

宋遼金元

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SUPPLEMENT 1

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FROM THE EDITOR

With the present issue we begin what will hopefully be a continuing and valuable expansion of the *Newsletter*, the *Sung Studies Newsletter Supplements*. In this first *Supplement* we present material dealing specifically with *Yüan*, *Chin*, and *Hsi-hsia*. In our next *Supplement* we shall have a lengthy piece on *Liao* as well. The editor wishes to express his thanks to the various contributing editors for their enthusiasm and cooperation in putting together our first *Supplement*. The editor would also like to take this opportunity to request that *Newsletter* readers who have material that they would like to submit for publication in a future *Supplement* contact the appropriate contributing editor directly. This will considerably facilitate our work.

Readers will notice, unfortunately, that our 1975 subscription rates have increased to \$5.00 U.S. This increase was made unavoidable by the rapidly rising costs of production. The *Newsletter* is self-sustaining, and so it is only through the kind support of our readers that we are able to continue. Happily, such support has always been forthcoming. If the past is any guide for the future, the *Newsletter* should live to a ripe old age. We certainly hope so.

We have recently received a communication from Professor Cheng Chung-ying, editor of the *Journal of Chinese Philosophy*. He informs us that the JCP will publish a symposium issue on the philosophy of Chu Hsi in the near future and asks potential contributors to contact him at the University of Hawaii (H.I.96822).

One final note. We neglected to attribute the excellent summaries of Japanese books contained in our last issue. They were done by our contributing editor for *Yüan*, John D. Langlois, Jr.

CHIN

Stephen H. West

All correspondence with regard to manuscripts and subscriptions should be addressed to the Editor at: Department of History, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., 19122. Checks should be made payable to: *Sung Studies Newsletter*.

As interest in alien dynasties has grown in the past decade, the Chin has become the focus of new and stimulating work by scholars worldwide. (See notices on the Chin Dynastic History Project, SSN, No. 3 [March 1971], 36-37 and SSN, No. 9 [June 1974], 20.). New interpretations of the importance of the Chin in the formation of institutional and political patterns have been paralleled by evaluation of literature written under their aegis and a renewed look at the roots of drama. Monographs on the social institutions and cultural forms of the Jurchen are now available in several languages, both Eastern and Western.

It is in light of this interest that the Chin section of the inaugural issue of the *Supplement to the Sung Studies Newsletter* appears. It seems desirable at this stage of scholarly inquiry to provide a specialized forum for exchange of information within the broader context of Sung studies. The plea of all editors is for participation, which in this case is vital to keep such a forum active. Research notes, essays, reviews and bibliographic notices (précis of articles, evaluations of critically important works) are welcomed as a means of exchanging ideas and keeping each other abreast of development and new directions of inquiry. In this spirit, the editor of the Chin section solicits news and manuscripts for forthcoming issues. Although a year stands between issues, the progression of the seasons moves quickly, and the present is none too soon to begin on the next *Supplement*. 適千裏者三月聚糧

Prolegomena to the *Ju-nan i-shih*: A Memoir on the Last Chin Court Under the Mongol Siege of 1234

Hok-lam Chan
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In my earlier study on the historiography of the Chin dynasty (1115-1234) published in 1970, I took note of the contribution of three contemporary private historical writings to the source materials of the official Chin history (*Chin-shih* 金史) compiled under the auspices of the National History Office during the last reign of the Yüan dynasty (1260-1368) in 1344.¹ I discussed in some detail the importance of the *Chung-chou chi* 中州集 of Yüan Hao-wen 元好問 (1190-1257) and the *Kuei-ch'ien chih* 歸潛志 of Liu Ch'i 劉祁 (1203-1250). The former provides the principal biographical data for many *littérateurs* of the Ch'in period, and the latter supplies a mine of information on Chin history in general and in particular on the fall of the capital at Pien-liang 汴梁 to the Mongols in 1233. I have not given an adequate account, however, of the *Ju-nan-i-shih* 汝南遺事 of Wang O 王鶚 (1190-1273), a major source on the destruction of the Jürchen state by the Mongol invasion in early 1234. In this essay I wish to provide an assessment of this important work in the hope that even in this preliminary form, it will contribute to an understanding of the last days of the Chin court and of Wang O's role in the composition of the official Chin history.

Ju-nan i-shih is a reminiscence on the events at the refuge Chin capital of Emperor Ai-tsung 哀宗 (r. 1224-1234) at Ts'ai-chou 蔡州, southwest of modern Hsiang-ch'eng 項城 district, Honan, during the Mongol siege of July 1233 to February 1234, when it capitulated. The author, Wang O, a distinguished scholar-official of the late Chin and early Yüan who served Emperor Ai-tsung during this time, was a witness to the catastrophic fall of the capital and extinction of

the Jürchen state. The title is taken from Ju-nan ("south of the River Ju"), the ancient name of the territorial administration that had overseen Ts'ai-chou since Han times. It contains four *chüan* with one hundred and seven entries, and is classified as a "miscellaneous history" (*tsa-shih* 雜史) in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 compiled under imperial command in 1781.² The narrative begins with Ai-tsung's flight to Ts'ai-chou under the Mongol pressure on T'ien-hsing 天興 2/6/6 (1234/7/14) and ends with an account of the tragic state of the beleaguered capital on T'ien-hsing 3/1/5/ (1234/2 4), five days before the emperor committed suicide on the eve of capitulation. These accounts are presented in a chronological order under appropriate headings and are interspersed with detailed notes elucidating the background of events and the individuals involved. According to the postface, Wang O drew upon the diary he kept during the siege as the primary source, and supplemented it with his recollections.³ He completed this memoir sometime during nine years of retreat (1234-1244) at Pao-chou 保州 (in modern Hopei) where he lived under the patronage of Chang Jou 張柔 (1190-1268), a senior commander of Chinese troops in the Mongol army who rescued Wang from certain execution when Ts'at-chou fell.

The composition of the *Ju-nan i-shih* marks the climax in Wang O's official career under the Chin rulers and attests to the staunch commitment of the Chinese scholar-officials to the Jürchen ruling house after its demise at the hands of the Mongols. A native of Tung-ming 東明, Ts'ao-chou 曹州 in modern Hopei, Wang O, *tsu* Pai-I 白一 (伯翼), hao 號 Shen-tu 慎獨, was born into a scholarly family in 1190.⁴ He passed the prefectural test in 1208 and achieved the title of *chuang-yüan* 狀元 (optimus) for his distinction in the belles lettres category of the *chin-shih* 進士 examination held at Pien-liang in 1224. Following this he was appointed to a number of official positions. He served for five years (1224-1229) concurrently holding office as a drafter in the Han-lin Academy and compiler in the National History Office. For the next two years he was a judge

and local administrator in subprefectures in modern Honan, but resigned upon the death of his grandmother late in 1230. He then retired to Ts'ai-chou to observe the mourning requirement and was not involved in the political turmoil of the Chin court until the next decade.

In the meantime, the Mongol *qaghan* Ögödei (r. 1229-1241) launched several waves of relentless offensives against the Chin state in a bid to complete the conquest of north China. In the summer of 1232 the Mongols laid siege to Pien-liang and the capital fell in February of the following year when Ts'ui Li 崔立 (d. 1234), the grand marshal of defense, engineered a coup and surrendered to the enemy without resistance.⁵ A month before, as the situation deteriorated, Emperor Ai-tsung fled south from the capital to Kuei-te 歸德, and found refuge at Ts'ai-chou in July. Wang O, then living in retirement, soon caught the attention of the emperor and received an appointment as director, and then assistant minister of the Bureau of Left and Right in the Presidential Council. In addition to his normal duties in charge of the transmission of memorials and other secretarial matters, he also served as head of a special bureau responsible for the security of the capital. Despite the heroic efforts of its defenders, Ts'ai-chou succumbed to the Mongol invaders early in 1234, with the emperor taking his own life on the eve of the disaster. The fall of the last capital also marks the formal ending of the Chin dynasty.

Following the victory, the Mongol supreme commander, in accordance with nomad practice, issued an extermination order against the survivors of the former Chin capital. Wang O was taken prisoner along with several of his colleagues, and faced the grim fate of execution. Fortunately, Chang Jou, then commanding the Chinese army in the Mongol forces, happened to be on the scene and, having learned of Wang's identity, secured his release.⁶ A great patron of dispossessed Chinese scholar-officials during this turbulent period, Chang Jou had probably heard of Wang O through either the Mongol secretariat-general Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai

耶律楚材 (1189-1243) or the distinguished literatus Yüan Hao-wen. The latter had recommended Wang O for service in the Mongol regime along with scores of former Chin officials and grandees in a letter submitted to Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai shortly after the fall of Pien-Liang in May 1233.⁷ Chang Jou brought Wang O to his headquarters at Pao-chou and honored him as a house guest. During the next nine years Wang taught and collected source materials to prepare the history of the Chin out of loyalty to his former regime. It was during this period, upon the urging of both Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai and Chang Jou, that he composed the *Ju-nan i-shih* as an historical account of the last days of the Chin Court.

Wang O's retirement at Pao-chou under Chang Jou's patronage did not spell an end to his official career. In the next decades he emerged as a political advisor to Qubilai qaghan (1215-1294), founder of the Yüan dynasty, and distinguished himself in helping form the institutions of the new regime and in composing the historical records of the Chin state. It is necessary to summarize Wang O's contributions during the later phase of his career to understand the transmission of *Ju-nan i-shih* as a major source for the official Chin history.

Wang O's association with Qubilai, the fourth child of Činggis qaghan's favorite son, Tolui (1198-1232), began early in 1244 when he received a summons to his headquarters at Qaraqorum for consultation on state affairs.⁸ Qubilai had by this time emerged as a powerful prince at the Mongol court through the support of Ögödei, his uncle, who had earlier allotted to Qubilai's mother, the sinicized Soryganti-bäki (d. 1256), control of the Chinese territories in modern Hopei as a tribute to Tolui's service. Under the tutelage of his mother, who had demonstrated the advisability of enlisting Chinese scholars to administer her domain, Qubilai perceived the potential of the Chinese community as future allies, and began seeking counsel from leading members of the literati in a bid for political ascendancy.⁹ Wang O spent two years at Qaraqorum during which he lectured to Qubilai on the Confucian classics and the principles of government, and expounded

on the desirability of compiling a history for the Chin state. Duly impressed Qubilai sent his ablest servants to study with Wang upon his departure, and invited him a few years later to take up residence in Ta-tu 大都 (Yen-ching, modern Peking), future capital of the Yüan dynasty.¹⁰ During this time, despite his close affiliation with the Mongol court, Wang O continued to profess loyalty to the fallen Chin state. With Qubilai's blessing, he returned to Ts'ai-chou to accord a formal burial to the last Chin emperor, conferring on him the posthumous title I-tsung 義宗 (Righteous Progenitor), and dedicated his remaining years to the composition of the Chin history.¹¹ It was out of concern for the preservation of the Chin heritage and the survival of Chinese culture under alien domination that Wang entered the Mongol service during the next decade.

