitted to the Northern Wei along with Xue Andu in 466 CE. For the biography of Wei Daofu, see *Wei shu* 45.1011.

[593] His father was Shen Wenxiu, who was former Regional Inspector of Qing province yet was forced to surrender to the Northern Wei in 469 CE.

[594] His father was Shen Zuan 申纂 (n.d.), Regional Inspector of Yan province of the Liu-Song period. For the biography of Shen Zuan, see *Wei shu* 61.1365.

[595] Yuan Xuan does not have his own biography, but was briefly mentioned in his son Yuan Fan's 袁翻 (476-528 CE) biography. See *Wei shu* 69.1536.

(n.d) to register Yuan Xuan as his clansman.[596] Yuan Ji was the son of a southern migrant. His father, Yuan Shi 袁式 (d.467 CE), an Eastern Jin military official, submitted to the Northern Wei during Emperor Taiwu's reign, and was hence bestowed a noble title and was classified as "the highest-ranking guest". From that point on, his family appears to have gained a foothold in the north. With the help of a strong patron like Liu Chang and a well-established "clansman" Yuan Ji, the poor and then unknown Yuan Xuan was able to be quickly accepted by the new society. However, Yuan Xuan's case tells us too that such ties were not only easily created but also able to be quickly disbanded.[597] Years later, when Yuan Xuan's two sons rose to prominence in the government, they were said to, rather than being grateful for Yuan Ji's help, compete so fiercely with Yuan Ji's sons that the latter eventually legally removed Yuan Xuan's family from their family genealogy.[598]

Unlike his attitude towards his fellow countrymen, Liu Chang's stance towards the Southern Qi subjects could hardly be called friendly. When he and Wang Su were dispatched to attack the Southern Qi in 495 CE, Liu Chang was suspicious of the loyalty of newly submitted Wang Su, who somehow halted attacks on the Southern Qi troops. The Southern Qi military commander may have sensed a tension between the two northern generals and thus sent a letter to Wang Su in order to deceive Liu Chang, a strategy that proved effective and ultimately led to the defeat of the Northern Wei.[599] Liu Chang's hostility to the Southern Qi subjects is most clearly evident in the case of Che Senglang 車僧朗 (d.481 CE), a Southern Qi envoy who was dispatched to the Northern Wei in 481 CE, two years after the Southern Qi took over the Liu Song. It is said that Liu Chang sent an assassin, also a Liu-Song defector, to kill Che Senglang at a court banquet.[600] In today's world, such behavior

[596] See previous discussion on family genealogical records.
[597] Nick Gill and Paula Bialski, "New Friends in New Places: Network Formation During the Migration Process among Poles in the Uk," *Geoforum* 42. 2 (2011): 242. Also see Laurens E. Tacoma 2016, 241.
[598] For Yuan Shi's and Yuan Ji's biographies see *Wei shu* 38.880-881.
[599] See *Nan shi* 6.170.
[600] See *Nan Qi shu* 57.989.

would certainly trigger a diplomatic crisis. Yet our source only records the immediate execution of the assassin followed by Che Senglang's funeral. There was no mention of whether or not the Northern Wei government punished Liu Chang afterwards, nor the reaction of the Southern Qi emperor.

Like Liu Chang, Wang Su was surrounded by several Southern Qi military men. They were permitted to follow Wang Su when the latter was stationed at Shouchun to defend the Northern Wei's southern borders, suggesting that the emperor trusted Wang Su and his fellow southerners. For example, Xiahou Daoqian went with Wang Su as a commander at Hefei 合肥 garrison (in present-day Hefei, Anhui province) not long after he submitted to the Northern Wei.[601] Pei Sui 裴邃 (d.524 CE), too, served under Wang Su. He was initially appointed to several posts at court and held the position of Governor of Weijun 魏郡 (administrator seat in southwest of modern Linzhang 臨漳, Hebei province) after his surrender to the Northern Wei. Yet, on learning that Wang Su was assigned to Shouchun, Pei Sui, who indeed planned to flee back to the south through Shouchun, asked permission to follow Wang Su. His request was approved by the Northern Wei court.[602]

Wang Su not solely worked closely with these former Southern Qi officials, but also gave a hand to those in need even though some situations jeopardized his career. One such example is He Yuan 何遠 (470-521 CE) who served under Southern Qi prince, Xiao Baoxuan 蕭寶玄 (d.500 CE),[603] Xiao Baoyin's second elder brother. He Yuan helped the prince in his attempt to overthrow the emperor, Xiao Baojuan, yet failed. The prince was consequently executed; He Yuan was on the run and eventually crossed the border to Shouchun, in the hope of persuading Wang Su to join him and to dethrone Xiao Baojuan. Wang Su rejected He Yuan's proposal, yet promised He Yuan that he would send him back

[601] See *Wei shu* 71.1580.
[602] See *Liang shu* 28.413.
[603] For Xiao Baoxuan's biography, see *Nan Qi shu* 50.863-864.

to the south. He did keep his word, and reportedly dispatched soldiers escorting He Yuan all the way to Xiao Yan, He Yuan's last hope for military support.[604]

Another example is Shen Ling 沈陵 (n.d.), who surrendered to the Northern Wei in 494 CE and was highly valued by Emperor Xiaowen for his eloquence. Yet, when Emperor Xiaowen passed away, Shen Ling was said to be plotting defection to the south, which was discovered by his subordinate who soon reported this to the court behind Shen Ling's back. However, Wang Su, then Director of Imperial Secretariat, guaranteed Shen Ling's loyalty and reprimanded Shen Ling's subordinate. It turns out that Wang Su put trust in the wrong person because Shen Ling fled back to the south shortly after.

Our sources give no indication if Wang Su was punished afterwards. But as a southerner who occupied several positions of power in the Northern Wei government, Wang Su had long been a target of suspicion and jealousy. He was once wrongly accused of attempted defection and the false accuser was a southern defector. Given that little is known of this defector more than his name, he might be a nobody.[605] If so, how could he discover a high official's scheme? The *Wei shu* later tells us that it was Prince of Rencheng, Yuan Cheng, who believed the accusation and requested the court to suspend Wang Su from his position.[606] In another reference in the *Wei shu*, we are told that Yuan Cheng had been dissatisfied with Wang Su's prominence, for Wang Su was a southerner.[607] Seen in this light, we cannot rule out the possibility that the informer in Wang Su's case may have made the accusation on Yuan Cheng's order.

Still, this episode indicates that group identity, if any, was often weak between southern migrants, and even between those who formerly served the same regime. To many border

[604] See *Liang sh*u 53.777.
[605] *Zizhi tongjian* mentions that the informer, like Wang Su, also came from the Southern Qi. The Chinese is: 齊人降者嚴叔懋. See *Zizhi tongjian* 142.4443.
[606] See *Wei shu* 19b.470.
[607] See *Wei shu* 63.1410.

crossers, a close relation with the new northern court was worth much more than old political ties in the south, or native-place connections. Pei Zhi was such an instance. Pei Zhi's uncle Pei Shuye, the Southern Qi commander at Shouchun, was planning to surrender to the Northern Wei for fear of his safety under a jealous Southern Qi ruler, but died of illness before fulfilling his plan. It was Pei Zhi who gave over the city in 500 CE that the Northern Wei government had been attempting to take for its strategic location. Pei Zhi was accordingly awarded a noble title, a high-ranking official post, and a lush fief of one thousand households. The rich rewards notwithstanding, Pei Zhi was disgruntled with the Northern Wei's disrespect to him. He went so far as to complain, in formal and informal gatherings, that his "[my] talent and [my] family status are not lower than Wang Su's,"[608] but that he could not get a much more prestigious position at court. Whether to modern eyes or to Pei Zhi's and Wang Su's contemporaries in the south, what Pei Zhi said is odd in the sense that Wang Su was a scion of the Langye Wangs, while Pei Zhi was from the Peis of Hedong, a family of merely regionally prominence at the time. If both men were still in the south, one may wonder if Pei Zhi would make such comment.

Nevertheless, the case of Pei Zhi shows the extent to which the Northern Wei government valued Pei Zhi's defection and the "gift" he brought with him, which greatly elevated the status of the Pei family in the north. More importantly, it reveals that, in competing over imperial favor and to increase the chance of survival in foreign lands, newcomers, like Yuan Xuan and Pei Zhi, would not prioritize native-place ties once they gained a firm foothold in the new society. This is because southern migrants participated in multiple networks and held multiple identities. An individual could be a migrant, a former official of the southern regime, while simultaneously a Northern Wei official and the husband of a Northern Wei princess. But in the north, he was first and foremost a Northern Wei subject. In order to prevent

[608] The Chinese is: 人門不後王肅. See *Wei shu* 71.1570.

suspicion of defection, he needed to give salience to his Northern Wei subject identity and downplay his southerner identity.[609]

3. Conclusion

This chapter has shown another dimension of boundary work: Northern Wei elites demarcated lines between themselves and southern migrants in terms of food and language, two of the most visible cultural practices in everyday life. In so doing, they aimed to reinforce group identity and maintain their membership that was associated with privilege and power. In response to pressure from the Northern Wei government and elites, southerners either established marital ties to the Northern Wei leading families, or moved back to ancestral homes, or made use of migrant networks. No matter which approach they chose, they in fact transgressed the boundaries between northerners and southerners while strengthening the boundary among migrants.

It should be remembered that the above discussion is by no means an attempt to define a strict dichotomy between northerners and southerners; quite the contrary, it underlines internal heterogeneity among southern migrants by taking into account in which contexts they would choose to activate their Northern Wei subject identity while at the same time making their southerner identity latent.

[609] Éric Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200-450 CE* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2012), 3-5.

Chapter Four: Those Who Were Left Behind

In the fifth year [of the Taishi era (469 CE)] Qing Province succumbed to caitiffs [i.e., the Northern Wei]. [Liu] Shanming's mother was therefore trapped in the north and the caitiffs moved her to Sanggan. Liu Shanming, who was sorrowful and grievous, wore coarse cloth and ate only vegetables as if he was observing mourning rites. Whenever Emperor Ming saw Liu Shanming he would sigh, and Liu's contemporaries praised Liu Shanming [for his filial piety]. [Later on] Liu Shanming was promoted to General Pacifying the Northern Regions and Governor of the two commanderies Baxi and Zitong.[610] [However,] because his mother [was detained] among the caitiffs, Liu Shanming was unwilling to travel west [to take the new post]. Sobbing, he firmly requested [not to go], and was permitted [to stay]. The court officials mostly sympathized [Liu] Shanming's tragedy. In the first year of the Yuanhui era (473 CE), the [Southern Qi] court was preparing to send an envoy to the north. The court conference concluded to let [Liu] Shanming recommend someone. Liu Shanming recommended his countryman Tian Huishao of Beiping to serve as envoy to the caitiffs. [Through diplomatic efforts] Tian Huishao [finally] redeemed [Liu Shanming's] mother and returned her home.[611]

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[610] Baxi commandery 巴西郡 was in fact an immigrant commandery, which lacked real territory. From the Eastern Jin to the Liang dyansty, it had been temporarily lodged in Zitong commandery 梓潼郡. Baxi Zitong commanderies, one of *shuangtou jun* 雙頭郡 (lit. double-headed commanderies) at the time, was governed by the same governor and was located in present-day Sichuan province, which was to the west of the Liu-Song capital of Jiankang. For a discussion of such commanderies, see Hu Axiang 胡阿祥, "Dong Jin Nanchao shuangtou zhoujun kaolun 東晉南朝雙頭州郡考論," in *Zhongguo minghao yu zhonggu dili tansuo* 中國名號與中古地理探索 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 2013), 250-265, particularly p. 253.

[611] See *Nan Qi shu* 28. 523. The Chinese is: [泰始]五年, 青州沒虜, 善明母陷北, 虜移置桑乾. 善明布衣蔬食, 哀戚如持喪. 明帝每見, 為之歎息. 時人稱之. 轉寧朔將軍、巴西梓潼二郡太守. 善明以母在虜中，不願西行，涕泣固請，見許。朝廷多哀善明心事。元徽初，遣北使，朝議令善明舉人，善明舉州鄉北平田惠紹使虜，贖得母還。Translation modified from Timothy Davis 2015, 75.

In Chapter 1, we have described how, in 469 CE, a great number of people from Qing and Qi provinces, formerly under Liu-Song rule, were uprooted and relocated to the Pingcheng area by the Northern Wei government. Chapter 2 and 3 have also examined the challenges they may have faced when they arrived in the host country. But we have not discussed how and to what extent their absence changed the lives of their families in the south, as vividly illustrated in the story above. Therefore, the goal of this chapter is to give close inspection to those who were left behind, a last piece of the puzzle that needs to be put into place in order to complete our picture of southern migrants during the Northern Wei. This chapter will analyze the practices of ransoming and repatriation of the deceased, the dilemma faced by descendants between being a loyal official or a filial son, and the two-wives issue, as well as the cross-border networks between migrants and their relatives in the south.

1. Paying Ransom

Constant military conflict was a part of life when the Northern Wei and the southern regimes contended to be the dominant power at the expense of the other; even during periods of truce, low-level friction at the border areas was not uncommon. Consequently, large numbers of men and women, both soldiers and civilians were displaced. Once people crossed the North-South border for whatever reasons, it was difficult for their families that remained behind, regardless of their status, to learn of their whereabouts, and even more so at times when both regimes severed diplomatic ties.[612]

Yet their families did not give up hope of their loved ones returning alive. In most cases that are available to us, such families strived to search for, and then rescue, their missing

[612] One example is Chen Tanlang 陳曇朗 (529-556 CE), the nephew of the founder of the Chen dynasty (557-589 CE). Chen Tanlang was dispatched by the Chen court as a hostage to the Northern Qi, yet was killed not long after. By the time he was murdered, the Chen dynasty had severed diplomatic relations with the Northern Qi, so his relatives did not learn the death of Chen Tanlang until five years later when the Chen dynasty rebuilt its relationship with the Northern Qi. See *Chen shu* 14.210-211.

relatives. They were willing to pay money, silk, gold, or exotic goods,[613] and usually paid large sums for the ransom. Liu Lingzhe 劉靈哲 (446-494 CE) reportedly "exhausted all family assets"[614] to ransom his mother and nephew who were taken to the north after the Northern Wei conquest of their hometown in 468 CE. Zhen Mi 甄密 (d.542 CE) "gave all his wealth"[615] for the release of his countryman who was captured by Liang troops. Zhang Dang 張讜 (d.474 CE) was said to have paid more than one thousand bolts of silk to bring his abducted wife, Lady Huangfu, back, and the Northern Wei Emperor Wencheng was surprised about the fact that Zhang Dang paid such high price for an aging woman.[616] Even the Liu-Song Emperor Ming paid one thousand *liang* 兩 (1 *liang* was approximately 15 grams during the Liu-Song era)[617] of gold in order to redeem his younger brother Liu Chang who sought asylum in the Northern Wei.[618]

Ransoms were costly, and beyond the ability of most people who needed to pay them. Faced with the possibility that their relatives would long be held in captivity or even die in foreign lands, many people nonetheless tried every available option, and raised large sums of money by whatever means necessary. A good example is Liu Shanming. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, his mother had fallen into the hands of the Northern Wei army in 469 CE. To rescue his mother, even though he believed that "an official should be incorrupt, and [if one did it, he will be] enough to be a model for his sons and grandsons,"[619] Liu Shanming was forced to break his word. He was said to take as many bribes as he could during his service in the provinces, and all of these bribes went to pay for his mother's

[613] Such as goods from the southern lands (*nanhuo* 南貨) in the case of Fu Wenji 傅文驥 (n.d.). See *Wei shu* 70.1561.
[614] The Chinese is: 傾產. See *Nan Qi shu* 27.504.
[615] The Chinese is: 盡私財. See *Wei shu* 68.1518.
[616] See *Wei shu* 61.1370. On Lady Huangfu, see Chapter 1.
[617] Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠, *San dao shisi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang* 三到十四世紀中國的權衡度量 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1993), 117.
[618] See *Nan shi* 14.403.
[619] The Chinese is: 為吏當清, 子孫楷栻足矣. See *Nan shi* 49.1231.

freedom.[620] This indicates that an official like Liu Shanming was not able to accumulate the necessary amount for a ransom from his regular salary; he needed additional money to cope with an emergency such as this. If so, there can be little doubt that most families had no ability to pay off a ransom and those who were capable of ransoming their loved ones were likely the minority.

