

長恨歌傳

陳鴻撰

傳文據文苑英華校錄

歌據長慶集

開元中，秦階平，四海無事。玄宗在位歲久，勸於盱食宵衣，政無大小，始委於右丞相，稍深居遊宴，以聲色自娛。先是元獻皇后武淑妃皆有寵，相次即世。宮中雖良家子千數，無可悅目者。上心忽不樂。時每歲十月，駕幸華清宮，內外命婦，燿燿景從，浴日餘波，賜以湯沐，春風靈液，澹蕩其間。上心油然，若有所遇，顧左右前後，粉色如土。詔高力士潛搜外宮，得弘農楊玄琰女於壽邸，既笄矣。髮髮膩理，纖穠中度，舉止閑冶，如漢武帝李夫人。別疏湯泉，詔賜藻塋，既出水，體弱力微，若不任羅綺。光彩煥發，轉動照人。上甚悅。進見之日，奏霓裳羽衣曲以導之，定情之夕，授金釵鈿合以固之。又命戴步搖，垂金璫。明年，册爲貴妃，半后服用。繇是治其容，敏其詞，婉孌萬態，以中上意。上益嬖焉。時省風九州，泥金五嶽，驪山雪夜，上陽春朝，與上行同輦，止同室，宴專席，寢專房。雖有三夫人，九嬪，二十七世婦，八十一御妻，暨後宮才人，樂府妓女，使天子無顧盼意。自是六宮無復進幸者。非徒殊豔尤態致是，蓋才智明慧，善巧便佞，先意希旨，有不可形容者。叔父昆弟皆列位清貴，爵爲通侯。姊妹封國夫人，富埒王宮，車服邸第，與大長公主侔矣。而恩澤勢力，則又過之，出入禁門不問，京師長吏爲之側目。故當時諠詠有云：「生女勿悲酸，生男勿喜歡。」又曰：「男不封侯女作妃，看女却爲門上楣。」其爲人心羨慕如此。天寶末，兄國忠盜丞相位，愚弄國柄。及安祿山引兵嚮闕，以討楊氏爲詞。潼關不守，翠華南幸，出咸陽，道次馬嵬亭。六軍徘徊，持戟不進。從官郎吏伏上馬前，請誅晁錯

以謝天下。國忠奉釐盤水，死於道周。左右之意未快。上問之。當時敢言者，請以貴妃寒天下怨。上知不免，而不忍見其死，反袂掩面，使牽之而去。倉皇展轉，竟就死於尺組之下。既而玄宗狩成都，肅宗受禪靈武。明年大赦改元，大駕還都。尊玄宗爲太上皇，就養南宮。自南宮遷於西內。時移事去，樂盡悲來。每至春之日，冬之夜，池蓮夏開，宮槐秋落。梨園弟子，玉琯發音，聞霓裳羽衣一聲，則天顏不怡，左右歎歎。三載一意，其念不衰。求之夢魂，杳不能得。適有道士自蜀來，知上心念楊妃如是，自言有李少君之術。玄宗大喜，命致其神。方士乃竭其術以索之，不至。又能遊神馭氣，出天界，沒地府以求之，不見。又旁求四虛上下，東極天海，跨蓬壺。見最高仙山，上多樓闕，西廂下有洞戶，東嚮，闔其門，署曰「玉妃太真院」。方士抽簪扣扉，有雙鬟童女，出應其門。方士造次未及言，而雙鬟復入。俄有碧衣侍女又至，詰其所從。方士因稱唐天子使者，且致其命。碧衣云：「玉妃方寢，請少待之。」於時雲海沈沈，洞天日曉，瓊戶重闔，悄然無聲。方士展息斂足，拱手門下。久之，而碧衣延入，且曰：「玉妃出。」見一人冠金蓮，披紫綃，珮紅玉，曳鳳鳥，左右侍者七八人，揖方士，問「皇帝安否？」次問天寶十四載已還事。言訖，惘然。指碧衣取金釵鈿合，各析其半，授使者曰：「爲我謝太上皇，謹獻是物，尋舊好也。」方士受辭與信，將行，色有不足。玉妃固徵其意。復前跪致詞：「請當時一事，不爲他人聞者，驗於太上皇，不然，恐鈿合金釵，負新垣平之詐也。」玉妃茫然退立，若有所思，徐而言曰：「昔天寶十載。侍輦避暑於驪山宮。秋七月，牽牛織女相見之夕，秦人風俗，是夜張錦繡，陳飲食，樹瓜華，焚香於庭，號爲乞巧。宮掖間尤尙之。時夜殆半，休侍衛於東西廂，獨侍上。上凭肩而立，因仰天感牛