Following his ascension as the Mongol *qaghan* and emperor of China early in 1260, Qubilai recalled Wang O and appointed him an Imperial Hanlin Academician concurrently in charge of the composition of historical records. In this capacity Wang O assumed the duties of drafting imperial edicts, initiating plans for the restoration of traditional Chinese political institutions and practices, and he became an important member of Qubilai's Chinese advisory corps.¹² These Chinese advisers, led by the Buddhist-Taoist Liu Ping-chung 劉秉忠 (1216-1274), labored on the re-institution of Confucian principles as the basis for political, social and economic reconstruction, and on the promotion of the political influence of the Chinese literati at the Mongol court. They stood in opposition to the Central Asian faction under the leadership of the Uighur Ahmad (d.1262), who advocated the militarization of Chinese society and the wanton exploitation of the economic resources as the top priority of the new dynasty. The Chinese leadership, however, was soon eclipsed by the Central Asians' increasing ingratiation with Qubilai after the execution of Chinese Chief Councilor Wang Wen-t'ung 王文統 for his part in the rebellion of Li T'an 李璣, the supreme commander of Shan-tung, early in 1262.¹³ Nonetheless,

their efforts and dedication laid the foundation for Sino-Mongolian institutions and for the continuing participation of the Chinese literary elite in government service, both to have far-reaching consequences. Wang O, like the rest of his colleagues, secured an important place in Yüan history for his part in the reconstruction of inter-cultural institutions.

Wang O was most distinguished, however, for his dedication to reviving the Chinese historiographical tradition under an alien regime and to the composition of the Chin history in particular. In August 1261, he memorialized Qubilai proposing the composition of the Liao and Chin historical records along with those of the Mongol rulers and the establishment of a National History Office within the Hanlin Academy to be in charge of history projects. He argued the importance of the historical composition not only as a continuation of the Chinese historiographical tradition, but also as a means to transmit to posterity the reasons for the Mongol subjugation of the ruling states of Liao and Chin.¹⁴ Qubilai was impressed and entrusted Wang with the organization and staffing of the National History Office, as well as with the collection of source materials in preparation for the historical records. Despite this auspicious beginning, the history projects were stalled by political uncertainty attending the execution of Wang Wen-t'ung and the eclipse of Chinese influence at the Mongol court by the ascendent Central Asian faction. When Wang O died in September 1273, at the age of eighty-three, five years after his retirement, there was no visible progress in the historical composition.¹⁵ Nonetheless, Wang O left an important legacy for the outcome of the Chin history. He had provided a permanent institutional mechanism for the official sponsorship of the history project and had made available to the National History Office a substantial collection of source materials, including his *Ju-nan i-shih* and a draft outline of the Chin history.¹⁶ It is no exaggeration to say that but for Wang O's dedication and contribution, the composition of the Chin history, finally completed during the

last reign of the Yüan court along with that of the Liao and Sung, would have taken a completely different course.

In his reminiscence, Wang O presented several highlights of the vicissitudes of the last Chin court at Ts'ai-chou under Mongol siege. Written shortly after the fall, *Ju-nan i-shih* is noted not only for its vividness and nostalgia but also for its candor and detachment and its freedom from the restraints of formal historiography. Throughout the text he addressed Ai-tsung by the customary honorific "His Majesty," but eulogized the emperor as I-tsung in the encomium at the conclusion of the memoir. Wang O began his account with Ai-tsung's flight from Kuei-te to his refuge in Ts'ai-chou on T'ien-hsing 2/6/6/ (1234/7/14), five months after the fall of Pien-liang. He took note of the dissent of Fu (P'u)-ch'a Kuan-nu 富(蒲)察宮奴, an senior Jürchen military commander, against moving the capital to Ts'ai-chou on the grounds that it was indefensible, but the emperor ignored his remonstrance and ordered his execution.¹⁷ Following this, Kuo Yung-an 國用安 (also known as Wan-yen 完顏 Yung-an), chief of the branch secretariat in Shan-tung, raised a similar objection. He argued that Ts'ai-chou was too close to the Sung territories, making it difficult to send supplies and reinforcements in case of emergency, and he admonished the emperor to retreat to his own province, pointing out its strategic and economic advantages over other locales.¹⁸ Nonetheless, the emperor persisted in his choice, mainly because he was wary of the ulterior motives of the dissidents, though he quickly discovered the weakness of Ts'ai-chou and lamented his decision when the capital fell, caught between the Mongols and the Sung. Interspersed between these chronological events Wang O recounted the circumstances under which he rejoined the service of the Chin emperor and his major activities during his tenure of office. He caught the attention of Ai-tsung when he responded to the request of the Presidential Council to compose a rescript summoning Wu Hsien 武仙 (d. 1234), the Duke of Heng-shan 恒山公, a powerful

military commander then fighting the Mongols in Ho-pei and Ho-nan, to rally to the support of the imperial cause. Following this he was appointed director, and then, assistant minister of the bureau of left and Right in the Presidential Council in charge of the transmission of memorials and the composition of the imperial daily record.¹⁹ In this capacity he gained frequent access to the emperor and acquired an intimate impression of the state of affairs at the Chin court, even though he did not occupy a senior official position. One of Wang O's major contributions during this time was the proposal he made in August for the organization of a special corps, called the *chi-ch'a kuan* 譏察官, to be in charge of scrutinizing the population to ensure the security of the capital. The emperor accepted his proposal and named him chief of this special bureau of security officials.²⁰ It was also upon Wang's recommendation that Ai-tsung ordered the execution in January 1234, of the notorious Taoist priest Wu-ku-lun 烏古倫, styled Mister Ma-pi 麻坡先生, who had earlier seduced the emperor's elder sister and sought to placate him by declaring that he had a plan to relieve Ts'ai-chou from the Mongol siege.²¹ This self-portrayal sheds much light on Wang O's achievements and yields additional information for his biography.

Wang O's reminiscences of the last Chin emperor and his close associates provide later historians with, a firsthand source on the state of affairs during the last days of the Chin state. His impression of Ai-tsung, however, was not all favorable. He portrayed the emperor during these difficult times as an occasionally feeble, indecisive monarch oblivious of his plight and susceptible to the poor advice of sycophants. He noted that the emperor attempted to renovate the palace pavilion for his own pleasure, selected additional females for his harem, took an appeasing attitude towards Wu Hsien, whose loyalty was dubious, that he looked favorably upon suggestions to wage war against the Sung, was fooled by the slander against such faithful servants as Wu-ku Li (Lun)-kao 烏庫哩(論)鏞 and others, and that he was lenient with the arrogant imperial brigade (*chung-*

hsiao chün 忠孝軍) at the capital to ensure their allegiance.²² Nonetheless, Wang O also presented the emperor's positive side, such as his benevolence, generosity, readiness to accept advice, and his command at the critical moment of survival for the Chin capital. He cited his annulment of luxurious projects for entertainment upon the remonstrance of his councilors, lenient treatment of officials who had committed offenses, enactment of appropriate measures to relieve the plight of the population under economic distress and his attempts to boost the morale of the soldiers who were defending the capital.²³

In Wang O's account, Wan-yen Chung-te 完顏仲德 (d. 1234) and Chang T'ien-kang 張天綱 emerged as the two most vigorous and capable officials to provide the last Chin court with steadfast leadership. They held the influential positions of Right Chancellor and Assistant Chancellor of the Presidential Council and enjoyed the confidence and support of the emperor. Wan-yen funneled constant remonstrance to the emperor, guarding against his mixing with sycophants and restraining him from making unwise decisions at critical moments.²⁴ He was, moreover, the main architect in devising and implementing most of the important policies and measures aimed at strengthening the supply grain, horses, and weaponry and boosting the morale of the soldiers defending the capital.²⁵ Chang T'ien-kang, the leading Chinese official at the last Chin court, provided important advice to the emperor on major problems, and, as Wan-yen's chief deputy, counseled him on most of the actions to be taken. He restrained the former, for example, from accepting impractical proposals submitted by the flatterers in a desperate attempt to ward off the Mongol invasion against the capital.²⁶ By contrast, Wang O censured many of the military commanders, Jürchen and Chinese alike, for their procrastination in sending reinforcements to relieve the capital. He was most critical of Wu Hsien, the Chinese overlord of Ho-pei and Ho-nan, who vacillated in his commitment to the Chin cause and hesitated to come to the rescue so that he might preserve his own strength. This version of Wu

Hsien, which reflects much of the official opinion at this juncture, is in stark contrast to the contemporary private records and should be carefully evaluated for a more impartial appraisal of this important Chinese military leader.²⁷ In the latter versions, Wu Hsien appears as withholding his forces in order to fight for the survival or the Jürchen cause in the event of the collapse of Ts'ai-chou.

The Chin position deteriorated rapidly after October 1233, suffering a series of military setbacks. The situation at Ts'ai-chou became precarious and gloomy. The capital was not only endangered by Mongol onslaughts and the Sung offensives, but was also plagued with grain shortages, soaring inflation and the ebbing morale of the troops. In the absence of reserves, food prices changed several times in a single day. A peck of rice was scaled at ten taels of gold, and as supplies dwindled, the residents were reduced to cannibalism for their daily meat, and even put out human flesh for sale.²⁸ The earlier attempt to negotiate with the Sung court for an accommodation in exchange for food relief through; instead, they raided the outskirts and provided reinforcements for the Mongols to expedite the collapse of the Chin state.²⁹ During this critical hour the court attempted various measures, even the most unimaginative and ridiculous sort, to head off the impending disaster. One of these was a proposal by Wan-yen Chung-te to employ the magic of the eccentric Taoist Wu-ku-lun in an effort to scare off the invaders, but the plan was thwarted by the persuasion of Chang T'ien-kang.³⁰

Wang O's account terminates with the last week of the besieged capital, which saw the depletion of soldiers by heavy casualties and heavy defections; even court servants and underlings had been drafted to take up positions of defense.³¹ He did not include, presumably out of affection for his former master, the events of Ai-tsung's abdication of the throne to Wan-yen Ch'eng-lin 完顏承麟 (d. 1234), marshal of the eastern defense, and the emperor's suicide by hanging on the eve of the fall of the capital on February 9.³² Instead, Wang O concluded his reminiscences with a moving eulogy of the Chin emperor as follows:

Emperor I-tsung reigned for more than eleven years. Despairing over the weakness of the ruling house and the accumulated shortcomings of the previous reigns that were due to the harshness and pettiness of the civil administrators, he did not compromise the law with compassion. Aware that the generals and soldiers profited from the campaigns, he did not wage war to vent his grudge. When the ministers committed an offense, he leniently punished them by demotion, never slaughtering any one of them. When the empress dowager was found to be without a palace, he only remodeled [existing facilities] and did not propose constructing a new residence. He also honored and promoted Confucian studies, screened the appointment of military officials, relinquished hunting parks for the benefit of the people, and inaugurated court lectures on the Classics to discuss Confucian principles. Furthermore, he introduced "six criteria" to evaluate the performance of the district magistrates so that wastelands were brought under cultivation and that revenue and tax became evenly distributed. [These six criteria were: cultivating wastelands, effecting equal distribution of revenue and tax, achieving harmony between the military and civilian population, increasing the registered households, suppressing thieves and bandits, and settling judicial cases.] He also established the Bureau of Agriculture in the three capital routes [the eastern, western, and the southern] that were charged with the evaluation of local officials, so that the good and decent received promotion and the wicked and crooked were cashiered from office. In due course, the households accumulated reserves and savings, and the population flourished. Although the state fell short of achieving great peace, it had at least attained modest prosperity and temporary rest. Alas, Heaven decreed unification, and the land passed onto the Great Dynasty [i.e., the Mongols], and the Chin house was extinguished! Still, there is much to be praised. Even though the emperor did

not command the six reins of horses in combat or lead the three armies in person, he offered his own utensils to celebrate war victories and slaughtered imperial horses to reward the soldiers. Consequently, each man showed the courage of one hundred and looked upon death as an act of returning home; while the father was knifed in the front, the son raised his spear in the rear. Several thousand men were inspired by the righteousness of ministers like [Wan-yen] Chung-te, and tens of thousands of them demonstrated an unflagging morale like that of the imperial attendant, Chiang-shan 絳山. They all died for the state, without distinction between the upper and the lower ranks. Writing about their deeds in the chronicles invokes no shame from the past or present generations!³³

