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BOOK REVIEWS

Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussion under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115-1234). By Hok-lam Chan. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1984. Pp. xiii + 267.

This book is another important contribution by Professor Hok-lam Chan to the field of Sinology. It will be welcome by historians and political scientists in general, and by students of Chinese history in particular. The book deals with the problem of legitimacy in Chinese history, focusing on the Jurchen-Chin (1115-1234) dynasty. The definition of legitimacy used in this book is the foundation of such governmental power as is exercised both with a consciousness on the government's part that it has a right to govern and with some recognition by the governed of that right.

A relatively short book (170 pages of the main text), it might seem at first glance to be merely a sketchy account of a rather broad subject. Such is not the case. This is a painstakingly researched and tightly constructed study. Chan's description and analysis of the labyrinth of the theories and practices of legitimacy in the West and in China is one of the book's outstanding features. In addition, we see another example of his impressive command of source materials and his linguistic abilities. It is truly amazing that Chan is able to pack so much information into a rather small space as well as present it with enviable clarity. The wealth of information is not just limited to the text, for useful and informative material is also abundant in the notes. In fact, the notes and the bibliography not only demonstrate Chan's thorough mastery of the original sources in Chinese, but also show his remarkable familiarity with secondary sources in six languages—Chinese, Japanese, English, French, German and Russian.

As a careful and responsible historian, Chan exercises great caution in presenting his materials. The book is a fair and unbiased history of legitimacy, starting with a summary of the problem in the West and ending with the relevant historical documents of the Jurchen-Chin dynasty in China. Although Chan describes the history of legitimacy and minimizes his value judgments, he presents his materials in such a thoughtful way that readers can readily see the problems of legitimacy in China's past and what those problems imply for not only later dynasties but also for governments today.

Legitimation was and still is an important matter for rulers everywhere in justifying their regimes. For centuries, Chinese rulers utilized the Mandate of Heaven, Confucian principles such as loyalty, and the Five Agents theory of cosmology to devise propaganda and indoctrination in order to legitimize their regimes. According to the Five Agents theory, all changes in natural and human activities come from the cyclical substitution of the five basic cosmic forms: Earth, Wood, Metal, Fire and Water. It was believed that each dynasty ruled in accordance with the virtue of a particular cosmic element. The Ch'in emperor in the third century B.C. was the first ruler to use the Five Agents theory to legitimize his accession. Finding an appropriate cosmic element for the dynasty was a major concern of subsequent regimes up to the Jurchen-Chin dynasty, which

was the last in Chinese history to apply the Five Agents theory for legitimization. Although the Five Agents theory subsequently ceased to be a means to rationalize legitimization, other things, such as appeals to cultural and moral values, continued to be used by rulers up to the present time.

There are two formulations of the Five Agents theory. The first one, devised by Tsou Yen in the third century B.C. and used by the Ch'in emperor, is known as the cyclical conquest formula of the Five Agents theory. In this construction, each of the five elements is overcome by the next in the order of Earth, Wood, Metal, Fire and Water. The second, devised by Tung Chung-shu at the end of second century B.C. to justify the rule of the Han Dynasty, is known as the cyclical production formula. In this version, each of the five elements produces the next in the sequence of Wood, Fire, Earth, Metal and Water. The Han dynasty's use of a new formulation of the Five Agents theory shows that there was no fixed scheme for the theory and that it could be changed to suit different needs.

Often in Chinese history a dynasty chose a cosmic agent which was not the appropriate successor in the sequence of Agents as used by the previous dynasty. This happened when the new regime had a strong preference for a particular cosmic element which would better serve its political needs, or when the new rulers thought the previous regime was not legitimate. In such cases, the current regime would bypass those before it and claim to be the successor of another dynasty further back in history. Every time a dynasty used this device to justify its legitimacy of succession, it would, at the same time, declare the intermediate dynasties illegitimate. The calendrical term to indicate an interpolated month, "intercalary," was used to denote the discredited regimes. Thus the Five Agents theory was not only used to justify the legitimacy of the present, it was also used to redefine the legitimacy of the past. The fact that a dynasty could choose a cosmic element which best served its own interests rather than automatically adopting the next Agent in the sequence indicates that there was no rigid obligation to follow the formula of the Five Agents theory. It is even doubtful whether the rulers really believed in the Five Agents theory of legitimate succession. People used the theory not necessarily because they believed in it, but rather because they found it to be a useful tool to achieve political needs. After all, a regime's political fate is controlled by people, not by the cosmic elements.

