

关于《真腊风土记》的作者周达观

段立生

元人周达观的《真腊风土记》，是世界上现存的一本最早全面介绍柬埔寨吴哥时期的政治、经济、宗教、文化、社会、风俗等各方面情况的专著，据作者亲历其地的见闻而录，以其记载的翔实可信而在国内外享有盛誉，成为不朽的传世之作。遗憾的是关于周达观本人的情况，史籍阙如。不仅《元史》无传，就是从他家乡的方志——《浙江通志》和《温州府志》中，也难寻觅到关于他的生平事迹的只言片语。故《四库全书总目提要》在介绍《真腊风土记》的作者时，只有简单的一句话：“达观，温州人。”清人吴翌凤手写本《真腊风土记·跋》说：“达观，一作建观，元人，自号草庭逸民。其表字、官爵，不可得而详也。”关于周达观的身世，所知仅如此而已。

显然，我们决不能满足于对周达观这样肤浅的了解，这跟他的卓越贡献和《真腊风土记》的学术地位是极不相称的。下面是我对有关问题的一些看法，提供出来，以见正于史学界。

关于周达观的名字，据夏鼐先生的研究，吾邱衍《竹素山房集》卷二，有题作《周达可随奉使过真腊国作书记风俗因赠三首》的诗。如果“可”字不误，则达可当为达观的别号。至于钱曾《读书敏求记》作“周建观”，则建字显系达字之误。^①夏鼐先生的意见是对的。建字和繁体的遼字外形相似，容易误刻。钱曾是明末清初人，吴翌凤则是清嘉庆年间人，故钱曾《读书敏求记》错刻在前，吴翌凤手抄本《真腊风土记》袭误于后。“达观，一作建观”，这种说法应予摒弃。至于“可”和“达”，无论从字音或字形来看，差别甚大，当不致误刻。达可很有可能是他的原名，而达观则是他从柬埔寨返回和著《真腊风土记》以后才改的名字。达观，可以“随遇而安”作解，还含“遍观”之意。《书·召诰》曰：“周公朝至于洛，则达观于新邑营。”蔡沈集传：“遍观新邑所经营之位。”^②周达可于元贞丙申（1296年）七月抵达真腊，在那

里逗留了一年，“其风土国事之详，虽不能尽知，然其大略亦可见矣。”^③他用达观之名题署《真腊风土记》，意即遍观真腊风土。书成之后，送交当时寓居杭州的著名诗人和学者吾邱衍过目，吾邱衍备加推崇，作诗三首以赠。因达观新名尚不为时人所知，所以吾邱衍仍称他的旧名周达可。至于周达观自号草庭逸民，当是更晚一些时候的事了。

周达观的生卒年月，史无明载，但我们可以根据现存材料，推测一个大概。据周达观自己叙述，他随使赴真腊是在1296年。^④这个时间是不会错的。关键是当时他有多大年纪？吾邱衍赠周达观诗提供了一条重要线索：“异域闻周化，奇观及壮年。”^⑤可见周达观的真腊之行正当壮年时期。因而，1296年倒推三十年，周达观生于1266年左右，即宋咸淳年间。至于卒年，周达观于元顺宗至正六年（1346年）还为林坤《诚斋杂记》亲笔作序，^⑥说明此时尚还健在，但已是八旬老翁。周达观辞世当在此后不久。

关于周达观的家世亦无直接材料。有人撰文说，“周达观出自浙江永嘉望族。”^⑦虽然该文没有提示必要的依据，但我们从周达观为林坤《诚斋杂记》所作的序言中可以得到印证。序言开头说：“余家藏《诚斋杂记》，记事甚奇，目所未见者什九，第不著集者姓名。近览《孤穴余编》，有会稽林太史载卿者，少好程朱之学，以诚意为人道之要诀，故额其斋曰诚。”^⑧试想，一个拥有藏书的家庭，怎会是寒素人家？周达观出身望族是很有可能的。可以肯定的是周达观本人没有当过官，他出使真腊是作为钦使随员的身份，并非朝廷命官。后来自号草庭逸民，正好反映他结庐草庭，无官无职，以逸民自居的生活情况。