With these sober words, Wang O passed his verdict on the last Chin emperor and his court. It is a laudatory eulogy highly charged with emotion and nostalgia. And yet it is objective in judgment, factual and devoid of excess euphemism. It is a graceful and elegant ending to a narrative on the tragic events of a ruling house written by a loyal official immediately after its demise. The transmission of *Ju-nan i-shih* is not at all clear. There is no record of a Yüan edition. Upon completion it was presumably circulated in manuscript form and made available to the archives of the National History Office. Being the only surviving account of the last days of the Chin court, *Ju-nan i-shih* became an indispensable source for the composition of the official Chin history. It supplied most of the source material for the Annals of Ai-tsung, which were drafted by the sinicized Arab historiographer Šams 瞻思 (1278-1351), one of the compilers of the *Chin-shih*. Šams did not, however, adopt Wang's eulogy as an encomium, since that piece of writing must necessarily reflect the viewpoint of the conqueror.³⁴ Similarly, *Ju-nan i-shih* provided much information for the biographies of the distinguished civil and military officials who served the last Chin court,

such as Wu-ku Li (Lun)-kao, Wan-yen Chung-te, Chang T'ien-kang, Wan-yen (Kuo)Yung-an, the astrologer Wu K'ang 武亢, the notorious Taoist Wu-ku-lun, and several others. In many cases, entire passages were copied intact into the text, and a comparison of the *Chin-shih* with *Ju-nan i-shih* will reveal the indebtedness of the former to Wang O's reminiscences.³⁵

The present edition of *Ju-nan i-shih* is preserved through incorporation into the early Ming imperial encyclopedia *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典 (compiled in 1405-1408) in scattered entries according to rhymed arrangement. It was presumably first acquired by Ming officials from the Yüan historical archives at the capital, Ta-tu, and was later delivered to the commission in charge of the encyclopedic composition.³⁶ The text was reconstructed by the compilers of the Ssu-k'u collection under imperial command in the 1770s. A manuscript transcription belonging to the Wen-yüan-ko 文淵閣 set of this imperial collection is preserved at the Library of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, Taipei.³⁷ The printed edition first appears in the collection *Chih-hai* 指海, Vol.9, edited by Ch'ien Hsi-tso 錢熙祚 (d.1884) in 1839 (reprinted in 1935), and later in *Chi-fu ts'ung-shu* 畿輔叢書, Vol. 14, edited by Wang Hao 王灝(1823-1888) in 1879. The latter edition was reproduced with punctuation in the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 叢書集成 series as Vol. 3905, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in 1935-1937.³⁸ The text preserves Wang O's explanatory notes interspersed with the daily entries. They are supplemented with collative notes provided by the compilers of the Ssu-k'u collection based on a comparative reading of the text with the *Chin-shih*. These remarks were later incorporated into the printed edition with additional comments by the editors of the respective collections. In the two above-mentioned editions, there is a noticeable varied textual arrangement in *chüan* three. The entries for the 16th, 17th, 20th, and 25th days of the 10th month in the *Chih-hai* edition are placed under the 11th month. These are correctly rearranged in the *Chi-fu* edition, but in this version

the entry for the 7th day of the 10th month is erroneously given as the 20th day, without indicating which month.³⁹ By comparison, the *Chi-fu* edition is more satisfactory than the other, although it is far from faultless, and any serious study of this important work requires a careful textual collation of the existing versions, including the Wen-yüan-ko transcription.

In sum, *Ju-nan i-shih* has much to offer for the study of the late Chin and early Mongol period beyond its contribution as a firsthand source for the composition of the official history. It is a unique account of an episode of human disaster wrought by the war machine of the Mongols; it is written by an ardent loyalist in elegant literary style with moving compassion and yet is tempered by candor and objectivity. Not only does it provide the best illustration of the tenacity of the Chinese historiographical tradition and the importance of the private historical writings during this period, but it is also a living testimony to the attachment of the Chinese scholar-officials to the alien rulers of a conquest dynasty that promoted Confucian values and abided by the standards of a Chinese state.⁴⁰ I hope, in the future, to avail myself of the opportunity of preparing an annotated English translation with commentary in order to make known the importance of this work for the history and historiography of the conquest dynasties in China during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries .

NOTES

Ju-nan i-shih is hereinafter referred to as *JNIS*. The *Chi-fu ts'ung-shu* edition is used in this essay. Unless otherwise stated, the *Po-na* 百衲 edition is used for all the dynastic histories and the *Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊 edition for all literary collections.

1. Cf. Hok-lam chan, *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty: Three Studies*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 4 (Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH: Wiesbaden, 1970), Ch. 1; "The Compilation and Sources of the *Chin-shih*," 1-65; Ch. 2: "Yüan Hao-wen (1190-1257) and His *Chung-chou chi*," 67-119; Ch. 3: "Liu Ch'i (1203-1250) and His *Kuei-ch'ien chih*," 121-188.

2. For a brief bibliographical note of *JNIS*, see Chi Yün 紀昀 et al., eds.,

Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao 提要 (Shanghai, 1934 ed.), 51/6a. The Ssu-k'u compilers disapproved of Wang O for serving two dynasties but nonetheless praised him for his devotion to the last Chin ruler and for having written an important record on the demise of the Chin state. The imperial catalog also lists in 143/9b another work by the same title. It is a collection of miscellaneous notes on the history of Ts'ai-chou compiled by the Ming scholar Li Pen-ku 李本固, a *chin-shih* of 1547 who reached the rank of Minister of the Grand Court of Revision during the reign of Emperor Shen-tung 神宗 (r. 1573-1620). The compilers criticized Li for being ignorant of Wang O's memoir and adopting an existing title for his work. This latter *Ju-nan i-shih*, 2 *chüan*, is available in several Ch'ing collections and in the *Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* series, vol. 3160.

3. *JNIS*, 4/9a.

4. There are several biographies of Wang O in official and private histories. For a complete list, see *Combined Indices to Thirty collections of Liao, Chin and Yüan Biographies*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, No. 35 (Peiping, 1940), 22. The main sources come from Su T'ien-chüeh 蘇天爵 *Kuo-ch'ao ming-ch'en shih-lüeh* 國朝名臣事略(13335; Shanghai, 1962 ed., hereafter cited as *KCMCSL*), 12/1a, and *Yüan-shih* (hereafter cited as *YS*), 160/6a (cf. *Genshi goi shüsei* 元史語彙集成[Kyoto, 1961-63], 458-459). I have prepared a biographical essay of Wang O for the Yüan biographical project headed by Dr. Igor de Rachewiltz of the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. It will appear in *Papers on Far Eastern History*, No. 12 (September 1975).

5. On the Mongol siege of Pien-liang and Ts'ui Li's coup d'état, see Liu *Ch'i*, *Kuei-ch'ien chih* (*Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書, 1779 ed.), ch. 11, 12; *Chin-shih* (hereafter cited as *CS*), 17/13b, 18/4b, 115/4b. For details, see E. Haenisch, *Die Ehreninschrift für den Rebellengeneral Ts'ui Lin im Licht, der Konfucianischen Moral, ein Episode aus dem 13 Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1944); *id.*, *Zum Untergang zweier Reiche. Berichte von Augenzeugen aus den Jahren 1233-33 und 1368-70*, ed. Peter Olbricht (Wiesbaden, 1969), 7-26, and Yao Ts'ung-wu 姚從吾, "Ch'eng-chi ssu-han, Wo-kuo-t'ai han mieh Chin chan-cheng ti fan-shi" 成吉思汗窩闊台汗滅全戰爭的分析, in *Tung-pei shih lun-ts'ung* 東北史論叢, II (Taipei, 1959), 325-330.

6. On this episode, see *KCMCSL*, 12/1b and *YS*, 160/6b. For details, see Sun K'o-k'uan 孫克寬, "Yüan-ch'u Han-chün Chang Jou hsing-shih k'ao 元初漢軍張柔行實考, in *Yüan-tai Han wen-hua chih huo-tung* 元代文化之活動 (Taipei, 1968), 271-295.

7. On this episode, see Yüan Hao-wen, *I-shan hsien-sheng wen-chi* 遺山先生文集, 39/1a. For details, see Yao Ts'ung-wu, "Yüan Hao-wen kuei-ssu shang Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai shu ti li-shih i-i yü shu-chung wu-shih-ssu ien hsing-shih k'ao 元好問癸巳上耶律楚材書的曆史意義與書中五十四人行事考, (*T'ai-wan ta-haüeh*) *Wen-shih-che hsüeh-pao* (台大) 文史哲學報, 19(June 1970), 225-275, esp. 250-251. On Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai, see Igor de Rachewiltz, "Yeh-lü Ch'u-ts'ai (1189-1243): Buddhist-Idealist and Confucian Statesman," in *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur F. Wright (Stanford, 1962), 189-216.

8. See *KCMCSL*, 12/1b; *YS*, 160/6b.

9. For background information on Qubilai's rise to political eminence and his recruitment of Chinese advisors, see in particular Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啓慶

"Hu-pi-lieh shih-tai 'ch' ien-ti chiu-lü'k'ao" 忽必烈時代潛邸舊侶考 *Ta-lu tsa-chih*, 25: 1-3 (July 15-August 15, 1962), 16-22, 57-60, 86-91, and Hok-lam Chan, "Liu Ping-chung (1216-1274): A Buddhist-Taoist Statesman at the Court of Khubilai Khan," *T'oung Pao*, LIII (1-3) (1967), 98-146.

10. See *KCMCSL*, 12/2a; *YS*, 160/7a.

11. *KCMCSL*, 12/3b. I-tsung is referred to as the posthumous title of Ai-tsung in *CS* 48/22b, 55/2a and in other early Yüan writings, but according to the biography of Wan-yen Lou-shih 完顏婁室 in *CS* 119/5b, he was given the title Chao-tsang 昭宗 by the officials of the branch secretariat of Hsi-chou 息州 (Honan). The Ssu-k'u catalog (51/6a) apparently errs in its statement that Ai-tsung was conferred the title I-tsung by the officials of Hsi-chou after the Chin demise. It is possible that the title I-tsung originated with Wang O, and that it came to be adopted later by Yüan officials. The title Chao-tsung, allegedly conferred by the officials of Hsi-chou, appears only once in the *CS*. For details, see Chao I 趙翼, *Nien-er-shih cha-chi* 廿二史札記 (*Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 ed.), 29/22a, and Ch'en Shu 陳述, *Chin-shih shih-p'u* 全史拾補五種 (Peking, 1960), 9.