女事，密相誓心，願世世爲夫婦。言畢，執手各嗚咽。此獨君王知之耳。」因自悲曰：「由此一念，又不得居此。復墮下界，且結後緣。或爲天，或爲人，決再相見，好合如舊。」因言：「太上皇亦不久人間，幸惟自安，無自苦耳。」使者還奏太上皇，皇心震悼，日日不豫。其年夏四月，南宮宴駕。元和元年冬十二月，太原白樂天自校書郎尉于藍屋。鴻與瑯琊王質夫家於是邑，暇日相攜遊仙遊寺，話及此事，相與感歎。質夫舉酒於樂天前曰：「夫希代之事，非遇出世之才潤色之，則與時消沒，不聞於世。樂天深於詩，多於情者也。試爲歌之。如何？」樂天因爲長恨歌。意者不但感其事，亦欲懲尤物，窒亂階，垂於將來者也。歌既成，使鴻傳焉。世所不聞者，予非開元遺民，不得知。世所知者，有玄宗本紀在。今但傳長恨歌云爾。

漢皇重色思傾國，御宇多年求不得。楊家有女初長成，養在深閨人未識。天生麗質難自棄，一朝選在君王側。回眸一笑百媚生，六宮粉黛無顏色。春寒賜浴華清池，溫泉水滑洗凝脂，侍兒扶起嬌無力，始是新承恩澤時。雲鬢花顏金步搖，芙蓉帳暖度春宵。春宵苦短日高起，從此君王不早朝。承歡侍宴無閒暇，春從春遊夜專夜，後宮佳麗三千人，三千寵愛在一身，金屋粧成嬌侍夜，玉樓宴罷醉和春。姊妹弟兄皆列土，可憐光彩生門戶，遂令天下父母心，不重生男重生女。驪宮高處入青雲，仙樂風飄處處聞。緩歌慢舞凝絲竹，盡日君王看不足。漁陽鞞鼓動地來，驚破霓裳羽衣曲。九重城闕煙塵生，千乘萬騎西南行，翠華搖搖行復止，西出都門百餘里，六軍不發無奈何，宛轉蛾眉馬前死。花鈿委地無人收，翠翹金雀玉搔頭，君王掩面救不得，回看血淚相和流。黃埃散漫風蕭索，雲棧縈紆登劍閣，峨眉山

Chen Hong (early 9th century), An Account to Go with the "Song of Lasting Pain"

During the Kai-yuan Reign, the omens of the Stair Stars showed a world at peace, and there were no problems throughout all the land within the four circling seas. Xuan-zong, having been long on the throne, grew weary of having to dine late and dress while it was still dark for the dawn audience; and he began to turn over all questions of government, both large and small, to the Assistant Director of the Right, Li Lin-fu, while the Emperor himself tended either to stay deep in the palace or go out to banquets, finding his pleasure in all the sensual delights of ear and eye. Previously the Empress Yuan-xian and the Consort Wu-hui had both enjoyed His Majesty's favor, but each in turn had departed this world; and even though there were in the palace over a thousand daughters of good families, none of them really caught his fancy. His Majesty was fretful and displeased.

In those days every year in December the imperial entourage would journey to Hua-ting Palace. The titled women, both from the inner palace and from without, would follow him like luminous shadows. And he would grant them baths in the warm waters there, in the very waves that had bathed the imperial sun. Holy fluids in a springlike breeze went rippling through those places. It was then that His Majesty's heart was smitten: for he had truly come upon the one woman, and all the fair flesh that surrounded him seemed to him like dirt. He summoned Gao Li-shi to make a secret search for this woman in the palaces of the princes; and there, in the establishment of the Prince of Shou, he found the daughter of Yang Xuan-yan. She had already become a mature woman. Her hair and tresses were glossy and well arranged; neither slender nor plump, she was exactly of the middle measure; and there was a sensuous allure in her every motion, just like the Lady Li of Emperor Wu of the Han. He ordered a special channel of the warm springs cut for her and commanded that it be offered to her gleaming fineness. When she came out of the water, her body seemed frail and her force spent, as if she could not even bear the weight of lace and gauze; yet she shed such radiance that it shone on all around her. His Majesty was most pleased. On the day he had her brought to meet him, he ordered the melody "Coats of Feathers, Rainbow Skirts" played to precede her. And on the eve when their love was consummated, he gave her, as proofs of his love, a golden hairpin and an inlaid box. He also commanded that she wear golden earrings and a hair-pick that swayed to her pace. The following year he had her officially listed as Gui-fei, Prized Consort, entitled to half the provision as an empress. From this point on she assumed a seductively coy manner and spoke wittily, suiting herself to His Majesty's wishes by thousands of fetching ways. And His Majesty came to dote on her ever more deeply.