Among the twelve recorded cases from the dynastic histories, eight were released through private ransom, four were rescued by the state, showing that it was often down to border crossers' relatives and associates to find the way to pay ransom through informal channels. Exactly how, then, did they ransom those who were forced to stay in the Northern Wei? Most of our sources omit the details. Fortunately, Cui Mo's story provides an unusual opportunity to catch a glimpse into this process. After Cui Mo surrendered to the Northern Wei in 431 CE, his two sons in the south sought to bring him back, so much so that they reportedly "garnered goods and bribed officials at the frontier pass."[621] They seemed to have also bribed an envoy and entrusted him with the task of smuggling Cui Mo back to the south.[622] Before this, one can surmise that Cui Mo's sons needed to know which officials could be bribed and how much they should pay for the ransom. There may have been a middleman who could tell them the information they needed and arrange a "business deal" for them.

Cui Mo's sons eventually found their father, but in many cases, border crossers' families were not so lucky. They may have kept searching for their loved ones but "had no news for

[620] Scholars have noted that, during the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties, the income of local officials was much higher than that of court officials, for they had subsidies from local communities. For discussions on such additional incomes, see, for example, Yan Gengwang 嚴耕望, *Zhongguo difang xingzheng zhidu shi: Wei Jin Nanbeichao difang xingzheng zhidu* 中國地方行政制度史: 魏晉南北朝地方行政制度(Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), 386-397 and Liu Shufen 1992, 86-90.

[621] The Chinese is: 乃聚貨物，間託關境. See *Wei shu* 24.627.

[622] The Chinese is: 行人遂以財賄至都，當竊模還. See *Wei shu* 24.627. It was not uncommon for envoys to get involved in smuggling. For example, Wei Shou, the author of the *Wei shu*, once entrusted his student to an envoy to the Chen dynasty for the purpose of purchasing exotic goods from the Southern Seas (present-day Southeast Asia). See *Bei Qi shu* 37.492. For a discussion of envoys who smuggled people and valuables across borders, see Tsai Tsung-hsien 2008, 332-343.

years,"[623] or found where the missing family members were, but, for unknown reasons, could not bring them back.[624] Only in some special occasions did the government step in and help these suffering families. As noted before, five years after Liu Shanming's mother had been detained in the north, the Liu-Song Emperor Ming finally sent an envoy to negotiate her return. Similarly, after decades of searching his mother and nephew, Liu Lingzhe seemed to have reached a dead end. Sympathizing with Liu Lingzhe's wretched situation, the Southern Qi Emperor Wu asked, through a Northern Wei envoy,[625] that Liu Lingzhe's mother and nephew be allowed to come home.

There are two ransom cases involved emperors' family members. Regardless of their status and power, bringing their relatives back from the rival Northern Wei was by no means easy for southern emperors. As shown above, the Liu-Song Emperor Ming, like others, had to pay ransom for the release of his younger brother; even so, his request was rejected by the Northern Wei government. Likewise, after his maternal cousin Zhang Huishao 張惠紹 (456-519 CE) was captured, the Liang ruler Xiao Yan was said to send a *yishu* 移書 (an official letter between equals)[626] to the Northern Wei throne, requesting the freedom of Zhang Huishao. The Prince of Rencheng, who was the captor of Zhang Huishao, suggested that the emperor turn down Xiao Yan's request, yet the Northern Wei emperor and the majority of his court officials decided to subtly deal with Zhang's ransom case. As a result, Zhang Huishao was permitted to return south.[627]

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[623] The Chinese is 累年不能得. See *Nan Qi shu* 27.504.
[624] See *Nan Qi shu* 30.554.
[625] Our source does not specify who this envoy was. According to Tsai Tsung-hsien's study, during Southern Qi Emperor Wu's reign, the Northern Wei court sent envoys to the Southern Qi at least eleven times. See Tsai Tsung-hsien 2008, 396-400.
[626] On *yishu*, see Han Xuesong 2009, 151-154.
[627] On Zhang Huishao's capture, see *Wei shu* 19.473 and *Wei shu* 98.2173. It should be noted that Zhang Huishao's biography in the *Liang shu* never mentioned his capture. This is perhaps because southerners were shamed for their capture, or southern chroniclers chose to omit such shameful experience. Other examples could be given here. Liu Wenwei 劉聞慰 (446-491 CE), a Southern Qi official, was once captured by the Northern Wei yet later fled back to the south. The *Wei shu* records his capture but the *Nan Qi shu* ignores it. Similarly, a Liang official Zhang Gao 張皋 (n.d.) was said to submit to the north after his defeat. But this episode is noted

Why did the Northern Wei government respond differently to Liu Chang's and Zhang Huishao's cases? One possible reason is that even though both men were the relatives of emperors, Liu Chang's status was much higher than that of Zhang Huishao. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, Liu Chang, a Liu-Song prince, was as rightful an heir to the imperial throne of the Liu-Song as his brother Emperor Ming. The Northern Wei government could invade and occupy the south in the name of Liu Chang, so Liu Chang was detained in the north.

Moreover, we should take into account the context of both cases. When the Liu-Song emperor asked for the return of Liu Chang, the Northern Wei was getting stronger, and was very much willing to wage war against its southern rival. By contrast, by the time Xiao Yan requested Zhang Huishao's freedom, the Northern Wei had reached its height, which also means that it had started on a path of slow decline; at the same time, it had only been two years since Xiao Yan had ascended the throne and the power of the Liang was beginning to eclipse that of the Northern Wei. In other words, the changing political scene played a part in both regimes' treatment of war captives. While the *Wei shu* used the euphemism of "intending to show its majesty and generosity"[628] to explain why the Northern Wei decided to release Xiao Yan's maternal cousin, the truth may be that, to the Northern Wei, there was no need to wage another war with the Liang for someone like Zhang Huishao.

In the following decades, the Northern Wei government was occupied by internal power struggles and the Liang emperor devoted himself to Buddhism and seemed to be tired of warfare as he aged. Both sides hence preferred exchanging prisoners to squandering money

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only in Yan Zhitui's *Huan yuan ji* 還冤記 (Record of Vengeful Souls). These examples suggest that many more such examples were possibly excluded from the records. For Zhang Huishao's biography, see *Liang shu* 18.285-286. For Liu Wenwei's biographies, see *Wei shu* 43.969 and *Nan Qi shu* 53.917-918. For Zhang Gao's story, see Luo Guowei 羅國威, *Yuanhunzhi jiaozhu* 冤魂志校注 (Chengdu: Ba Shu shushe, 2001), 60-61.

[628] The Chinese is: 欲示威懷. See *Wei shu* 98.2173.

on war.[629] This is manifest in the case of the Northern Wei court official Dong Shao 董紹 (n.d.). When Dong Shao was captured in battle by the Liang in 508 CE, the Northern Wei ruler ordered the officials in charge to negotiate Dong Shao's liberation with the Liang by offering several surrendered Liang generals. Xiao Yan agreed. His purpose, as he told Dong Shao as the latter departed, was that Dong Shao, as a middleman, "could harmonize relations between both states, and thereby both sides would not disturb their people anymore. "[630]

Xiao Yan later permitted several exiled Northern Wei imperial clansmen to leave, including Yuan Yü 元彧 (d.530 CE),[631] Yuan Yue 元悅 (d.532 CE)[632] and Yuan Lüe 元略 (486-528 CE).[633] He also dispatched soldiers to escort them back to the Northern Wei capital. There are many more cases like these throughout the mid-sixth century, showing a shift to a more passive defensive stance: war captives and surrendered men were used by the Liang ruler to secure a more advantageous position to negotiate peace with his enemy. Even if such a negotiating tactic did not work, the released northerners might be potential allies that were less willing to take up arms against the Liang once they returned.[634]

Such smooth exchanges were not, however, the norm. The cases above show that there was no official institution that dealt with ransoming at that time. The state took the initiative to provide support to certain members of the population only, such as imperial clansmen, the emperor's maternal relatives, court officials, and border generals. For others, the prospect of rescue was dim and did not happen on a regular basis.

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[629] See *Liang shu* 38.543.
[630] The Chinese is: 令卿通兩家之好，彼此息民. See *Wei shu* 79.1758.
[631] See *Wei shu* 18.420.
[632] See *Wei shu* 22.597.
[633] See *Wei shu* 19b.506-507 and *Liang shu* 36.524.
[634] See Tsai Hsing-Chuan 2008, 127-130. For example, Heba Sheng 賀拔勝 (d.544 CE) who fled south, along with his troops, to Jiankang when the Northern Wei split into the Western Wei and Eastern Wei. It was not until early 537 CE that Heba Sheng and his men were allowed to return north. He was said to be treated generously by Xiao Yan, and for this reason he, after returning north, never killed any birds or beasts that ran southward. See *Zhou shu* 14.219.

Table 4.1 Ransom Cases between 386 and 534 CE

No.	Name	Gender	Status/ Occupation	Year of Crossing	Who Paid the Ransom	Channel	Source
1	Cui Mo 崔模	M	Official	431 CE	Cui Mo's sons	Private ransom; through envoy?	*WS* 24
2	Lady Huangfu 皇甫氏	F	The wife of an official	Emperor Wencheng	Zhang Dang 張讜 (Lady Huangfu's husband)	Private ransom	*WS* 61
3	Liu Chang 劉昶	M	The Liu-Song prince	465 CE	Liu Jun 劉駿 (Emperor; Liu Chang's brother)	Government	*NS* 14
4	Lady Suo 索氏	F	Official's mother	466 CE	Xue Yuan 薛淵 (Lady Suo's son)	Private ransom; through envoy	*NQS* 30
5	Lady Cui 崔氏	F	Official's mother	468 CE?	Liu Lingzhe 劉靈哲 (Lady Cui's son)	Private ransom; through envoy	*NQS* 27
6	Liu Jinghuan 劉景煥	M		468 CE?	Liu Lingzhe (Liu Jinghuan's uncle)	Private ransom; through envoy	*NQS* 27
7	Liu Shanming's	F	Official's mother	469 CE	Liu Shanming 劉善明 (son)	Private ransom;	*NQS* 28

	mother 劉善明母					through envoy	
8	Zhang Huishao 張惠紹	M	Military official	504 CE	Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (Emperor; Zhang Huishao's maternal cousin)	Government	*WS* 19
9	Su Liang 蘇良	M	Soldier?	507 CE	Zhen Mi 甄密 (Su Liang's countryman)	Private ransom	*BS* 40
10	Dong Shao 董紹	M	Court official	508 CE	The state	Government	*WS* 79; *WS* 37
11	Fu Wenji's mother and wife 傅文驥母、妻	F	Official's mother and wife	511 CE	Fu Wenji (son and husband)	Private ransom	*WS* 70
12	Jiang Ge 江革	M	Official	525 CE	The state	Government	*LS* 36; *WS* 19b

2. Returning the Dead

If border crossers died in the Northern Wei, their families in the south also endeavored to bring their bodies home. The repatriation of mortal remains was a convention that had been in place since early China.[635] Ideally, the deceased, whether man or woman, young or old, were transported back to their native soil and buried in family graves if they died away from

[635] In the Longgan 龍崗 Qin bamboo slips excavated in the year of 1989, which record laws concerning the Qin imperial parks, two slips says that when a commoner who bore the corvee in an imperial park yet had unfortunately died and remained unburied, the Qin government should provide a coffin to carry the body to the family of the deceased. For a discussion of the two slips, see Liu Kewei, "A Discussion of the Han Dynasty's Systems of Coffin Bestowal," *Journal of Chinese Studies (Chinese University of Hong Kong)* 60 (2015): 28-30.

home. Yet, in reality, the transfer of bodies from one place to another was costly, time-consuming, and perilous,[636] so not all would have been able to afford repatriation. It is especially so in the case of death abroad. The one who undertook the duty of conveying the dead to the family graveyard needed to travel over vast distances; moreover, in early medieval period, interstate wars made transferring coffins safely from the territory of the Northern Wei to the south, or vice versa, extremely difficult, if not impossible.

Among the eleven recorded cases that involve such transportation of human remains (see Table 4.2), we see six officials, two imperial clansmen, two envoys, and one official's wife. Of the six officials, four were border officials who lost their lives in North-South wars, and two were former Liu-Song subjects who surrendered to the Northern Wei in the late fifth century. The two imperial clansmen include one Northern Wei prince who defected to the Liang and a Liang prince who submitted to the Northern Wei. The two envoys met their ends during their diplomatic missions. The only woman in our sources travelled with her husband to his post in Hanzhong 漢中 (in present-day Southern Shaanxi province), but unfortunately died there.

All these cases occurred at a time when border crossing was generally not allowed; moreover, in the Northern Wei Pingcheng period, the free movement of people was strictly regulated: the Northern Wei government forbade people to exit through the passes to bury the remains of their relatives in ancestral cemeteries,[637] and the forced migrants from Qing and Qi provinces, discussed in Chapter 1, were also forbidden to go back to their hometowns. For such reasons, despite the fact that Zhang Dang's son had been hoping that his father, a Liu-

[636] Some southern sources describe the great trouble involved in the operation of transporting remains of loved ones. In one story, a Liu-Song official Zhuge Fu 諸葛覆 (n.d.) died in Jiuzhen 九真 (modern northern Vietnam) and his son who accompanied him took the duty to transport the remains back to the capital. Nevertheless, the young man was murdered on his way home because his travelling companions were greedy for his money. For this story, see Luo Guowei 2001, 60-61. Jessey Choo has discussed the challenges imposed on those who undertook such travel during the Tang dynasty in her dissertation. See Jessey Jiun-Chyi Choo, "Historicized Ritual and Ritualized History: Women's Life-Cycle Rituals in Medieval China, 600-1000 AD" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2009), 193-202.

[637] The Chinese is: 時禁制甚嚴，不聽越關葬於舊兆. See *Wei shu* 86.1882.

Song official who surrendered to the Northern Wei in 468 CE, could be interred in the family tomb in Qinghe, Qi province, his request was repeatedly rejected by the government; consequently, Zhang Dang's coffin was stored at his home in Pingcheng for nearly six years.[638] In one extreme instance, a son who could not bring his parents' remains home in Tianshui 天水 (in modern southeastern Gansu province) was said to have kept the coffins in his house for over thirty years.[639]

Yet, the personal wishes of burying their loved ones at home prevailed occasionally over government policy, as in the case of Cui Huaishen 崔懷慎 (d.ca.488 CE) who was willing to break the law merely to bring the remains of his father all the way back to Qing province.[640] Cui Huaishen's father Cui Xieli was a Liu-Song governor but surrendered to the Northern Wei in battle in 450 CE. And Cui Huaishen, who was originally separated from his father, was also removed to Pingcheng eighteen years later, as his hometown was conquered by the Northern Wei. Being forced to leave his hometown behind must have been challenging for Cui Huaishen, but even worse was that although he had longed for a reunion with his father, he discovered Cui Xieli's death upon his arrival in the north. Even though both men, according to the law of the Northern Wei, were not allowed to go back to their hometown in Qing province, it is said that the grief-stricken Cui Huaishen "walked barefoot on ice and snow. Although the *qi* of the earth was harshly cold, [Cui Huaishen's] hands and feet did not get frostbite. Contemporaries attribute it to a filial miracle."[641]

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[638] See *Wei shu* 61.1369.

[639] Zhao Yan 趙琰 (n.d.) who hailed from Tianshui but moved to Pingcheng during the early years of the Northern Wei. After his parents passed away, he had been planning to bury them in their family graveyard in Tianshui, yet, as noted above, the Northern Wei government banned people traversing the forts and passes. As a result, Zhao Yan's parents were not interred for over thirty years. See *Wei shu* 86.1882. This story is also recorded in the *Bei shi*, but *Bei shi* claims that Zhao Yan kept his parent's remains in the house for more than four decades. See *Bei shi* 34.1260-1261.

[640] See *Wei shu* 24.627 and *Nan Qi shu* 55.956. It is unclear when Cui Xieli died, yet Cui Xieli's body was plausibly buried in Sanggan near the old Northern Wei capital of Pingcheng and was later exhumed to be interred again in his family tomb in Qing province.

[641] The Chinese is: 徒跣冰雪，土氣寒酷，而手足不傷，時人以為孝感. See *Nan Qi shu* 55.956.