12. See *KCMCSL*, 12/2b; *YS*, 4/10b, 160/7a.

13. For details of the rivalries between Qubilai's Chinese advisers and their Central Asian counterparts during the early years of the Yüan, see among others, Herbert Franke, "Ahmed, ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubilai," *Oriens*, 1:2 (December 1948), 222-236; Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, *Hsi-yüeh-jen yü Yüan-ch'u cheng-chih* 西域人與元初政治的意義 (Taipei, 1966), 53-77, and Hok-lam Chan (n. 9), 139-140. On the implication of Li T'an's rebellion and Wang Wen-t'ung's execution, see Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男, "Ri Dan no hanran to sono seijiteki igi" 李旦の叛亂と其政治的意義, *Töyöshi Kenkyü* 東洋史研究, 6:4 (1931), 1-26, and "Sun K'o-k'uan, "Yüan-ch'u Li T'an shih-pien' ti fen-hsi" 元初李旦事變的分析, in *Meng-ku Han-chün yü Han wen-hua yen-chiu* 蒙古漢軍與漢文化研究 (Taipei, 1958), 44-65.

14. *KCMCSL*, 12/2b; *YS*, 4/10b, 160/7a. Excerpts of Wang O's memorial are preserved in Wang Yün, *Ch'iu-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch'üan wen-chi* 秋澗先生大全文集, 93/3b. Wang O, however, was not the only scholar who proposed the composition of the Chin history under the Mongol sponsorship. Earlier advocates included Liu Ping-chung and Yüan Hao-wen, and were later followed by Shang T'ing 商挺 (1209-1288) after Wang O in 1264. For details, see Hok-lam Chan (n. 1), 5-8, 53, n. 44, 47.

15. *KCMCSL*, 12/3a; *YS*, 160/8a. Wang O received the canonized name Wen-k'ang in 1278.

16. Wang O's draft outline of Chin history as well as his instructions on its composition are preserved in Wang Yün (n. 14), 93/3b, 100/12a. For details, see Hok-lam Chan (n. 1), 9-12, 23, 35.

17. *JNIS*, 1/1b. For Fu (P'u)-ch'a Kuan-nu's biography, see also *CS* 116/9a.

18. *JNIS*, 1/4a. For Wan-yen (Kuo) Yung-an's biography, see also *CS* 117/6a.

19. *JNIS*, 1/3b, 8b.

20. *JNIS*, 3/1a.

21. *JNIS*, 4/1a, 4b. For Wu-ku-lun 's biography, see also CS, 119/8a.
22. *JNIS*, 1/6a, 7a, 8a, 2/3a, 7b, 8a, 4/6b. For Wu-ku Li (Lun)-kao's biography, see also CS, 119/6a.
23. *JNIS*, 1/6a, 8b, 2/2b, 4a, 3/3a, 4/4b, 5b.
24. *JNIS*, 1/6a, 7a, 2/1b, 9a, 3/6a, 4/1a. For Wan-yen Chung-te's biography, see also CS, 116/10b.
25. *JNIS*, 2/1b, 3/6a, 7b, 4/1b, 4a, 6a.
26. *JNIS*, 1/2a, 5b, 9a, 4/1a, 2a, 5a. Chang T'ien-kang was a *chin-shih* of 1213. He was captured by the Sung army upon the fall of Ts'ai-chou and he later entered the service of the Sung. For his biography, see also CS, 119/9a, and Shih Kuo-ch'i 施國祁, *Chin-Yüan cha-chi* 金元札記 (*Yang-shih ch'ien-ch'i-pai er-shih-chiu ho-chai ts'ung-shu* 仰視千七百二十九鶴齋叢書 1880 ed.), hsia/45a.
27. *JNIS*, 1/2b, 7b, 9b, 2/3a, 3/7b, 4/3b. For a detailed analysis of the sources of Wu Hsien's biography, see Sun K'o-k'uan, "Chin-chiang Wu Hsien pen-mo k'ao," 金將武山本末考, in Sun (n. 6), 17-23.
28. *JNIS*, 3/7a, 9a.
29. *JNIS*, 2/4b, 6b, 4/3b.
30. *JNIS*, 4/1a, 2a, 6a.
31. *JNIS*, 4/7a.
32. These events are narrated in CS 18/11b.
33. *JNIS*, 4/7a-9a.
34. For Šams biography, see YS 190/3b; see also Ch'en Yüan 陳垣, Yüan Hsi-Yu-jen hua-hua k'ao 元西域人華化考 (Peking, 1934), 2/25a (cf. *Western and Central Asians in China Under the Mongols*, tr. Ch'ien Hsing-hai and L. Carrington Goodrich [Los Angeles, 1966], 60, 62). For a modern view on the Yüan historiographers' comments on the last Chin emperor, see Wang Gungwu, "Some Comments on the Later Standard Histories," in *Essays on the Sources for Chinese History*, eds. Daniel Leslie, et al. (Canberra, 1973), 60.
35. Biographies in CS 119/6a, 9a, 10b; 131/7a.
36. On the compilation of the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, see Kuo Po"kung 郭伯恭, *Yung-lo ta-tien k'ao* (Shanghai, 1938), and more recently, L. Carrington Goodrich, "More on the Yung-lo ta-tien," *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 10 (1970), 17-23.
37. *Chunq-yang yan-chiu li-shih yü-yen yen-chiu so shan-pen shu-mu* 中央研究院曆史語言研究所善本書目 (Taipei, 1968), 41. I am indebted to Professor T'ao Chin-sheng 陶晉生 of the Academia Sinica for providing me with a xerox copy of this manuscript transcription during the preparation of this essay.

38. *Chung-kuo ts'ung-shu tsung-lu* 中國叢書綜錄 (Shanghai, 1959), II 302.

39. *Ch'ih-hai* ed., 3/7b-10a; *Chi-fu* ed., 3/7a-9a.

40. The fall of the Chin is marked by the number of Chinese scholar-officials who withdrew in seclusion rather than entering the service of the Mongol court. Moreover, several of them, such as Yüan Hao-wen, Liu Ch'i and Wang O, devoted their remaining years to the composition of the Chin history. It appears that the Jürchen patronage of Chinese culture had won the heart of the literati who identified the Chin as a Chinese rather than a "barbarian" state and were willing to forsake their careers upon its demise. This demonstration of loyalty by the Chinese scholar-officials to the Chin state deserves further examination.

Recent Books

1. Hsü K'un. *Yüan I-shan yen-chiu* [Studies of Yüan I-shan].

Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974. 220 pp.

Yüan Hao-wen (T. Yu-chih; H. I-shan; 1190-1257) has long been recognized as an important figure in the history or Chinese literature. However, our knowledge of his life and achievements has been gained mainly from brief accounts scattered throughout various historical and literary works. Most secondary works are collections and translations of his poetry. Heretofore, the only true monograph available to us has been Wu T'ien-jen's *Yüan I-shan p'ing-chuan*. Hsü K'un now furnishes us with a full-length portrait of Yüan Hao-wen by organizing these fragmentary accounts together.

This work contains a great mass of valuable material, gathered with care and presented clearly and in considerable detail. The material is arranged in five main sections. The first section deals with the background of Yüan's life, and includes chapters on his family background, on his friends, and a chronological biography. The second section is devoted to several still-unsettled historical events, which are critically important to Yüan's reputation.

The third section deals with Yüan's thought and with his contribution to the history of the Chin dynasty. In the fourth section the author confirms Yüan's significant role in the development of Chinese literature. Hsü also attempts to prove that Yüan was not only a master of poetry and tz'u but that he was also talented in calligraphy, and had extensive knowledge of epigraphy and medicine as well.

The fifth section is a bibliographical study of Yüan's works, both of books still extant and those that are lost. Lastly, in a personal note, the author attaches three poems of his own expressing his feelings

and intentions in writing the book.

There is little doubt about Yüan Hao-wen's literary talents and his achievements in both literature and history. However, Yüan's loyalty for the Chin dynasty was seriously questioned by his contemporaries as well as by later critics. Yüan Hao-wen was involved in the scandal of composing the inscription for the memorial tablet inscribed in honor of Ts'ui Li for having spared the lives of innocent people by his coup d'etat and surrender of the capital to the Mongols.

According to the *Chin-shih shih-chi* quoted in Kuo Yüan-yu's *Chuan chi-shih*, Liu Ch'i drafted the inscription and showed it to Yüan Hao-wen. Yüan was not very satisfied with this first draft and set about to rewrite it. After doing so he showed it to Wang Jo-hsü, and together they completed a final revision.

There is no doubt that Liu Ch'i, Wang Jo-hsü, and Yüan Hao-wen all actually participated in the composition of the inscription. However, according to Liu Ch'i's *Kuei ch'ien-chih*, Liu said that he composed the first draft after Yüan Hao-wen and Wang Jo-hsü coerced him into it. After Liu completed the draft, he said that he had done his part of the job and asked Yüan and Wang to finish it. Yüan Hao-wen then drafted the text. When Yüan completed the draft, he showed it to Wang and Liu and Ma Ke. Wang finally revised several characters, completing it in final form. Thus, the main body of the inscription was done by Wang. Yüan, Ma, and Liu together. As for the preface of the inscription. Liu said that it was entirely written by Yüan. Yüan never openly denied his involvement in the affair, but due to the dearth of historical evidence it remains uncertain whether Liu Ch'i or Yüan Hao-wen was really responsible for the inscription. Historians have by no means been unanimous in the matter. Some are pro-Liu while others are pro-

Yüan. Hsü K'un places himself in the pro-Yüan group. He not only defends Yüan against the charge of disloyalty by claiming that Yüan was forced to do something against his will but he also suggests that Liu Ch'i's behavior was questionable and that Liu's participation in composing the inscription might have been voluntary. Hsü also believes that Liu's desire for fame and rank and the deceptiveness of his personality can clearly be seen in Liu's participation in the civil service examination under the Mongols and by Liu's pretence in withdrawing from public life.

Hsü also writes that the inscription drafted by Liu Ch'i contained not only words denouncing the Jürchen Chin, but it might also have contained portions that over-praised the traitor Ts'ui Li and therefore Yüan Hao-wen revised it to correct these errors. As a result, even though Yüan was held responsible for the inscription, he merely acted as a scapegoat, never accusing anyone by name. This shows that Yüan was a man of just convictions while Liu Ch'i was of a devious nature. Finally, based on Hao Ching's poem, Hsü concludes that Liu Ch'i drafted the inscription, Yüan Hao-wen revised it, Ma Ke took part in it, and Wang Jo-hsü prepared the final version. For purposes of defending Yüan and denouncing Liu Hsü supplies adequate biographical, historical, and literary information. In relation to the varied and provocative material so carefully presented, Hsü's conclusions seem all too modest.

In the section devoted to Yüan's poetry, Hsü is careful to deal with it both historically and analytically. He divides Yüan's poetry into two periods, a former period (1216-1231) and a later period (1232-1257).

In dealing with Yüan's poetry Hsü discusses five types of verse: narrative poetry, nature poetry, lyrical poetry, poems of criticism and discussion, and occasional poetry. Under each heading, Hsü quotes two or

three of Yüan's poems to support his classifications. What one misses here, however, is a sharp and penetrating interpretation of the poetry, a specific coming to grips with the texture of the writing itself, and some proof within his categorical framework of the aesthetic and ethical value of the poetry. Such generalized themes mean little without definition and substantiation.

