

宋遼金元

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宋遼金元

Bulletin of
SUNG YUAN
Studies

Titles of Palace Women*

-- including Mothers of Emperors, Princesses,
Wives of Emperors, and Female Officials --

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Supreme Empress Dowager
t'ai huang-t'ai-hou

太皇太后

The title originated in the Han. Since the Emperor's mother was titled 'huang t'ai-hou,' the emperor's paternal grandmother was given the title 't'ai-huang t'ai-hou.'¹

Empress Dowager
huang t'ai-hou

皇太后

Historically, the title could be traced to Ai-shih (c.255 B.C.), mother of Ch'in Chao-huang (r.255-250 B.C.). Ai-shih was given the title 't'ai-hou' and from then on all mothers of emperors were addressed as such.

When Ch'in Shih-huang took the title 'huang' for his imperial house to distinguish his authority from those of the feudal emperors, mothers of emperors were addressed as 'huang t'ai-hou.' The title was to be held by the living official consort of the previous emperor even if she was not the natural mother. The natural mother if she was deceased could be given the title posthumously. If the natural mother was living, she had to wait for the death of the official consort before the title could be hers.

In the Sung, during Chen-tsung's reign, the title was bestowed on Yang-shih after the death of Empress Dowager Liu. Although Yang-shih was not the natural mother nor the official consort, she had assisted in the up-bringing of Chen-tsung and was like a mother to him.²

Supreme Consort
t'ai-fei

太妃

The title originated with the mother of Chin Ai-ti (r.362-366). Chou-shih (c.360), the natural mother of Ai-ti, was not the official consort of the previous emperor and since the position of Empress Dowager was filled, Ai-ti created the title 't'ai-fei' for his natural mother. From that time on, natural mothers of emperors who were secondary consorts were addressed 't'ai-fei' if the position of Empress Dowager was held by the living official consort of the previous emperor.

In the Wei (386-559), all the various kings' wives were titled 't'ai-fei.'

In the Sung, Empress Dowager Liu bestowed the title on Yang-shih, her confidante, who had assisted in the rearing of Chen-tsung.³

One of Supreme Department
t'ai-i, 1b.

太儀

This title was created by Chen-tsung in the Sung to honor Chu-shih, one of his father's wives. Throughout the Northern Sung, emperors followed suit, granting the title to wives of previous emperors only.⁴

One of Noble Department
kuai-i, 1b.

貴儀

In 1033, Chen-tsung created the title to honor his father's wife, Tsang-shih. According to the Sung-shih, the title was graded 2a but the collection of edicts stated the title was graded 1b. Since Tsang-shih was holding the title One of Luminous Countenance, graded 2a, at the time the promotion was announced, the edict's grade must be the correct one as Tsang-shih was probably promoted from grade 2a to 1b.⁵

Princesses

Imperial Princess
kung-chu

公主

According to the Shih-chi (Book of History), the Chou emperors did not have the authority to conduct (chu) the marriages of their own daughters but were obliged to do so through a feudal lord (kung) of the same surname. Hence all daughters of emperors were addressed 'kung-chu.'⁶

Senior Imperial Princess
ch'ang kung-chu

長公主

The title originated with the founder of Han, Kao-tsü (r.206-194 B.C.). Since the daughters of the emperor were enfeoffed 'kung-chu,' Kao-tsü bestowed the title 'ch'ang kung-chu' on his sisters. From then on, all sisters of sitting emperors were promoted from Imperial Princess to Senior Imperial Princess.⁷

Eminent Senior
Imperial Princess
ta ch'ang-kung-chu

大長公主

The title originated with Han Wu-ti (r.140-86 B.C.). From that time on, all aunts of emperors were promoted from Senior Imperial Princess to Eminent Senior Imperial Princess.⁸

*This is a companion piece to Dr. Ching-Chung's descriptive analysis of the organization of palace women published in our last issue, no. 15, pp. 79-97.

Deified Beauty
ti-i
帝妃

In 1126, Hui-tsung changed all three different titles of Imperial Princesses into one. From then on, all Imperial Princesses, regardless of whether they were daughters, sisters, or aunts of the emperor, were addressed 'ti-i'.⁹

Wives of Emperors

Empress
huang-hou
皇后

Originally, the emperor's principal consort was addressed 'yüan-fei' then 'cheng-fei.' According to the Rites of Chou, the wife of the Son of Heaven, was to be addressed 'hou.' The character 'hou' means to continue the body and was adopted by the imperial Chou house to indicate the responsibility of the women to bear heirs for the continuation of the imperial lineage. In the Ch'in, the emperors adopted the title 'huang' for themselves and titled their principal consorts 'huang-hou.' From that time on, the tradition was followed and all principal consorts of emperors were addressed 'huang-hou.'¹⁰

In the Sung, when an empress was to be installed, the emperor personally went to a small palace by the eastern gate. There, he summoned the scholars of the Hanlin Academy and gave them his orders. The scholars would then be locked up in the palace to draft the proclamation.¹¹

The tradition of deposing empresses originated with Ching-ti (r.156-140 B.C.) when he deposed the Empress Dowager Po.¹²

In the Northern Sung, two empresses, Kuo-shih and Meng-shih, were deposed. In both cases, the women were imposed on the emperors by the regents. At the deaths of the regents, the women, who were innocent victims, became the targets for the projection of their husbands' resentment and desires for revenge.¹³

The four imperial consorts graded 1a¹⁴

Noble Consort
kuei-fei
貴妃

The title originated with Hsiao-wu-ti (r.454-465). He created the title in 455 and graded it equal to that of the grand secretary (hsiang-kuo). This was the most prestigious of the four consort titles.

Pure Consort
shu-fei
淑妃

The title originated with Wei Ming-ti (r.227-240) who ranked it equal to the "san-ssu" (provincial secretary, provincial judge, salt commissioner). It was the second-most-prestigious of the four consort titles.

Virtuous Consort
te-fei
德妃

The title was created by Sui Yang-ti (r.605-617) who ranked it third-most-prestigious within the imperial consort system.

Worthy Consort
hsien-fei
賢妃

According to T'ang sources, this title was created by Sui Yang-ti but no confirmation of this could be found in Sui records. The title probably had its beginnings in the T'ang.

Minor wives¹⁵

One of Pure Department
shu-i, 1b.
淑儀

The title allegedly began with Chin Wu-ti (r.265-290) who established it as one of the nine concubine (chiu-pin) positions. The nine concubines held equal ranking with the nine ministers (chiu-yü).

T'ang sources referred to this title as one within the 'six department' category.

Sung hui-yao recorded that Chen-tsung revived this title and that it had been in use during the T'ang.

One of Pure Countenance
shu-jung, 1b.
淑容

According to the Nan-shih, the title was created by Wei Ming-ti (r.227-240). The title was revived by Chen-tsung in the Sung.

One of Obedient Department
shun-i, 1b.
順儀

The title supposedly began with Sui Yang-ti but fell into disuse during the T'ang. It was revived by Chen-tsung in the Sung.

One of Obedient Countenance
shun-jung, 1b.
順容

The title supposedly began with Sui Yang-ti and was revived in the Sung by Chen-tsung.

One of Beautiful Department
yüan-i, 1b.
苑儀

The title allegedly originated in the Northern Ch'i (560-577) and was revived by Chen-tsung in the Sung.

One of Beautiful Countenance
yüan-jung, 1b.
苑容

According to the Sung hui-yao, Chen-tsung created the title in 1013. The title was ranked superior to One of Luminous Department.

One of Luminous Department
chao-i, 2a.
昭儀

The title originated with Han Yüan-ti (r.48-32 B.C.).¹⁶

In the Northern Wei (386-532), there were the left and the right 'chao-i' and the titles were graded equal to the great ssu-ma, president of the board of war.

In the Northern Ch'i, the title was made equal to the great secretary (ch'en-hsiang). In the T'ang, the title was classified with the nine concubines.

One of Luminous Countenance
chao-jung, 2a.
昭容

The title originated in the Han. In the T'ang, it was classified as one of the nine concubine positions.