The same holds true for Cui Chengzong 崔承宗 (n.d.). As noted earlier, Cui Chengzong's mother accompanied his father, a Liu-Song official, on his posting to Hanzhong, but died during his tenure there. The word the *Wei shu* uses to describe how Cui Chengzong's father dealt with his wife's remains is *bin* 殯, which literally means "to encoffin a corpse in preparation for burial."[642] This suggests that the Cui family hoped to transfer Cui Chengzong's mother's coffin back to the family cemetery in Qi province. Nonetheless, Qi province fell to the Northern Wei in 468 CE, so travelling between Hanzhong under the Liu Song's jurisdiction and Qi province under the Northern Wei had since been forbidden. Cui Chengzong, whose nature was reportedly extremely filial, hence "took risk to travel over ten thousand *li* and stealthily carried his mother's coffin back to the capital."[643] The capital here refers to Pingcheng, for Cui Chengzong was a forced migrant from Qi province, so he was relocated to the Northern Wei capital region, and was not allowed to return to his hometown in Qi province. However, evidence shows that a Cui Chengzong donated money for the construction of a Buddhist statuary inscription in Qi province in the year of 483 CE.[644] If this Cui Chengzong is the one mentioned in the *Wei shu*, Cui Chengzong may have been permitted to return to his hometown no later than that year. It is nonetheless uncertain if he reburied his mother's remains in Qi province.

As in the case of ransom, the state stepped in to negotiate cross-state transportation of corporeal remains only under certain circumstances and only for certain groups of people,

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[642] Translation follows Paul W. Kroll, *A Student's Dictionary of Classical and Medieval Chinese* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2015), 24. One example to prove that *bin* 殯 differs from *zang* 葬 can be seen in the biography of Hu Sou 胡叟 (lit. old Hu) in the *Wei shu*. It says, when Hu Sou died, no one took care of his burial except his clansman, Hu Shichang 胡始昌. The latter first carried Hu Sou's remains back home, then encoffined it in his house, and buried Hu Sou. The Chinese is: (胡) 叟死, 無有家人營主凶事, 胡始昌迎而殯之於家, 葬於墓次. See *Wei shu* 52.1152.

[643] The Chinese is: 萬里投險, 偷路負喪還京師. See *Wei shu* 86.1885. During the Northern Wei period, ten thousand *li* was equal to 4,600 kilometers. But the term "ten thousand *li* (*wanli* 萬里)" in this story is more likely used to emphasize the fact that Cui Chengzong took a very long journey, not the exact distance he travelled.

[644] For this statuary inscription, see Mao Yuanming 毛遠明, ed., *Han Wei Liuchao beike jiaozhu* 漢魏六朝碑刻校注 (Beijing: Xianzhuang shuju, 2008), vol.3, 264-265.

such as border generals and envoys. Sima Yue, grandson of the exiled Eastern Jin imperial clansman Sima Chuzhi, was murdered and beheaded by a soldier when he was stationed at Xuanhu as Regional Inspector of Yu province. The rebel soldier later gave over the city and sent Sima Yue's head to the southern ruler Xiao Yan, perhaps as proof of Sima Yue's demise. After taking back Xuanhu, the Northern Wei emperor immediately ordered his officials to negotiate with the Liang and offered two surrendered Liang generals to exchange Sima Yue's head.[645]

As southern border officials died in north-south battles, the southern regime also took a similar procedure. For example, when Northern Wei troops besieged the fortress of Yiyang in 504 CE, the Liang Regional Inspector of Si province 司州刺史 Cai Daogong 蔡道恭, who was stationed at Yiyang at the time, died of illness. Yiyang eventually fell into Northern Wei hands, but the Liang emperor still issued an edict, asking his officials to "search and purchase Cai Daogong's coffin" that may have fallen to the Northern Wei.[646]

Cai Daogong's case also reminds us that repatriations of the dead were not a charity affair. The Liang emperor seemed to have used state funds to purchase Cai Daogong's coffin in order to bring it back. But it may not have been enough. So, after the Northern Wei agreed to return Cai Daogong's body, Cai Daogong's family sent female musicians to the northern court in exchange for Cai Daogong's remains. Sometimes transactions were made through an exchange of prisoners. As mentioned earlier, the Northern Wei emperor exchanged Sima Yue's head for two Liang generals. When a Northern Wei military man Hu Xiaohu 胡小虎 (n.d.) was killed in battle with the Liang, the Northern Wei government also sought to exchange his corpse for a captured Liang general. Of note, the term the *Wei shu* uses to describe the transaction is *gou* 購, meaning purchase.[647]

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[645] *Wei shu* 37.859.
[646] The Chinese is: 尋購喪櫬. See *Liang shu* 10.194 and *Nan shi* 55.1365.
[647] The Chinese is: 購其屍柩. See *Wei shu* 87.1895.

The next question that arises is how did this process of cross-border coffin repatriation function? The transportation practice is not explicitly explained in our sources, but the remains of the deceased, such as the aforementioned military commanders, were very likely brought back by envoys. Even though I have not successfully found any examples in the sources of the time period under consideration, there are many such instances in the latter part of the Northern Dynasties. Wei Chong 韋沖 (d.602 CE?) was dispatched by the Northern Zhou (557-581 CE) emperor to bring one thousand horses to the southern state of Chen to ransom fifty Northern Zhou subjects as well as a Northern Zhou general's mortal remains.[648] Chen Tanlang, nephew of the founding Chen dynasty emperor, died in the Northern Qi as a hostage. Learning of his death, Chen Tanlang's cousin, Chen Emperor Wen 陳文帝 (r.560-566 CE), sent an official who travelled with two envoys to the Northern Qi for the purpose of bringing Chen Tanlang's coffin back to the south.[649]

If it was envoys who died abroad, the state would be responsible for the repatriation of their remains. Envoys were plausibly the only group that could legally cross the border between the north and south, but their job was by no means without risk. First of all, it usually took months to travel between the capitals of the Northern Wei and the southern regimes.[650] Spending such a long time on the road required great physical strength, as travelers faced all kinds of dangers and challenges, in the form of armed robbers, bands of unruly soldiers eager to ambush travelers, poor road conditions, or terrible weather. After reaching the destination, their safety was not necessarily guaranteed. A Northern Wei envoy

[648] See *Sui shu* 47.1269.
[649] See *Chen shu* 14.201-211.
[650] According to Tsai Tsung-hsien's calculation, it usually took thirty to forty-nine days to travel between Pingcheng and Jiankang. See Tsai Tsung-hsien 2008, 304.

Gao Tui 高推 (d.438 CE) who was dispatched by Emperor Taiwu to the Liu Song was reported to have died of illness in Jiankang.[651]

A more extreme case is Che Senglang. As mentioned in Chapter 3, he was sent to Pingcheng on behalf of the Southern Qi emperor but lost his life abroad. At one court audience (*chaohui* 朝會), the Northern Wei officials in charge arranged for Che Senglang to stand behind Yin Lingdan 殷靈誕 (d.482 CE?), a Liu-Song envoy who was forced to stay in the north after the Liu-Song was overthrown by the Southern Qi. Che Senglang was upset by such arrangement, and he had good reason to be angry: ceremonial audiences were extremely delicate in the sense that they signified to what degree the host wished to honor the envoy and his ruler. In other words, the host's disrespect "could be demonstrated by manipulation of protocol, and could be aimed at undermining the envoy himself or at sending an aggressive message"[652] to his ruler. Thus, being arranged to stand after a former envoy whose regime was replaced by the Southern Qi, to Che Senglang, was not a diplomatic blunder on the Northern Wei's side, but a criticism of the legitimacy of the Southern Qi dynasty.[653] As the Southern Qi representative, Che Senglang argued with not solely Yin Lingdan but also the Northern Wei officials in charge. In the heat of conflict, Che Senglang was allegedly killed by an assassin sent by the exiled Liu-Song prince Liu Chang.[654]

To the host country, the death of an envoy was the last thing they would expect and something they would hope to avoid in order to not provoke a larger conflict with the envoy's

[651] See *Wei shu* 48.1091. Another example is Zhang Sining 張思寧 (d.494 CE?) who was on his mission to the Southern Qi, accompanied his superior Lu Chang 盧昶 (d.516 CE), under the order of Emperor Xiaowen. Upon their arrival in Jiankang, Xiao Luan, who later founded the Southern Qi dynasty, unexpectedly usurped the throne, giving Emperor Xiaowen an excuse to invade the south. Outraged, Xiao Luan kept Zhang Sining and Lu Chang in custody. He also tortured Zhang to force the latter to yield, but Zhang Sining refused to surrender and eventually died in Jiankang. Yet our source is silent about how his body was dealt with. It is most likely that Zhang Sining's remains were brought home when Lu Chang was later permitted to return to the Northern Wei.
[652] Andrew Gillett, *Envoys and Political Communication in the Late Antique West, 411-533* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 254.
[653] There are some similar examples that suggest the standing order of envoys matter. See *Nan Qi shu* 58.1009-1010 and *Zhou shu* 48.876.
[654] *Wei shu* 98.2164; *Nan Qi shu* 57.988-989; *Bei shi* 3.97. The assassin was called Xie Fengjun 解奉君 (d.482 CE), who had also surrendered from the overthrown Liu-Song. See *Wei shu* 7a.151.

home country, or even a war. Once it happened, the host country would usually arrange an appropriate funeral for the deceased and send the coffin home, in order to placate its neighbor and show respect to the deceased envoy. For example, after Che Senglang's tragic death, Emperor Xiaowen specifically instructed his officials to oversee the preparation and transport of the remains of Che Senglang all the way to Jiankang.[655]

From the above discussion, it is little wonder that there was a considerable time span involved in the whole procedure of transporting of the corpse. In the case of cross-border repatriation, how and when to return the remains of officials and envoys to their home country was a thorny issue. Both countries would need time to negotiate the details of repatriation, such as specific permits for fords and passes, as well as state border passage, and settle any disputes. Sima Yue's funerary epigraph tells us that even though the Northern Wei emperor asked his officials to negotiate with the Liang for Sima Yue's head right after Xuanhu was taken back by the Northern Wei, it was not until four year later that Sima Yue's corpse was officially buried in his ancestral graveyard in Wen county of Henei commandery.[656] Likewise, the Liang dynasty also took five years to attain the Northern Wei's approval to return Cai Daogong's corpse.

No matter who was responsible for the repatriation, and no matter how long it took, the cases above express a longing to return home and demonstrate that moving a corpse back to the place of origin, for family members of the deceased, was an important practice of filial piety. Yet, when it came to bringing the deceased home, a crucial question is where the home was. It was a tricky question for the cross-border migrants under study. For some, such as Zhang Dang's sons and Cui Huaishen, the answer was relatively simple: their hometowns were located in Qing and Qi provinces. Despite the fact that the two provinces were once part of the territory of the Liu-Song dynasty, they were absorbed by the Northern Wei after 469

[655] See *Nan Qi shu* 57.989.
[656] See Zhao Chao 2008, 57-59.

CE. Thus, even though Zhang Dang's sons, Cui Huiashen, and other aforementioned Ping Qi people were proscribed from returning home for decades, they were ultimately able to go back once the ban was lifted during Emperor Xiaowen's reign.

For others, however, their hometowns were in the far south and they were separated from the latter by a political border. They were well aware that it was impossible to return during their lifetime considering the tensions between both sides. This manifests itself in an essay entitled *Zhongzhi* 終制 (last will) written by a Liang official, Yan Zhitui. Yan Zhitui originally served at the Liang court in Jiangling 江陵 (modern Jingzhou 江州 city, Hebei province), but the Western Wei unexpectedly conquered the Liang dynasty in 555 CE and compelled most, if not all, of the Liang officials to move to the north.[657] Yan Zhitui was one of them and never returned south. "[After sojourning in the north] for decades," Yan Zhitui lamented, "I have lost hope to return home."[658]

Therefore, understandably, out of twelve recorded repatriation cases, none of the five southern men who surrendered were buried in Jiankang or any other southern city: two eventually went back to Qing and Qi provinces, one was unknown, one was buried in Luoyang,[659] and one was buried in Henei commandery in the north. The last one, Sima Yue, deserves further discussion. Although his head was sent to Jiankang, once the capital of the Eastern Jin his ancestors had built, Sima Yue's final resting place was not in the southern capital but at his ancestral home in the north.

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[657] After the fall of the Liang, Liang court officials were mostly compelled to resettle in the Western Wei capital of Chang'an. There are many records regarding this forced migration, see, for example, *Liang shu* 34.504, *Chen shu* 32.424-425, and *Bei shi* 62.2219. Yet, the conquest of Jiangling and the ensuing mass migration are still understudied. Two exceptions are Tian Xiaofei, *Beacon Fire and Shooting Star: The Literary Culture of the Liang (502-557)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 370-381 and Hong Weizhong 洪衛中, *Hou Sanguo: Liang mo beiqian shiren yanjiu* 後三國梁末北遷士人研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2014).

[658] The Chinese is: 數十年間, 還於絕望. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 20.598.

[659] The deceased is Xiao Zong, the second son of the Liang dynasty founder Xiao Yan. According to the *Wei shu*, he was buried at Mount Song 嵩山 south of Luoyang in 531 CE. However, in 538 CE, some southerners stole his remains back to the south and Xiao Yan ultimately buried Xiao Zong in the Xiao family graveyard. See *Wei shu* 59.1326.

What is more, although the Northern Wei government had lifted the ban on the southern migrants' burial place around 482 CE, some of those who originally came from Qing and Qi provinces chose to be interred in the Northern Wei capital for a variety of reasons. Such was the case of Fu Yong, a famous Northern Wei general who was originally from Qing province. After Fu Yong died in Luoyang in 516 CE, his son planned to bury him at Mount Mang 邙山 north of Luoyang instead of in the Fu family's ancestral cemetery in Qing province. This was because Fu Yong wanted to be buried near Li Chong and Wang Su, two eminent Northern Wei officials whom Fu Yong deeply admired, and Mount Mang was their final resting place. Therefore, during his lifetime, Fu Yong bought several acres of burial lands near Li Chong's and Wang Su' tombs and told his son that it was where he wished to eternally rest.[660] To his son, burying Fu Yong in Luoyang may have been a preferable option too. After all, bringing Fu Yong's coffin back to Qing province, as noted previously, was laborious and expensive.

A similar example can be also seen in the epitaph of Shen Hongzhi, which specifically explains why Shen's remains were buried in Pingcheng instead of in the Shen family graveyards in Jinxiang county 金鄉縣 of Yan province 兗州 (in present-day Shandong province): "since he was separated from the old burial grounds by a great distance, returning [his remains] to the crypt for burial proved too difficult."[661] It is clear from this quote that Shen Hongzhi's family thought that bringing the remains home was an ideal situation, yet their wish was not fulfilled due to practical concerns.

In addition, in the three hundred and fifty-one cases of cross-border migrants examined in this dissertation, there is no hint of reburial in hometowns in the south, even after the Sui dynasty (581-618 CE) ended a nearly two-hundred-year-long multi-state period in 589 CE. All of this suggests a change in mortuary practices, but also a change of the meaning of home.

[660] See *Wei shu* 70.1554-1555.
[661] The Chinese is: 舊墳懸遠, 歸窆理難. Translation follows Timothy Davis 2014, 601-602. As discussed in Chapter 2, Shen Hongzhi was a southerner who submitted to the Northern Wei with his elder brother, but the date of their submission is uncertain.

War and the ensuing displacement weakened the connection between the dead and their home place,[662] which was an inevitable reality for many if not most of migrants and their descendants.

Table 4.2 Repatriation of Mortal Remains between 386 and 534 CE

No	Name	Status/ Occupation	Year of Death	Year of Burial	Place of Death	Place of Burial	Source
1	Gao Tui 高推	Envoy	438 CE (Emperor Taiwu)	?	Jiankang	?	*WS* 4; *WS* 48
2	Cui Chengzong's 崔承宗 mother	Official's wife	?	Emperor Xianwen	Hanzhong	Pingcheng ?	*WS* 86
3	Cui Xieli 崔邪利	Official	?	Emperor Xianwen?	Pingcheng ? Sanggan?	Qing province	*NQS* 55
4	Zhang Dang 張讜	Official	474 CE (Emperor Xiaowen)	479 CE? 500 CE?	Pingcheng ?	Qinghe, Qi province	*WS* 61
5	Che Senglang 車僧朗	Envoy	481 CE (Emperor Xiaowen)	?	Pingcheng	His hometown in the south[663]	*WS* 98; *NQS* 57; *NS* 73
6	Cai Daogong	Regional Inspector	504 CE (Emperor	509 CE	Si province	Xiangyang	*LS* 10

[662] See Rebecca Nedostup, "Burying, Repatriating and Leaving the Dead in Wartime and Postwar China and Taiwan, 1937-1955," *Journal of Chinese History* 1, no. 1 (2017): 126.
[663] Our sources do not mention Che Senglang's hometown, but one reference in the *Nan shi* notes that Che Senglang was buried in his family graveyard. See *Nan shi* 73.1820.