The most significant parts of the book, however, are found in the enlightened treatment of Yüan's thought. To sum up Hsü's words, Yüan received Confucian training and was a practical Confucianist. But at the same time, his character and his behavior proved to be Taoist, while throughout his life, he was also constantly in touch with the Buddhists.

Concerning the problem of how to rule a country effectively, Yüan considered education and criminal law as the two most important guidelines. Education was an active force for teaching people how to do things right, and law was a passive force for preventing the people from doing wrong. One thing for which Hsü deserves special praise is his careful treatment of the bibliographical information on all of Yüan's works, both extant and lost. Unfortunately, Hsü did not provide a bibliography of secondary works on Yüan Hao-wen. A minor point to take note of is the occasional printing error.

Forthcoming Articles

Professor Michael Rogers, "Chin-Koryö Relations."

Books Briefly Noted

1. T'ao Chin-sheng. *Pien-chiang shih yen-chiu chi--Sung Chin shih-ch'i*. 邊疆史研究集-宋金時期 Taipei: Commercial Press, 1971. 127 pp.

Chapters: (English theirs)

1. The Significance of the Frontier Peoples in Chinese History
2. Some Western Interpretations on the Relations between the Chinese and Frontier Peoples in Chinese History
3. The Anti-Chin Movement of Prince Hsin in 1128
4. Wan-yen Ch'ang and the China Policy of the Chin
5. The Jurchen Nativistic Movement in the Mid-Chin Period
6. The Jurchen *chin-shih* Degree in the Chin Dynasty
7. A Study of Sino-Jurchen Intermarriage in the Twelfth Century
8. Liu Ch'i and the *Kuei-ch'ien chih*
9. The Influence of Jurchen Rule on Chinese Political Institutions.

YUAN

John D. Langlois, Jr.

News of the Field

1. *Science*

Nathan Sivin reports that he is now engaged in a project involving a translation and study of the *Shou shih li* 授時曆. He writes as follows:

"[The *Shou shih li*] is probably the most sophisticated document of traditional Chinese mathematical astronomy. It occupies four chüan in the old Yüan history. Two are Kuo Shou-ching's outline in conventional form of the computational system, with tables and other appurtenances (*li* 曆經 *ching*). The other two are a critique carried out by a committee on imperial order. It provides a great deal of information, of a kind seldom available, on the observations and historical data at the basis of Kuo's system, and gives a clear picture of the methods used to test it (*li* 議). I have done a first-draft translation. It has been gone over by Shigeru Nakayama. The next stage is to compile a commentary, which elucidates each step and each item of information. Because the *Shou shih li* was the basis of a Tokugawa calendar reform, there are voluminous Japanese annotations, which Nakayama and Yabuuchi [Kiyoshi], my collaborators, have been analyzing and sifting through; I am going through the few available Chinese and Korean commentaries and offshoots. The next step will be to put all this together, bring out the underlying pattern of approach to astronomical prediction that it reveals, and write a new commentary that answers a number of questions that have not been dealt with directly before—for instance, how effective are the techniques for predicting planetary positions, and how original are the *Shou shih li*'s

techniques. It is our early impression that they are a great deal less original on the whole than has usually been claimed. The more obvious parts of the commentary are also already in first draft. We then hope to provide an introduction of a very general kind that will give sinologists as well as historians of science an idea of the style, strengths, and weaknesses of Chinese computational astronomy."

Mr. Sivin also reports that a group of scholars working under Professor Yamada Keiji 山田慶兒 in Kyoto are working on the biographies of Yüan technicians and persons in closely related categories in the standard histories. Their concern is not limited to the Yüan period.

2. Yüan Conference, 1976

A research conference on the impact of Mongolian domination on Chinese civilization will be held on July 18-25, 1976, with the support of the American Council of Learned Societies. Scholars from various disciplines have been invited to prepare papers for the conference. Four art historians have agreed to participate, as has at least one legal historian. Scholars whose interests are in literature, intellectual history, and institutional history have also promised to prepare original papers for presentation at the conference.

Graduate students doing research in Yüan history will be encouraged to attend the conference. Some funds will be available to underwrite travel costs for a few advanced graduate students. Others interested in attending the conference will also be welcome. The conference will be held at Bowdoin College's Breckinridge Public Affairs Center in York, Maine. Persons interested in attending are invited to contact Professor John D. Langlois, Jr., East Asian Legal Studies, Harvard Law School,

Cambridge, Mass. 02138, U.S.A., through August 15, 1975, and at Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine 04011, U.S.A., after August 15, 1975.

Harvard Dissertations

Since Harvard does not participate in the University Microfilms service, it is worth noting here the titles of some dissertations dealing with Yüan subjects, which have been completed in recent years at Harvard.

1. Brown, William Andreas. Ph.D. 1963. "The Biography of Wen T'ien-hsiang in the *Sung shih*." 388 pp.

Brown discusses the sources of Wen's biography and provides annotated translations of it and other biographical materials. Included is a discussion of the biases of the compilers, particularly Ou-Yang Hsüan, and their desire to protect the prestige of the Yüan and condemn the weaknesses of the Sung.

2. Ch'en, Paul Heng-chao. Ph.D. 1973. "*Chih-yüan hsün-ko*: the Yüan Code of 1291 as Reconstructed and a Survey of the Yüan legal Institutions."

Part one, the introduction, deals with the development of codes, the penal system of the Yüan dynasty, and the Yüan administration of justice. Part two consists of an annotated translation of the *Chih-yüan hsün-ko* 至元新格 as reconstructed.

3. Dreyer, Edward Leslie. Ph.D. 1971. "The Emergence of Chu Yüan-chang, 1360 - 1365."

4. Hsiao, Ch'i-ch'ing. Ph.D. 1969. "The Military Establishment of the Yüan Dynasty." cxcix+ 500 pp.

The bulk of this work is an annotated translation of *chüan* 98 and 99 of the *Yüan shih*, or about one half of the 'treatise on the military.' These chapters deal with the military system in general (*ping chih* 兵制), the palace guards (*su-wei* 宿衛), and the garrisons (*chen-hsü* 鎮戍).

The introduction provides a discussion of the development of the Yüan army out of the Mongolian steppe army, the military service systems, the salary and inheritance systems of the officers, and the decline of the Yüan armed forces. The introduction also provides a discussion of the *kesig* of Chinggis Qan, its transformation during the Yüan period, the *wei*, and the imperial guard corps. Also provided is a description of the garrison system and the factors that influenced its organization in the Yüan period. This is followed by discussions of the garrisons in inner Asia and within the Yüan interior, the garrison command structure, the impact of the garrison system on the economy of the military households, and the later breakdown of the system.

5. Lao, Yan-shuan. Ph.D. 1962. "The *Chung-t'ang shih chi* of Wang Yün: An Annotated Translation with an Introduction." xxxvii + 323 pp.

Wang Yün 王暉 (1227- 1304) wrote the *Chung-t'ang shih chi* 中堂事記 in diary form. It records events witnessed by Wang during the year 1260 when he was a member of the court under Qubilai. Wang made later additions from his own writings and from official documents and regulations.

6. Togan, Isenbike. Ph.D. 1973. "The Chapter on Annual Grants in the *Yüan shih*." cxxx + 558 pp.

This is an annotated translation of the *sui-ssu* 歲賜 section of *chüan* 95, in the 'treatise on food and money.' of the *Yüan shih*. The annual grants to members of the ruling family and other dominant families were financed by levies on the Chinese populations.

The introduction discusses the history of the text, the historical context of the annual grants, grants of "Five-households Silk," and grants in paper currency from Chiang-nan.

The translated text deals with grants to imperial princes, imperial wives, concubines and princesses, and to meritorious officials.

Recent Books

1. Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強, comp. *Sō Gen gakuan. Sō Gen gakuan ho-i, jinmei jigō betsumei sakuin* 宋元學案，補遺人名字號別名索引 [Index to persons in the *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* and its Supplement]. The Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University Kyoto, 1974, 408 pp.

This is an index to the *Ssu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要 edition of the *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* and to the *Ssu-ming ts'ung-shu* 四明叢書 edition of the *pu-i*. A key is provided for use with the recent Taiwan reprint of the first edition of the *Sung Yüan hsüeh-an* (Changsha, 5th year of Kuang-hsü). The index provides a person's surname, name, *tzu* 字, *hao* and other nicknames, native place, the title of his works, and the *chüan* and page numbers in the *hsüeh-an* and *pu-i*.

Symbols indicate those persons listed in the *Sōjin denki sakuin* 宋人傳記索引 (Tokyo, 1968) and in the *Ryō, Kin, Gen jin denki sakuin* (Kyoto, 1972. See below). Persons with biographies in the standard histories are so indicated and the *chüan* number of the history is provided.

2. Liang P'ei-chin [Leung Pui Kam] 梁沛錦 ed. *Kuan Han-ch'ing yen-chiu lun-wen chi-ch'eng* 關漢卿研究論文集成. Hong Kong: Arts' Study (Ch'ien-wen t'ang 潛文堂), 1969, 12 + 449 pp.

This is a collection of 39 essays in Chinese and Japanese dealing with Kuan Han-ch'ing.

3. de Rachewiltz, Igor and May Wang, comps. *Index to Biographical Material in Chin and Yüan Literary Works*, Second Series. Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1972, 96 pp.

An index to 66 works, with an appendix listing Chin and Yüan biographies in the *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典, plus a table of additions and corrections for the First Series (1970).

4. Ratchnevsky, Paul, trans. *Un code des Yuan*, vol. 2. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1972, xi + 197 pp. Bibliography. No index.

This is the completion of Ratchnevsky's richly annotated translation of *chüan* 102-103 (the *hsing-fa chih* 刑法志) of the *Yüan shih*. Vol. 1 appeared in 1937. Interspersed throughout the text are relevant excerpts from the *T'ung-chih t'iao-ko* 通制條格 and the *Yüan tien chang*.

5. Umehara Kaoru 梅原鬱 and Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強, comps. *Ryō, Kin, Gen jin denki sakuin* 遼金元人傳記索引. Kyoto: The Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University, 1972, 219 + 103 + 24 pp.

6. Wang I 王儀. *Meng-ku Yüan yü Wang-shih Kao-li chi Jih-pen ti kuan-hsi* 蒙古元與王氏高麗及日本的關係. Taipei, Commercial Press, 1971, 149 pp.

Recent Articles in Japanese

1. Hashimoto Katsu 橋本勝. "Genchō hishi mōkogo kenkyū no jakkan no mondaiten" [Several points at issue in the study of the Mongolian language in the *Secret History of the Mongols*]. *Ajia Afurika bunnō kenkyū*, (Tōkyō Gai-Dai), 1 (1972), 41-46.

2. Matsukawa Kenji 松川健二, "Ryū Ki 'Iku-ri-shi' no kenkyū" [A study of Liu Chi's "Yü-li-tzu"]. *Hokkaidō Daigaku Bungakubu kiyō*, 20: 1 (1972), 133-224.

3. Murakami Masatsugu 村上正二 "Maeda Naonori cho Genchō shi no kenkyū" [A review of Maeda Naonori's *Historical Studies in the Yüan Dynasty and East Asia*]. *Shigaku zasshi*, 83:2 (February 1974), 73-80.

