

宋遼金元

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Bulletin of
SUNG YUAN
Studies

THE BULLETIN OF
SUNG AND YÜAN STUDIES

(FORMERLY THE SUNG STUDIES NEWSLETTER)

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The change of name of this publication calls for a word of explanation, and a single word will suffice. This is simply a case of cheng-ming, calling things by their right names. The Sung Studies Newsletter had long ceased being restricted to Sung and also being a newsletter. Thus, a new, more appropriate (if not necessarily exciting) name, as the question of adopting one was raised more than once on these pages, the change should come as no surprise. It is a source of some discomfort that there is no explicit indication in the title of our coverage of Liao and Chin, but despite my rather wide canvas subscribing libraries, and I hope their keepers will understand the necessity for it.

The unanticipated size of this issue has, unfortunately, forced the delay in publication of two valuable items, a bibliography of Western language studies for 1971-1977 by Michael C. McGrath for the delay and to assure our readers of the early appearance of Number 15 for 1979 which will indeed appear in 1979.

Special thanks for contributions to this issue are due to Richard W. Bodman, Teresa Mei, Conrad Schirokauer, Yoshinobu Shiba, Wan-fang Taylor and to the Department of History and the China-Japan Program of Cornell University. Contributing Editor John D. Langlois, Jr. Did yeoman's service recruiting contributions on the Yüan period.

C. A. P.

Coming in our next issue.....

G. Ya. Smolin, "A Bibliographic Review of Soviet Works on China and Neighboring Countries in the 10th-13th Centuries for the Years 1967-1976"

I. Tsiperovich and L. Kuvshinnikova, "A Bibliography of Soviet Studies on the History of China and Neighboring Countries in the 10th-13th Centuries, 1967-1976"

Michael C. McGrath, "A Bibliography of Western Language Sources, 1971-1977, on the Five Dynasties, Liao, Sung, His-Hsia, Chin, and Yüan Periods"

Mira Mihelich, "Reformist Agricultural Policy under the Northern Sung: 'The Itemized Plan for Agricultural Improvement'"

Priscilla Ching-Chung, "Titles of Palace Women of the Northern Sung"

NEWS OF THE FIELD

AAS Meeting & Committee for the Study of Sung and the Conquest Dynasties

Those who attended its first session at the AAS Meeting in Chicago last spring (1978) will know that a Committee for the Study of Sung and the Conquest Dynasties (Liao, Chin and Yüan) was formed (see the following). As it is hoped to make these sessions an annual affair in conjunction with the meetings of the AAS, a session will be held at the 1979 AAS Meeting in Los Angeles. Please check your programs for time and place.

The gathering at the Chicago meeting of scholars concerned with the Sung-Liao-Chin-Yüan period was conceived as a trial run to see if sufficient interest existed to hold such sessions on an annual basis. It had long been felt that some sort of forum, conducted informally, was needed to share news, information and views of common interest, to suggest new scholarly initiatives, and to keep abreast of developments going on in fields other than one's own. The results were most encouraging: the session was well attended, discussion was lively, and there was unanimous agreement to continue to meet at the annual AAS meetings. The format to be used, though always remaining flexible, will feature announcements of general interest, brief reports by designated scholars on the states of their respective fields, and open discussion, of the reports and any other matters. At the opening meeting Hok-lam Chan (Washington) reported on the Chin Project and on recent research in Yüan history, Peter Golas (Denver) described research on Sung economic history, Chu-ting Li (University of Kansas and the Kansas City Art Museum) gave a comprehensive report on recent work in Sung and Yüan art history, and Charles A. Peterson (Cornell) reported on the state of the Sung Studies Newsletter. Because of the advanced hour and of the large amount of ground already covered, the organizer of the meeting, Brian E. McKnight, put off his own report on the state of Sung legal studies. The question whether the Newsletter (i.e., the Bulletin) could publish these individual reports was raised, and the Editor indicated that its pages were altogether open to anything of this nature that was submitted. However, the general sense was that, in the interests of maintaining informality at these meetings and of eliminating any pressure on participants to make their reports "publishable," there should be no expectation of anything beyond the oral report.

While the group stopped short of forming a "society," it did agree on the necessity of having a steering committee to plan and coordinate the meetings. McKnight was asked to chair the committee and Chan and Peterson were asked

to join him. It was agreed to reconsider the possibility of establishing a formal society at a later date. Some discomfort was expressed over the name of the group which willy-nilly implies inclusion of the Nanchu Ch'ing dynasty; but no better one was forthcoming, and the present designation was accepted as quite operative. (Discomfort was also expressed over the name "Sung Studies Newsletter" and the desirability of a more appropriate one acknowledged.) A number of issues were raised and pieces of information communicated. They are summarized as follows.

Item. The value and importance of Sung Biographies, edited by Herbert Franke, was acknowledged, but regrets were voiced over the lack of biographies for a large number of important figures (in essence, biographies that were simply never submitted to the editor) and the question was raised whether this lack could not be supplied in the course of the next few years. Julia Ching (Yale) suggested that the Newsletter could play a central role in coordinating the writing and publication of the additional needed biographies. There was agreement that a select list be published, that contributors be sought to treat these figures by a foreseeable time limit, and that the Newsletter publishes the results, probably as a supplement and in a format similar to the original volumes. [The Editor has begun consultations on this task and will publish a select list of figures in the next issue.]

Item. James T.C. Liu (Princeton) reported on the progress of Wang Te-yi in Taiwan in compiling his index to biographical information on Yüan dynasty figures (see below) and on his near completion of correction of errors in his six-volume Sung-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin. The new edition, soon to appear, will incorporate the results of this effort.

Item. The near completion of the joint effort in Kyoto, Osaka & Tokyo to index the terms in the Economic section of the Sung-hui-yao was announced. Yet, the sheer size of the growing index poses mammoth publishing problems.

Item. The question was raised whether the Newsletter could publish bodies of source material which had been collected and/or translated (e.g., statistics) and which might be useful to a number of people in the field even though not presented as part of a formal, integrated study. The Editor replied that, provided that the pages of a couple of issues consecutively were not absolutely burgeoning, this posed no problem. However, it was also suggested that certain kinds of material would be best run off separately and simply distributed in the same envelope with the regular issue.

Item. The effort to compile a sequel to the highly successful poetry anthology, Sunflower Splendor, edited by Liu Wu-chi and Irving Yucheng Lo, was reported to be far advanced, welcome news to those who have enjoyed the first collection and who have discovered its utility in teaching.

(Other items discussed appear below or under Book News.)

AAS Panel on Sung and the New Role of "Things"

At the 1978 Meeting of the AAS in Chicago James T.C. Liu organized and chaired a panel entitled "The Idea and the Reality of the 'Thing' (wu) during the

Sung." The papers presented were:

Hoyt C. Tillman (Arizona State), "Philosophical Attitudes toward Wu"

Richard Edwards (Michigan), "Wu in Landscape Paintings"

Shuen-fu Lin (Michigan), "Songs and Objects (Yung-wu tz'u) and the Transformation of the Lyrical Tradition"

Peter J. Golas (Denver), "Appropriating Wu: Changing Attitudes toward Property in the Sung"

As the designated discussant was unable to attend, Professor Liu also assumed this responsibility. The results of pursuing attitudes, treatments and concepts with respect to "things" into such diverse spheres as philosophy, painting, poetry, and the marketplace were striking. Those students of culture who stress the underlying unity of cultural developments received strong support from this panel whose studies suggest broad concordances between activities in one area and those in another. (Professor Tillman's paper is published in this issue, while a note on the book-length study by Professor Lin of his topic can be found under Book News.)

Index to Biographical Materials on Yüan Figures

Since 1974 Professor Wang Te-yi of National Taiwan University has been compiling a comprehensive index to biographical sources on Yüan period figures. With the scholarly effort now complete, publication can proceed thanks to a publication grant made by ACLS. This a reference work on the order of the superb Sung-jen chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin compiled by Wang, Ch'ang Pi-te, and others, published in 1974-76 (see SSN 11-12, pp. 62-63), and following the same format. More than 600 sources have been used, including pi-chi and poetry as well as such more standard works as histories, gazetteers and literary collections. It is estimated that the index will run 4,500 pages and that publication will occur in the course of 1979-80.

News from Australia

Most researchers working in the Yüan period will already have made use of the first two series of the Index to Biographical Materials in Chin and Yüan Literary Works compiled by Igor de Rachewiltz and his associate at Australian National University. Publication of the third series is now imminent and will complete that part of the biographical project intended for publication. In addition to providing biographical information from the works covered, this third volume contains complete indices to a few key works, such as the Yüan-tien-chang.

The larger biographical project being carried out at A.N.U. under de Rachewiltz' direction involves the compilation of a complete index to the names of

persons appearing in all Yüan period literary collections. Now three-fifths complete and scheduled to run into 1981, this project has assumed such massive proportions that publication is out of the question. Instead, it will serve as a Yüan period biographical data "bank" on which scholars in the field will be invited to draw by correspondence as needed.

Professor de Rachewiltz, while continuing his translation of The Secret History of the Mongols (with chap. 7 due to appear in spring in Papers on Far Eastern History.), is also preparing for publication a volume of notes left by the late Antoine Mostaert bearing on his years-long study and translation of the Hua-i i-yü. (For Volume I of this study see Book News.) Of exceptional richness and erudition, these notes are also extremely difficult to decipher and must often be completed by additional research before being put into print. The editing is expected to be completed within two years.

The Australian National University Press is publishing this year a collection of five biographical essays on Confucian advisors of Qubilai Qan written by Hok-lam Chan.

News from Japan

Activity in the Sung field continues at a high level in Japan. In addition to the publications and scholarly activities cited elsewhere on these pages, we can call attention to the monthly meetings of the Sung History Seminar at the T y Bunk and the weekly seminar at the Kyoto Jimbun Kagaku Kenky jo which in alternate weeks reads in depth the Meng-liang-lu and the Ch'ing-ming-chi. The bibliography of Japanese research on the Sung, which we publish as a regular feature, is of course a product of the quarterly bibliographic bulletins issued under the auspices of the Japanese Sung Committee.

News from China

Brian McKnight (Hawaii) has recently received and passed on news relative to the October visit to Canada of Professor Ch'en Te-chih of Nanking University. Professor Ch'en spoke about current research in the PRC, scholarly projects underway and the return of an atmosphere far more conducive to scholarship and education following the demise of the "gang of four". As a Ming historian, Ch'en dealt mostly with issues of Ming and modern history. But it is of interest to all China scholars to learn: that compilation of general histories of law, religion, trade and the economy of traditional China is underway; that recent archaeological findings are being incorporated into a new general history of Chinese

civilization; that the Chung-kuo ku-chin jen-ming & ti-ming ta-tzu-tien are being revised; that the dynastic histories are scheduled for indexing; and that many post-T'ang stele inscriptions will soon be published for the first time. Yet, the visitor acknowledged the depleted state of the Sung scholarly community,

estimating that there were only about forty Sung scholars active at present. He also acknowledged the need of Chinese scholars to bring themselves up to date on work over the last seventeen years in Japan and the West.

Sung and the University of Chicago

Some readers may not be aware of the Edward A. Kracke, Jr. Memorial Fund at the University of Chicago (write c/o the Far Eastern Library) which is used exclusively for the purchase of materials on the Sung, Liao, Chin and early Yüan periods and contributions to which are matched from other sources. Curator Luc Kwanten also indicates that a special "Sung Catalogue" of the Library's holding will be issued in its Reference Series, either this year or next. This will be in addition to the supplement to the general catalogue to be published this year by G. K. Hall.

Chinese History Film Series

The thirteen-film series covering the entire course of Chinese history which as developed by Wan-go Weng for the China Institute in America is now being distributed by the Audio-Visual Center of Indiana University. The two films relevant to the Sung-Yüan period are:

No. 8 - The Age of Maturity: Sung, 23 minutes

No. 9 - Under the Mongols: Yüan, 18 minutes

These are sound and color films, available both in 16mm and in videocassette and either for purchase or for rental.

[The Editor hopes to arrange for a discussion of the general issue of "filming" Chinese history on the pages of a future issue.]

New Archaeological Journal

The M. E. Sharpe Company of White Plains, NY has announced publication of Chinese Studies in Archeology, which like the other series it publishes will consist of translations of Chinese research and reports. Judging by the material on which Richard W. Bodman reports in his piece below, there should be no lack of sources for the new series.

MING T'AI-TSU ON THE YUAN: AN AUTOCRAT'S ASSESSMENT OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY*

John Dardess, University of Kansas

In the long flow of Chinese history, the significance of the Yüan period is as yet an undeveloped topic. It constitutes something of a lost century between the better-known periods of the Sung and Ming. Socially, economically, demographically, and politically, we have no sure knowledge of what the Yüan era represents or how it should be interpreted. In a not altogether dissimilar way, it is apparent that to T'ai-tsu, founder of the Ming Dynasty in 1368, the history of the recently expired Yüan presented a series of conflicting images of grandeur and decadence, of legitimacy and outrage. To be sure, T'ai-tsu's remarks about the Yüan were not offered as models of dispassionate inquiry. They were advanced to under-score various policy positions taken by the early Ming state, which is probably one reason why his views are so often inconsistent. Yet it remains the case that whatever the general interpretive views about the Yüan we ultimately adopt, they should in some way take into account the meaning of the period as understood by the man whose dynasty supplanted it.

Most of the statements T'ai-tsu made about the Yüan tend to fall within one of three categories. One has to do with the question of its legitimacy in view of its foreign origins; a second with whether Yüan rule was beneficial for China or not; and a third with the reasons for the dynasty's decline and fall.

Ming T'ai-tsu was inconsistent on the question whether the Mongol conquest of China had been an acceptable or legitimate event in the context of China's historical and cultural traditions. On the one hand, he did reassure domestic audiences that Heaven had unquestionably mandated the Mongol conquest, and that the Yüan dynasty was indeed a member in fairly good standing in the roll call of dynasties of Chinese history. A solemn prayer of sacrifices to Heaven that T'ai-tsu offered in January 1368 confirmed as such. In that prayer, T'ai-tsu reverently

* This and the papers below by Mr. Gedalecia and Mr. Kwanten were initially presented at the panel "China Under Alien Rule: Aspects of the Yüan Dynasty," at the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, March 27, 1977, in New York City.

stated "With the end of the Sung, God (ti) ordered the true man in the steppes to enter China and serve as ruler of the empire."¹ On an earlier occasion, T'ai-tsu told his civil officials that the Yüan rulers, though barbarians, had at the beginning made their rule in China acceptable because they used worthies as high officials and advanced gentlemen of good caliber.² And later, when T'ai-tsu installed statues of the great rulers of China's past in his palace in Nanking, he included alongside the founders of the Sung, T'ang, Sui, and Han and the sage rulers of antiquity a statue of Qubilai, founder of the Mongol dynasty in China.³

However, T'ai-tsu was always conscious of the alien character of Yüan rule, a feature that he emphasized in an announcement of 1367 to the people of north China, whom he was about to conquer for the Ming. In that announcement, T'ai-tsu conceded that Heaven had indeed for good reasons brought about the Mongol conquest of China, but he asserted that barbarian rule was nevertheless something quite out of the ordinary and definitely a matter for regret.⁴

But when T'ai-tsu addressed messages to foreign states and kingdoms, then his position was that the Yüan dynasty had been altogether illegitimate, "a shame to China." To the ruler of the Ta-li state, T'ai-tsu announced that he had "restored the old state (kuo) of our Chinese people."⁵ To Java went the message that "for a century the barbarians thievishly interrupted China's legitimate sequence of dynasties."⁶ Likewise Japan was told that "upon the fall of the Sung, the northern barbarians entered and occupied our China, propagated their barbarian customs, and made our central land stink."⁷

Perhaps we should not be overly surprised to find T'ai-tsu telling his own people that the Yüan had been legitimate, while at the same time telling foreign states that it had been illegitimate. Herbert Franke has made us aware that the Sung emperors, for example, regularly separated the actual language and conduct of foreign diplomacy from the sentiments and values that had to be observed on the home front, and they were never really called to account for that discrepancy.⁸

A second set of statements made by T'ai-tsu about the Yüan had to do with whether, aside from the question of legitimacy, the overall effect of Mongol rule in China had on balance been beneficial or not. On this score, the Ming founder offered two conflicting scenarios."

One scenario pictured the Yüan in its heyday as a period so prosperous and serene as almost to rival the Garden of Eden. T'ai-tsu so described the dynasty

in a letter of 1367 addressed to the last Yüan emperor. "My parents were born when the Yüan had just pacified the empire," he wrote. "At that time the laws and norms were strict and clear. The stupid and villainous were overawed and inclined themselves toward virtue. The strong did not oppress the weak, and the many did not do violence to the few. Among the commoners fathers and sons, husbands and wives, all lived peacefully in their proper spheres. There was no greater blessing than this."⁹ Something close to this portrayal of Yüan rule was also used for domestic political purposes, part of T'ai-tsu's effort to show that the anti-Yüan popular rebellions of 1351 and after had not been motivated by justifiable grievances, but were a stupid and tragic mistake. Thus in the 3rd series of his Great Announcements, published in 1387, T'ai-tsu described the Mongol regime as follows: "When the Yüan was at peace, then fields, gardens, houses, mulberry, date, and other trees, and the various domestic animals all existed in abundance. Nor were cloth and grain lacking. Among the strong, sons inherited [their livelihoods] from their fathers, and everywhere there was harmony among kinsmen and neighbors. There were no anxieties. Even the extremely poor could consume what they possessed in their homes. The poor had the joy of poverty. To be sure [sometimes] they did not have enough; when there was flood, insects, or extended rains and the harvest failed, then famine came and occasionally people died of hunger. But to die of hunger is surely preferable to dying in war, or jumping off a cliff into fire or water."¹⁰ So much for the "good" Yüan.

T'ai-tsu also had an opposing scenario, one that pictured a bad and rotten Yüan, and this he sometimes produced to help explain the massive corruption in Ming bureaucracy and society that, he constantly complained, prevented him from achieving his high ruling goals. According to this negative picture, the Mongols, even under Qubilai, had done no more than erect a "loose" ruling system, one without accountability and tight controls. They had never understood the Way of China's Former Kings; theirs had all along acted for purely selfish ends, dominating the bureaucracy as though it were simply a private preserve for their own kind. Because the Mongols lacked the "impartial mind of empire", they were easily bribed or deceived by corrupt officials. All along they had failed to (fei kung t'ien-hsia...chih hsin 非公天下...之心) observe China's rules of propriety and status norms.¹¹

That was bad enough. What was infinitely worse was that Chinese elites contaminated themselves with Mongol customs, and fell victim to the seductive counter-models to the Three Bonds and Five Constants of orthodox Chinese morality that the barbarians had offered. T'ai-tsu described several of these counter-models. The Mongols, for example, practiced levirate marriage; this threatened the orthodox Chinese family system because Chinese elites began to imitate that custom, and con-

tinued to do so in the early Ming.¹² The Mongols valued profit and advantage above all else, and their bad example here spread like a contagion among the Chinese, who promptly forgot all about the sagely teachings of decorum and righteousness. Mongol patterns of bureaucratic decision-making on all levels reduced responsible officials into irresponsible and ignorant figureheads and gave informal but real power to subordinates. This, according to T'ai-tsu, completely violated the principles of open accountability and control of the Chinese sages; yet Chinese officials, who should have known better, had become so well adapted to this barbarian model in the Yüan that their barbarized working habits continued to be a major source of bureaucratic subversion under T'ai-tsu in the early Ming.¹³ In fact, T'ai-tsu did not really blame the Mongols for being Mongols here; it was the Chinese elites that he castigated for what he believed was their profoundly unstable moral character.

These two scenarios seem quite irreconcilable. It is impossible to guess how a regime as misguided and corrupt as the Yüan had been in T'ai-tsu's opinion as expressed on some occasions could ever have managed to produce the idyllic era of prosperity and peace that he described on others.

A third category of statements offered by T'ai-tsu about the Yüan has to do with the perceived causes of the dynasty's collapse. Here T'ai-tsu was reasonably consistent, apparently because his analysis of the Yüan breakdown was used to justify the whole direction of early Ming state building. According to T'ai-tsu, the Yüan fell because its ruling system was too negligent, too lax, and too lenient.

In 1364, the future Ming founder announced that it was a downward drift of power in the Mongol state that had unsettled and disaffected people's minds and was responsible for the civil wars raging at the time. He stated that after Qubilai's time the Yüan emperors had lost control of things through a series of irregular successions and regicides in which junior lines gained the throne at the expense of senior ones, younger brothers poisoned older brothers and seized their positions, while chief ministers and their cliques usurped real power over the bureaucracy. The later Yüan emperors were unable to supervise the details of government operations personally; accordingly, power devolved into the hands of high officials, where it had no right to be. Even at the local level the powers that rightfully belonged to the local officials were exercised in fact by the clerks and other inferior personnel. Law might have remedied this situation, but in T'ai-tsu's opinion Yüan laws were routinely ignored because the central government was too lavish with its rewards

and pardons and failed to punish the guilty. Bribery and favoritism kept the government afloat for a time, but in the end the poisons of malfeasance and incompetence drove the good and law-abiding people of the realm into the arms of the rebels, and so destroyed the dynasty altogether. Ming T'ai-tsu vowed that these alleged Yüan mistakes would not be repeated under the Ming.¹⁴

Clearly, T'ai-tsu's shifting views on the Yüan reflected his immediate needs and purposes in establishing the new Ming dynasty. They serve also to remind us that we should not only look at the Yüan from our own distant perspectives. We should bear in mind that the historical interpretation of the Yüan era was an exercise that had direct relevance to the formation of the whole political climate of the early Ming period. That is to say, certain of the native perceptions of the Yüan experience shaped the Ming politically by serving as a negative model for the centralized and autocratic state-building undertaken by T'ai-tsu. In addition, T'ai-tsu's own conflicting perceptions of the Yüan should perhaps signal to us that our ultimate interpretations of that period in Chinese history may well come to embody a similar, if differently focused, set of apparently contradictory phenomena.

- 1 Ming T'ai-tsu shih-lu (Academia Sinica ed.), II. 478 (January 23, 1368). [Hereafter TTSL].
- 2 TTSL I, 211 (January 20, 1365).
- 3 TTSL IV, 1549-50 (March 6, 1374).
- 4 TTSL II, 401-2 (November 15, 1367).
- 5 TTSL IV, 1614 (September 17, 1374).
- 6 TTSL II, 785-87 (March 14, 1369).
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 Herbert Franke, "Treaties Between Sung and Chin," Etudes Song/Sung Studies, Series I, no. 1 (Paris, 1970), pp. 55-84.
- 9 TTSL I, 374 (October 18, 1367).
- 10 Ta kao, 3rd series, art. 12 (in Ming-ch'ao k'ai-kuo wen-hsien vol. I; reprinted Taipei, 1966).
- 11 TTSL II, 471 (June 16, 1368); TTSL I. 362 (September 28, 1367).
- 12 Ta kao, art. 22.
- 13 Ta kao, arts. 2, 3, 4; 2nd series, art. 28; 3rd series, art. 27.
- 14 TTSL I, 176-77 (February 6, 1364); I, 211 (January 20, 1365); II, 402 (November 15, 1367); III, 1158 (January 1, 1371) and much the same view repeated in TTSL V, 1917 (April 7, 1378).

I -- The Scope of the Classical Writings of Wu Ch'eng

It is generally agreed that the premier classical scholar of the Yüan period was the noted Neo-Confucian thinker Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249-1333). Because he wrote substantial commentaries on all of the major Confucian classics, the breadth of his scholarly endeavors is staggering. Yet, the quality and the depth of his exegetical insights and approach have been equally esteemed by later commentators and critics. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the aims of his scholarship parallel many of his philosophical goals to bridge the gap between the schools of Chu Hsi 朱熹(1130-1200) and Lu Hsiang-shan 陸象山(1139-1193).

Already in his formative years in Kiangsi, he became attracted to the commentaries of Chu Hsi on the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean, prior to his formal study with Neo-Confucians of the Chu and Lu persuasions.¹ Subsequently, between the ages of twenty and forty, he embarked on his first period of productive scholarship, beginning with his editing of the Classic of Filial Piety in 1267 and concluding with the editing of the Book of Changes, Book of Poetry, Book of History, Spring and Autumn Annals, Classic of Rites and Ceremonies (I-li) and the Record of Ritual in the 1280's. This period was also marked by his lack of interest in pursuing an official career through the examination system, his pessimism concerning the perpetuation of the Confucian line of transmission of the tao (tao-t'ung 道統), and his withdrawal into the mountains near his home upon the demise of Southern Sung.

Wu's retreat was interrupted around 1288 when the court sent officials to Kiangsi to transcribe his classical studies and place them in the National University for wider dissemination. This led to repeated calls for his services in educational posts in the capital. During this period he also wrote commentaries on the Taoist classics, the Lao-tzu and the Chuang-tzu (circa 1307), an indication of his catholic interests.²

It was only in middle age that Wu Ch'eng decided to serve as Proctor in the National University as in 1309 the burden of fame and his sense of personal obligation brought him out of retreat. Disturbed by stilted educational practices under the auspices of the followers of Hsü Heng 許衡 (1209-1281), Wu attempted to reform them by encouraging individualized classical instruction with a stress on Neo-Confucian self-cultivation and expressed his disinterest in competitive examination procedures. His attempt to draw on Lu Hsiang-shan's views on self-cultivation in order to enliven the approach to the teachings of Chu Hsi advocating broad learning led to scholars in the north to criticize his "heterodox" methods of scholarship.³

Returning home in 1312, he worked for the next decade on his lengthy commentaries (tsuan-yen 纂言, or observations) on the Book of Changes and Book of History.⁴ In his second period of service as Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy between 1323 and 1325, Wu became a lecturer in the imperial hall for classical exposition, the ching-yen 經筵, which had just been established at the time. While this post was not objectionable to him, his reluctance to complete the Veritable Record of the assassinated emperor Ying-tsung (r. 1321-1324) eventually led to his hasty, and final, departure from the capital.

During the last decade of his life, Wu Ch'eng wrote his exhaustive commentaries on the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Record of Ritual, the latter completed a year or so before his death in 1333, in his eighty-fifth year.⁵ His remarkable scholarly achievements at such an advanced age are only to be matched by the image we have of his composure, polish and responsiveness as a teacher at this time.

II -- The Nature of the Writings

Wu's primary biographer, Yü Chi 虞集 (1272-1368), stresses Wu's penchant for the personalized instruction of his disciples throughout his life and also points out that this was part of a prevailing vision linking scholarship, speculation and practical application.⁶ Thus the unity of cultivation and broad learning in his philosophical tracts closely parallels his straightforward educational methods, the clarity of his textual work, and his overall aim of having the student relate classical study to daily practice.

Wu Ch'eng first of all established the classical texts he studied in terms of organization and authenticity. Later scholars of the Ming and Ch'ing eras praised highly his rearrangements and reconstructions of the ritual texts, as well as his searchingly original evaluations of the so-called ku-wen 古文, or old text, versions of the Book of History. Even in terms of organization, the flexible use of the Kung-yang, Ku-liang, and Tso commentaries in his commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals, so as to stress both objective and subjective historical sources, was unique, as we shall see further in part four of this paper.

Wu Ch'eng did not hesitate to diverge from Chu Hsi when he found it necessary. Thus, he did not sustain the latter's emphasis on the Tso commentary on the Annals, although on other matters, for example, Chu's doubts on the authenticity of the ku-wen versions of the Book of History, he agreed with the Sung master. Wu also acknowledged the grounds for the Ch'eng-Chu preference for isolating the Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean from the Record of Ritual, yet he chose to preserve them as chapters in the original text in his own reconstruction of the work. He was clearly a Six Classics, rather than a Four Books, scholar.

In his detailed descriptions. Yü Chi enumerates the following aspects of Wu's studies of the classics: ordering and rearrangement, classification and division,

emendations, and resolution of difference of previous scholarly interpretations. He felt that taken, in their entirety, the classical writings of Wu Ch'eng constituted a unique tradition themselves.

It is also to be noted that Wu wrote short outlines expressing his basic views on the structure and substance of the various classics as well as "prompt books" containing concise lessons from the classics on self-cultivation and broad learning, designed for potential scholars from impoverished families.⁷ Indeed, a primary aim of Wu's work as a whole was to make the classics more accessible, both in organization and in content.

III – Wu's Philosophy and the Writings

Wu Ch'eng's prolific scholarship was paralleled by his philosophical attempts to reconcile the divisive forces in Neo-Confucianism as he perceived them in his day. While he may have deliberately engendered criticism in 1312 by showing an interest in the thought of Lu Hsiang-shan as a political ploy, there is evidence in many of his essays that he did not rule out the importance of mind-oriented speculation and a dose of anti-intellectual sentiment:

Only to seek for knowledge in the Five Classics and not return to our mind for it is like buying a box and throwing away the pearl ... it is necessary first to seek within our mind and afterwards in the Five Classics.⁸

How can one go outside of the mind to seek tao?⁹ As with later thinkers, however, Wu sought to balance the careful establishment of classical texts for study with a requisite amount of independent and introspective thought. Thus what at first might appear to be a disparity between painstaking, and possibly inhibiting, exegesis and independent speculation is resolved once we understand the style and thrust of Wu's work. We must keep in mind his philosophical outlook as we proceed to examine the relationship between classicism and historiography in Wu Ch'eng.

IV – Classicism and Historiography in the Writings of Wu Ch'eng

According to Wu Ch'eng, Chu Hsi had relied solely on the Tso commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals and felt that the Kung-yang and Ku-liang commentaries only differed from it with respect to the names of certain people and places, not in terms of the general meaning, or ta-i 大義.¹⁰ Wu did not criticize this stress on general meaning; rather he felt that it could be further strengthened by an imaginative trifold approach.

In terms of recorded events, Wu felt that the Tso commentary was more detailed than the others but that in explaining the Annals, and thus its general meaning, these were often more fine-grained as compared with the ideas in the Tso. In Wu's view, it had to be the case that the Tso had records on which it relied, whereas the others were part of an oral tradition. Thus, when one encountered differences in the names of people and places, or in language and forms of characters, the Tso

should be followed. When one delved into meaning, however, and confronted deficiencies in the Tso, one should not be biased against the other two Commentaries if they served to remedy them.¹¹ Wu praised the textual work of the T'ang commentators Chao K'uang 趙匡, Tan Chu 啖助 (725-770) and Lu Ch'un 陸淳.¹² There appears to be little political import to his work, however, in terms of issues such as cheng-t'ung 正統, legitimate succession, the role of barbarians, or the "three ages," the latter prominently mentioned by the Han commentator Ho Hsiu 何休 (129-182) and by such later thinkers as K'ang Yu-wei.

This raises the problem of the relationship between classicism and historiography in this work. It is noteworthy that Wu believed he perceived an intellectual decline in his day. He described an intellectual historical scheme, really a tao-t'ung, which traced the ethical derivations from high antiquity (the era of the sage emperors and founders of the Chou), to middle antiquity (the time of Confucius and Mencius), and into recent antiquity (the period of the Neo-Confucians Chou Tun-i, Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng brothers, and Chu Hsi).¹³ Superficially, in its terminology, this resembles the historical arrangement of the T'ang scholar Liu Chih-chi 劉知幾 (661-721), even though the time periods are different and the devolution is conceived in terms of thinkers rather than dynasties. There is a similarity, however, because just as Liu viewed his own age as decadent, Wu was uncertain about who, in his own time, could be called the successor to Chu Hsi.¹⁴

Wu expressed very definite views on history writing itself, including the work of the Sung historian Cheng Ch'iao who was influenced in some respects by Liu in his T'ung-chih. Although not an historical thinker, since his approach was encyclopedic, he nevertheless thought in terms of universal history.¹⁵ E. G. Pulleyblank feels, however, that Cheng was not particularly sensitive to historical continuities, such as Ssu-ma Kuang tried to address.¹⁶ Wu K'ang points out in his study of political theories in the Annals, for example, that Cheng wished most of all to relate objective facts and in his preface to the T'ung-chih disapproved of subjective tendencies in the Annals.¹⁷

Wu Ch'eng's ideas on Cheng Ch'iao parallel to a great extent his ideas on the textual philology of the followers of Chu Hsi in the early thirteenth century. He prefaced his remarks on Cheng by criticizing certain traditional classical commentators such as Cheng Hsüan 鄭玄 (127-200) of the Han and Liu Ch'ang 劉敞 (1019-1068) of the Sung, who in his view were concerned with a form of learning merely based on memorization.¹⁸ As for Han Yü and Ou-yang Hsiu, they were merely concerned with study of the literal language of the texts.¹⁹ It is interesting to note that negative judgments were also applied to two of Wu's philosophical forbears in the Chu Hsi tradition, namely Ch'en Ch'un 陳淳 (1153-1217) and Jao Lu 饒魯. His break with their methodology was a source of liberation for him and brought about increased emphasis on the cultivation-oriented thought of Lu Hsiang-shan, which was praised some two hundred years later by Wang Yang-ming.²⁰

The four commentators criticized were clearly distinguishable from other Sung Neo-Confucians, Chou Tun-i, Chang Tsai, the Ch'eng brothers -and Chu Hsi; but it was Cheng Ch'iao who came up for special criticism.²¹ According to Wu, one needed to emphasize both inner and outer values and experiences; true knowledge could not be set apart from internal cultivation.²² In Cheng Ch'iao, the textual study was based on what could be memorized; a truly Confucian approach to historical investigation would unite inner and outer.²³ The external approach, based as it was on perceptual knowledge, wen-chien 聞見, and not genuine understanding,²⁴ grasped the concrete elements in history, wu 物, but neglected to penetrate fundamental realities, shih 實;* Cheng Ch'iao's methods got at the skin rather than the flesh.²⁵ In Wu's view, this was a common affliction, doubtless because he had diagnosed it from the philosophical side as well.²⁶

It is important to see that Wu analyzed the T'ung-chih from his own standpoint, that is to say, within a "classical universe." Overarching this universe were the principles of Neo-Confucian ethics and metaphysics, which must be the points of reference in any objective historical investigation and must be discovered within oneself as well. As Yü Chi puts it, Wu tore down the baseness of forced interpretations of the Annals in his commentary on it and arrived at judicious compromise.²⁷ We might add that this was in the service of explicating the ta-i, as Neo-Confucians had come to understand and define it.

