The Society of Song, Yuan, and Conquest Dynasty Studies appreciates the generous contributions of Frank Wang and Laura Young, through the Wang Family Foundation. Through their support the Society has been able to make electronic copy of the initial volumes of the *Sung Studies Newsletter* and the *Journal of Song Yuan Studies* available in the public domain.

**Please Note:** Because this newsletter was converted to a text-searchable format rather than scanned as a series of graphics images of the pages, it is not identical to the originally published version. The formatting has been corrected to reflect the page breaks in the original newsletter. **As a result, pages may end abruptly in the middle (or even beginning) of a line.** Moreover, the initial scanning converted characters to their simplified form. They have been restored to the traditional form, but some errors may have been introduced in the process.
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.
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
University of Washington

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. 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* 归潛志 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'ü ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 compiled under imperial command in 1781. 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. 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, Tzu Pai-l 白一 (伯翼), hao 號 Shen-tu 慎獨, was born into a scholarly family in 1190. He passed the prefectural test in 1208 and achieved the title of *chuang-yüan* 状元 (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. A month before, as the situation deteriorated, Emperor Ai-tsung fled south from the capital to Kuei-te 餘德, 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. 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 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. 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. 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 tutelege 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 ascendency. 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 year later to take up residence in Ta-tu (Yen-ching, modern Peking), future capital of the Yüan dynasty. During this time, despite his close affiliation with the Mongol court, Wang 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 (Righteous Progenitor), and dedicated his remaining years to the composition of the Chin history.

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 and appointed him an Imperial Hanlin Academician concurrently in charge of the composition of historical records. In this capacity Wang 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. These Chinese advisers, led by the Buddhist-Taoist Liu Ping-chung (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 李亘, the supreme commander of Shan-tung, early in 1262. 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, like the rest of his colleagues, secured an important place in Yüan history for his part in the reconstruction of inter-cultural institutions.

Wang 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. 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 died in September 1273, at the age of eighty-three, five years after his retirement, there was no visible progress in the historical composition. Nonetheless, Wang 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. 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, 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. Following this, Kuo Yung-an 国用安 (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. 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 恆山公, a powerful military commander then fighting the Mongols in Ho-pe'i 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. 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* 謏察官, 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. 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. 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 乌鲁 筆 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. 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.

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. 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. 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. 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. 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 onsloughts 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. The earlier attempt to negotiate with the Sung court for an accommodation in exchange for food relief; instead, they raided the outskirts and provided reinforcements for the Mongols to expedite the collapse of the Chin state. 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.

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. He did not include, presumable 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. 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. 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!  

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 (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. 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.\textsuperscript{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 encyclopedia composition.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 纂修叢書, 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 素書集成 series as Vol. 3905, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in 1935-1937.\textsuperscript{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 20\textsuperscript{th} day, without indicating which month.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.


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 摘要 (Shanghai, 1934 ed.), 134/9b. 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 ch’in-shih 1547 who reached the rank of Minister of the Grand Court of Revision during the reign of Emperor Shen-tsung 慈宗 (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-ching 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 Tien-chüeh 蘇天樾 Kuo-ch’ao ming-ch’en shih-liüeh 国朝名臣錄 (13335; Shanghai, 1962 ed., hereafter cited as KCMCSL), 12/la, and Yüan-shih (hereafter cited as CS), 160/6a (cf. Genshi goi shōsai 君史語銘卷 [Kyoto, 1961-63], 458-459). I have prepared a biographical essay of Wang O for the Yuan biographical project headed by Dr. Igor de Rachewitz of the Australian National University, Canberra, Australia. It will appear in Papers on Far Eastern History, No. 12 (September 1975).


6. On this episode, see KCMCSL, 12/1b and 12/2b; CS, 116/9a. For details, see Sun Ko-Yuan 孫克寬, “Yüan-ch’üan Han-ch’un Chang Jou hsing-shih k’ao 完朝漢臣章 교수 행書考, in Yüan-tai Han wen-hua chih huî-tung 元代文化之活動 (Taipei, 1968), 271-295.


8. See KCMCSL, 12/1b; CS, 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 胡家信’s Hu-pi-lieh shih-tai ‘ch’ien-ti chiu-lü’k’ao 忽必烈時代潛邸舊侶考 (Taipei, 1963) and in Tung-pei shih lun-ts’ung 塔牌史論叢, II (Taipei, 1959).

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

11. KCMCSL, 12/3b. I-tsung is referred to as the posthumous title of Al-tsung in CS 48/22b, 55/2a, and in other early Yuan writings, but according to the biography of Wang-yen Lou-shih 羅簡 謝表 in CS 119/5b, he was given the title Chao-tsang 資表 by the officials of the branch secretariat of Hsi-chou 亥州 (Honan). The Ssu-k’u catalog (151/6a) apparently errs in its statement that Al-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 Yuan officials. The title Chao-tsang, 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 陳樹, Chin-shih shih-p’u 全史拾補五種 (Peking, 1960), 9.