4. Niwa Tomosaburo 丹羽友三郎 "Genchō no shokan ni tsuite no ichiken-kyū" [A study of the various *chien* in the Yüan Dynasty]. *Hōseishi ken-kyū*, 20 (1970), 111-131.

5. Noguchi Tetsuro 野口鐵郎. "Shoki Shu Genshō shūdan no seikaku" [The character of Chu Yüan-chang's organization in its early years]. *Yokohama Kokuritsu Daigaku jimbun kiyō*, section one, Philosophy and Social Sciences, No. 18 (October 1972), 1-33.

6. Ōshima Shōji 大島正二. "*Biwa ki* no yōin ni han-ei shita Genmatsu Go hōgen-sono on-in taikei no ittan" [The Wu dialect in late Yüan times as reflected in the *P'i-p'a chi*]. *Tōyō gaku*, 54:4 (March 1972), 1-32.

7. Ōyabu Masaya 大數正哉. "Gen no dai-ki-sō-in in ni tsuite" [The *ta-hsi-tsung-yin yüan* in the Yüan dynasty]. *Shakai bunka shigaku*, 6 (1971), 29-38.

8. Uematsu Tadashi 植松正. "Gensho kōnan ni okeru chōzei taisei ni tsuite" [The early Yüan taxation system in Chiang-nan]. *Tōyō shi kenkyū*, 33:1 (June 1974), 27-62.

Recent Articles in Chinese

1. Cha-ch'i Ssu-ch'in 札奇斯欽. "Meng-ku ti-kuo shih-tai tui T'u-fan ti ch'in-lüeh" [Invasions of Turfan during the Mongol imperial age]. *Pien-cheng Yen-chiu-suo nien-pao*, 2 (July 1971), 115-154.

2. _____. "San-pei yu-mu min-tsu yü chung-yüan min-tsu chien ho-p'ing, chan-cheng yü mao-i" [Peace, war and trade between the nomads of the far north and agriculturalists of the North China Plain]. *Shih-huo*, 1:4 (July 1971), 191-200.

3. _____. "Shuo Yüan shih chung ti 'cha-lu-hu-ch'ih' ping chien-lun Yüan-ch'u ti shang-shu-sheng" [On the term *cha-lu-hu-ch'ih* in the Yüan shih and the early Yüan *shang-shu-sheng*]. *Pien-cheng Yen-chiu-suo nien-pao*, 1 (July 1970), 145-257.

4. _____. "Shuo Yüan shih chung ti 'pi-tu-ch'ih' ping chien-lun Yüan-

ch'u ti chung-shu-ling" [On the term *pi-tu-ch'ih* in the *Yüan shih* and the early *Yüan chung-shu-ling*]. *Pien-cheng Yen-chiu-suo nien-pao*. 2 (July 1971), 19-113.

5. _____. "Ta Yüan ti-shih Pa-ssu-pa la-ma shih tsen-yang ti i-ko jen?" [What kind of a man was the lama 'Phags-pa, the imperial advisor in the Yüan?]. *Chung-kuo wen-hua fu-hsing yüan-k 'an*, 4:4 (April 1971), 12-19.

6. Chan Po-lien 詹柏煉. "Yüan-tai Hang-chou i-ssu-lan-chiao ti yen-chiu" [The study of Islam in Hang-chou during the Yüan period] .Part One: *Chung-kuo wan-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an*, 3:6 (June 1970); Part Two: 3:7 (July 1970), 44-46.

7. _____. "Yüan-shih hui-hui wen-hua ti yen-chiu"[The study of the culture of the Moslems in the Yüan period] . *Chung-kuo wen-hua fu-hsing yüeh-k'an*, 3:8 (August 1970), 31-34.

8. Chang Hsing-t'ang 張興唐. "Yüan-tai cheng-shih te-shih ti yen-chiu" [The successes and failures of the Yüan government]. *Jen-wu hsüeh-pao* (Fu- jen University), 1 (September 1970). 107-152.

9. Chang Tzu-liang 張子良. "Chin Yüan tz'u-jen shu-p'ing"[Tz'u writers of the Chin and Yüan periods]. (*Kuo-li*) *Shih-fan Ta-hsueh Kuo-wen Yen-chiu-suo chi-k 'an*. 16-*hsia* (June 1972), 1303-1406.

10. Chao Chen-chi 趙振績. "Chin liu-shih nien lai kuo-jen tui Liao Chin Yüan shih ti yen-chiu" [Chinese studies of Liao, Chin and Yüan history over the last 60 years. *Shih-hsueh hui-k'an*, 4 (December 1971), 219-252.

11. Ch'en Fang-ming 陳芳明. "Sung Liao Chin shih ti tsuan-hsiu yü cheng-liu chih cheng" [The compilation of the Sung, Liao and Chin (official) histories, and the struggle over orthodoxy]. *Shih-huo*, 2:8 (November 1972), 398-411.

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15. Chiang I-han 姜一涵. "Yüan-mo Ming-ch'u yü-shih hua-chia Teng Yü chi ch'i chu-shih t'u yen-chiu" [The late-Yüan and early-Ming Taoist painter Teng Yü and his painting of stones and bamboo]. *Ku-kung chi-k'an*, 7:4 (1973), 49-85.

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22. Hu Yao-hui 胡耀輝. "Yüan-tai chiao-yü yao-lüeh" [An outline of education under the Yüan]. *Hsüeh-yüan*, 2 (November 1969), 62-90.
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HSI-HSIA

Eric Grinstead

News of the Field

In the last fifteen years Tangut studies have become established as a proper discipline. The basic texts are few and not easily accessible, but with the publication of Nevsky's dictionary notes¹ in 1960 the key evidence was made available, and a reconstruction of the phonetic values of this medieval Tibeto-Burman language was worked out independently by both Nishida Tatsuo² and M.V. Sofronov.³ Introductory appraisals of the more important texts, and also their translations, was mainly the work of E.I. Kychanov, whose *Очерк Истории Тангутского Государства* [Short history of the Tangut state]⁴, published in 1968, provides the necessary historical background from Chinese sources. Mrs. Keping has worked on the military classic *Sun-tzu ping-fa*⁵, and Terentev-Katansky on the curious signatures that are found at the end of the Tangut "documents."

The Tangut group in Leningrad, led by E.I. Kychanov, prepared a Russian translation of the native dictionary *Wen-hai*⁶, a remarkable achievement, as the whole dictionary is in Tangut and the last part is missing.

Nishida Tatsuo, of Kyoto University, has continued to exploit all the phonetic information in the Tangut lexicons, beginning with the Hsi-hsia numerals. *His Seika-go no kenkyū* [Studies on the Hsi-hsia language] is an essential introductory book, not only for the phonetic reconstructions and the analysis of the bilingual Tangut-Chinese manual, but also for his study of Buddhist printing in Tangut.

The late Sir Gerard Clauson, whose studies were interrupted by the Second World War, maintained to the end his interest in this curious script and language, and his passing is especially sad since there are so few workers in this field.⁷

In the historical field there are younger workers now. Luc Kwanten, of Ramapo College, New Jersey, has wide interests in Tangut foreign relations, work-

ing from Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongol sources. Mary Ferenczy, of Budapest, is engaged in full-scale research on Tangut.

In the Hermitage (Государственный Эрмитаж) in Leningrad there are many Tangut relics. Paintings, sculptures, coins, and ordinary tools and utensils of daily life can aid us in visualizing the rich culture of the Tangut state around 1200 A.D. Studies on a wide variety of subjects have been published by Lyabo-Lesnichenko and others.

From Moscow we have Sofronov's valuable contribution to lexicography, giving not only a facsimile of two versions of the Homophone dictionary, but a phonetic reconstruction for every character and an index arranged by the left-hand side of the character. I have made use of Sofronov's numeration as the basis for a comparison of the various lists, in order to avoid "ghost" characters in future publications.

Tangut literature is quite extensive, considering that only two or three pieces of writing were known before 1908. Since 1909 hardly any archaeology appears to have been done. Substantial portions of Tangut Avatamaka sutra prints came to Peking National Library in the 1920s or 30s, but the origin of these prints is not known, and they are post-Tangut (i.e., after 1227). Almost all our texts come from one site, excavated by Col. Kozlov in 1909. We expect the literature to be mainly Buddhist, but Kychanov has now devoted many years to publishing the extant native texts. First in importance for students of China was the possibility of unknown commentaries. and the Tangut fragments of the *Analects*, Mencius, and the *Book of Filial Piety* were published in facsimile in *Китайская классика в тангутском переводе* [The Chinese classics in Tangut translation] , and although the *Book of Filial Piety* and the *Mencius* commentary appear to be unknown. Wu Chi-yu, of Paris, identified the commentary on the *Analects*.⁸

The greatest effort in medieval Asia seems to have been directed toward copying and printing Buddhist texts. The Tanguts were equally industrious, and the

remains of Tangut and post-Tangut printing are now available in the Tangut Tripitaka, published by the International Academy of Indian Culture, New Delhi.⁹ The nine volumes give a clear picture of Tangut culture. We can compare the favorite sutras with those in Dr. Lionel Giles's catalogue of Tun-huang MSS, and compare calligraphic styles quite closely with those of Chinese prints and MSS.

Many famous scholars have been interested in Tangut Buddhism, but there remain great gaps in our knowledge. The Avatamsaka sutra, for example, is an enormous work, yet little studied in any language. The Buddhist Canon is also important in the history of printing, in iconography, in comparative religion (Bonpo influence, possibly), and also for Chinese Buddhist works printed in the Tangut state.¹⁰

All the emphasis is on the texts to be found in Leningrad. These come from one site¹¹, so we might expect some day to have more documents excavated in Chian.¹² Still, we have the "documents" to decipher, and that is a difficult task since they are in cursive script.

Tangut studies have come of age due to the steady scholarship of Kychanov and Nishida, and the friendly advice of people like Professors L.N. Menshikov and Akira Fujieda has no doubt been invaluable. Now we should expect a positive contribution from the Tangut side in cross-cultural questions. Historical studies will be stimulated by the reading of the documents. In philology, His-hsia has been used with confidence in comparative studies by Nishida.¹³ In folklore, Kychanov has compared Tangut proverbial sayings with those of many other peoples.¹⁴ In the history of writing, Nishida has presented a whole book, and Grinstead has shown the high cultural level of script inventors in Asia.¹⁵ For grammar, Mrs. Keping has used the text of *Sun-tzu* to begin special studies of preverbs and the imperative suffix. In phonology, Sofronov has gone deeper into the theoretical basis of the phonetic system used by Tangut lexicologists.¹⁶ One could even say that there has already been a Tangut conference since the delegates to the Congress of

Orientalists in Paris included several specialists and also some of the younger workers, and papers were given under the chairmanship of R.A. Stein.

The desiderata at the moment, apart from more archaeology, are the establishment of a working transcription that can be accommodated to the typewriter and the linotype machine, the drawing up of a computer-driven set of Tangut characters, and a central bibliographic depot that would be sure to have all the little pamphlets and articles specifically on Tangut. Tangut needs to be written into the large encyclopedias, and the works like Denis Sinor's *Introduction à l'étude de l'Eurasie centrale* can be made the first reference for beginners.