从周达观和吾邱衍的交往，可知他们的政治倾向是一致的。吾邱衍“号贞白处士，性放旷，高不事之节，自比郭忠恕，倨傲玩世，遇人

巧官善富如虫蛆臭腐，将噬染己。其所厌弃者诣门请谒，从楼上遥与语，吾出有间矣。顾吹洞箫，抚弄如意不辍。”^⑨这样一位孤高自傲的吾邱衍，却十分看重周达观，“推挹甚至”，^⑩说明他们之间意气相投。物以类聚，人以群分。有关吾邱衍习性性格的记载，同样可以视作是对周达观的写照。

通过以上的分析，我们对周达观的情况有了较多的了解。对他曾经用过的姓名、生卒年月、家世、禀性等问题的，虽不敢持为定论，但在史料缺乏的条件下，或许能有点用处。

①夏鼐：《真腊风土记校注》，校注者序言，

中华书局1981年版第2页。

②《辞海》达观条。

③、④周达观：《真腊风土记》总叙。

⑤吾邱衍：《周达可随奉使过真腊国作书记风俗因赠三首》，见《竹素山房集》卷二、《武林往哲遗著》本。

⑥、⑧林坤：《诚斋杂记》，《津逮秘书》本。

⑦H. W. Ponder《读〈真腊风土记〉》，姚枬译注，载《东方杂志》第三十九卷十三号。

⑨陆友仁《闲居录·跋》，见《武林往哲遗著》前编卷二十一。

⑩《四库全书总目提要》卷七十一。



“伎辩”应是“强辩”

董志翹

中华书局版逯钦立校注本《陶渊明集·读史述》韩非章云：“丰狐隐穴，以文自残。君子失时，白首抱关。巧行居灾，伎辩召患。哀矣韩生、竟死说难。”逯钦立注云：“伎，疾忌。言君主忌辩者发其阴私，所以辩者每以召致祸患。《史记》本传独载非之《说难》，列举说辩者招致弃身、危身等祸患。”

按：逯注误矣。“伎”的本义为“固执，不听从。”后引申为“嫉恨。”《说文》：“伎，很也。”段玉裁注：“很者，不听从也。《雄雉》、《瞻印》传皆曰：伎，害也。‘害’即‘很’义之引申。”

《广雅·释诂三》：“拏、犴、愎、伎，很也。”《广雅》之体例乃罗列若干同义词，以一通用词来作释。故“拏、犴、愎、伎”都有“不听从”“固执”之义。拏，《说文》：“牛很不从引也。”《集韵》：“不从犴谓之拏。”犴，《玉篇》：“牛很也。”愎，《玉篇》：“很也。”《左传·宣公十三年》：“其佐先，刚愎不仁，未肯用命。”杜预注：“愎，很也”亦即执拗之意。

《汉书·周阳由传》：“汲黯为伎，司马安之文恶。”颜师古注：“伎、意坚也。”“意坚”亦即“执拗”、“固执”。而寻绎陶文，“巧行居灾，伎辩召患”乃为互文，两句的主语都是“韩非”。即“韩非巧行伎辩终遭灾患”之义。“伎辩”就是“强辩”，“固执地争辩”。

康有为《蝶恋花》词辨

陈永正

康有为《蝶恋花》词云：“记得珠帘初卷处，人倚阑干，被酒刚微醉。翠叶飘零秋自语，晓风吹堕横塘路。词客看花心意苦，坠粉零香，果是谁相误？三十六陂飞暗雨，明朝颜色难如故。”风华卓绝，传诵一时，为选家所必录，然解者眇眇。张伯驹《清词选》录而不评。夏承焘《元明清词选》评云：“此词通过观荷咏离情。‘翠叶飘零’、‘坠粉零香’、‘明朝颜色难如故’等句，是对残荷的感喟，也是对人的青春易逝的叹息。”未有说明写作背景。钱仲联《近百年词坛点将录》则谓是“戊戌失败史之缩影”。

按，康有为此词，为和梁鼎芬之作。光绪十一年（一八八五年），梁鼎芬上疏劾李鸿章，不报，旋又追论劾奏，议降五级调用。遂作《蝶恋花》词题荷花画幅，以寓家国身世之感。词云：“又是阑干恹恹处，酒醉初醒，醒后还重醉。此意向花娇不语，日斜肠断横塘路。多感词人心太苦，依自摧残，岂被西风误。昨夜月明今夜雨，浮生那得长如故。”是年冬，梁氏自京回到广州，康有为因和此词，以慰友人栖迟零落之苦。“翠叶”二语，写梁氏之斥逐。“词客”，指梁氏。“三十”二语，写政治环境之恶劣及对忧国志士的摧残。