	蔡道恭		Xuanwu)				
7	Xiao Zong 蕭綜	Liang imperial clansman	?	?	Luoyang	Jiankang	*WS* 59
8	Sima Yue 司馬悅	Border official	508 CE (Emperor Xuanwu)	511 CE (Emperor Xuanwu)	Jiankang	Wen county, Henei	*WS* 37
9	Hu Xiaohu 胡小虎	Border official	526 CE (Emperor Xiaoming)	?	Yi province?	?	*WS* 87
10	Yuan Yanming 元延明	Tuoba imperial clansman	530 CE	531 CE? (Emperor Xiaozhuang)	Jiankang	Luoyang?	*WS* 20
11	Gao Yong 高雍	Official	?	538 CE	Jiankang?	Ye?	*WS* 32

3. Loyalty or Filial Piety?

The next question that arises is what happened if border crossers' relatives and the state failed to bring back those who either had detained or had perished in the north? This had been a critical question since the Three Kingdom periods, an era of long-term tripartite war between the kingdoms of Cao-Wei, Shu-Han, and Sun-Wu. A very famous case that occurred in this time period is the one of Dongguan 東關 (in present-day Hanshan 含山, Anhui province). It is said that in the late fall of 252 CE, the Cao-Wei emperor launched a massive attack against the Sun-Wu, yet suffered spectacular defeat in Dongguan one month later,[664] resulting in the death of tens of thousands of Cao-Wei soldiers. In general, the government

[664] See *Sanguo zhi* 4.125.

would and should take care of the transportation of the deceased soldiers back to home,[665] yet such large-scale repatriation of human remains would have certainly been a laborious task for the Cao-Wei government; plus, Dongguan was located within the territory of the Sun-Wu. The defeated Cao-Wei troops may have been forced to quickly retreat in the face of the pursuing forces. Thus, the best-case scenario was that most, if not all, of the deceased soldiers were provisionally buried on the spot, and the worst case was that there were many untended bodies scattered on the battlefield in the aftermath of the war.

The problem is, since the remains of the deceased Cao-Wei soldiers were not transported back and buried at their ancestral graveyards, many families of the deceased thought that the burial was not completed, and for this reason they should have continued to wear mourning until they collected the remains and completed the burial. Their wish sounded reasonable, yet was nearly impossible to fulfill given the tense political condition between the Cao-Wei and the Sun-Wu. As a result, many people observed extended mourning and some even wore mourning for life. Worse than that, since they were in mourning, they refused marriages and refused to serve in office. There may have been so many people who took such drastic actions that it greatly affected the function of the government, so the Cao-Wei emperor eventually decreed that everyone should take off their mourning garments after three years' mourning and continue their service to the state. Little is known how effective this edict was, but since then, the case of Dongguan set a precedent of how the government of later periods handled similar issues.

What troubled the minds of the Cao-Wei people after the battle of Dongguan also troubled those of the Eastern Jin dynasty and the ensuing Southern Dynasties. With the fall of

[665] There are some references on the Han government's treatment of deceased soldiers. For example, the founding Western Han emperor ordered that his men "prepare temporary coffins for the soldiers who died at the front and send these temporary coffins, carried with the bodies, back to the home counties of these soldiers. And the local county governments should prepare funerary clothes and permanent coffins [for the burial] for them, sacrificing them with a pig and a goat. And officials of the local county governments will oversee the funerals." The Chinese is: 令士卒從軍死者為槥, 歸其縣, 縣給衣衾棺葬具, 祠以少牢, 長吏視葬." See *Han shu* 1b.65. The passage is translated by Liu Kewei with modification. See Liu Kewei 2015, 31.

the Western Jin capital, large numbers of people that stayed in the north perished or went missing. Their family members, who had earlier followed the Eastern Jin founder Sima Rui to the south, were either worried about the safety of their loved ones or grieved for the loss, but could not go northward to search for the missing relatives or collect the remains.

Therefore, some people chose to conduct soul-summoning burials (*zhaohun zang* 招魂葬) to placate the dead, and others exceeded the period of mourning prescribed by the classics. Either way, it not merely affected the individuals and families involved, but also put the government at stake. This is in part because, as Stephen Bokenkamp has pointed out, most soul-summoning burials involved a limited circle around the Western Jin prince Sima Yue 司馬越 (d.311 CE), who also had a legitimate claim to the throne, and conducting such burials publicly would remind people of the dubious legitimacy of the Eastern Jin founding emperor Sima Rui, further undermining his authority.[666] The Eastern Jin court hence denounced soul-summoning burials as unorthodox rites in 318 CE.[667]

The Eastern Jin government also issued several decrees banning people from wearing mourning for more than three years,[668] for those mourners usually rejected marriages and left their office during their mourning periods. To refuse marriage was a serious problem in that one was unlikely to have an heir, or at least have no legitimate successor. In other words, no one to continue a family's bloodline and perform sacrifice to ancestors, which is, according to the *Mengzi* 孟子, the greatest way of being unfilial.[669] From the perspective of the government, one's rejection of official duty was even more damaging, for such practice violated the interest of the state: on the one hand, it was a loss of talented men whom the

[666] For a detailed discussion of soul-summoning burials and its political implications, see Stephen R. Bokenkamp, *Ancestors and Anxiety: Daoism and the Birth of Rebirth in China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 60-94. For Sima Yue's burial, see *Jin shu* 59.1626.
[667] See *Jin shu* 6.150.
[668] See, for example, *Jin shu 20*.641.
[669] The original text is: "There are three ways of being unfilial, and to have no posterity is the greatest of them. The Chinese is: 不孝有三，無後為大. See *Mengzhi* 7a.24.

Eastern Jin needed most to staff its growing bureaucratic apparatus; on the other hand, it challenged the authorities of the Eastern Jin, who had been weak from the beginning.

Such conflicts and debates appear less often in the textual records of the Southern Dynasties, but this is not to say that they were not important at the time. In some cases, people observed extended mourning and at the same time refused marriage and entrance into public service because his father or mother was trapped or died in the north. For example, Cui Huaishen, whose father submitted to the Northern Wei, not merely divorced his wife and wore simple clothes and ate only vegetables as if he was observing mourning. Several sources also emphasize that he refused to serve in office.[670]

In other cases, some if not many officials chose to leave office or turn down a promotion in order to search for their missing family member. Xue Yuan originally defected to the Northern Wei in 466 CE along with his uncle Xue Andu, yet, for unknown reasons, fled back to the south. His mother may have fled with him, but did not successfully cross the border. Since then, Xue Yuan tried every option to ransom his mother. When he finally heard that his mother, who had remarried a man of Chang'an, was ransomed and brought to the border area between the Northern Wei and the Southern Qi, Xue Yuan immediately submitted a memorial to the Southern Qi emperor, asking permission to leave office to welcome his mother at the border.[671] His request was understandably granted. Nevertheless, the news about Xue Yuan's mother's ransom proved to be a fraud. Perhaps being too disappointed for having too much hope and unable to bear his grief anymore, Xue Yuan thereafter submitted another memorial in 483 CE for permission to leave office. But this time, the emperor turned down his request.

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[670] The Chinese is 不仕 or 不出仕. See *Wei shu* 24.627 and *Bei shi* 24.881.

[671] Xue Yuan learned of his mother's ransom from Cui Huijing 崔慧景 (438-500 CE) who then served as Regional Inspector of Liang province 梁州 (administrative seat was Nanzheng). According to Cui Huijing's biography, he served in this post between 479 and 485 CE. Therefore, Xue Yuan's resignation may have happened after 479 CE, but before 483 CE, when the emperor issued an edict to turn down his request. For Cui Huijing's biography, see *Nan Qi shu* 51.872-877.

The Southern Qi ruler's reason is articulated in his edict to Xue Yuan: "in the precedent of Dongguan, people were still required to contract marriages and serve in office. Besides, [your] mother had remarried and did not belong to your household anymore; you can hear from her from time to time. Therefore, considering the precedent, your request can not be permitted."[672] Here the emperor alluded to the Dongguan case to remind Xue Yuan that he was faced with a far less dire situation than the family members of the deceased Dongguan soldiers, and, more critically, that Xue Yuan ought to place the state above his family. This, despite demonstrating the imperial authority, reveals that the emperor needed to force his officials to continue to serve.

It is unclear if there was a legal code during the Southern Qi period to force people like Xue Yuan to carry out their official duty, but in 470 CE, one year after Qing and Qi provinces fell to the Northern Wei, the Liu-Song Emperor Ming had to issue an edict publicly banning the practice of extended mourning: "Because the border crisis has not ended, I order that those whose parents were trapped in foreign lands should get married and serve in office."[673]

There is no indication of the outcome of the emperor's proscription. Very likely it had little effect on the southern society given the relatively weak central government at the time. Despite the fact that not marrying and not entering public service was preferred by contemporaries to the point that the Liu-Song government needed to issue the edict to outlaw such practices, it seemed acceptable, too, if one chose otherwise. Cui Mo's sons were such an example. Even though Cui Mo fell into the Northern Wei hands, his sons were said to

[672] The Chinese is: 昔東關舊典, 猶通婚宦. 況母出有差; 音息時至. 依附前例, 不容申許. See *Nan Qi shu* 30.554.
[673] The Chinese is: 以邊難未息, 制父母陷異域, 悉使婚宦. See *Song shu* 8.167.

"change [only] their manners in the place of their residence, yet did not divorce their wives nor leave their office,"[674] in stark contrast to their nephew Cui Huaishen's behavior.

Their diverse choice even drew the attention of northerners. Around 460 CE,[675] when, Cui Yuansun 崔元孫 (d.466 CE), a clansman of the Cui family, arrived in the Northern Wei as a Liu-Song envoy, he was asked by northerners about why Cui Mo's sons and Cui Huaishen made different decisions since they hailed from the same family. Cui Yuansun answered this tricky question by alluding to a story of Wang Yang 王陽 (n.d.) and Wang Zun 王尊 (n.d.) in the *Han shu*: one day, when Wang Zun, Regional Inspector of Yi province 益州 (modern Yunnan and Sichuan and parts of Guizhou, Gansu, and Shaanxi provinces) of the Western Han, went out to inspect the region under his jurisdiction, he came to a notoriously dangerous mountain road which his predecessor, Wang Yang, had refused to take, for Wang Yang felt he should treasure his own life for the sake of his ancestors.[676] Wang Zun, instead, urged his driver to go ahead and said, "Hurry up! Wang Yang is a filial son, but I, Wang Zun, am a loyal official."[677]

The compilers of the *Han shu* originally chose this episode to demonstrate Wang Zun's strong personality and his impartiality. Yet, Cui Yuansun subtly changed the focus of the story, emphasizing instead that, seen from the perspective of an individual, Cui Huaishen and Cui Mo's sons made different choices, and seen from the angle of the family as a whole of which they were but a part, their behavior made it possible to "promote loyalty and filial

[674] The Chinese is: 居處改節，而不廢婚宦. Cui Huaishen's grandfather, Cui Xie 崔協, was Cui Mo's elder brother. See *Wei shu* 24.627.

[675] *Nan Qi shu* records that Cui Yuansun went to the Northern Wei in the middle of the Daming 大明 era (457-464 CE), either 460 CE or 461 CE. See *Nan Qi shu* 55.956. But, according to the *Wei shu*, Liu Song sent Ming Senggao 明僧暠 to the Northern Wei in 460 CE, and Yin Xian 尹顯 in 461 CE, but mention nothing about Cui Yuansun. See *Wei shu* 97.2144

[676] According to the *Xiaojing* 孝經 (Classic of Filial Piety), "the body, the hair and skin are received from our parents, and we do not injure them. This is the beginning of filial piety." The Chinese is: 身體髮膚, 受之父母, 不敢毀傷, 孝之始也.

[677] The Chinese is: 驅之! 王陽為孝子, 王尊為忠臣. See *Han shu* 76.3229.

piety concurrently, and fulfill the duty of officials and sons,"[678] which is contrasted with the fact that Wang Yang and Wang Zun, who had the same surname, yet actually came from different families, could only choose either filial piety or loyalty. Regardless, Cui Yuansun's answer also reveals that it was difficult to untangle one's conflicting roles, an old question that had been debated as early as the Han dynasty:[679] "how could someone play the dual roles of an official and a son simultaneously" and "how did one make a choice between being a loyal official and a filial son when the two sets of requirements clashed?"[680]

It must be noted that all discussions on this issue occurred in the south. This is not to suggest that northerners cared less about their parents or ritual propriety. The reason could be that, during the time under study, border crossers from the south to the north outnumbered those from the north to the south,[681] a phenomenon that drew the attention of not merely the southern government but also the chroniclers of the time. There are therefore more of such discussions preserved in the sources of the Southern Dynasties.

Another factor might be regional differences. Yan Zhitui, as an official from the south, states in his essay "Last Will" that he should not have served in office after being forced to go to the north and failing to arrange the reburial of his parents in the south.[682] Yet, he did not dare to do so because "the government regulations in the North are so strict that no one is permitted to live in reclusion or enter retirement."[683] This may explain why northerners were

[678] The Chinese is: 忠孝竝弘, 臣子兩遂. See *Nan shi* 73.1813. The *Nan Qi shu* version reads 遂 as 節, but this does not make any sense. See *Nan Qi shu* 55.956.
[679] See Lee Cheuk Yin, "Emperor Chengzu and Imperial Filial Piety of the Ming Dynasty: From the Classic of Filial Piety to the Biographical Accounts of Filial Piety, " in *Filial Piety in Chinese Thought and History*, ed. Alan Kam-leung Chan and Sor-hoon Tan (London; New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004), 141-53; Miranda Brown 2007, especially Chapter 1 and 2.
[680] Lee Cheuk Yin 2004, 145.
[681] Tsai Hsing-Chuan 2008, 126.
[682] When serving at the Liang court in Jiangling, Yan Zhitui had been planning to relocate his parents' remains that were provisionally interred in Jiangling to the Yan family cemetery at Jiankang. But before he could carry out his plan, the Western Wei army took over Jiangling and detained all Liang officials, including Yan Zhitui.
[683] The Chinese is: 北方政教嚴切，全無隱退者. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 20.599. Translation modified from Teng Ssu-yu 1968, 210.

surprised about Cui Huaishen's and Cui Mo's sons' different responses toward marriage and official duty.

4. The Two Wives Dilemma

Occasionally border crossers' southern wives and sons managed to join them to the north. Yet, once they arrived, they usually found themselves unwelcome, because their husbands and fathers had possibly established a new family in the north, which created the touchy two wives issue.[684] By two wives, what I mean is that a man kept two women as his spouses concurrently. It was a special but by no means a new phenomenon in the time period under investigation. It certainly happened in early China, but did not become salient until the end of the Eastern Han dynasty.[685] Many two wives cases occurred because war separated the married couples that accordingly lost contact with each other,[686] and some happened for political reasons.[687] As a result, the husbands in such cases took another woman as their new wife.

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[684] On the two wives situation, see Lee Jen-der, "Women and Marriage in China During the Period of Disunion" (PhD diss., University of Washington, 1992), 175-186; Tsai Hsing-Chuan 1995, 68-71; Tang Qiaomei 2016, 128-169.

[685] One example is Huang Chang 黃昌 (fl. 140 CE). He was a native of Guiji 會稽 (modern Shaoxing 紹興, Zhejiang province). When his first wife went to visit her parents, she was abducted on the way and then sold to someone in the Shu area. Years later Huang Chang went to Shu as the new governor and accidentally reconnected with his first wife. Huang Chang immediately took his first wife back while he had remarried. See *Hou Hanshu* 77.2497.

[686] One example is Wang Bi 王毖 (n.d.). According to the *Jin shu*, "in the first year of the Taikang 太康 (280-289 CE) period, Sima Mao, Prince of Dongping, sent in a memorial in which he asked: 'My Administrator Wang Chang's father Wang Bi originally lived in Changsha and had a wife Xi. At the end of the Han, Wang Bi was sent to the Central Kingdom as emissary. At the time the Wu rebelled. Wang Bi [stayed on and] served the Wei as the Gentlemen of Palace Gate. He was separated from his former wife Xi, and remarried Wang Chang's mother.'" The Chinese is: 太康元年，東平王楙上言，相王昌父毖，本居長沙，有妻息，漢末使入中國，值吳叛，仕魏為黃門郎，與前妻息死生隔絕，更娶昌母. See *Jin shu* 20.635-639. Translation after Tang Qiaomei 2016, 133-134. Of note, *xi* 息 is a surname but could also mean "son."