NOTES

1. *Тангутская филология* [Tangut philology]. 2 vols. Moscow, 1960. Published posthumously. Several articles on Tangut, and a large dictionary with Chinese, English, and Russian equivalents for all Tangut characters found in a context.

2. *Seika-go no kenkyū* [Studies on the Hsi-hsia language]. 2 vols. Kyoto, 1964. Dictionary of known words, phonetic reconstructions, analysis of homophone groups in the Homophone dictionary, grammatical sketch, and the history of printing. Full translation of the *Pearl in the Palm*, a Tangut-Chinese school book, and the inscription of 1094 from the Kan-ying Pagoda in Liang-chou.

3. *Грамматика тангутского языка* [A grammar of Tangut]. 2 vols. Moscow, 1968. Vol. 1 is a grammar and vol. 2 contains the phonetic information, with Tibetan transcriptions, Chinese *fan-ch'ieh*, facsimiles of the Homophone dictionary, and a character list giving the reference to the homophone group and a transcribed pronunciation.

4. This book contains all the facts from Chinese sources, giving some idea of what the Tangut archives themselves must have contained. Two maps. Section on Tangut culture.

5. "Перевод на тангутский язык . . ." [Translation in the Tangut language . . .], *Страны и народы востока*, XI (1971), 42-48. Notes on how the Tangut translator understood the Chinese text of Sun-tzu.

6. *Море писем*. 2 vols. Moscow, 1969. Includes a facsimile of the native dictionary. Curiously enough, a photocopy of the *Wen-hai* was available in Europe and the U.S. for some years before the Russians' masterly decipherment. The index can be checked against the concordance in my "Analysis of the Script."

7. See his review of my thesis in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. XXXVI, pt. 3 (1973), 696-698.

8. Facsimile of texts, with introduction, vocabulary, and index by V.S. Kolokolov and E.I. Kychanov. The *Analects* was identified by Wu Chi-yu in his article "Sur la version tangoute d'un commentaire du Louen-yu conservée à Leningrad," *T'oung Tao*, lv: livr. 4-5 (1969).

The *Mencius* was transcribed by me into the equivalent Chinese characters and can be found in the microfiche "Tangut Studies." published by IDC, Leiden, Holland. The *Book of Filial Piety* was transcribed from cursive into standard Tangut by me in the "Analysis of the Tangut Script," using the Russians' facsimile as my text. The *Mencius* commentary written with a wooden pen is, as far as I know, still a mystery.

9. 1970. Facsimile of the texts from Peking National Library given to Raghu Vira about 1954-56, and a selection of the texts in Leningrad, also photographs given to Raghu Vira. The work is out of print. The Tanguts had a MS of the large Prajna-paramita sutra, and there are many fragments of it extant. It is not included in this facsimile.

10. Besides the two geographers, Aurel Stein and P.K. Kozlov, there are Wylie, Chavannes, Pelliot, Berthold Laufer and many others. Kychanov has written about them all (cf. note 11). Menshikov has written on early prints from Khara-khoto, and Kychanov has raised the question of the Bon religion.

11. The expedition of the Russian Geographic Society to Khara-khoto and the history of Russian and Western scholarship are recounted in Kychanov's *Земля Ливь Письмена* [Only the letters sound], Moscow, 1965.

12. *Li-shih yen-chiu*, 5 (1962), 20 gives the Chinese ideological attitude toward national minorities in the course of socialist reconstruction. See also *Wen-wu* 文物, 11 (1972), 18 where the Tangut names look remarkably like Chinese names. If a name like Su Jiameng had been written in Chinese characters instead of Tangut, one would hardly have suspected a Tangut origin. But there were many Chinese in the Tangut state, and no doubt Tanguts with Chinese names as well.

13. *Tosu yakugo no kenkyū* [A study of the Tosu-Chinese vocabulary Tosu i-yū]. Kyoto: Shokado, 1973. This is one volume of a large series on "minority" languages based on MS vocabularies preserved in Japan. The Tosu language is a rare link between Tangut and the other languages like Lolo, Akha, and Burmese, but it is now apparently lost forever.

14. *Вновь Собранные Драгоценные Парные Изречения* [Newly compiled precious parallel sayings]. Moscow, 1974. This is part of a large series of Asian texts, the *Памятники Письменности Востока* [Literary monuments of the East] (No. 40), the original title is on the cover. Kychanov's translation is very well done and his bibliography of folkloric literature from the East and Central Asia is full of rare treasures.

15. Nishida Tatsuo. *Seika moji* 西夏文字 [Hsi-hsia script]. Tokyo, 1967; Eric Grinstead. "Analysis of the Tangut Script." Dissertation. Copenhagen University. Lund, 1972. I find Siddham studies of great interest in evaluating the creative work of Sung phoneticians.

16. Paper given at the Congress of Orientalists in Paris, 1973.

DISSERTATIONS

Completed

1. "Lo-yang and the Opposition to Wang An-shih: The Rise of Confucian Conservatism, 1068-1086," by Michael Dennis Freeman, Yale University. Ph. D. thesis, 1973, 282 pp. Order No. 74-11, 474.

During the first decade of the Sung emperor Shen-tsung's reign, the bureaucracy was split into opposing camps by the issues raised in Wang An-shih's attempt to reform the state. The debate between the "New" or reform party and its opposition continued through the remaining half-century of the Northern Sung and re-echoes in Chinese history down to the present.

In his rise to power, Wang An-shih claimed for himself the mantle of reform that his opponents, many of them close associates of the first great Sung reformer, Fan Chung-yen, had long claimed. Thus, when he expelled them from the central bureaucracy, he deprived them of both their power and what they had supposed was their intellectual birthright. Many of the leading opponents of the reforms were sent to Lo-yang, one of the secondary capitals during the Sung. In the ancient city the conservatives assembled a political coalition that could challenge the reformers after the death of Shen-tsung. More importantly, the anti-reformers, pressed by the loss of their intellectual position to Wang An-shih and encouraged by the enforced association of men from different regions and with various intellectual concerns, created a Confucian ideology that overcame the reformers' classicist theories of reform and set Sung thinking about government, history, and metaphysics on a new course.

The political critique of Wang and his New Policies evolved from *ad hominem* attacks on Wang and his cohort to detailed criticisms of the reforms in action and finally to new conservative principles of government. These principles en-

compassed the role of the emperor and of his ministers, the institutional structure of government, and the role of government in society. None of the ideas the anti-reformers introduced was strikingly new; indeed, the success of their arguments was partly based on their preemption of the commonplace vocabulary of political discourse.

In giving some old clichés a new conservative cast, Wang's opponents repaid him for his earlier success in nullifying their historical arguments against him. Before Wang's time, officials had often used precedents and analogies from history in political discourse, but Wang claimed that because his reforms were based upon the model of the Chou-li, they were suprahistorical. Thus, anti-reformers' rhetoric had been made to seem irrelevant; they were obliged to argue for lesser truths while their opponent possessed the greater. The anti-reformers' response was to elevate Sung history to a plane that made it unique among dynasties, to assert that the great virtue of the Sung founder and his immediate successors would enable their descendants to escape the cycle of dynastic decline if only they would steadfastly maintain the founder's laws and statutes.

Before the great reform, cosmology had not been a part of mainstream Confucian thinking, which had concerned itself almost exclusively with problems of ethics and government. During the reform, however, many officials had the leisure to pursue less practical concerns, whether poetry, painting, or cosmological speculation. One result was the Ch'eng brothers' synthesis, in which the anti-reformers' political and ethical concerns were fit into a compelling worldview that encompassed everything from cosmology to aesthetics. This synthesis linked Sung philosophy with conservative political attitudes and, in its concern with individual self-cultivation, laid the groundwork for the new literati culture of the Yüan period.

2. "The Lyrics of Li Yu: A Translation, Analysis and Commentary," by Stephen shu-ning Liu, The University of North Dakota. Ph. D. thesis, 1973, 151 pp. Order No. 74-4154.

In its original language, the poetry of Li Yu (937-978), the last king of the Southern T'ang dynasty, is recognized by the Chinese as being of the highest quality. What distinguishes him in Chinese letters is, first of all, his use of the vernacular readily understood and enjoyed by the multitude. Second, he is, unlike most poets of his time, able to express his thoughts and emotions without undue reliance on obscure allusions. Third, his lyrics, always economical and natural, are hauntingly melodious and easily remembered. Finally, he is, as Robert Browning says, "unashamed of soul." His later poems are true lamentations reminiscent of the oldest Anglo-Saxon lyrics. Li Yu seems more real and more intimate than any other Chinese poet because his outpourings of private joys and sorrows make his readers his confidants. Some of his lyrics, especially those composed during his captivity in the northern city of K'ai-feng, are perennially quoted in China, and Robert Payne remarks in *The White Pony* that Li Yu is "easily the greatest of the [Chinese] imperial poets."

Li Yu's reputation is steadily increasing in the twentieth century. As recently as 1971 *The Transatlantic Review* curiously placed a lyric of Li Yu beside a poem of Mao Tse-tung. Some of the works have been translated and have appeared in magazines and anthologies, such as *The London Magazine*, *Jade Mountain*, and *A Collection of Chinese Lyrics*.

His complete works have also been rendered into German and English, but these translations do little justice to the work. Either they are unfaithful to the original or they are, through painstaking documentation, too tedious; it appears that readers who do not understand Chinese have had no opportunity to appreciate the beauty of Li Yu's poetry. Therefore, it is the primary purpose

of the present translation to present a better image of these Lyrics to the Western world by striving for a fidelity to the original lyrics (sometimes an exceedingly difficult task) and at the same time attempting to make them coherent and beautiful to the English ear (though the original Chinese versions are included) .

The Introduction serves to present Li Yu as a man of sensitivity; to follow his literary as well as his political career; to make remarks concerning his use of language, his idiom and his imagery; and to comment on the joys and difficulties of translating.

It is to be hoped that this introduction to Li Yu and his lyrics to Western culture will reveal some hitherto hidden nuances of Chinese culture.

3. "Ch'ien Wei-yen (977-1034) und Feng Ching (1021-1094) als Prototypen eines ehrgeizigen, korrupten und eines bescheidenen, korrekten Ministers der Nördlichen Sung-Dynastie," von Cornelia Morper, Universität Würzburg. Ph.D. thesis, 1974. (This dissertation is scheduled for publication in 1975 in the series *Würzburger Sino-Japonica*, Verlag Peter Lang, Frankfurt.)

Die beiden Sung-Minister werden anhand von authentischen chinesischen Quellen in ihrer persönlichen, gesellschaftlichen und politischen Stellung untersucht. Beide gelangten-trotz unterschiedlicher Voraussetzungen-in hohe Staatsämter, ohne jedoch nachhaltig Einfluß auf den Lauf des politischen Geschehens nehmen zu können oder zu wollen. Auch im Rückblick bleiben sie ohne größere historische Bedeutung. Dennoch ist ihre Lebensbeschreibung, besonders in der unterschiedlichen Sicht der offiziellen und privaten Quellen, voll interessanter Einzelheiten, die die großen Entscheidungen und die beherrschenden Persönlichkeiten in der Sicht der beteiligten Zeitgenossen reflektieren.