Zhou Dagan – The Author of “The Customs of Cambodia”

Duan Lisheng

The Customs of Cambodia (sometimes translated as *A Record of Cambodia: The Land and Its People*) by Zhou Dagan of the Yuan Dynasty is one of the earliest existing monographs that comprehensively introduces the political, economic, religious, cultural and social customs of Cambodia during the Angkor period. The monograph was recorded based on the author’s personal experiences in Cambodia, and has a high reputation both at home and abroad for its accurate and credible records and has become an immortal work.

Regrettably, there is no historical record about Zhou Dagan himself. The *History of Yuan*¹ has no biography on him, and it is also difficult to find anything about his life and deeds from the local chronicles of his hometown – *Zhejiang General History* and *The Chronicles of Wenzhou Fu*. Therefore, when *The Complete Library in Four Sections*² introduced the author of *The Customs of Cambodia*, it had one simple sentence: "Dagan, a citizen of Wenzhou." Wu Yifeng in the Qing Dynasty’s handwritten book *The Customs of Cambodia · Postscript* said: "Dagan, whose name might be Jianguan, from Yuan Dynasty, styled himself as Caoting Yimin. His courtesy name³ and official title cannot be found anywhere." This is all we know about Zhou Dagan’s life.

Obviously, we must not be satisfied with such a superficial understanding of Zhou Dagan, which is disproportionate to his outstanding contribution and the academic status of *The Customs of Cambodia*. The following are some of my views on these issues.

Regarding Zhou Dagan's name, according to Xia Nai's research, Wu Qiuyan's *Zhusu Shanfang Collection* Volume 2 contains a poem titled "Three poems to Zhou Dake as a gift for his recording of the customs of Cambodia on the journey following the envoy." If the word “Ke” is correct, then Dake could be regarded as a nickname for Dagan. In Qian Zeng's *Dushu Minqiu Ji*, he wrote "Zhou Jianguan", the word “Jian” is obviously a

¹ The official history of the Yuan dynasty.

² China’s largest historical encyclopedia.

³ In ancient China, when a person reached adulthood, it was disrespectful for their peers to call their names directly, so they would choose a word for themselves, which could be used when interacting with others in society in order to show mutual respect.

mistake of the word “Da”.ⁱ Mr. Xia Nai's opinion is correct. The shape of “Jian” is similar to the traditional writing of “Da” and is easy to be engraved by mistake. Qian was a native of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, and Wu Yifeng was from the Jiaqing period of the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, Qian Zeng's *Dushu Minqiu Ji* was wrongly engraved first, and then Wu Yifeng's manuscript *The Customs of Cambodia* followed the mistake. “Daguan, whose name might be Jianguan”, should therefore be discarded.

As for “Ke” and “Da”, there is a big difference in terms of the sound or the shape of the word, so it should not be mistaken. Dake is likely to be his original name, and Daguan should be his name changed after he returned from Cambodia and wrote *The Customs of Cambodia*. Daguan can be interpreted as “at ease under all circumstances”, and it also means “seen everything”. The historical book *Book · Zhao Gao* said, “When Zhou Gong arrived in Luoyang in the morning, he had seen everything⁴ in the area of Xinyi.” Another book by author Cai Shen, said Zhou Gong had “seen everything⁵ in the operation of the area of Xinyi”.ⁱⁱ

Zhou Dake arrived in Cambodia in July of the Yuanzhen Bingshen year⁶ and stayed for a year. “Although I can’t fully know all the details of the customs of the country, I can still get a general idea.”ⁱⁱⁱ He wrote *The Customs of Cambodia* under the name Daguan, which means having seen the customs of Cambodia. After the book was completed, he sent it to Wu Qiuyan, a famous poet and scholar who lived in Hangzhou at that time. Wu Qiuyan was impressed and composed three poems for him as a gift. Because Daguan’s new name was not known at the time, Wu Qiuyan still called him by his old name Zhou Dake. Zhou Daguan's self-styled name “Caoting Yimin”, appeared later.