One of Luminous Beauty
chao-yüan, 2a.
昭苑

T'ang records claim the title had originated in Sui but no supporting evidence of this claim could be found in Sui records. The title probably originated in the T'ang.

One of Cultivated Department
hsiu-i, 2a.
修儀

The title originated with Wei Wen-ti (r.220-227). In the T'ang, it was classified as one of the nine concubine positions.

One of Cultivated Countenance
hsiu-jung, 2a.
修容

The title originated with Wei Wen-ti (r.220-227) and was revived by Sui Yang-ti.

One of Cultivated Beauty
hsiu-yüan, 2a.
修媛

Although T'ang records claim this title had originated during the Sui, the Pei-shih records the title had originated in the Northern Ch'i, c.550.

One of Fulfilled Department
ts'ung-i, 2a.
充儀

Classified within the nine concubine positions, T'ang records claim the title had originated in 618 at the founding of the dynasty. The Pei-shih, on the other hand, credited Sui Yang-ti with having created the title.

One of Fulfilled Department
ts'ung-jung, 2a.
充容

The title was first recorded in the Han and Pei-shih credits Sui Yang-ti with having revived it.

One of Fulfilled Beauty
ts'ung-yüan, 2a.
充媛

Although T'ang records claim the title was one inherited from the Sui, no mention of the title exists in Sui records.

Fair and Handsome One
chieh-yü, 3a.
婕妤

According to the History of Wei, this title originated in the Han and was revived by Sui Yang-ti.¹⁷

Beautiful One
mei-jen, 4a.
美人

The title originated in the Han with Kuang Wu-ti (r.24-58). It was infrequently used in the succeeding dynasties until its revival by Chen-tsung in the Sung.

Talented One
ts'ai-jen, 5q.
才人

The title originated in the Han under Kuang Wu-ti (r.24-58).

Noble One
kuei-jen, 5a.
貴人

The title originated with Kuang Wu-ti (r.24-58) in the Han. It was used infrequently until its revival by Sung Chen-tsung.

Titles of Female Officials

Supreme Commander of
the Palace
kung-ssu-ling, 4a.
宮司令

The title was created by Chen-tsung in 1013 to especially honor Shao-shih for her many years of faithful service as chief-of-surveillance. From this time on the supreme commander was responsible for the entire administrative structure of the palace women's service organization.¹⁸

Chiefs-of-services
shang-kung, 5a.
尚宮

Prior to 1013, the title was held by the highest officials in the palace administrative structure. The officials, in addition for their direct responsibility for the first bureau, The Bureau of General Affairs, had supreme command for all six bureaus. They were also responsible for the guiding of the empresses and acquisition and disposition of all necessities. After 1013, with the superimposition of the supreme commander over the entire administrative structure, the duties of the Chiefs-of-Services were restricted to the first bureau. They were responsible for the operation of all departments in the first bureau; for the palace seals, the incoming and outgoing of documents and mail, receipt and transmission of all orders affecting the women, female personnel registers, remuneration, as well as traffic to and from the inner palaces.¹⁹

Chiefs-of-rites-and
etiquette
shang-i, 5a.
尚儀

The title was held by two officials who headed the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette. They were responsible for all rites, etiquette, and daily living procedures within the inner palaces. They also had charge of all classical texts, teaching, acquisition of writing implements, desks, etc.²⁰

Chiefs-of-clothing
shang-fu, 5a.
尚服

The two officials who held this title were the chiefs of the Bureau of Clothing. They were responsible for clothing, vestments, ornaments, jewelry, soap, towels, combs, bathrobes, and adornments. They also had charge of guarding the palaces as well as for palace defense weapons.²¹

Chiefs-of-food and Wine
shang-shih, 5a.

尚食

The two officials who held this title were the Chiefs of the Bureau of Food and Wine. They supervised the preparation, serving, and tasting of imperial meals; were responsible for the cooking and ceremonial utensils and for wine and liquor. They also had charge of all medicinal matters. The office was instituted in the Ch'in.²²

Chiefs-of-apartments
shang-ch'in, 5a.