At this time the Emperor made a tour of his nine domains and offered the gold-sealed tablets in ceremonies on the Five Sacred Peaks. On Mount Li during snowy nights and in Shang-yang Palace on spring mornings she would ride in the same palanquin as the Emperor and spend the night in the

same apartments; she was the main figure of feasts and had his bedchambers all to herself when he retired. There were three Great Ladies, nine Royal Spouses, twenty-seven Brides of the Age, eighty-one Imperial Wives, Handmaidens of the Rear Palace, Women Performers of the Music Bureau—and on none of these was the Son of Heaven the least inclined to look. And from that time on, no one from the Six Palaces was ever again brought forward to the royal bed. This was not only because of her sensual allure and great physical charms, but also because she was clever and smart, artful at flattery and making herself agreeable, anticipating His Majesty's wishes—so much so that it cannot be described. Her father, her uncle, and her brothers were all given high honorary offices and were raised to ranks of Nobility Equal to the Royal House. Her sisters were enfeoffed as Ladies of Domains. Their wealth matched that of the royal house; and their carriages, clothes, and mansions were on a par with the Emperor's aunt, Princess Tai-chang. Yet in power and the benefits of imperial favor, they surpassed her. They went in and out of the royal palace unquestioned, and the senior officers of the capital would turn their eyes away from them. There were doggerel rhymes in those days that went:

If you have a girl, don't feel sad;
if you have a boy, don't feel glad.

and:

The boy won't be a noble,
but the daughter may be queen;
so look on your daughters now
as the glory of the clan.

To such a degree were they envied by people.

At the end of the Tian-bao Reign, her uncle Yang Guo-zhong stole the position of Chancellor and abused the power he held. When An Lu-shan led his troops in an attack on the imperial palace, he used punishing Yang Guo-zhong as his pretext. Tong Pass was left undefended, and the Kingfisher Paraphernalia of the imperial entourage had to set out southward. After leaving Xian-yang, their path came to Ma-wei Pavilion. There the Grand Army hesitated, holding their pikes in battle positions and refusing to go forward. Attendant officers, gentlemen of the court, and underlings bowed down before His Majesty's horse and asked that this current Chao Cuo be executed to appease the world.² Yang Guo-zhong then received the yak-hair hat ribbons and the pan of water, by which a great officer of the court presents himself to the Emperor for punishment, and he died there by the edge of the road. Yet the will of those who were with the Emperor was still not satis-

²Yang Guo-zhong is referred to as Chao Cuo, a Western Han censor who advised the emperor Jing to reduce the territories of the imperial princes, which was the excuse for the Rebellion of the Seven Domains. Yang Guo-zhong is similarly being accused of having provoked An Lu-shan to rebellion.

fied. When His Majesty asked what the problem was, those who dared speak out asked that the Prized Consort also be sacrificed to allay the wrath of the world. His Majesty knew that it could not be avoided, and yet he could not bear to see her die, so he turned his sleeve to cover his face as the envoys dragged her off. She struggled and threw herself back and forth in panic, but at last she came to death under the strangling cord.

Afterward, Xuan-zong came to Cheng-du on his Imperial Tour, and Suzong accepted the succession at Ling-wu. In the following year the Monster himself [An Lu-shan] forfeited his head, and the imperial carriage returned to the capital. Xuan-zong was honored as His Former Majesty and given a separate establishment in the Southern Palace, then transferred to the western sector of the Imperial Compound. As time and events passed, all joy had gone from him and only sadness came. Every day of spring or night of winter, when the lotuses in the ponds opened in summer or when the palace ash trees shed their leaves in autumn, the performers of the Pear Garden Academy would produce notes on their jade flageolets; and if he heard one note of "Coats of Feathers, Rainbow Skirts," His Majesty's face would lose its cheer, and all those around him would sob and sigh. For three years there was this one thing on his mind, and his longing never subsided. His soul sought her out in dream, but she was so far away he could not reach her.