12. See KCMCSL, 12/2b; CS, 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 Yuan, see among others, Herbert Franke, “Ahmed, ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Chinas unter Qubitai,” Oriens, 1:2 (December 1948), 222-236; Hsiao Ch’i-ch’ing, Hsi-yüeh-jen yü Yüan-ch’u cheng-chih 息州與元初政治 (Taipei, 1966), 53-77, and Hok-lam Chan, (n. 9). 139-140. On the implication of Li T’an’s rebellion and Wang Wen-tung’s execution, see Otagi Matsuo 大西松男, “‘Ri Dan no hanran to sono seijiteki igi” 男丹の叛乱とその政治的意義, Tōyōshi Kenkyū 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” 男丹事件の分析, in Meng-ku Han-chün yü Han wen-hua yên-chu 蒙古漢文與蒙文研究 (Taipei, 1958), 44-65.

16. Wang O’s draft outline of Chin history as well as his instructions on its composition are preserved in Wang Yün, Ch’ü-chien hsien-sheng ta-ch ‘üan wen-chi 享廉先生全書集, 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 Yuan Hao-wen, and were later followed by Shang Ting 鄧廷 (1209-1288) after Wang O in 1264. For details, see Hok-lam Chan (n. 1), 5-8, 53, n. 44, 47.

17. KCMCSL, 12/3a; CS, 160/8a. Wang O received the canonized name Wen- k’ang in 1278.

18. 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.

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

20. JNIS, 1/4a. For Wan-yen (Kuo) Yung-an’s biography, see also CS 117/6a.
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‘en-ch‘ai er-shih-chiu ho-chai ts‘ung-shu 仰視千七百十九鶴齋叢書 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 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.
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-tai-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 中央研究院歷史語言研究所善本書目 (Taipei. 1968), 41. I am indebted to Professor T‘ao Chin-sheng陶晋生 of the Academia Sinica for providing me with a xerox copy of this manuscript transcription during the preparation of this essay.
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 Yuan 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


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 l-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 Chi'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 Chi'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 Chi'i was of a devious nature. Finally, based on Hao Ching's poem, Hsü concludes that Liu Chi'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 grip 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-Koryŏ Relations."

Books Briefly Noted
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

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—instances, 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 Yuan technicians and persons in closely related categories in the standard histories. Their concern is not limited to the Yuan period.

2. Yuan 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 Yuan 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 Yuan subjects, which have been completed in recent years at Harvard.


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 Yuan and condemn the weaknesses of the Sung.


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


The bulk of this work is an annotated translation of chüan 98 and 99 of the Yuan 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.


Wang Yün 王惲 (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.


This is an annotated translation of the suí-ssu 岁賜 section of chuán 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

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 chuān 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 chuān number of the history is provided.


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


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).

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


Recent Articles in Japanese


Recent Articles in Chinese


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

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 yüeh-k'an, 4:4 (April 1971), 12-19.


19. Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭啓慶. "Pei-ya yu-mu min-tsü nan-ch'in ko-chung
yüan-yin ti chien-t'ao” [A review of the reasons behind the southern invasions of the nomadic peoples of northern Asia]. Shih-huo, 1:12 (March 1972), 609-619.


28. _____.”Yüan Ch’eng-tsung ssu-wei ti mi-mi” [The great secret of the succession of Ch’eng-tsung of the Yüan]. Tung-fang tsa-chih, 5:11 (May 1972), 29-34.


33. _____.”Ch’ing-jung chü-shih chi yü Yüan Chüen” [Yüan Chueh and his literary works]. Tung-hai T’u-shu-kuan hsüeh-pao, 10 (December 1969), 11-24.

34. _____.”Yüan-ch’u Nan-Sung i-min ch’u-shu” [Southern Sung loyalists in the early Yüan period]. Ming pao, 98 (February 1974), 15-21.


36. Ting K’un-chien 丁昆健. “Yüan-tai ch’ou-jen Kuo Shou-ching” [The


38. Wang Chung-ts'ai 王忠材. "Kuan Han-ch'ing san-ch'ü p'i-p'ing" [A critique of Kuan Han-ch'ing's san-ch'ü]. *Nan-yang Ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao*, 6 (1972), 64-81.


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 notes 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 Tatsuo and M.V. Sofronov. 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], published in 1968, provides the necessary historical background from Chinese sources. Mrs. Keping has worked on the military classic Sun-tzu ping-fa, 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, 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.

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


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.


6. Море письмен. 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."


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 angut 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 photo-graphs 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. Pellet. Berthold Laufer and many others. Kychanov has written about them all (cf. note 11). Menshikov has written on early prints from Khara-khoi, and Kychanov has raised the question of the Bon religion.

11. The expedition of the Russian Geographic Society to Khara-khoi and the history of Russian and Western scholarship are recounted in Kychanov's Зеуат Линь Пьштена [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-yu], 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 Паттяники 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.


DISSEPTIONS

Completed


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 cliches 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.


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.


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 Parteien 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-shihs 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-


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 Kuan-hsi 廣西 (ca. 1172-1178) under Fan Ch’eng-ta 範成大 and Chang shih 張栻. 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, trial 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


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 农書 books, and available illustrations of dif-
Different 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 壽政全書. 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.


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).

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 (yūan 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 articu-