尚履

The two title-holders were the chiefs of the Bureau of Apartments. They were responsible for the interior arrangements of the inner palaces; for the beds, screens, nets, pillows, blankets, mats, and for sweeping, mopping, etc. They also had charge of chariots, umbrellas, fans, palace gardens and parks; the cultivation of vegetables and flowers, etc.; of lanterns, lamps, kerosene, candles, etc.²³

Chiefs-of-work
shang-kung, 5a.

尚功

The two officials holding this title were the chiefs of the Bureau of Work. They were responsible for sewing and making of all clothing, and for seamstresses; had charge of fabrics and dyes; for gold, jade, and precious stones for decoration on clothing. They were also responsible for distributing clothing and miscellaneous items.²⁴

Chief-of-surveillance
kung-cheng, 5a.

宮正

The title-holder had charge over correct behavior within the palaces. Her duty was to correct errors, expose shortcomings and wrong-doings, and to recommend punishment. The title supposedly originated in the Chou.²⁵

Directors graded 6a.

ssu-chi

司記

The two title-holders headed the Department of Records within the Bureau of General Affairs. They were in charge of incoming and outgoing mail. They recorded, sorted, inspected, sealed, received and transmitted all notes, documents and imperial orders.²⁶

ssu-yen

司言

The two title-holders headed the Department of the Transmission of Orders within the Bureau of General Affairs. These officials were in charge of promulgating official edicts affecting palace women.²⁷

ssu-pu

司簿

The two title-holders headed the Department of Personnel within the Bureau of General Affairs. They were in charge of the registers of female personnel, their pay, and other administrative duties.²⁸

ssu-wei

司關

The six title-holders headed the Department of Gatekeeping within the Bureau of General Affairs. They were in charge of doors, and keys, as well as the in-and-out-flow of persons, to the inner palaces.²⁹

ssu-chi

司籍

The two title-holders headed the Department of Education within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette. They were in charge of teaching, classical texts, acquisition of writing implements, desks, etc.³⁰

ssu-yueh

司樂

The four title-holders headed the Department of Music within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette. They were in charge of music, musicians, manuscripts, and related affairs.³¹

ssu-pin

司賓

The two title-holders headed the Department of Guests within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette. They were responsible for guests and visitors to palace women as well as audiences with imperial women.³²

ssu-tsan

司贊

The two title-holders headed the Department of Ceremony within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette. The officials were responsible for rules of etiquette regarding palace women. They had charge of processional order, setting up of tablets if insignia, etc.³³

ssu-pao

司寶

The two title-holders headed the Department of Jewelry within the Bureau of Clothing. The officials were responsible for all paintings, jewelry, jade tallies of authority, etc.³⁴

ssu-i

司衣

The two title-holders headed the Department of Clothing within the Bureau of Clothing. They were responsible for all personnel garments and their trimmings.³⁵

ssu-shih

司飾

The two title-holders headed the Department of Adornments within the Bureau of Clothing. They were responsible for soap, towels, bathrobes, and personal adornments.³⁶

ssu-chang

司仗

The two title-holders headed the Department of Security within the Bureau of Clothing. The officials were responsible for guard duties and defense weapons.³⁷

ssu-shan

司膳

The two title-holders headed the Department of Utensils within the Bureau of Food and Wine. They were in charge of banquet and ceremonial plates, dishes, and utensils.³⁸

ssu-yün

司醞

The two title-holders headed the Department of Wines within the Bureau of Food and Wine. They had charge of wine and liquor within the palaces.³⁹

ssu-yao

司藥

The two title-holders headed the Department of Medicine within the Bureau of Food and Wine. The two officials were in charge of all medicinal affairs.⁴⁰

- ssu-ch'ih
司膳
The two title-holders headed the Department of Cooking within the Bureau of Food and Wine. They were responsible for preparing, serving, and tasting imperial meals.⁴¹
- ssu-she
司設
The two title-holders headed the Department of Interior Arrangements within the Bureau of Apartments. They were responsible for beds, pillows, mats, blankets, nets, sweeping, mopping, etc.⁴²
- ssu-yü
司輿
The two title-holders headed the Department of Chariots within the Bureau of Apartments. They had charge of chariots, fans, and umbrellas.⁴³
- ssu-yüan
司苑
The two title-holders headed the Department of Parks within the Bureau of Apartments. They had charge of palace gardens and parks, as well as the cultivation of flowers, vegetables, and fruits.⁴⁴
- ssu-teng
司燈
The two title-holders headed the Department of Lighting within the Bureau of Apartments. They had charge of lanterns, lamps, candles, kerosene, etc.⁴⁵
- ssu-chih
司製
The two title-holders headed the Department of Manufacture within the Bureau of Work. They were in charge of sewing and making clothing for palace women.⁴⁶
- ssu-chen
司珍
The two title-holders headed the Department of Precious Trimmings within the Bureau of Work. They had charge of gold, jade, and precious stones used for decoration on women's garments.⁴⁷
- ssu-ts'ai
司綵
The two title-holders headed the Department of Fabrics within the Bureau of Work. They had charge of brocades, dyes, silks, and hemp for making women's clothing.⁴⁸
- ssu-chi
司計
The two title-holders headed the Department of Distribution within the Bureau of Work. They were in charge of distributing clothing and all miscellaneous items.⁴⁹
- ssu-cheng
司正
The two title-holders assisted the chief-of-surveillance in the maintenance of law and order.⁵⁰

Intendents graded 7a⁵¹

- tien-chi
典記
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Records within the Bureau of General Affairs. Their work consisted of the recording and sorting out of all notes, documents, and orders affecting palace women.

- tien-yen
典言
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of the Transmission of Orders within the Bureau of General Affairs. Their work involved the promulgation of edicts affecting palace women.
- tien-pu
典簿
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Personnel within the Bureau of General Affairs. They worked with personnel registers, pay, etc.
- tien-wei
典闈
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Gatekeeping within the Bureau of General Affairs.
- tien-chi
典籍
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Education within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
- tien-yüeh
典樂
The four title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Music within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
- tien-pin
典賓
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Guests within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
- tien-tsan
典贊
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Ceremony within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
- tien-pao
典寶
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Jewelry within the Bureau of Clothing.
- tien-i
典衣
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Clothing within the Bureau of Clothing.
- tien-shih
典飾
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Adornments within the Bureau of Clothing.
- tien-chang
典長
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Security within the Bureau of Clothing.
- tien-shan
典膳
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Utensils within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
- tien-yün
典醞
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Wines within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
- tien-yao
典藥
The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Medicine within the Bureau of Food and Wine.

<u>tien-ch'ih</u> 典饎	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Cooking within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
<u>tien-she</u> 典設	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Interior Arrangements within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>tien-yü</u> 典輿	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Chariots within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>tien-teng</u> 典燈	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Lighting within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>tien-chih</u> 典製	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Manufacture within the Bureau of Work.
<u>tien-chen</u> 典珍	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Precious Trimmings within the Bureau of Work.
<u>tien-ts'ai</u> 典綵	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Fabrics within the Bureau of Work.
<u>tien-chi</u> 典設	The two title-holders assisted the directors of the Department of Distribution within the Bureau of Work.
<u>tien-cheng</u> 典正	The four title-holders assisted the Chief-of-surveillance in the maintenance of law and order.

Supervisors graded 8a52

<u>chang-chi</u> 掌記	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Records within the Bureau of General Affairs.
<u>chang-yen</u> 掌言	The two title-holders worked in the Department of the Transmission of Orders within the Bureau of General Affairs.
<u>chang-pu</u> 掌簿	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Personnel within the Bureau of General Affairs.
<u>chang-wei</u> 掌關	The six title-holders worked in the Department of Gatekeeping within the Bureau of General Affairs.
<u>chang-chi</u> 掌籍	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Education within the Bureau of General Affairs.

<u>chang-chi</u> 掌集	The four title-holders worked in the Department of Music within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
<u>chang-pin</u> 掌賓	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Guests within the Bureau of Rites and Etiquette.
<u>chang-tsan</u> 掌贊	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Jewelry within the Bureau of Clothing.
<u>chang-pao</u> 掌寶	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Jewelry within the Bureau of Clothing.
<u>chang-i</u> 掌衣	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Clothing within the Bureau of Clothing.
<u>chang-shih</u> 掌飾	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Adornments within the Bureau of Clothing.
<u>chang-chang</u> 掌仗	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Security within the Bureau of Clothing.
<u>chang-shan</u> 掌膳	The four title-holders worked in the Department of Utensils within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
<u>chang-yün</u> 掌醞	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Wines within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
<u>chang-yao</u> 掌藥	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Medicine within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
<u>chang-ch'ih</u> 掌饎	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Cooking within the Bureau of Food and Wine.
<u>chang-she</u> 掌設	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Interior Arrangements within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>chang-yü</u> 掌輿	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Chariots within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>chang-teng</u> 掌燈	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Lighting within the Bureau of Apartments.
<u>chang-chih</u> 掌製	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Manufacture within the Bureau of Work.

chang-chen 掌珍	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Fabrics within the Bureau of Work.
chang-ts'ai 掌練	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Fabrics within the Bureau of Work.
chang-chi 掌計	The two title-holders worked in the Department of Distribution within the Bureau of Work.
nü-shih 女史	Ninety-two title-holders worked as clerks, annalists, or secretaries within the different departments of the six bureaus. The post was first recorded in the <u>Rites of Chou</u> .
t'ung-shih, 7a 彤史	No functional description of this title was found in the historical sources.

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9. Wu Tseng 吳曾. Neng-kai chai man-lu 能改齋漫錄 in Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng.

Notes

1. KCSWK, 1/16.
2. SWCY, 1/16; HSSCKY, 3/2a; KCSWK, 1/16.
3. KCSWK, 1/17; SWCY, 1/17; HSSCKY, 3/2a.
4. HSSCKY, 3/2q.
5. STCLC, p. 104.
6. SWCY, 1/18; KCSWK, 1/17.
7. SWCY, 1/18.
8. Ibid., 1/18-19.
9. Neng-kai ch'ai man-lu, 12/313.
10. KCSWK, 1/15; SWCY, 1/15.
11. T'ieh-wei-shan ts'ung-t'an, vol. 1, 1/21a.
12. KCSWK, 1/16; SWCY, 1/16.
13. HSSCKY, 4/1b, 11/1a.
14. SWCY, 1/17-18.
15. Ibid., 1/19-22.
16. T'ung-tien, 34/13a.
17. Loc. cit.
18. SHY, 20478/1b.
19. Ibid., 20378/2a,b; M, 4-7493-31.
20. SHY, 20478/2b.
21. Loc. cit.; M., 4-7493-141.
22. SHY, 20478/3a; M, 4-7493-100.
23. SHY, 20478/3a.
24. Ibid., 20478/3b; M, 4-7493-49.
25. SHY, 20478/3b; M, 3-7156-151.
26. SHY, 20478/2a.
27. Loc. cit.
28. Loc. cit.; m, 2-3257-397.
29. SHY, 20478/2a.
30. SHY, 20478/2b; M 2-3257-148.
31. SHY, 20478/2b.
32. Loc. cit. M, 2-3257-383.
33. SHY, 20478/2b; M, 2-3256-106
34. SHY, 20478/2b.
35. Ibid., 20478/2a.
36. Ibid., 20478/2b.
37. Loc. cit.
38. Ibid., 20478/3a.
39. Loc. cit., M, 2-3257-8.
40. SHY, 20478/3a; M, 2-3257-417.
41. SHY, 20478/3a; M, 2-3257-153.
42. SHY, 20478/3a.
43. Loc. cit., M, 2-3257-417.
44. SHY, 20478/3a.
45. Ibid., 20478/3a,b.
46. Ibid., 20478/3b.
47. Loc. cit., M, 2-3257-177.
48. SHY, 20478/3b.
49. Loc. cit.
50. Loc. cit.
51. SHY, 20478/2a-3b.
52. Loc. cit.