Ch'ien Wei-yen, als erbberechtigter Sohn des letzten Königs von Wu-Yüeh, verfolgte mit Ehrgeiz das Ziel, in der Beamtenhierarchie des neu gegründeten Sung-Staates die oberste Spitze zu erringen. Dazu war ihm jedes Mittel recht wie die Zugehörigkeit zu intriganten Zirkeln hoher Staatsbeamter und die Verbindung seiner Kinder mit den Familien der Kaiserinnen. Nach der dritten Bewerbung um das Amt des Kanzlers wurde er schließlich 1033 für eine Übergangsfrist von wenigen Monaten der Verwalter dieses Amtes, ohne tatsächlich die Macht zu Entscheidungen zu haben. Nachdem der jungem Kaiser Jen-tsung seine Regierung neu gebildet hatte, wurde Ch'ien Wei-yen endgültig nach Lo-yang, der Westlichen Hauptstadt, als Reichsverweser "verbannt." Er war an der geltenden konfuzianischen Staatsmoral gescheitert, wonach kein hoher Beamter mit dem Kaiserhaus verschwägert sein durfte, um ein Mißbrauch der Macht zu verhindern. In seinem Alter betätigte er sich in Lo-yang als Gönner und Mäzen der bekanntesten Dichter seiner Zeit.

An Feng Chings Biographie wird der Aufstieg eines gutbegabten Mannes (er war Bester bei der Palastprüfung 1049) aus den unteren Gesellschaftsschichten sichtbar. In seiner Beamtenlaufbahn wechseln Berufung in ehrenvolle Ämter mit Verbannung auf Provinzialposten ab, was in Empfehlung oder Verleumdung seiner Kollegen seinen Grund hatte. In den Parteiungen seiner Zeit falt er als neutral und korrekt und genoß das besondere Wohlwollen des Kaisers Shen-tsung, sodaß er sich als einer der wenigen neben dem mächtigen Reformpolitiker Wang An-shih behaupten konnte, obwohl et viele seiner Reformen verurteilte. Er bekleidete unter der Amtszeit des Wang An-shih die wichtigen Ämter: 1067 Zensor, 1070 Rechter Politischer Ratgeber und schließlich Vizekanzler, was er bis 1075 blieb. Auch nach Wang An-shih's Scheitern blieb er von den Säuberungen der Gegenpartei verschont .

Ch'ien Wei-yen wie Feng Ching werden als Beamte einer Klassifizierung nach traditionell chinesischen Maßstäben unterzogen. Darüber hinaus werden sozio-

logische Gesichtspunkte neuerer Untersuchungen (James T.C. Liu) herangezogen. In der Schlußbetrachtung ist der Versuch unternommen, beiden Männern nach ihrem politischen Wollen und Handeln gerecht zu werden und die Motivation dazu aus dem Gesamtbild ihrer Persönlichkeit aufzuzeigen, sofern das heute 900 Jahre später aus den vorhandenen Quellen überhaupt möglich ist. Im Anhang liegt eine wörtliche Übersetzung der beiden Biographien aus dem *Sung-shih* vor. Zeittafeln und Namensindices runden die Arbeit ab.

4. "The *Ling-wai tai-ta* of Chou Ch'ü-fei. A Geographical Work of South China from the Twelfth Century," by Almut Netolitzky, Universität München. Ph. D. thesis, 1973, 500 pp. + appendix + index. (This thesis is to be published in 1975 as *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien*, No. 15.)

The *Ling-wai tai-ta* 嶺外代答 [Vicarious answers (to all questions) about (the territory) behind the (Five-) Mountains], written by Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非, is a well-known and in many respects unique source of the Southern Sung period. The author, a native of Yung-chia 永嘉 in Che-chiang 浙江, was Assistant Subprefect (*t'ung-p'an* 通判) at Kuei-lin 桂林 in Kuang-hsi 廣西 (ca. 1172-1178) under Fan Ch'eng-ta 範成大 and Chang shih 張拭. Like many other medieval compilations, the *LWTT* is to some extent a conglomeration of quotations from earlier works, but here and there we obviously get firsthand information. Chou Ch'ü-fei especially refers to the *Kuei-hai yü-heng chih* 桂海虞衡志 of Fan Ch'eng-ta. This work on the topography and products of the southern provinces is today only a fragment, and so it is impossible to see to what extent Chou Ch'ü-fei copied it. The chapters on the distribution and culture of the Southern ethnic groups, on frontier policy, tribal administration and especially policy toward the tribal protectorates, all contain unexcelled and unparalleled source material. The

passages that deal with the horse trade between Sung China and the kingdom of Ta-li (i.e., Yün-nan)-at this period more important than ever before-going into the smallest detail. A great part of the *LWTT* is devoted to plants and animals of South China. In these chapters, by the way, we find hints about the author's travels throughout the country. However, the *LWTT* is not only a gazetteer about South China. It also deals with the geography of many Asian kingdoms, even far to the west. We get a quantity of information on all countries which were directly or indirectly involved in Sung maritime trade; Annam, Cambodia, the Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, India, Africa, the Middle East, and even Southern Spain is mentioned. To these parts of the *LWTT* sinologists such as Friedr. Hirth, W.W. Rockhill and P. Wheatley have already given attention. And, for example, P. Pelliot, W. Eberhard and E.H. Schafer have made reference to some of the almost 300 paragraphs of the *LWTT*. But the complete and fully annotated translation of this truly encyclopedic compilation still remained to be done. This has now been attempted. This in extenso translation aims at making the vast amount of information on South China widely available not only to the reader unfamiliar with the details of Sung history and Sung geography, but also to the non-sinologist.

In Progress

1. "Das *Tzu-jen i-chih*. Die Technologie des Webstuhlhaus in der Yüan-Zeit," by Dieter Kuhn, Universität Köln. Ph. D. thesis.

This dissertation will be an annotated translation of the Yüan *Tzu-jen i-chih* 梓人遺制, an attempt to contribute to the knowledge of technical science in China.

Preliminary research (M.A.) has been done on the loom as described, for example, in the nung-shu-type 農書 books, and available illustrations of dif-

ferent periods have been analysed. The nung-shu literature is divided into two separate traditions. One is the *Nung-shu* itself (1313), continued in the *Nung-cheng ch'üan-shu* 農政全書. The other is the *Keng-chih-t'u* 耕織圖 transmitted through different encyclopedias up to their heyday in the Ch'ing dynasty.

The *Tzu-jen i-chih* and the *T'ien-kung k'ai-wu* 天工開物 belong to the kung-type (工) literature and are the most important works for a historical technical study of the loom. As far as I can see, both are independent treatises with, perhaps, firsthand observations and without any obvious dependence on earlier "genre" works. Both of them seem to be more promising than the nung-shu-type for a necessary functional analysis of weaving in traditional China.

2. "Education in Northern Sung China," by Thomas Hong-chi Lee, Yale University. (Expected completion date, December 1974.)

During the Sung dynasty, the civil service examination system grew in importance until it became the single most certain channel through which commoners could move up the ladder of success. This consideration exerted a tremendous influence upon those concerned with the formation of educational policy. In general, the government found itself caught between the necessity of maintaining the examination system as an impartial institution and the need to utilize education for moral and ideological indoctrination.

At first, the idea of impartiality was stressed, as it was felt that the examinations provided the sole means through which educational achievement could be fairly measured. Indeed, it was even felt by some that if the examinations were truly impartial, capable commoners might have an "equalized chance" to success in the examinations and so an "equalized chance" to achieve true social mobility.

It was soon found, however, that the ideal of impartiality could not be

maintained if the government wished to use the examinations as a means through which to exert ideological control. This led to a conflict between the idea that the examinations ought to be impartial and the idea that education should be moral indoctrination. Also, it was soon realized that impartiality did not mean and could not lead to "equalized chances," even in a geopolitical sense. The reformers of 1044 therefore attacked the notion of impartiality as being inadequate, but they failed to propose a means through which an individual's moral performance could be rated fairly.

Later reformers of the Northern Sung stressed the importance of education as moral discipline and indoctrination. They proposed that a system of universal education be instituted so that the government could practice universal ideological control. With universal education, these reformers felt the government could end the civil service examinations and instead could select the best from among all the empire's students and appoint them to office.

The plan of the reformers of the late Northern Sung failed, however, because it did not provide the commoners with an appreciable prospect of success. Moreover, few of the poor could afford to send their sons to school, with the result that attempts by the government to use the schools as vehicles for moral indoctrination reached only that small segment of society which could afford to send its sons to school. Accordingly, the ideal of using formal education as a channel for moral indoctrination proved inapplicable and the schools increasingly became places where students did little more than prepare for the examinations.

Neo-Confucians later proposed that education ought to be conducted in the general course of life and that there was a perfect harmony between the ultimate goal of a person's pursuit of education and the Confucian orthodoxy sanctioned by the government. According to this argument, the government ought not to restrict its indoctrination to the schools, but ought to regard every mechanism of

social control as being essentially educational.

Although attacked for not fostering moral training, the examination system was maintained and even regarded by some as providing "equalized chances." It was, rather, an institution through which the rulers distributed unequal social rewards.

3. "The Historical Thought of Shao Yung (1011-1077)," by Gabriele Sattler, Universität München. Ph. D. thesis.

This thesis is a study on the main work of Shao Yung 邵雍, the *Huang-chi ching-shih shu* 皇極經世書. It consists of a basic corpus of diagrams representing his *hsien-t'ien* 先天 cosmology, a series of tables known as the "Cosmological Chronology," and an expository text *Kuan-wu nei/wai p'ien* (Contemplation of things) 觀物內外篇

Due to the defective condition of the diagrams and tables, I concentrate on the text, drawing attention only to those features in the most authentic diagrams and tables, which are relevant to the problems discussed in the text. In addition, some of Shao Yung's poems concerning views on his past and present shall be examined (contained in the *Chi-jang chi* 擊壤集).

My analysis of Shao Yung's historical thought centers around his concepts of 1) the endless chain of long-term cosmic cycles (*yüan* 元), 2) the periodicity of time and the chronology of dynasties in the present cosmic cycle, 3) the paradigmatic forms of government (*huang* 皇, *ti* 市, *wang* 王, *po* 霸) and their correspondence to the imperial order, and 4) the psychic nature of the cosmos as a whole and in its parts and its contemplation.

I attempt to show how Shao Yung synthesizes various notions of change and time in his construction of a cyclical history of the cosmos. However, his speculation on history does not appear in a systematic form. Therefore, his artic-

ulated skepsis about the uniformity of the process of transformation both in nature and society and his open perspective of the future shall be interpreted as the critical element-equally important as the speculative-of Shao Yung's historical thought.

Briefly Noted

1. "The Philosophy of Hsieh Liang-tso," by Jörg Bäcker, Universität Bonn.

(Working title)

2. "Tchao Ming-tch'eng (1081-1129): sa vie et son oeuvre," by Tsung-tsai Kung, Université de Paris. Doctorat de 3e cycle, 1972, 190 pp. (A copy of this dissertation is available through inter-library loan. Address correspondence to: M. Michel Popoff, Service des Thèses, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. 47 rue des Ecoles, 75005, Paris, France.)

3. "La suite au "Traité de Calligraphie" de Jiang Kui (1155-1221)," by Jean-Marie Simonet, Université de Paris. Doctorat de 3e cycle, 1969, 311 pp. Catalogue no. 1 1081-4o, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne.