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To write a history of Central Asia covering one thousand years replete with the rise and fall of a multitude of nations and states must be a task as fascinating as it is difficult. There exist at present many valuable studies of individual events, persons, developments or regions, but up to now very few authors have tried to produce a scholarly history of Central Asia. An important step in this direction was Denis Sinor, *Inner Asia. A Syllabus* (Indiana University Publications, Uralic and Altaic Series, vol. 96) published in 1969. In the introductory remarks on bibliography Sinor wrote: "There is no History of Inner Asia available in English". A work like *Imperial Nomads* must therefore be welcomed by any student of this region. This reviewer has repeatedly let himself be persuaded to try his hand at writing surveys of Chinese and Central Asian history and is therefore perhaps in a position to judge the difficulty of such ventures. Nobody in the world can be expected to master all the details - and the philological spadework, which is, after all, still required for much of Asian history - when dealing with a subject like the Eurasian steppe and its role in history. Looking back at one's own productions, one notice in retrospect that there is much room for corrections. A kind of self-critical "auto-review" has therefore been published recently with regard to this reviewer's contributions to *Saeculum Weltgeschichte* (Herbert Franke, "China in der Saeculum Weltgeschichte: Ein kritischer Rückblick," *Saeculum* 30, 2/3 (1979) 316 - 335), where some, but by no means all of the various mistakes or misrepresentations have been pointed out. One of the reasons for such imperfections is, of course, that an author has to rely on a great extent on secondary literature because he can hardly be expected to go back to the sources for every minute detail. *Imperial Nomads* has, therefore, been read in the light of this personal experience with a great deal of sympathy for the enormous task that Dr. Kwanten has set himself.

The structure of *Imperial Nomads* is clear and intelligent. After an Introduction (ch. 1) an account follows of the "Formative Years", dealing with developments coeval with the Liu-ch'ao period of China (ch. 2). "The Steppe Unified" (ch. 3) describes the Turkic empires, followed by a chapter titled "Transition Empires" (ch. 4), the successor states to the Turk (Uighur, Qarluq, Qaraqanid and Saljuqs). The next chapter is devoted to the Northern neighbors of
the Sung, Liao, Hsi-hsia and Chin, while chapters 6 to 9 deal with the Mongol Empire from its creation to its final collapse. The various successor states of the Mongols, including Timur and the Timurids, are the subject of ch. 10. Ch. 11 is a "Postscript" with Interpretive remarks on the history of the steppe nomads in general. The Appendices include useful tables of events and chronologies of the steppe empires and of Chinese and Islamic dynasties. Annotations cover pages 305 to 332, a Selected Bibliography pages 333 to 342. The book is concluded by an Index (pp. 343 - 352). There are also some illustrations (pp. 177 - 186).

On p. 2 the author claims that the book is written for non-specialists, and that it will offer to the specialists some new interpretations, based on what he calls an "integrative approach". This approach is developed in more detail in the "Postscript". The author rejects the "sinitic syndrome" of previous treatments of the subject and stresses the existence of an independent historical tradition of the steppe peoples which cannot be judged from the usually biased Chinese sources alone. At the same time he declares himself a follower of the École des Annales approach as formulated by F. Braudel and his school which, in his opinion, is more multi-factorial and based on a triad of factors "event/conjuncture/structure" where sufficient attention is paid to economic and social causations. We could add here that this approach is not a monopoly of the Annales school; the works by, for example, Owen Lattimore have paved the way to a great extent. A general conclusion is drawn in the "Postscript": sedentarization of the nomads and urbanization of the steppe regions are considered as major historical factors. Also the emergence of monastic centers in Mongolia is regarded as a special case of urbanization in this context. Mongol control over sedentary and agricultural regions is seen as a major break in the history of the steppe, with the result of a relative neglect of hunting skills and the military training that went with battue hunting. This is an interesting hypothesis which should be studied in more details.

The author postulates a historical continuity from the early Hsiung-nu empires to the Mongols, a view, which is certainly valid in terms of socio-economic mechanisms (p. 287). Some of the more general accounts of certain periods or states are excellent and show the author’s gift for historical interpretation and abstraction. Some representative passages are: the description of Khitan innovations in warfare (p. 94 - 95); the discussion of acculturation (p. 102 - 104); the characterization of Ogodai’s reign (p. 124 - 125); the remarks on the gradual adoption of the territoriality principle by the Mongols (p. 190 - 191); the description of Mongol rule over China as a form of military occupation (p. 154, "militocracy", p. 195); and the remark on the attitude of the earlier Yüan emperors towards Chinese literature which is characterized as "benign neglect" (p. 223). A feature of the book, which distinguishes it from many other similar works, is that the Tangut state of Hsi-hsia and its important historical role is brought prominently into relief. Indeed, the part played by Hsi-hsia in East Asian power politics in Northern Sung times can hardly be overestimated.

The excellence of Imperial Nomads on the interpretive level is, however, not always matched by attention to details. I hope the author will forgive the reviewer for the following random remarks where either errors of facts (admittedly sometimes of minor importance) or different explanations of the available evidence are briefly noted. The author has used throughout the Ssu-pu pei-yao edition of the dynastic histories; the reviewer refers to the new punctuated edition of Sung-shih (SS), Chin-shih (CS) and Yüan-shih (YS) published by Chung-hua shu-chü in 1977, 1975 and 1976 respectively.

p. 12: "The Hsiung-nu, a people speaking an Altaic language." The most detailed scholarly study of the remains of the Hsiung-nu language transmitted in Chinese orthography is "The Hsiung-nu Language" by E.G. Pulleyblank in Asia Major, v. IX (1962), 239-265. This important article is frequently overlooked by historians because it is an appendix to "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese." Pulleyblank, who bases his study of Hsiung-nu words on his own new reconstruction of Old Chinese which differs much from the earlier one by Karlgren, rejects the Altaic theory and suggests instead an affinity with the Yeniseian languages of Siberia. Those few words in Turkic and Mongolian which can be traced to Hsiung-nu are explained as an inheritance of the Hsiung-nu who originally spoke a language of the Yenisei family.

p. 310, note 16 to p. 54: The author speaks of Uighur culture and its remains. The note says "Many of these frescoes were brought to European museums and exist now only in photographic form the originals having been destroyed during World War II." Fortunately this is not true. The error has been taken over from Denis Sinor, Inner Asia. A Syllabus (Bloomington, Ind. 1969), p. 118-119. Of the frescoes in the Berlin collection 40% have been destroyed (see Herbert Hartel, Vowort, Museum für Indische Kunst. Katalog 1971), but the remaining works of the Turfan collection in the Museum are still a most impressive display of Uighur art.
p. 75: "They (the Tanguts) claimed independence and equality with the Chinese emperor, a notion which Sung T'ai-tsu refused to accept, but which the Tanguts forced upon his successors." p. 90: "Li Yüan-hao relinquished the title Son of Heaven; the Sung emperor recognized him as an older brother." It is true that the Hsi-hsia kingdom also after 1044 enjoyed a de facto independence, but for the Sung the kings of Hsi-hsia remained "outer vassals"; there was no equality granted by the Sung on the level of diplomatic protocol. The text of the Hsia oath and the reply of the Sung emperor can be found in SS 485, 13998 - 13999; there is no mention of a younger-elder brother relation at all; the Hsia ruler calls himself "vassal" (ch'ên 臣), and the addresses of the Sung court are termed "edict" (chao 詔).

p. 312, note 27 to p. 77: "The official history of the Ch'i-tan was compiled during the Yuan dynasty; there is no indication that the Jürchen intended to compile one". There is: for the various attempts to compile a Liao history under the Jürchen dynasty of Chin see Wittfogel-Feng, History of Chinese Society: Liao p. 610 - 611.

p. 91: "(The Tanguts) soon began peace negotiations with the Jürchen which led to the signing of two treaties, one in 1117 and one in 1124. In the 1117 treaty, which has not yet received the attention it deserves... The importance of this treaty in the subsequent Jürchen overthrow of the Northern Sung cannot be overestimated." Also the table of events p. 301 lists for 1117 a "First peace treaty between the Jürchen and the Tanguts". The author refers in note 53 on p. 313 to SS 486, 8a-b and CS 134, 1a. A study of early relations between Chin and Hsi-hsia gives, however, a different picture. The first military contacts between the two states are recorded for the 6th year of T'ien fu (1122). The Hsia general Li Liang-fu 李良輔 came with 30,000 soldiers to the assistance of the already toppling Liao, but was defeated by the Jürchen (CS 2,37; 60, 1388; 134, 2865). The Jürchen wrote a stern letter to the Hsia, asking them to serve Chin as they had formerly served Liao, and to extradite the Liao ruler in case he should flee to Hsia territory (CS 134, 2865). A formal treaty between Chin and Hsia was concluded in the second year of T'ien-hui (1124) for the first time (始奉誓表). The text of the oath-letter of the Hsia king Li Ch'ien-shun is given CS 134, 2866, the corresponding oath of Chin T'ai-tsong, ib. 2866 - 2867. The Hsia king called himself "vassal" (ch'ên 臣) in his document. The negotiations, which eventually led to the 1124 treaty, had begun one year earlier. CS 60, 1390 reports under the year 1123 that Wan-yen Tsung-wang thought it expedient to propose a peace to the state of Hsia and received permission to evacuate in exchange territories which had already been occupied by the Jürchen. On the 1124 treaty see also the Basic Annals, CS 3,49. The presentation of the Hsia oath-letter is recorded CS 3, 50 (III. month, day hsin-wei = April 10, 1124); Hsia formally acknowledged the oath-edict (shih-chao 誓誥) a few months later (X.month, day chia-ch'en = Nov.8,1124; CS 60,1391). This edict had been granted immediately after the receipt of the Hsia oath-letter (III. month, day mou-yin = April 16, 1124; CS 3, 50). Still in the same year of 1124 the courtesy embassies of Hsia envoys to the Chin court were started. Along with Sung envoys a Hsia embassy congratulated the Chin emperor on his birthday (Nov. 22, 1124, loc.cit.). The status of Hsia vis-à-vis Sung in earlier years: Chin regarded Hsia as an "outer vassal" but in fact Hsia enjoyed complete independence. The vassal status of Hsia was expressed also when a new Hsia ruler ascended the throne. After Li Ch'ien-shun had died in 1139, the new ruler received a document of investiture (feng-ts'e 封冊) from the Chin. The tables of diplomatic intercourse in CS 60 and 61 provide a good survey of Chin-Hsia relations, listing the courtesy embassies to the Chin court A drastic change occurred during the Mongol invasions in the 13th century. Hsia had been forced to join the Mongols and from 1214 a protracted border warfare with Chin took place. It was only when the Hsia themselves were threatened by Mongol actions that they tried to resume peaceful relations with Chin (end of 1224). In the IXth month of 1225 a new treaty was concluded; Hsia was granted the status of younger brother, and each should use its own reign-names. The Hsia ruler was to be addressed as Ta-Hsia huang-ti 太夏皇帝, and the addresses of the Sung court are termed "edict" (chao 詔).

p. 98: "The T'ang codex Chen-kuan cheng-yao, probably translated into Tangut during the reign of Li Yuan-hao, had as important an influence on the Tangut administration as it did on the Ch'i-tan." The Chen-kuan cheng-yao is a
handbook on statecraft recording conversations of T'ang T'ai-tsung and his ministers, and not a code. It may have influenced policies, but not administration. On the other band, the law code of the T'ang, the T'ang-lü shu-i, had been translated into Tangut, and large parts of the Tangut version are preserved in Leningrad where Prof. Kychanov is at present preparing an annotated translation.

p. 98: "... two syllabic scripts, Uighur and Tibetan." The Uighur script is alphabetic, not syllabic. The earifer Turkic runic script was largely syllabic, but not the Uighur script which was later adopted by the Mongols.

p. 98: "Why the Mongol emperor sponsored this publication (of the Tangut Buddhist canon), an expensive undertaking, remains one of the many unanswered and puzzling questions in Tangut history." Paul Demiéville in his Appendice to Paul Pelliot, Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine (Paris 1953) p. 136 suggests a very plausible explanation, namely, that Qubilai who pursued the policy of using Buddhism as a means to control his subjects ordered the printing. The copies were distributed in the Ho-hsi region of the empire where the Tangut lived. Together with the Tangut canon, texts in Tibetan were also printed which shows the concern of Qubilai to spread Buddhist literature among his non-Chinese subjects; cf. Heather Karmay, Early Sino-Tibetan Art (Warminster 1975) p. 44 for the source.


p. 98: "Why did the Tanguts, allegedly Tibetans, follow Chinese Buddhism in their translations and in their art?... Furthermore, neither translation from Tibetan nor Tibetan influence has as yet been discovered." The latter statement is surprising in view of what Dr. Kwanten himself has said elsewhere. In his article "New Directions in Tangut (Hsi Hsia) Philological Research" (Sung Studies Newsletter 11-12, 1975-76), he distinguishes (p. 50) three categories of Tangut material: Canonical texts translated from Chinese or Tibetan; non-canonical Buddhist texts translated from Tibetan plus other translations from Chinese; and indigenous non-translated texts. In 1975 - 76 he therefore seems to have believed in the existence of Tangut texts translated from Tibetan. As to the influence of Tibetans he should have referred to the article "Tibetans and Tibet Culture in the Tangut State Hsi Hsia (982-1227)" by E. I. Kychanov (Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium... edited by Louis Ligeti, Budapest 1978, pp. 205-211) where the prominent role of Tibetan Buddhists is shown. But perhaps this publication arrived too late to be used for Imperial Nomads. The influence of Tibetan art on the Tanguts is evident from the materials collected by Kozlov and now housed in the Hermitage, Leningrad. For a discussion of the Tangut version of the Buddhist canon with regard to the illustrations, which again are modelled on Tibetan prototypes, see also Heather Karmay, Early Sino-Tibetan Art (Warminster 1975), esp. pp. 35 - 45. Dr. Karmay also provides a translation of the colophon to the Tangut Buddhist canon written in 1307 by Kuan-chu-pa 管主 (p. 43 - 45) which contains much interesting information on the printing of the canon. In any case Tibetan influence cannot be denied for Tangut culture.

p. 99: "For all practical purposes, it is still impossible to read Tangut materials." I wonder how an eminent scholar like Prof. E. I. Kychanov who has done so much for Tangut philology will receive this statement. It is also not true that Tangut texts can only be understood with the help of Chinese parallel versions. Since the elucidation of Tangut phonology and grammar by M. V. Kychanov and his team to the study of the Leningrad materials in Tangut, I fail to see how one can say in 1979 that it is impossible to read Tangut. I shall quote only one example where a translation has been made with no Chinese parallel at hand, namely, E. I. Kychanov" A Tangut Document of 1224 from Khara-Khoto". Acta Orientalia Hung. XXIV, 2 (1971), 189 - 201. Our understanding of Tangut grammar has been recently enriched by the works of Ks. B. Keping, among them "Subject and Object Agreement in the Tangut Verb", Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area 2,2 (1976), 219 - 231. In this paper Ms. Keping produces evidence that Tangut had originally a grammar of the ergative type, not unlike Tibetan grammar, and that in later Tangut texts a change in the direction of a nominal type of grammar has taken place.

p. 100: For po-shih read po-chin.

p. 102: "...the Jürchen were unquestionably the least successful in developing their own script and in maintaining their own language and culture." It could be added here that the Jürchen had invented two scripts, the "large" (1119) and the "small" (1138). The latter script survived in Manchuria right down to the 16th century. In note 86 on p. 315 the author says that the work by Gisaburo N. Kiyose on the Jürchen script (Kyoto, 1977) "does not contribute anything new to the field" and is nothing but a repetition of earlier Japanese studies some of which are listed in the note. As far as I can see, the pioneer study which even today is
indispensable for the specialist is Wilhelm Grube, *Die Sprache und Schrift der Jučen* (Leipzig, 1896). Most of the Japanese authors quoted by Dr. Kwanten rely largely on Grube.

p. 109: *Was the Secret History of the Mongols* really called so because it was written in Chinese characters? In note 8 on p. 316 Igor de Rachewiltz’ English translation of the S.H. is called "without critical notes". This translation which has been published since 1971 in instalments in *Papers on Far Eastern History* of the Australian National University has now reached para. 197 of the text, with altogether 196 notes, some of them several pages long. It is the most profusely annotated translation I know of.

p. 109: The name of the place where Chinggis-khan was born is given as Dalghan-boldaq. The first part of the name should be a front vowel word, deli’un, written Mong. deligün "spleen", cf. N. Poppe in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 99 (1949), 279. For Qachighen-chehi read Qachigin-elchi, far Temulen Temulun. A material alliance between the Borjigid and Qongirad clans was not suggested by Dei-sechen at his meeting with Yesugei; in para. 64 of the S.H. Dei-sechen refers to an already existing alliance.

p. 122: In 1223 their raid brought the Mongols "as far north as Novgorod". For clarification it should be said that not the famous trading city of Novgorod in Northern Russia is meant here but the town of Novgorod Svyatoopolski (Severski) on the Desna river in Ukraine, department Chernigov. Cf. B. Spuler, *Die goldene Horde*, Leipzig, 1943, p. 14.

p. 130: For Nu-shen read either Nü 女-shen or No 奈-shen. Cf. CS 17, 381.

p. 131: "Intervention by Yeh-lü Ch’u-ts’ai saved the city from total destruction." Nevertheless the city was plundered by the Mongols and the members of the imperial Wan-yen clan who fell into the hands of the Mongols were massacred. See on the fall of K’ai-feng also E. Haenisch, *Zum Untergang zweier Reiche* (Wiesbaden 1969), p. 25.

p. 134: The Kiev ruler in 1240 "fled to Hungary and was given asylum at the court of Bela Kun." This should read Bela IV. Perhaps a compositor with his mind on post-World War I Hungarian history has replaced the name of the medieval Hungarian king by that of the famous Communist leader Bela Kun (1885 - ca. 1937).

p. 135: "Duke Henry I of Silesia." The prince who was defeated near Liegnitz in 1241 was Henry II ("Der Fromme").

p. 142: "Ogodei might have coined the phrase ‘apres nous le deluge.’" Note 2 on p. 138 says this is a statement attributed to Louis XIV of France. All the dictionaries that I consulted including the *Oxford dictionary of Quotations* attribute this famous dictum to the mistress of Louis XV, the notorious Madame de Pompadour (1721 -1764), and not Louis XIV.

p. 145: The name of Qubilai’s younger brother is always given as Aniqbuqa. The second part of the name should rather be reconstructed as Böge (mong. "shaman"); see Louis Hambis-Paul Pelliot, *Le chapitre CVII du Yuan che* (Leiden 1945) 88 - 89. The name has nothing to do with mon. buqa "bull".

p. 146: The author speaks of Qubilai and says that he is not mentioned in the sources prior to 1252 and that his life before his accession in 1260 "remains a total mystery," adding that there is an "absolute silence of all sources for Mongol history." This is a rather debatable statement. For example, the famous Buddhist monk Hai-yün met Qubilai as early as 1242, see P. Demiéville, "La situation religieuse en Chine au temps de Marco Polo", Oriente Poliano (Rome 1957), p. 202. Chinese biographical literature contains many data on Qubilai before 1260, see e.g., Hok-lam Chan’s article on Liu Ping-chung in *T'oung Pao* 53 (1967), 96 - 146, or my article on the Uighur Mungsuz in The Canada-Mongolia Review IV, 1 (1978), p. 36.

p. 318 note 9 to p. 147: The Kuo-ch’ao wen-lei by Su T’ien-chüeh is called "contemporary with Qubilai’s reign." Su lived from 1294 to 1352, the preface to his anthology is dated 1334. It is, of course, true that the work contains many pieces relating to Qubilai’s time.

p. 319 note 20 to p. 151 Kuo Shou-ching, "a man of Tangut origin". Neither Kuo’s biography in ch. 164 of YS nor his account of conduct (hsing-chuang) in Kuo-ch’ao wen-lei ch. 50, 715 - 723 (Basic Sinological Series ed.) say anything about Tangut ancestry. The family had been living for generations in what is now Hopei province.
Finally, the construction of a new capital, Yen-ching, was begun in 1267. The name of Yen-ching (modern Peking) had been abolished and replaced by Chung-tu "Central Capital" already in 1264 (YS 5, 99). In 1272 the name of Chung-tu was again changed, this time to Ta-tu "Great Capital" (YS 7, 140).

It is said that "no good English translation" of John of Plano Carpini's Ystoria Mongalorum is available. Cf. however Denis Sinor, Introduction à l’Etude de l’éurasie Centrale (Wiesbaden 1963), no. 3712 on p. 298, where he says with regard to Christopher Dawson. The Mongol Mission (New York 1955), "La traduction des récits de Plan Carpin et de Rubrouck sont excellentes."

Toward the end of the Yüan it (i.e., the Holy See) even created a diocese of Peking. The papal appointment of John of Montecorvino to the archbishopric of Cambaluc (Peking) took place more than half a century before the end of Yüan in 1306; cf. I. de Rachewiltz, Papal Envoys to the Great Khans (London, 1971), p. 171.

The harsh discipline among Mongol soldiers is paralleled by the equally brutal discipline imposed upon Chinese soldiers. See H. Franke, Zum Militärstrafrecht im chinesischen Mittelalter (München 1970).

For Shih T’ien-tzu read Shih T’ien-tse 橫.

The offices of Christian, Taoist and Islamic cults were grouped under the aegis of the Chi-hsien yüan. Note 41 on p. 325 refers to YS ch. 87 (p. 2192), but nothing in the text suggests that also the Christian and Islamic clergy came under the supervision of the Chi-hsien yüan. The Taoist are mentioned there, hsüan-men tao-chiao 玄門道教, a term which according to YS 202, 4528 refers to the Taoist school of the Celestial Masters Cheng-i 正一, together with yin-yang 命運 cults and divinations. The Christians (Nestorian) clergy came under the jurisdiction of the Ch'ung-fu ssu 崇福司 (YS 89, 2273) on which see A.C. Moule, Christians in China before the Year 1550 (London, 1930), 225 - 228. It does not seem that Islam as a religion was regulated by special office in Yüan China. In the same paragraph the author mentions the post of "kuo-shih, or Imperial Teacher". Kuo-shih means "teacher of the state", whereas Imperial Teacher would be the correct translation of ti-shih 帝師, a title which was conferred along with kuo-shih under the Yüan. There is indeed some confusion as the author himself points out in note 39. The 'Phags-pa Lama was a kuo-shih according to YS 202, 4518, but according to YS 4, 68 he was given the title of ti-shih in the first year of Chung-t'ung, XII. month, day i-hai, corresponding to Jan. 14, 1261.

The adoption of the dynastic name Yüan is said to have taken place in 1275, whereas on p. 149 the correct date of 1271 is given. Actually the edict proclaiming the new dynastic name is dated Chih-yüan 8, XI. month, day i-hai which corresponds to December 18, 1271. See Yüan-tien-chang (reprint Taipei 1964) 1, 3a-b and YS 7, 138.

The Mongol name for the postal relay system is jam; yam is the Turkic form.


"... the role of Chinese Buddhism during the Yüan dynasty has never been examined seriously..." In the interviewer's opinion a serious examination is needed. Nogami Shunjō 野上俊靜, Genshi shakurōden no kenkyu 元史釋老傳の研究 (Kyoto, 1978, a collection of articles published earlier); but there are many more studies available in Japanese.

"The Mongols...were much interested in drama. Thus, under Mongol influence the Chinese literary scene began to produce pieces for the theater." In fact Chinese theatrical literature antedates Mongol rule. Already under the Chin we find literature written for the stage; cf. Stephen H. West, Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater (München 1977). How much a Mongol interest in theater and Mongol patronage contributed to playwriting under the Yüan remains a question.

Some slips in the bibliography: p. 334, Hiroaki Yamaji should be listed under Yamaji; p. 336, D. Schlegel's study of Hao Ching is not a "Habilitations-schrift" but a doctoral dissertation; p. 339 and 341, Kiyoshi Yabuuchi and Shinobu Iwamura should be listed under their respective family names Yabuuchi and Iwamura.

What has encouraged the reviewer to make his critical remarks (which might appear to some readers as overly pedantic) is not only a certain discrepancy in quality between generalization and detail as suggested earlier in this review. He was also encouraged because Dr.Kwanten himself is frequently not shy to utter criticism and indicate real or supposed imperfections in other scholars' work. Only
by patient study and attention to details can the fascinating history of Central Asia be elucidated, a task which evidently exceeds the capacity of a single scholar, and one to which the scholarly community in many countries must contribute. Dr. Kwanten has certainly given us a stimulating narrative account of Central Asia between 500-1500 A.D. and the reviewer would not have taken the trouble of checking some details if he had not been convinced that Imperial Nomads will be read by students with profit for quite some years to come.

Herbert Franke, München


This is an ambitious and challenging book. Mr. Lin has attempted to combine cultural history, literary history, and a theory of poetic languages within a single study, and, while one might quibble with details, his overall approach is most worthy of admiration and emulation.

The central theme of the book is the emergence of a certain type of yung-wu song ("songs on objects") around the turn of the 13th century as a new and major genre of lyric song (tz'u). Whereas previous poetry had been a matter of the poet's "perception of a given poetic situation," the poet now replaces the "commanding vision of the lyric self" with mere observation of an external object, usually a small object from nature. The result is a world which can be extremely private, since we must gauge the implied poet's situation and emotions by what is given us on a relatively objective perceptual level, without benefit of his introspections or confessions (pp.10-12). Concrete examples of this new trend are given in the latter third of the book with exhaustive analyses of some lyrics by Chiang K'uei (ca. 1155-ca. 1221). Particularly enlightening are the comparison of his two famous poems on the plum blossom, An-hsiang (translated on pp. 137-8) and Shu-ying (pp.171 -177), the two lyrics being in the old and new modes, respectively, and the use of lyrics by Su Shih (1037-1101), Hsin Chi-chi (1140-1207), and Wu Wen-ying (1200-60) to show where Chiang K'uei's innovations lay and how they were developed and extended.

Before giving us this full explication of the new yung-wu song, however, Mr. Lin takes care to place Chiang K'uei in the context of his times and to present his own theory of the lyrics. Lyricists such as Chiang wrote under fairly unusual circumstances for Chinese poets: they were "patron-seeking recluse poets" without personal experience in the affairs of state; hence their vision is narrow, yet refined to a degree only self-conscious artists living for their art (and lucky enough to be able to live by it) could achieve. Developments on poetry seem to have been paralleled by the shrinking of scale in landscape painting and the duality, in Chu Hsi's epistemology, of the perceiver and perceived. I hope that Mr. Lin will be able to expand on these seminal perceptions in his future writings.

The middle section of the book is perhaps the most difficult. In "The Poetic Situation," on the relationship between Chiang's lyrics and their prefaces (only four of his eighty-four lyrics lack title or preface), Mr. Lin acknowledges (p. 66) that he is discussing the written texts, but if we assume that the songs were not composed for a reading audience and were in fact performed without the prefatory material as we have it now, then such statements as "the lyric song and its preface must be viewed as integral and inseparable" (p. 82) cannot stand without qualification. Nevertheless, the poet did record the lyrics and add the prefaces for someone to read, so I think Mr. Lin is entitled to see and contemplate a relationship between them.

In Chiang K'uei's mature works, especially the "songs on objects," the actual origin of the feelings expressed in the lyric is concealed; the circumstances under which a song is composed are often manifestly lacking in emotional significance. This is part of the ultimate "retreat" away from the "lyrical self"; moreover, if a preface ordinarily functions as a context of "outer states" to frame the inner feelings of the poet, the preface will necessarily atrophy when the lyric presents only a material object and literary allusions, themselves "outer states" (pp. 92, 176), and there is no longer a "lyrical center" in need of realistic boundaries. This is an insightful theory to explain Chiang's shift away from the long prefaces to his earlier lyrics, prefaces which had sometimes included enough "sensuous experience" for Mr. Lin to suggest that they be "treated as concise pieces of lyric prose that are oriented toward depiction of lyrical moments" (p.75).

When Mr. Lin asserts that these relatively lyrical prefaces were intended to stand as an independent art form, he evidently does not mean to suggest that
they can be enjoyed alone, for their function is still to present a poetic situation and prepare us for the poetic act (p. 76). The two are essential halves of a total experience, in his view. Now, some of Chiang's prefaces and lyrics are, on the surface, so similar in content that the preface (sometimes the lyric!) has often been deemed redundant and expendable. Mr. Lin takes great pains to show that they are in fact not redundant: his basic contention that one leans to "realistic" (deictic) structures and the other tends to exhibit a rhythm or structure suggestive of a man's interior experience is insightful and sound. However, some details of his argument are confusing. Sometimes an overly "naturalized" translation obscures distinguishing features and the discussion becomes fuzzy. For example, we are told that "... the shepherd's purse and wheat extended as far as the eye could see" in the preface to Yangchow mahnn is more "objectively descriptive" than "There is nothing by green shepherd's purse and wheat" in the lyric, because the qualifying adjective "green" in the latter makes it more "poignantly sensuous." (p. 78) Is "green" really so poignant? Does a single adjective make a line sensuous? A more literal translation of the couplet in the lyric, such as "Passing through spring wind ten li; /Coming to the end of [or, "all is"] shepherd's purse and wheat, green green," would have shown more defendable distinctions in rhythm and complexity between preface and lyric. "Green, green" is something more than a simple qualifying adjective, and there are various possible grammatic structures which give the couplet resonances and opacity which are usually not found in prose.

Other difficulties result from Mr. Lin's use of Kao Yu-kung and Mei Tsu-lin's theories of language in T'ang poetry (be referred to their "Syntax, Diction, and Imagery" article in HJAS, Vol. 31, 1971). In a line such as "A thousand silver candles dance wildly," the absence of articles or demonstrative pronouns in the Chinese is supposed to make "silver candles" refer to "undifferentiated types" rather than individual things (p. 68). Kao and Mei have a very important section on the effect of articles, demonstratives, and accumulated details in English poetry and the effect of their absence in Chinese poetry, and Mr. Lin appears to be following this line of thought. However, since classical Chinese lacks articles anyway, and is sparing in its use of demonstrative pronouns, their absence would seem to be a weak criterion for distinguishing poetry from referential prose. Furthermore, the basic opposition of individual object and "undifferentiated type," "universal," or "archetypal noun," borrowed from Kao and Mei, requires considerable rethinking. In the first place, words do not refer to objects, anyway; they refer to semantic or cultural units. In poetry, it is also generally recognized that the referential function of language is weak or nonexistent, because the text directs our attention to its own shape. So to say "silver candles" does not refer to individual things is not to point out a feature unique to this line. Also troubling is the confusion of general nouns with archetypes. Levels of generality in nouns, discussed by Hsün-tzu and attested in the structure of lei-shu, were certainly part of Chinese thought, and it is important to consider the effect of general nouns vs. more discriminating nouns in poetry. But "types" and "archetypes" connote a whole series of Western assumptions about reality and mind which cannot be presumed to be immanent in the Chinese language. The absence of number does not necessarily mean that Chinese nouns are "close approximations of universals" (Kao and Mei, p. 104); perhaps they rather resemble our English "mass nouns" (uncountables such as "water," for which we, too, use measure-words). In any case, the fact that noun and verb come together here to form an event giving "silver candles" a certain specificity (cf. Kao and Mei, loc. cit.) which "undifferentiated types" do not have. They are intentional objects, with areas of indeterminacy but also with context, and therefore some means of code-identification enabling a selection of connotations.

There is a curious marriage of the "universal" and the "sensuous" throughout Mr. Lin's discussions. The assumptions seem to be that poetic language which is not object-oriented is ipso facto a feast of "vivid and intense" qualities, and that the absence of tense, number, etc. contributes to this effect and adds the air of "universality." Thus, because tense-less verbs " evoke general qualities of actions," "the verbs ch'uei (hang), wu (dance), shih (recognize), kuo (pass), san (disperse), and Kuei-lai (return) impress us with their unshakable vivid qualities" (p. 69). "Generality" in this study seems to refer to the transcendence of particular real-world events; along with "intensity," it is a highly touted virtue. But what are the "general qualities" of these verbs? "Qualities" must be the bundle of semantic markers, which make up a given sememe, and since any one of them can be found in other hierarchies of markers around other sememes, they could be termed "general" or "universal." But which qualities of these verbs are the "vivid" ones, and how can simple absence of tense make them so? This is harder to explain.

For an instructive comparison of Western object-orientation with a Chinese way of seeing, I like the discussion by Professor Tseng Yü of a hare painted by Ts'ui Po and one by Dürer "A Hare and Two Magpies," (Orientations, March 1978, pp. 34-41). Tseng finds the German animal to be a mere object seen from the outside, with its hairs "rendered as close as possible to what appears before our
eyes when the light shines on the surface"--the Sung artist's hare, on the other hand, "is less physically accessible. There are lines which show the direction of the fur's growth, vigorous abstract lines which add emphasis and "indicate movement in the painting itself," and dots of wash to add color marks: these "are not painted as a description of external surface." But Tseng does not interpret them as "abstract qualities," either; they are expressions or projections of the natural growth and internal vitality of the hare (or of the totality of which it is a part). Perhaps this points the way to understanding the "vividness" Mr. Lin sees in the verbs of Chiang K'uei's lyric. They are clearly not all sensually vivid; but in juxtaposition with each other ("hang...dance") or with their subjects and objects ("spring pass...branches") certain of their qualities do come to the fore and help form the "morphology of feeling "which we might consider parallel to the "natural growth and inner vitality" of the painting and which Mr. Lin discusses in some of his finest passages. More analysis of this would make for greater lucidity.

I do not wish to imply that there is no significance to tenses or their absence. But we need to do much more work on verbs in Chinese fiction, prose, and other genres before really meaningful statements can be made about time and the verb in Chinese poetry. Only then can we compare poetic syntax across languages and confront the perennial question of the degree to which syntax and thought depend on each other. There are many years of research and no easy answers here.

"The Process of Feeling" is a dense chapter devoted to a careful analysis of the formal and semantic qualities of the lyric. Not for the casual reader, mined with subtle pitfalls related to the issues we have just raised, it nevertheless should be digested by anyone interested in tz'u. I shall mention only one point that I particularly liked: the characterization of function words (especially ling-chü-tzu) as "descriptive of the poet's, or his persona's, reflection on the images in the lyric song" and as marking the "distinct turning points of his experiential process" (p. 136). By removing the poet from the images, the function words make the lyric more "objective," yet they are also evocative of the "spontaneous process of human feeling" (P. 141). Mr. Lin has here caught for us a very important quality of Chiang K'uei's consummate artistry. It would be interesting to see how other lyricists' use of function words differs.

The final chapter, "The Retreat Toward the Object," treats the nature of the yung-wu song, already discussed above. I shall pass over it to remark on the

Eiplogue: a description of the collapse, under Mongol conquest, of the world Chiang K'uei knew, and the ways in which the lyricists who were his heirs reflected on these events, this section subtly points up Chiang's place in literary history and, for this reader at least, makes a poignant conclusion to a remarkable book.

Stuart H. Sargent
University of Maryland

Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien tz'u-hua: a Study in Chinese Literary

Wang Kuo-wei (1877-1927) was no doubt the most influential figure in modern Chinese literary criticism. The subjects of his criticism are remarkably broad, ranging from aesthetics to fiction and poetry. What was unique about Wang's method of criticism was that it both carried on the traditional spirit of Chinese criticism and yet reflected the ideas of certain Western philosophers. For those familiar with Nietzsche's thought, there is a par ticcular poignancy in reading in Jen-chien tz'u-hua a quotation from Thus Spake Zarathustra. "Of all that is written I love only that which the writer wrote with his blood." From this it is not difficult to see why throughout his book Wang Kuo-wei considers the Five Dynasties poet Li Yü (Hou-chu) the most superb poet of all, remarking, "Li Yü's tz'u can truly be said to have been written in blood" (No. 18, p. 46).

Yet Wang Kuo-wei's Jen-chien tz'u-hua ("Tz'u Criticism in the Human World") is best known for the concept of ching-chieh (poetic world), one which he developed from traditional criticism. In fact, Wang himself did not invent the term ching-chieh, but he was the first critic to attempt to use it as the criterion for a systematic assessment of tz'u poets. So widely accepted was Wang's theory that later scholars began to quote him without questioning the origin and the true meaning of ching-chieh. As a result, Wang's particular taste in poetry as expressed in Jen-chien tz'u-hua was also regarded by many as a final judgment--thus, tz'u poets in the Southern Sung were believed to be inferior in their poetic world (or ching-chieh), while the Ch'ing poet Nan-Ian Hsing-te was thought to be the only poet worth reading after the Northern Sung.

It would be unfair to imply that Wang Kuo-wei failed to recognize the importance of fairness in literary judgment. What most readers today do not
realize is that there was a long-standing tradition for post-Sung poets to choose either the Northern Sung style or the Southern Sung style as their model for emulation, and that Wang's preference for Northern Sung poets should be viewed in this larger context of the tz'u tradition. Wang's dislike for Southern Sung poets was also conditioned by the conventional view of genre change in literature, one which he summarizes in the book as follows: "... when a genre has been in use for a long time a great number of people will have tried a hand at it and it is natural for it to become conventionalized... this is the reason why all genres flourish in the beginning and decay in the end ... " (No. 54, p. 63).

It is not easy to translate a book such as Jen-chien tz'u-hua, in which terms are often left unexplained, as in most works of traditional Chinese criticism. The difficulty is further compounded by the fact that readers tend to expect too much from the English translation, especially because the book is already well known, if not well understood. As a whole, Professor Rickett has given us a useful English version of the work. She has included the second chüan of the Jen-chien tz'u-hua, as well as selections from Wang's T'ang Wu-tai erh-shih-yi chia tz'u chi--all translated here for the first time. Moreover, she has provided us with a 39-page introductory essay on the development of traditional Chinese criticism. Even those who read the original work in Chinese can benefit from her very extensive notes.

There are, however, some questionable points in her translation (e. g., p. 61, line 2; p. 54, line 14). Some of the problems evidently come from Professor Rickett's tendency to split up an integral compound into its parts-- e.g., p. 55, line 5, ko-tiao is mistranslated as "form and melody;" and p. 56, line 1, ko-yün wrongly rendered as "form and tones." In these cases, Professor Ching-i Tu's earlier attempt in his Poetic Remark in the Human World (Taipei, 1969) provides a more accurate translation, although Professor Rickett's version is generally more readable.

Kang-i Sun Chang
Tufts University

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**Dissertations**

I. Completed


A comparative study of Mongol rule in China, Iran, and Russia with particular reference to the administrative mechanism by which men, money, and materiel were extracted from the empire's sedentary population to fuel further campaigns of conquest.

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This dissertation deals with a number of interrelated topics concerning the philosophy of Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and one of his most important disciples, Ch'en Ch'un (1159-1227). The main hypothesis is that Chu Hsi and Ch'en Ch'un ordered many of the most important parts of their philosophy in a triadic structure. The three parts of this structure have been named: (1) the normative trait, (2) the configurational trait, and (3) the relational trait. It is urged that this triadic structure provides the backbone of Chu Hsi's mature philosophy. While it is shown how important this triadic structure is for Chu Hsi, it is not suggested that this is the only key to understanding Chu Hsi's thought. It is one way of showing how Chu Hsi (and Ch'en) carefully constructed their own vision of the world.

After a preliminary examination of the sources to be used in such a project, the body of the dissertation is organized around three main areas: Chu Hsi's primary system, his theory of powers and agents, and his meta-system. This primary system, which is Chu Hsi's philosophy as moral anthropology, is discussed in chapters III and IV. In chapter III it is examined by an analysis of the theory of mind, nature, and feeling. It is shown that Chu Hsi felt that these topics were part of one general area of philosophic reflection and action. In the theory of mind, nature, and feeling, Chu Hsi most clearly demonstrates his concern for patterning his thought in terms of precisely articulated tradic structure. For Chu Hsi, human nature (hsing) is a normative trait, a rule for being human; human feeling (ch'ing) is a configurational trait, the dynamics of being human; and mind
(hsin) functions as the relational trait unifying nature and feeling into an organic whole. This triadic structure is especially characteristic of Chu Hsi's thought and it helps to distinguish his mode of philosophizing from many other Neo-Confucians. For example, one common style of Sung Neo-Confucian thought was to rely on dyadic formulation of a problem. Chu Hsi accepted many of these traditional dyads, but then often proceeded to show how these pairs, such as nature and feeling, could be better understood when unified by a third term, in this case mind.

Chapter IV discusses Chu Hsi's primary system in terms of his theory of self-cultivation and the manifestation of the virtues of jen and ch'eng which should be the result of the process of cultivation. For the Neo-Confucians, it was not enough to merely analyze the mind, nature and feeling. They felt that the human mind, which synthesized nature and feeling, must be cultivated so that the individual could become a sage by manifesting the virtues of jen and ch'eng. The method which Chu Hsi recommended was ko-wu ch'ung-li, the examination of things in order to appropriate principle. Chu Hsi's careful attempt to experience and then comprehend the world through a painstaking observation of the things it was one of the key features of his philosphy of self-cultivation. His emphasis on the need to establish a pre-conditioned state of reverence for the task or effort of self-cultivation, coupled with the rigors of the examination of things, shows Chu Hsi's attempt to fuse a theory of knowledge and action into a well-rounded Confucian lifestyle.

In Chapter V, we demonstrate how Chu Hsi dealt with the inherited concepts of yin-yang forces of powers and the agency of kuei-shen or spirit. It was in this part of his philosophy that he tried to show that the world was really pluralistic and that the creatures in this complex world were intrinsically self-determining. In this section, his triadic structure is kept in the background.

In Chapter VI we return to a direct examination of the third major area of Chu Hsi's philosophy in which the triadic structure is most evident. The striking feature of Chu Hsi's meta-system (which has variously been called his metaphysics, ontology, or cosmology), is that his triadic structure employs four terms rather than just three. Lacking one term that could function as a pure relational trait, Chu Hsi relies on the use of ming (decree) and t'ai-chi (Supreme Ultimate) to demonstrate the unifying aspect of the cosmos. Ming operates as the active agent of creativity or as a pivot of being, and t'ai-chi provides the ideal norm or lure for perfection that this universalized process should seek to actualize in each person.

While Chu Hsi's multifaceted philosophic enterprise is too rich to be encompassed under the rubric of "triadic structure," this device does provide one point of access into his thought. We discover that Chu Hsi is able, using this triadic structure, to elaborate a complex system of philosophy which affirms that the world is a realistic pluralism, that it is an organic unity of interrelated creatures, and that the essence of both the cosmos and the creatures is creativity itself.

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Peoples of the steppe have played on important role in Chinese history in the evolution of Chinese society and culture. No steppe people had a greater influence upon China and Chinese culture than the Mongols. Founders of an empire embracing most of Asia as well as the largest part of eastern Europe, the most successful of all steppe conquerors and at the same time astute rulers and organizers, the Mongols dominated Chinese politics, culture and institutions during almost a century and a half of rule in north China and more than eight decades in the south. Qan became emperors of China. Mongol armies marched from one end of the country to the other and ruthlessly suppressed any manifestations of open resistance. Mongol tribesmen, moving freely out of the steppe deep into the sedentary areas, nomadized in the north and in the south. Mongol princes and potentates controlled government and were the arbiter of literature and the arts. Mongolian was eagerly learned by Chinese anxious for favor of the conquerors and personal advancement. Mongol clothing styles were imitated and even their proper names borrowed. No area of life was immune to their influence.

China's traditional view of its non-Chinese conquerors and rulers is that they only found it possible to rule China through adoption, more or less in toto, of the full apparatus of traditional Chinese government, an adoption which would result in their rapid political if not cultural assimilation by the Chinese. To the Chinese their steppe rivals and conquerors enjoyed only military power and were without proper culture or any real political institutions, conceptions and ideology but simply lived in a pristine state, "following their flocks according to the availability of pasturage and water," inhabiting tents and practicing quaint customs. This view, a product of a well-developed Chinese ethnocentrism, is particularly inappropriate in the case of the Mongols who possess strong political talents and proved quite gifted in the creation and application of specially invented or modified political institutions to secure and expand their rule.
The Mongols and their allies in China did draw upon Chinese political institutions, traditions and forms to rule China but not without first assimilating and subordinating them to their own political system, created to rule the steppe and its tribal peoples and various sedentary areas lying around and subordinate to the steppe through Mongol conquest. The Mongol qanate of China, as it existed in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, while a "Chinese" dynasty for its Chinese subjects, was, at the same time, a logical and direct evolutionary development of its steppe antecedent and largely retained the basic characteristics and peculiarities developed as a steppe regime. Chinese culture and traditional political organization, while tremendously influential, were generally circumstantial to the evolution of the Mongolian qanate in China. In the end, Mongols ruled China "on horseback" with their own means and methods. In so doing they made significant contributions to the subsequent development of the Chinese state.


This dissertation attempts to trace the early development of the Chinese poetic genre called tz'u in terms of its distinct linguistic characteristics, conventional requirements, aesthetic values and structural principles. The study grows out of the conviction that an examination of the evolution of a new genre is of intrinsic significance to the study of literary history, as it helps us define relations between literary forms, locate recurrent stylistic traits, and consider how individual writers make their important breakthrough. Focusing on the five seminal poets, Wen T'ing-yün (ca. 812- ca. 870), Wei Chuang (ca. 836-910), Li Yü (937-978), Liu Yung (987-1053), and Su Shih (1036-1101), the present work undertakes a diachronic study which examines how a poet's personal style and his choice of material can often set guidelines for later generic requirements, insofar as convention can normally determine form and meaning for a specific genre.

The development of tz'u poetry was closely related to the impact of "popular" songs. In Chapter I the conventional criteria of separating literati poetry from popular literature are called into question. After examining the close affinity and mutual influences between the two traditions, it is further observed that whereas the T'ang popular tz'u employed many widely different forms simultaneously and without discrimination, the contemporary literati tz'u was at first conditioned by the poetics of a previously entrenched literary genre, chueh-chü, until a new set of structural principles slowly evolved for the tz'u genre around 850. This proves that the notion of a tradition is paramount in literati poetry, as distinguished from popular songs.

Chapter II discusses the two distinct modes (the rhetoric of implicit meaning and the rhetoric of explicit meaning) established by the pioneer poets Wen T'ing-yün and Wei Chuang, which were to develop into the two major schools of tz'u writing. It is argued that Wen's style was distinguished mainly by his use of paratactic syntax, and Wei's by hypotactic syntax, the former being under the influence of lü-shih and the latter under the influence of popular songs and ku-shih.

Chapter III explains how Li Yü invented new devices by synthesizing these two modes. As the genre evolved from a simpler form (hsiao-ling) to a more complex form (man-tz'u), the tz'u poetics also underwent great changes. In Chapters IV and V we observe how Liu Yung and Su Shih continuously introduced new blood into the tz'u tradition by using (though in different ways) the rhetoric of explicit meaning and hypotactic syntax as a point of departure for their innovations. Liu's achievement lies mainly in the formal aspects of the man-tz'u form, and Su's in the extension of poetic scope in tz'u as a whole.


This catalogue is divided into two sections. The first is an introductory essay tracing the history of porcelain manufacture in China from the Shang through the Yüan Dynasties (1500 B.C.-A.C. 1400). The first stage in this development is one of experiment. Beginning in the fourteenth century B.C. and continuing until the opening years of the Eastern Han Period (A. D. 24 - 220). The iron-bearing feldspathic glaze employed at this time resulted in erratic surface colors when
exposed to high temperature firing. A second stage commences by the third century A.D., when a predictable gray-green color was first produced and then perfected at South Chinese kilns in Chekiang and Kiangsu Provinces. By the sixth century, the influence of the southern green glaze and the rich vocabulary of its ceramic forms can be felt in tomb-excavated vessels manufactured in North Chinese kilns. Although celadon constituted the principal ware of the period, black glazed and rudiments of a white ware also appeared within the celadon industry. Given the differentiation of ceramic types extant by the eighth century, a third stage of ceramic development commences with the formation of classic types of monochrome wares inherited from the past. The South Chinese celadon tradition continued as a potent arbiter of form and decorative motif, but its eminence became challenged by refined white wares manufactured in Szechwan, Kiangsi, and Hopei. The rivalry of one ceramic type over the other was intimately connected with the popularity of tea as the national beverage, its manner of consumption defined by an enthusiastic following of literati. The close alliance between tea and ceramics stimulated perfection of various strains within ceramic technology. The terms Ting, Ju, Kuan not only define a specific ceramic type but now also evoke a standard of excellence with which to compare the later products of Chinese kilns. With the fourteenth century, the control of ceramic innovation shifts from the monochrome tradition to that of the underglaze-decorated type and a new era commences for later Chinese ceramic production.

The second section of this work deals specifically with about one hundred fifty examples within the ceramic collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art. Place of publication and illustration, comparative material, and a discussion of chronology are provided for each entry. The catalogue includes early glazed wares of the fourth century B.C. through first century A.D.; Yüeh ware of the Six Dynasties Period; white, celadon and brown glazed wares from the Sui and T'ang Periods; Ch'ang-sha and Yüeh wares of the T'ang and Five Dynasties Periods; North Chinese celadons, Ting and Ting-related white wares, Tz'u-chou wares, and Chun wares of the Sung through Ming Periods; Lung-ch'uan wares and related southern celadons and ch'ing-pai wares from South Chinese kilns of the same period. Special attention is paid to certain ceramic groups such as Ju, Chun and Kuan, representative examples of, which provide a means of gauging recent developments in archeological research in the People's Republic of China.

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The aim of this dissertation is to show how the Ch'eng brothers formulated a philosophy distinct from the two main branches of Neo-Confucianism by using concepts drawn from Buddhist philosophy. The positive effects of Buddhism on Chinese philosophy are thereby illustrated. First, the essential features of Buddhist philosophy are delineated through an account of its beginnings in sixth-century B. C. India. Mahayana Buddhism, which was to be the most influential variety of Buddhism in China, is characterized as an attempt to avoid provincialism and fideism with regard to the Buddha and the original Order. This attempt called for knowledge of historical conditions behind the Buddha's doctrines, and thus entailed special emphasis on intuitive grasp of those factors in knowledge which are not immediately accessible to the senses. Next, the ideology of the Chinese feudal-bureaucratic era -- from the third century B. C. to 1911 -- is characterized as inconsistent and marked by idealization of the past which involved an obscuring of what had actually happened and a representation of the social status quo as a product of nature rather than human activity. Chinese Buddhist philosophy had great potential as a challenge to feudal-bureaucratic ideology and its incongruous ways of accounting for things through selective use of elements of ancient religion, proto-science, and philosophy. Not too long after the completion of the Chinese Buddhist systems, it was recognized that an orthodoxy that conformed more closely to philosophical standards was called for. The attempts to formulate such an orthodoxy are now known as Neo-Confucianism. The Ch'eng brothers' Neo-Confucianism was distinguished by their adherence to Hua-yen Buddhist epistemology, in which li or principle is both one and many in the sense that the One Li is an ever-changing type of relation, direct grasp of which is equal and prerequisite to knowledge of all relations, both internal and external. This treatment of Li had an unavoidable effect on the Ch'engs' moral philosophy. Although they remained ostensibly loyal to the Mencian doctrine concerning human nature, which was integral to the obscurantist orthodox moral philosophy, they did see that "human nature" can only mean an ever-changing ensemble of relations, whose nature is determined and known only by human beings themselves. Thus, human nature cannot be good, as Mencius had taught, or evil, as Hsün Tzu had maintained, for both alternatives require a knower outside humanity who could make such a judgement. As for the metaphysics which the Ch'engs presented, it was not defensible or wholly intelligible. Insofar as they wished to preserve the feudal-bureaucratic order, they did not acknowledge all the organicist implications of their epistemology and ethics. In addition, they rejected the notion of
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quantitatively knowable change, which had long been present in Chinese thought. This along with other mystical elements in their philosophy, such as their refraining from any mention of "Tai Chi," as constituting, to some extent, a Buddhistic rejection of the feudal-bureaucratic world.

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"Polders and the Politics of Land Reclamation in Southeast China During the Northern Sung Dynasty (960-1126)," by Mira Ann Mihelich, Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1979.

Despite its generally progressive role in the history of Chinese agriculture, land reclamation by the polder technique proved a controversial development during the Northern Sung period when it was increasingly being pursued in southeast China. A study of the controversies, which surrounded polder building in the period, this dissertation focuses on the political implications of the process of agricultural growth based on the polder technique.

Chapter One features a description of the reclamation technique itself, an analysis of its general significance in Chinese history, and a sketch of the background forces which spurred its utilization during the Northern Sung period.

Chapter Two discusses the formulation and implementation of the Reform policy known as the Itemized Plan for Agricultural Improvement, which embraced land reclamation by the polder technique as a policy goal. It also examines the water-control treatise of Chia Tan, who advocated restoration and construction of polders as part of a regional redevelopment plan for the Southeast, and offers an analysis of his controversial and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to implement such a plan under Reform auspices.

Chapter Three describes the continued deterioration of the drainage system in the Southeast during the Anti-Reform era and the water-control proposals of Shan O and Chia Ch'iao, which further publicized the polder-field type as the sine qua non of flood control and land reclamation in the region.

Chapter Four discusses regional redevelopment and agricultural expansion by the polder technique during the Post-Reform period, when Hui-tsung's administration gave strong support to water control and land reclamation projects designed and administered by yet another student of the problems of the Southeast, Chao Lin.

A case study of the disposition of Ming-chou's Lake Kuang-te, Chapter Five provides an examination of the local dynamics of agricultural expansion. It documents the existence of strong private pressure toward land reclamation at lakes and surveys the variety of official responses to such pressure from the late T'ang until the end of the Northern Sung period, when many lakes such as Lake Kuang-te had been transformed into polders.

In conclusion, the dissertation notes that the Northern Sung record was characterized by the government's failure to restore the successful polder and drainage network of its predecessor, the regional state of Wu-Yüeh, as well as by its inability to control private pressures toward land reclamation at lakes. While one explanation of the apparent Sung retrenchment in the water-control field links that retrenchment with the problems of increased scale, another approach indicates that specific policy choices and the specific characteristics of the Northern Sung land reclamation movement itself also played a historically significant role in forcing the Sung withdrawal from the tasks of agricultural management. Far from having been a Wittfogelian despotic state capable of directing hydraulic affairs and denying the development of private rights over property, the Northern Sung state recognized private claims to what had once been communal resources. By legitimizing such private land reclamation, it strengthened the very local elements who could most effectively challenge the authority of its local officials and encourage those officials' withdrawal from the direct management of local affairs.

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"The Account on Mount Lu (Lu-shan chi) by Ch'en Shun-yü, a Sung Dynasty historiographic contribution to the Lu Shan area," by Florian C. Reiter, University of Munich, Diss., 1978, 290 pp. 2 maps.

This study focuses on an eleventh century "historic guide" to Mt. Lu (LSC) by Ch'en Shun-yü (- 1074). The author, a secular official in Nan-k'ang (Chiang-hsi), traveled through Mt. Lu in order to explore its geography and to trace (k'ao-yen) local history, oral traditions, old inscriptions and monuments (LSC, Ch. 1-2). Up-to-date identification and description of historic sites and the critical gathering of popular traditions, combined with a deep appreciation of natural beauty, are characteristic of the LSC. This work informs us about the tangible presence of "religion" as mirrored in geographic names, monuments and beliefs. Careful identifications of literary topics with their point of reference in the local context are significant: they convey the feeling of "witnessing history" - an intellectual
The Sung poet Ho Chu is one of the important writers of the late eleventh century who brought the lyric (tzu) to its full maturity. The purpose of my study has been to uncover Ho Chu's characteristic patterns of consciousness as a unifying principle within his rich and varied corpus of nearly three hundred lyrics.

My approach is clearly influenced by phenomenological criticism, and the first section of my Introduction outlines the principles of that methodology--finding reassuringly similar ontological views of literature in the Chinese tradition. But the picture is complicated by the trans-individual nature of culture and of language itself. I have therefore had to confront methodologies, which seek to dissolve the work into culture "codes" or "languages" rather than individual consciousness. I conclude that both approaches are legitimate and that each suggests the other even as it pursues its own form of understanding. However, in this study the emphasis has been on the single author's consciousness as a selective and creative heir to the tradition.

The second part of the Introduction outlines the nature of the lyric to make the "mechanics" of my translations intelligible, and discusses Ho Chu's shih poetry collection.

Part One is divided into two sections, the first of which is devoted to the poet's official career. Ho was on the military side of the government until 1091, as a wine-tax official, a mint official, and a supervisor of antibrigand patrols. When he made the coveted transfer to the civil side, he continued to act as a mint official at times, but was also vice-administrator of two prefectures. He later held sinecures at state-supported shrines. He was not an important man in politics, but his career is of interest for the glimpses it affords of levels of Sung government which have been relatively unresearched.

The second section reviews critical opinion on Ho Chu. He was early recognized to have created his own space in the tradition as an intense practitioner of his art. Even critics who ignore the range of his styles and place him in the softer, "delicate" stylistic school are aware of the strength of his linguistic control.

Part Two concerns Ho's poetry. The first section treats one of the culturally inherited forms of experience particularly prominent in his works. I call it the "visitation stereotype," and its foregrounded realizations consist of allusions to the Kao T'ang fu, Ying-ying Chuan, and Lo-shen fu. Its structure is basically an encounter with an Other, often wrapped in erotic mystery, which moves in and out of the self's world; the self has the power neither to summon, nor to suppress its desire for, the Other.

The second section takes up the resultant insubstantiality of the self, seen in "unendurable feelings," the speaker's superfluousness in the lives of others, and his faithlessness toward his mistresses--or toward his own ideals and self-image. This latter failure is discussed in the third section: Ho Chu looked upon his past as a time of heroic "Wildness" (k'uang) and high ambition. He also yearned to retire to an ancestral home he had never seen, where he could find purity and peace. But his youthful ambition exists in his poetry as a lost or betrayed ideal, and his ancestral home as an unattainable goal.

In the fourth section, these problems are translated into more abstract forms, which in turn account for many details in Ho's lyrics. The point of departure for his
consciousness is a gap between self and world, expressed in lost memory, alienation from familiar surroundings, and gestures such as writing or speaking which have the purpose of reaching across such gaps but fail to do so. Writing, thought, and even physical form are concentrated on small points of intension from which there is no escape. Unwanted durations and memories prolong these points into dreary lines.

Part two ends with the counterweights to these problematic patterns: exclusion of dust, confusion, error, invasions; inclusion of another person whom he can secure within his world (control over verbs of permission), and spontaneous travel. I conclude, however, that even in spontaneity Ho Chu posits a gap, a limit which he must force himself to overreach.

An Appendix traces the origins, contents, and vicissitudes of twenty-five texts of Ho Chu's lyrics, extant and lost.

* * * * *


It is generally accepted that after the Hui-ch'ang persecution of Buddhism only the school of Ch'an played a major role in the history of Chinese Buddhism. But, on the other hand, we also know that the Buddhist universal histories were a result and a consequence of the struggle between the two Buddhist schools of the T'ien-t'ai and the Ch'an tradition. The main aim of this thesis is to trace the history of the dispute between the two schools and the formation of the Buddhist universal histories with reference to the intellectual climate of Sung China.

The "Introduction" deals with general issues of Chinese Buddhist historiography such as the beginnings of Buddhist historiography, the concept of universal history, the private character of these works, and the efforts of the Buddhists toward official acknowledgement of their writings.

Ch. 1 discusses the problem of continuity as a general problem for the new elite of Sung China as well as the crucial point of disagreement between the Ch'an and the T'ien-t'ai school.

Ch. 2 "The self-image of the Ch'an school and the aggressive claim of Ch'i-sung" is a short outline of the tradition of Ch'an historiography from its beginning, with particular reference to Ch'i-sung's attempt to claim the sole legitimate line of transmission of the Buddhist doctrine.

Ch. 3 "The self-assessment of the T'ien-t'ai school and the criticism of the Ch'an tradition" treats the tradition of the T'ien-t'ai school and the problem of transmission of patriarchship from the ninth to the fifteenth T'ien-t'ai patriarchs (Chan-jan to I-chi) as a problem of continuity. The renaissance of the T'ien-t'ai school, particularly in the area of the Wu-yUeh kingdom in SE China, and the growing rivalry between representatives of Ch'an and T'ien-t'ai over matters of legitimacy are also dealt with.

Ch. 4 "The beginnings of T'ien-t'ai historiography and its culmination in Sung times" is a treatment of the defense of the T'ien-t'ai school against the Ch'an school, particularly by Tzu-fang and Ts'ung-i (1042-1090). In this chapter the beginnings of the Buddhist histories written in chi-chuan style are traced up to the Shih-men cheng-t'ung by the laymen Wu K'o-chi.

Ch. 5 "The Histories in chi-chuan style of the T'ien-t'ai school of the Southern Sung" discusses the development of this genre and the most developed history of this type, the Fo-tsu t'ung-chi.

Ch. 5 deals with the shan-chia/shan-wai distinction as a result of the efforts of the T'ien-t'ai school for self-definition in the first half of the 11th century.

Ch. 7 "The prevalence of the pien-nien style in Southern Sung China" discusses the interrelation of the Ch'un-ch'iu studies and the pien-nien style in the intellectual climate of 12th and 13th century China and gives a survey of the Buddhist universal histories in pien-nien style compiled during the Southern Sung.

Ch. 8 "Extension into the past and over distance" deals with the further development of the universal histories in pien-nien style under Mongol rule which shows the implementation of a great many "Confucian" speculative ideas which were expressed as early as the 11th century.

The Buddhist universal histories and their report-period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dated</th>
<th>title</th>
<th>edition</th>
<th>report-period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1164</td>
<td>Pien-nien t'ung-tun</td>
<td>29ch. HTC 130</td>
<td>64 A.D. -- 964 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1237</td>
<td>Shih-men cheng-t'ung</td>
<td>8ch. HTC 130</td>
<td>1028 B.C.-- 1223 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1269</td>
<td>Fo-tsu t'ung-chi</td>
<td>54ch. T.49</td>
<td>1028 B.C.-- 1236 A.D. (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1270</td>
<td>Shih-shih t'ung-chien</td>
<td>12 ch. HTC 131</td>
<td>1028 B.C.-- 960 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1333</td>
<td>Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tai</td>
<td>36 ch. T.49</td>
<td>P'an Ku -- 1333 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1336</td>
<td>Shih-shih tsu-chien</td>
<td>12 ch. HTC 132</td>
<td>San Huang-- 1336 A.D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1354</td>
<td>Shih-shih chi-ku lüeh</td>
<td>4 ch. T.49</td>
<td>[P'an Ku] San Huang-- 1279 A.D.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The debate between Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and Ch'en Liang (1143-1194) highlights the conflict between ethical and practical considerations in politics as well as the tension between an awareness of historical context and an allegiance to archetypal values. Challenging Chu's synthesis of the humanistic values of antiquity, Ch'en made a brilliant ethical and metaphysical apologia for a pragmatic approach to utility. By analyzing a case in which the tensions between Confucian polarity of means and ends were strained, this study draws the elements of the polarity into sharper focus. Rejecting the diffuse intellectual climate of the middle decades of the twelfth century, each thinker sought to develop a more systematic and defined approach to problems, and in the process, they augmented divergence in orientations toward politics and values.

This study is an attempt to clarify the process by which Neo-Confucianism achieved the status of intellectual orthodoxy in post-thirteenth century China. This process is analyzed through an investigation of one region in southeastern China, Ming Prefecture (in modern Chekiang Province) during the Sung (960-1279) and Yuan (1280-1368) periods. It has been suggested that there was a correlation between the rise of Neo-Confucianism as intellectual orthodoxy during the Southern Sung (1127-1279) and the proliferation of academies (shuyuan) during the same period, but the validity of this proposition has not been tested in a specific context. A thorough analysis of the problem as it was manifested in the area of Ming Prefecture involves an investigation of not only academies and other educational institutions there, but also the socio-economic background in which these institutions functioned. Academies and the intellectual developments they represented are analyzed in relation to the society of which they were a part, with special attention given to the rapid social and economic change that characterized the tenth and eleventh centuries. By the twelfth century, the city of Mingzhou (modern Ningpo) was an important port for both foreign and domestic commerce, and an urban center populated by a local elite with national political visibility. The most prominent of the local elite in these terms was the Shih clan, which produced three Chief Councillors during the Southern Sung. Ming Prefecture was also the center of the most important disciples of Lu Jiuyuan, whose "School of Mind" provided the idealistic counterpart to Zhu Xi's rationalistic "School of Principal." The ideas of representatives of various currents in Neo-Confucianism flourished in Ming Prefecture during the Southern Sung, so transition to Zhu Xi's thought here provides a general indication of the process that took place throughout the Empire.

Part I provides the economic and social background of Ming Prefecture during the tenth and eleventh centuries, relating the economic development of the area to the rise of a new local elite. Local scholars and educational institutions are presented as representatives of the Classical Confucian tradition, and the role of Buddhism in local society is discussed as part of the intellectual environment. The origins of the shuyuan Institution are dealt with as part of educational trends in the Empire as a whole, and linked to intellectual developments in Ming Prefecture.

Part II treats the new elite of Ming Prefecture during the Southern Sung with regard both to the development of its local role and to the prominence of this elite in national politics and educational institutions. Intellectual developments during this period in Ming Prefecture are viewed through a description of the prefectual school and in an analysis of intellectual groups, focusing on the Four Masters of Ming Prefecture. The revival of shuyuan is related to the local developments in Ming Prefecture as well as to more general intellectual trends in the Empire.

Part III deals with the transition from the state schools to shuyuan as this process was related to the rise of Neo-Confucianism as a national ideology. Shuyuan in Ming Prefecture are examined in detail, and statistics on shuyuan throughout the Empire are presented in support of the conclusion that the institutionalization of Zhu Xi's thought in shuyuan was the means by which Neo-Confucianism, as interpreted by Zhu Xi, became state orthodoxy in the thirteenth century.


The dissertation outlines the critical views of the thirteenth-century Chinese poet, Yüan Hao-wen (1190-1257).

Yüan Hao-wen's criticism is notable for being expressed principally in poetry. The short, seven-character quatrain form serves as the vehicle for Yüan's most important critical effort, "Thirty Poems on Poetry." The same form had been used earlier by Tu Fu (712-770) and by Tai Fu-ku (b. 1167) in short series of poems on poetry, but Yüan was the first to employ the form in a sustained effort at literary criticism.

The highly condensed nature of the quatrain form and the allusive quality of Yüan Hao-wen's poetry combine to make for compactness of expression that is difficult to understand. Without explanation of the conventions of the form, the language being drawn upon for expression, and the poetic developments being referred to, Yüan's poems appear to be more obscure, cryptic, or aphoristic than they in fact are.

This dissertation explicates Yüan's series of poems in three ways: in terms of what he is trying to say in each poem, what earlier critical opinion he is drawing upon in the formulation of his views, and what earlier prose and poetry he is using to form his own poetic expression. Yüan's stated principal critical aim is to order the earlier poetic tradition by distinguishing between its 'pure' and 'impure' elements. The critical theory implied in his poems, and made more explicit in some of his prose writings, is not original. Yüan emphasizes sincerity, naturalness, and strength of expression in writing; he decries poetry that is self-consciously novel or belabored in expression, weak in expression, or captive to rules of versification. In a word, he argues that poetry should be the sincere expression of directly experienced feeling, decorously expressed. Judging from his actual critical evaluations, Yüan felt poetry must also be well written.

Yüan's importance in the history of criticism lies in the area of applied criticism, not of critical theory. Yüan Hao-wen had an excellent critical sense; it was his use of this more than application of abstract theory to actual poetic practice that led him, for the most part, to make perceptive critical judgments.

The success of Yüan's criticism, moreover, is largely owing to his skill as a writer. In his poems on poetry, Yüan maintains the same balance between directness and indirectness of statement, allusiveness and originality in diction, and intensity of feeling and restraint in expression that distinguishes the best of his other poetic writing.

In the history of literary criticism, Yüan's poems, taken as separate units, became part of the corpus of critical opinion concerning earlier individual writers of groups of writers. Taken as a whole, they became a model for later series of poems of criticism, among which they hold a position of primacy.

Other relevant prose and poetic writings by Yüan are also examined here, although the focus of attention is on the series of thirty poems on poetry. This dissertation deals only with those aspects of Yüan's life and work that have bearing on literary theory, criticism, or history of criticism.


Early in the year 977, the second Sung emperor, T'ai-tsung, initiated a change that was to have momentous consequences for Chinese society. With the Sung reunification of China nearing completion and the dynasty in great need of officials, he dramatically expanded the examination system so that, for the first time, examinations constituted a major route of entry into the bureaucracy. The effects of this action were many and varied, but none was more consequential than the greatly increased importance accorded to schools and the examinations. The examination-oriented society familiar to students of late imperial China in large part came into being during the Sung. That process and changes associated with it are the subjects of this dissertation.

A short introduction (Chapter I) is followed in Chapter II by a description of the Sung system of bureaucratic recruitment & the primary educational groupings in Sung society (students, candidates and degree-holders). Two key trends are demonstrated: a manifold growth in the numbers of schools is demonstrated (based upon records of some 1,100 Sung schools) and is shown to be linked to the rise of the scholarly
population. Chapter V analyzes the examination system as it evolved during the Sung and pays particular attention to less competitive special examinations for imperial clansmen and the relatives of certain classes of officials. Chapter VI addresses the problem of inequity in the examinations, which was most evident in qualification procedures, especially those for the special examinations, in quota differentials between the regular and special examinations, and in the costs of the examinations.

Chapter VII introduces the variable of geography. A discussion of quotas and geographical biases within the examinations is followed by an analysis of the geographical distribution of chin-shih degrees (the highest and most prestigious regular degree) using a compilation of chin-shih results by examination and prefecture for the entire Sung which was made from lists in local histories. Noteworthy among the findings are the very visible rise of southern Chinese degree holders during the eleventh century, in the Southern Sung, the remarkable domination of the examinations by Chekiang and Fukien. The analysis uses a model of physiographic regionalization developed by G. Wm. Skinner, the predictions of which conform closely to the distribution of Sung examination success.

The study concludes with a discussion of two contrasting facets of Sung education. There were, on the one hand, the many phenomena associated with educational growth: the spread of schools, the institutional standardization of schools and examinations, and the growth of the scholarly population. These had important social consequences: some scholars became alienated and withdrew from society; new roles emerged for others; and Neo-Confucianism, marked by claims to moral superiority by its adherents, gained a large popular following. On the other hand, inequitable privileges were a feature of bureaucratic recruitment in general, of the examinations in particular, and even of the government school system. The coexistence of these two facets characterized the Sung, for the edifice of privilege did not survive the Yüan into the Ming. Elite preoccupation with education and examinations, by contrast, constituted an enduring legacy for later dynasties.

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This dissertation seeks to determine what questions responsible scholarship can profitably put to the Yi-jing tradition. It focuses through Cheng Yi's pivotal commentary which, though clearly written, is difficult to understand without an appreciation of historical issues in Yi scholarship. The dissertation sets out a typology of Yi commentaries from the Han through the Song. Cheng Yi's work is discussed in terms of its response to this inheritance, to alternative interpretations current in the early Song, issues in practical philosophy, and the controversy over the book's fundamental nature. In this way the dissertation distinguishes historical questions from speculative ones and offers a framework for Yi-jing study which should be applicable by others working in this field.

II. In Progress

"The Shih Family at the Southern Sung Court: Aspects of Social Mobility in Pre-Modern China," by Richard Davis, Princeton Univ.

The subject of this dissertation is the famous Shih family which produced, among others, the three noted Chief Councilors, Hao, Mi-yüan and Sung-chih. As this family's history is inextricably bound to the city of Ming-chou, Chapter One sets the stage by tracing its development. Chapters Two through Five contain a narrative of the family's history: its origins during the Northern Sung, its rise to prominence during the first fifty years of Southern Sung, and finally its role at court as the dynasty came to a close. Emphasis is placed on the limited power possessed by even an important family to guarantee its members' success; it still proved necessary to prove oneself in the examinations and/or demonstrate one's utility to the throne. Court politics, which obviously had a major influence on a family's fortunes, are also covered in this narrative. Finally, a concluding chapter treats the issue of social mobility in Sung China as seen through the rise and fall of the Shih lineage.

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A reconstruction of the administrative system by which the Mongolian rulers governed various regions and localities during the Yüan period, with special attention focused upon the ta-lu-hua-ch'ih (Mongolian: duryad) system.

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"Ch'en Yü-i 陳興義 (1090-1139) and the Development of Shih-Type Poetry," by James M. Hargett, Indiana University.

In this dissertation, I intend to study the relationship of the Sung military to the central government during the period of Sung-Liao conflict the thin context of some modern studies of civil-military relations.

I will examine the role of the military in the decision-making process regarding peace or war with the Khitan as well as in decisions affecting the nature of the military establishment itself. What military men were involved in the decision process? How effective were they? Did the military's role change over time? Also, I intend to analyze the Sung military in terms of the characteristics of military professionalism-expertise, corporateness, and ethics--defined in modern sociological studies (Huntington, Abrahamsson, van Doorn, et. al.).

Finally, I will discuss the significance of the Sung experience in Chinese military history and in the general history of civil-military relations.

"Wang Ying-lin (1223-1296)," by C. Bradford Langley, Indiana University.

This study is largely biographical, attempting to describe Wang in terms of the political, philosophical and literary milieux of late Southern Sung times.


This thesis attempts to reconstruct a thorough and detailed picture of the economic development of Ch'uan-chou city from the 12th century to the 14th century, and to explore the crucial dynamics behind this growth in the light of the socio-political transformation of local society.


In this study I assess the economic efficiency of polder construction and water conservancy in Che-hsi, the northwestern half of Liang-che, during the Southern Sung period, by analyzing: (1) the impact of government water conservancy work on improving the productivity of agricultural land, (2) the damage to local water drainage patterns caused by polder construction, and (3) the attempts of the Southern Sung government to increase its rice tax yields from the diked land regions of Che-hsi. As the dynasty finds itself faced with the growing military costs of resisting Mongol aggression, it attempts to increase its rice tax yields through measures such as the hao-mi (surcharge on the Fall rice tribute), ho-ti (Harmonious Purchase), and finally the Kung-t'ien fa (Public Fields Law).

In the last section of this study I examine the impact of diked land development in Che-hsi upon the structure of local administration and the relationship between the state and the more wealthy and influential landowning households. In particular, I look at: (1) the rationale of the state's support for the property rights in land of these wealthy and influential households, and (2) motives of these households in supporting and opposing various aspects of the Sung government's land policies. I conclude by outlining a tentative theory of property rights in land applicable to Che-hsi during the Southern Sung period.


This dissertation analyzes the significance of the most important Northern Sung commentaries on the Ch'un-ch'iu on both practical and fundamental levels. On the practical level it is shown how these commentaries helped in forming an ideology of strong centralized power through their concentration on the themes of tsun-wang (exalting the ruler) and jiang-i (expelling the barbarians). On the second level the significance of the commentaries in the wider framework of Chinese intellectual history is discussed, particularly the relationship they develop between practical questions of government and fundamental moral principles of the Confucian tradition.

There will be five chapters in the dissertation. The first will consider the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the context of the whole set of changes occurring in early Sung. The second will deal specifically with the Ch'un-ch'iu, its place in Chinese intellectual history, and its Northern Sung commentators. The third will take up the
centralization of power, tsun-wang, in relation to such issues as unification, factionalism, and loyalty as well as the problem of the barbarians and how the commentators dealt with it. The fourth chapter will show how the commentaries treated the issue of legitimacy as related to centralization, to universal moral principles (li), and to other concepts.

The final chapter will extrapolate from these issues to broader questions of morality and the state. By the middle of the 11th century the growing scholar-elite, tantalized by the prospect of vastly increased power, expected the state to become a docile instrument for their own purposes. Yet, these exaggerated expectations, coupled with their self-confidence as bearers of the orthodox Confucian tradition, led them to fall into the same trap as many Western intellectuals from Rousseau onward. This was, namely, the identification of the state with a set of moral principles (the Rousseauian general will), loyalty to one becoming synonymous with loyalty to the other. The danger was that once such an ideology was clearly formed it lent itself to authoritarian uses by rulers so inclined. By the end of Northern Sung it had become clear that a combination of factionalism among the officials and intervention by the emperor greatly limited the authority of the scholar-elite and shattered their hopes of controlling the state. But the legacy of the tsun-wang ideology remained, long after the hopes which engendered it had passed.