[687] For example, Jia Chong 賈充 (217-282 CE) and Liu Zhongwu 劉仲武 (n.d.). Their first wives were both sentenced to exile after their fathers were killed while participating in coups against Sima Shi 司馬師 (208-255 CE) in 254 CE and 255 CE. According to the legal code of the Cao Wei, a married woman would be implicated by her natal family members who committed treason. The Chinese is: 魏法, 犯大逆者誅及已出之女. See *Jin shu* 20.926. Thus, both Jia Chong and Liu Zhongwu remarried after their first wives were banished to the borderland.

Two wives issue, as Tang Qiaomei points out, "posed great challenges to the orthodox ritual system, and raised a series of social and political" problems.[688] Accordingly it triggered heated court debates from the Eastern Han to the Eastern Jin. The core of the debates chiefly centered on mourning periods: if the first wife was regarded as the principle and legal wife, then the son by the second wife should pay three years' mourning to his father's first wife; if not, the son by the second wife did not have to mourn.

The situation seemed to be different during the Northern Wei period. Among the fourteen two wives cases during the Northern Wei that are available to us, ten happened after the husband went from the southern regimes to the Northern Wei. Of these ten, six were bestowed a new wife after crossing the border. To the southern migrants, they may not have had too much choice on marriages arranged by the Northern Wei emperors. But they were not the only ones who suffered from this situation, their wives and children who remained behind also suffered. One such example is Lady Xie and her children. Eight years after her husband Wang Su's defection to the Northern Wei, Lady Xie finally travelled to the north along with their three children. According to the epitaph of Wang Su's eldest daughter, Wang Puxian, who would later become the consort of Northern Wei Emperor Xuanwu, she had been feeling sad for failing to fulfill her duty as a filial child, and she thus decided to "take the risk to go to the peaceful lands, in order to comfort her mind."[689] A similar emotion is also shown in the mortuary inscription of Wang Shao, Wang Puxian's younger brother.[690] Apparently, they both eagerly anticipated their reunion with Wang Su.

However, upon their arrival, Wang Puxian and Wang Shao must have been stunned by the fact that their father was dying, so much so that their epitaphs called it an "extreme punishment"[691] by Heaven. To Lady Xie, reuniting with Wang Su on his deathbed, after

[688] Tang Qiaomei 2016, 77.
[689] The Chinese is: 乘險就夷, 庶恬方寸. See Zhao Chao 2008, 69-70.
[690] For Wang Shao's epitaph, see Zhao Chao 2008, 82-83.
[691] The Chinese is: 極罰.

being separated for years, was surely a heavy blow, but what really hit her hard may have been the fact that Wang Su had remarried. What happened when Lady Xie met Wang Su's new wife, Grand Princess of Chenliu? The *Wei shu* and other dynastic histories are all silent on this matter, but the *Luoyang qielan ji* offers an anecdote in which, we are told, Lady Xie wrote Wang Su a poem to express how much she missed him, yet the princess replied with a poem on behalf of Wang Su in which she implies that the past is the past.[692]

Nevertheless, Lady Xie was fortunate in some ways because she had Wang Shao, while the princess was childless. Therefore, her son did not need to fight for his inheritance rights; plus, perhaps because of her eldest daughter's distinguished status as Emperor Xuanwu's imperial consort, Lady Xie was recognized by contemporaries as Wang Su's principle wife. One funerary epitaph dedicated to Shi Sengzhi 釋僧芝 (d.516 CE), an influential Buddhist nun at the imperial palace, designates Lady Xie Wang Su's wife (*furen* 夫人) and records that Lady Xie later became Sengzhi's disciple, together with Emperor Xiaowen's two consorts and other imperial women, evidence of Lady Xie's recognition in the circle of the Northern Wei aristocratic women.[693]

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[692] See *Luoyang qielan ji* 3.109. For a detailed discussion of Wang Su's marriages and the poems exchanged between Lady Xie and the princess, see Tang Qiaomei 2016, 143-169.

[693] The Chinese is: 孝文馮皇后，宣武高太后逮諸夫嬪廿許人，及故車騎將軍尚書令司空公王肅之夫人謝氏，乃是齋右光祿大夫吏部尚書之女，越自金陵歸蔭天闕。以法師道冠宇宙，德兼造物，故捐（合）拾華俗，服胸法門，皆為法師弟子. Shi Sengzhi's funerary epitaph says that Shi Sengzhi was died in 516 CE, which indicates that Lady Xie was still active at that time. For Shi Sengzhi's funerary inscription, see Zhao Junping 趙君平 and Zhao Wencheng 趙文成, *He Luo muke shiling* 河洛墓刻拾零 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2007), 20. For a full English translation of Shi Sengzhi's epitaph, see Stephanie Balkwill, "Empresses, Bhikṣuṇīs, and Women of Pure Faith: Buddhism and the Politics of Patronage in the Northern Wei" (PhD diss., McMaster University, 2015), 328-333. It should be noted that Balkwill mistranslated one part of Shi Sengzhi's inscription: "Madam Xie wife of Wang Su who was the General of the Carriages and Horses, and the Minster of Works. There was even the daughter of The Secretariat of the History Section, Zhuang, who was also the Great minster of the Glowing Blessing of the Office of Fasting of the Right. All of them returned from Jinling to hide away in the Imperial Palace." The Chinese is: 故車騎將軍尚書令司空公王肅之夫人謝氏乃是齊右光祿大夫吏部尚書莊之女. 越自金陵, 歸蔭天闕. My translation is: "Lady Xie wife of Wang Su who was General of the Carriages and Horses, Director of the Department of State Affairs, and the Minster of Works. Lady Xie was the daughter of [Xie] Zhuang, who was the Minister of the Personnel Bureau and the Grand Master of the Right for Glowing Blessing of the [Southern] Qi. She returned from Jinling to submit to the Imperial Palace."

This, however, was not always the case for other women who found themselves in the same situation. Take the example of Fu Yong's first wife. Fu Yong had initially married Lady Jia 賈氏 (n.d.) in his hometown, but took Lady Feng 馮氏 (n.d.) as a concubine after surrendering to the Northern Wei. Years later, Lady Jia went to Pingcheng to join her husband, which she hoped would be a happy reunion, yet it turned out to be the beginning of a disaster. Although a concubine, in terms of social custom and classical rites, should have respected the principal wife, Lady Feng showed no reverence for Lady Jia, because Lady Feng bore a son to Fu Yong and Lady Jia had only one daughter. Lady Feng's attitude also influenced her son who was said to disrespect Lady Jia. In consequence, the family was full of resentment.

Things got worse after Fu Yong's death. Lady Feng's son, as noted before, hoped to bury Fu Yong at Mount Mang, in accordance with Fu Yong's final wishes, yet Lady Jia opposed his suggestion. She even brought this issue to the Northern Wei court and appealed to Empress Dowager Ling who had been always sympathetic to distressed women and would step in and settle the issue for them.[694] The empress dowager did not disappoint Lady Jia who eventually won the lawsuit and buried Fu Yong in his fief, a place she favored. Moreover, Lady Jia relocated the remains of Fu Yong's parents that were originally interred in the ancestral graveyards of the Fu family to somewhere near Fu Yong's tomb. The *Wei shu* tells us that Lady Feng' son, Fu Yong's only heir, died not long after Fu Yong's parents were reburied, hinting that his untimely death was due to a ruined geomancy and, albeit implicitly, Lady Jia's jealousy.[695]

Despite the drama, Lady Jia's story is the only extant case where a concubine with a male heir confronted an heirless principle wife and disputed the location of burial site. Most

[694] For example, she intervened in the domestic violence case of Liu Hui and Grand Princess Lanling. For a detailed analysis of this tragedy, see Lee Jen-der 1999, 1-37.
[695] See *Wei shu* 70.1555.

examples during the Northern Wei period involve two wives and their respective sons debating over who was the rightful heir to the title of the deceased. At the core of these quarrels was the ambiguous marital status of two wives. Social customs, legal codes, and ritual norms all prescribed that a man could have only one principal wife whose status would determine the legitimacy of her son, so how the marital status of the two women he married was defined was crucial. If this problem could not be settled properly, it could confuse the household order and ultimately tear the family apart.

Realizing the potential dangers of the two wives issue and inheritance disputes, the Northern Wei government intervened to redress it by political power. In one precedent (*gushi* 故事),[696] the Northern Wei government states: "Even though the first wife had a son, the son of the bestowed second wife is the legitimate one."[697] Therefore, although Sima Chuzhi's eldest son by his first wife went with him to the north, it was Sima Jinlong, Sima Chuzhi's son by his second wife, the Princess of Henei, who inherited Sima Chuzhi's noble title.[698] It also holds true for Han Cuo 韓措 (n.d.), whose father Han Yanzhi 韓延之 (n.d.) was a former Eastern Jin military official who submitted to the Northern Wei in 417 CE. Even though Han Cuo was Han Yanzhi's eldest son, he still yielded the title to his younger brother by Han Yanzhi's second wife, daughter of the Prince of Huainan 淮南王.[699]

However, the Northern Wei precedent seemed to apply only to the case of the bestowed wives and their offspring. In other recorded cases, the marital status of the two women involved remained unsettled. Husbands in these cases usually chose to set up separate houses for each woman instead of divorcing one of them, but they did not specify who was their

[696] According to Barbieri-Low and Yates, some of precedents "were customary procedures that acquired the force of law over time, while others did not have the effect of law but were used as supporting examples or models for making decisions, particularly in administrative matters, in selecting, transferring, appointing, controlling, or otherwise managing officials." See Anthony J. Barbieri-Low and Robin D. S. Yates 2015, 85.
[697] The Chinese is: 故事，前妻雖先有子, 後賜之妻子皆承嫡. See *Wei shu* 61.1361.
[698] For a full translation of Sima Jinlong's funerary inscription, see Timothy Davis 2015, 296.
[699] See *Wei shu* 38.880.

principal wife. Take Cui Sengyuan 崔僧淵 (n.d.) who kept both Lady Fang 房氏 (n.d.) and Lady Du 杜氏 (n.d) as his wives as an example. Even though he preferred Lady Du and spent much of his time living with her, he did not register Lady Du as his principle wife and Lady Fang as concubine. As a result, after Cui Sengyuan died, his eldest son by Lady Fang and the second son by Lady Du "filed a lawsuit to argue who was the legitimate successor (to their father)." They resented each other to the point that they both "carried knifes and swords to protect themselves as if they were enemies."[700]

Similarly, Li Hongzhi also had two wives: Lady Zhang 張氏 and Lady Liu 劉氏. When Li Hongzhi was still unknown, his first wife, Lady Zhang, helped him go from poor to rich and bore him more than ten children.[701] Nevertheless, after he rose to a high position in the Northern Wei government because he was Empress Yuan's 元皇后[702] adopted brother, Li Hongzhi married Lady Liu, whom he was said to admire, probably as Lady Liu was from an old prominent family of Pengcheng. Furthermore, Li Hongzhi lived with Lady Liu and distanced himself from Lady Zhang who was likely lowborn. From then on, Lady Zhang, who likely felt betrayed, and Lady Liu who may have been uncomfortable about the presence of Lady Zhang, "were jealous and antagonistic toward each other." Worse than that, already during Li Hongzhi's lifetime, both women "filed lawsuits against one another. The two wives and their respective children treated the other like enemies."[703] Regardless of this, Li Hongzhi did not clarify who was his primary wife, nor express what he thought about the family battle he caused. As usual, the voice of the husband was absent in the story.

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[700] The Chinese is: 以刀劍自衛, 若怨讎焉. See *Wei shu* 24.634.

[701] The Chinese is: 有男女幾十人. The character 幾 can mean either "up to, around," or "more than." I render 幾 as "more than," for a woman of the early medieval period to give birth nearly ten children was not uncommon, and was hence not worth recording in the dynastic history.

[702] Empress Yuan is the Lady Li discussed in Chapter 1. She was Northern Wei Emperor Wencheng's consort and Emperor Xianwen's biological mother.

[703] The Chinese is: 二妻妬競, 互相訟詛, 兩宅母子, 往來如讎. See *Wei shu* 89.1919. Translation follows Tang Qiaomei 2016, 141.

Why were Cui Sengyuan and Li Hongzhi silent on the marital status of their wives? It is not so much that both men still had affection for their first wives, as the fact that they had a duty to their children born by their first wives. In early medieval period, in contrast to the southern society that did not mind the practice of concubinage and disregard someone simply because of their birth,[704] northern society strictly regulated the hierarchy of the wife and concubines. Consequently, offspring of concubines were despised, so much so that "they were given no standing in society;"[705] A concubine's son not only had no inheritance rights to his father's noble title and family property, but more importantly, as Yan Zhitui notes, his marriage and potential to serve in the government were affected too.[706]

Lu Dingguo's 陸定國 (d.484 CE) story demonstrates Yan Zhitui's argument. The *Wei shu* records that Lu Dingguo had two wives who were both from old prominent families. Their equal family background may have been the reason that there was no distinction of wife and concubine between them, but their unsettled marital status had sowed great enmity between their children. After Lu Dingguo passed away, sons of both wives competed for Lu Dingguo's noble title. One of the sons who was supported by his maternal uncle and a high-ranking Northern Wei court official ultimately inherited the title, married a princess, and held prominent posts, whereas his half-brother sank into social oblivion and poverty.[707]

Seen in this light, Cui Sengyuan and Li Hongzhi's ambiguous attitude were understandable considering that they may not want to ruin the future of their sons born by their first wives. But, judging from the above cases, this proved to be an ineffective method, creating even more troubles for the families.

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[704] Cui Daogu is a revealing example. He, the son of concubine, was mistreated by his half brothers born by their father's legal wife. Their bullying reached the point that Cui Daogu's father told Cui Daogu leave home and find his new future in the south. See *Wei shu* 24.628.

[705] The Chinese is: 不預人流. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 4.34. Translation follows Teng Ssu-yu trans., 1968, 12-13.

[706] According to Yan Zhitui, "Difference in treatment between the younger sons of the later wife and the older ones by the former wife in such matters as clothes, food, marriage, state service, education and social standing existed as the usual thing." The Chinese is: 後母之弟, 與前婦之兄, 衣服飲食, 爰及婚宦, 至於士庶貴賤之隔，俗以為常. See *Yanshi jiaxun* 4.34. Translation follows Teng Ssu-yu trans., 1968, 13.

[707] For this story, see *Wei shu* 40.909. For a full translation of this episode, see Tang Qiaomei 2016, 140.

Table 4.3 Two Wives Cases between 386 and 534 CE

No.	Name	Time of Crossing	Marital status	Result	Source
1	Han Yanzhi 韓延之	417 CE	Two wives: he married Lady Luo and later Lady Yuan. Lady Luo stayed in the south	Lady Yuan's son was Han Yanzhi's legitimate heir	*WS* 38
2	Sima Chuzhi 司馬楚之	419 CE	Two wives were both in the north; The second wife was bestowed	The second wife's son inherited the title	*WS* 37
3	Fu Yong 傅永	423 CE	One wife and one concubine: he married Lady Jia and took a concubine, Lady Feng, after going to the north; Lady Jia later came to Pingcheng	Lady Jia had no son while Lady Feng bore a son to Fu Yong. Lady Jia and Fu Yong's son argued over the burial site of Fu Yong	*WS* 70
4	Cui Mo 崔模	431 CE	Two wives: Cui had a wife, Lady Zhang, in the south and was bestowed a new wife, Lady Jin, after going to the north	Unclear	*WS* 24
5	Cui Xieli 崔邪利	450 CE	One wife and one concubine: Cui Xieli seemed to have taken a concubine in the north; his first wife might have died or stayed behind in Qing province	Cui Xieli's northern-born son and Cui Xieli's grandson argued over who was Cui Xieli's legitimate heir	*WS* 24
6	Liu Chang 劉昶	465 CE	Two wives: his first wife was in the south; he was bestowed three princesses after submitting to the Northern Wei	The son of one of the princesses was designated the heir but died young	*SS* 72; *WS* 59

7	Bi Yuanbin 畢元賓	466 CE	Two wives: he first married Lady Liu and was later bestowed Lady Yuan	Lady Liu's sons observed three years mourning for Lady Yuan	*WS* 61
8	Cui Sengyuan 崔僧淵	468 CE	Two wives: he married Lady Fang first and later married Lady Du. He lived with Lady Du in Qing province while the abandoned Lady Fang lived in Ji province with her sons	Lady Fang's and Lady Du's sons argued over who was Cui Sengyuan's legitimate heir	*WS* 24
9	Wang Su 王肅	493 CE	Two wives: he married Lady Xie and was later bestowed Emperor Xiaowen's sister. Lady Xie and their children came to Shouchun	The Princess was heirless, so Lady Xie's son inherited Wang Su's title	*WS* 63; *LYQLJ* 3
10	Xiao Zong 蕭綜	525 CE	Two wives: his first wife was in the south; he was bestowed a princess after going to the north	The Princess was heirless	*WS* 59
11	Li Hongzhi 李洪之	Unknown	Two wives: he married Lady Zhang and Lady Liu	Two wives lived in different houses; both women and their children filed lawsuits against one other	*WS* 89
12	Lu Dingguo 陸定國	Unknown	Two wives: he married Lady Liu and later married Lady Lu	Lady Liu's and Lady Lu's sons argued over who was Lu Dingguo's legitimate heir	*WS* 40
13	Yang Dayan 楊大眼	Unknown	Two wives: after the first wife died, he married Lady Yuan	Lady Yuan and the first wife's sons fought for Yang Dayan's title	*WS* 73
14	Feng Boda 封伯達	Unknown	Two wives: he abandoned his wife Lady Lee in the north and	Unclear	*WS* 32

			married Lady Fang in the south		

5. Trans-Border Families

The tension between the Northern Wei and southern regimes not solely divided families but also prevented any communication between both sides. We have seen that the northern and southern governments constrained the mobility of men and women by border control and government regulations, indicating that the authorities in this time period tended to view the border as a barrier that separated the two regimes, not a corridor.[708] For this reason, not only did border crossers' family members have almost no way of knowing the whereabouts of their missing relatives, border crossers themselves were also less likely to be able to get in touch with their families on the other side of the border.

Nevertheless, people of both sides still strived to keep in contact and, if possible, maintain ties with each other. Their major point of contact was likely, surprisingly, people who surrendered from the south. Mao Xiuzhi 毛脩之 (375-446 CE), an Eastern Jin general who submitted to the Northern Wei during Emperor Taiwu's reign, obtained information on his family from a newly surrendered Liu-Song general Zhu Xiuzhi 朱脩之 (d.464 CE).[709]

Occasionally, border crossers were able to correspond with their southern families. While Cui Xieli was forced to switch his allegiance to the Northern Wei, he somehow managed to send a letter to admonish his eldest son, Cui Huaishen, who divorced his wife and lived as if in mourning due to Cui Xieli's being trapped in the north. Similarly, not long after Wang Su fled to the Northern Wei, the Southern Qi Emperor Wu, who executed Wang Su's father and elder brothers, asked Wang Su's uncle Wang Fen 王份 (446-524 CE), "did you receive

[708] Paul Ganster, "Transborder Linkages in the San Diego-Tijuana Region," in *San Diego-Tijuana in Transition: A Regional Analysis*, ed. Norris C. Clement and Eduardo Zepeda Miramontes (San Diego, CA: Institute for Regional Studies of the Californias, San Diego State University, 1993), 109.
[709] See *Song shu* 48.1429.

letters from the north recently?"[710] This suggests that transmitting messages between north and south was not entirely impossible.

Yet both accounts do not specify the means of the delivery of personal correspondence. One possibility is that envoys helped to transmit letters, whether legally or not.[711] Smugglers, such as "traders of the frontier markets" (*hushi ren* 互市人), may have also been involved in cross-border communications.[712] Travelling monks could be messengers too. When Xiao Zong learnt that Xiao Baoyin was still alive and lived in the Northern Wei, he "asked a travelling northern monk Shi Faluan to send a letter to Xiao Baoyin."[713] These are clear indications that cross-border communications were possible, and that family connections, in some way, could penetrate political boundaries.

The authorities knew very well about the porosity of the North-South border. It disapproved, yet sought to take advantage of cross-border familial connections. For example, upon hearing that the Liu Song emperor appointed Cui Yin 崔諶 (n.d.) as Regional Inspector of Ji province, Northern Wei Emperor Taiwu elevated Cui Yin's brother Cui Ze 崔賾 (d.ca.440 CE) to the same post on the Northern Wei side of the border.[714] Jennifer Holmgren suggests that Cui Yin's appointment was actually a careful calculation in the sense that Liu Song court acknowledged the Cui family's local influence in Ji province.[715] But how do we explain Cui Ze's assignment? The Northern Wei might have done this for two reasons. First,

[710] The Chinese is: 比有北信不? See *Liang shu* 21.325.
[711] Wang Bao 王褒 (513?-576 CE) was a famous Liang literati but was detained in the north. When a Chen envoy, Zhou Hongzheng 周弘正 (496-574 CE), whose younger brother was Wang Bao's good friend, came to Chang'an, Northern Zhou Emperor Wu (r.560-578 CE) agreed to let Wang Bao entrust Zhou Hongzheng his family letters. See *Zhou shu* 41.731-733.
[712] In a preface to the translation of Daśabhūmikasūtra (*Jianbei jing* 漸備經), Shi Dao'an 釋道安 (312-385 CE) described in detail that Daśabhūmikasūtra was transmitted from Liangzhou to Chang'an by Kang-er 康兒, a trader of the frontier market and later sent by apparently another trader or group of traders from Chang'an to Xiangyang where Dao'an was living at the time. In addition to Buddhist sutras, these traders likely also transmitted letters between both sides. On *hushi* 互市, see Zhu Lei 朱雷 , "Dong Jin Shiliuguo shiqi Guzang Chang'an Xiangyang de hushi 東晉十六國時期姑臧、長安、襄陽的'互市'," in *Dunhuang Tulufan wenshu luncong* 敦煌吐魯番文書論叢 (Lanzhou: Gansu renmin chubanshe, 2000), 327-36.
[713] The Chinese is: 綜求得北來道人釋法鸞, 使入北通問於寶寅. See *Nan shi* 53.1317.
[714] See *Song shu* 5.81 and *Wei shu* 32.758.
[715] Jennifer Holmgren 1984, 28.

as Holmgren has noted, the Northern Wei's move aimed to "counter Cui Yin's prestige in the area,"[716] since Cui Ze was also a member of the Cui family. Second, the Northern Wei may have tried to use the family bond to encourage Cui Yin's defection.

This is also attested in Fu Lingyue's 傅靈越 (d.ca.466 CE) case. According to the *Wei shu*, Fu Lingyue and his younger brother fled to the Northern Wei during the reign of Emperor Wencheng and were appointed as Regional Inspector of Qing province and Deputy General of Lingqi (*Lingqi fujiang* 臨齊副將)[717] respectively, because of the influence of the Fu family in the Shandong peninsula. "Fearful that [Fu] Lingyue would disturb the Three Qi area when he was stationed at the border,"[718] the Liu-Song emperor promoted Fu Lingyue's uncles to similar posts on the Liu-Song side of the border. Not only this, the emperor also instructed Fu Lingyue's uncles to entice the Fu brothers to return. His strategy worked. Fu Lingyue, who was said to deeply miss his mother who remained behind in their hometown, changed sides again in the same year, whilst his younger brother, unfortunately, was killed on the way south.[719] The reason for Fu Lingyue's side-changing was not only due to his affection for his mother, but his concern about his mother's safety.[720] After his defection to the north, his mother was arrested and was only spared because of an amnesty.[721] If he rejected the Liu-Song emperor's invitation, he could pay dearly for the fury of the southern ruler.

The governments of both sides also used cross-border family connections in the way that they appointed those who had relatives at the other side of the border to the post of envoy or

[716] Holmgren 1984, 28.
[717] Linqi was the administrative seat of Ge county 鬲縣, Ande Commandery 安德郡, Ji province (in modern Shandong province). See *Wei shu* 106 a.2465.
[718] The Chinese is: 恐靈越在邊，擾動三齊. See *Wei shu* 70.1556.
[719] See *Wei shu* 70.1556. Also see Jennifer Holmgren 1984, 28 and 33.
[720] Fu Lingyue's case was not unique. Fearing that his mother and younger brother's lives were in danger, Cui Sengyou 崔僧祐 (n.d.) soon surrendered. Likewise, when Liangzou city was besieged by the Northern Wei troops in 466, Liu Xiubin was purportedly almost swayed by his son, who was brought to Pingcheng with his maternal grandfather over ten years ago, to defect to the Northern Wei.
[721] The Chinese is: 靈越北入之後, 母崔氏遇赦免. See *Wei shu* 70.1556.

the post of receiving envoys from the southern regimes.[722] In 491 CE, for instance, Jiang Shaoyou, who was originally from Dongyang but relocated to Pingcheng after the Northern Wei conquered his hometown in 469 CE, was appointed as the deputy envoy to the Southern Qi. His countryman Gao Cong 高聰 (451-520) was assigned as the envoy to the Southern Qi in 493 CE.[723] Both Jiang Shaoyou and Gao Cong were from the south, but the Northern Wei court seemed not to worry that the two southerners would seize the opportunity to flee back. It instead tasked them with diplomatic missions, which was in part because both men were talented and were capable of performing such duty,[724] and in part because of their familiarity and connections with the south.[725]

One more example is Liu Fang, a forced migrant from Qi province. As discussed in Chapter 1, Liu Fang earned his living in Pingcheng by transcribing for Buddhist monks, yet his close ties with an unruly southern monk later got him into trouble. Nevertheless, Liu Fang was soon released by Empress Dowager Wenming, the reigning regent of the Northern Wei government in the early years of Emperor Xiaowen's reign, because Liu Fang's third cousin (*zuxiong* 族兄) Liu Zuan 劉纘 (n.d.) visited Pingcheng as an envoy of the Southern Qi.[726] Perhaps she wanted to show her good will to Liu Zuan by releasing his relative, or perhaps she wanted intelligence from Liu Zuan through Liu Fang, the empress dowager appointed Liu

[722] Tsai Tsung-hsien 2008, 150.
[723] For the official biography of Gao Cong, see *Wei shu* 68.1520-1523 and *Bei shi* 40.1477-1479.
[724] When an envoy was sent on a diplomatic mission, he actually went to a battlefield in which he needed to act subtly and carefully. If necessary, he would use words as his sword to serve the best interest of his country. Thus, during this time period under study, the Northern Wei government usually chose men of fine appearance with a good education. Gao Cong reportedly "read classics and chronicles as widely as possible and enjoyed a great literary talent." The Chinese is: 涉獵經史, 頗有文才. See *Wei shu* 68.1520. Also, Jiang Shaoyou was said to "excel in both painting and carving," and he was for this reason sent by Emperor Xiaowen to the Southern Qi to observe architectural designs of imperial palaces at the southern capital Jiankang in preparation for reconstruction of Luoyang. The Chinese is: 頗能畫刻. See *Wei shu* 91.1970.
[725] For similar examples see *Wei shu* 47.1055; *Bei Qi shu* 42.558.
[726] According to the *Nan Qi shu*, Liu Zuan went to the Northern Wei in 483 CE. See *Nan Qi shu* 57.990.

Fang Palace Gentleman in the Bureau of Receptions (*Zhuke lang* 主客郎), the official in charge of receptions, to welcome Liu Zuan's arrival.[727]

6. Conclusion

Migration is often portrayed as one-way process that starts from one location and ends in another; yet, migration is an ongoing process that affects not only the migrants themselves but also their families on either side of border, and it continued to influence the opportunities and outcomes, whether of migrants or of their relatives, many years after crossing the border.

This chapter has examined how migration shifted boundaries of home and family from the perspective of border crossers' families: First, when border crossers died abroad, their families in the south endeavoured to bring the remains back. Yet on most occasions, border crossers either realized there was little hope to return south, or their descendants in the Northern Wei chose to bury the remains of border crossers in either the Northern Wei capital cities or their northern ancestral homes. All of this reflects a changing understanding of home.

Second, the second marriage of some southern migrants in the Northern Wei often resulted in the two wives issue, which became very thorny if border crossers' first wives went to the north. The traditionally delineated hierarchy between two women was blurred, which posed a threat to the family order.

Third, some southern migrants set roots in the host country while at the same time maintaining ties to their homeland. Rather than residing in and having connections in only one place, these border crossers sustained trans-border networks and, in some sense, lived across borders, suggesting that for many if not most of their contemporaries, family ranked

[727] See *Wei shu* 55.1220. Similarly, Zheng Changyou 鄭長猷 of Xingyang, whose father Zheng Yan 鄭演 entered to the Northern Wei during the early years of Emperor Xianwen was also assigned the position of the Gentleman in the Section of Southern Affairs of the Bureau of Receptions (*Nan zhuke langzhong* 南主客郎中). See *Wei shu* 55.1232.

above the state, and borders, although highly guarded by the states of both sides, were permeable at the local level.

Conclusion

This dissertation is a study of cross-border migrants in fourth to sixth century China. One of its central questions is whether and to what extent a migrant could be recognized as fully integrated. In the preceding chapters, I have pointed out that integration was not a simple one-way process in which migrants struggled and finally became natives. Rather, it was tug-of-war between different actors, and the distinction between outsiders and insiders tended to remain fluid. To counter such ambiguity, people drew boundaries, physical and metaphorical.

Throughout the chapters of the dissertation, I approached multi-layered processes of boundary making from a variety of perspectives: of the host state, the receiving communities, and cross-border migrants. The Northern Wei government divided southern migrants by their status in the south, each given separate and unequal treatments. Imperial clansmen were particularly welcomed: their arrival enhanced the legitimacy of the northern ruling house, as did the intermarriages that usually followed. Imperial clansmen and their offspring were the only southern migrants allowed to marry Northern Wei princess. Among the imperial clansmen, those who would have been heirs to the throne in the south, formed a special case, as they could be used as a pretext wage war against the south. Besides imperial clansmen, the Northern Wei government also encouraged defections from members of leading southern families as well as border generals. The former transmitted knowledge useful to the Northern Wei, whereas the latter changed the state borderlines and expanded the territory of the Northern Wei.

Apart from the status, the Northern Wei government also took into account southern migrants' willingness to surrender. In its early years, the Northern Wei government assigned side-changers into three categories: the highest ranking guests, the secondary ranking guests, and the lowest ranking guests. The side-changers in the first two categories were generally

bestowed official posts, noble titles, material wealth, and sometimes imperial wives, while people in the last category were either tortured or ignored for their stubborn resistance.

While the Northern Wei government had a generous attitude to cross-border migrants from the southern regimes, they still established various demarcation lines between southern migrants and their own subjects: Each level of government carefully examined the identity and motives of border crossers to exclude potential dangers. In the Northern Wei official documents, southern migrants were collectively named "people submitted to civilization" by which the Northern Wei government placed itself at center of the world and downplayed the cultural superiority of southern migrants. Furthermore, the residential areas of southern migrants were separated from those of natives. The migrants were not allowed to leave their assigned neighborhoods unless they had imperial approval. During the Pingcheng era, southerners were even ordered to be buried in the same area outside the capital. It was not until Emperor Xiaowen's reign that the Northern Wei government loosened up restrictions on the burial locations of southern migrants.

The Northern Wei emperors' generosity to southerners sent a dangerous signal to the Northern Wei elites, who had been enjoying power and privileges by cooperating with the imperial court. The newcomers who had distinguished family backgrounds and refined education challenged the status of the older elites in politics and in local society. Also, many southern migrants changed their ways of life for the purpose of successful integration, but such adaptability was threatening to the Northern Wei elites because it implies that distinctions between northerners and southerners could be easily eroded. Even worse, more and more northerners adopted southern customs, whether because of their admiration toward certain southern migrants or because of increasing contact with immigrants, which blurred inter-group boundary.

For these reasons, the Northern Wei elites reinforced boundaries between North and South, between *us* and *them*. They amplified north-south divide in dietary habits and languages, for both were the two most visible cultural differences in everyday life. Their goal was not to exclude southerners completely, which was impractical given the agenda of the Northern Wei government, but to ensure the visibility of hierarchy between northerners and southerners. In this way, the Northern Wei elites could maintain their membership and "determine whom to include in its membership."[728] However, such a divide, particularly linguistic differences, harmed the interests of the state. To straighten relationships between northerners and southern migrants, Emperor Xiaowen broke down linguistic boundary by limiting the use of the Xianbei language at court, depriving the Xianbei language of the political influence.

Southern migrants were not merely pawns in the efforts of the Northern Wei government and the leading elites to define their domains of authority. They also strived to empower themselves by creating a web of relationships based on intermarriage, local base, and migrant networks. Nevertheless, they were not a homogenous group. Although they all came from the south, migrants from the same southern regime tended to cluster together whether in daily life and in workplace, separating themselves from people of other southern regimes. In this way, each of them was an extension of national territories,[729] forbidding transgression. Even so, group identity between southern migrants from the same regime was weak. This is because, in the new country, they were first and foremost Northern Wei subjects. They needed to downplay their southern migrant identity in order to avoid suspicion of defection; what is more, the Northern Wei government policy toward southern migrants and scarce opportunities for advancement further shaped the competitive dynamics between migrants.

[728] David G. Johnson 1977, 3.
[729] Lan Pei-Chia 2006, 244.

In sum, the cultivation, blurring and rebuilding of boundaries were contextual and conditional. And everyone could be a boundary marker. Contesting the simplified explanation that southern migrants as a whole positively impacted the Northern Wei state, this dissertation brought to light the complicated stories of cross-border migration and integration during the Northern Wei period.

Appendix:
Southern Border Crossers Under Northern Wei Rule

NO.	Name	Family Choronym	Time of Crossing Border	Sources
1.	Cui Cheng 崔逞	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	Emperor Daowu	*WS* 32
2.	Cui Ze 崔賾	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	Emperor Daowu	*WS* 2
3.	Liu Lang 劉朗	unknown	415	*WS*3
4.	Sima Xiuzhi 司馬休之	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	417	*JS* 37; *JS* 127; *WS* 37; *SS* 2
5.	Sima Wensi 司馬文思	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	417	*WS* 37; *SS* 2 and 95
6.	Sima Daoci 司馬道賜	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	417	*WS* 37
7.	Sima Guofan 司馬國璠	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	417	*WS* 37
8.	Sima Shufan 司馬叔璠	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	417	*WS* 37
9.	Lu Gui 魯軌	Mei, Fufeng 扶風郿	417	*WS* 37; *SS* 2, 74, 95
10.	Han Yanzhi 韓延之	Zheyang, Nanyang 南陽赭陽	417	*WS* 37
11.	Diao Yong 刁雍	Rao'an, Bohai 渤海饒安	417	*WS* 38; *SS* 95
12.	Han Cuo 韓措	Zheyang, Nanyang 南陽赭陽	417	*WS* 38
13.	Wang Huilong 王慧龍	Taiyuan 太原	417	*WS* 38; *BS* 35
14.	Huan Daodu 桓道度	Longkang, Qiaoguo 譙國龍亢	417	*WS* 37
15.	Huan Daozi 桓道子	Longkang, Qiaoguo 譙國龍亢	417	*WS* 37
16.	Huan Sui 桓璲	Longkang, Qiaoguo 譙國龍亢	417	*WS* 37
17.	Huan Mi 桓謐	Longkang, Qiaoguo 譙國龍亢	417	*WS* 37
18.	Yuan Shi 袁式	Yangxia, Chenjun 陳郡陽夏	417	*WS* 37
19.	Diao Baohui 刁寶惠	Rao'an, Bohai 渤海饒安	417	*WS* 38
20.	Yin Yue 殷約	unknown	417	*WS* 37
21.	Wen Kai 溫楷	unknown	417	*WS* 37
22.	Wang Yi 王懿	unknown	417	*WS* 3
23.	Fu Hong 傅洪	unknown	417	*WS* 3

24.	Sima Shunming 司馬順明	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	419	*WS* v.3
25.	Sima Daogong 司馬道恭	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	419	*WS* v.3
26.	Sima Chuzhi 司馬楚之	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	419	*WS* 37; *SS* 95
27.	Sima Baoyin 司馬寶胤	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	419	*WS* 37
28.	Xue Jin 薛謹	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	419	*WS* 42; *BS* 36
29.	Sima Zhun 司馬準	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	420	*WS* 37
30.	Sima Tianzhu 司馬天助	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	420	*WS* 37; *SS* 95
31.	Sima Jingzhi 司馬景之	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	Emperor Mingyuan	*WS* 37
32.	Yan Leng 嚴稜	Linjin, Fengyi 馮翊臨晉	422	*WS* 43; *WS* 29
33.	Sima Aizhi 司馬愛之	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	422	*WS* 3
34.	Sima Xiuzhi 司馬秀之	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	422	*WS* 3
35.	Lady Jia 賈氏	unknown	unknown	*WS* 70
36.	Zhang Xing 張幸	Qinghe 清河	423	*WS* 29
37.	Hong Zhong 洪仲	Qinghe 清河	423	*WS* 70
38.	Mao Dezu 毛德祖	unknown	423	*SS* 4
39.	Mei An 梅安	(*Man* 蠻)	423	*WS* 101
40.	Mei Bao 梅豹	(*Man* 蠻)	426	*WS* 101
41.	Mao Xiuzhi 毛修之	Yangwu, Xingyang 滎陽陽武	427	*WS* 43; *SS* 48
42.	Mao Faren 毛法仁	Yangwu, Xingyang 滎陽陽武	427	*WS* 43
43.	Sima Daoshou 司馬道壽	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	429	*WS* 37
44.	Sima Lingshou 司馬靈壽	Wen county, Henei 河內溫縣	429	*WS* 37
45.	Cui Mo 崔模	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	431	*WS* 24
46.	Shen Mo 申謨	Wei county, Wei commandery 魏郡魏縣	431	*WS* 24; *SS* 65
47.	Shen Hongzhi 申洪之	Wei county, Wei commandery 魏郡魏縣	431?	Epitaph of Shen Hongzhi[730]
48.	Li Yuande 李元德	unknown	431	*WS* 30
49.	Zhu Xiuzhi	Pingshi, Yiyang	431	*SS* 76; *WS* 43; *SS* 48; *TPYL* 320

[730] See Hou Xudong 2008, 207-223.

	朱修之 (硃修之)	義陽平氏		
50.	Xing Huaiming 邢懷明	unknown	Emperor Taiwu	*SS* 76
51.	Yang Baozong 楊保宗	(Di 氐)	439	*WS* 101
52.	Yang Baoxian 楊保顯	(Di 氐)	439	*WS* 101
53.	Yang Nandang 楊難當	(Di 氐)	441	*WS* 101
54.	Yang He 楊和	(Di 氐)	441	*WS* 101
55.	Empress Yuan (Lady Li) 文成元皇后李氏	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	450	*WS* 13
56.	Cheng Tianzuo 程天祚	Guangping 廣平	450	*SS* 74
57.	Hu Shengzhi 胡盛之	unknown	450	*SS* 50; SS 74
58.	Cui Xieli 崔邪利	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	450	*WS* 24; *NQS* 55; *BS* 24
59.	Elder daughter of Cui Xieli 崔邪利女	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	450	*WS* 24
60.	Younger daughter of Cui Xieli 崔邪利女 2	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	450	*WS* 24
61.	Liu Wenye 劉文曄	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	450	*WS* 24
62.	Zhang Zhong 張忠	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	451	*WS* 61
63.	Yang Yuanhe 楊元和	(Di 氐)	Emperor Wencheng	*WS* 101
64.	Wen Wulong 文武龍	(*Man* 蠻)	454	*WS* 101
65.	Fu Linggen 傅靈根	Qinghe 清河	456?	*WS* 70
66.	Li Jun 李峻	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
67.	Li Dan 李誕	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
68.	Li Yi 李嶷	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
69.	Li Ya 李雅	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
70.	Li Bai 李白	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
71.	Li Yong 李永	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	456?	*WS* 83a
72.	Liu Zao 劉藻	Yiyang, Guangping 廣平易陽	456?	*WS* 70
73.	Fu Lingyue 傅靈越	Qinghe 清河	456	*WS* 70
74.	Jiang Longju 姜龍駒	unknown	456	*WS* 5

75.	Yang Bolun 楊伯倫	unknown	456	*WS* 5
76.	Lady Huangfu 張讜妻皇甫氏	Chaona, Anding? 安定朝那？	Emperor Wencheng?	*WS* 61
77.	Liu Chang 劉昶	Pengcheng 彭城	465	*WS* 59; *SS* 72
78.	Lady Wu 劉昶妾吳氏	unknown	465	*WS* 59
79.	Xue Andu 薛安都	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61; *SS* 88; *NS* 40
80.	Xue Daobiao 薛道標	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61; *NQS* 30
81.	Xue Daoyi 薛道異	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61
82.	Xue Daoci 薛道次	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61
83.	Xue Shuoming 薛碩明	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61
84.	Xue Zhendu 薛真度	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61; *SS* 87
85.	Xue Yuan 薛淵	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*NQS* 30
86.	Zheng Yan 鄭演	Xingyang 滎陽	466	*WS* 55
87.	Pei Zulong 裴祖隆	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*WS* 61
88.	Huangfu Zhuangling 皇甫椿齡	Anding 安定	466	*WS* 71
89.	Lady Suo 索氏	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	466	*NQS* 30
90.	Bi Zhongjing 畢眾敬	Xuchang, Dongping 東平須昌	466	*WS* 61
91.	Bi Zhong-ai 畢眾愛	Xuchang, Dongping 東平須昌	466	*WS* 61
92.	Bi Yuanbin 畢元賓	Xuchang, Dongping 東平須昌	466	*WS* 61
93.	Yang Gui 羊規	Liangfu, Taishan 泰山梁甫	450? 466?	*LS* 39; *WS* 89
94.	Wei Daofu 韋道福	Duling, Jingzhao 京兆杜陵	466	*WS* 45
95.	Wei Xinzong 韋欣宗	Duling, Jingzhao 京兆杜陵	466	*WS* 45
96.	Miao Chengxian 繆承先	Lanling 蘭陵	466	*WS* 55
97.	Zhang Choubiao 章仇摽	unknown	466	*WS* 50; *BS* 25
98.	Li Yuansun 李元孫	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	466	*WS* 91
99.	Li Xiu 李脩	Weiguo, Dunqiu 頓丘衛國	466?	*WS* 91
100.	Wang Wenshu's father 王文殊父	Guzhang, Wuxing 吳興故鄣	466	*NQS* 55
101.	Chang Zhenqi 常珍奇	Runan 汝南	466	*WS* 61; *SS* 86

102.	Chang Chao 常超	Runan 汝南	466	*WS* 61
103.	Chang Shami 常沙彌	Runan 汝南	466	*WS* 61
104.	Yuan Shibao 垣式寶	unknown	466	*SS* 86
105.	Fang Fashou 房法壽	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
106.	Fang Lingmin 房靈民	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
107.	Fang Lingjian 房靈建	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
108.	Fang Lingbin 房靈賓	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
109.	Fang Lingyue 房靈悅	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
110.	Fang Sishun 房思順	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
111.	Fang Si'an 房思安	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
112.	Fang Bolian 房伯憐	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
113.	Fang Boyu 房伯玉	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43; *NQS* 57
114.	Lady Yang 楊氏 (房伯玉妾)	unknown	467	*WS* 43
115.	Fang Shuyu 房叔玉	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
116.	Fang You'an 房幼安	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
117.	Fang Chongji 房崇吉	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
118.	Fang Ai-qin 房愛親	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	467	*WS* 43
119.	Zhang Yuansun 張元孫	unknown	467	*WS* 42
120.	Fu Sanbao 傅三寶	Qinghe 清河	467	*WS* 70
121.	Fu Faxian 傅法獻	Qinghe 清河	467	*WS* 70
122.	Huan Xin 桓忻	unknown	468	*WS* 50
123.	Wang Zheng 王整	unknown	468	*WS* 50
124.	Liu Xiubin 劉休賓	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	468	*WS* 43
125.	Liu Wenwei 劉聞慰	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	468	*WS* 43
126.	Lady Cui 崔氏	Qinghe 清河	468?	*NQS* 27
127.	Liu Jinghuan 劉景煥	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	468	*NQS* 27

128.	Zhang Dang 張讜	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 61; *SS* 88
129.	Zhang Jingbo 張敬伯	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 61
130.	Zhang Jingshu 張敬叔	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 61
131.	Cui Fen's grandfather 崔芬祖父	Qinghe 清河	468?	Epitaph of Cui Fen[731]
132.	Cui Sengyuan 崔僧淵	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 61
133.	Cui Jingye 崔景業	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24
134.	Cui Sengyou 崔僧祐	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24
135.	Cui Xiangru 崔相如	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 32
136.	Cui Yu 崔彧	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 32; *WS* 91
137.	Cui Lingyan 崔靈延	Shu, Dong Qinghe 東清河鄃	468	*WS* 67
138.	Cui Guang 崔光	Shu, Dong Qinghe 東清河鄃	468	*WS* 67
139.	Cui Liang 崔亮	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 67
140.	Cui Changwen 崔長文	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468?	*WS* 67
141.	Cui Huaishen 崔懷慎	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24; *NQS* 55; *BS* 24
142.	Cui Huibo 崔徽伯	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24
143.	Cui Jinghui 崔景徽	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24
144.	Cui Jirou 崔季柔	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 24
145.	Cui Pingzhong 崔平仲	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	*WS* 43
146.	Wife of Cui Pingzhong 崔平仲妻	unknown	468	*WS* 43
147.	Cui Shenfei 崔神妃	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	468	Epitaph of Cui Shenfei[732]
148.	Cui You 崔猷	Dongyu, Dong Qinghe 東清河東俞	468	Epitaph of Cui You[733]
149.	Lady Yang 楊氏	Hualeng, Huannong 恒農華泠	468	Epitaph of Lady Yang[734]
150.	Liu Fang 劉芳	Pengcheng 彭城	468	*WS* 55
151.	Cui Chengzong 崔承宗	Licheng, Qi province 齊州歷城	468?	*WS* 86

[731] See Luo Xin and Ye Wei 2005, 161-163.

[732] Luo Xin and Ye Wei 2005, 110-111.
[733] Mao Yuanming, ed., 2008, 4.225-227.
[734] Zhao Chao 2008, 126.

152.	Liu Fafeng 劉法鳳	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	469	*WS* 43
153.	Liu Xiaobiao 劉孝標	Pingyuan county, Pingyuan commandery 平原郡平原縣	469	*WS* 43
154.	Lady Xu 許氏	unknown	469	*WS* 43
155.	Cheng Yan 成淹	Juyong, Shanggu 上谷居庸	469	*WS* 79
156.	Gao Cong 高聰	Xiu county, Bohai 渤海蓨縣	469	*WS* 68
157.	Jiang Shaoyou 蔣少游	Bochang, Le'an 樂安博昌	469	*WS* 91
158.	Xu Jian 徐謇	Gumu, Dongguan 東莞姑幕	469	*WS* 91; BS 90
159.	Cui Daogu 崔道固	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	469	*WS* 24; *SS* 88
160.	Fu Yong 傅永	Qinghe 清河	469	*WS* 70
161.	Shen Wenxiu 沈文秀	Wukang, Wuxing 吳興武康	469	*WS* 61; *SS* 88; *NQS* 27, 28
162.	Fang Tianle 房天樂	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	469	*WS* 61
163.	Shen Song 沈嵩	Wukang, Wuxing 吳興武康	469	*WS* 61
164.	Feng Lingyou 封靈祐	Xiu county, Bohai 勃海蓨	469	*WS* 32
165.	Dai Sengjing 戴僧靜	Yongxing, Kuaiji 會稽永興	469	*NQS* 30
166.	Yuan Xuan 袁宣	Xiang, Chen commandery 陳郡項	469	*WS* 69
167.	Yuan Fan 袁翻	Xiang, Chen commandery 陳郡項	469	*WS* 69
168.	Yuan Yue 袁躍	Xiang, Chen commandery 陳郡項	469?	*WS* 85
169.	Liu Shanming's mother 劉善明母	unknown	469	*NQS* 28
170.	Fang Jian 房堅	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	469	*WS* 43
171.	Lady Xiao 蕭氏	South Lanling 南蘭陵	469?	*WS* 94
172.	Xiao Yan 蕭彥	South Lanling 南蘭陵	469?	*WS* 94
173.	Liu Asu 劉阿素	Taiyuan, Qi province 齊州太原	469?	Epitaph of Liu Asu[735]
174.	Zhang Anji 張安姬	Dongping, Yan 兗東平	469?	Epitaph of Zhang Anji[736]

[735] Zhao Chao 2008, 114-115.
[736] Luoyang shi wenwu ju, ed., 2001, 58.