It happened then that a wizard came from Shu; and knowing that His Majesty was brooding so much on Yang the Prized Consort, he said that he possessed the skills of Li the Young Lord, the wizard who had summoned the soul of Lady Li for Emperor Wu of the Han. Xuan-zong was very pleased, and ordered him to bring her spirit. The wizard then used all his skills to find her, but could not. He was also able to send his spirit on journeys by riding vapors; he went up into the precincts of Heaven and sank down into the vaults of the Earth looking for her; but he did not meet her. And then again he went to the margins and the encircling wastelands, high and low, to the easternmost extreme of Heaven and the Ocean, where he strode across Fang-hu.

He saw there the highest of the mountains of the Undying, with many mansions and towers; at the end of the western verandah there was a deepest doorway facing east; the gate was shut, and there was written "The Garden of Tai-zhen, Jade Consort." The wizard pulled out a hatpin and rapped on the door, at which a young maiden with her hair done up in a double coil came out to answer the door. The wizard was so flustered he couldn't manage to get a word out, so the maiden went back in. In a moment another servant girl in a green dress came out and asked where he was from. The wizard then identified himself as an envoy of the Tang Son of Heaven and conveyed the command he had been given. The servant said, "The Jade Consort has just gone to bed; please wait a while for her." Thereupon he was swallowed up in a sea of clouds with the dawn sun breaking through them as down a tunnel to the heavens; then the jasper door closed again and all was still and without a sound.

The wizard held his breath and did not move his feet, waiting at the gate with folded hands. After a long time, the servant invited him to come in and said, "The Jade Consort is coming out." Then he saw a person with a bonnet of golden lotuses, wearing lavender chiffon, with pendants of red jade hanging from her sash and phoenix slippers, and seven or eight persons in attendance on her. She greeted the wizard and asked, "Is the Emperor well?" Then she asked what had happened since the fourteenth year of the Tian-bao Reign. When he finished speaking, she grew wistful and gestured to her servant to get a golden hairpin and inlaid box, each of which she broke in parts. She gave one part of each to the envoy, saying, "Express my gratitude to the Emperor and present him these objects as mementos of our former love."

The wizard received her words and these objects of surety; he was ready to go, but one could see in his face that something was troubling him. The Jade Consort insisted that he tell her what was the matter. Then he knelt down before her and said, "Please tell me something that happened back then, something of which no one else knew, so that I can offer to His Majesty as proof. Otherwise I am afraid that with the inlaid box and the golden hairpin I will be accused of the same kind of trickery that Xin Yuan-ping practiced on Emperor Wen of the Han." The Jade Consort drew back lost in thought, as if there were something she were recalling with fondness. Then very slowly she said, "Back in the tenth year of the Tian-bao Reign, I was attending on His Majesty, who had gone to the palace on Mount Li to escape the heat. It was autumn, in the seventh month, the evening when the Oxherd and the Weaver Star meet. It was the custom of the people of Qin on that night to spread out embroidery and brocade, to put out food and drink, to set up flowers and melons, and to burn incense in the yard—they call this 'begging for deftness.' Those of the inner palace hold this custom in particularly high regard. It was almost midnight; and the guards and attendants in the eastern and western cloisters had been dismissed. I was waiting on His Majesty alone. His Majesty stood there, leaning on his shoulder, then looked up at the heavens and was touched by the legend of the Oxherd and Weaver Star. We then made a secret vow to one another, a wish that we could be husband and wife in every lifetime. When we stopped speaking, we held hands, and each of us was sobbing. Only the Emperor knows of this."

Then she said sadly, "Because of this one thought so much in my mind, I will be able to live on here no longer. I will descend again to the world below and our future destiny will take shape. Whether in Heaven or in the world of mortal men, it is certain that we will meet again and form our bond of love as before." Then she said, "His Former Majesty will not be long in the world of men. I hope that he will find some peace of mind and not cause himself suffering."