Although Chan's preface says that no attempt is made "to draw a parallel between the Chinese and Western phenomena, or to compare the experience," the reader will nevertheless find a section where comparisons are made between the West and China (pp. 42-48). This section, in the reviewer's opinion, is the most valuable part of the book, for here we find implication for new considerations of legitimization in contemporary China. Chan makes his comparisons by using Jeremy Adam's five dimensions of legitimative processes; namely, procedural, coercive, semantic, scholastic, and popular legitimization. In the first four dimensions, the process of legitimization is effected only after a new regime has secured its power. Only in popular legitimization does the process of legitimization take place before the new government begins its rule. Chan points out that in old China, there "were no legal constraints on the emperor's authority ..., no provisions for organized

assemblies outside the bureaucratic machinery for political activities, and no room for articulation of individual rights other than those sanctioned by the ruler" (p. 43). It was not until this century, after the dissolution of the monarchy, that China adopted provisions for popular political participation. Whether China, in the twentieth century, has entered the dimension of "popular legitimization" is hard to say "because of the underdevelopment of the tradition of individual rights, the failure to provide for an opposition political party, and above all, the absence of legal guarantees of individual participation in the political process" (p. 47). Chan's analysis is derived from his sound scholarly research and should be taken seriously by all Chinese people, especially those who are occupying positions of authority.

Chan has written a very important book which will not only benefit those who study history but also those who are making history. So long as people can be divided into the governing and the governed, the few who govern will continue to justify the legitimacy of their regime. One can hope that the legitimization process will take place before they gain power. Legitimation after gaining power should be a thing of the past.

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Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū 中國佛教社會史研究 (Studies in the Social History of Chinese Buddhism) by Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙 雅章. Kyoto: Dohosha. 1982. 560 pp. Separate indices of terms and names (ordered according to Japanese reading) and Dunjuang documents from the Pelliot and Stein collections (in numerical order).

"Sō Gen bukkyō ni okeru an dō" 宋元佛教における庵堂 (An and Tang in the Buddhism of the Song and Yuan Dynasties) by Chikusa Masaaki, Tōyōshi kenkyū 東洋史研究 46.1 (1987):1-28.

To date, almost nothing on Song Buddhism is available in Western languages because so few have studied either its doctrinal or social aspects.<sup>1</sup> Professor Chikusa Masaaki of Kyoto University is one of the few scholars who has. A large chunk of his scholarly career has been spent elucidating the social and institutional changes that marked Song Buddhism. And much of his work is contained in a book published in 1982, Chūgoku bukkyō shakaishi kenkyū; aptly titled, this study traces the rise of unlicensed religious practitioners, unrecognized cloisters, and sectarian groups in the Song. I reviewed Section I, entitled, "Studies in the Social History of Song Buddhism,"<sup>2</sup> six years after publication in order to

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Cynthia Brokaw for her help with this essay.

<sup>2</sup> Although I do not cover section II, "Studies of Buddhist Associations at Dunhuang," I urge those interested in ninth- and tenth-century social history to

(continued...)

introduce some of Chikusa's conclusions to an American audience. The final section of this review discusses a 1987 article about White Cloud and White Lotus sects because it illuminates the connections between institutional developments and the growth of sectarian groups and so draws together many of the themes of Chikusa's 1982 book.

Consisting of revised versions of articles originally published separately, Chikusa's essays on seemingly disparate topics may bewilder the Western reader. While giving brief summaries of the chapters about Song religious practice, the main purpose of this essay is to suggest possible connections among them and so to draw out what is often an implicit argument. My comments are the product of two years of study with Chikusa (1984-1986). My hope is that these explanations will make it easier to read the original book, which, with the exception of the title page, contains no English.<sup>3</sup> Page references are provided in parentheses for readers who wish to consult the original. Those who do so will be pleasantly surprised: the brevity of the sentences, the summaries of argument (often contained in the introductory and concluding sections), and the citation of most sources in the original classical Chinese render the book highly accessible.

Before turning to his work, perhaps I may be allowed to introduce Professor Chikusa. Born in 1930, he graduated from Kyoto University in 1953. A revised form of his master's thesis, "Fukken no jian to shakai 福建の寺院と社会" (Monasteries and Society in Fujian) appears as the fourth chapter in the book; his appointment, while still a graduate student, to assistant at the Institute for Humanistic Studies of Kyoto University (Kyōto daigaku jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo 京都大学人文科学研究所) testifies to the excitement that greeted his early work. Chikusa published several studies in political history and a biography of Su Shi 蘇軾 at that time. Chikusa studied both with professors in Chinese history (Saeki Tomi 佐伯 富 and Miyazaki Ichisada 宮崎 市定), and in Buddhism and Dunhuang studies (Naba Tochisada 那波 利貞 and Fujieda Akira 藤枝 晃). His diverse training gives him an enormous advantage in his chosen field: equally conversant with both Buddhist and secular sources, he draws on both in ways few others can. As a graduate student, Chikusa had a part-time job identifying Buddhist texts cited in often tiny fragments from Turfan. When I (totally dumbfounded) asked how he had done it, the characteristically modest Chikusa replied "Kan 勘" (instinct, feel). This ability has taken him far. In 1968 he was made an associate professor at the Faculty of Arts and Letters (Bungakubu 文学部) of Kyoto University, where he now holds one of the most eminent chairs in Chinese history in Japan. Chikusa has now reached that phase of his academic career where administrative duties prevail, but

<sup>2</sup>(...continued)

read the three essays, which are entitled: "Tonkō no sōkan seido 敦煌の僧官制度" (The system of monk-officials at Dunhuang,)(originally 1961); "Tonkō no jiko ni tsuite 敦煌の寺戸について" (About monastic dependents at Dunhuang,)(originally 1961); and "Tonkō shoto sha bunsho no kenkyū 敦煌出土「社」文書の研究" (A study of documents from Dunhuang concerning she associations)(originally 1964).

<sup>3</sup> Assuming that it will be easier for the readers of the Bulletin, I give the Chinese (not the Japanese) transcription for the different terms Chikusa uses.

he has begun a new project about low-level literate specialists in the Song; his first publication in this area concern physiognomists.<sup>4</sup>

#### Studies in the Social History of Chinese Buddhism

The first four essays of this book concern Buddhist institutions and the attempts of the Song central government to regulate them. This approach is not a surprising one given the proclivity of Japanese historians for institutional history. But Chikusa has a different goal than that of most institutional historians. He studies the institutions the central government established to supervise Buddhist monks and monasteries not in order to demonstrate state power in the Song. Rather, he wants to examine what eluded government regulation: those men too poor to buy ordination certificates and those cloisters too small to be called monasteries.

In Chapter I, "Sōdai bai chōkō 宋代置牒考" (A Study of the Sale of Ordination Certificates in the Song)(originally 1979), Chikusa traces the social reverberations of the imperial government's 1068 decision to sell ordination certificates (whose bearers were exempt from their corvée obligations) and the subsequent escalation of sales of blank certificates under Wang Anshi 王安石 (17-36). Following the fall of north China in 1127, the emperor Gaozong 高宗, responding to the charge that the enormous number of monks and nuns constituted a burden on the state, suspended the sale of the certificates from 1142 to 1160 (42). Biographies of contemporary monks, which give their ages at ordination, indicate the ban was actually enforced (44-45). However, the central government was unable to sustain the ban for long. What had begun as a means of generating emergency funds became, after 1161, a major source of income for the revenue-strapped Southern Song government (52).

As the cost of the certificates was so exorbitant, most monks had to depend on merit-seeking donors to buy one for them. Only a few were so lucky. Hong Mai 洪邁 tells of one case in 1177 where an official gave a certificate to one monk; out of five hundred applicants, the remaining 499 went empty-handed (59-60).<sup>5</sup> Some who could not obtain certificates stayed illegally in monasteries; others did not take the tonsure but continued to participate in religious activities outside monasteries. The emergence of unsupervised - and uncontrolled - semi-clergy, semi-lay (banseng bansu 半僧半俗) Buddhists interest Chikusa most because he sees them as forerunners of later sectarians. The rise of these uncertified practitioners continued throughout the Southern Song (63).

Chapter 2 "Jikan no shigaku ni tsuite 寺觀の賜額について" (Concerning the Bestowal of Plaques on Buddhists and Daoist monasteries)(originally 1980) addresses government attempts to regulate monasteries by granting them a plaque (e 額) bearing the name of the monastery. (In fact, given the logistical difficulties of transporting a wooden plaque over long distances, it is more likely

<sup>4</sup> "Sōdai no jyutsushi to shidaifu 宋代の術士と士大夫" (Song religious technicians and literati), Tōhō gakkai sōritsu yonjūnen kinen Tōhōgaku ronshū 東方學會創立四十年記念東方學論集 1987: 501-515.

<sup>5</sup> Citing Yijianzhi 夷堅志, zhiwu 支戊 4:1079. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1982.

that the government granted a monastery the right to make a plaque with its name on it (84). Historical annals report that different Northern Song emperors variously sought to restrict or to encourage monastic growth; the listings of monasteries in six local histories indicate that the reign of Zhenzong 真宗 (1008) and Yingzong 英宗 (1064-1068) witnessed the greatest number of grants (87). A chart based on data from local histories shows the oscillations in the number of new monasteries recognized per reign (109). The growth in the number of monasteries may have alerted the central government to the potential income to be derived from selling ordination certificates. In any case, the decision to sell ordination certificates came immediately after the sharp increase in the number of plaques granted during Yingzong's reign (94-95).

In the Southern Song, the central government stopped granting new plaques to previously unrecognized monasteries. Instead, it transferred the plaques from defunct monasteries to new ones. This shift in policy seems to indicate the declining number of officially recognized monasteries. For all the regulations about monasteries stipulated that they had to attain a certain size (usually thirty rooms in the Northern Song) before they were eligible for a plaque (98). Plaques were granted only after local officials had inspected the monastery to ensure it contained the requisite number of rooms (99). The thirty-room requirement had an important side-effect: monasteries under thirty rooms were not eligible for a plaque and, therefore, not subject to government control (101). In fact, although the large monasteries may have suffered a decline in the Southern Song, the number of cloisters under thirty rooms grew. Most significantly, it was in these unsupervised and unregulated cloisters that the White Cloud and the White Lotus movements of the late Southern Song rose (103). Chapters 1 and 2 trace a parallel process: the number of officially recognized clergy and monasteries declined between the Northern and Southern Song, but at the same time the number of unlicensed lay Buddhists and unrecognized cloisters rose.

Chapter 3 "Sōdai funji kō 宋代墳寺考" (A Study of Grave Monasteries in the Song) (originally 1979) explains why a new type of Buddhist institution appeared in the Northern Song. A grave monastery (fensi 墳寺) is a monastery (or cloister), whose monks tend a nearby grave (111). The building of these institutions caught on in the 1040's, and regulations determining eligibility were set in 1059 (118). The rules were strict. Only the highest imperial advisors were eligible.<sup>6</sup> At first glance, the popularity of grave monasteries among the Song shidaifu 士大夫 is puzzling. Even Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, a critic of Buddhism as an alien religion, himself built a grave monastery (123). The easing of civil service examination requirements for one's descendants, which accompanied permission to construct a grave monastery, may help to account for the enthusiasm of the literati (130). But those low- and middle-rank officials who went ahead and built grave monasteries without official permission obtained no such benefits. Why, then, the craze for grave monasteries in the Song?

<sup>6</sup> Even Su Shi had not attained high enough rank to be granted the privilege. It was only in 1139, following a petition from his grandson, that the emperor Gaozong posthumously bestowed the right to have a grave monastery (120).

The rise of the bureaucracy in the Northern Song meant that the people of the literati class constantly moved back and forth between capital and provincial posts. In earlier times they would have stayed on their family estates where their ancestors' graves were located (131). Some officials asked their younger siblings to tend the family graves, but gradually they realized monks living on land granted in perpetuity could perform ancestral rites on a regular basis (133). Grave monasteries continued to flourish in the Yuan, but in the Ming, with the rise of local gentry, shidaifu began to establish grave estates (muzhuang 墓莊) with tenants whose obligations included tending the graves (136-138). Chapter 1 documented the co-existence of monks with ordination certificates and of lay Buddhists without them, Chapter 2, the co-existence of monasteries with plaques and cloister without them. Similarly, this chapter shows that imperially approved grave monasteries co-existed with illicit grave monasteries. After all, the low-ranking, much-travelled officials who built them had no other way to fulfill their obligations to their ancestors.

Chapter 4 "Fukken no jūin to shakai" (Monasteries and Society in Fujian) (originally 1956, 1958) makes an important methodological point: only study of specific localities will allow the analyst to assess the strength of Buddhist institutions accurately. This approach is much preferable to taking central government edicts proscribing Buddhism at face value (145). In this essay Chikusa draws on Liang Kejia 梁克家's Chunxi sanshanzhi 淳熙三山志 (A Local History of Fujian Written During the Chunxi [1174-1189] Reign) to examine the position of monasteries in Fujian society. This is a descriptive piece, covering the number of monasteries (148-150), their landholdings (150-159), the taxes they paid (159-169), and their construction activities (169-181). The Sanshanzhi shows the decline in the total number of monasteries and monks in the Southern Song for which the first two chapters have prepared us (181-182); needless to say, it does not document the rise of illicit grave monasteries and cloisters or uncertified lay Buddhists.

The fifth article "Kisai jima ni tsuite 喫菜事魔について" (Concerning vegetarianism and demon worship) (originally 1974) illustrates the differences between Chikusa's approach and that of his predecessors (primarily Chen Yuan and Shigematsu Shunshō 重松 俊章, who both published articles about Song religion in the pre-war period). Chikusa cites no new materials about the so-called heterodox beliefs (xiejiao 邪教). He merely points out that the documents earlier historians have used were written from the point of view of administrators. As such, they give much more information about the prejudices of these officials than they do about actual religious practices of the Song. A term of opprobrium, filled with derogatory implications, "vegetarianism and demon worship" (chicai shimō 喫菜事魔) is no exception.

Chikusa begins by examining what he accepts as the only incontrovertible evidence of Manichaeism in China. A few references in Northern Song sources mention Manichaean texts by name; all come from the southeast coast (202). And the excavation of a monastery in Quanzhou unearthed a Manichaean image from the Ming (205-206). He then turns to the term, chicai shimō, which earlier scholars, oblivious to its nuances, took to be sure proof of the presence of Manichaeism. Chikusa then proceeds to show why their understanding is flawed. In the Northern

Song, the standard terms used in official documents to denote religious rebels were "meeting at night and dispersing in the morning" (yeju xiaosan 夜聚曉散) and "teaching demonic beliefs" (chuanxi yaofa/jiao 傳習妖法/教). But after the Fang La rebellion of 1120, Song administrators came to use the term chicai shimo instead. Chikusa cites six instances of the term drawn from petitions to the emperor dated between 1130 and 1155; all are from local officials trying to supervise the beliefs of the districts they govern (207-214).<sup>7</sup>

The term chicai shimo has little descriptive value. A vegetarian diet in itself did not serve as an identifying characteristic in a society in which most people ate little meat (214). Its use in conjunction with other accusations suggests that people were never prosecuted solely as vegetarians and devil-worshippers. Rather, chicai shimo was a charge to be tacked on to other more demonstrable offenses. Chicai shimo was used in the beginning of the twelfth century as a catch-all term referring to all rebels (even the Five Peck Daoists); later on, by the thirteenth century, its use seems to have narrowed so that it came to denote Manichaeian practices (221).

We may choose to read this essay as narrowly focused explication of one term that occurs often in official sources and thus dismiss it. In fact, it seems to me that Chikusa has a larger agenda. He is arguing against accepting the testimony of hostile bureaucrats at face value, against assuming that a given term's meaning does not change over time, and against taking one single term as proof of an independent religious tradition. Although ostensibly about one term, this essay is a statement of method - a call for a method both more subtle and more demanding than that used previously. One derogatory term coming from the mouths of administrators does not enable the analyst to comment on the religious practices of the Song. Instead he or she will have to read for bias, nuance, and changing meaning over time. Official sources cannot replace those written from the point of view of devotees.

Chikusa applies his method in the sixth chapter, "Hō Rō no ran to kisai jima 方臘の亂と喫茶事魔" (The Fang La rebellion and vegetarian devil worshippers) (originally 1974). At the time Chikusa wrote the article, it was widely accepted that Fang La was a Manichaeian. In subsequent years, scholarly opinion has shifted sharply, so that the impact of his original argument has faded slightly (252-253). First Chikusa demonstrates that the text scholars have depended on to demonstrate the Fang La was a Manichaeian, Qingqi kougui 青溪寇軌 (Traces of the Qingqi Bandits)<sup>8</sup> is corrupt, and that the term chicai shimo is a later interpolation (230-234). Chikusa cautions against leaping to the conclusion that the Fang La was Buddhist simply because contemporary sources say that he used a mirror and a text

<sup>7</sup> For an interesting discussion of this obligation and its repercussions in the Tang, see Jean Lévi, "Les fonctionnaires and le divin: luttes de pouvoirs entre dévinités et administrateurs dans les contes des Six Dynasties and des Tang," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie*. 2 (1986): 81-106. (With English summary by Anna Seidel 2:107-110)

<sup>8</sup> See Brian McKnight's entry about this book in *A Sung Bibliography*, ed. Yves Hervouet (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1978) pp.92-93.

called Baozhi chanji 寶誌懺記 (Record of the Repentance of the Treasure Book). It seems more likely that he drew on themes from local popular religion; the mirror and text probably figured in these indigenous beliefs (pp.242-243). Because the term chicai shimo came to be used indiscriminately to apply to all rebels only after the uprising was suppressed, it also casts no light on Fang La's beliefs (pp.243-246). The participation of the poor suggests widespread economic suffering on their part; extant evidence (consisting only of hostile reports) makes it impossible to delineate the kinds of religious organizations they might have had (252).

Chapter 7, "Sessei no dōmin ni tsuite 浙西の道民について" (Concerning the daomin of Zhexi circuit) concerns the activities of lay Buddhists in the Southern Song. In 1198 an official in Huzhou urged the punishment of daomin, literally, people of the way, who were neither monks nor ordinands. Like other officials, he used the most convenient label for these people: chicai shimo (262-263). Who were these people? Because of the skyrocketing price of ordination certificates, the daomin were not monks. Rather they were members of organized groups who worshipped the Buddha; they were also called daoren 道人, daogu 道姑, or daogong 道公 (285-286). Inscriptions on the bridges, roads, and cloisters in Huzhou and Xiuzhou that they commissioned reveal that they also sponsored these construction projects. They had enough money and sufficiently high status that they do not seem to have been affected by the Song government's attempts to suppress them (285).<sup>9</sup> The White Cloud sect was simply one of these groups of lay devotees (286-288).

Chapter 8 "Genchō no Kōnan shihai to hakuunshū 元朝の江南支配と白雲宗" (Yuan Rule of Jiangnan and the White Cloud Sect) seeks to illuminate the political and social background of the White Cloud sect under Yuan rule. On taking power the Yuan summoned the leader of the White Cloud sect to Daidu, where he was guaranteed protection and given funds to print a copy of the Buddhist canon (294). The preferential treatment the Yuan extended to him was unusual; they tended to favor Daoists, especially of the Celestial Masters sect or of the newly formed Quanzhen 全真 sect. The White Cloud sect drew many of its new adherents from the socially prominent, monied classes in the Huzhou 湖州 and Jiaying 嘉興 areas (in modern Zhejiang) (303). The rich and powerful hao 豪 joined the sect because doing so exempted them from corvée; many indeed were those who donned clerical robes but did not cut their hair. If the poor and landless participated in the White Cloud sect at all, it was as monastic dependents who tilled the land for their lords (304). Then in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Yuan began to institute some measures to suppress the White Cloud sect; yet because the members of the sect were so well-placed, these policies had little effect. The White Cloud continued its religious and printing activities until the early Ming when it died out (perhaps because Ming Taizu really succeeded in ousting the powerful from local society) (312).

#### An and Tang in the Buddhism of the Song and Yuan Dynasties

The eight essays in Chikusa's book fall into two groups: the first four

<sup>9</sup> They seem to fulfill Robert Hymes's definition of local elites as presented in his *Statesmen and Gentlemen* (Cambridge University Press, 1986).

concern the changing institutions of Song Buddhism, especially the rise of unrecognized practitioners and monasteries, whereas the last four concern lay devotees and sectarian groups. The order of presentation suggests that the institutional changes described in the first four essays contributed to the rise of the sectarians he discusses in the second four essays, but Chikusa does not spell out the connection. It is only in an article published five years later that he presents the evidence linking the two developments.

In this article, Chikusa returns to the topic of cloisters and halls that did not qualify for government recognition. He discusses the changing meaning of different Buddhist terms for monasteries and cloisters and concludes that, by the Song, si 寺 and yuan 院 generally denoted monasteries that had received government recognition (in the form of plaques). An 庵 and tang 堂 (which I translate as "cloisters") differed in three important respects: they were of small scale, they were inhabited by just a few monks, and they rarely received government plaques. From time to time the central government ordered that all unrecognized monasteries be torn down, but it is unlikely that they were (6). The central government warned that these small cloisters provided breeding grounds for religious rebels. The government officials were right to be suspicious: the biographies of the founders of the White Cloud and White Lotus sects reveal that both spent most of their time teachings in cloisters and had little contact with the larger, government-approved monasteries (8-10). Here then is the connection between the institutional changes of the Song and the rise of the sectarians: the leaders of the White Cloud and White Lotus sects were based in the unrecognized, and so unsupervised, cloisters of the Southern Song.

Local gazetteers are of little help to the historian who wants to find out more about cloisters: they tend to under-report the number of cloisters (pp.10-14). Instead, Chikusa suggests looking at two versions of the Buddhist canon printed in the late Song and early Yuan. The Jisha 籍砂 canon was printed in Suzhou from 1231 to 1272, the Puning 普寧 canon, in Hangzhou sometime between 1296 and 1308. Colophons appended to the sutras contained in these canons give the donors' names, the amount contributed, and what they hoped would result from their contribution: many were lay Buddhists who had taken vows and assumed Buddhist names. Many lived in cloisters (14-15). The Jisha canon names only eight cloisters, and local gazetteers provide no further information about them (16).

The Puning canon (held in Tokyo) is more helpful. Because it was printed under the auspices of the White Cloud sect, the cloisters and donors whose names are mentioned in it were all connected with the sect (18). The colophons are a gold mine of information about the early White Cloud supporters. By the early Yuan, naming practices which used either character or a radical mark to denote people of the same generation had become widespread. The White Cloud adherents used a slight variation on this system; they took one character (often from their teacher's name) as a generation marker. Full-fledged monks adopted two-character names but often retained their xing 姓. Chikusa sorts out the family relationships of different donors on the basis of the information he is able to tease out of their names. For example, because people named Shen 18, 23, 62, and 5 all lived in one cloister in Hangzhou, Chikusa concludes that it was a family cloister. People

of other last names were also present, but their relationship to the Shens is not clear; they may have married into the family (20).