175.	Shen Jingyi 申景義	Wei commandery 魏郡	Emperor Xianwen	*WS* 61
176.	Feng Xiujie 封休傑	Xiu county, Bohai 勃海鄡	Emperor Xianwen	*WS* 32
177.	Lady Shen 申氏	Wei county, Wei commandery 魏郡魏縣	Emperor Xianwen	*WS* 86
178.	Cui Wei 崔蔚	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	Yanxing 延興 era (471-476 CE) of Emperor Xiaowen	*ZS* 36
179.	Huan Dan 桓誕	Longkang, Qiaoguo 譙國龍亢	473	*WS* 101
180.	Xie Fengjun 解奉君	unknown	477	*WS* 7
181.	Yang Wenhong 楊文弘	(Di 氐)	477	*WS* 101
182.	Yang Gounu 楊苟奴	(Di 氐)	477	*WS* 101
183.	Chang Yuanzhen 常元真	unknown	480	*WS* 7
184.	Hu Qinggou 胡青苟	unknown	480	*WS* 7
185.	Jiaocheng Garrison Commander 角城戍主	unknown	480	*WS* 7
186.	Wang Jizong 王繼宗	unknown	484	*WS* 7
187.	Wei Chong 韋崇	Duling, Jingzhao 京兆杜陵	unknown (before 494 CE)	*WS* 45; *BQS* 45
188.	Lady Zheng 鄭氏	Xingyang 滎陽	unknown (before 494 CE)	*WS* 45
189.	Cui Yanbo 崔延伯	Boling 博陵	488?	*WS* 73
190.	Yang Jishi 楊集使	(Di 氐)	492	*WS* 101
191.	Wang Su 王肅	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	493	*WS* 63; *LS* 21; *LYQLJ* 3
192.	Li Simu 李思穆	Didao, Longxi 隴西狄道	493	*WS* 39
193.	Tian Yizong 田益宗	(*Man* from Guangcheng 光城蠻)	493	*WS* 61
194.	Dong Luan 董巒	Yingyang 營陽	493	*WS* 61
195.	Dong Jingyao 董景曜	Yingyang 營陽	493	*WS* 61
196.	Tian Lusheng 田魯生	(*Man* from Guangcheng 光城蠻)	493	*WS* 61
197.	Tian Luxian 田魯賢	(*Man* from Guangcheng 光城蠻)	493	*WS* 61
198.	Lei Posi 雷婆思	(*Man* from Xiangyang 襄陽蠻)	493	*WS* 7
199.	Meng Biao 孟表	Sheqiu, Jibei 濟北蛇丘	494	*WS* 61

200.	Cao Hu 曹虎	Xiapei 下邳	494	*WS* 7
201.	Shen Ling 沈陵	Wukang, Wuxing 吳興武康	494	*WS* 61
202.	Shen Zhidu 沈智度	Wukang, Wuxing 吳興武康	494	*WS* 61
203.	Bian Shuzhen 邊叔珍	unknown	494	*WS* 61
204.	Liu Wuying 劉武英	Pengcheng 彭城	495	*WS* 59
205.	Wang Lang 王朗	unknown	495	*WS* 7
206.	Fang Sanyi 房三益	Yimu, Qinghe 清河繹幕	496	*WS* 43
207.	Han Xiufang 韓秀方	unknown	497	*WS* 7
208.	Wang Fuzhi 王副之	unknown	497	*WS* 7
209.	Zhao Zuyue 趙祖悅	unknown	497	*WS* 7
210.	Fu Shuyan 傅豎眼	Qinghe 清河	497?	*WS* 70
211.	Deng Xue 鄧學	unknown	498	*WS* 7
212.	Tian Xingzu 田興祖	(*Man* 蠻)	499?	*WS* 61
213.	Liu Sizu 劉思祖	Pengcheng 彭城	499?	*WS* 55
214.	Xia Boyi 夏伯宜	Yiyang 義陽	Emperor Xiaowen	*NQS* 37
215.	Cui Zongbo 崔宗伯	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	Emperor Xiaowen	*WS* 69; *BS* 24
216.	Cui Xiu 崔休	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	Emperor Xiaowen	*WS* 69
217.	Pei Shuye 裴叔業	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71; *NQS* 51
218.	Pei Zhi 裴植	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71; *NQS* 51
219.	Pei Can 裴粲	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71
220.	Pei Fenzhi 裴芬之	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71; *NQS* 51
221.	Pei Aizhi 裴藹之	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71
222.	Pei Xin 裴昕	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71
223.	Pei Zhiyuan 裴智淵	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71
224.	Pei Sui 裴邃	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*LS* 28; *WS* 58
225.	Pei Tan 裴譚	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	500	*WS* 71
226.	Tan Bin	Gaoping, Yan province	500	Epitaph of Tan Bin[737]

[737] Zhao Chao 2008, 158-160.

	檀賓	兗州高平		
227.	Wei Boxin 韋伯昕	Duling, Jingzhao 京兆杜陵	500	*LS* 28
228.	Yin Ting 尹挺	Yi, Tianshui 天水翼	500	*WS* 71
229.	Yin Xun 尹循	Yi, Tianshui 天水翼	500	*WS* 71
230.	Yin Tuan 尹彖	Yi, Tianshui 天水翼	500	*WS* 71
231.	Liu Xuanda 柳玄達	Nanxie, Hedong 河東南解	500	*WS* 71
232.	Liu Xuanyu 柳玄瑜	Nanxie, Hedong 河東南解	500	*WS* 71
233.	Liu Zhi 柳絺	Nanxie, Hedong 河東南解	500	*WS* 71
234.	Yang Lingbao 楊令寶	Wudu 武都	500	*WS* 71
235.	Yang Lingren 楊令仁	Wudu 武都	500	*WS* 71
236.	Wang Hao 王昊	unknown	500	*WS* 71
237.	Zhao Ge 趙革	unknown	500	*WS* 71
238.	Li Daozhen 李道真	unknown	500	*WS* 71
239.	Hu Wensheng 胡文盛	unknown	500	*WS* 71
240.	Wei Chengzu 魏承祖	Guangling 廣陵	500	*WS* 71
241.	Huangfu Guang 皇甫光	Anding 安定	500	*WS* 71
242.	Liang You 梁祐	Beidi 北地	500	*WS* 71
243.	Cui Gaoke 崔高客	Qinghe 清河	500	*WS* 71
244.	Yan Qingyin 閻慶胤	Tianshui 天水	500	*WS* 71
245.	Liu Sengxi 柳僧習	Xie, Hedong 河東解	500	*ZS* 22
246.	Li Yuanhu 李元護	Xiangping, Liaodong 遼東襄平	500	*WS* 71
247.	Li Jing 李靜	Xiangping, Liaodong 遼東襄平	500	*WS* 71
248.	Xi Fayou 席法友	Xiangping, Liaodong 遼東襄平	500	*WS* 71
249.	Wang Shibi 王世弼	Bacheng, Jingzhao 京兆霸城	500	*WS* 71
250.	Wang Hui 王會	Bacheng, Jingzhao 京兆霸城	500	*WS* 71
251.	Wang You 王由	Bacheng, Jingzhao 京兆霸城	500	*WS* 71
252.	Wang Guo 王果	unknown	500	*WS* 21
253.	Hu Jinglue 胡景略	unknown	500	*WS* 21; *NQS* 57

254.	Yu Ji 庾稷	unknown	500	*WS* 21
255.	Tian Kongming 田孔明	(*Man* 蠻)	500	*LS* 10
256.	Tian Yuqiu 田育丘	(Dayang *man* 大陽蠻)	500	*WS* 8
257.	Zhao Chaozong 趙超宗	unknown	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
258.	Zhao Yi 趙翼	Tianshui 天水	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
259.	Zhao Lingsheng 趙 令勝	Tianshui 天水	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
260.	Zhao Xia 趙遐	Tianshui 天水	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
261.	Zhao Shulong 趙叔隆	Tianshui 天水	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
262.	Zhao Mu 趙穆	Tianshui 天水	Emperor Xiaowen-Xuanwu	*WS* 52
263.	Hua Hou 華侯	unknown	501	*WS* 8
264.	Pei Yan 裴衍	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	501	*WS* 71
265.	Wang Bing 王秉	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63
266.	Wang Song 王誦	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63; *BS* 16
267.	Wang Yi 王翊	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63
268.	Wang Yan 王衍	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63
269.	Liu Mao 劉懋	Pengcheng 彭城	500?	*WS* 55
270.	Lady Xie 謝氏 (王肅妻)	Chen commandery 陳郡	501	*WS* 63
271.	Wang Shao 王紹	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63
272.	Wang Puxian 王普賢	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	*WS* 63
273.	Lady Wang 王肅次女	Linyi, Langye 琅琊臨沂	501	Epitaph of Yuan Yuan (her son)[738]
274.	Pei Yanxian 裴彥先	Wenxi, Hedong 河東聞喜	501	*WS* 71; *BQS* 21
275.	Yan Shumao 嚴叔懋	unknown	Emperor Xuanwu	*WS* 19
276.	He Yuan 何遠	unknown	Emperor Xuanwu	*LS* 53
277.	Xiao Baoyin 蕭寶夤	South Lanling 南蘭陵	502	*WS* 59; *LYQLJ* 3; *NQS* 50; *ZS* 22
278.	Zhang Jingren 張景仁	unknown	502	*LYQLJ* 2
279.	Chen Bozhi 陳伯之	Suiling, Jiyin 濟陰睢陵	502	*LS* 20, 9
280.	Chen Huya	Suiling, Jiyin	502	*LS* 20

[738] Zhao Chao 2008, 356.

	陳虎牙	濟陰睢陵		
281.	Chu Wei 褚緯	Henan 河南	502	*LS* 20
282.	Chunyu Dan 淳于誕	Bo, Taishan 泰山博	502?	*WS* 71
283.	Zhang Fengji 張豐姬	Nanyang 南陽	504?	Epitaph of Zhang Fengji[739]
284.	Xiahou Daoqian 夏侯道遷	Qiaoguo 譙國	500; 504	*WS* 71
285.	Xiahou Guai 夏侯夬	Qiaoguo 譙國	504	*WS* 71
286.	Xiaohou Chuo 夏侯龊	Qiaoguo 譙國	504	*WS* 71
287.	Wang Yingxing 王穎興	unknown	504	*WS* 71
288.	Zhang Anshi 張安世	Dongwucheng, Qinghe 清河東武城	504	*WS* 71
289.	Xin Zhan 辛諶	Yingchuan 潁川	504	*WS* 71
290.	Yu Dao 庾道	Yingchuan 潁川	504	*WS* 71
291.	Jiang Yuezhi 江悅之	Kaocheng, Jiyang 濟陽考城	504	*WS* 71
292.	Jiang Wenyao 江文遙	Kaocheng, Jiyang 濟陽考城	504	*WS* 71
293.	Jiang Wenyuan 江文遠	Kaocheng, Jiyang 濟陽考城	504	*WS* 71
294.	Li Jian 李建	Hanzhong 漢中	504	*WS* 71
295.	Pang Jingliang 龐景亮	Nan'an 南安	504	*WS* 71
296.	Zhang Yuanliang 張元亮	Hanzhong 漢中	504	*WS* 71
297.	Shisun Tianyu 士孫天與	Fufeng 扶風	504	*WS* 71
298.	Luo Daozhen 羅道珍	Xiangyang 襄陽	504	*WS* 71
299.	Wang Anshi 王安世	Beihai 北海	504	*WS* 71
300.	Jiang Yong 姜永	Hanzhong 漢中	504	*WS* 71
301.	Jiang Yang 姜漾	Hanzhong 漢中	504	*WS* 71
302.	Huangfu Hui 皇甫徽	Chaona, Anding 安定朝那	504	*WS* 71
303.	Cai Ling'en 蔡靈恩	Jiyang 濟陽?	504	*WS* 8
304.	Tian Qingxi 田清喜	(Yongzhou *man* 雍州蠻)	505	*WS* 101
305.	Yang Jiqi 楊集起	(Di 氐)	506	*ZZTJ* 146
306.	Yang Jiyi 楊集義	(Di 氐)	506	*ZZTJ* 146

[739] Zhao Junping and Zhao Wencheng, 2007, 28.

307.	Yuwen Zisheng 宇文子生	unknown	507	*WS* 8
308.	Wen Yunsheng 文雲生	(*Man* 蠻)	507	*WS* 101
309.	Wang Wanshou 王萬壽	Langye 琅琊	511	*WS* 47
310.	Gou Ren 苟仁	unknown	511	*WS* 8
311.	Xu Xuanming 徐玄明	Yuzhou 郁洲	513	*WS* 55
312.	Du Xing 杜性	unknown	514	*WS* 38
313.	Du Longzhen 杜龍振	unknown	514	*WS* 38
314.	Du Taiding 杜台定	unknown	514	*WS* 38
315.	Li Miao 李苗	Fu, Zitong 梓潼涪	514	*WS* 71
316.	Chu Shilian 楚石廉	(*Man* 蠻)	514	*WS* 101
317.	Tian Chaoxiu 田超秀	(*Man* 蠻)	515	*WS* 9
318.	Du Gui 杜桂	unknown	515	*WS* 9
319.	Mo Hanlong 牟漢龍	unknown	517	*WS* 9
320.	Xu Zhou 許周	unknown	Emperor Xiaoming (516-520)	*WS* 41
321.	Xu Tuan 許團	unknown	Emperor Xiaoming (516-520)	*WS* 41
322.	Shen Hui 申徽	Wei county, Wei commandery 魏郡魏縣	Emperor Xiaoming?	*ZS* 32
323.	Chen Zhongru 陳仲儒	unknown	? (before 518)	*WS* 109
324.	Tian Shenneng 田申能	unknown	518	*WS* 43
325.	Tian Guande 田官德	(*Man* 蠻)	521	*WS* 101
326.	Wen Sengming 文僧明	(*Man* 蠻)	521	*WS* 101; *LS* 28
327.	Cheng Longqiang 成龍強	(*Man* 蠻)	521	*WS* 101
328.	Tian Wusheng 田午生	(*Man* 蠻)	521	*WS* 101
329.	Xiao Zhengde 蕭正德	South Lanling 南蘭陵	522	*WS* 59; *LYQLJ* 3; *LS* 55
330.	Xiao Zhengbiao 蕭正表	South Lanling 南蘭陵	522	*BS* 29
331.	Cui Mu 崔睦	Qinghe 清河	522	*WS* 24
332.	Gao Ling 高陵	unknown	522	*WS* 24
333.	Zhang Jiong 張炅	unknown	522	*WS* 24

334.	Guo Yun 郭緼	unknown	522	*WS* 24
335.	Xu Zhicai 徐之才	Gumu, Dongguan 東莞姑幕	525	*WS* 91; *BS* 90; *BQS* 33
336.	Jiang Ge 江革	Kaocheng, Jiyang 濟陽考城	525	*LS* 36
337.	Zu Geng 祖晅	Qiu county, Fanyang 范陽遒縣	525	*LS* 36
338.	Xiao Zong 蕭綜	South Lanling 南蘭陵	525	*WS* 59; *LS* 32, 55; *LYQLJ* 2; *NS* 53
339.	Liang Hua 梁話	Anding 安定	525	*NS* 53
340.	Rui Wenchong 芮文寵	Huaiyin 淮陰	525	*NS* 53
341.	Xue Cheng 薛懜	Fenyin, Hedong 河東汾陰	526	*ZS* 38
342.	Hu Sengyou 胡僧祐	Guanjun, Nanyang 南陽冠軍	528	*LS* 46
343.	Li Yi 李嶷	unknown	529	*WS* 70
344.	Zhang Jingyong 張景邕	unknown	529	*WS* 10
345.	Li Lingqi 李靈起	unknown	529	*WS* 10
346.	Xiao Jinming 蕭進明	unknown	529	*WS* 10
347.	Bu Tangshi 卜湯世	unknown	530	*WS* 10
348.	Ge Qiu 革虯	unknown	530	*WS* 10
349.	Cao Feng 曹鳳	unknown	533	*WS* 11
350.	Lei Nengsheng 雷能勝	unknown	533	*WS* 11
351.	Mao Xiang 毛香	unknown	534	*WS* 11

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