Of course, one might feel that the faults be uncovered in both Neo-Confucian classicism and historiography opened the door to a different kind of abstraction. If Cheng, Ch'en and Jao could be criticized for dealing with details to the detriment of reality, could not Wu be accused of embracing a subjectivist approach to history and thought? In actuality, throughout his life Wu engaged in painstaking establishment of historical and classical texts. With the Annals, in particular, his collation of the three commentaries was designed to clarify and simplify historical understanding within a Neo-Confucian didactic framework.

It is Pulleyblank's view that historical criticism after Ssu-ma Kuang, was mostly concerned with producing commentaries on existing histories, rather than new syntheses, and that this was bound up with the history of scholarship and study of the classics in terms of philosophic import.²⁸ Certainly in Wu's case this is demonstrated: his works of collation were designed to reinforce the goal of moral uplift via classical investigation into general meanings. Pulleyblank sees k'ao-cheng 考證, investigation of evidence, present in Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223-1296) and Hu San-hsing 胡三省 (1230-1287) but thereafter on the wane into the Ming period because of the stress on Neo-Confucian values.²⁹ Although he sees it re-merging only in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we must note that there is a k'ao-cheng spirit in Wu Ch'eng's study of the classics, especially in his commentary on the Book of History and the doubts he expressed about its authenticity.

*Regarding Sung conceptions of wu and shih see Mr. Tillman's paper in this issue.

In this regard, we find some remarks on personal introspection as a result of textual investigation of this work, as Wu came to question the ku-wen portions. These doubts derived from the ideas of Chu Hsi in his Yü-lei, where he found it curious that the simpler ku-wen texts had not originally been disseminated in the Former Han (whereas the chin-wen 近文, or new text portions, had) but did not openly declare them to be forgeries.³⁰ Possibly Chu's doubts were based on the ideas of Wu Yü 吳棫(d. 1155),³¹ yet Chu expressed his opinions in brief and did not comment on the text at length.³² Whereas Chu only pointed out certain linguistic distinctions, Wu Ch'eng openly asserted his disbelief in the veracity of the twenty-five ku-wen chapters.³³

Obviously Wu's collations and analyses in establishing the text led him to make decisions on the basis of hard evidence and in his extensive commentary he accepts only the twenty-eight chin-wen chapters, excluding the other twenty-five. His gauntlet was picked up in the Yüan by Wang Keng-yeh 王耕野³⁴ and later on in the sixteenth century by Mei Cho 梅鸞.³⁵ In the seventeenth century, Yeh Jo-ch'u 閻若璩 (1636-1704) issued the final verdict on nearly half of the Book of History through careful linguistic analysis.³⁶

Wu's attacks on exclusive attention to philology or methodology to the detriment of meaning might be likened at first glance to the attacks of Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng 章學誠 (1738-1801) on those who, in his time, concerned themselves solely with "patching up the classics."³⁷ Yet in this respect Wu was not declaring, as was Chang, that by doubting some and establishing others one was led to view the Six Classics really as history.³⁸ Rather, as we have noted above, in his comments on the Five Classics he might have been sympathetic with the idea of Lu Hsiang-shan that the Six Classics were in reality one's personal footnotes.³⁹ Paul Demieville has shown that Chang borrowed the idea about the historical basis for the classics and the debunking of their "biblical" status from Wang Yang-ming,⁴⁰ who was himself fond of Wu's approach to scholarship as shown in the latter's commentary on the Record of Ritual.⁴¹ As Wu says in commenting on the Classic of Rites and Ceremonies:

Preserve sincerity, emphasize seriousness, extend knowledge, practice with effort, and let your studies lie low so as to penetrate the higher. With much study one can form a unity through which he can attain the mind of the sages Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, Wu, the Duke of Chou and Confucius so that the later school of our Master Chu will not engage in the affairs of the Han Confucian school.⁴²

This is to say, one may suspect that the Chu school in Wu's time did not measure up because of a lack of the personal experience of cultivation or, following the train of Lu's thought, that as footnotes to one's own ideas the Six Classics were not exhaustive enough. In relying on the works of the Elder and Younger Tai of the Han on the ritual texts, for example, Wu felt that he was very much following the tradition of Chu, who was likened to them.⁴³ It is to be noted, however, that Wu criticized Han Confucians such as Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (179?-104? B.C.) rather vigorously.⁴⁴

In evaluating the uses of philology, Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng would have opposed the moralizing of both Wu and Wang Yang-ming.⁴⁵ In his arrangements of the Annals, Wu in fact indicated instances in the course of events where propriety (li 禮) had been transgressed, clearly a "praise and blame" approach.⁴⁶ Thus while Wang and Wu were reacting against textual pedantry, "against the letter that kills the spirit,"⁴⁷ they could similarly be leveled against K'ang Yu-wei.

When one speaks of the evolution of the k'ao-cheng tradition, Wu was definitely a forerunner. Although he would concur with Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng's skeptical view of classical authority to some extent, this criticism would serve the purpose of Neo-Confucian ideology, as it did in Wang Yang-ming's case. Again, this raises the on-going problem of how one balances critical and metaphysical impulses: the abandonment of textual formalism might open the way for another kind of formalism based on metaphysical abstraction and subjectivist ethics. Although these polarities are not totally reconcilable, it is clear that Wu Ch'eng was aware of the need for balance. No doubt his philosophical and historiographical views were enriched through his classical studies in equal measure.

Notes

1 The biographical information in this first part represents a composite portrait derived from the funeral tablet (shen-tao-pei), record of conduct (or family biography: hsing-chuang), chronological biography (nien-p'u) and the standard treatment in Yüan-shih. All of these appear in Wu wen-cheng kung ch' üan-chi (1756: Ch'ung-jen Wan Huang chiao K'an-pen; abbreviated hereafter as WWC: 1956), ts'e 1, as well as in the last volume of the Wu wen-cheng chi (Ssu-k'u ch' üan-shu chen-pen; abbreviated hereafter as WWC: chen-pen), though for the last two the respective versions in Yü Chi's Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, (SPTK), ts'e 11, 44:2b-14b and the Po-na edition of the dynastic histories, ts'e 51, 171:5a-9a are usually cited. It is to be noted that Yü Chi's hsing-chuang contains extensive information on Wu's classical work in its later pages.

2 These can be found in the Tao-tsang, (Shanghai, 1924-1926), ts'e 392-393 and 497 respectively.

3 Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, ts'e 11, 44:7b-8a.

4 These can be found in T'ung-chih-t'ang ching-chieh, (1863 ed.), ts'e 92-93 and 175-178 respectively.

5 There is a recently published Ssu-k'u ch' üan-shu chen-pen edition of the Ch'un-ch'iu tsuan-yen. The Li-chi tsuan-yen can be found in Ts'ang-shu shih-dan-chung, (1736 ed.), ts'e 30-43.

6 Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, ts'e 11, 44:11b-12v & 13b.

7 Ibid., 13b.

8 WWC: 1756, ts'e 3, 3:22b-23a and Huang Tsung-hsi, et. Al., Sung Yüan hsüeh-an, (Shanghai, 1933), vol. IV, ch. 92, p. 9.

9 WWC: 1756, ts'e 13, 26:9b-11a and Sung Yüan hsüeh-an, vol. IV, ch. 92, pp. 14-15.

10 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 1:8a; cf. Pulleyblank, E. G., "Chinese Historical Criticism: Liu Chih-chi and Ssu-ma Kuang," in Beasley, W. G. & Pulleyblank, E. G., eds., Historians of China and Japan, (London, 1961), p. 159.

11 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 1:8b.

12 Ibid., 1:9a.

13 Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, ts'e 11, 44:4a-4b.

14 Pulleyblank, pp. 149-150.

15 Ibid., pp. 150-151.

16 Ibid., pp. 151-152.

17 Wu K'ang, Les Trois Theories Politiques Du Tch'ouen Ts'ieou, (Paris, 1932), p. 179.

18 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 2:4a.

19 Ibid.

20 WWC: 1756, ts'e 11, 22:2a-2b; Wang Yang-ming, Wang wen-ch'eng kung ch' üan-shu, (SPTK), ts'e 4, 3:80a-81b.

21 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 2:4a.

22 Ibid., 4b-5a.

23 Ibid., 5a.

24 Ibid., ba; cf. Yü Ying-shih, "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," Tsing-hua Journal of Chinese Studies, new series XI (1975), P. 110 where perceptual knowledge is translated as "intellectual knowledge" but, in any case, is distinguished from knowledge based on te-hsing, virtuous nature (translated as "morality"). This would tend to reinforce the idea of consistency in Wu Ch'eng's intellectual outlook since his reconciliation of Chu and Lu involved balancing moral cultivation and the pursuit of knowledge through study (see WWC: 1756, ts'e 12, 23:27a-28b & ts'e 11, 22:1a-3a), two ideas which derive from the Doctrine of the Mean, chapter twenty-seven.

25 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 2:5b-6a.

26 Ibid., 6a.

27 Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, ts'e 11, 44:12b.

28 Pulleyblank, p. 159.

29 Ibid.

30 Hu Shih, "The Scientific Spirit and Methodology in Chinese Philosophy," in Moore, C. A., ed., The Chinese Mind, (Honolulu, 1967), p. 119.

31 Needham, Joseph, Science and Civilization in China, (Cambridge, England, 1956), vol. II, p. 391.

32 Ibid., p. 392.

33 Hu Shih, p. 119 WWC: chen-pen, vol. I, 1:6a.

34 Legge, James, trans., The Chinese Classics, (Hong Kong, 1960), vol. III (Shoo King), preface.

35 Hu Shih, p. 119.

36 Needham, pp. 392-393.

37 Demieville, Paul, "Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng and Historiography," in Beasley and Pulleyblank, Historians of China and Japan, P. 173.

38 Ibid., p. 178.

39 Lu Hsiang-shan, Hsiang-shan hsien-sheng ch' üan-chi, (SPTK), ts'e 8, 34:1b.

40 Demieville, p. 181.

41 Wang wen-ch'eng kung ch' üan-shu, ts'e 6, 7:28a.

42 WWC. Chen-pen, vol. I, 1:12a-12b.

43 Ibid., 1:12a.

44 WWC: 1756, ts'e 11, 22:1a.

45 Demieville, p. 183.

46 Tao-yüan hsüeh ku-lu, ts'e 11, 44:13a.

47 Demieville, p. 183.

MARCO POLO IN CHINA? PROBLEMS WITH INTERNAL EVIDENCE

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The scores of variants which purport to derive from Marco Polo's adventure in Asia between 1271 and 1295 have been closely studied, almost from the beginning of European orientology.¹ Significant discrepancies between extant editions and the continuing absence of an original or even closely contemporary text have made recension both difficult and tentative. It is still impossible to say for sure whether the "original" text was as short as the oldest French codex now known (F)² and subsequently emended by copyists and editors, or long enough to account for the many unique passages in the later editions known as R³ and Z.⁴ Nor can we disentangle the oral and manuscript traditions, definitively assigning to Polo and Rustichello what are theirs respectively. Polo's transcription of Asian names and places has posed a matrix of fundamental problems, and almost wholly occupied the attention of Pauthier, Yule, Charignon and Pelliot. Identification of Polo's transcriptions with places known to us by other names is essentially a matter of triangulation between linguistic and geographic data, but it necessarily involves the authenticity of the descriptive information in the Polo text. Excepting a few uneasy compromises and some genuinely intractable problems, the work of identification is now well advanced, and the general accuracy, if not the specificity, of Polo's descriptions has been confirmed along the way. With the exception of a few wild stories, Polo's data and human geography -- on customs, crops, natural resources, fauna, flora and architecture -- corresponds accurately to what we now know of medieval Asia from other sources. Nevertheless, it has been impossible to forge any direct links between Polo himself and the independently verifiable history of men and events in medieval Asia. The paucity of specific dates in material gathered over a quarter century, wide variation between editions of the text, and the conspicuous absence of corroboration from Asian sources have combined to complicate and frustrate this issue.

It is now widely accepted that Marco Polo did not actually visit many of the specific localities, which are described, in "his book." The best critical work on Polo's itineraries is by Pelliot, refining and superseding Penzer and Yule, but many questions are left unanswered.⁵ Polo himself (or Rustichello) stated at the beginning of The Description of the World that he wished to recount "all the great wonders seen, or heard of as true," but there are few markers in the text to indicate what was seen and what was merely heard, much less where or how. Olschki⁶ has concluded from independent evidence that Polo never visited Baghdad or Mosul, and that he may never have seen Pagan (in Burma), Socotra (in the Arabian Sea) or Abyssinia. Internal evidence makes him doubtful about the interior of the Indian subcontinent, Java, and

individual cities in central and south China. Penzer, Herbert Franke and other scholars have remarked on the curious omissions from Polo's description of China. No mention of tea, which was ubiquitous in China but unknown in Europe until after 1517. No mention of the Chinese system of writing, whose prominence in the Chinese urban landscape is attested by dozens of contemporary handscrolls. Yet it is true (as Marc Bloch argued in another context) that in medieval studies, silence must never be taken for negative proof. That is doubly true in this case, where there is no extant original text and where the hypothetical original was presumably made by the hand of a second party.

Conversely, the bits of evidence which seem (or once seemed) to connect Marco Polo directly with the history of Yüan China are manifestly unsupportable. Polo's claim that he, his father and his uncle were responsible for the construction of catapults which assisted the Mongols in the seige of the city of Hsiang-yang on the Han River between 1268 and 1273 does not square with the date of their presumed arrival at Cublai's court⁷ or with the Chinese sources which identify the engineers by the unmistakably Muxlim names of Ala-ud-din and Ismail. Similarly, Polo's claim that he "ruled" the city of Yang-chou (Yangiu) for three years "by command of the great Kaan" is dubious at best. Four major editions of the Polo narrative omit this claim entirely; the description of Yang-chou is unbelievably laconic to derive from three full years residence; and the Chinese sources are silent about any foreign "ruler" or governor in the last quarter of the 13th century.

Given a pattern of scholarship which has gradually chipped away at the integrity of Polo's itineraries (though not so much at the accuracy of his information), perhaps it is not far-fetched to suggest (as Herbert Franke did ten years ago) that the Polos may never have been in China at all. Franke went on to say, however, that "until definite proof has been adduced that the Polo book is a world description, where the chapters on China are taken from some other, perhaps Persian, source, we must give him the benefit of the doubt and assume that he was there after all."⁸ But the hypothetical Persian source is not the only possible answer. The text itself, with all its problems of pedigree and in all its nearly 120 versions, may still be tapped for some suggestive internal evidence.

For the historian of China the most discomfiting aspect of the descriptive passages on central and south China (S. 105-157) is their formulaic character, their pallor and their shortage of descriptive detail. Consider, for example, the description of Su-chou (Sugiu) in S. 151. In 425 words, we are told that Su-chou is "a very noble city and great," that the inhabitants are "idolaters" and "subject to the rule of the great Kaan," that "they have money of notes and silk in very great citizens." Then "there are quite 6000 bridges of stone;" rhubarb and ginger grow in the mountains; the ginger is so cheap that a Venetian groat would buy forty/sixty/eighty pounds (the texts disagree on such figures.). Su-chou has sixteen/fifteen/twelve "very large important cities of great trade and of great industry under its rule." Then: "The

name of this city which is called Sugiu means to say in French city of the earth, and the name of another city named Quinsai which is near here is called city of the Heaven." Then abruptly the phrase: "Now we will leave Sugiu." End of description. What Polo says, is of course, largely accurate. But the beginning of the description is entirely formulaic: idolaters, subject to the Kaan's rule, who use paper money and live by trade and by crafts. Exactly the same is said of every city in Catai (Polo's north and central China) and Mangi (the former Southern Sung). What distinguishes Su-chou is bridges, rhubarb, cheap ginger and some sort of relationship with nearby Quinsai (Hang-chou). Yet there is not a single visual image to connect observer and observation. The rhubarb is said to grow in the mountains "of the town," but there is no suggestion that Polo saw it growing. And indeed, with the exception of a few hillocks, dominated in Sung and Yüan times by pagodas and towers, "mountains" are some distance from the city. Ginger, on the other hand, is described in terms of its value, but there is no further suggestion that Polo saw it in the marketplace. And from the laconic mention of bridges, we are actually forced to deduce canals, which were and are the dominant feature of Su-chou's topography. There is no rhetorical signal that Polo himself actually saw either a bridge or a canal. The text says that "philosophers and great natural physicians" inhabited Su-chou along with the ubiquitous merchants and craftsmen. Philosophers are presumably scholars and scholar-officials, who displayed an uncommon fondness for Su-chou throughout the later Empire. But there is no hint in the text that Polo saw where and how these scholars lived in Su-chou: surrounded by lavish gardens whose design imitated the natural landscape. Finally, the exegesis on the nomenclature of Su-chou and Hang-chou argues strongly for information gathered at second or third hand. Polo's interpretation is wrong -- Su-chou does not mean "city of the Earth." But the mistake seems to derive from the common Chinese couplet: In heaven there is the celestial Hall; on earth there is Su[-chou] and Hang[-chou]. (Shang yu t'ien t'ang, hsia yu Su Hang.) Polo has it too twisted to have heard it from a Chinese, but the possibility for this confusion at second or third hand is easy to imagine.

The problem with Polo's Su-chou is not just inexplicable silences superimposed on essentially accurate data; it is rather the difficulty of understanding how Polo could actually have seen what he records without giving any sense of how the pieces fit together. It is not sufficient to conclude with Olschki that Polo was not attempting to tell the story of his travels but to write (or have written) "a treatise of empirical geography" where formulaic description plays a positive, scientific role. After all, other sections of the Polo narrative show a far greater vitality of descriptive image, more detail and at least a few rhetorical markers which imply physical presence and direct observation.

Sections 76-104 immediately preceding those on central and south China tell the story of Cublai and describe an area extending from the Mongolian steppe to the north China plain. The vivid and compelling descriptions of Cublai himself, his palaces at Ciandu (*Shang-tu = K'ai = p'ing fu) and Cambaluc (= Hanibaliq = Peking), his seasonal hunts and the feasts of the Mongol year contrast sharply with the insipid imagery and

hollow grandiosity which mark S.105-157 on south and central China. Of Cublai we are told in part that he is "of good and fair size," that his face is white "and partly shining red like the color of a beautiful rose, which makes him appear very pleasing, and he has the eyes black and beautiful, and the nose well made and well set." (S. 82) S. 89 describes the new year's feast: the Kaan and all his subjects dressed in white robes, gifts exchanged among themselves and made to the Kaan of silvery and pearl and white cloth, the Kaan's barons and knights embracing and greeting each other as they exchange gifts, white camels and horses given to the Kaan ("if they are not altogether white, they are at least white for the greater part, and very many white horses are found in those countries"); a parade of the Kaan's elephants and camels "covered with beautiful white cloths worked artificially and richly in gold and in silk, with many other beasts and with birds and lions embroidered." And on the morning of the festival, "all the kings and princes and all the dukes and marquesses, and all the counts and barons and knights and astrologers, and philosophers and physicians and falconers, and many other officials of the king, captains and rulers of lands and of armies come into the great hall before the lord, and those who by reason of the multitude do not achieve this stay outside the palace in the halls at the side, in such place that the great lord, who sits on a throne can see them all well." And then the text describes the protocol of seating and how "a great wise ancient man, as one might say, a great prelate stands up in the middle" and intones the liturgy of the feast. And the ceremony is described step by step, through the feast itself to the "musicians and jugglers and buffoons" who come to amuse the court when the meal is done.

The Kaan's hunts are as well described. In S. 93, the text says: "The lord and his barons stay in the middle of the great plain where the hunt is made. They form a long line and place themselves through the breadth of the fields so that they are so far extended that they hold more than a day's march of country." Thus arrayed "they come drawing themselves one toward the other, all coming towards the lord, and so go forward with the hunt, and loose the dogs which they hold at the wild beasts. . . . it is too beautiful a thing and very delightful to those who take pleasure in these hunts to see the chase and the way of those dogs . . . chasing after bears, boars and stags and other beasts and taking them here and there both on the one side and on the other. . . and the great Kaan takes great delight in it." In S. 94 the Kaan goes king, lying in an enclosure which is carried on the back of an elephant, "because Kaan is troubled with the gout." The Kaan is entertained by barons and women who ride around him until appropriate prey is sighted. When it is, the accompanying falconers "immediately cry out and say to him, Sir, the cranes are passing, and the great lord immediately has the [enclosure] uncovered above, has those gerfalcons taken which he wishes and lets them go after those cranes. And those gerfalcons often take the cranes and kill before him, fighting with them for a long time. And he sees it always lying on his couch, and it is a very great amusement to him."

It is not merely the wealth of detail in these passages which contrasts with the descriptive material on south China, but the vitality of the descriptive imagery. The repeated use of indirect discourse, however unreliable, tends to enhance this effect, as do indications of physical perspective on things or events described -- e. g., how the Kaan from his throne sees the assembled multitude for the new year's

feast, or how he uncovers his palanquin to stare upward at the gerfalcons and cranes fighting in the sky. Occasionally, Polo even gives the impression of struggling for words to convey an image, then using two or three, no one precise, but proximate in combination: all the kings and princes and dukes and marquesses and so forth; or the great ancient wise man, "as one might say, a prelate."

Then, too, S. 76-104 are sprinkled with two kinds of rhetorical marker, inconclusive of themselves, but tending to establish a potential connection between observer and observation. The first of these are Persian or Turko-Mongol words, which are cited in the text as vernacular equivalents for Franco-Italian approximations. Examples are Polo's toscaor, from the Turkish tosqual meaning road watchman; Polo's bularquci, from the Mongol bularquci meaning "one charged with the care of lost property;" cuuucci, from the Mongol guqukci, meaning runners; and guesitan, from the Mongol kasiktan, meaning "the watch." The Polian transcriptions are remarkably regular (though Pelliot has reconstructed hypothetical "original" transcriptions to make them more regular still), and generally accurate in their reference. Chinese vernacular is almost never cited in S. 105-157 except for place names, whose transcription usually reflects a prior transformation through Persian or Turko-Mongolian. Pelliot and Olschki see in this evidence that Polo knew Persian and Mongolian but not Chinese, which is almost certainly true, but the evidence can be further stretched; Polo may have seen and heard China through Altaic eyes and ears; almost certainly he saw Mongolia directly.

The second kinds of marker are passages where description is rendered, not disembodied and abstracted (however accurately) but as an observer would have seen it. A good example is the rectangularity of the new city Cublai built at Peking (obviously on the north Chinese model). After first explaining that the city is "exactly square by line" -- an analytical description -- the text goes on to say: "the main streets from one side to the other of the town are drawn out straight as a thread and are so straight and so broad that if anyone mount on the wall at one gate and look straight, one sees from the one side to the other side, opposite to that." Or again in S. 95: "You may know that there are as many suburbs as gates [in Peking], which are very large, so that the suburb of each gate touches the suburbs of the gates man who could tell the number [of inhabitants]." So often in the China sections, Polo cites a figure (and each edition has it differently) which could not possibly have been calculated from direct observation but only from hearsay; here he recites what could in fact have been observed, and admits ignorance of aggregate, analytical figures.

This effort to establish a connection between observer and observation is related to the problem of Polo's socialization. If S. 105-157 do in fact result from itineraries actually travelled and observations actually made, it should be possible to rediscover the capacity in which Polo travelled, the purpose his trips were intended to serve, and the nature of his accompaniment. The stated explanation (in S. 16) is that Cublai was so impressed with Marco's mastery of Mongol custom, language, letters and archery, and by his wisdom, prudence and valor, that he "sent him messenger on some important royal business" to Caragian (Yün-nan). He performed so

well, according to the text (a late Latin edition [VB] p adds: "beyond the wont of the other ambassadors who had been sent before") that Cublai thereafter "set him over all his embassies." So for the next 17 years, Polo went "hither and thither through different countries wherever the lord sent him . . . and so brought him back news from all parts." (S. 17) Unfortunately, this explanation is both logically and historically insufficient. Logically, it is difficult to lend credence to the claim that a Venetian boy of 22 years on his first trip outside Europe should, by sheer talent and perspicacity, have been selected to replace all other "ambassadors" to transact Cublai's business in East and Southeast Asia. Cublai's court, after all, was rich in human resources -- Chinese like Liu Ping-chung and Hsü Heng, hundreds of Khitan left over from the Chin, multi-lingual Central Asians such as the Uighur Turks -- and Cublai himself was a relatively unnomadic, sinified man who drew heavily from Chin and Sung to build a sophisticated administration in East Asia. Furthermore, there is little evidence in the text of S. 105-157 to support the proposition that Polo's data could have been valuable to Cublai. It is too spotty and too bland. It could not have been useful as military intelligence. Even granting that some puzzling identifications may involve only the European transmission of the text, the geographical information is far less precise than information from Chinese sources and from living Chinese really available to the Mongol court. The ethnographic data could not have been especially novel either. We must assume that S. 105-157 are built of the same information and the same perspective which Polo would have presented at Peking, differing in form or emphasis perhaps, but essentially the same; and we are forced to admit that the Mongol court knew it all and better from other sources. Though it is pure speculation, it is far easier to envisage Marco Polo attached for 17 years to Cublai's court, moving seasonally from Peking to K'ai-p'ing fu, participating in the hunting and hawking which he so vividly describes, diverting and informing the Kaan and his court with stories of Europe, and listening to merchants, travellers and envoys of all kinds who moved through and beyond Peking.

In this connection, the structure of the Polo text is not without importance. It is a description of the world superimposed upon the story of a trip from Venice to Peking. That trip, which was actually the return leg of an embassy which the elder Polos undertook from Cublai to the Pope, fits satisfactorily with the death of Pope Clement IV in 1268, and the installation of Tebaldo Visconti, papal legate at Liai, as Gregory X in 1271 and is independently verifiable. Geographical information about the Near East and Central Asia is worked around the outbound itinerary. Information about China is similarly woven around at least two and possibly three "itineraries" purportedly travelled by Marco alone (the elder Polos disappear from these sections of the story), justified as "embassies" on behalf of the Kaan. Accounts of Japan, Southeast Asia and India are tied to the Polos' return trip by sea, during which they were supposed to have escorted a new bride for the Persian Il-khan Arghun. (The sea voyage raises serious problems analogous to those posed by central and south China, but they are beyond the scope of this paper.)

Obviously, Cublai's court is the nexus of the story. We have already remarked on the relatively greater wealth of detail and visual imagery which seems to characterize the descriptions of K'ai-p'ing fu and Peking, but it may even be more important to notice how systematically the last chapters on Peking develop the theme

of Mongol centrality. Polo says: "There is not a place in the world to which so many merchants come and dearer things and of greater value and more strange things come into this town . . . than into any city of the world." Precious stones and pearls, silk and spicery from "Indie," and "all the beautiful things from the province of Catai and Mangi." According to the text this is because of the size and wealth of the court and because the city is in "too good a position and is in the middle of many provinces." Polo introduces paper money, which will be a staple in the formulaic description of Chinese cities, in S. 96 on Peking. The Kaan, he says, "has [the notes] distributed through all the provinces and kingdoms." S. 97 describes the network of "thai" (probably from the Chinese yü-shih t'ai or censorate) and "scieng" (from the sheng of chung-shu sheng) who oversee the Kaan's rule of China; S. 98 describes a pinwheel of roads "which leave this town of Cambaluc . . . and go through many different regions and provinces separately. And all the roads are distinguished with the name of the province where to they go." And the postal relay system, such that "the messengers and ambassadors of the great lord go and come in all directions through all provinces and kingdoms and other parts under his rule with great convenience and ease." Polo describes the transmission of messages, the relay of news, and even the shipment of fruit, by messenger, from south China to Peking. In S. 99 the information network is further elaborated. Polo says the Kaan sends messengers and inspectors regularly to check on crops, harvests, flocks and tax revenue. Finally in S. 100, the text describes the roads themselves, lined with trees to comfort weary travellers and prevent the unwary from losing their way. It all amounts to a concentric, radiant world centered on Peking, with people, goods and information in constant motion to and from the center.

Can we postulate that Polo spent most of the period between 1275 and 1292 at Cublai's court, tapping the information network he describes so well for the data he subsequently records? If so, it is then relatively easy to account for his substantive accuracy, his occasional errors, the murkiness of the itineraries, the intractable difficulty with identifications like Caiciu (Chieh-chou or Chi-chou or Chiang-chou) or Caguy (theoretically on the north shore of the Huang-ho opposite Huai-an), the absence of visual imagery, the routinization of descriptions, the "puzzling" silences, the misunderstanding of Chinese words, and the apparently Persian or Turko-Mongol transcription of names. The character of the China description would then be reflecting the interests and perspective of a European working through a Mongol network, observing in effect through a combination of Mongol, Turkish and Persian eyes. The history of China and of several kingdoms in Southeast Asia is little more than the history of the Mongol conquest for Polo, and that would make sense. Aspects of Chinese custom more or less adopted in Mongol usage by (Cublai's time lose their Chineseness in Polo's account, and that too would make sense. So would the distinction of the cities and provinces of Catai and Mangi primarily for their produce, and for a few landmarks, rather than the color of the landscape. The texture of China would be naturally blurred in the transmission of information, the obvious omitted, and the commonplace made formulaic even though a wealth of data, most of it stranger and more wonderful than fiction and quite unknown in Europe, would be accurately recorded. And that is consistent with what we know of the flow of information in medieval Eurasia. If Polo reached Peking, he

could have told us what he does about China without further travel; indeed, the peculiar character of his descriptions is more easily explained if he was not really there. But, conversely, he could not have told us what he does on the basis of information available in Europe or in the trading cities on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. That required Peking or, at the very least, some other central Asian point of contact with the information net fostered and enjoyed by the Mongols.

It may not be entirely foolish to suggest that Polo's China itineraries are a purely heuristic device to establish a sequence for the geographical and descriptive information gleaned from accounts told him and perhaps even read in Peking. If so, the device was probably chosen for two reasons: first, the Polos did make an extraordinary trip across Eurasia, at least as far as Peking, so that the itineraries were a natural extension of real facts; second, because the itineraries lent a shred of credibility to a highly vulnerable account. We know that Polo's account was widely disbelieved in Europe for a century and a half, until the eve of the Age of Discovery. Some commentators have argued that the name Il Milione, by which Polo and his book were widely known in Italy and which today remains the standard Italian title for The Description of the World, was in fact an epithet for his exaggeration and the wildness of his tales. In any case it is clear from the Prologue and from phraseology throughout, that Polo himself (and/or Rustichello) was concerned to be believed. He had been scrupulous at all points, he wrote, "so that no hot of falsehood may mar the Truth of our book, and that all who read it or hear it read may put full faith in the truth of all its contents." Itineraries lent the flavor of memoir to a world description and gave outward parity to what was seen and what was heard.

Polo studies are out of fashion now, but new information may yet clear the air. Textual or archaeological discoveries may link Polo definitively with one or more Asian locations. An "original" text of the manuscript may yet surface, permitting more certain recension. But for the moment perhaps we can admit that the general accuracy of the China descriptions is no proof of eyewitness account, that a century extremely erudite scholarship has failed to reconstruct the China itineraries completely, that many sections of the China description are inexplicable from the viewpoint of observer and observation, that the socialization claimed for Polo by text itself is wholly inconsistent with the character of the descriptive data, that the data as it stands could have been assembled in Peking (though not in Europe), that the text itself explains how. Further than that we probably cannot go.

NOTES

1. Citations in this paper are from the composite English edition by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot, Marco Polo: The Description of the World (2 vols.), London, 1938.
2. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (France) B. N. fr. 1116.
3. In Nauigationi et Viaggi. Vol. 2. 1559.
4. Biblioteca Catedral, Toledo (Spain) 49, 20.
5. See N. M. Penzer, The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo, London, 1929; Henry Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East (2 vols.) with additions by H. Cordier (1903) and with a third volume of notes and additions by H. Cordier (1920); Paul Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo (2 vols.), Paris, 1940 and 1963.
6. Leonardo Olschki, Marco Polo's Asia: An Introduction to his "Description of the World" called "Il Milione." Berkeley, 1960; and previous writings on Polo cited within.
7. For convenience, and so that my text will be consistent with citations from Polo, most Chinese and all Mongol terms and places have been transcribed as they are in the Moule-Pelliot composite English text. Thus Cublai for Qubilai, etc.
8. Herbert Franke, "Sino-Western Relations under the Mongol Empire" in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, HongKong Branch, VI (1966), 49-72.
9. British Museum, London (England) Sloane 251.

THE CAREER OF MUQALI: A REASSESSMENT*

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For a long time East Asian and Central Asian history have suffered from a lack of rigorous historical criticism based on an objective evaluation of written evidence. Although this situation has improved markedly during the last decades with regard to East Asian history, the same cannot be said about Central Asian history, especially for those aspects that rely heavily on sources in Chinese. From almost any point of view, the most neglected aspect is the history of the Chingizid empire in general, and the history of the early Yüan dynasty in particular. It is remarkable indeed that an emperor like Qubilai still has no biographical study, even though there is a general agreement that his reign was an exceptional one. Even the career of Chinggis-qan needs to be re-examined. Many a book has been devoted to him, but a biographical study employing the highest scholarly standards still awaits its author.¹

A critical approach to the basic sources for Mongol history leads to substantial new insights and conclusions and requires that many paragraphs in Mongol history be rewritten. For the period from Chinggis-qan's rise to power until the death of Muqali, it has been assumed by some scholars that the material in Chinese does not contain much information. The examination of contemporary and near-contemporary sources in Chinese forces the conclusion that this assumption is false. Thus new investigations, using new investigative techniques, in particular those of historical criticism, are necessary.² As a prolegomena to this project, a re-examination of the career of Chinggis-qan's commander for the North China campaign, Muqali (1170-1223) has been undertaken.

Mongol historiography of the post-imperial period had glorified the career of Muqali and made him the Great Hero of the Mongol conquest of North China. The role assigned to him is that of the best commander, ranked immediately after the World-Conqueror himself. Accounts in the

Erdeni-yin tobči, the Altan Tobči, the Bolor Erike, the Kökö Sudur and the Altan kürdün mingqan gegesütü bičig, for example, give the clear impression that the careers of commanders such as ebe and Sübüda were dwarfed, even in the eyes of Chinggis-qan, by the actions of Muqali in North China. That Muqali had an important role cannot be denied for, after all, the Mongols' primary target was North China. However, taking into consideration the fact that the Jürčen empire was not destroyed until 1234, fully eleven years after Muqali's death, it is legitimate to question the validity of these statements.³

When, after the 1206 quriltai, it was decided to expand the empire and to turn against the Jürčen dynasty, the Mongols faced a choice between two attack routes. One was through the Gobi desert, while the other was across Tangut territory, i. e., through the Kansu corridor. The latter route was, of course, the most practical one, but it involved convincing the powerful Tangut to join the Mongol side. An initial campaign against them was launched late in 1206, a campaign most frequently described as Chinggis-qan's conquest of Tibet.⁴ This campaign did not produce any substantial results. A second campaign took place in 1209 and, as a consequence, the Tangut recognized Mongol suzerainty and promised military assistance. In so doing, the Tangut broke a friendship treaty with the Jürčen, a treaty that had existed since 1124.

With the Tangut on his side, Chinggis-qan was then in a position to launch a coordinated attack on the Jürčen. The first phase of the campaign, which lasted about three years, was extremely successful, probably much more so than had been anticipated by Chinggis-qan and the Mongols. In 1214, the Mongol emperor returned to the steppe and gave Muqali the task of consolidating the conquest of Liaotung. By plotting the conquered places on the detailed maps of the Aerospace Center of the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency, this writer has determined that the strategic idea behind the first phase of the campaign was not an all-out conquest of the Jürčen domain, but the securing of adequate supply and penetration lines for a final onslaught at some later time.

Muqali's consolidation campaign lasted until 1218. During this period several Chinese, Ch'i-tan and Jürčen officials joined Muqali and the Mongols.

At the same time, the Tangut actively supported the Mongols against their erstwhile allies. In 1218, Chinggis-qan was planning his Western Campaign, and he gave Muqali command over North China affairs. Yet there is no indication that Chinggis-qan ordered Muqali to conquer the remaining Jürčēn domains. The orders Muqali received apparently concerned only the consolidation of Mongol rule over its newly won territories pending Chinggis-qan's return from Qwarezm. All indications are that Chinggis-qan did not expect the Western Campaign to last a long time; it was considered a mere punitive raid in retaliation for the assassination of the Mongol mission.⁵

Once again, map plotting of Muqali's movements clearly indicate that, until 1220, Muqali was primarily involved in consolidation operations, with only occasional forays into unconquered Jürčēn territory. Via the Tangut domain and with Tangut assistance, a few raids were also made into Southern Sung territory. After 1220, and apparently on his own authority, Muqali expanded his campaign in a southerly direction. His decision to do so was most likely based on the fact that all his previous attacks had shown a weakened Jürčēn state. In the spring of 1221, the Mongols under Muqali began to move in the direction of K'ai-feng. From that point on, the Mongols suffered regular and serious setbacks. Muqali had vastly underestimated the resources still available to the Jürčēn as well as their morale. Without the military skills of such commanders as Mongka-buqa,⁶ Shih T'ien-ying and others, the Mongols might actually have been driven out of the territory they already occupied.

It is at this point that two major aspects of Mongol history need to be re-examined, first, the nature of the Western Campaign launched by Chinggis-qan, and, second, the nature of Tangut - Mongol relations. As to the nature of the Western Campaign, the evidence clearly suggests that in 1218 no permanent occupation of Qwarezm was envisioned, nor any campaigns beyond it.⁷ In essence, the Mongol penetration of the Middle East was a chance conquest, a direct consequence of the ease with which the Mongol armies had been able to defeat the Muslim armies. The Tangut refused to provide Chinggis-qan military assistance for his Western campaign, a refusal

which traditionally is said to be the cause of the second Mongol - Tangut war. In fact, Tangut refusal was based on their already heavy involvement in supplying the Mongols in North China, as well as in raids against both Jürčēn and Sung territories.⁸

In the fall of 1222, the Tangut did offer to provide Muqali with 50,000 supplementary men for the North China battlefield. It is clear that if they had broken their alliance with the Mongols in 1218, they were not going to make such an offer to Muqali in 1222. The offer must be interpreted as a commitment of the Tangut to the terms of the 1209 agreement and as aid to the faltering efforts of the Mongols against several strategic Jürčēn strongholds. The Tangut were well acquainted with the region and had extensive experience not only in cavalry warfare, but also in siege warfare. Although Muqali laid siege to several cities, siege warfare was not the strongest point of his army.⁹

It is not known whether Muqali accepted the Tangut offer nor are his relations with the Tangut known. During the year 1222, however, his forces suffered several major setbacks, and it appears that the Jürčēn might have been able to halt the Mongol advance and maybe re-establish themselves. At that point it was four years since Chinggis-qan had set out for the Middle East. In the Tangut state, resentment against high-handed Mongol overlordship began to take on serious proportions. The Tangut, who had submitted to the Mongol under duress in 1209, decided to rejoin their former allies, the Jürčēn, in their fight against the Mongols. The Tangut defection, which took place in the middle of 1222, presented a very serious threat to Mongol supply and communication lines.¹⁰ Immediately after he was informed of the Tangut defection, Muqali took measures to protect these lines and prepared for an attack on Tangut territory. The first attack occurred in November 1222 and was by no means a Mongol success.¹¹ Throughout the winter and the spring of 1223, Muqali's forces continued their attempts to penetrate Tangut territory while maintaining a defensive posture against the Jürčēn. The latter were indeed on

the offensive, and in the winter of 1222 they defeated a force commanded by Shih T'ien-ying, who lost his life during the battle.¹²

Early in 1222, Muqali had received from Chinggis-qan full command over the North China campaign, including the conquest of the remaining Jürčen territories. Shortly after he learned about the Tangur defection, Muqali must have reported to Chinggis-qan about the increasingly critical situation. In order to assure his supply lines through Tangut territory, Muqali was forced to let the Jürčen regroup and reconsolidate. The Tangut campaigns, however, were not very successful, and in April 1223 Muqali died of an illness while on campaign in Tangut territory.¹³ Bōl, Muqali's twenty-six year old son, assumed his father's functions and continued the campaign. He concentrates his efforts on the Tangut aspect of the war, while his deputy, Daisan, conducted the war in Jürčen territory. In the late fall of 1224, after defeating a Tangut army and sacking the important Tangut city of Yin-chou, Bōl returned to Mongolia to pay his respects to Chinggis-qan who had returned from a very successful campaign in the Middle East.

Chinggis-qan must have learned about the Tangut defection towards the end of 1222 and of Muqali's death during the summer of 1223. This chronology would help to explain his decision to return to Mongolia via the well-known routes from Samarqand rather than through unknown and unfamiliar Tibet. During the meetings held in Mongolia during the winter of 1224, it was decided to proceed with a final attack against both the Tangut and the Jürčen.¹⁴ The destruction was to be very thorough and very methodical, first the Tangut, then the Jürčen. The entire Mongol army was under Chinggis-qan's direct command. The destruction of the Jürčen empire followed several years later, accomplished by the second Mongol emperor Ögödäi.

This brief examination of Muqali's career clearly points to the need to revise the existing account of the reign of Chinggis-qan, a revision that should be based on all the sources for Mongol history and take into account many more Chinese sources than had been the case up to the present.¹⁵ It also shown that, even though the role of Muqali in the conquest of North China was important, the contemporary sources, in sharp contrast to Mongol historiography from the seventeenth century on, do not consider him the "Great Hero." The development of these image points to another, directly related problem, namely the predominance of China in later Mongol historiography dealing with the Chingizid empire, a historiographical tradition that virtually ignores the Il-khan and the Golden Horde. It is then clear that material such as, for example, the Erdeni-yin tobči and the Altan tobči, cannot be used for any scholarly study of the reign of Chinggis-qan.

NOTES

*Edited version of a paper presented at the 29th Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York, March 27, 1977. It is based upon a forthcoming detailed biography of Muqali.

1. L. Kwanten, "For a New Biography of Chinggis Khan," Mongolizn Studies, vol.3, 1976, pp. 126-130. A detailed revision of many aspects of the history of the Mongol empire is provided in L. Kwanten, Imperial Nomads. A History of the Central Asian Steppe, 500 - 1500 A.D., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press (in press).

2. As defined in L. E. Halkin, Introduction a la critique historique (Paris, 1951), pp. 13-36.

3. This is all the more necessary as western scholarship has accepted the "Great Hero" interpretation. H. Desmond Martin, The Rise of Chinggis Khan and His Conquest of North China (Baltimore, 1950), chapter IX, is still the standard account of Muqali's career. It is essentially a poor paraphrase of his official biography in the Yüan shih, to which have been added, without critical comment, explanations and elaboration found on 19th and 20th century works. A much better account has been provided by I. de Rachewiltz, "Muqali, B I, Tas and An-t'ung," Papers on Far Eastern History, no. 15, 1977, pp. 45-62.

4. For the erroneous nature of this date, see L. Kwanten, "Chinggis Khan's Conquest of Tibet: Myth or Reality," Journal of Asian History, vol. 8, 1974. pp. 1-22.

5. J. A. Boyle, transl., The History of the World-Conqueror by 'Ala-ad-Din 'Ata-Malik Juvaini, (Manchester, 1958), pp. 77-81.

6. Although Mongkä-buqa played an important role in the conquest of North China, he does not have a biography in the Yüan shih and information about him must be culled from the biographies of the other commanders associated with Muqali. There is a brief note on him in Tseng Lien, Yüan Shu (1911), ch'üan 32:8a-9a.

7. The direct cause of the attack on Qwarezm was the murder by Inalčiq of the trade envoys sent by Chinggis-qan. Juvaini attributes to Chinggis-qan the following statement, "I was not the author of this trouble; grant me strength to exact vengeance." J. A. Boyle, op. cit., pp. 80-81. The Secret History of the Mongols, para. 254, gives the same cause for the Western campaign. Neither the Secret History of the Mongols, the Sheng-wu ch'in-cheng-lu or the Yüan shih, ch'üan I describe a planned conquest, only a punitive action against Qwarezm.

8. The Tangut refusal is given in the Secret History of the Mongols, para. 265. Juvaini, J. A. Boyle, op. cit., p. 139 states that on account of Chinggis-qan's prolonged absence, the Tanguts wavered between submission and insurrection. More details are given in L. Kwanten, Imperial Nomads, Chapter VI, subchapter, "The Second Tangut War."

9. These events are detailed in L. Kwanten, Imperial Nomads, Chap. VI, subchapter, "The Conquest of North China."

10. The date can be inferred from both Juvaini and from Muqali's biography, Yüan shih (Po-na ed.) 119:5b, entry for the year jen-wu.

11. Yüan shih (Po-na ed.) 1:21b. A series of small towns on the present-day border between Kansu and Shensi were attacked, unsuccessfully.

12. Yüan shih (Po-na ed.) 119:6a; 149:19b.

13. I. de Rachewiltz, op. cit., p. 53 states the place of death as Wen-hsi-hsien, Shansi, but fails to mention that, at that time, it was still under Tangut control.

14. These events are detailed in the biography of Böl, Muqali's son. I. de Rachewiltz, op. cit., p. 54ff; Yüan shih (Po-na ed.), ch'üan 119:8b-10a.

15. L. Kwanten, "Fuentes para el estudio de la historia de Mongolia," Estudios de Asia y Africa del Norte, Vol, XII, no. 1, 1977, pp. 37-66.

KO LI-FANG'S SUBTLE CRITIQUES ON POETRY

Jonathan Chaves

"I must Create a System," exclaimed William Blake, "or be enslav'd by another Man's." (Jerusalem, 10) It seems to me that students of literature today are indeed in danger of being enslaved by one or another of the increasingly abstruse and esoteric systems of literary criticism which seem to appear almost by the month. Faced with a proliferation of fallacies to avoid and metaphysical or linguistic analyses to wrestle with, the would-be critic can only plunge into the mass of recent publications in the field, hoping to stay afloat, or find some kind of alternative-- if not a full-fledged system of his own, then at least some work-able approach to the enhancement of our experience of literature, which should, after all, be the goal of literary criticism.

To this end, I would urge the serious study as a genre of the Chinese shih-hua 詩話 ("comments on poetry"--collections of individual writers' comments on poems and poetry). With the exception of Günther Debon's excellent study of the Ts'ang-lang shih-hua, published in 1962,¹ and a handful of scattered articles, Western scholars have generally avoided this material, even regarding it with certain contempt. This is in keeping with the feeling of many traditional Chinese critics that, when the classic shih-hua arose in the Sung dynasty, poetry itself declined. When the shih-hua are taken into consideration at all, it is usually to serve some larger purpose, as in James J.Y. Liu's recent book, Chinese Theories of Literature (Chicago, 1975). Despite the obvious brilliance of this book, I must agree with Stephen Owen that its systematic program tends "to overwhelm [the] material;"² in other words, the shih-hua continue to be considered inadequate unless they are legitimized by a process of dissection followed by their (re)integration into some grandiose, logical scheme.

My own feeling is that the time has come to put the cart behind the horse again, to recognize the primacy of literature itself over critical systems. I find that the shih-hua actually encourage such an enterprise, as their entries always take the form of comments on poetry, often of considerable insight, which have the effect of sending us back to the poetry with enhanced understanding. I would further argue that some of the best of the shih-hua texts (among which I would include the best-known, Ts'ang-lang shih-hua) are in fact not as lacking in structure as is commonly thought. To demonstrate this point, I would like to examine here a work which I have found to be among the most useful and interesting of the shih-hua, the Yün-yü yang-ch'iu 韻語陽秋 of Ko Li-fang 葛立方.³ A comprehensive study of this, one of the lengthiest shih-hua (twenty chüan, covering 134 fourfold pages in the Martin edition) would require a long paper or even a book. All I intend here is to give some idea of Ko's concerns as a critic and, primarily, to show that the kind of criticism found in his work is of value in and of itself.

Little is known of Ko's life. He obtained the chin-shih degree in 1138, held the usual official posts, retired in 1156, completed the Yün-yü yang-ch'iu (hereafter YYYY) in 1163, and died the following year, 1164.⁴ In addition to YYYY, we have a collection of his other writings, primarily poetry: Küei-yü chi 歸愚集 (in Ch'ang-chou hsien-che i-shu 常州先哲遺書), which includes four chüan of shih, one of tz'u, poetry in the Sao manner, various prose documents, colophons, etc. (a total of ten chüan with a Section of addenda, pu-i 補遺). Ko's father, Ko Sheng-chung 勝仲 (1072-1144), was himself a noted poet who knew the great poet Ch'en Yü-i 陳與義 (1090-1138) and whose own collected writings also survive.⁵ Indeed, as Ko Li-fang proudly notes,⁶ this was a family distinguished by both its scholar-officials and literati (Ko traces the immediate traditions to the elder brother of his great-grandfather).

The title, Yün-yü yang-ch'iu, calls for explanation. Ko's preface refers to the Chin shu 晉書 biography of Ch'u P'ou 褚裒 (Chin shu, ch. 93), in which it is said that Ch'u "kept to himself subtle judgments of praise and blame" 皮裏陽秋 (with respect to people's characters). The word yang here substitutes for the expected ch'un 春 (as in the title of the Confucian classic, Ch'un ch'iu 春秋, The Spring and Autumn Annals, in which Confucius supposedly expresses subtle judgments of political events) because the latter character was tabooed out of respect for the chief consort of Emperor Chien-wen of the Chin dynasty (r.371-372). Yün-yü, "rhymed language," would be a flowery expression for "poetry." Hence, for the entire title, we get something like Subtle Critiques on Poetry.

The actual contents of YYYY are, at first sight, varied to the point of near-chaos, as is frequently the case in shih-hua literature. As long ago as 1939, however, Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞 noted that there is some method in the apparent madness. His description of the contents of the individual chapters is worth translating:⁷

- Chs.1, 2: Poetic method and form
- Chs.3, 4: Poetic skills
- Chs.5, 6: Emphasis on textual criticism
- Chs.7, 8: Many excursions into allusion
- Chs.9, 10: Mostly on works which discuss history
- Ch. 11: Vicissitudes of official careers
- Ch. 12: Principles of enlightened views on life and death
- Ch. 13: Emphasis on geography
- Ch. 14: Mostly discusses calligraphy and painting
- Ch. 15: Music and dance
- Ch. 16: Flowers, birds, fish
- Ch. 17: Medicine, divination, miscellaneous arts
- Ch. 18: Recognition of [talented] men
- Chs. 19, 20: Festivals, customs, drinking and eating, matters pertaining to women

Kuo further states that "Ko seems to have had some difficulty in defining his categories clearly, so he did not actually entitle the chapters in this way, but on the whole they naturally fall into such a classification."⁸

Kuo's analysis, while largely accurate, calls for some refinement. As the first six chapters of the book are too miscellaneous in content to be easily categorized, Kuo's descriptions are serviceable. In these early chapters, perhaps, we see Ko Li-fang making the reader aware of his attitudes toward poetics in general. From chapter 7, however, concentration on a specific type of subject matter by chapter can be discerned and continues fairly consistently until the end. Chapters 7 and 8 are entirely concerned with poems on historical matters (poems as sources for solving controversial problems of history) and loyal and disloyal ministers and others (poetry as a tool for appraising the characters of various people, in the familiar Confucian tradition). Chapters 9 and 10 continue in the same vein, emphasizing increasingly the use of poetry as a basis for the discussion of Confucian virtues and the Confucian conception of human relationships. Kuo's characterizations of these chapters (7-10) are inadequate.

With chapter 11, the focus narrows still further, while the philosophical underpinning remains Confucian. The penultimate entry in this chapter, on the eccentric poet Wang Chi 王績 (d.644), refers to Wang's interest in Buddhism⁹ and thus serves as a bridge to chapter 12, which deals entirely with the relationship of various poets with Buddhist and Taoist philosophy (a point barely hinted at in Kuo's description of the chapter). Chapters 13 through 17 each deal with specific themes in poetry, both using poems as sources for the study of these subjects and exploring the poems for their innate literary value. Chapter 18 returns to a Confucian theme, the recognition of talented men (with particular reference to the examination system as reflected in poetry). Chapter 19 is as described by Kuo, dealing with various remaining subjects, while chapter 20 begins with miscellaneous matters and ends with a sequence of entries on the theme of poverty in poetry, referring mostly to Tu Fu.

It is evident that Ko Li-fang was a man of many interests, and this is reflected in the overall structure of YYYY. I believe we can speak of structure here, although it is obviously not the tightly woven fabric of a contemporary book of literary criticism. There is, however, a sense of development. The book opens with a parallel couplet from the Wen fu of Lu Chi:

He spurns the morning blossom, now full blown:
he plucks the evening bud, which has yet to open.

(translation of Achilles Fang¹⁰)

Surely Ko is consciously setting an exalted tone for the opening of his own book on poetry by quoting from Lu Chi's masterpiece. And the particular lines appropriately conjure up the creative poet looking forward in time. After this, we have six

chapters on poetics which lead into a sequence of five (7-11) relating poetry to various Confucian concerns. With the book half over, Buddhism and Taoism are introduced in chapter 12, quite dramatically because of the Confucian emphasis until this point. The next five chapters (13-17) demonstrate in considerable detail the richness of subject matter dealt with by poets, while only in the final three chapters is the sense of underlying unity somewhat shaken. (Did Ko feel his end approaching and somehow lose his touch? It is of interest that the last few entries concentrate on the poverty experienced by Ko's favorite poet, Tu Fu.)

But the real glory of YYYY, as of the entire shih-hua literature at its best, lies not in such overall structure as may be discerned, but rather in the details, the "minute particulars," to use another Blakean phrase. The proper approach to this material, I feel, is not to index-card every isolated hint at underlying theory, analyze the cards, and then emerge, exhausted but triumphant, to proclaim that the author's Theory of Poetry was such-and-such. Rather, let us enjoy such insights as may be found in these texts, allow them to enrich our understanding of the poetry itself, and consider ourselves well rewarded.

One way to come to grips with the literary taste of a given shih-hua author is simply to note the frequency of his references to various poets, and to assume that he is most interested in those poets to whom he refers most frequently. In the case of Ko Li-fang, I have arbitrarily chosen to consider that when ten or more entries in YYYY refer to a given poet, the poet in question was of particular interest to Ko. Twenty-two poets (out of a total of well over 300 poets referred to in the work) meet this criterion; here they are listed in descending order of frequency, with the number of significant references to them noted beside their names (by "significant reference" I mean the occurrence of the poet's name one or more times within a single entry in YYYY, whether or not the entire entry is devoted to a discussion of that poet¹¹):

- 1) Tu Fu 90
- 2) Su Shih 85
- 3) Po Chü-i 51
- 4) Han Yü 45
- 5) Huang T'ing-chien 41
- 6) Li Po 31
- 7) Wang An-shih 28
- 8) Ou-yang Hsiu 21
- 9) Mei Yao-ch'en 21
- 10) Liu Yü-hsi 21
- 11) T'ao Ch'ien 18
- 12) Tu Mu 17
- 13) Li Shang-yin 15
- 14) Meng Chiao 14
- 15) Yüan Chen 14

- 16) Ch'ien Ch'i 14
- 17) Wei Ying-wu 13
- 18) Hsieh Ling-yün 13
- 19) Su Ch'e 12
- 20) Cheng Ku 11
- 21) Chang Yu (or Hu) 10
- 22) Ko Sheng-chung 10

If we omit the name of Ko Sheng-chung, the poet's father, we are left with a list of twenty-one names which combines the expected with the unexpected. Only two pre-T'ang poets are referred to, T'ao Ch'ien and Hsieh Ling-yün, whereas any orthodox list of important poets would certainly have given greater stress to this period, particularly to Ts'ao Chih and the "Seven Masters of the Chien-an Period" (some of whom are referred to one or two times), to say nothing of Ch'ü Yüan (six references). Six Sung figures are included, one of them, Su Shih, neck and neck with Tu Fu for first place. Other than these, there are thirteen T'ang poets, more than twice the number of Sung poets. Obviously, for Ko the T'ang poets were the greatest masters. By the mid-twelfth century, it is not surprising to find Tu Fu leading the field, with Li Po not terribly far behind. What does at first seem unusual, however, is the emphasis given to the mid-T'ang (Po Ch'ü-i, Han Yü, Liu Yü-hsi, Meng Chiao, Yüan Chen, Wei Ying-wu) and late T'ang (Li Shang-yin, Tu Mu, Cheng Ku, Chang Yu) periods, as opposed to the expected High T'ang. This actually confirms an impression I have gained that the Sung poets, despite all the lip service they pay to Han, Six Dynasties, and High T'ang poetry, were in their actual practice much more indebted to the mid- and late T'ang masters. Particularly noteworthy is the eminence granted to such late T'ang poets as Cheng Ku 鄭谷 (d. c.896) and Chang Yu 張祐 (or Hu 祐, fl. 810), whose names crop up constantly in the shih-hua literature, but who are rarely regarded as major figures in orthodox accounts of literary history. I for one feel that casual references to poets in such pieces as shih-hua, colophons, or prefaces constitute a more meaningful index of the writer's interests than his formal essays on the development of poetry and the like.

Let us concentrate on another unusual aspect of this list, the inclusion of Ch'ien Ch'i 錢起 (fl. c. 766). A glance at Martin's concordance to Li-tai shih-hua will reveal that Ch'ien is hardly ever mentioned in shih-hua text, and yet no less than fourteen entries in YYYC refer to him, as many as refer to such established figures as Meng Chiao and Yüan Chen. Ch'ien's debut in YYYC is not particularly auspicious--Ko quotes a couplet by him, notes that it has been praised by others for its skill in balancing two difficult allusions, but then complains that one of the lines introduces a character which is not to be found in the original source!¹² But the entry of which this forms a part makes the point that even such masters as

Wang An-shih (favorite Sung poet of Ko's, with 28 references) may occasionally go astray in striving for perfect parallelism. It is evident that Ko is interested in precision in the use of words. Indeed, an entire passage, the third in the book, is devoted to Tu Fu's sensitive use of the character zū 自 ("of itself", "naturally," etc.)¹³ to convey a certain distance that does inevitably exist between the poet and the natural phenomena he experiences.

The second entry involving Ch'ien¹⁴ is entirely devoted to the problem of whether certain poems in his collected works might not actually be by a grandson of Ch'ien's, Ch'ien Hsü 詡 (fl. c. 853). Ko concludes that at least two of the poems are in fact by the grandson, and, in addition, points out that another poem in the collection is also to be found in the collected works of Hsüeh Neng 薛能 (d. 880). Here, as is frequently the case in shih-hua, a seemingly trivial matter reveals a larger concern. Ko is evidently interested in the question of authenticity, well-recognized in painting and calligraphy, but a problem in poetry as well, at least by the Northern Sung, when Huang T'ing-chien made his famous claim that two or three out of every ten poems in Li Po's collection were forgeries by other people.¹⁵ Elsewhere in YYYC, Ko disputes the authenticity of a poem attributed to Han Yü¹⁶ on the grounds that its diction is not worthy of the master. In yet another passage,¹⁷ he refutes, on the basis of carefully researched biographical data, the assertion of Shen Kua 沈括 (1030-94) that the anthology Hsiang-lien chi 香奩集, usually attributed to Han Wo 韓偓 (fl. c. 902), is actually by Ho Ning 和凝 (893-955). Ko accepts Han Wo's authorship, though the matter remains open, as Hu Shih concurs with Shen's opinion that the book is really by Ho Ning.¹⁸

Of particular importance for Ko's appraisal of Ch'ien Ch'i is the fifth passage which refers to him. This entry¹⁹ is entirely devoted to Ch'ien, and begins as follows:

Ch'ien Ch'i and Lang Shih-yüan 郎士元 (fl. c. 766) were famous together. The people of their time would say, "In the past there were Shen [Ch'üan-chi 沈佺期 (d. c. 713)] and Sung [Chih-wen 宋之問 (d. c. 713)]; now there are Ch'ien and Lang." But how could Lang dare gaze at Ch'ien?

Here follow four examples of what Ko considers to be fine couplets by Ch'ien. As the rhetorical strategy of shih-hua authors depends heavily on direct quotation, these will be translated here:

(from Encountering Rain at the Secretariat:²⁰)

Clouds arise, embracing the Seven Heavenly Bodies;
rain falls, brushing the Ninefold Gates.

(from Dining at the Home of Li Chien:)

The sound of the evening bell
floats past the bamboo: calm;

The inebriated guests
emerge from the garden: slow

(from After Leaving Office:)

In the autumnal chamber
I enter tranquil night;
the beclouded moon
brings thoughts of living apart.
(from *Watching the Rain*:)
My life, floating duckweed, unsettled!
my sadness, heavy clouds, impenetrable.

Ko comments, "These can indeed be called outstanding lines! How could Shih yüan write such fine ones?" And to prove his point, he quotes what he regards as two typically bad couplets by Lang, with the comment, "What kind of lines are these? I've read through his entire collection, and found not one passage which pleased me. Hence I know that he is far inferior to Ch'i."

It is clear that Ko is not afraid to differ from received appraisals of individual poets when he feels strongly enough about them. Similarly, his interest in Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣 (1002-1060; mentioned in 21 entries) is relatively unusual for his period, but as I have translated and discussed a number of the relevant passages elsewhere,²¹ I will not deal with them here.

Also important, but for a different reason, is the eighth of the entries which refer to Ch'ien Ch'i.²² Here again the entire passage is devoted to Ch'ien, and is worth translating in full:

Ch'ien Ch'i's poem, Stopping at South Mountain Buddhist Temple, says,
I wash my feet, and untie my dusty cap-strings;
suddenly, I feel how vast is Heaven's Form!
Now I see the reflections in the mirror
from the viewpoint of the Doctrine of Non-Birth.

Here he shows that he understood that the "hundred joints and nine openings"²³ [i.e., the physical body] are not to be confused with Heaven's Form. And in his poem, Wu-chen Temple, he says,

They say that the chimes of East Forest Temple
can be heard, but never explained.
Inspired, I seek the flower of enlightenment;
in silence, all phenomena vanish.

Here he shows that he realized that the true mind of sublime enlightenment has nothing to do with the various phenomena [of the physical world]. Ch'i can be said to have attained a transcendent comprehension of these principles.

Clearly, Ko admires poetry, which expresses an understanding of Buddhist philosophy, and the entire twelfth chapter of *YYC* deals with poetry of this type (as well as poetry related to Taoist philosophy). There can be little question that Ko

was seriously interested in Buddhism. The addenda to his collected writings include several documents filled with Buddhist technical terminology, among them a prayer-text (shu 疏) to accompany a vegetarian feast for Buddhist monks on the anniversary of his grandfather's death,²⁴ as well as another, "Presenting the Avatamsaka Sutra as Written Out for the Benefit of my Late Father." 薦考君 讎華嚴經疏.²⁵ Another passage in chapter 12 of *YYC*²⁶ suggests even more strongly that Ko's world-view was heavily influenced by Buddhist thought. Here he tells the extraordinary story of how Ou-yang Hsiu came to believe in Buddhism (!) as the result of a dream he had:

One day, when Ou-yang was extremely ill, he dreamed that he came to a spot where he saw ten men wearing formal caps and sitting in a circle. One of them said, "Why have you come here, Sir? You should return to your office immediately!" Ou-yang walked several steps away, then came back and asked them, "Aren't you the Ten Kings [who preside over the underworld] of whom the Buddhists speak?" To which they replied "Yes." So Ou-yang asked whether it was actually effective when people of the world presented food to monks or had sutras written out to as to obtain retroactive merit for their deceased relatives. To this they replied, "Why should it not be effective?" When he woke up, his illness was cured. From this point on, he believed in the Buddhist dharma.

Ko goes on to inform us that this remarkable story was told by Ou-yang's grandson, Shu 恕, to Ch'en Yü-i, who told it in turn to Ko's father. The notion that Ou-yang Hsiu, the great Neo-Confucian reformer, should have had any interest at all in Buddhist ideas so outraged Ho Wen-huan, the eighteenth century editor of Li-tai shih-hua, that he described this passage as "utter nonsense."²⁷ and this view was echoed by the editors of the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao,²⁸ who also accuse Ko of being too favorably inclined toward Buddhism in general. A recent student of Ou-yang, however, reminds us that "the fact that Buddhism was strong even in Ou-yang's own family was rarely noted," and "his wife believed in Buddhism and made the rest of the family follow suit."²⁹ It is easy enough to belittle the shih-hua texts for including inconsequential anecdotes such as this one about Ou-yang Hsiu's alleged conversion to Buddhism, but they frequently add immeasurably to our understanding both of the critic and of the poet in question.

Like most shih-hua authors, Ko Li-fang alternates between examining poems for their innate literary qualities (e.g., the passage comparing Ch'ien Ch'i and Lang Shih-yüan) and using poems as sources for the study of various other subjects in a scholarly fashion. In *YYC*, Ch'ien Ch'i's poetry alone is made to yield information on: the use of poetry in the examination system;³⁰ a quack Taoist alchemist of the T'ang dynasty;³¹ the scenery of the Ch'ien-t'ang 錢塘 region;³² the T'ang calligrapher Huai-su 懷素 (737-after 798) as a master of siddham script;³³ the music of the se 瑟 zither;³⁴ the meaning of the phrase, lu-chü 盧橘 (the name of a fruit tree, variously interpreted).³⁵

If we think in terms of the overall effect or the work, and further see "effect" as an aspect of structure. I believe it is possible to argue that Ko creates here a rich vision of what might be called the poetic universe. Poetry is experienced as a series of doors, each opening into rooms with decors of their own, but all forming part of the same vast mansion.

It only remains to note that Ko has been attacked by various critics through the centuries for relatively minor inaccuracies,³⁶ but such lapses are understandable, considering the huge volume of material he was working with, to say nothing of the intractability of the very problems of authenticity and attribution which Ko was among the first to tackle seriously.

NOTES

1. Günther Debon, Ts'ang-lang's Gespräche über die Dichtung, (Wiesbaden, 1962). Mention should also be made of the work of Richard John Lynn and Siu-kit Wong, and also Adele Rickett's forthcoming study of the Jen-chien tz'u-hua. The text studies to date represent merely the tip of an enormous iceberg. The Sung shih-hua literature alone would fill several hefty volumes, while the Ming and Ch'ing literature is even more extensive.
2. Stephen Owen, review of James J.Y. Liu. Chinese Theories of Literature, MLN, Vol.990, #6, Dec., 1975, p.990.
3. The most readily accessible text is found in Ho Wen-huan 何文煥, ed., Li-tai shih-hua 曆代詩話, preface dated 1770. All references to the text in this paper will be to this edition. A useful, punctuated reprint with index has recently been published by Helmut Martin: Index to the Ho Collection of Twenty-Eight Shih-hua. . . , two volumes, Taipei: Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, Research Aids Series, No.10, 1973.
4. For a summation of these events and references to the relevant sources, see Kuo Shao-yü 郭紹虞, Pei Sung shih-hua k'ao, fu Ssu-k'u chu-lu Nan Sung shih-hua ti-yao p'ing-shu 北宋詩話考, 附四庫著錄南宋詩話 提要評述, reprints of two articles by Kuo which originally appeared in Yenching hsüeh-pao#21 (1937) and #26 (1939), Ch'ung-wen shu-tien 崇文書店, Hong Kong, 1971, pp. 51-52. For a listing of biographical references for Ko Li-fang, see Ch'ang Pi-te 昌彼得 et al. ed., Index to Biographical Materials Of Sung Figures (Vol. IV, Taipei, 1975), pp. 3265-3266.
5. Ko Sheng-chung, Tan-yang chi 丹陽集 (in Ch'ang-chou hsien-che i-shu).
6. YYYY, 18/8b-9b.
7. Kuo Shao-yü, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
8. Ibid., p. 55
9. YYYY, 11/15a.
10. Achilles Fang, "Rhyme-prose on Literature. . . ," in John L. Bishop, ed., Studies in Chinese Literature (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965), p. 8.
11. Martin's index simply lists each occurrence of a poet's name, which is a different system. If a poet's name occurs, say, three times within a single entry, I consider this to be one reference.
12. YYYY, 2/1b.
13. Ibid., 1/2b-3a.
14. Ibid., 2/2a-b.
15. Quoted in the notes to Ch'ang-kan hsing 長幹行 in Li T'ai-po ch'üan chi 李太白全集 (Hong Kong: Kwong Chi Book Co. reprint, n.d.), p. 128.
16. YYYY, 1/11b-12a. The poem in question is one of Han's still controversial pair

- on snoring, cf. Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan chi 韓昌黎全集 (Hong Kong: Kwong Chi Book Co. reprint, n.d.), pp. 520-521.
17. YYYY, 5/8b-9b.
 18. Quoted in T'an Cheng-pi, Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh chia ta tz'u-tien (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü reprint, 1971), p. 518.
 19. YYYY, 4/4b-5a.
 20. This title is unexpected here, as in a passage discussed above (see note 14), Ko argues that since Ch'ien had never entered the Secretariat (chung-shu 中書), poems describing the precincts of the Secretariat must be by his grandson Ch'ien Hsü, who did hold the position of chung-shu she-jen 中書舍人.
 21. Cf. my book, Mei Yao-ch'en and the Development of Early Sung Poetry (New York and London, 1976), pp. 85, 113-14, 128-30, 203-4.
 22. YYYY, 12/3a.
 23. An expression from Chuang Tzu ch.2 Cf. Concordance to Chuang Tzu, Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement No.20 (1947; Taipei: Hung-tao wen-hua shih-yeh reprint, 1971), p.4, 1.16; and Burton Watson, The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu (New York and London, 1968), p.38.
 24. Kuei-yu chi, pu-i 補遺, p.1b
 25. *Ibid.*, p.3a.
 26. YYYY, 12/5a-b.
 27. In his k'ao-so 考索, appended to Li-tai shih-hua, p.16b. The preface is dated 1770, so Ho takes precedence over the editors of Ssu-ku. . . . which was completed in 1781.
 28. Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao, 195/28a.
 29. James T.C. Liu, Ou-yang Hsiu: An Eleventh-Century Neo-Confucianist (Stanford, 1967), pp.170, 174.
 30. YYYY, 3/10a.
 31. *Ibid.*, 12/12a.
 32. *Ibid.*, 13/4a.
 33. *Ibid.*, 14/12b. The passage was overlooked in Robert Van Gulik's otherwise exhaustive study. Siddham (Nagpur, India, 1956).
 34. YYYY, 15/10a.
 35. *Ibid.*, 16/7a. .
 36. These are conveniently summarized in Kuo Shao-yü, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-54; and see also Yu-jut 陳幼睿, "Sung shih-hua hsü 宋詩話敘", T'aiwan sheng-li Shih-fan ta-hsüeh kuo-wen yen-chiu-so chi-k'an 台灣省立師範大學研究所集刊, Vol. 5 (1961), pp. 374-375, which is largely based on Kuo Shao-yü

A QUESTION OF TRANSMISSION IN SUNG NEO-CONFUCIANISM

Dennis A. Leventhal

The early evolution of the dominant strain of Neo-Confucianism. i. e., Li-hsueh (School of Principle), is characterized formally in many Chinese texts by a strict line of transmission from its source group in the Northern Sung to its most noted synthesizer in the Southern Sung. Yang Shih (1054-1135)¹ has been claimed by these texts to be a major link in this historical chain.² Any comprehensive study of this individual must consider this traditional assertion and determine, therefore, the true nature of Yang's relation to Chu Hsi (1130-1200). W. T. Chan has pointed out that Chu Hsi himself fixed a line of transmission which did not mention Yang Shih.³ But as Prof. Chan's study does not explore the relationship between these two, it cannot explain why many Confucian scholars, then and now, have fixed an orthodox line of transmission which includes him. This paper represents a preliminary probe which attempts to lay out a few guidelines for a detailed study of Yang Shih's contributions to the evolution of Neo-Confucian doctrine.

Yang Shih was a native of Nan-chien Prefecture (near present-day Yen-p'ing in Fukien Province). A biographical sketch of Yang by Dr. Julia Ching can be found in Sung Biographies. A man with a strong scholastic bent, he presented himself as a student to Ch'eng Hao (1032-1085) in 1081 and spent a good part of that year at his new master's feet (subsequent contact being via letters).⁴ Eight years after Hao's death, in 1093, he turned to Ch'eng I (1033-1108) and spent the better part of a year as a student of his.⁵ He then, according to the traditional view, transmitted the "light" to his major follower, Lo Ts'ung-yen (1072-1135), who was a fellow native of Nan-chien Prefecture. Lo first met his master in the latter's home village of Chiang-le in 1102, and subsequently (ca. 1112) met him again in the north and studied with him the ideas of the northern thinkers.⁶ Next in the "official" line came Li T'ung (1093-1163), another product of Nan-chien. "In his twenty-fourth year (ca. 1116), he heard that a man of his district, Lo Chung-su (Ts'ung-yen's courtesy name), was teaching the doctrines of Ho-Lo (a term for the Northern School) which (he) had received from Kuei-shan (Yang Shih's cognomen), and thereupon went to study with him."⁷

The next link in this teacher-student chain was Chu Hsi, whose synthesizing efforts "created a version of Confucianism that was to remain orthodox until the twentieth century."⁸ The Sung Shih claims he was sent to study with Li T'ung by his father, Chu Sung (1097-1143), because these two latter persons were not only good friends, but also had drunk from the same font of learning.⁹ Chu Sung's teacher had been Hsiao I (n.d.) and the latter, along with Lo Ts'ung-yen and others, had studied under Yang Shih.¹⁰ However, it was not until after devoting some time to Buddhist and Taoist studies that Chu Hsi eventually began working with Li T'ung –

about ten years after his father's death.¹¹

Many Confucian writers dealing with this subject seem to regard as important this direct line of transmission and claim that Yang Shih was recognized by the contemporary scholars of southeast China as the "Orthodox Master" of the Ch'eng doctrines after the fall of the Northern Sung.¹² Substantive evidence for this assertion seems to have been found in his being recognized as one of the four major disciples of the Ch'eng brothers and his having been the only one among the four to move south with the Sung court. However, it can be seen by referring to the dates given above which relate to this "transmission" that, except for the last link in the teacher-student chain, these connections were made during the latter years of the Northern Sung. Furthermore, Yang Shih was not the only one to carry these teachings into early Southern Sung intellectual circles. A number of the friends and other students of the Ch'engs also reappeared under the "restored" court.

This emphasis on direct transmission of orthodoxy seems to have expressed a concern for legitimacy characteristic of the Sung world. This can be seen in the preoccupation of Northern Sung historians with establishing a definitive transmission of the "Mandate of Heaven" from the Han, through the Six Dynasties, and so forth, coming firmly to rest in the Sung imperial house. Historical authority for doctrinal orthodoxy had also been a major concern of the various schools of Buddhism in the T'ang, reflected in an important scholarly product published in the early Sung.¹³

The mantle of legitimacy claimed by the School of Principle was nothing less than descent from Confucius himself. The line of transmission from the Sage to Mencius did not have to be defended. The connection between Mencius and the Ho-Lo thinkers was made by asserting that the understanding of the Confucian Tao, or Way, died with the former but was successfully revived by the latter through direct apprehension gained via the medium of the classical texts.¹⁴ This also served quite nicely to explain why such "heresies" as Buddhism were able to gain wide popularity during Confucianism's time of darkness.¹⁵

W. T. Chan points out that even Chu Hsi "was much concerned with the matter of transmission," but warns us, "It will be a mistake, however, to think, as many have done, that Chu Hsi's purpose was to find historical authority for Neo-Confucianism or to imitate the Buddhist system of the patriarch."¹⁶ While Chu Hsi's interpretation of the transmission of the Way was based apparently on philosophical evolution rather than historical authority, he was genuinely "concerned with . . . transmission."¹⁷ Furthermore, Prof. Chan's profound analysis of the creative elements in Chu's thought does not explain why other Neo-Confucians saw Yang Shih as an "Orthodox Master." Even Ch'eng Hao apparently held his view. When Yang Shih took leave of his teacher to return to his home in southern China, Ch'eng Hao exclaimed as he watched his star pupil begin the journey, "My Tao (now) goes southward!"¹⁸ Perhaps the explanation of the strength and durability of the traditional Chinese perception of Yang Shih as holding a place within a direct, Neo-Confucian line of transmission is that the concept of orthodox transmission itself was a part of the "constellation of absolute presuppositions" prevailing not only in the Sung era, but throughout much of China's imperial period.¹⁹ That is, there was an emotional and intellectual need to delineate a pattern of orthodoxy whatever the particular

intellectual framework. Once such a tradition became well established, only unique and strong minds would be likely to challenge it. Even then, the challenge would only attempt to delineate a different pattern, not to question the need for maintaining one.

Of course, the mere assertion of a direct line of transmission down to Chu Hsi does not clarify the nature of the transmission or Yang Shih's place in the evolution of Neo-Confucian thought. There is no doubt that Chu Hsi exhibited points of difference from the Ch'engs. His metaphysical system, his attitude towards the Ching, his degree and mode of emphasis on the Four Books, all diverge to a greater or lesser extent from that of the Northern Sung Masters. The intellectual connections between, for example, Chang Tsai and Ch'eng I are immediate; and not only the growth, but also the interplay of ideas can be seen. Between Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi, however, there is a time gap, and thus their intellectual relationship must be of a different character. Since the study of the connecting links, both formal and informal, between these two has been somewhat neglected, our understanding of the historical evolution of the doctrines received and restructured by Chu Hsi is incomplete.

A limited, yet enlightening statistical test offers a clue to Chu Hsi's intellectual antecedents. The paramount importance of the Four Books in his thinking has been thoroughly documented by Prof. Chan.²⁰ Chu Hsi's Ssu-shu chi-chu (Collected Commentaries on the Four Books) utilizes a total of seven hundred and thirty-one (731) quotations from thirty-two (32) different scholars to explain the meaning of these four classical texts within the framework of his philosophical system.²¹ A simple numerical breakdown showing the number of instances each of these scholars was quoted for doctrinal exposition should at least suggest which of them were of greater significance to Chu Hsi with reference to a subject dear to his heart and central to his doctrine. Naturally, such a test has limitations. First, for example, the term "Ch'eng Tzu," or Master Ch'eng, while probably referring primarily to Ch'eng I, may well refer occasionally to his elder brother. Thus, we must regard the two Ch'engs as one unit in this analysis. Second, no attempt was made to determine the specific origins of Chu Hsi's own comments. Third, his total written output is so voluminous that any statistics derived here cannot be seen as conclusive.

BREAKDOWN BY INDIVIDUAL OF SOURCES OF QUOTATIONS
IN Ssu-shu chi-chu.

Quotation Source	Analects	Ta Hsüeh	Chung Yung	Mencius	Four Books
Ch'eng Tzu	161/32.1%	3/42.8%	6/28.6%	55/27.4%	225/30.8%
Yin Shun (1071-1142)	64/12.7%	1/14.3%	-	25/12.4%	90/12.3%
Yang Shih (1054-1135)	50/10%	-	-	23/11%	73/10%
Fan Tsu-yü	51/10.2%	-	-	15/7.5%	66/9%

Quotation Source	Analects	Ta Hsüeh	Chung Yung	Mencius	Four Books
Hsieh Liang-tso (chin shih 1805)	47/9.4%	-	-	2/1%	49/6.7%
Hu An-kuo (1074-1138)	39/7.8%	-	-	2/1%	41/5.6%
Chang Tsai (1020-1077)	14/2.8%	-	4/19%	6/3%	24/3.3%
24 other scholars	76/15%	3/42.8%	11/52/4%	73/36.3%	163/22.3%
TOTALS (100%)	502	7	21	201	731

The table, as shown, lists the various scholars in descending order by volume of individual quotations. The next-to-bottom entry totals the data relating to twenty-four scholars because their individual figures are quite small and not particularly relevant to the present discussion.

This statistical test suggests that Yang Shih was regarded by Chu Hsi as fairly valuable source in interpreting two of the works in the Four Books. Li T'ung, Chu Hsi's "orthodox" teacher (not shown in the table as constructed), ranks eleventh in overall volume of quotations. He is quoted thirteen times (1.8%) throughout, with seven used in the Analects section, and six in that of Mencius. Lo Ts'ung-yen, the "orthodox" link between Yang Shih and Li T'ung, is nowhere quoted by Chu Hsi in the Ssu-shu chi-chu.

It is interesting to note that second place in the table, just before Yang Shih, is Yin Shun. He also had been a student of Ch'eng I, but was not rated among the latter's leading disciples. He did, however, write commentaries to the Analects and Mencius which were available to Chu Hsi.²² Moreover, he had not only moved south with the Sung court, but also had the greatest longevity among all of Ch'eng I's immediate disciples.²³ Fourth ranking Fan Tsü-yi, an historian who had worked with Ssu-ma Kuang (1010-1086), also had a close academic relationship with Ch'eng I and is known to have written a work on the Analects.²⁴ Also outstanding in this statistical framework is Hsieh Liang-tso, One of the four leading disciples of Ch'eng I, who had written on the Analects and whose various teachings were collected and compiled by Chu Hsi.²⁵

Prof. Chan, in his translation of the Chin-ssu lu (Reflections on Things at Hand) compiled by Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien (1137-1181), offers a similar statistical breakdown of quotations.²⁶ This work, however, deals only with four Northern Sung Masters, i.e., Chou Tun-i, Ch'eng Hao, Ch'eng I, and Chang Tsai. Yang Shih is mentioned twice herein, but only incidentally and not as doctrinal authority.²⁷ However, this work and the Ssu-shu chi-chu differ in thrust and purpose. The former is a sourcebook for Chu Hsi's metaphysical system; the latter, in Chu Hsi's thinking, provides (1) first-hand material on the ideas of Confucius and Mencius, (2) a "reservoir of ideas on principles," and (3) "a systematic methodology" for the "investigation of things."²⁸ We might infer a working hypothesis from this by suggesting that Yang Shih made no significant contribution to the metaphysical doctrine in Chu Hsi's conscious thinking, and for this reason was not included in the Chin-

ssu lu. This would apply as well to the other post-Ch'eng scholars.

By the way, there exists a Chin-ssu hou-lu (Later Reflections on Things at Hand), apparently by an anonymous Sung scholar, which parallels Chu Hsi's compilation in textual format.²⁹ This work includes one hundred and twenty-seven (127) quotations from sixteen Sung Neo-Confucians. In this text, Hsieh Liang-tso and Yang Shih rank first and second respectively in quotation volume. However, several historiographical questions relating to this work have to be answered before it may be employed in the matter "at hand."

If the Four Books' test above offers some indication of the relative weights to be given to Chu Hsi's intellectual forebears, we can explore the substantive content of the literary remains of Yang Shih on the assumption that he had definite and demonstrable influence on the former. For example, Prof. Chan states that Chu Hsi's metaphysical system was greatly influenced by Ch'eng I's explanation of how Principle works in the world.³⁰ It can be demonstrated that Yang Shih's own thinking had some effect on the transmission of this aspect of doctrine as interpreted by Chu Hsi.

Prof. Chan has stated that ". . . Chang (Tsai)'s 'Western Inscription' has become the basis of Neo-Confucian ethics."³¹ Ch'eng I's famous five-character commentary on this essay, i. e., "Principle is unitary, and yet its particular manifestations are multiple,"³² points to the reason for this by indicating (in conjunction with subsequent commentary) how Chang's discussion links Neo-Confucian metaphysics, stemming from quasi-Taoist ideas, with the moral philosophy which lies at the heart of all Confucian thought.

There is no need to reproduce the Western Inscription here, authoritative translations being readily obtainable.³³ Basically, it describes "the attitude that we should take toward the universe and the creature in it. Our own body is that of the universe, and our individual nature is identical with that of the universe. We should regard the universe (personified as two universal parents, ch'ien and k'un) as we do our own parents, and serve it in the same manner as we do them. We should furthermore regard all men of the world as our own brothers, and all creatures in it as our own kind."³⁴

Ch'eng I's explanatory comment first appears in an exchange of missives with Yang Shih, clearly in response to questions Yang had raised. Yang's first letter written in 1096,³⁵ begins as follows:³⁶

"I believe it is said that the 'Tao's not being understood' (is due to) those who are knowledgeable 'going too far in (their interpretations of) it.'³⁷ Isn't the Western Inscription somewhat an example of this? There were many occasions on which the ancients asked Confucius about jen.³⁸ Even with disciples such as Yen Yüan (Yen Hui) and Chung-kung (Jan Yung), his way of instructing did not go beyond the method of seeking jen (i. e., its practice, or function). With regard to the substance of jen, he never discussed it."

This mention of the "substance of jen" refers to the Ch'eng school's understanding of the subject matter of the Western Inscription.³⁹ The letter continues:

"Mencius said, 'Jen is (the character of) the human mind; Righteousness is

the way of being human.⁴⁰ Among those who have been the most accurate in discussing all aspects of jen, there are none who have done better than this. Furthermore, (these) two (phrases) discuss the Tao as being based on both substance and function. I have never heard anything like the theory of the Western Inscription. How could (it be said that) Confucius and Mencius have hidden anything (from us)? It can, however, be said that they did not dare to 'go too far in (their explanations) of the Tao' and thereby create errors among later scholars' (thinking).

"Going further, Mo-tzu's (fl. 479-438 B. C.) (theory of) universal love without distinctions (ch'ien-ai) is assuredly a matter dealing with jen. However, his followers eventually developed (this concept) into a 'denial of (the special recognition due to) a father.'⁴¹ How could this have been the fault of Mo-tzu (himself)? When Mencius vigorously attacked (this latter notion), his having to put blame on Man speaks, he must (first) consider the ultimate effects of his works; when carrying out (his ideas), he must (first) examine wherein lies error. Such is the meaning of this (i. e., the reason for criticizing Mo-tzu). The Western Inscription exposes the great profundity of the Sage's subtler ideas. However, while it speaks of substance, it does not touch upon function. I fear that its development (in the minds of others) will subsequently come to be as (in the case of the concept) ch'ien-ai.⁴³ Consequently, when sages and worthies appear in later generations, if they go back to the source to criticize (any resultant errors), they will not be able to avoid attributing fault to Heng-chü (Chang Tsai's cognomen).

"I believe that the ideas in this essay are those which the Man of the West (i. e., Chang Tsai) held to in their entirety and carefully put in to action. I hope I may obtain a few words (from you) which elaborate on the application of his doctrine,⁴⁴ so that scholars will understand (it in terms of) both substance and function, and not finally wander astray (as did the followers of Mo-tzu).

"Heng-chü's scholarly achievement penetrates thoroughly the mysteries of (the relationship between) Heaven and Man. Such is not what I am able to fathom. However, my doubts are as written here, and therefore I have mentioned them. What do you think about this?"

It is Cheng I's reply to this letter which provides the original context of his oft-quoted, one-line commentary on the Western Inscription.⁴⁵ It begins as follows:

"The interpretations in your 'Historical Discussions,' in ten sections which you sent me previously are quite correct.⁴⁶ (However,) I no sooner read it but it was borrowed by someone else. I will have to read it again more carefully.

"As for your comments on the Western Inscription, however, I could not agree. Among the theories created by Heng-chü, the ones which truly have errors are in Western Inscription, it extends (the concept) of Principle in order to preserve Righteousness, and enlarges upon that which Confucius did not make manifest. It has equal merit with Mencius' theories of hsing-shan (that the basic nature of man is good) and yang-ch'i (nourishing one's vital force). These two (ideas of Mencius) also were not made manifest by Confucius.⁴⁷

"How can you compare it to Mohist (thought)? The Western Inscription makes it clear that *Principle is unitary and yet its particular manifestations are multiple* (italics added).⁴⁸ The Monhists, on the contrary, have a dual foundation but lack particular distinctions (in their thinking).⁴⁹ In the (proper respect for one's own) elders and the (appropriate kindness towards one's own) youngsters being extended to others (i. e., non-family members), the Principle is the same (i. e., unitary). But, (giving) love without (making) categorical distinctions is based on a dualism.⁵⁰

"The fault in making multiple distinctions (without having an underlying universal principle) is that selfishness will become dominant and jen will be lost. The fault in making no distinctions (between individual manifestations) is that there will be ch'ien-ai (universal love) but no Righteousness (i. e., appropriate conduct towards particular individuals). The method of jen is to establish the many distinctions (between particular manifestations), and then to apply the one universal principle in order to stop the tendency of selfishness to become dominant. To lack distinctions (in human relationships) and be deluded by (the concept of) ch'ien-ai to the point that you deny (the special recognition due to) your father is to violate Righteousness. By your comparing and equating (these two views), you err. Moreover, you said that the Western Inscription 'speaks of substance but does not touch upon function.' However,⁵¹ its (being designed to) cause people to extend (the universal principle) into their actions is basically a matter of function. You, on the contrary, say it does not touch upon function. Is this not strange?"

Although Ch'eng I gives Yang Shih the answer to his question on the substance/function balance in the Western Inscription, it is obvious that he has misinterpreted the nature of the latter's comparison of Chang Tsai with Mo-tzu. This is brought out in the following reply by Yang Shih:⁵³

"Your instructive discussion of the deeper meaning of the Western Inscription is so clear that I understood all; it was like being in attendance by your bench and mat, personally receiving your teaching. I am most fortunate, indeed!

"Previously, when I was studying with Ming-tao (Ch'eng Hao's cognomen), I read the Western Inscription under his guidance. After thinking about it for many days, it seemed that I had gained from it and began to understand the (correct) general directions in the pursuit of learning. His will color my perceptions for the remainder of my life. How could I dare to suspect thoughtlessly its being in error and being identical with Mohism?"

"That which I discussed in my previous letter criticized those passages in the Western Inscription which (a) consider all people to be 'one's own brothers and sisters,'⁵⁴ (b) (seem to reinterpret the basic Confucian precepts of) 'treating elders with the respect due the aged' and 'treating youngsters with the tenderness due to them,'⁵⁵ and (c) take 'widowers, widowed,' orphans, and 'the childless' to be 'one's own brothers who . . . have become helpless,'⁵⁶ that is, those passages which purport 'to make clear that Principle is unitary.'⁵⁷ Now, these practices are faulty (as described) in that they lack (reference to) behavior towards others based on a graduated scale according to degree of kindred. Were it not that those who understood (the Confucian Tao) remember without discussion what lies beyond the meaning of (Chang's) words, how could one know that what was meant was 'Principle

is unitary, and yet its particular manifestations are multiple'? Thus, my sincere 'fear that its development (in the minds of others) will subsequently come to be as (in the case of the concept) ch'ien-ai⁵⁸ was not to claim that the Western Inscription proposes ch'ien-ai or is the same as Mohism in what it expresses."

Note that Yang Shih clarifies his criticism by pointing out that, without inferring from the broad Confucian context, the full significance of the Western Inscription as written is likely to be lost, or, much worse, misunderstood. Any speculation as to why Ch'eng I offered the explanation sought, but misinterpreted the reason for the original question cannot be substantiated by reference to these letters alone.

The remainder of Yang Shih's reply gives the "scriptural" support for his criticism and re-emphasizes the importance of a clear exposition of the "function" of jen in any statement of Confucian doctrine. This is done by expanding on the ideas related to "function" expressed in Ch'eng I's letter. He says:

"(The Mencius states), 'The reason why the ancient (Sages) greatly surpassed other men is nothing other than that they were adept at extending to others that upon which they based their own conduct.'⁵⁹ That which is meant by 'extending to others' is 'to treat elders in one's own family with the reverence due to age so that such treatment will reach to the elders of other families; to treat the young in one's own family with the kindness due to youth so that such treatment will reach to the young in other families.'⁶⁰ Since Confucius said that 'in regard to the aged, give them contentment . . . in regard to the young, give them tender loving care,'⁶¹ there is no problem in 'extending.' That there is no great problem in 'extending' is because 'Principle is unitary.'

"Because 'Principle is unitary and yet its particular manifestations are multiple,' the Dages, therefore, 'weighed things' and so 'dealt justly' with them.⁶² This is the way to reach jen and fulfil Righteousness. What is meant by 'weighing things'? Each person (with whom you have dealings) being appointed a special distinction based on his degree of kinship and/or any other form of relationship is called 'weighing.' What is meant by 'dealing justly'? In one's treatment of others, one's mind being the same towards all (i. e., being devoid of selfish bias or prejudice) is called 'being just.'

"Previously I had thought the Western Inscription possessed the full breadth of 'dealing justly' and lacked the appropriateness of 'weighing things.' Therefore, I said that it 'speaks of substance, but does not touch upon function,'⁶³ pointing out that jen and Righteousness constitute a (unified) doctrine. Thus, when jen is carried too far, the (resultant) fault is a lack of distinctions. If no distinctions are made, then Righteousness is obstructed. When Righteousness is carried too far, it will develop into selfishness. If there is selfishness, then jen will be destroyed. If jen is destroyed, the result will be the egoism of Yang Chu (440-360 B. C.?). If Righteousness is obstructed, the result will be the ch'ien-ai of the Mohists. Even though the error in each of these two is different, the reason for their receiving condemnation from the Sages is their being equally (one-sided in viewpoint).

"The meaning of the Western Inscription is hidden deeply from view and difficult to recognize. It is certainly something that the Former Sages never mentioned. What I called 'going too far (in the interpretation of the Tao),' which I discussed

in my previous letter, meant only the suspicion that its words would not be understood correctly (by others). Now that I have received your instruction (about this), those scholars to whom (this is) transmitted will assuredly understand clearly, without any doubts.

"The distance between us is an obstacle; it is not fated for me to go and wait upon you so as to request the completion of my education.

This is most regrettable."

This exchange demonstrates the deep concern of these two Neo-Confucians for remaining faithful in their speculations to original Confucian doctrine as they understood it. Orthodoxy of thought was a vital, living concern, and not merely a banner or formal label. The creation of the reference commentary was in direct response to a question generated by this attitude.

In the latter part of Yang Shih's second letter, he refers to the transmission of Ch'eng I's comments, which he apparently believed to be an important matter. An examination of his literary remains reveals a few specificity in this transmission. For example, there is a letter written to Hu An-kuo, probably dated 1103.⁶⁴ Hu was a noted scholar of the time who regarded Yang Shih, Hsieh Liang-tso, and Yu Tso as his teachers and friends, and was responsible for the transmission of some of the Ho-Lo school teachings to Southern Sung scholars, especially those of Hsieh Liang-tso.⁶⁵ (Note Hu's position in the table given above.) In this letter, Yang gives Ch'eng I's comment as the principle for harmonizing the cultivation of jen in oneself and the practice of Righteousness in the world. His supplementary remarks emphasize "weighing" the distinctions and differences among 'individual manifestations,' as in his second letter to Ch'eng I. Nothing is said about the Western Inscription, and he does not attribute the comment to its author.⁶⁶ However, in another note to Hu, probably written in 1104 or shortly thereafter,⁶⁷ he quotes Ch'eng I's laudatory remarks about the Western Inscription⁶⁸ and recommends reading Chang's essay carefully.⁶⁹ To infer from these two documents that Hu An-kuo was aware of the link between the essay and the explanatory comment is quite reasonable.

In the section of Yang Shih's Yü-lu (Recorded Teachings) which covers part of his period of tenure as Prefectural School Instructor (R8b) at Ching Chou,⁷⁰ One entry discussing the application of jen states that the specific virtues of filial piety and brotherly kindness are the beginning of the cultivation of jen.⁷¹ When he goes on to describe how jen is extended, he quotes, with some paraphrasing, remarks he made in his second letter to Ch'eng I.⁷²

Another Yü-lu entry gives Yang's most extensive surviving commentary on Ch'eng I's "one-liner."⁷³ The section in which this passage is found covers the period of his tenure as a temporary Reader-in-Waiting at court while awaiting rotation of office in 1106.⁷⁴ It is this passage which allows demonstration of a direct link with Chu Hsi because it is quoted in its entirety, with only insignificant paraphrasing, in the latter's commentary of the Western Inscription, dated 1172.⁷⁵ This commentary not only exhibits Chu Hsi's genius for synthesis and summary, but also sheds a little more light on the question of transmission in Sung Neo-Confucianism.

"This essay (i. e., the Western inscription) means that throughout Heaven and Earth, there is only one principle. However, the Way of ch'ien (i.e., the Yang force) constitutes the (primal) male, and the Way of k'un (i.e., the Yin force) constitutes the (primal) female. These two vital forces (or modes of primal ether)

interact and transform to produce the myriad things. Consequently, differences in size and the various categories of relationships reach multitudinous proportions and cannot be equal. If there were not Sages and Worthies appearing in the world, who would be able to harmonize the differences among the myriad things and return to their unifying factor? Such could he said to be the purpose in (Chang Tsai's) writing the Western Inscription. Master Ch'eng's assertion that it 'makes clear that Principle is unitary, and yet its particular manifestations are multiple'⁷⁶ could he described as 'encapsulating it in one sentence.'⁷⁷

"Among all categories of living creatures, there are none who do not regard (the) ch'ien (force) as their father, and (the) k'un (force) as their mother. This is what is meant by saying 'Principle is unitary.' However, in the lives of human beings, (because of) the ties of blood and veins, each individual recognizes his own parents as such, and each recognizes his own children as such. Consequently, how could the individual manifestations of the one Principle not be multiple? Having multiplicity (of distinctions) within the complete unity (of Principle), then, even though the entire world is (seen as) one family and the Middle Kingdom as one person (in that family), we will not stray into the error of chien-ai. Having the one common factor (of Principle) within the multiplicity (of distinctions), then, even though we make emotional distinctions according to degrees of personal relationships, and social distinctions according to levels of worldly station, we will not be bound by the selfishness of egoism. Such is the broad meaning of the Western Inscription.

"By observing how it extends the rich love due one's own parents so as to expand egoless impartiality, and (how it) accords with complete sincerity in serving one's parents in order to illuminate the way of serving Heaven, it can be seen that there is no human activity which is not described by the expression 'establish the many distinctions (between the particular manifestations) and (then) apply the one universal Principle.'⁷⁸ How can one understand the multiplicity of particular manifestations only by taking (the references in the Western Inscription of) 'all people being one's own brothers and sisters,'⁷⁹ and treating elders with respect and youngsters with tenderness⁸⁰ to mean 'Principle is unitary,' and then having to 'remember without discussion what lies beyond the meaning of (Chang's) words?'⁸¹ The passage (quoted by Yang) which says, 'one weighs things and deals justly (with them)'⁸² means that one should measure what is appropriate in human (relationships) in order to deal justly (with others). If we lack the Righteousness (which is derived) from 'weighing things,' then how may we know what is just in dealing with others?⁸³ Kuei-shan's second letter (to Ch'eng I) tries to bring out this meaning, but his comments are incomplete, even though there is more than enough reason (in them). Thus, I can discuss the matter in accordance with his words. My colleagues agree with my conclusions about this as described above.

"After I had written this exposition, I obtained one of Yin Shun's letters. (In this) he said, 'In Yang Chung-li's (Yang Shih's courtesy name) reply to Ch'eng I discussing the Western Inscription, there are the works,' (I) understand clearly without doubt.'⁸⁴ When the Master (Ch'eng I) read them, he commented, Yang Shih still does not understand." Thus, I know that the Master, generally speaking, does not agree with the points in this second letter which express doubts.'

"However, Kuei-shan's Yü-lu contains a passage which states: '(Yang Shih said), "The Western Inscription (means) 'Principle is unitary, but its particular manifestations are multiple,' (By this) I understand that 'Principle is unitary' is the (concept) by which we cultivate jen; and that 'its particular manifestations are multiple' is the concept by which we cultivate Righteousness. That which refers to multiple distinctions is like Mencius' comment, 'One has a close affection for one's own parents, and so is (by extension) benevolent to all people. One is benevolent to all people, and so (extends) love to all things.'⁸⁵ Each manifestation is different. Consequently, that which is applied (to each manifestation) cannot be without special distinctions." Someone then said, "If this is so, then substance and function result in being separated into two different things." (Yang Shih) replied, "Function is never separated from substance. Taking a man as an analogy, his substance would be the four limbs and hundred bones united in one body. As for their functions, the head should not wear shoes, and the feet should not wear a hat. Thus, it can be seen that when we speak of the whole body (i.e., substance), special distinctions are already contained therein."⁸⁶

"This discussion distinguishes between differences and similarities, (showing that) each has its own significance. It is quite different from his reply (to Ch'eng I). Could it not be that, as his virtue became more abundant with advancing age, his opinions began to become more refined? He accordingly again pronounced on this topic in order to clarify those points which really were not clear in the words of his letter of reply (to Ch'eng I). Thus, Kuei-shan's views were not final at that point."⁸⁷

This passage reveals the strong influence of Yang Shih on this issue and demonstrates, together with the preceding documents, an evolutionary pattern in transmission. The Western Inscription mentions "substance" as the aspect of the individual which "fills the universe."⁸⁸ The term jen is mentioned only once, viz., "Injuring jen is called plundering."⁸⁹ It contains no direct reference to "Principle" or "multiple distinctions." In Yang Shih's first letter, jen is regarded as having two aspects, i.e., substance and function. Ch'eng I's reply accepts this and goes on to propound his commentary which purports to explain the essence of this substance/function relationship. Such is also implied as the main idea to be derived from Chang Tsai's essay. Yang's reply indicates that he still believes the essay to be dealing essentially with the substance of jen, but, taken in conjunction with Ch'eng's brief commentary, it is worthy of transmission to subsequent generations as a major doctrinal statement. He also elaborates on the substance/function balance in an attempt to clarify further the import of Ch'eng's words.

When we arrive at Chu Hsi, we find him substantially in agreement with Yang Shih. He does express some criticism of Yang's earlier thinking. Nevertheless, he makes an effort to point out that Yang's notions on the subject matter eventually evolved into a wholly correct perception. Furthermore, this summary not only reflects Yang's interpretation of Ch'eng's commentary, it also quotes extensively Yang's later comments on this topic. It is clear that he agrees with Yang that Ch'eng's comment provides vital foresight for interpreting the Western Inscription and recognizes that it was Yang who called it forth. The effect of the Yang Shih-Chu Hsi commentary is to pull a predominately metaphysical statement back into the sphere

of Confucian ethical concerns.

As for the contribution of the other links in the traditional line of transmission, i. e., from teacher to student, no evidence has been found indicating that Lo Ts'ung-yen participated in this exchange. However, Chu Hsi's compilation of Li T'ung's oral teachings shows that the latter was well aware of both Ch'eng I's and Yang Shih's views on the doctrinal element discussed above.⁹⁰ This record also indicates that Li T'ung had materials written by Yin Shun, who is quoted in the above passage by Chu Hsi, which he transmitted to his students.⁹¹ Such, however, is merely circumstantial evidence because there is no clear indication that Chu Hsi's mentor supplied him with the specific materials used in the reference passage, or that he significantly added to or altered the Ch'eng I - Yang Shih interpretation of the Western Inscription. Li T'ung does, however, assert the existence of an orthodox doctrinal transmission coming via Yang Shih to Lo Ts'ung-yen, his own master.⁹² Nevertheless, as Prof. Chan has pointed out, "Li's main interest was in methodology," and he "had virtually nothing to say about Principle."⁹³ Thus judgement on Li T'ung's influence in this matter must be suspended.

Clearly, however, the textual series given above demonstrates that Yang Shih did have some substantive influence on Chu Hsi's thinking. It should also be noted that the statistical test employed suggests another potentially fruitful line of investigation, namely, a comparison of Yang Shih's perceptions and points of emphasis in dealing with the Four Books with those of both Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi. In this way, his contribution to the growing attention given this text may be determined.

NOTES

1. While Huang-yu 5, the lunar year of Yang Shih's birth, corresponds with A.D. 1053, his Nien-p'u (Chronological Record) gives Huang-yu 5/11/25, which corresponds with 6 January 1054. See Yang Kuei-shan chi (The Collected Works of Yang Kuei-shan), 42, chüan, 1883 ed., shou/16a. (Hereafter cited as YKSC.)
2. See T'o T'o, Sung Shih (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), 428/7a-b (hereafter cited as SS); Chi Yun, et. al., comp., Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu (Taipei: Yi Wen Printing Co., 1969), 156/2b-3a (V/3096-3097) (hereafter cited as SKCSTM); Fu Erh-t'ai, comp., Yen-p'ing-fu chih (Yending Prefecural Gazetteer), 1873 ed. (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co., 1967), 26/12b-13a; Wu K'ang, Sung-Ming Li-hsüeh (Neo-Confucianism of the Sung-Ming Periods), 3rd ed. (Taipei: Hua Kua Pub. Co., 1973), p. 185 (hereafter cited as SMLH); Ch'ien Mu, Sung-Ming Li-hsüeh Kai-shu (General Survey of Neo-Confucianism from Sung to Ming), (Taipei: Student Book Co., 1977), pp. 144-145 (hereafter cited as SMLHKS); Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ju-chia che-hsüeh (Confucian Philosophy), 45th ed. (Taipei: Chung Hua Book Co., 1969), pp. 44-45.
3. See Wing-tsit Chan, "Chu Hsi's Completion of Neo-Confucianism," Études Song-Sung Studies in Memoriam Étienne Balazs, Ser. II, No. 1 (1973), pp. 76-77.
4. YKSC, shou/17a.
5. Ibid., shou/18a-b.
6. Huang Tsung-hso, comp., Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an (Study Guide to Sung and Yüan Philosophers), 100 chüan, supplemented by Ch'üan Tsu-wang (Taipei: World Book Co., 1966), ch. 39 (p. 724) (hereafter cited as SYHA); YKSC, shou/20b.
7. Ibid., p. 728.
8. Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy (2 vols.), trans. by Derk Bodde (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953), II, 533.
9. SS, 428/10a.
10. SYHA, ch. 25 (p. 557); see also Ch'ang Pi-te, et. al., comp., Sung-jen Chuan-chi tzu-liao so-yin (Sung Biographical Materials Index)(Taipei: Ting Wen Book Co., 1975), p. 4038 (hereafter cited as SJCCTL).
11. SMLHK5. p. 144.
12. See n. 2.
13. The Ching-te ch'uan-teng lu was compiled in 1004-1007.
14. See Chu Hsi, comp., Yi-Lo yüan-yüan lu (The Yi-Lo Sourcebook), 14 chüan (Taipei: Wen Hai Pub. Co., 1968), 2/20a-b, 3/5b-6a, 4/14a, 6/7a, 10/1a, 10/7b (hereafter cited as YLYYL).
15. See Ibid., 10/1a, 10/7b.
16. Chan, p. 75.
17. Ibid., p. 81.

18. YKSC, shou/1a.
19. See R. G. Collingwood, An Essay on Metaphysics (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1940), pp. 66-77 for a discussion of such "constellations."
20. See Chan, pp. 81-86.
21. See Chu Hsi, comp., Ssu-shu chi-chu (Collected Commentaries on the Four Books), (Taipei: World Book Co., 1971) (hereafter cited as SSCC).
22. SMLH, p. 189.
23. Ibid.
24. YLYYL, 7/6b-7a.
25. Herbert A. Giles, A Chinese Biographical Dictionary (Taiwan reprint, n.d.), p. 292. Perhaps it should be noted that contemporary intellectuals rated him as "first" among the four. See SMLH, p. 179.
26. See Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, comp., Reflections on Things at Hand, trans. by W. T. Chan (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), pp. 332-333.
27. See Ibid., pp. 80, 304.
28. Chan, pp. 85-86.
29. See Chin-ssu hou-lu, reproduced from Ssu-k'u shan-pen ts'ung-shu (Taipei: Yi Wen Printing Co., n.d.).
30. Chan pp. 70-71. The term li has been translated variously as "Principle," "Reason," "Natural Order," "Form," and others. With respect to its place in the Sung philosophical climate, and with deference to its etymological origins, if we understand li to mean the "Fundamental Principle of Order in Nature," we may continue to use the now standard term "Principle" without too much distress. For a basic analysis of the historical evolution of this concept, see Wing-tsit Chan, "The Evolution of the Neo-Confucian Concept Li as Principle," Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, n.s., 4, No. 2 (Feb. 1964), 123-148, and reprinted in Neo-Confucian, Etc.: Essays by Wing-tsit Chan (Hong Kong; Oriental Society, 1969) pp. 45-87.
31. Wing-tsit Chan, A Sourcebook in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 498.
32. Chang Tsai, Chang Tzu ch'üan-shu (The Complete Works of Master Chang), 15 chüan, commentary by Chu Hsi, Ssu-pu pei-yao ed. (Taipei: Chung Hua Book Co., 1978), 1/7a (hereafter cited as CTCS).
33. See Fung, II 493-495, and Chan, Sourcebook, pp. 497-498.
34. Fung, II, 495.
35. See YKSC, shou/18b.
36. Ibid., 16/6a-b.
37. A paraphrase of Chung Yung, 4; see James Legge, The Four Books, 2 vols. (Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Pub. Co., 1971), I, 387.

38. The term jen may in this scholarly arena be left untranslated. There are at least sixteen different English translations used in standard works that deal with this subject. It is sometimes seen as specific virtue among other virtues, and thus may be described as "benevolence." Generally, however, it signifies the sum totals of all virtues, or, as Legge put it, "perfect virtue." The early Neo-Confucians raised jen to the status of a metaphysical concept by regarding it as the substance, or essence of human nature. See Wing-tsit Chan, "The Evolution of Confucian Concept Jen." Philosophy East and West, 4, No. 1 (Jan. 1955), 295-319, and reprinted in Neo-Confucianism, Etc., pp. 1-44. See also Chan, Sourcebook, pp. 498, 597.
39. See CTCS, 15/1a. The mere mention of the word "substance" can slide any discussion into an ontological quagmire. Aristotle alone raised "the various notions of substance as (1) the concrete individual, (2) a core of essential properties, (3) what is capable of independent existence, (4) a center of change. (5) a substratum (of qualities), and (6) a logical subject. . ." Paul Edwards, et. al., ed., The Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 8 vols. (New York: Macmillan Pub. Co., Inc., 1967), VIII, 37. The Neo-Confucian view of t'i, i.e., substance, seems to favor the second "notion" given above.
40. Quoting Mencius, 6B/11. Cf. Legge, II, 414. Yi, or Righteousness, is usually interpreted to mean doing what is appropriate, according to the dictates of morality, in any particular circumstances.
41. The term wu-fu (lit., "being Without a father") is Mencius' major criticism of Mohism. See Mencius, 3B/9/9.
42. That is, since wu-fu was a logical and actual derivative of chien-ai, chien-ai had to be refuted.
43. This sentence, "K'ung ch'i liu sui chih yü chien-ai," means literally, "(I) fear its development will consequently reach to universal love." The interpretation given here is based upon its context and its reiteration and clarification in Yang Shih's next letter to Ch'eng I (given below). Thus, Fung Yu-lan's claim that he "objected to Chang's formulation on the grounds that it was identical (italics added) with Mo Tzu's discredited doctrine of 'universal love'" is dubious. See Fung, II, 495. Chan's translation of this sentence does not make a clear distinction between chien-ai and its consequences, i. e., the "denial of (the special recognition due to) a father," as noted in Yang's letter. See W. T. Chan, tr., Reflections on Things at Hand, p. 80. Even the writers of the Sung Shih do not go as far as Fung, merely stating, "Shih yi ch'i chin yü chien-ai" (Shih had doubts about its being near to universal love). SS. 428/4b.
44. Literally, "its function and it both being carried out." "It" refers to the doctrine in the Western Inscription which was referred to above as the "substance of jen."

45. In addition to this letter being found in Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu (The Complete Writings of the Two Ch'engs). Ssu-ou pei-yao ed. (Taipei: Chung Hua Book Co., 1966), Yi-ch'uan wen-chi, 5/12a-b (hereafter cited as ECCS), it is also appended to the above translated letter in YKSC, 16/6b-7a.
46. Yang Shih's Shih Lun (Historical Discussions) is found in YKSC, ch. 9, and consists of a series of short essays commenting on thirty-nine persons whose biographies are recorded in the Shih Chi, Ch'ien Han Shu, and Hou Han Shu, and two other topics, i. e., the "Suburban Sacrifice" in the Han period, and family biographical record of Emperor Shih-tsung (r. 954-959) of the Latter Chou (951-960) dynasty which is found in the Chiu Wu-tai Shih and the Wu-tai Shih.
47. This sentence appears as parenthetical commentary in the ECCS version of this letter.
48. Cf. Fung, II, 495.
49. The term erh-pen (dual foundation) comes from Mencius, 3A/5, which passage Chan translates as follows: "Heaven produces creatures in such a way as to provide them with one foundation (such as parents being the foundation of men), and I Chih would have two foundations (parents and other people)." Chan, Sourcebook, p. 71. Chu Hsi clarifies what is meant by erh-pen with the following comment: "In the creation of all living creatures, it is necessary that each be rooted (pen) in a (particular) father and mother and not have any other (erh). . . . Therefore, since one's love (for others) arises from this (single foundation) and is thereby extended to other people, there are naturally categorical distinctions (in human relationships). Now, in the case of what was said by Yi-tzu (Yi Chih), this is to consider one's own parents as fundamentally no different from people on the road. The fact is that his priorities in dealing with other people arise from this (misconception). If this is not a dual foundation (erh-pen), then what is it?!" SSCC, Mencius, 3A/5 (p. 78).
50. These two sentences appear as parenthetical commentary in the ECCS version.
51. The character tse (however) is written yü (intends to) in the ECCS version. This does not alter the basic meaning of the sentence. In fact, by accepting the tse, it is necessary to infer the yü.
52. Cf. Chan's translation of this letter in Sourcebook, pp. 550-551.
53. See YKSC, 16/7a-8b.
54. Quoting from the Western Inscription. See CTCS, 1/3a.
55. Ibid., 1/3b. The first of these two phrases quotes Mencius, 4A/11. The full passage runs thus: "Honoring advanced age is the way to treat elders; being tender to orphans and the weak is the way to treat youngsters,"
56. Ibid.

57. Quoting Ch'eng I's letter, YKSC, 16/7a.
58. Quoting himself. Ibid., 16/6b.
59. Quoting Mencius, 1A/7; Cf. Legge, II. 143-144.
60. Ibid.
61. Analects, 5/25.
62. Quoting I Ching (Book of Changes), 15/hsiang; see Richard Wilhelm, tr., The I Ching of Book of Changes, English trans, by Cary F. Baynes (New York: Bollingen Foundation, Inc., 1961), p. 67.
63. Quoting himself. YKSC, 16/6b.
64. See Ibid, shou/19b.
65. See SYHA, ch. 34. This text indicates that at least some of Hsieh Liang-tso's teachings passed to Chu Hsi through Hu's hands. For a brief biographical sketch see SJCCYL, p. 1591.
66. See YKSC, 20/2a.
67. See Ibid, shou/19b.
68. Specifically, those on lines two and three, Ibid., 17/7a.
69. See Ibid., 20/6b.
70. 1102 - 1106. See Ibid., shou/19b-20a. This section of the Yü-lu is dated from mid-Spring 1104 to mid-Winter 1106. See Ibid., 10/1a. Ching Chou, also called Chiang-ling Fu, was located in the present Chiang-ling Hs., Hupei.
71. See Ibid., 10/7a.
72. Specifically, lines one through three, Ibid., 17/8a.
73. See Ibid., 11/9b.
74. This section is dated as covering from late Spring to mid-Summer, 1106. See Ibid., 11/1a. He was eventually appointed Magistrate of Yu-hang District (present Hangchow), which latter duties he took up in 1107. See Ibid., shou/20a.
75. See CTCS, 1/7b; cf. YKSC, 11/9b.
76. Quoting Ch'eng I's letter to Yang Shih. See YKSC, 16/7a.
77. Quoting Analects, 2/2.
78. Quoting Ch'eng I's letter to Yang Shih See YKSC, 16/7a.
79. A direct quotation from the Western Inscription (CTCS. 1/3a), but referring to Yang Shih's paraphrase of same in his reply to Ch'eng I. See YKSC, 16/7b.
80. Referring to Yang's second letter, See Ibid.
81. Quoting Yang's second letter, See Ibid. The implied criticism here is that Yang Shih took a few examples out of context to demonstrate the validity of this point that the Western Inscription is too one-sided to be an adequate expression of the total Jen concept.

82. Referring to Ibid., 16/8a; also see n. 51 above.
83. Note here a slight difference from Yang Shih's interpretation of "dealing justly," which latter relates this wholly to the concept "Principle is unitary." See Ibid., 16/8a.
84. Ibid., 16/8b. Although the parenthetical "I" is indicated in the quotation as given here, such is not the case in the original context.
85. Quoting Mencius, 7A/45; cf. Legge, II, 476.
86. Quoting, with some insignificant paraphrasing, YKSC, 11/9b.
87. CTCS, 1/7a-b.
88. Ibid., 1/2a.
89. Ibid., 1/4a; see Fung, II, 494.
90. See Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu yi-shu, K'ang-hsi ed. (Taipei: Yi Wen Printing Co., 1968), Yen-p'ing Li hsien-sheng shih ti-tzu ta-wen, 15b, 20a-b, 23a-24b, 26b-28a, and Yen-p'ing Li hsien-sheng ta-wen hou-lu, 7a.
91. Ibid., Yen-p'ing Li Hsien-sheng shih ti tzu ta-wen, 17b-18a, 19a.
92. Ibid., Yen-p'ing Li hsien-sheng ta-wen hou-lu, 7a.
93. Chan, "Chu Hsi's Completion," p. 77.

THE IDEA AND THE REALITY OF THE "THING" DURING THE SUNG:

PHILOSOPHICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD WU*

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Joseph Needham has labeled the Sung period as a golden age of natural science, "the greatest flowering of indigenous Chinese science."¹ Commenting on Sung views of investigation of things and extension of knowledge, William T. de Bary has written that "in principle" Neo-Confucian learning "was not only open to systematic, rational inquiry into what we call the natural sciences, but actually enjoined it with a religious sanction"; yet, Sung masters "make it abundantly clear that the 'humanities' have a priority over the natural sciences because they are integrative disciplines."² Whether or not de Bary would agree with Needham that Neo-Confucian philosophy is "essentially scientific in quality," both authorities suggest the openness of Sung philosophy to the investigation of wu, things, as well as one of the chief reasons for the interest shown in our own time in Sung philosophical attitudes in this connection. Yet, in spite of the importance of Sung philosophical approaches to wu -- in a sense nothing is more basic -- we do not have a systematic study of them at hand, comparable, for example, to M. D. Chenu's Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century.³ As my paper undertakes to show part of the spectrum, and some of the implications, of twelfth-century Chinese conceptions of wu, it will, I hope, bestir a fellow student of the topic to explore it in the depth it deserves.

Sung thinkers shared an assumption that everything was integrally related as a part of a cosmos of endless birth and return. The traditional concept of cosmic forces giving birth to the myriad things captivated the minds of Sung thinkers joyous over the continuous life production force within nature. Intellectually this "organistic" philosophy, as Needham or Whitehead would have us call it, provided a ground for the reality of objects and moral principles in addition to reviving Confucian confidence that the cosmos was "gloriously full of values."⁴ Chu Hsi (1130-1200) summed up this feeling of oneness, Nature, mankind, things, and I are one."⁵ The organistic concept is so diffuse that Westerners

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would do well to heed A. C. Graham's observation: "A European reading the Sung philosophers for the first time finds himself continuously asking whether wu means 'thing' or 'animal', whether sheng means to 'produce' 'be produced' or 'give birth to' 'be born': but he soon learns that in most contexts such questions are irrelevant."⁶ Chinese, of course, made common-sense distinctions between things animate and inanimate; however, the philosophical intent was to reaffirm oneness of principle within self and all other things because Confucian ethics (except Hsünian ones) assumed a basis for ethics in the natural order of things and relationships.

Specifically in Sung terms, the same "principles" in the self were also in things, but where did one focus to see principle? Sung Confucians were in agreement that the same principles governed the conduct of one's mind and external things and that these principles were inherently good. Principles were not properties but functions, or the reason why, of a thing or relationship, that is to say, the task it must perform in the natural order.⁷ In approaching things, Sung Confucians also sought a middle path between the extremes of passive quietism and frantic activism, the Neo-Confucian primer Reflections on Things at Hand (Chin-ssu lu) captures this ideal in characterizing Ch'eng Hao: "When he came upon things to do, he did them with ease and leisure, and no sense of urgency. But at the same time he was sincere and earnest, and did not treat them carelessly."⁸ Here the agreement stopped. One wing epitomized by Ch'eng I (1033-1107) and Chu Hsi would argue that, although possible to grasp principle through introspection, we generally become aware of principle within ourselves only after we have learned to recognize it in external things. Principle, lacking form, is difficult to know, whereas things leave traces as they change; therefore, it is by tracing and investigating things that principle may be known. Ch'eng Hao (1032-85) had a significantly different emphasis: as long as integrity is preserved enabling us to know the principle within us, we do not need to investigate it in outside things.⁹

During the later half of the eleventh century, approaches to wu became an important issue among Sung Confucians. The first two issues we will survey is the distinction put forward by Chang Tsai (1020-77) between "intellectual knowledge" or knowing derived through the senses in contact with objects (wen-chien chih chih) and "moral knowledge" or knowing derived innately from the moral inner nature (te-hsing chih chih). Ch'eng I, in a concise elaboration of this doctrine denied that moral knowledge depended on sensory perception of external things:

The knowledge obtained through hearing and seeing is not the knowledge obtained through moral nature. When a thing (the body) comes into contact with things, the knowledge so obtained is not from within. This is what is meant by broad knowledge of things and much ability today. The knowledge obtained from moral nature does not depend on seeing and hearing.¹⁰

Moral knowledge on a discipline of personal cultivation of ethical principles within the inner nature.¹¹ Ch'eng I built solidly upon the Great Learning (Ta-hsüeh), whereas Chang Tsai had not, and the emphasis within this Learning upon extending knowledge inclined Ch'eng I to an appreciation of knowledge gained by sense encounter with wu.¹²

The investigation of things (ko-wu) was the Great Learning's first and prerequisite step in a series of organically related actions leading to an ethical order. As Willard Peterson has succinctly stated:

At the beginning of the Great Learning there is a pregnant passage which reveals that for men in antiquity ko-wu was the means by which their knowledge was extended (chih chih), from which they could follow a series of steps, each in turn prerequisite to the next, giving integrity to their intentions, correcting their hearts, improving their selves, properly regulating their families, putting their state in order, and, finally, realizing their wish of making "bright virtue plain to the world." This implicitly prescriptive chain of activities in itself provides a Confucian explanation of why we should ko-wu, lying as it does at the base of moral and social action.¹³

Unfortunately, what was meant by ko-wu is somewhat ambiguous and has been in dispute since the eleventh century.

Before Ch'eng I, interpretations of ko-wu were ethical. The standard interpretation provided by the Han classicist Cheng Hsüan (127-200) explained ko to mean to come, that is with the perfection of knowledge of the good, auspicious things will come.¹⁴ In the eleventh century, Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-86) became the first to write an essay on ko-wu. He took ko to mean "to oppose," as to guard against things: "only when external things are warded off can ultimate truth be known."¹⁵ In both interpretations, as well as many others in later generations, it was assumed that "knowledge was to be achieved by the mind without the aid of external things."¹⁶ As such, these interpretations pursued innate moral knowledge at the expense of intellectual knowledge. Cheng I from his youth, when he penned his famous "Treatise on What Yen Tzu Loved to Learn," demonstrated a conviction that one could learn to become a sage. Though he went so far as to say, "The best way to investigate the principles of things is to seek them in oneself, where it is most to the point to find them;"¹⁷ yet, he had a more external or objective strain in his orientation toward wu.

Ch'eng I provided a new interpretation of ko-wu utilizing investigation of external wu in the process of personal moral cultivation. According to his own gloss, the word ko meant to arrive, as employed in the saying in the classical Book of History, "the spirits of imperial progenitors have arrived."¹⁸

More explicitly, ko-wu meant to arrive at, or to investigate, the principles within wu: "Ko means 'arrive at.' Wu means 'activities.' In all activities there are principles. To arrive at their principles is ko-wu."¹⁹

Cultivation and moral knowledge remained paramount in Ch'eng I's mind. It is true that he believed "whatever is before the eye is a 'thing,' and things all have principles;"²⁰ moreover, he stated that "every blade of grass and every tree possesses principle and should be examined."²¹ But physical objects were not at all central to his study. In addition to glossing wu as shih, that is affairs, matters, and activities, he generally talked about shih rather than wu. When he gave examples of ways to investigate principle, he demonstrated the priority of affairs: "One way is to read books and elucidate moral principles. Another way is to discuss people and events of the past and present, and to distinguish which are right and which are wrong. Still another way is to handle affairs and settle them in the proper way. All these are ways to investigate the principle of things exhaustively."²² Although this cataloguing is not exhaustive, the predominance of studying books (principally the classics) and managing affairs is concretely demonstrated by their almost total eclipse of other subjects of inquiry in the chapter on ko-wu in The Reflection of Things at Hand.²³ The Ch'eng brothers were the first to make the point that ko-wu was to be used as an important means for moral self-development. Even though Ch'eng Hao added little to the discussion about ko-wu, beyond framing a definition of it jointly with his younger brother²⁴ Ch'eng I, by positing the thorough study of principle (ch'iung-li) through ko-wu, had elevated knowledge and investigation in Sung consciousness.

Ch'eng I had established ko-wu as a central concept in Confucian dialogue by the early twelfth century, but Chu Hsi was unhappy with the whole spectrum of views held by these followers of the Ch'eng brothers. Chu Hsi strongly objected to four major themes in their interpretations of ko-wu: equating mind and principle; advancing the view that principle will be self-evident when one maintains a tranquil mind; arguing that affairs and things harm the mind; and proclaiming that the mind will clear after things are discarded. Ch'ien Mu has delineated these objections and provided examples of Chu's critiques of individual thinkers which I will briefly summarize here.²⁵ In addition to his rejection of Ssu-ma Kuang's interpretation of fending off things so the mind can grasp the truth, Chu criticized a number of Ch'eng's disciples who can be divided into two general categories. One group was those who followed the Ch'engs in laying greater stress on the internal realm of the self or the mind. Hsieh Liang-tso (Shang-ts'ai, 1050-1103), Yang Shih (Kuei-shan, 1053-1135), and Yin Ch'un (Ho-ching, 1071-1142) generally championed cultivating inner moral integrity at the expense of the daily and continuous investigation of things. The second group was more inclined toward a detailed and fragmented investigation of external things without (it was charged) adequate appreciation for either the

ultimate unity or full diversity of principles in self and in things. Lu Ta-lin (Yü-shu, 1044-90) and Hu An-kuo (Wen-ting, 1074-1138) characterized this group. Having observed that the immediate disciples of the Ch'eng brothers displayed a considerable spectrum of interpretations of ko-wu and that Chu Hsi considered the whole lot inadequate, we may now move on to the last quarter of the twelfth century, when Chu and his major rivals reflect still other, widely varying approaches to wu. First, what was Chu's position?

Disagreement among scholars of our own day pose problems in attempting to answer this question. Yet, examination of the disagreements themselves should stimulate a better understanding of Chu Hsi and of the issues. First, there is considerable disagreement over the relation of principle to concrete things. Joseph Needham has interpreted Chu's principle (li) to be an intrinsic pattern of organization or the inner necessity of a thing because of its function and relation to the larger whole. Principle means the intrinsic organization of a thing: "Li was not in any strict sense metaphysical. . . but rather the invisible organizing fields or forces existing at all levels within the natural world." Hence, things operate according to the "internal necessity of their own natures" and these li or patterns are generated from within each thing.²⁶ This interpretation would seem to enhance the need to examine external objects, but Wing-tsit Chan has demonstrated that Needham overlooked the metaphysical aspect of Chu Hsi's principle of organization. According to Chan, Chu Hsi did in part take over Ch'eng Hao's idea of the immanence of the tao or Way; that is, the elder Ch'eng made no distinction between what is above form or shapes and what is within them: "concrete things are the way, and the way is the concrete things." The younger Ch'eng brother made a dualistically oriented distinction: "concrete things are within form or shapes, but the way is above them." Chu's view of principle as both immanent and transcendent sought to reconcile the two orientations inherited from the Ch'engs, but he was more inclined toward Ch'eng I's view. Chan concedes that Needham might be correct in suggesting that in antiquity the concept li was limited to each thing and event, but Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi transformed principle or pattern to mean a natural principle (tse) transcending particularity or events. The universal and metaphysical aspect of principle is especially evident in Chu's conception of ko-wu in that the li in one thing is the same as in all things. Although Chan thus charges Needham with missing the universal aspect of li, he concurs with Needham that principle lacked juristic sense and precise formulation, and hence did not promote the growth of modern science.²⁷

A second disagreement among contemporary authorities takes us back to the eleventh-century distinction between intellectual knowledge obtained through senses and moral knowledge gained through the inner moral nature. Those, such as Mou Tsung-san, who stress the tradition of moral knowledge, interpret Chu Hsi as advocating concern with objects of sensory knowledge only to obtain moral knowledge.

Personal moral development is paramount. Although he concedes that Chu wanted contact with wu or objects of sensory knowledge, Mou insists that Chu did this to transcend them, in order to grasp principle which endowed the objects with meaning. Thus, Chu transformed sensory knowledge into an ethical goal. In this, Chu followed Ch'eng I's emphasis on moral cultivation without which things entangled one and extinguished one's principle. Mou also emphasizes that to Chu Hsi wu are internal as well as external, that is to say, ko-wu focused as much on the feelings and the expressions of the mind as on external affairs and things. Where Chu Hsi differed significantly from the view of the primacy of moral knowledge championed by such thinkers as Ch'eng Hao and Lu Chiu-yüan (Hsiang-shan, 1139-93), he was deviating from classical Confucianism. In addition to lapsing into metaphysical dualism, Chu mistakenly assumed, first, that Lu's focus on simply "establishing the essential inner nature" was Buddhist and Taoistic and, second, that searching for moral principles through objects and events was sufficient to differentiate his views from Buddhism and Taoism. Mou charges that Chu's version of searching through external things to discover principle is closer to Buddhism and Taoism; moreover, it diminishes ethical strength because it tends to turn morality into external rules. Those thinkers who emphasized a direct approach to moral knowledge, on the other hand, built upon the Confucian tradition of deprecating sensory or experience knowledge in favor of a conscious inner effort at moral transformation.²⁸

Tu Wei-ming has contributed significantly to our understanding by providing a forceful exposition of Chu Hsi's conception of ko-wu as essentially in accord with the spirit of moral knowledge epitomized in Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) or Lu Chiu-yuan. Chu Hsi's intention in the original formulation of ko-wu was "ethico-religious rather than epistemological." Although quite aware of the usefulness of the "knowledge of hearing and seeing," both Chu and Wang believed that "the road to sagehood could only be discovered by way of inner experience, which entails a process of internal spiritual transformation." Although Chu's approach to ko-wu might very well lead to an accumulation of empirical knowledge, his "primary aim was rather to commend to students a systematic way of obtaining self-knowledge by being constantly in touch with the external world. . . [in order] to discipline one's body and mind."²⁹

In recent years, Yü Ying-shih has begun formulating a clear alternative to the school of moral knowledge in a call for more attention to the tradition of intellectual knowledge within Confucianism. Professor Yü demonstrates that the tension between intellectual and moral knowledge is rooted in the Confucian Analects and the Doctrine of the Mean. Instead of deprecating intellectual knowledge, Confucius actually sought an equilibrium within the polarity of erudition (po) and essentialism (yüeh): "By extensively studying the literature and getting to its essence in the light of li (rites), one may thus likewise not

err from what is right."³⁰ During the Sung, the polarity evolved even more clearly than earlier into a polarity of knowledge and morality. In the controversy between Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan, the division was expressed between "following the path of inquiry and study" (tao wen-hsüeh) and "honoring the moral nature" (tsun te-hsing). Although Chu sought an equilibrium between moral self-development and the extension of knowledge, "his conclusion that essentialism must operate from the intellectual base of erudition leaves not even the slightest doubt as to where he placed his own emphasis" and "may well be construed as a logical extension of his fundamental emphasis on inquiry and study."³¹ The gap between Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan is sufficiently large that Professor Yü has utilized our terms "intellectualistic" and "anti-intellectualistic" in a "very loose sense" to characterize Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan. In the preface to his recent book on the eighteenth-century thinkers Tai Chen and Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng, Professor Yü has effectively challenged us to pay less attention to current studies of Confucian moral knowledge in order to develop a better understanding of the Confucian emphasis on intellectual knowledge, that is, of the empirical world.³²

In general, various interpreters of Chu Hsi's approach to ko-wu follow a comparative methodology in treating his similarities and differences with the Ch'engs and Lu Chiu-yüan. Ch'ien Mu has expanded this framework to demonstrate Chu Hsi's disenchantment with the prevailing trend among twelfth-century Neo-Confucians to stress the mind and the principle within the mind while belittling actual affairs and the principles in things. Although this had been the conscious focus of the Ch'engs, the focus on the internal or inner was even stronger in their students. In the twelfth-century context, Chu appeared to drift toward externals and to trifle with external things, but in actuality he sought an equilibrium of cultivation and of inquiry into things, whereas the Lu school was more one-sided. While Chu Hsi did perpetuate Ch'eng I's interpretation of ko-wu, Chu made it an even more rigorous and systematic concept and discipline.³³ In short, the decisive factor for our present topic is that Chu was relatively more oriented toward wu than either the Ch'engs or their other twelfth-century disciples. For example, Chu placed greater priority on ko-wu than thorough study of principle (ch'iuung-li):

Most people take this moral principle to be a vacuous thing (wu). The Great Learning does not speak of thorough study of principles but only of the investigation of things; this is because it wants people to come to an understanding through affairs and things and in this way to perceive reality (shih-t'i). Reality is not something transcending affairs and things. Rather, it is like making a ship travel on water or a cart to travel on land. Now if you attempted to employ even the strength of a crowd to push the ship over the land and naturally find it impossible to move, you would perceive that a ship surely cannot be employed to

travel an land. This is what they call reality.³⁴

Chu Hsi expressed this same idea more succinctly: "The term 'thorough study of principle' is not as precise as 'investigation of things'; therefore, thoroughly investigate affairs and things [instead of thinking abstractly about principle]."³⁵

Most current comparative methodology on the knowledge and wu issue centers on the Chu and Lu axis with relatively little attention given to the Chekiang utilitarians. Ch'ien Mu, for example, quotes Chu Hsi's remark that whereas the Lu school "possesses a head without having a tail, Chekiang learning has a tail, but no head." Ch'ien is probably correct when he argues that if Chu had to choose, he would opt for the Lu school because he insisted on proceeding from inner to outer realms and feared the result of having no head or inner standard for learning and action.³⁶ In other passages, however, Chu Hsi demonstrated a more positive appreciation of the attractiveness of Chekiang learning:

Kiangsi learning [of Lu Chiu-yüan] is simply Ch'an (Buddhism).
Che (kiang) learning is purely utilitarian. When later scholars grope around with Ch'an learning for awhile, [they will realize that there] is not anything with which to grope [because it's empty] so they will turn away from it. Utilitarian(ism) is more formidable; when scholars practice it, they can see its effects.³⁷

Whatever the relative merits of the two alternatives confronting Chu Hsi, it is important to realize that Chekiang utilitarian thought is the other pole of twelfth-century Confucianism. Chu Hsi formulated his position in part in his controversies with Lu Chiu-yüan and Chekiang scholars, particularly Ch'en Liang (1143-94)

Ch'en Liang championed intellectual knowledge gained through sense perception of affairs and things instead of innate moral knowledge. Ch'en Liang rejected abstract and metaphysical conceptions of the Way (tao): "if the source and greatness of principle can be attained outside of affairs and things, the teachings of Confucius and Mencius are truly distant and separated from mankind, and the rulers of the day are not at fault for not using them."³⁸ Joseph Needham's discussion of the intrinsic order or pattern within each thing is more appropriate to characterize Ch'en than Chu. To Ch'en, everything was ultimately a monism of psycho-physical energy or material force (ch'i). Mankind only had this psycho-physical force to work with and the end result depended upon how it was tempered.³⁹ Ch'en's immanent and non-metaphysical tao sanctioned greater expression of the emotions because "the tao is simply pleasure and anger, sorrow and joy, love and hate attaining their appropriate expression."⁴⁰ Although he made an effort in his youth to study the Great Learning and Doctrine of the Mean,

Ch'en permanently abandoned these texts because of his dislike for metaphysics and rigorous programs of moral cultivation.

Ch'en wanted direct action or war against the Jurchen conquerors of north China, and this matter dominated his thought. His mind was directed outward toward tactics, strategy, and military mobilization. Although he read and wrote as a scholar, he preferred direct observation of things, such as his expedition to the Nanking area when he "climbed high and explored all around" to judge if the terrain and situation were defensible because he "often suspected that written accounts were unreliable."⁴¹

Ch'en Liang's preoccupation with doings and affairs surpassed his proclivity for dealing with concrete objects empirically. In addition to his goal of military action, Ch'en was more oriented toward historical studies and poetry than to scrutiny of natural phenomena. Not surprisingly, Ch'en followed his own prescription: when out of government office, study and write books.

Chu Hsi likewise was oriented more toward shih than toward wu, although his type of shih differed from Ch'en Liang's. Although Ch'ien Mu has drawn our attention to Chu's preference for ko-wu instead of the more abstract or less precise "thorough study of principles" (ch'iung-li), there is no real disagreement that Chu's ko-wu strove to find the principle in affairs and things to clarify the grasp of the principle within the mind, in other words an ethical purpose and goal. Chu Hsi does display a marked affinity to proceed from what is small, close at hand, and concrete, in contrast to most Neo-Confucians of his day who were obsessed with the large, distant, and abstract.⁴² His empirical orientation did dampen his enthusiasm for the soaring heights of cosmic spirit exhibited for example in Chang Tsai's dictum to enlarge the mind to embody (ti) all things in the universe. Criticizing Chang for being unduly imaginative, Chu suggested that Chang should have only written that the thorough study of principles within phenomena would give rise to a natural and free communion with all things.⁴³ In spite of all this, Willard Peterson no doubt represents a quite broad consensus: "explaining wu as activities (shih) is not incongruent with the Great Learning passage as a whole"; moreover, the numerous references in the recorded dialogues of the Ch'engs and Chu to the natural world as an object of interest "are incidental rather than central."⁴⁴ What's more, Chu Hsi is straightforward about the necessity of priorities in our daily investigation of things:

The discourse on ko-wu, according to Ch'eng I's view, states that, although whatever is before the eye is a thing, in his investigation of things he also insisted there be an order based on priority and degree of urgency. How can one conceivably preserve [the tranquility of] the mind in the midst of [investigating] every blade of grass, tree, utensil, and function, but at the

same time abruptly suspend enlightenment? Moreover, if currently engaged in this learning, without thoroughly fathoming cosmic principles, being clear about human relations, discussing the word of the sages, or comprehending the events of past history, one motionlessly preserves the mind in the midst of [investigating] every blade of grass, every tree, utensil, and function, what kind of learning is this; [proceeding] like this yet expecting to attain something [the unifying principle within Confucius' teachings], is cooking sand and wanting it to become rice!⁴⁵

As Ch'ien Mu remarks, if Wang Yang-ming had read this passage, he would not have squandered his energy seeking sagehood through investigating a bamboo grove for days.⁴⁶ Chu's ko-wu remained centered in human affairs and classical studies.

In conclusion, Sung philosophical openness to wu as objects was overwhelmed by ethical and metaphysical issues. Traditional Confucian cosmology or the organistic view of the world did have considerable affinity with a study of things. Sung utilitarian thinkers, such as Ch'en Liang, displayed more readiness than Neo-Confucians oriented toward ethics to accept things in a more sordid state in order to achieve certain concrete objectives. Although ko-wu especially as formulated by Chu Hsi, held out even more promise for a systematic study of things, their functions, and significance, ko-wu was so much a part of a wider metaphysical and ethical context that it diverted attention away from the sordid state of things in order to grasp their normative and ethical principles, thus the potential for thorough investigation of concrete things went largely unrealized during the Sung. Although one might be reluctant fully to embrace Professor de Bary's rather sharp critique of Chu Hsi's conception of ko-wu, it does pinpoint the failure to develop this potential: "the pragmatic and positivistic spirit which arises in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is as much a reaction against Chu Hsi's type of 'investigation of things' as it is its further extension"; one might even agree that "the further one got from Chu Hsi the better it was for scientific inquiry."⁴⁷ A further weakness in Sung philosophical attitudes toward wu was also reinforced by the ko-wu orientation toward regarding wu primarily as affairs (shih). The Tokugawa scholar Yamaga Sokō (1622-85) saw this failure to distinguish between "thing" (mono) and "fact" (koto) as the underlying fallacy of Neo-Confucianism:

"Thing" always precedes "fact," the former is physical reality, the latter is experienced activity. In short "fact" is not of the order of "things" and belongs to the human realm of idea and action. These activities take place within structures of power, and their repetition over time is called "custom" and "history."⁴⁸

Yamaga Sokō's discovery of the Neo-Confucian fallacy of conceiving wu as shih

goes a long way toward explaining the disjuncture de Bary noted between Chu Hsi's ko-wu and scientific inquiry.

Yü Ying-shih, on the other hand, has pointed to an inner logic between Chu Hsi's prescriptions for intellectual inquiry and the increased orientation toward scientific inquiry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Professor Yü, Tai Chen (1724-77) developed Chu's penchant for intellectual knowledge to its logical conclusion. In comparison with Tai Chen, Chu was "no more than half-way intellectualist" because Chu's pursuit of learning was meaningful only if conducted "under the terms of reference of 'honoring the moral nature.'" Tai Chen searched for principles only as the "internal texture of things"; moreover, "the traditional distinction between intellectual knowledge and moral knowledge or between 'learning' and 'seriousness' was no longer meaningful to Tai, who saw morality to be no more than a product of knowledge."⁴⁹ Yü's interest in Tai Chen is a part of his larger effort to demonstrate that the problem of intellectual knowledge is deeply rooted in the Confucian tradition and to build organically from within that tradition to meet the present crisis of Chinese intellectualism. Today, Confucianism is confronted with a crisis comparable to the one faced during the Sung; however, "the key to the problem does not again reside in cultivation of the mind and inner nature, but really in how to establish the spirit of objective knowledge. . . . Confucianism must resolutely adopt the spirit of objective knowledge."⁵⁰ Yü Ying-shih's challenge both to de Bary's view that the orientation toward scientific inquiry in the early Ch'ing represented a radical break with Chu Hsi's intellectualism and to scholars like Mou Tsung-san who are engrossed in the study of ethics and metaphysics reveals the extent to which the conception of wu during the Sung has been basic to the broader issues of Chinese intellectual history.

NOTES

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1. Joseph Needham, Science and Civilization in China (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), II, 493.
2. Wm. Theodore de Bary, "Neo-Confucian Cultivation and Seventeenth-Century 'Enlightenment,'" in de Bary, et al., eds., The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 167.
3. M.D. Chenu, Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century: Essays on the New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West, tr. and ed. Jerome Taylor and Lester K. Little (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1968).
4. Needham, II, 291-93 and II. passim. For an account of a contemporary Neo-Confucian thinker expounding this view, see Thomas A. Metzger's discussion of T'ang Chün-i in Metzger's Escape From Predicament: Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), Chapter 2.
5. Ch'ien Mu, Chu Tzu hsin hsüeh-an (Taipei: San-min, 1971), II, 522.
6. A. C. Graham, Two Chinese Philosophers: Ch'eng Ming-tao and Ch'eng Yi-ch'uan (London: Lund Humphries, 1958), pp. 35-b. In this and other cases, I have altered romanization to make it uniform in the body of this paper.
7. Ibid., especially p. 18.
8. de Bary, p. 170.
9. Tomoeda Ryūtarō, Shushi no shisō keisei (Tokyo: Shunjū-sha, 1969), especially p. 330. Graham, 100-101.
10. Wing-tsit Chan, tr. and comp., A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 570, quoting from Ho-nan Ch'eng-shih i-shu (Kuo-hsüeh chi-pen ts'ung-shu ed.), chüan 25, p. 348. See also Yü Ying-shih, "Some Preliminary Observations on the Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies, XI. 1-2, (December 1975), pp. 109-110.
11. Mou Tsung-an, Hsin-t'i yü hsing-t'i (Taipei: Cheng-chung, 1968), II. 393-95.
12. Ibid., II, 409.
13. Willard J. Peterson, "Fang I-chih: Western Learning and the investigation of Things," in Wm. Theodore de Bary et al., eds. The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism, p. 369.
14. D. C. Lau. "A Note on Ke wu," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 30 (1967), p. 353. Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, pp. 561-62.
15. Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, p. 562. Graham, p. 74. Tu Wei-ming, Neo-Confucian Thought in Action: Wang Yang-ming's Youth (1472-1509), (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 164.
16. Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, p. 562.
17. A. C. Graham, p. 75.
18. Wing-tsit Chan, Source Book, p. 561. Graham, p. 76.
19. Ibid., p. 74.
20. Ibid., p. 75.
21. Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, comps., Reflections of Things at Hand, tr. Wing-tsit Chan, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 93. Chiang Yung, Chin-ssu lu chi-chu.

22. Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, pp. 91-92.
23. Ibid., chap. 3.
24. Mou Tsung-san, III, 364. Graham, p. 101.
25. Ch'ien Mu, I, 129-33; II, 523-28.
26. Needham, II, 475, 562-75.
27. Wing-tsit Chan, "Neo-Confucianism and Chinese Scientific Thought," Philosophy East and West, VI (1957), pp. 319-29.
28. Mou Tsung-san, especially II, 391-97 and III, 357-95.
29. Tu Wei-ming, pp. 50. 166-68.
30. Yü Ying-shih, "Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," p. 107; quoting Confucian Analects 6:25, this translation follows an interpretation suggested by Mao Ch'i-ling, Yü p. 130, n. 13.
31. Yü Ying-shih, "Rise of Ch'ing Confucian Intellectualism," pp. 108-109.
32. Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (Hong Kong: Lung-men 1975), pp. 4, 8-9.
33. Ch'ien Mu, I, 128-46, II. 505-550 passim.
34. Ch'ien Mu, II. 508-509, quoting from chüan 15 of Chu Tzu yü-lei.
35. Ibid., II, 509, quoting from chüan 15 of Chu Tzu yü-lei.
36. Ibid., I, 145.
37. Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu yü-lei (Chuan-ching t'ang ed., 1876), 123:9a; or (Taipei: Cheng-chung ed., 1970), p. 4751.
38. Ch'en Liang, Lung-ch'uan wen-chi, (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), 9:6b. See also my "Divergent Philosophic Orientations toward Values; The Debate between Chu Hsi and Ch'en Liang," Journal of Chinese Philosophy, forthcoming, 1978.
39. Ch'en Liang, 20:11b.
40. Ibid., 9:5a-6b.
41. Ch'en Liang, Ch'en Liang chi, (Peking: Chung-hua, 1974), I. 16.
42. Ch'ien Mu, II. 513.
43. Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu ch'üan-shu, (Yüan-chien chai ed.), 44:11b-12b.
44. de Bary, pp. 377, and 405, n. 57.
45. Chu Hsi, Chu Tzu wen-chi, (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.), 39:23ab. I have injected the material in brackets from the context in the letter. Part of the letter is quoted by Ch'ien Mu, II, 533.
46. Ch'ien Mu, II, 533.
47. de Bary, pp. 144-45.
48. I am quoting Tetsuo Najita's paraphrase in his Japan, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentic Hall, 1974), p. 34.
49. Yü Ying-shih, Lun Tai Chen yü Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng. I am quoting from an English version of these themes which will be available in the near future. The Chinese text develops this argument in part one, chapter three.
50. Ibid., pp. 9 and 8; I am here translating a couple of sentences from the Chinese text of the preface.

Glossary

Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng	章學誠
Chang Tsa	張 載
Ch'en Liang	陳 亮
Cheng Hsüan	鄭 玄
Ch'eng Hao	程 顥
Ch'eng I	程 頤
Chiang Yung	江 永
<u>chih chih</u>	致 知
Ch'ien Mu	錢 穆
<u>Chin-ssu lu</u>	近思錄
<u>ch'iung-li</u>	窮 理
Chu Hsi	朱 熹
Hsieh Liang-tso, Shang-ts'ai	謝良佐、上蔡
Hu An-kuo, Wen-ting	胡安國、文定
<u>koto</u>	事
<u>ko-wu</u>	格物
<u>li</u> (principle)	理
<u>li</u> (rites)	禮
Lu Chiu-yüan, Hsiang-shan	陸九淵、象山
Lü Ta-lin, Yü-shu	呂大臨、與叔
Lü Tsu-ch'ien	呂祖謙
<u>mono</u>	物
Mou Tsung-san	牟宗三
<u>po</u>	博
<u>sheng</u>	生
<u>shih</u>	事

<u>shih-t'i</u>	實體
Ssu-ma Kuang	司馬光
<u>Ta-hsüeh</u>	大學
Tai Chen	戴 震
<u>tao</u>	道
<u>tao wen-hsüeh</u>	道問學
<u>te-hsing chih chih</u>	德行之知
<u>t'i</u>	體
<u>tse</u>	則
<u>tsun te-hsing</u>	尊德行
Tu Wei-ming	杜維明
Wang Yang-ming	王陽明
<u>wen-chien chih chih</u>	聞見之知
Wing-tsit Chan	陳榮捷
<u>wu</u>	物
Yamaga Sokō	山鹿素行
Yang Shih, Kuei-shan	楊時、龜山
Yen Tzu	顏子
Yin Ch'un, Ho-ching	尹淳、和靖
Yü Ying-shih	余英時
<u>yüeh</u>	約

CONFERENCE ON MULTI-STATE RELATIONS IN EAST ASIA,
10th-13th CENTURIES

Charles A. Peterson
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This conference was held on July 9-14, 1978 at Issaquah, Washington (near Seattle) under the chairmanship of Morris Rossabi of Case Western Reserve University. It was sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies with indirect contributions made by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and Australian National University. The objective of the conference was to explore the nature and variety of foreign relations in East Asia during a critical and volatile period when no "Chinese world order" appears to have been dominant or indeed even present. The papers submitted by the thirteen contributors fall into four main groups as follows, together with a brief description of their contents.

(1) The "external relations" of the Five Dynasty states

Klaus Tietze, Universität München, "Diplomatic Relations and Interstate Trade in China during the Five Dynasties Period." The complexities of the relations of the southern states with the dominant powers of North China and with each other are the subject of this paper. It is shown how the external relations of the states of Wu, Wu-yüeh, Ch'u, Nan-Han and Shu developed in accordance with the relative strength of each, with geographical location, and with changes beyond individual borders. Trade was also a central factor, most of the southern states willingly accepting nominal vassal status vis-à-vis the powerful northern dynasties in order to maintain a lucrative north-south commerce. The interest of a few in maintaining diplomatic ties with Liao is also shown, in the case of Wu-yüeh for commercial reasons and in that of Southern T'ang (Wu) for political ones.

Edmund H. Worthy, Jr., American Historical Association, "Diplomacy for Survival: Domestic and Foreign Relations of Wu-yüeh, 907-978." An intensive examination of the external relations of Wu-yüeh, the longest-lived of the southern states, covering first the period 907-956 and then the final twenty-two years down to 978. During the former the history of Wu-yüeh is characterized by a wholly independent course of action and by its keen rivalry with Southern T'ang. Favorably placed to pursue diplomatic relations with the Koreans, the Japanese, and the Khitan, it did so avidly, for purposes both of enhancing its prestige as an

independent state and of pursuing trade. Chou's seizure of the northern territory of Southern T'ang in 956, with the half-hearted assistance of Wu-yüeh, effectively turned the latter into a Chou vassal. Upon the founding of Sung, Wu-yüeh became a loyal and useful ally, though enjoying steadily less freedom of action. Finally, in 978 it was peacefully extinguished as a separate entity, the only one of the Five Dynasty states to die -- so to speak -- in its sleep. The author concludes with the application to this 10th century scene of a contemporary theory of a balance of power system, arguing persuasively that virtually all of the essential features set out for such a system can be discovered in central and south China of that day.

(2) Aspects of Sung foreign relations

Herbert Franke, Universität München, "Sung Embassies: Some General Observations." This is a comprehensive examination of all important aspects of Sung diplomatic missions, including: the principal types of embassy, the agencies governing them, the personnel employed, diplomatic correspondence, ceremony and protocol, pay allowances, the use of envoys as spies, and so forth. The substantial sources on diplomatic affairs, including travel diaries, permit the author to assemble information in frequently surprising detail. They also limit the scope of the study to Sung relations with Liao, Chin and Koryo where diplomacy was conducted essentially between equals, in contrast to relations with lesser states which ran along routine tributary lines. Complementing other aspects of foreign relations with which we are already familiar, this study will serve the student of the subject as a rich and ready reference. It also has its lighter moments. For example, dyers at one Point in Southern Sung were ordered to find a new shade of red for officials' robes since those of Chin officials were coming disconcertingly close to the Sung in color. Or again, not infrequently embarrassed by the gifts they received from their foreign hosts, Sung envoys were on some occasions especially troubled to find on their hands live and breathing steppe-marmots, a prized Khitan offering.

Charles A. Peterson, Cornell University, "The Dilemmas of Sung Foreign Policy, 1217-1234." A study of the foreign policy of Southern Sung in this turbulent period when the Hangchow regime was forced to develop responses to three kinds of real or potential adversaries to the north, the collapsing Jurchen, the rising Mongols, and the armies of rebels (or would-be loyalists) active north of the border in Shantung and Honan. It was along the latter that was of chief concern, threatening violence along the border and yet holding out promise of serving as a key instrument for recovery of the north. Policy toward the Chin never wavered in aim, the old enemy's complete destruction, but it remained essentially passive. Toward the Mongols Sung exhibited great caution, apparently agreeing to assist in the liquidation of the refugee Chin court in 1233-34 only in an effort to renew

its territorial claim in the north. But the most striking development of the period was Sung's turnabout in 1234 when it attempted to seize Honan from the Mongols, a move which failed signally and precipitated the ensuing nearly half-century of war between the two powers. The lack of explicit information in the sources makes a conclusive explanation for this decision difficult, but it is certain that the emergence of new leadership at Hangchow played a central role in it. Encouraging, if also misleading, intelligence regarding Mongol strength and intentions evidently contributed in addition.

Shiba Yoshinobu, Osaka University, "Sung Foreign Trade: its Scope and Organization." A richly documented survey of Sung foreign trade which brings together in succinct and lucid fashion a vast amount of data on the subject. Opening with an overview of economic development in T'ang and Sung times, the author proceeds with a description of trade along the northern border with, respectively, Liao, Hsi-Hsia, the Western Tangut, and Chin. Trade is placed in the context of overall economic relations, i. e., including Sung subsidy payments. While the controversial question of cash flow is not conclusively settled, it is argued that much of the wealth paid out by Sung according to treaty agreement was eventually returned to the Sung economy in exchange for coveted Chinese goods. Numerous specific points of interest emerge. For example, the economic motive behind Liao's westward expansion which enabled it to act as middleman for Chinese goods in the Eurasian trade. Overseas trade is treated in another major section, the expansion of this trade being closely related to technological improvements in shipping. In dealing with the large volume of imports (esp. spices) as well as exports (esp. porcelain and cash), as indeed as throughout the paper, the author provides ample statistical material. He closes with a brief examination of the organization and procedures of trade, both private and official. Maps showing trade routes and patterns are also provided.

Tae Jingshen, University of Arizona and Academia Sinica, "Barbarians or Northerners: Northern Sung Images of the Ch'i-t'an." An almost schizophrenic duality characterizes Sung views of the Khitan. While a pretension to Chinese superiority and contempt for "barbarians" was half-consciously maintained among one category of officials (and writers), a more realistic grasp prevailed among others, cognizant not only of Khitan power but also of their increasing sophistication and achievements in "higher" culture. The amazing thing is that both views persisted side by side, sometimes even in the same individual. In addition to exposing these strains in the Sung mentality, the author relates the adjustments made by Sung authorities in the wake of the Shan-yüan Treaty of 1005 in order not to offend their treaty partner. Derogatory references to the Khitan were expunged from all official communications which might pass before Khitan eyes and changes were even made in Chinese place names out of respect for the northerners' taboos. Its willingness to

accept Liao as a fellow kuo is evident, so is a firm insistence on the exact demarcation of boundaries. Internal communications were another matter as many officials drew, perhaps with renewed venom, on age-old stereotypes and insulting terminology. While their colleagues discussed matters on essentially pragmatic grounds, these officials turned discussion of foreign problems to the cultivation of virtue and internal reform at home. In a classic case of double-think, they even spoke of Shan-yüan as a great success, not justifying it on the grounds of attaining peace but labelling it a great victory.

Wang Gungwu, Australian National University, "The Rhetoric of a Lesser Empire: Early Sung Relations with its Neighbors." A paper which calls attention to the use of rhetoric by the throne and by imperial historiographers in early Northern Sung and how it both reflected and ignored the hard facts of Chinese foreign relations, past and present. After distinguishing in his preliminaries among five kinds of rhetoric developed by past dynasties for use in foreign relations, especially by the T'ang, the author lays out his study in two principal parts. In the first he traces Sung-Liao relations up to the Shan-yüan Treaty of 1005, showing how imperial rhetoric changes according to circumstances. In the second he turns to the wai-ch'en section (chuan 956-1000) of the great documentary collection, the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, and draws on the thirty-five prefaces written ca. 1005-1013 to show what kinds of historical assessment of Chinese foreign relations were made in the immediate aftermath of the 1005 treaty. While the record of Chinese difficulties at many times is spelled out, the uses of rhetoric seem to come in for clearer recognition, especially as the advantages of flexibility, an active diplomacy and the chi-mi ("loose rein") policy are stressed. The author concludes that the Sung went at the beginning from attempting to "equate reality with rhetoric" to the point of "dealing with reality as a separate exercise" where there was little "need to change the rhetoric."

(3) The Mongols, their Allies and their Vassals

Thomas T. Allsen, University of Minnesota, "The Mongol Grand Qans and the Uiyurs of Turfan in the 13th Century." While the role of the Turks, including Uighurs, in Mongol service is the subject of Mr. de Rachewiltz's paper below, this is a study of the Uighur kingdom in eastern Turkistan itself from the time it became a Mongol vassal in 1209 down to the early 14th century. The history of this state, that is, as a dependency, is traced in one part of the paper, showing the privileged position it occupied in the Mongol scheme of things and then how it unwillingly became involved in the conflicts, consecutively, between the Tolui and Ogodei lines, between Qubilai and Ariq Böke and between Qubilai (and successors) and Qaidu. While Uighuristan became increasingly dependent on the Grand Qan in Peking for protection and aid, it eventually became, as several Chinese

monarchs had already discovered, too difficult and expensive to hold, slipping into the hands of the Chagatai khan well before the end of Yüan. The other main section of the paper treats the key aspects of Mongol rule in the Uighur kingdom, including registration of population, taxation and tribute, postal relay stations, military recruitment, and the Uighurs' cultural contributions. The author concludes with an illuminating comparison between Mongol and Chinese systems of rule, stressing the greater demands made by the former which, in principle at least, allowed little regional variation and autonomy.

Luciano Petech, Rome University, "International Relations of the Tibetan States, ca. 900-1300." As indicated by its title, this paper deals with more than just the Mongol period. It opens with a brief discussion of the little known history of western Tibet and proceeds to trace in somewhat greater substance that of northeastern Tibet from the 10th century through the early 12th. Relations of leaders in the northeast with the Tanguts tended to be hostile, while those with Sung, usually amicable, were interrupted by occasional acts of aggression by the Chinese. The main body of the paper, however, deals with the Mongols. The author shows that the first Mongol contacts date only from the 1240s and Mongol efforts to gain control over the country only from Möngke's initiatives in the 1250s. Somewhat by chance the Mongols adopted leaders of the Sa-skya sect to be their representatives in Tibet, and from 1258 the noted P'ags-pa acted as their primary agent. Considerable attention is given to the institutions and policies they utilized to attain stable rule and to the struggles within the country between pro- and anti-Mongol forces. No open resistance was undertaken after 1290 from which time down to the mid-14th century Tibet was ruled jointly as a special region by the Yüan emperor and the Sa-skya sect.

Igor de Rachewiltz, Australian National University, "The Role of Turks in China under the Mongols." This is a meticulous study. In part quantitative, aimed at identifying the Turks (Uighurs, Qipchag, Öngöt, et al) in Mongol service in China and assessing their role and influence. Covering the period 1200-1368 in three phases, the author shows that there were Turks in influential positions from the very beginning, while an increased number brought into the government by the "pro-Turkish" Ögödei (who in fact adopted the old Turkish title of kaghan). A steady increase of Turkish officials, civil and military, appears during Qubilai's reign, while in the fourteenth century Turks not only are numerous but they dominate the government for long periods at the very highest levels. Having documented his case for the Turks as the preeminent group among the se-mu, the author concludes with some intriguing and pregnant remarks on the central role in Mongol-Yüan politics, played by ethno-cultural divisions, of which the Turks comprised one major segment.

(4) Korea and the Northeast

Gary Ledyard, Columbia University, "Chinese Frontier History in Acts and Scenes: a Diachronic Perspective on the China-Manchuria-Korea Triangle in Act II, Scene ii." As suggested by its title, this paper is an attempt on a macrocosmic scale to explain the pattern of developments in continental Northeast Asia, including China, from Former Han down to Ch'ing. In order to account for the swings of the pendulum, first one way and then the other, the author divides this long period into three "acts" each of which is further subdivided into two phases. Phase one of each act features China in the ascendancy, expansive and a great civilizing influence. The direction of action is from south to north. In phase two things are reversed: barbarian people emerge as stranger and conquer either part or all of China. The Sung period is, of course, vintage "scene two" (following Sui and T'ang as scene one of Act Two). A number of qualifications and refinements accompany this schema which places developments of the 10th - 13th centuries in a revealing, broader context and which elevates the importance of Manchuria as a critical region. Indeed, China, the Manchurian powers, and Korea are all seen as drawn into a common vortex, their histories closely interrelated. While the author implicitly sees part of the struggle as between civilization and barbarism, he notes the growing sinicization of the non-Chinese peoples (the Mongols excepted) from one "act" to the next. He also notes the growing capacity of Korea to act as an independent agent despite the alternate pressures of China and the nations of Manchuria.

Keith Pratt, University of Durham, "Chinese Cultural Influence in Korea, 960-1126." After a survey of Sino-Korean relations in the T'ang period, suggesting the multifarious but perhaps superficial nature of Chinese influence, the author proceeds to a consideration of the Sung-Koryö period. The number and character of diplomatic missions, the goods exchanged, and the effects of domestic developments all come in for treatment. Such specific areas coming under Chinese influence as rites and religion, thought, literature, music and the arts (porcelain) are briefly considered. It is shown, in particular, how the native tradition in music, kept distinct from the Chinese for ritualistic, social and aesthetic-technical reasons, more than held its own.

Michael C. Rogers, University of California, "National Consciousness in Medieval Korea: the impact of Liao and Chin on Koryö." The Koryö dynasty, which united all of Korea under its rule in 935, incorporated two distinct and often conflicting cultural-ideological strains. That rooted in the old Silla tradition harkened back to the T'ang Chinese pattern in whose universalism Korea enjoyed a distinct place. The other strain took its origins from Koguryö and featured more fully nativistic and even irredentist sentiments. It is against the domestic of this dual heritage that the author considers the impact of develop-

ments in the northeast and in China in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Liao's triumphs over Sung culminating in the Shan-yüan Treaty of 1005 followed in a few years by intense Khitan military pressure on Koryŏ not only led to the latter's change of overlords but was also a first severe blow to the notion of Chinese universalism. (The author incidentally exposes the famous exploit of Sŏ Hŭi in saving the country through adroit diplomacy as essentially legendary, but at the same time finds in it genuine evidence of the Koreans' disillusionment with Sung and growing sentiment in favor of going it alone.) Chin's rise and seizure of Manchuria and North China had even greater effects on Korean national consciousness. With the Chinese dynasty no longer even in possession of the Central Plain, universalism was out the window and the nativistic element was given new life. Yet, the literati controlling the government managed, in part through a by no means unfavorable settlement with Chin in 1129-30, to remain in power and to suppress the opposition (the Sŏgyang rebellion of 1136). The ultimate political and ideological reaction, the author argues, to the power realignment in East Asia was felt only in 1170 when a military dictatorship took power by which time Koguryŏ and the indigenous tradition had largely displaced China as a source of authority and wisdom.

Papers are now being revised in view of publication. If a conference volume does indeed take shape, it will also contain a paper by Morris Rossabi on Chinese diplomatic agencies.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF
RECENT ARTICLES ON THE SUNG AD YUAN PERIODS IN MAINLAND
CHINESE JOURNALS

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This bibliography presents brief listings, with occasional summaries or annotations, of 73 articles relating to the Sung and Yüan periods published largely within the last two years in four major journals from the PRC. Materials dealing with states contemporary to the Sung or Yüan, such as the Liao, Chin, Hsi-hsia and Ta-li kingdoms, are expressly included, as are articles that deal substantively with the Sung or Yüan periods as part of a more general survey.

A large number of these articles can be classed under two headings: 1. China's relations with her minority peoples and with foreign countries; and 2. Chinese achievements in traditional science and industry. Articles in the first category reflect, to a greater or lesser degree, the preoccupations of current foreign policy, namely: China's traditional claims to sovereignty in Central Asia, her ideological struggle with Soviet revisionism, and her desire to cultivate friendly relations in the Third World. A group of articles on the Chin and another on the Hsi-hsia both stress the close cultural ties between China and her minority peoples and attack the theories of Soviet historians that these peoples have a separate cultural history. An article on the Yüan conquest of Ta-Li sets out to refute the myth of Mongol brutality and emphasizes China's long history of friendly relations with the Thai people. An article on overseas trade during the Yüan further underlines the peaceful role of the Yüan in foreign contacts. Articles on Chinese science and industry cover a broad range, with items devoted to astronomy, navigation, the compass, ship-building, textile manufacture, and well-drilling.

Besides these two major groups, a third focus of interest is China's economy, with several articles devoted to descriptions of coinage, paper money, silver ingots, and standard weights. Textual studies of literature and aesthetic appreciation of art are also beginning to appear.

The four journals surveyed are K'ao-ku (abbreviated KK), nos. 1-6, 1977 and 1-4, 1978; Kao-ku hsüeh-pao (abbr. KKHP), 1974-1977; Li-shih yen-chiu (abbr. LSYC), nos. 1-6, 1977 and 1-6, 1978; and Wen-wu (abbr. WW), nos. 1-12, 1977 and 1-9, 1978.

The English translations of titles of articles are intended only to be approximate. Some titles are taken or adapted from those given in the English table of contents of a journal. Likewise, English renderings of institutional authors, of technical terms, and of foreign words appearing in Chinese are only approximate. Articles are listed below first by the journal in which they appear and then by their order of appearance within that journal.

I. K'ao-ku (9 articles)

1. P'eng Shih-fan, "Ching-te-chen shih chiao ch'u-t'u Sung tz'u-t'ung" [Sung dynasty porcelain tomb figurines unearthed in the suburbs of Ching-te-chen], KK 1977, 2:143-144. 彭適凡, "景德鎮市郊出土宋瓷俑"
2. Chang Tseng-ch'i, "Ta-li-kuo chi-nien tzu-liao te hsin fa-hsien" [The discovery of new material on the chronology of Ta-li], KK 1977, 3:197-199. (See also #15, below). 張增祺, "大理國紀年資料的新發現"
3. Yü Chia-tung, "Chiang-hsi Po-yang Sung mu". [A Sung tomb at Po-yang in Kiangsi], KK 1977, 4:281. 余家棟, "江西波江陽宋墓"
4. Cultural Center or Wen-chiang co., "Ssu-ch'uan Wen-chiang fa-hsien Nan-Sung chiao-ts'ang" [The discovery of a S. Sung cellar storehouse at Wen-chiang in Szechuan], KK 1977, 4:287-288. 溫江縣文化館, "四川溫江發現南宋窖藏"
5. Archaeological Section, Tunhuang Institute, "Tun-huang Mo-kao ch'ü wu-shih-san ch'ü ch'ü-ch'ien Sung-tai chien-k'ung fu-yüan" [Restoration of the Sung dynasty building in front of grotto no. 53 or the Mo-kao Caves at Tunhuang], KK 1977, 6:413-21. 敦煌文物研究所考古組, "敦煌莫高窟 53 窟窟前宋代建築複原"
6. Chia Chou-chieh, "Nei-meng-ku ti-ch'ü Liao Chin Yüan shih-ch'i te wa-tang ho t'i-shui" [Decorative and inscribed roof tiles from the Liao, Chin and Yüan periods in Inner Mongolia], KK 1977, 6:422-425. 賈洲傑, "內蒙古地區遼金元時期的瓦當和滴水"
7. Cultural Center of Ao-han Banner, Liaoning, "Ao-han-ch'i Li-chia-ying-tzu ch'u-t'u te chin yin ch'i" [Gold and silver vessels discovered at Li-chia-ying-tzu in Ao-han Banner, Liaoning Province], KK 1978, 2:117-118. 敖漢旗文化館, "敖漢旗李家營子出土的金銀器"
The vessels were found in two tombs of the early Liao period.
8. _____, "Ao-han-ch'i Pai-t'a-tzu Liao mu" [A Liao dynasty tomb at Pai-t'a-tzu in Ao-han Banner], KK 1978, 2:119-121. _____, "敖漢旗白塔子遼墓"
9. Fo-shan Museum, "Kuang-tung Shih-wan ku yao chih tiao-ch'a" [Investigation of the site of an ancient kiln at Shih-wan, Kwangtung], KK 1978, 3:195-199. 佛山市博物館, "廣東石灣古窯址調查"
This kiln was active in the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

II. K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao (4 articles)

10. Hsia Nai, "Shen Kua ho k'ao-ku-hsüeh" [Shen Kua and archaeology], KKHP 1974, 2: 1-18. (See also #16, #49 below). 夏鼐, "沈括和考古學"

11. P'an Nai "Su-chou Nan-Sung t'ien-wen t'u-pei te k'ao-shih yü p'i-p'an" [Studies on the planisphere engraved on the Southern Sung stone stele preserved at Soochow], KKHP 1976, 1:47-62. 潘鼐, "蘇州南宋天文圖碑的考釋與批判"

This planisphere, or astronomical chart, shows 1,434 stars visible at 35° north latitude arranged in concentric circles around the celestial pole. The chart indicates as well the smaller circle of stars which never set below the horizon at that latitude; the lines of the celestial equator and the ecliptic; and the longitudinal lines marking the 28 hsiu 宿 or "lunar mansions". The chart appears to be based on astronomical observations made about 1100 A.D., but it and its accompanying text were not made until considerably later by the scholar Huang Shang, tutor to the future emperor Ning Tsung.

12. Hsia Nai, "Ts'ung Hsüan-hua Liao-mu te hsing-t'u lun, erh-shih-pa hsiu ho huang tao shih-erh kung" [Notes on the system of the 28 hsiu and the solar zodiac in China], KKHP 1976, 2:35-58. 夏鼐, "從宣化遼墓的星圖論二十八宿和黃道十二宮"

New interest in the origins of the 28 hsiu and the date of the introduction of the solar zodiac into China was aroused by the discovery of a star map incorporating both systems painted on the ceiling of a Liao dynasty tomb dated 1116 A.D. While both systems can be used for calendrical purposes, they differ radically in that the hsiu are based on the celestial pole and equator, while the zodiac is based on the ecliptic. An understanding of their separate historical development is all the more important because the two systems have frequently been confused by foreign scholars attempting to derive Chinese astronomy from Western. The system of hsiu is known in both ancient India and China, but the author favors a Chinese origin. It is first mentioned in texts of the Warring States Period, and the earliest known star-map depicting the hsiu is found in a tomb of the 1st century B.C. The zodiac developed first in Babylonia and then in Greece and eventually entered China via India. It is first mentioned in the Chinese translation of a Buddhist sutra dating from the Sui dynasty, and its first pictorial representation dates from the T'ang.

13. Chen-chiang Museum et. al., "Chin-t'an Nan-Sung Chou Yü mu" [The tomb of Chou Yü of the S. Sung at Chin-t'an co., Kiangsu province -- excavation report], KKHP 1977, 1:105-131. 鎮江博物館等, "金壇南宋周禹墓"

The tomb of Chou Yü of the S. Sung yielded an exceptionally well-preserved corpse, over 30 pieces of silk garments and fabrics, including gauze, leno, and damask, all remarkable for their continued brilliance and elasticity; and a rare handwritten copy of a student's certificate from the Imperial College. The tomb thus provides invaluable material for the history of medicine and embalming, for the study of textile manufacture and design, and for research on Sung educational institutions. The same find was reported more briefly in Wen wu, 1977, 7:18-27.

III. Li-shih yen-chiu (5 articles)

14. Yang Nah, "Shih T'ien-wan" [Commentary on the meaning of T'ien-wan (title of regime of peasants at the end of the Yüan dynasty)], LSYC 1978, 1:66.

楊訥, "釋天完"

At the end of the Yüan various rebel groups assumed dynastic titles, usually drawing upon traditional names from Chinese history such as Sung, Han, etc. The dynastic title T'ien-wan proclaimed by Hsü Shou-hui is different, however. It is a graphic pun or puzzle in which the official title of the Yüan dynasty, Ta-yüan 大元, is cleverly "subjugated" in the bottom part of the characters making up the title T'ien-wan 天完. Secret societies in the Ch'ing employed similar graphic puzzles to express their opposition to the Manchus. The explanation of this term was first offered by the Ming author Chao Shih-che.

15. Tu Yü-t'ing and Ch'en Lü-fan, "Hu-pi-lieh p'ing Ta-Li-kuo shih-fou yin-ch'i T'ai-tsu ta-liang nan-ch'ien" [Whether the conquest of Ta-li by Qubilai caused a mass of the Thai race to move southward], LSYC 1978, 2:57-65.

杜玉亭, 陳呂範, "忽必烈平大理國是否引起泰族大量南遷"

With the intention of correcting the erroneous belief among foreign scholars in the brutality of the Mongols and of emphasizing the long tradition of peaceful relations between China and the Thais, the authors vigorously attack the thesis proposed over fifty years ago by H.R. Davies, W.A.R. Wood, and W.C. Dodd that Qubilai's conquest of Ta-li in the 1250's led to a massive southern migration of the Thai race. They argue that Qubilai's conquest was accomplished as much by diplomacy and persuasion as by force, and that the greater part of the ruling class of Ta-li was left in place and continued to enjoy considerable power in the service of the Mongols. Chinese histories are cited to show that the Thai peoples in South China and in Thailand were already in their respective places as early as the Han dynasty. As final proof of the antiquity of Thai settlement in Thailand (and hence of the falsity of the migration theory) they note the recent discovery in Thailand of a 5,000 year-old cultural site which they do not hesitate to label a Thai. This last point at least will be controversial.

16. Ch'en Te-chih, "Kuan-yü Shen Kua te Hsi-ning shih-lu t'u-ch'ao" [Shen Kua's Illustrated Notes of a Mission to the Liao in the Hsi-ning Period (1068-1077)], LSYC 1978, 2:66-69.

陳德芝, "關於沈括的熙寧使虜圖抄"

The record of Shen Kua's mission to the Liao in 1075 A.D. to negotiate disputed territory has only recently been extracted from ch. 10,877 of the Yung-lo ta-tien, where it occurs under the character 虜. Of the seven accounts of Sung embassies to the north which have survived to the present, Shen Kua's is by far the most complete, detailed and accurate. His trip took him to areas unvisited by other embassies, in particular the area around Tu-erh-shan.

His skill as a cartographer and geographer is evident in his painstaking attempt to provide accurate estimations of distances, directions, and the size of natural obstacles. His account makes it evident that the Chin desired to conceal the direct route to their capital by forcing the Sung ambassadors to take a long and roundabout path. His account is also valuable for establishing the correct location of Chin place-names.

17. Ch'en Kao-hua, "Yüan-tai te hai-wai mao-i" [Overseas trade of the Yüan dynasty], LSYC 1978, 3:61-69. 陳高華, 元代的海外貿易

This general survey of ocean-going trade during the Yüan covers a multitude of topics in considerable detail, such as the official regulations and administration of trade; the design of trading ships, their tonnage, and the make-up of their crews; the major ports, routes, and destinations of trade; and the sorts of goods imported and exported. The authors assert that trade burgeoned under the Yüan despite periods of official repression, that it supplied a large part of government tax revenues, and that it stimulated production both in handicraft industries and in agriculture. During the Yüan, Chinese ships with a capacity of 200 to 300 tons were the largest in the world and ranged from the Phillipines and Indonesia in the east to Persia, Arabia, and Africa in the west. Exports consisted of manufactured goods such as textiles, porcelain and pottery, cooking pots, needles and mats; of cultural articles such as books for Korea and Japan; and of processed foodstuffs such as wine, salt and sugar. In several cases contact with Chinese export goods stimulated the development of handicraft industry in overseas countries. Imported goods included a wide variety of herbs and drugs for medicine and of luxury items such as pearls, rhinoceros horn, ivory, and incense. Besides citing the accounts of Marco Polo and Ibn Batuta, the authors single out two Chinese sources for special mention: 1. The Nan-hai chih 南海志 of 1304 (recovered from ch. 11,907 of the Yung-lo ta-tien) which lists over 140 foreign places trading with the Yüan; and 2. the Tao-i chih-lüeh 島夷志略 by the late Yüan traveller Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 which records his visits onboard Chinese ships to over ninety foreign places, including Basra on the Persian Gulf.

18. Huang Shih-chien, "Huo-chang" ["Fire Master" -- One who directed the course of a seagoing vessel in ancient China], LSYC 1978, 3:95-96. 黃時鑑, "火長"

IV. Wen wu (55 articles)

19. Li Wei-jan, Nanking Cultural Relics Management Committee, "Nan-ching ch'u-t'u Chi-chou yao tz'u-chen" [A porcelain headrest from the Chi-chou kiln excavated at Nanking], WW 1977, 1:95.

李蔚然, 南京市文物保管委員會, "南京出土吉州窯瓷枕"

The article describes a hollow porcelain headrest inscribed with two tz'u by the N. Sung poet Chou Pang-yen and decorated with drawings of flowers and fruit.

20. Tso Chang-ch'eng, Cultural Center of Wei-nan co., and Lo Hsi-chang, Cultural Center of Fu-feng co., "Shan-hsi Wei-nan Fu-feng ch'u-t'u Yüan Chih-yüan chiu-nien ho T'ai-ting wu-nien t'ung ch'üan" [Metal weights dated the ninth year of Chih-yüan (1272) and the fifth year of T'ai-ting (1328) of the Yüan dynasty excavated at Wei-nan and Fu-feng in Shensi], WW 1977, 2:92-93.

左忠誠, 羅西章, "陝西省渭南扶風出土至元九年和泰定五年銅權"

21. Hsiao Meng-lung and Liu Hsing, Chen-chiang Museum, "Chen-chiang-shih nan-chiao Pei-Sung Chang Min mu" [The tomb of Chang Min of the N. Sung in the southern suburbs of Chen-chiang], WW 1977, 3:55-58.

肖夢龍, 劉興, 鎮江市博物館, "鎮江市南郊北宋章民墓"

Chang Min, from Fukien, received his chin-shih degree in 1027 A.D. He died in 1071 after a long career in government. His embassy to the Chitan in 1064 is mentioned in the Sung shih. The tomb yielded a stone funerary biography, two examples of the rare "purple" ting-ware 紫定, and several bowls with gold and silver rims.

22. Liu Yü-shang, Fang-ch'eng co. Cultural Relics Management Committee, "Ho-nan Fang-ch'eng-hsien ch'u-t'u Nan-Sung yin-ting" [S. Sung silver ingots unearthed in Fang-ch'eng co., Honan], WW 1977, 3:79-80, 68.

劉玉生, 河南方城縣文管會, "河南方城縣出土南宋銀錠"

Three of the six ingots found were completely intact. One was dated 1154, another was dated 1156.

23. Archaeological Team, Heilungkiang Prov., "Ts'ung ch'u-t'u wen-wu k'an Hei-lung-chiang ti-ch'ü te Chin-tai she-hui" [Chin dynasty society in the Heilung-kiang area in the light of archaeological finds], WW 1977, 4:27-39.

黑龍江省文物考古工作隊, "從出土文物看黑龍江地區的金代社會"

This article provides an overall view of Chin society, detailing the concurrent processes of material progress and Sinification. A broad variety of excavated iron tools, almost entirely based on Chinese models, provides evidence for advances in agriculture, handicraft industry, and construction trades, not to mention techniques of smelting and ironworking. Vast hoards of coinage, largely from the Sung, as well as tomb finds of luxury items such as porcelain, silk, and jewelry reveal close commercial contacts with neighboring states. Copper official seals and tallies show the transition from native to Chinese forms of government, while other inscribed items witness the increasing use of the Chinese written language and of Chinese surnames. This article and the succeeding ones are intended at least in part to counter the claims of Soviet revisionist historians that China's minority nationalities have had a development separate from Chinese culture and hence that their territory does not fall under the traditional area of Chinese sovereignty.

24. _____, "Hei-lung-chiang p'an Sui-pin Chung-hsing ku-ch'eng ho Chin-tai mu-ch'ün" [The ancient city of Chung-hsing and Chin tombs in Sui-pin co. on the banks of the Heilungkiang], WW 1977, 4:40-49.

_____, "黑龍江畔綏濱中興古城和金代墓群"

25. _____, "Sui-pin Yung-sheng te Chin-tai p'ing-min mu" [Common people's graves from the Chin period in Yung-sheng, Suipin co.], WW 1977, 4:50-55, 62.

_____, "綏濱永生的金代平民墓"

26. _____, "Sung-hua-chiang hsia-yu Ao-li-mi ku-ch'eng chi ch'i chou-wei te Chin-tai wu-ch'ün" [The ancient city of Ao-li-mi on the lower reaches or the Sung-hua-chiang, and the group of Chin period tombs on its outskirts], WW 1977, 4:56-62. _____, "松花江下游奧裏米古城及其周圍的金代墓群"

27. Li I-yu, Inner Mongolian University, "Hu-ho-hao-t'e-shih wan-pu Hua-yen-ching t'a te Chin Yüan Ming ko-tai t'i-chi" [Notes on the inscriptions from the Chin, Yüan and Ming dynasties in the 'Pagoda of the 10,000-fold Hua-yen Sutra' in Huhexot, Inner Mongolia], WW 1977, 5:55-64.

李逸友, "呼和浩特市萬部華嚴經塔的金元明各代題記"

28. Chia Chou-chieh, History Dept., Inner Mongolian Univ., "Yüan Shang-tu tiao-ch'a pao-kao" [Report on an investigation of Shang-tu (Xanadu), the 'Upper Capital' of the Yüan], WW 1977, 5:65-74. 賈洲傑, "元上都調查報告"

29. Li Tso-chih, Inner Mongolia Museum, "Hu-ho-hao-t'e shih tung-chiao ch'u-t'u te chi-chien Yüan-tai tz'u-ch'i" [Several Yüan dynasty porcelain vessels excavated in the eastern suburbs of Huhexot], WW 1977, 5:75-77.

李作智, 內蒙古博物館, "呼和浩特市東郊出土的幾件元代瓷器"

30. Fukien Provincial Museum, "Fu-chou-shih pei-chiao Nan-Sung mu ch'ing-li chien-pao" [Excavation of S. Sung tombs in the northern suburbe of Foochow], WW 1977, 7:1-17. 福建省博物館, "福州市北郊南宋墓清理簡報"

This cluster of three tombs yielded an unprecedented amount of woven and embroidered articles of women's clothing and thus provides rich material for research both on women's costume and on techniques of textile manufacture. Huang Sheng, whose tomb preserved the majority of items, was a young wife of 17 sui who died in 1243. Her clothes were probably products of the Ch'üan-chou district, a center of silk-weaving and a major port for overseas trade, where both her father and her husband's grandfather had served as high officials. Her grave also yielded a stone funerary biography and the deed of purchase for her tomb.

31. Chen-chiang Museum and Chin-t'an co. Cultural Relics Management committee, "Chiang-su Chin-t'an Nan-Sung Chou Yü mu fa-ch'üeh chien-pao" [Excavation of the S. Sung tomb of Chou Yü in Chin-t'an co., Kiangsu], WW 1977, 7:18-27. 鎮江市博物館, 金壇縣文管會, "江蘇金壇縣南宋周禹墓發掘簡報"

Chou Yü, born in 1222, was admitted to the Imperial College (t'ai-hsüeh) in 1244 at the age of 23 sui, and died either in 1249 or 1261. His corpse was preserved virtually intact, and an autopsy revealed that he had probably died from intestinal parasites. The inside of his coffin lid was painted with a map of the heavens and constellations, in the center of which is a large lotus. The document recording his admission to the t'ai-hsüeh was found by his side, and many articles of clothing in fine condition were also found,

thus providing further material for the study of textile manufacture. For a fuller account see KKHP 1977, 1:105-131.

32. Chao Ch'eng-tse, "T'an Fu-chou Chin-t'an ch'u-t'u te Nan-Sung chih-p'in ho tang-shih te fang-chih kung-i" [A discussion of the S. Sung textiles excavated at Foochow and Chin-t'an and the contemporary art of weaving], WW 1977, 7:28-32. 趙承澤, "談福州金壇出土的南宋織品和當時的紡織工藝"
33. Ho Hui, "Sung-tai t'uan-shan ho tiao-ch'i shan-ping" [Sung dynasty round fans and carved lacquer fan-handles], WW 1977, 7:35-36. 和惠, "宋代團扇和雕漆扇柄"
34. Chu Chieh-yüan, Shensi Prov. Museum, "Chin Chen-yu san-nien shih-kuan wen chiao-ch'ao t'ung-pan" [A copper printing plate for the 10-kuan note dated the third year of Chen-yu (1215) of the Chin dynasty], WW 1977, 7:74-76. 朱捷元, 陝西省博物館, "金貞祐三年拾貫文交鈔銅板"
35. Chou Shih-jung, "Hsiang-t'an fa-hsien Pei-Sung piao-chun ch'üan-heng-chli: t'ung-tse" [On a N. Sung standardized weight, the t'ung-tse], WW 1977, 7:79-80. 周世榮, "湘潭發現北宋標準權衡器—銅則"
36. Kwangtung Prov. Museum et. al., "Kuang-tung Hui-chou Pei-Sung yao-chih ch'ing-li chien-pao" [Excavation of a N. Sung kiln site at Hui-chou, Kwangtung], WW 1977, 8:46-52. 廣東省博物館, "廣東惠州北宋窯址清理簡報"
37. Chou Shih-jung, "Tsu-ch'iu wen t'ung-ching ho Sung-tai te tsu-ch'iu yu-hsi" [A bronze mirror depicting football and the game of football in the Sung dynasty], WW 1977, 9:80-82. 周世榮, "足球紋銅鏡和宋代的足球遊戲"
38. Shu Hua, "Ku-kung po-wu-yüan so-ts'ang Sung-jen fa-shu" [Sung calligraphy in the Palace Museum], WW 1977, 9:83-85. 舒華, "故宮博物院所藏宋人法書"
39. Liu Ho-hui and Weng Fu-hua, Chen-chiang Museum, "Chen-chiang Chü-jung ch'u-t'u te chi-chien Wu-tai Pei-Sung tz'u-ch'i" [Several porcelain vessels of the Five Dynasties and N. Sung unearthed in Chen-chiang and Chü-jung], WW 1977, 10:90-92. 劉和惠, 翁福驊, "鎮江句容出土的幾件五代北宋瓷器"
40. Archaeological Team, Liaoning Prov. Museum, "Liao-ning Pei-piao Shui-ch'üan i-hao Liao-mu fa-chüeh chien-pao" [Excavation of Liao tomb no. 1 at Shui-ch'üan in Pei-piao co., Liaoning], WW 1977, 12:44-51. 遼寧省博物館文物隊, "遼寧北票水泉一號遼墓發掘簡報"
41. Liu Ch'un-yüan, Yang I-pi, Li Lien-ying, and Chang Hsüeh-chün, "Wo-kuo Sung-tai ching-yen tsan-tao kung-i te chung-yao ko-hsin -- Ssu-ch'üan cho-t'ung- ching" [An important advance in the technique of salt-well mining in our country in the Sung dynasty: the tube wells of Szechuan], WW 1977, 12:66-72. 劉春源等, "我國宋代井鹽鑿工藝的重要革新--四川卓筒井"

Drawing on a variety of written records, the authors show how the new "vertical tube salt-well", introduced in Szechuan about 1040 A. D. by private entrepreneurs, outproduced and eventually replaced the old-fashioned wells run by the government, causing considerable economic and political repercussions. The

old wells were broad and shallow, suffered from seepage of fresh water and from collapse, and required large amounts of labor to operate. The new wells had apertures of only 8 or 9 inches yet attained depths of several hundred to a thousand feet. Large bamboos were hollowed out and joined end to end to provide durable casings for the shaft that would prevent both seepage and collapse. Brine was extracted by a piston fitted inside a narrow tube inserted in the well. Other improvements included a rounded blade for the drill bit and the use of human, animal or water-powered windlasses to reduce the labor of pumping and drilling. The success of the new wells in producing better quality salt at a lower price than the government led at first to a period of official repression.

42. Shu Hua, "Huang T'ing-chien shu Shih sung ssu-shih-chiu chih t'ieh" [Huang T'ing-chien's calligraphy: the manuscript of his "Poem sent to my nephew"], WW 1977, 12:82. 舒華, "黃庭堅書詩送四十九姪帖"
43. Cultural Center of Hsiang-fen co., "Shan-hsi Hsiang-fen-hsien ch'u-t'u Sung-tai t'ung-ch'i" [Sung dynasty bronze vessels unearthed at Hsiang-fen co., Shansi], WW 1977, 12:89-90. "山西襄汾縣出土宋代銅器"
44. Cultural Relics Management Committee, Tan-yang co., Kiangsu, "Tan-yang Ch'üan-chou kung-she fa-hsien Yüan-mo Hung-chin-chün Sung cheng-ch'üan t'ung-yin" [A bronze seal of the "Sung" government given to the Red-turban army at the end of the Yüan, discovered at Ch'üan-chou commune, Tan-yang], WW 1977, 12:88. 江蘇丹陽縣文物管理委員會, "丹陽全州公社發現元末紅巾軍宋政權的銅印"
45. Cultural Relics Management Committee, Liao-yang, "Liao-yang fa-hsien Liao mu ho Chin mu" [Liao and Chin dynasty tombs discovered at Liao-yang], WW 1977, 12:90-92. 遼陽市文物管理所, "遼陽發現遼墓和金墓"
46. Cultural Center of P'u-t'ien co., Fukien, "Pei-Sung te shui-li kung-ch'eng Mu-lan-pi" [Irrigation engineering in the N. Sung: the Mu-lan dam], WW 1978, 1:82-87. 福建省莆田縣文化館, "北宋的水利工程木蘭陂"
47. _____, "P'u-t'ien ku-li Sung chia-hsiang" [The ancient lichee tree known as "Song royal fragrance" in P'u-t'ien], WW 1978, 1:88-91. _____, "莆田古荔枝家香"
48. Shu Hua, "Chi Hsü Chiang-shan fang-mu t'u chüan" [Chi Hsü's scroll painting entitled Herding water-buffaloes in the hills of Chiang-nan], WW 1978, 1:96. 舒華, "祁序江山放牧圖卷"
49. Wang Chen-to, "Chung-kuo ku-cai tz'u-chen te fa-ming ho hang-hai lo-ching te ch'uang-tsao" [The invention of the magnetic needle in ancient China and the creation of the navigational compass], WW 1978, 3:53-61. 王振鐸, "中國古代磁針的發明和航海羅經的創造"

In this general history of the magnetic needle and the mariner's compass, two crucial developments are traced to the Sung dynasty: first, the discovery

that iron needles can be magnetized from lodestones; and second, the creation of the traditional Chinese mariner's compass from a floating magnetic needle placed within a rounded dial marked with the 24 directions. The Meng-hsi pi-t'an of Shen Kua (1031-1095) provides the earliest description of the first development as well as recording Shen Kua's four techniques for testing needles and his observation that magnetic needles point east of south. The author compares the development of the compass in China and Europe and illustrates his survey with clear technical drawings.

50. Su Hsing, "Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo pien-i" [Resolving suspicions about the Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo], WW 1978, 3:71-74.

蘇興, "京本通俗小說辨疑"

The author argues that the Ching-pen t'ung-su hsiao-shuo is not, as it purports to be, an authentic Yüan copy of Sung dynasty hua-pen. Instead it is a clever forgery, created by making slight changes in nine stories from Feng Meng-lung's Hsing-shih heng-yan and Ching-shih t'ung-yen whose titles also appear in earlier catalogs of Sung stories. (André Levy has also argued that this collection is a forgery, but he is willing to concede that the editor Miu Ch'üan-sun might have been the victim, not the perpetrator, of the forgery. See Mélanges de Sinologie offerts à Paul Demiéville, Paris, 1974, vol.2.)

51. Keng Chien-t'ing, "Yang-chou ch'u-t'u te A-la-po-wen shih-pei" [A tombstone inscribed in Arabic unearthed at Yang-chou], WW 1978, 3:87-88.

耿鑒庭, "揚州出土的阿拉伯文石脊"

The article given a brief history of the Islamic cemetery at Yangchou and describes in detail a 14th-century tombstone inscribed in Persian-style calligraphy with two verses from the Koran and four poems, including two which can be attributed to Ibn Nubatai (1288-1366).

52. Ting Tsu-ch'un, "Ssu-ch'uan-sheng Shih-fang-hsien ch'u-t'u te Sung-tai tz'n-ch'i" [Sung dynasty porcelain unearthed in Shih-fang co., Szechuan], WW 1978, 3:93-96. 丁祖春, "四川省什邡縣出土的宋代瓷器"

53. Cultural Center or Chou-chih co., "Shan-hsi-sheng Chou-chih-hsien fa-hsien Yüan Chih-yüan chiu-nien t'ung-ch'üan" [A bronze weight dated the ninth year of Chih-yüan of the Yüan dynasty (1273) discovered in Chou-chih co., Shensi], WW 1978, 3:96. 周至縣文化館, "陝西省周至縣發現元至元九年銅權"

54. Ta-t'ung Museum, "Ta-t'ung Chin-tai Yen Te-yüan mu fa-ch'üeh chien-pao" [Excavation of the Chin dynasty tomb of Yen Te-yüan at Ta-t'ung, Shansi], WW 1978, 4:1-13. 大同市博物館, "大同金代閻德源墓發掘簡報"

Yen Te-yüan's funerary inscription records that he was master of the Yü-hsu Kuan, a Taoist temple in Ta-t'ung, the "Western Capital" of the Chin, and that he was held in high esteem by the court and nobility. He died in January, 1190 at the age of 96 sui. His tomb contained some richly-embroidered Taoist robes of woven silk, as well as assorted articles of wooden furniture, previously only known to scholars through paintings.

55. Cultural Relics Management Committee of Chou-hsien, Shantung, "Chou-hsien Yüan-tai Li Yü-an mu ch'ing-li chien-pao" [Excavation of the Yüan dynasty tomb of Li Yü-an in Chou-hsien, Shantung], WW 1978, 4:14-20.

山東鄒縣文物保管所, "鄒縣元代李裕庵墓清理簡報"

The tomb of Li Yü-an, dated 1350, yielded his well-preserved corpse, the skeleton of a woman (presumably his wife) and 55 articles of male and female clothing in excellent condition. Li Yü-an was a Confucian scholar and had restored the temple of Mencius in Chou-hsien.

56. Wang Hsüan, "T'an Li Yü-an mu-chung te chi-chien ch'i-hsiu i-wu" [A discussion of several embroidered articles of clothing in the tomb of Li Yü-an], WW 1978, 4:21-22, 89. 王軒, "談李裕庵墓中的幾件刺繡衣物"

57. Ch'en Kao-hua and Wu T'ai, "Kuan-yü Ch'üan-chou-wan ch'u-t'u hai-ch'uan te chi-ko wen-t'i" [Several questions about the sea-going vessel excavated in Ch'üan-chou Bay, Fukien], WW 1978, 4:81-85.

陳高華, 吳泰, "關於泉州灣出土海船的幾個問題"

The excavation of a sea-going trading vessel in Ch'üan-chou Bay, Fukien, initially reported in WW 1975, no. 10, aroused considerable debate both about the ship itself and about ship-building in general. The authors of this article determine that the ship was sunk in 1277, just after the Yüan conquest of the Southern Sung, when Ch'üan-chou was under seige by Chang Shih-chieh. It had been built three years previously. The term nan-chia 南家 or "southerner" occurring on several of the wooden placards used to mark the goods belonging to different merchants is a term originally used by the Chin and Yüan to denote the Chinese or the Sung, and its appearance on these placards is further confirmation of the date of the ship's sinking. The term kan 干 following a surname on these same placards is taken to be short for kan jen, or "agent", a person who conducted private business on behalf of bureaucrats and landlords. The dimensions of the ship give an estimated capacity of from one to two thousand dan 石, or from 60 to 120 tons, which is considerably less than the original estimate of 200-plus tons. Additional topics raised for debate are: the dimensions of the ships constructed in Fukien for the Liu-ch'iu trade during the Ming dynasty; the tonnage of the so-called shen-chou 神舟 sent to Korea during the Sung; and the size and shape of the vessels employed by Cheng Ho for his overseas voyages during the Ming.

58. Lu Ch'i, "Pei-ching Men-t'ou-k'ou-ch'ü Lung-ch'üan-wu fa-hsien Liao-tai tz'u yao" [A Liao dynasty porcelain kiln found at Lung-ch'üan-wu, Men-t'ou-k'ou, Peking], WW 1978, 5:26-32. 魯琪, "北京門頭溝區龍泉務發現遼代瓷窯"

59. Ssu Ta, "Sung ch'ien" [Sung dynasty coinage], WW 1978, 5:84-88. 思達, "宋錢"

60. Wen Chien, "Sung-jen Pai-niu t'u-chüan" [A Sung painter's Picture-scroll of a Hundred Water-buffalo], WW 1978, 5:89. 溫建, "宋人百牛圖卷"

61. Tu Nai-sung and Shan Kuo-ch'iang, Palace Museum, "Chi ko-sheng-shih tzu-chih-ch'ü cheng-chi wen-wu hui-pao chan-lan" [The national exhibit of cultural relics held in Peking], WW 1978, 6:26-45.

杜乃松, 單國強, 故宮博物院, "記各省市自治區征集文物彙報展覽"

This exhibition, which opened in May of 1978, displayed a number of rare examples of calligraphy, painting and porcelain from the Sung and Yüan periods, including several items previously unknown to the world. Sung calligraphy was represented by works of Su Shih, Huang T'ing-chien, Mi Fei and Fan Ch'eng-ta, while Chao Meng-fu, Hsien Yü-shu and Yüan Wei-chen represented the Yüan. In painting, the most exciting find was a previously unknown work bearing the seal of Fan K'uan, a painter of the early part of the Northern Sung. Only two other examples of his work are known, both of them in Taiwan. Also from the Northern Sung was a painting attributed to Wang Shen. Yüan paintings included one by Wang Meng, two by Ni Tsan, one by Ch'ien Hsüan (see #73 below) and the only known painting by Pien Lu. The porcelain exhibit contained the only known completely intact bowl of Sung "purple" ting-ware 紫定 (see also #21 above), as well as a unique example of a blue-and-white octagonal jar from the Yüan. Dating from the middle of the Yüan was a painted porcelain headrest from the Tz'u-chou kilns depicting the principal characters in the story of "The Journey to the West". This artifact, however, antedates by several decades both the Hsi-yu-chi tsa-chü of Yang Ching-hsien and the Hsi-yu-chi of Wu Ch'eng-en.

62. Study Group for the History of Pottery and Porcelain in Tse-po, Shantung, "Shan-tung Tse-po-shih Tse- ch'uan-ch'ü Tz'u-ts'un ku yao chih shih-chüeh chien-pao" [Report on the excavation of the site of an ancient porcelain kiln at Tz'u-ts'un in Tse-ch'uan district, Tse-po city, Shantung], WW 1978, 6:46-58.

山東淄博陶瓷史編寫組, "山東淄博市淄川區磁村古窯址試掘簡報"

The history of the kiln is divided into five periods, beginning in the mid-T'ang and ending with the conquest of the Chin by the Yüan.

63. Tung Leh-i, "Hu-pei Tang-yang-hsien Yü-ch'üan-shih Pei-Sung Leng-chin-t'ieh t'a" [The Northern Sung "Lustrous Iron Pagoda" at the Yü-ch'üan temple, Tang-yang co. Hupei], WW 1978, 6:93-94.

董樂義, "湖北當陽縣玉泉寺北宋綾金鐵塔"

64. Li Jui-so, "Ho-pei-sheng Chao-hsien Sung-ts'un Sung Yüan mu ch'u-t'u te chi-chien wen-wu" [Several articles excavated from Sung and Yüan dynasty tombs in Sung village, Chao co., Hopei], WW 1978, 6:95-96.

李瑞鎮, "河北省趙縣宋村宋元墓出土的幾件文物"

65. Museum of the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region, "Ning-hsia Hui-tsu tzu-chih-ch'ü wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso te chu-yao shou-huo" [Important achievements of cultural and archaeological work in the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region], WW 1978, 8:54-59, 11.

寧夏回族自治區博物館, "寧夏回族自治區文物考古工作的主要收穫"

This article surveys the results of archaeological fieldwork on a broad range of periods, from the paleolithic down to the Hsi-hsia. While research on the

latter period did turn up two tombs from the Northern Sung, the majority of research has been focussed on the complex of Hsi-hsia imperial tombs at Ho-lan, 25 km. west of Yin-ch'uan. The excavation of tombs no. 8 and no. 108 and of a kiln at the edge of the tomb district all provide evidence of the strong influence of Chinese culture on the Hsi-hsia. The five following articles describe some of these finds in detail.

66. _____, "Hsi-hsia pa-hao ling fa-chüeh chien-pao" [Excavation of Hsi-hsia tomb no. 8], WW 1978, 8:60-70. _____, "西夏八號陵發掘簡報"

Indirect evidence suggests that this is the tomb of Li Tsun-hsü 李遵項(1162-1226), eighth emperor of the Hsi-hsia. While the general plan of the tomb follows that of T'ang and Sung imperial tombs it incorporates a few distinctive Hsi-hsia features.

67. _____, "Hsi-hsia ling-ch'ü i-ling-pa-hao mu fa-chüeh chien-pao" [Excavation of tomb no. 108 in the Hsi-hsia tomb district], WW 1978, 8:71-76.

_____, "西夏陵區一〇八號墓發掘簡報"

Fragments of stone inscriptions in Chinese and Hsi-hsia script reveal that this is the tomb of Li Jen-shou 李仁壽, Prince Cheng-hsien of Liang, who lived sometime between the years 1063 and 1129. The inscriptions contain material useful for studying the Hsi-hsia government, economy, culture and military organization, as well as their relations with neighboring tribes. The use of Chinese script, the layout of the tomb, and the presence of Chinese coinage all testify to the strong cultural contacts between the Hsi-hsia, the Northern Sung, and the Liao, such close affinities, according to the authors of this article, are sufficient to refute the theories of Soviet scholars such as F.S. Kuznetsov (sp.?) that the Hsi-hsia culture had a separate origin and development in Central Asia.

68. Shanghai Textile Institute, "Hsi-hsia ling-ch'ü i-ling-pa-hao mu ch'u-t'u te ssu-chih-p'in" [Silk fabrics from Hsi-hsia tomb no. 108], WW 1978, 8:77-81.

上海市紡織科學研究院紡織史組, "西夏陵區一〇八號墓出土的絲織品"

69. Wu Feng-yün, Li Fan-wen and Li Chih-ch'ing, "Chieh-shao Hsi-hsia ling-ch'ü te chi-chien wen-wu" [Introducing several cultural relics from the Hsi-hsia tomb district], WW 1978, 8:82-84. "介紹西夏陵區的幾件文物"

70. Museum of the Ninghsia Hui Autonomous Region, "Yin-ch'uan Kang-tz'u-ching Hsi-hsia yao-chih" [A Hsi-hsia kiln site at Kang-tzu-ching, Yin-ch'uan], WW 1978, 8:85-87. "銀川缸瓷井西夏窯址"

71. Wang K'o-jung, "Chien-kuo i-lai Kuang-hsi wen-wu k'ao-ku kung-tso te chu-yao shou-huo" [The important achievements of cultural and archaeological work in Kwrangsi since liberation], WW 1978, 9:8-13.

王克榮, "建國以來廣西文物考古工作的主要收穫"

Sung dynasty finds include the discovery in Wu-chou of a mint dating from the Yüan-feng period (1078-1085) and of kiln sites in T'eng-hsien and Hsing-an-hsien.

72. Chu Wei-heng, "Ch'ien Hsüan Fu-yü-shan chü t'u chüan" [Ch'ien Hsüan's scroll entitled "Picture of Living on Fu-yü-shan"], WW 1978, 9:68.

朱蔚恒, "錢選浮玉山人圖卷"

Ch'ien Hsüan received the chin-shih degree in the Ching-ting period of S. Sung (1260-1264); he was still alive in 1300 at over sixty years of age. He specialized in painting landscapes, human figures, and flowers and birds. The author quotes extensively from his critics, including a long colophon by Huang Kung-wang to the present painting. The scroll, unusual for the number of collector's seals, is now in the collection of the Shanghai Museum.

73. Ts'ui Chin, "Ch'ien Hsüan Hua-niao t'u chüan" [Ch'ien Hsüan's scroll entitled "Painting of Flowers and Birds"], WW 1978, 9:69.

崔錦, "錢選花鳥圖卷"

This painting, in the collection of the Tientsin Art Museum, is one of the items displayed in the National Exhibition of Cultural Relics in Peking. (See also # 61 above)

宋遼金元史研究論文索引

1977

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Li-li Ch'en, Master Tung's Western Chamber Romance (Tung Hsi-hsiang chu-kung-tiao): A Chinese Chantefable. Cambridge University Press, 1976. Pp. xxviii + 238. Bibliography. \$25.00

Professor Ch'en has long established herself in academic circles as an astute and erudite expert on chu-kung-tiao. This almost impeccable translation of the genre's most perfect specimen comes as a suitable culmination of her many years of dedicated study. With its publication, she now shares her expertise with a much greater audience, indeed with the general reading public.

The translator's Introduction outlines the general background of chu-kung-tiao as a literary form and offers discerning literary criticism of this chantefable (e.g., the exciting analysis of the story's major characters on pp. xi-xvii). In two respects, however, the Introduction seems to me disappointing. Having traced Master Tung's version to its precursors, Professor Ch'en fails to mention the enormous influence it has since exerted over later writers. Nor does she relate chu-kung-tiao to later literary forms or genres. This complaint is lodged because I believe that some discussion along these lines would give the reader a clearer sense of the place of chu-kung-tiao and Tung Hsi-hsiang in Chinese literature.

All conscientious translators proceed from the premise or understanding that what they are about to attempt is in one sense impossible. "Traduttore traditore," Professor Ch'en is the first to remind us; "despite the best intentions, much betrayal necessarily occurs" (p. xxviii). What can one do, for instance, with a passage like this:

寂寞空閨裏
苦苦天天甚滋味
淅淅微微風兒細
薄薄怯怯半張鴛被
冷冷清清地睡
憂憂戚戚添憔悴
裊裊霏霏瑞煙碧
滅滅明明燈將煤
哀哀怨怨不敢放聲哭
只管修下嚙嚙啜地

Professor Ch'en comes up with:

The plight of a lonely woman in an empty boudoir
Is sad beyond description.
While a hissing wind blows,
Ying-ying cowers, alone and cold,
Beneath one half
Of a thin quilt.
Mists of green incense rise languidly in the dark.
The lamp glitters.
Ying-ying is consumed with grief.
Afraid to weep aloud,
She cries with muffled sobs.

(p. 192)

This solution is really no solution. It is a paraphrase that all but leaves out the onomatopoeia, repetition and alliteration, which account for much of the effect achieved in the original. But except for cases like this, which are perhaps untranslatable, Professor Ch'en's rendition serves the original extremely well on the whole. In particular, she has succeeded in distinguishing the levels of language and preserving the formal distinction among lyric, verse, and prose. The overall high quality of the translation--fidelity to the original, readability, and meticulous attention to the nuances--deserves the highest commendation.

There are a few typographical errors, but most of them the reader can easily detect for himself. In one place, however, a misplaced quotation mark changes the dramatic situation considerably. I refer to p. 18: the last three lines all belong to Chang; the closing quotation mark should have followed the word "in" and not "nonsense!". There are also some doubtful points and renditions both in the text and in the notes, all of minor importance. Most of these have been treated by David T. Roy in his thorough and thoughtful review (HJAS, vo. 37, no. 1 [June 1977], 207-22), to which I refer those interested in a more detailed discussion of the book. * What follows is merely an attempt to supplement Professor Roy's judicious criticism.

On p. 38, in the last stanza of the aria entitled "Plum Tree in the Snow," one reads the following lines:

Fa-t'ang is transfixed,
Fa-Pao turns berserk, and
Chih-kuang becomes paralyzed.

The aria, describing the general confusion caused by Ying-ying's appearance, singles out in fact only Fa-pao and Chih-kuang; the term fa-t'ang 法堂 refers, here as well as a few lines down, simply to the prayer hall. This interpretation is borne out also by the syntax of the lines in question. Finally, Professor Roy questioned the translation of a passage appearing in Ying-ying's reprimanding of Chang, on p. 121 (the original reads:

是用託論短章，願自陳啓；猶懼適兄之見難

*This reviewer's copy was not available to me in time for publication in last year's issue.

Had I referred you to some moral essay, in the hope that you would discover the appropriate lesson therein, I would have been afraid you might be unwilling to take the trouble to read it.

An alternate reading which Professor Ch'en decided against is: "Were I to write you an edifying poem, in the hope that you might discern the lesson yourself, I would be afraid that you would blame me for being unmannerly" (n. 93, p. 121). Professor Roy emends it to read:

For this reason I wanted to write a short note that would express my true feeling, but feared that you might take it amiss.

Though an improvement, the rendering still fails to account for the relationship between this passage and its immediate context. So here is my own attempt:

I then decided to send you a short note, conveying my wish to explain to you in person; still I feared that you might find a pretext and not respond.

I think it sits better with the two sentences that follow, 因鄙靡之詞以求必至。非禮之動，能無愧乎？ which I translate as "Finally therefore I resorted to a base, licentious poem to ensure your coming. Now are you not ashamed of yourself, for being moved by what is improper?" (Or, in Professor Ch'en's version: "In the end I decided to entice you hither with a base and suggestive poem. Are you not ashamed of your impropriety?")

The comments and observations offered above can in no way detract from the overall excellence of Professor Ch'en's translation. The accolades and notices accorded to the book since its publication--by laymen as well as specialists--are indeed well deserved.

Ching-Hsi Perng 彭鏡禧
National Taiwan University

Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, The Military Establishment of the Yuan Dynasty. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. vii = 314, n.p.

Professor Hsiao's work is the second study in recent years on the Yüan military. But it complements rather than duplicates Gunther Mangold's Das Militärwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft. Mangold's book is primarily based on the Yüan tien-chang while Hsiao's study, which is a revised version of his doctoral dissertation at Harvard, incorporates a translation of sections of the Yüan shih. It is surprising that, though Hsiao lists Mangold's book in his bibliography, he scarcely cites it in his notes and does not indicate discrepancies, if any, between his own sources and those used by Mangold.

Hsiao translates chuan 98 and 99 of the Yüan shih. He very sensibly refrains from translating the Yüan shih sections on the horse administration

and the postal relay system. There are much fuller accounts of these subjects in the portions of the Ching-shih ta-tien, the source from which the compilers of the Yüan shih obtained their information about the military. Haneda T ru (in his Gench ekiden zakk) and Peter Olbricht (in his Das Postwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft) and S. Jagchid and C. R. Bawden (in their "Some Notes on the Horse Policy of the Yüan Dynasty," Central Asiatic Journal X, nos. 3-4, December, 1965, pp. 246-268) have already consulted these sections in their publications. Hsiao thus wisely restricts himself to a translation of the parts on the military system (ping-chih), the Imperial Guard (Su-wei), and the Garrisons (chen-shu). His translations are very illuminating, and the notes that accompany the text are invaluable. The notes offer philological information, descriptive accounts of Mongol and Chinese government offices and titles, and precise identifications of geographic locations.

His narrative focuses on the problems and the decline of the Yüan military. He concludes that by 1351 "the Yüan army had already degenerated into impotence" (p. 31). Based on evidence he found in the chin-shih list of 1333, he asserts that Mongol military men began, in the fourteenth century, to intermarry with Chinese women. They started to adopt Chinese values, and their military skills atrophied. Many of their officers were dishonest or ill trained. The economic demands that the Yüan court imposed on them were heavy. They were expected to provide their own horses, weapons, and other supplies. Many of them could not cover these expenses from the income they derived from their lands and their slaves in China. As they became indigent, their military effectiveness deteriorated. By the middle of the fourteenth century, the Mongol troops, "greatly impoverished as they had become, were probably not much different from poor Chinese peasants..." (p. 32).

Hsiao's picture seems somewhat overdrawn. There is no doubt that the economic burdens on the Mongol soldiers were excessive and that some of their officers were corrupt. But much more evidence is needed to prove that many of the Mongol troops accepted Chinese values (in which, according to Hsiao, "peaceful human qualities were more esteemed"--is this perhaps too sinocentric a view?). Moreover, Hsiao appears to assume that Chinese values are incompatible with military preparedness and skill. Finally, he seems to argue that the intermarriage of Mongol soldiers and Chinese women necessarily led to the assimilation of the Mongols and to their military decline. These assumptions may indeed be valid, but more documentation is required to substantiate his views.

Hsiao's book is, nonetheless, full of valuable information. This reviewer hopes that it will stimulate comparable studies of the military in other parts of the Mongol empire.

Morris Rossabi
Case Western Reserve University

Almut Netolitzky, trans., Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei: eine Landeskunde Sudchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert. Münchener Ostasiatische Studien, Band 21. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. 24 + 320 pp.

Chou Ch'ü-fei, chin-shih of 1163 from Yung-chia (Chekiang), was a minor official about whom little is known. Happily -- for here opportunity was married to a lively curiosity and sharp powers of observation -- official service took him to Ching-chiang (Kweilin) in the 1170s where he served under the well-known writer Fan Ch'eng-ta. During his term of service and also upon his journey home, he travelled extensively in Kwangsi and Kwangtung, sojourning at the ports of Cantan and Ch'in-chou (near Vietnam on the Gulf of Tongkin) and avidly taking notes. Back home circumstances led him to fashion his notes as well as material he acknowledges drawing from Fan's now lost Kuei-hai yü-heng chih into a book. Had he lived eight centuries later, he might have called it "Everything You Have Always Wanted To Know about the Region Beyond the Ling Mountains But Were Afraid To Ask." As it was, badgered by friends and relatives who incessantly asked him about the far south, he put his answers into writing and called the product "Answers to Questions Anticipated [literally, Answers on My Behalf to Questions] about the Region Beyond the Ling Mountains."* The work held no little interest in its own day, serving as a main source for Chao Ju-kua in his compilation of the Chu-fan-chih, as Rockhill and Hirth pointed out long ago. Fortunately, it was incorporated into the Yung-lo ta-tien in the Ming period, and, not surviving independently, was saved from oblivion in that great repository.

The Ling-wai tai-ta consists of 294 articles organized into ten chapters, not all of them by any means cohesive. After an initial chapter which provides a geographical introduction to Kwangsi, the work follows with two chapters on the countries of Southeast and Southwest (as far as Madagascar) Asia, i. e., the areas in contact with the southern Chinese ports. The remaining seven chapters deal with local society and culture and the physical environment in Kwangsi and Kwangtung in remarkable depth and detail. From financial institutions to musical instruments, from mourning practices to reptiles, everything seemingly falls under Chou's scrutiny. Falling somewhere in between the traditional forms of pi-chi and local gazetteer, the work represents a kind of elementary anthropology. This is due entirely to Chou's quality as a sympathetic observer; for, even if it be granted (with the translator) that Chou looked down on these local customs and peculiarities and described them primarily because he found them wierd, he nevertheless gave his subjects sufficient attention to describe them in precise detail and was accepting them as phenomena to be understood. When he discusses the custom among the people of Ch'in and Yung -- which we of the relativistic 20th century might even find bizarre -- of drinking through the nose, he heeds the reasons, even if he does not accept them, why they did it (to cool the brain and to facilitate k'uail the action of the diaphragm, rather than as

*嶺外代答 [Ironically, the Chinese title is not to be found in the volume.]

here "reinigen"). And surely he is registering a not wholly contemptuous awareness of the manifold possibilities of which human nature is capable when he records how the people of Ch'in consume only seafood during periods of mourning, avoiding fish and meat because of their blood content, and follows this with mention of the Li people of Hainan who in the same circumstances avoid eating rice but do in fact consume wine and raw beef. At the same time Chou is aware of the entertainment possibilities of his material and cannot resist the occasional quip, which indeed livens things up. After indicating his explicit distaste for the soup made in one area by the use of unemptied sheep's belly, he observes that the local inhabitants, while becoming warmly receptive toward any guest who eats it, become suspicious of any guest who does not. Then he adds that under these circumstances it difficult to tell who should come in for the greatest suspicion, guest or host.

How then has our translator fared with this rich text? This is a smooth, accurate translation, which has even managed to preserve the crisp, straightforward quality of the original. At some point in her research Ms. Netolitzky made the important tactical choice to produce a complete, reliable translation of the text, based on the not inconsiderable Western research available on related subject matter (by Schafer, Hirth & Rockhill, Wheatley, Pelliot, et al.) and with the goal of making the work accessible to a larger audience, sinological and otherwise. This reviewer approves that choice and believes that the translator's hopes will be fulfilled. However, it must be observed that, as she has neglected (as she acknowledges) Japanese research and made only light use of Chinese, her determinations on many sticky problems of identification cannot be considered as final. This text may be a bouquet, but it conceals no few thorns. Yet, Ms. Netolitzky has spared herself no pains in making this a sound translation, and there is no question of her qualifications as a sinologist.

A helpful twenty-three-page introduction opens the volume, followed by 202 pages of text and 84 pages of notes, the latter judicious and rich if not exhaustive. An analytical listing of contents and the numbering of individual articles facilitate reference to the original and the location of specific items in general. There are character lists for place names and transcriptions, but there is no index of any kind. This is a pity and one can only speculate on why none was undertaken or in any event included. An even greater omission is the lack of a map of any kind. Surely the translator could not have anticipated her readers' having a map of South China at their side on every occasion. Finally, there is a curious reticence about the text(s) used, though two editions are indicated in the bibliography. Are none of the editions available better than any of the others?

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Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater.

Stephen H. West, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH,
1977. 190 pp.

Professor Stephen H. West states in his preface that this book is "a collection of essays (in the special sense of that word as 'compositions dealing with a single subject without attempting completeness') on two subjects: the variety show complex and the narrative ballad form Chu-kung-tiao." He also warns his readers that the essays are, "in many ways, preliminary." He asks all those who are concerned with the development of Chinese theater to be on the alert, as "continuing discoveries of new archeological finds in the People's Republic of China" may supplant many of the conclusions that are offered in terms of the visual and literary testimony now at hand. In short, Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater is a most welcome addition to the growing list of studies written in English on the development of Chinese theater.

In the first chapter, "Variety Performances in the Chin," the author discusses carefully the background, the content and development of the Variety Show, the Yüan-pen Residuals, before he introduces the conclusion that "there was a serious dramatic tradition in China long before the rise of music-drama in the North," a conclusion few students of the history of Chinese theater would disagree with. This chapter will be appreciated particularly by those who find reading Hu Chi's Sung Chin tsa-chü kao, Shanghai, 1958, a formidable task. The example presented of an outright parody in the complete skit, Shuang-tou-i, Two Physicians Raise Cain, also gives the reader a taste of the verve and rhythm of the colloquial speech or word play. Many will be impressed by the similarity in the art of this type of, skit with that of the Hsiang-sheng (Imitation or Cross talk), a form of popular entertainment in China today. For the students who are interested in the universality of the importance of street-cries in all traditions of folk music, the inclusion of the "name of fruits" (p. 25) is a piece of delightful information. The present reviewer only regrets that the author translated "ts'ung ku-men chiao shang" (while calling in a chanting style and entering from the backstage) as "speaks." Though the passage of the play is found in the dialogue section of the text, which can be interpreted as the section of plain speech, the stage direction indicates that the passage should be delivered in the manner of the fruit-peddlers' "street-cry." Had it been possible for the original score of the play to be preserved, the difference between this section and the other speech dialogue would be evident.

In Chapter II, the author discusses the origin and structure of Chu-kung-tiao. The author's summary of the historical record, analysis of form and structure, accounting of the types of suites, reference to the melodies and description of the Long Suites of the Chu-kung-tiao, will help students interested in the musical structure of the Yüan drama to understand the antecedents of that genre.

In Chapter III, the author deals with the thematic sources and formal devices of Chu-kung-tiao. The author's treatment of the texts Liu Chih-yüan and Tung Hsi-hsiang as literary works based on oral models is a very interesting approach to early vernacular texts. It seems that this approach deserves the attention of students of vernacular texts, and challenges all to begin a contrastive study of the language, in particular the syntax and rhythm, of the texts of Chu-kung-tiao, and the texts of other oral performing literature. That there is a close relationship between the art of the story-singer in Chinese literature and that of literary composition is a hypothesis rejected by few. The precise nature of this relationship, however, is yet to be discovered. More urgent than the evaluation of Tung Hsi Hsiang as a more impressive piece of literature than Wang Shih-fu's Hsi Hsiang Chi, are the linguistic rules in its narrative style that makes it the "chief gem in the crown of Chin literature."

To conclude, Vaudeville and Narrative: Aspects of Chin Theater, like the subject of Chu-kung-tiao, is a fascinating scholarly monograph in the literature of Chinese theater. Other than a few mistakes caused by hasty proofreading, the evidences of a viable theatrical tradition, which existed before the 13th century, are carefully presented and discussed. The book should be of great value to anyone who is interested in the development of Chinese Theater and oral performing literature.

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I. Books on Sung

A. Western Books

A Sung Bibliography (Bibliographie des Sung). Edited by Yves Hervouet. Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1978. 598 pp.

The major book news for Sung scholars are the appearance of the long awaited A Sung Bibliography (announced in our issue no. 13) which has just reached us and which turns out to be a beautifully prepared and printed volume. Professor Hervouet, who generously gives prominence to the late Etienne Balazd as initiator of the volume, deserves our warmest gratitude for having seen the project through and having done so on the highest scholarly standards. In his introduction he provides a detailed history of this effort which, lacking the funding available to other recent large-scale collaborative projects, required exceptional patience and devotion. Combined with the publication in 1976 of Sung Biographies under Herbert Franke's editorship, this realizes the essential parts of the Sung Project as conceived by Balazs.

As indicated previously, the traditional fourfold division into classics, histories, philosophers, and belles-lettres (or collected works) is used, to which a fifth collectanea, is added. Under these categories 660 Sung works of fundamental importance are placed. Inclusive name, title and subject indices facilitate the location of individual items or topics. Each notice provides, in order: the title of the work (in Wade-Giles); a translation of the title; the author's name(s) and dates; a designation of the field of fields in which the work falls; an analytical or descriptive note; an indication of the editors in which the work is available; a list of bibliographic references; and the name of the author of the notice. What will invariably in the first instance prove most useful is the descriptive note, rather too modest a designation perhaps for annotation which in many cases becomes a veritable essay on the subject. The great majority of notices is in English, but about one-fifth are in French. While thoroughgoing evaluation must await a formal review, for which there is no time at present, One's first impression is of the enormous wealth and variety of Sung literature (in the broad sense) and of the fascinating sources of which one was only dimly aware. In a way that was not quite true with the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu t'i-yao and other Chinese bibliographies, the Western student of Sung history and culture now has the core of Sung literature at his or her fingertips.

Edward A. Kracke, Jr., Translations of Sung Civil Service Titles, Classification Terms, and Governmental Organ Names. Second revised edition. San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center, Inc., 1978.

Along with his numerous other contributions, the late E. A. Kracke, Jr. was the first scholar to work out a smooth and accurate set of translations of Sung bureaucratic terms, published both in this list originally prepared for the Sung Project and in his Civil Service in Sung China. These have since become standard, so that the issue of this revised edition, making the list available to the general public for the first time, is particularly welcome. Though a select rather than a comprehensive list, it will meet one's needs in the vast majority of cases. A few misprints in the original have been corrected, and, nicely printed and published in a smaller, more convenient format, this edition is indeed superior to the original.

Dennis A. Leventhal, The Chess of China. Taipei: Mei-ya Publishers, Inc., 1978. 163 pp. with numerous diagrams. NT 230/\$6.00

Dennis A. Leventhal, who contributes in a more orthodox vein on other pages of this issue, has written here a brief and useful treatise on Chinese chess or hsiang-ch'i. After an historical sketch, he takes up in order the "units," the "battlefield," the moves, and the action, or strategy. In a final chapter ("The Philosophy") he shows what great prestige hsiang-ch'i has enjoyed as a scholarly recreation, one indeed related to no lesser exercise than self-cultivation. Seven appendices contain translations of important (or at least interesting) writings on chess, including from Sung times a sketch of the "old form" by Ssu-ma Kuang and odes to chess by Ch'eng Hao and Liu K'o-chuang.

Lin Shuen-fu, The Transformation of the Chinese Lyrical Tradition: Chiang K'uei and Southern Sung Tz'u Poetry. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978. 12 + 249 pp. \$15.00.

Rather than a biography of Chiang K'uei (ca. 1155- ca. 1221) à la Arthur Waley, this is a literary study in the strict sense. In a lengthy introduction the author lays out the social, intellectual, cultural and literary background of his figure and provides a brief account of his early years. In the following three principal sections of the book he traces the poetic "transformation" referred to in the title: "the poetic situation and the poetic act," "the process of feeling," and "the retreat toward the object." central to his study are the yung-wu songs in which "objects" (wu) come to play a key part, both as subjects which stimulate the poet and as the embodiment of feelings experienced by him. Obviously, studies such as this which enhance our appreciation of tz'u, Sung's peculiar contribution to the poetic tradition, enhance our understanding of the culture as a whole.

Frank J. Shulman, Doctoral Dissertations on China, 1971-1975: a Bibliography of Studies in Western Languages. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978. 320 pp. Cloth \$17.50; paper \$6.95.

This compilation continues the register of doctoral dissertations on China, which first appeared in the 1972 volume covering the period 1945-1970. Like that volume it will no doubt become a standard reference in the field. It covers dissertations not only in the U.S. and Canada but in Western Europe as well. It contains author, institutional and (modified) subject indices, perhaps as expected, but it contains other useful features in addition. This includes an appendix of items missed in the 1954-1970 bibliography, a section on the availability of dissertations from various institutions, in the U.S. and abroad, and an interesting statistical report on dissertation output.

Tsien Tsuen-hsuei, China: an Annotated Bibliography of Bibliographies. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1978. 27 + 604 pp. \$44.00

Scholars of any period or field will be pleased to have this new research aid available. Comprising 2,500 items in Chinese and Japanese as well as all the major European languages, it includes bibliographies dealing with China from the earliest times down to the Cultural Revolution, in periodicals as well as published independently as books. The work is divided into two main parts, General Reference Works & Bibliographies and Subject Bibliographies. Annotation is on the lean side, seldom over two or three lines and sometimes lacking altogether. Author, title and subject indices are provided.

Others: Michael Dillon, A Dictionary of Chinese History. F. Cass Co., 1978. \$22.50
Jerome P. Seaton, trans., The Wine of Endless Life: Taoist Drinking Songs of the Yüan Dynasty. Ardis, 1978. Cloth \$8.95; paper \$2.50

B. Chinese Books

Wang Te-yi 王德毅, comp., Sung hui-yao chi-kao jen-ming so-yin 宋會要輯稿人名索引 Taipei: Shin-wen-feng Pub. Co., 1978? Ca. 1,000 pp. NT600.

The Shin-wen-feng Publishing Company announces publication of this important compilation undertaken by the indefatigable Professor Wang who has turned up the names of something like 30,000 people. In the course of his research he discovered hundreds of errors made in the course of transcribing the SHY from the Yung-lo ta-tien, corrections of which will appear in an appendix to the work. Clearly, this index will provide a highly useful wedge facilitating access to this indispensable but sprawling source.

Sung-shih 宋史, 40 ts'e. Peking: Chung-hua, 1978. Advertised in

the U.S. for \$75.00

Publication of the Sung-shih completes the set of dynastic histories issued by Chung-hua in its carefully collated and fully punctuated edition. Whether learning to read the histories in this edition is suitable qualification for chin-shih status or not, the long-range value to research is without doubt.

Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen 四庫全書珍本, 8th Series.
Taipei: Commercial Press (available through CNC, Inc.).

In issue 11-12 we called attention to the treasures contained in this series. Series Eight which has recently appeared is, like preceding series, rich in works by Sung, Chin and Yüan authors. Indeed, of the forty-six collected works found here no less than nineteen are by authors of these periods. We are informed that a ninth and final series will be published.

Sung-shih yen-chiu-chi 宋史研究集, vol. 9. Taipei:
Chung-hua, 1977. 602 pp. NT 60/80.

Sixteen recent articles have been assembled for this ninth volume of studies on the Sung period. Twelve are reissues while four (by Ch'en Fang-ming, Lin Tuan-han, Chin Chung-shu and Ch'eng Kuang-yu) are published here for the first time. The contents are as follows:

宋史研究集 第九輯 目錄

代序

宋代佛教對書法之貢獻.....方 豪

宋初弭兵論的檢討（九六〇——一〇〇四）.....陳芳明

宋王台與宋季之海上行朝.....羅香林

北宋續弱的三種新分析.....林天蔚

宋代官制探微.....林瑞翰

北宋選人七階試釋.....金中樞

北宋台諫制度之轉變.....梁天錫

遼金文官任用制度.....楊樹藩

宋代的宗學.....宋 晞

論宋代書院制度之產生及其影響.....葉鴻瀾

宋代中央對地方施政之路的區劃.....羅 文

遊牧民族軍事行動的動機.....札奇斯欽

李心傳年譜.....王德毅

吳郡志考略.....程光裕

判院討原勝義.....陳鐵凡

「楊家將」的事跡.....李 安

Chang T'ien-yu 張天佑, Sung-Ming-shih yen-chiu lun-chi 宋明史
研究論集. Taipei: Shih-ch'u Pub. Co., 1977. 212 pp. 80 NT

The author has collected three articles on the end of Northern Sung and two on late Ming under the common rubric of studies of dynasties in decline. Two of the Sung articles feature a close examination of that dynasty's initial alliance with the Jurchen and its aftermath; the third deals with the Khitan refugee army known as the Yüan-chün 怨軍 at the end of Liao and its relations with the Sung and with Chin.

T'ang Ch'eng-yeh 湯承業, Fan Chung-yen yen-chiu 範仲淹研究
Taipei: Kuo-li pien-i kuan Chung-hua ts'ung-shu pien-fan wei-yüan-hui,
1977. 608 pp. NT 60/80.

This lengthy study of the famous Northern Sung political figure by a Tunghai University historian is primarily concerned with Fan's thought, character and attitudes rather than with his political career. Somewhat adulatory in tone, it contains a long and clearly useful nien-p'u.

Other books:

五代會要	王 溥	Repr ed. 1978 H. K. 483p. \$2.95
宋史（第五冊）	中華學術院新刊本宋史編委會	1st ed. 1977. 864p. HB \$8.30
宋史試析	林天蔚	1978. 330p. \$1.35
宋人生卒考示例	鄭 騫	1977
宋周濂溪先生敦頤年譜	張伯行	Repr ed. 1978. 154p. \$1.15
宋範文正公（仲淹）年譜 （附補遺及言行拾遺）	新編中國名人年譜集成	Repr ed. 1978. 53p. \$1.00
讀史偶得	林瑞翰	1977. 442p. \$2.80
鑿史提綱稽古錄（合刊）	潘 榮 司馬光	Repr ed. 1978. 245p. \$2.35
古典新刊 腸斷西風李清照	範純甫	1978. 185p. \$1.45
警世通言（二冊）	馮夢龍	Hong Kong, 1978. 660p. \$5.35
唐宋文學要（三冊）	高步瀛	1st ed. 1976. 1713p.
唐宋名家詞欣賞	古典新刊編輯室	1st ed. 1977. 280p. \$1.65
唐宋詞選注	張夢機 張子良	Peprd. 1977 436p. \$4.00
宋詩別裁	張景星	Repor ed. 1978 121p. \$1.05

箋注四品詞選	蔣勳材	1st ed. 1977. 310p. \$2.60
黃山谷詩	黃公渚	Repr ed. 1978. 187p. \$1.80
遼金中央政治制度	楊樹藩	1978
金原文學家小傳	林明德	1st ed. 1978. 163p. \$1.05

C. Japanese Books

Zoku shiji tsukan chōhen jinmin sakuhin 續資治通鑒長編人名索引. Umehara Kaoru 梅原鬱, ed. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1978. 697 pp. ¥14,000.

This invaluable research tool is a partial result of long years of effort devoted by Professor Saeki Tomi and his students to produce a concordance to the outstanding history of the Northern Sung by Li Tao, the Hsü-tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien. As the project assumed mammoth proportions and in recent years appeared increasingly unlikely to be published. Umehara Kaoru -- who dedicates the book to Professor Saeki -- undertook the task of seeing that at least this index to persons sees the light of day. Sung scholars will warmly applaud this initiative. The index is based on the 1881 Chekiang Publishing Company edition, reprinted in the 1960s by Shih-chieh. The aim of the indexing was to be complete for Five Dynasties and Sung figures (earlier ones are excluded) with the exception of palace women.

Names are arranged by stroke order and the principle is followed of making but one entry per page and/or per day. Users will certainly find this adequate, especially in view of the fact that even at this rate Wang An-shih has over 1100 entries!

Saeki Tomi 佐伯富, Chūgokushi kenkyū 中國史研究, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha Press, 1977), and 464 and 42 pp. Index.

Readers will welcome the appearance of the third volume of the collected papers of Professor Saeki whose contribution to Sung studies has been capital. While the bulk of the volume deals with Ch'ing history (and the till recently neglected reign of Yung-cheng), it also reprints Steki's lengthy and inaccessible study of Wang An-shih originally published in 1941. It is accompanied by a very substantial, updated bibliography on Wang and his reforms. The volume also contains two general essays on the significance, respectively, of salt and of tea in Chinese history which of course involve the middle dynastic periods.

Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎市定, Ajia shi kenkyū アジア史研究, vol. 5. Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1978.

This fifth volume of Professor Miyazaki's collected scholarly papers contains a long study of the custom in Sung times of sacrificing to the spirit of one's murder victim. The other articles here deal primarily with other periods.

Yamada Keiji 山田慶見, Shūshi no shizengaku 朱子の自然學. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1978. 475 pp. ¥2,500.

Includes chapters on cosmological conceptions prior to Chu's time, on Chu's cosmology, on his views on astronomy, on his "meteorology" (kishō 氣象), and on his ultimate humanistic preoccupations.

Yoshioka Yoshinobu 吉岡信義, Sōdai kōgashi kenkyū 宋代黃河史研究. Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 1978. 429 + 10 pp. ¥6,000.

The four substantial studies contained in this volume deal with: (1) the physical characteristics of the Yellow River in Sung times; (2) the utilization of labor in connection with the River; (3) the Sung government's policy of control and management of the River (including the bureaucratic machinery); and (4) Ou-yang Hsiu's writings on and views regarding the River.

Seki Kafuku (Shih Chia-fu) 石嘉福 and Tou Kengo 鄧健吾, Tonkō e no michi 敦煌への道. Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1978. 190pp. ¥2,900.

This book is lavishly illustrated in beautiful color. The contents include:

1. The Silk Road and Tun-huang
2. The Ho-hsi Carridor
3. Mo-kao k'u 莫高窟
 - a. Cave of the Thousand Buddhas
 - b. History of the Mo-kao k'u and its present state
 - c. Murals and sculptures in the Mo-kao k'u
Northern Liang, N. Wei, W. Wei, N. Chou. Sui, Early T'ang, High T'ang, Mid-T'ang, Late T'ang, Five Dynasties, Sung, Hsi Hsia
4. The art of Tun-huang
 - a. architecture
 - b. sculpture
 - c. murals

(J.D.L.)

This number reached us too late to come in for mention in our previous issue, and the individual articles are included in our regular annual bibliography. But readers should be apprised of this special issue devoted to problems of Sung history, featuring articles by Chikusa, Kinugawa, Morita, Onodera, Shiba and Yuki.

Also note:

宋史食貨志譯注	和田清	Repr ed. 1978
女真館譯語の研究	清瀬義三郎	1978 ¥18,000
宋明哲學序說	岡田武彥	1977

II. Books on Yüan and the Mongols

Antoine Mostaert, Le Matériel Mongol du Houa I I lu 華夷譯語 de Houng-ou (1389), vol. I. Edited by Igor de Rachewiltz with the assistance of Anthony Schöbaum. Melanges Chinois et Bouddhique. vol. 18. Bruxelles: Institut Belge des Hautes Etudes Chinoises.

Though dating from the Ming, this work as a fundamental source for 14th century Mongol is well worth noting here. It contains two parts, the first a Chinese-Mongol vocabulary of 844 terms and the second twelve diplomatic documents in a Chinese phonetic transcription of Mongol, accompanied by a Chinese interlinear translation. Father Mostaert spent many years on the work but left his translation unpublished. Igor de Rachewiltz has laboriously put the manuscript into publishable shape, and provided in this volume a glossary of Mongol words, and indices to Mongol suffixes, to terms, titles & proper nouns in Chinese, and to subjects. As indicated above, an accompanying volume of notes is in preparation.

Harayama Akira 原山焯, Genchō hishi kankei bunken mokuroku 元朝秘史關係文獻目錄. Tokyo: Nihon Mongoru Gakkai, 1978. 36 pp.

This bibliography lists materials published on The Secret History of the Mongols in Japanese, Chinese, all the European languages. Russian and Mongolian.

(J.D.L.)

The translation here appears for the first time, while the individual studies have been assembled from various locations where they were initially published. The contents of the volume are as follows.

I. Annotated Translation of Yüan-shih, ch. 202

II. Specific Studies

1. Religions during the Yüan Dynasty
2. On the Kung-te-shih-ssu
3. Conflicts between Taoism and Buddhism during Yüan
4. Buddhism in the Shang-tu Area during the Yüan Dynasty
5. On the Hsüan-cheng-yüan
6. Prime Minister Sanga and the Lamaist Monk Yang-lien-chen-ch'ieh --- an aspect of the Religious History of the Yüan Dynasty
7. Movements for the Emancipation of Prisoners by Buddhists
8. A Problem concerning Yüan Dynasty Buddhism --- Lamaism versus Buddhism as embraced by the Chinese Race
9. Yüan Dynasty Lamaism and the Common People

(J. D. L.)

Other Books:

金元遺山先生(好問)年譜	新編中國名人年譜集成	Repr ed. 1978. 149p. \$1.05
金元散曲	啓業書局	1 st ed. 1977. 2V HB \$8.60
元史研究	陳援庵	
元詩研究	包根弟	1 st ed. 1978. 182p. \$1.80
現存元人雜劇書錄	徐調孚	Repr ed. 1978. 169p. \$1.25
元曲家考略	孫子書	Repr ed. 1976. 115p. HB\$1.75 PB \$1.00
元代道釋人物畫	東京國立博物館	1977
元詩別裁	張景星	Repr ed. 1978. 138p. \$1.00