There is no historical record of the date of Zhou Daguan's birth, but we can get a rough idea based on the existing materials. According to Zhou Daguan's narrative, he followed the envoy to Cambodia in 1296.^{iv} This time should be correct. The essential matter is how old he was at the time. Wu Qiuyan’s poems to Zhou Daguan provided an important clue: “Listen to the exotic customs described by Zhou, he was in the prime of his life at the time.”^v So Zhou Daguan's trip to Cambodia was in his prime of life. Therefore, 30 years back from 1296, Zhou Daguan was born around 1266, that is, during the Xianchun era of the Song Dynasty. As for the year of his death, Zhou Daguan wrote the preface to Lin

⁴ Here “seen everything” uses Daguan 达观 in Chinese, this quote is to explain where the word “Daguan” is from.

⁵ Here bianguan 遍观 is used, which has the same meaning as Daguan.

⁶ The year 1296.

indicating that he was still alive at the time, but he was in his 80s. Zhou Dagan's death would be shortly thereafter.

There is no direct document about Zhou Dagan's family background. Someone wrote an article saying, "Zhou Dagan came from a prominent family in Yongjia, Zhejiang."^{vii} Although the article did not suggest the basis for this, we can find proof from Zhou Dagan's preface to Lin Kun's *Cheng Zhai Za Ji*. At the beginning of the preface he states: **"My family has *Chengzhai Zaji* in the book collection, the stories from this book are very unique, nine out of ten of the stories I have never seen before, and the name of the person who collected the stories was not written. I found out from *Guxue Yubian* which I read recently, there is a Lin Taishi (official historian) in Kuaiji (a county), he believed in neo-Confucianism when he was young, he believed honesty is the most important quality to be a moral person, therefore he name his study room Chengzhai (Honesty)."**^{viii}

Just imagine, how can a family with a collection of books be a poor one? It is very possible that Zhou Dagan came from a prominent family. What is certain is that Zhou Dagan himself was never an official. He went to Cambodia as an attaché to the imperial envoy, not as an official. Later, he styled himself Caoting (thatched cottage) Yimin (hermit), which reflects his living conditions in a thatched cottage, living as a hermit.

From the interaction between Zhou Dagan and Wu Qiuyan, we can tell that their political tendencies were the same. Wu Qiuyan, "whose courtesy name was Zhenbai Chushi, was open-minded, with a noble character, thought of himself like Guo Zhongshu.⁷ He was proud and unruly throughout his whole life, the corrupted officials and the vicious rich were like maggots on rotten meat to him. One day a 'maggot' went to visit him, and **he shouted 'I don't have time for this' from the window upstairs.**"^{ix} **Such a proud and unruly man like Wu Qiuyan valued Zhou Dagan highly, he "strongly recommended"**^x **Zhou's book, from this we can tell the two of them were** congenial. Birds of a feather flock together, from the record of Wu Qiuyan's habits and character, we can speculate what type of personality Zhou Dagan had.

⁷ Guo Zhongshu, courtesy name Shuxian, was a Chinese painter, scholar, calligrapher and philologist during the Five Dynasties period and Song dynasty.

Through the above analysis, we have a better understanding of Zhou Dagan's life. Although I dare not hold a conclusion on his name, birth and death year, family history or his character, this may be still useful in the absence of historical data.

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- ⁱ Xia Nai "Annotating The Customs of Cambodia", preface by the annotator, Zhonghua Book Company, 1981 edition, page 2.
- ⁱⁱ "Ci Hai", Dagan note.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Zhou Dagan, "The Customs of Cambodia", preface.
- ^{iv} Zhou Dagan, "The Customs of Cambodia", preface.
- ^v Wu Qiuyan, "Zhusu Shanfang Ji Volume 2: Wulin Wangzhe Yishu: Zhou Dake Sui Fengshi Guo Zhenlaguo Zuoshu Ji Fengsu Yinzeng Sanshou".
- ^{vi} Lin Kun, "Chengzhai Zaji: Jindai Mishu".
- ^{vii} [H.W. Ponder](#), "Reading The Customs of Cambodia", translated by Yao Nan, published on "East Magazine" Volume 39, Number 13.
- ^{viii} Lin Kun "Chengzhai Zaji: Jindai Mishu".
- ^{ix} Lu Youren, "Wulin Wangzhu Yizhu" Volume 21: Xianjulu "Postscript".
- ^x "Summary of Siku Quanshu Zongmu" Volume 71.

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