The envoy returned and presented this to His Former Majesty, and the Emperor's heart was shaken and much afflicted with grief. For days on end he could find no cheer. In the summer of that year, in the fourth month, His Majesty passed on.

In winter of the first year of the Yuan-he Reign, the twelfth month (February 807), Bo Ju-yi of Tai-yuan left his position as Diarist in the Imperial Library to be the sheriff of Chou County. I, Chen Hong, and Wang Zhi-fu of Lang-ya had our homes in this town; and on our days off we would go together visiting sites of the Undying and Buddhist temples. Our discussion touched on this story, and we were all moved to sighs. Zhi-fu lifted his winecup to Bo Ju-yi and said, "Unless such an event finds an extraordinary talent who can adorn it with colors, even something so rare will fade away with time and no longer be known in the world. Bo Ju-yi is deeply familiar with poetry and has strong sentiments. Why doesn't he write a song on the topic." At this Bo Ju-yi made the "Song of Lasting Pain." It is my supposition that he was not only moved by the event, but he also wanted to offer warning about such creatures that can so enthrall a man, to block the phases by which troubles come, and to leave this for the future. When the song was finished, he had me write a prose account for it. Of those things not known to the general public, I, not being a survivor of the Kai-yuan, have no way to know. For those things known to the general public, the "Annals of the Reign of Xuan-zong" are extant. This is merely an account for the "Song of Lasting Pain."

One of the most popular ways to treat the story of Xuan-zong and Lady Yang in the Tang was in poetry about Hua-qing Palace, the imperial pleasure palace built beside the thermal springs on Mount Li, east of Chang-an. Since Mount Li was within sight of one of the most traveled roads in the empire, poets often had occasion to "pass by Hua-qing Palace" and there recall Xuan-zong's wild revels with Lady Yang, the Prized Consort. In the following famous set of quatrains by Du Mu, the first poem alludes to another of the favorite stories of Lady Yang, that when she longed for the lychees of her native region, Xuan-zong had post riders bring them to her by relays so that they would arrive fresh. This was considered a gross abuse of imperial prerogatives to suit a woman's private whim.

The second poem refers to investigators sent by Xuan-zong to An Lu-shan's Northeastern Command at Yu-yang to discover if, as rumors suggested, An Lu-shan was plotting rebellion. The investigators were bribed by An Lu-shan and reported back that all was well. The third alludes to the story that An Lu-shan, who was immensely fat, was skilled at the popular Central Asian dance the Whirl (*hu-xuan*), probably something like a dervish dance. He used to dance the Whirl to entertain the emperor and Lady Yang, and when he did so, all the palace maidens would clap their hands to the rhythm.

Du Mu, On Passing by Hua-qing Palace (three quatrains)

I
Turn and look back from Chang-an
to embroideries heaped in piles;
on the hill's high crest are a thousand gates
standing open in rows.

Through red dust a man goes riding;
the Consort smiles;
and no one else there knows
that her lychees are on the way.

II
Through the green trees of Xin-feng
the brown dust is rising—
several men riding from Yu-yang,
the investigators return.
That one melody, "Rainbow Skirts,"
up over a thousand peaks—
she danced the heartland to pieces,
and only then came down.

III
Piping and singing from thousands of lands,
they were drunk on an age of peace,
great halls resting by Heaven,
where moonlight shone so clear.
Wild rhythms struck in the clouds—
An Lu-shan was dancing—
and the wind crossed ridge after ridge,
bringing down the sounds of laughter.

Wang Jian (ca. 767–ca. 830), Gazing on Hua-qing Palace at Daybreak

At daybreak those mansions and towers
are yet more fresh and bright,
when the sun comes forth over balconies
see deer go moving by.
Our Warrior Emperor knows himself
that his body will never die;
he watches them build a jade palace
and names it "Lasting Life."

The following poem describes an imperial banquet at Dragon Pool in which the ladies of the court and the imperial princes are being feasted by Xuan-zong. Screens were used to separate court ladies from men. The mention of drums in the second line alludes to Xuan-zong's well-known predilection for percussion instruments.

He summoned Gao Li-shi to make a secret search for this woman in the palaces of the princes; and there, in the establishment of the Prince of Shou, he found the daughter of Yang Xuan-yan.

—Chen Hong, An Account to Go with the "Song of Lasting Pain"