Among the sixty-six cloisters mentioned in the Puning canon are several whose names contain the character fen 墳 ("grave"); powerful adherents of the White Cloud sect founded grave cloisters that were smaller than grave monasteries but performed the same services for the dead ancestors. One devotee built such a cloister in 1287, bought a copy of the Puning canon, and invited monks to recite it, presumably to generate merit for his ancestors (20). Another donor actually specified that White Lotus followers tend his ancestors' grave in Shaowu prefecture, Fujian (23). The White Cloud and the White Lotus sects differed from other Buddhist associations of the time in significant ways; they were the forerunners of sectarian groups. But in other important ways, both borrowed from the institutions of mainstream Buddhism (21). In the early Yuan, when White Cloud devotees received special treatment, many literati clamored to become adherents. Their enthusiasm reflected more their desire to protect their property than their devotion to White Cloud teachings. In their early stages, neither the White Cloud nor the White Lotus sect was a movement for the down-trodden.

What did the White Lotus followers do in their cloisters? Yuan collected writings (wenji 文集) reveal that, in addition to building platforms where they could study with their masters, they also built bridges and roads. One follower opened up a road and received travellers at a little cloister-cum-resthouse at the top of the hill. These White Lotus sect members probably built similar hostels all over Fujian and Jiangxi (23). In many ways, as White Cloud and White Lotus cloisters resembled other cloisters, so too did their followers resemble other lay Buddhists (daoren) active at the time.

These similarities lie at the heart of Chikusa's contribution to the study of the Song. Whereas previous scholars have been interested in White Cloud and White Lotus primarily because of what they developed into in later dynasties, Chikusa's work enables us to see the extent to which they were products of the social and political situation of the late Song and Yuan.

If we may briefly indulge in speculation, imagine a Song government that did not recognize monasteries under thirty rooms, that did not sell ordination certificates in the 1060s, and that did not price those certificates out of the reach of ordinary people in the twelfth century. Imagine instead a government that had the money, the manpower, and the motivation to supervise all clergy closely, to administer strict examinations to all who wanted to become monks, and to inspect all monasteries regardless of size. Under such a government there would have been no place for cloisters, for daomin, for lay Buddhists, for unofficial grave monasteries - for any of the social formations Chikusa depicts so richly.

Most historians are already conscious of the long-term effects of the central government withdrawal from the marketplace. Unlike their Tang predecessors, the Song could not restrict markets to specific quarters, could not set prices, and could not regulate hours of trade. If we think less often of the long-term impact of the religious policies of the Northern Song, it is only because we have not paid sufficient attention to Chikusa's work. Surely the Northern Song's growing inability to police Buddhist institutions underlies the later rise of sectarian

movements in just the same way that the central government's withdrawal from the market underlay the medieval commercial revolution.

Valerie Hansen, Yale University

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Chen Liang chi (zengding ben) (Revised and enlarged edition of the collected writings of Chen Liang). Punctuated and corrected by Deng Guangming. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1987. 2 vols. Pp. v + 27 + 577. Paper. 4 RMB.

This revised and enlarged edition of Ch'en Liang's collected writings is of such importance that I am writing a brief notice to alert our readers. The edition which Professor Deng used to supplement and correct the 1975 edition of Ch'en Liang's writings was the Sung rare book which was first used in my Utilitarian Confucianism (Harvard, 1982). In that book, I briefly discussed this Sung edition, Ch'uan-tien Lung-ch'uan Shui-hsin erh hsien-sheng wen-ts'ui (A marked edition of the collected works of Ch'en Liang and Yeh Shih). When I went to work with Professor Deng in 1982, I loaned him a microfilm of the edition, and he has utilized it to produce this new edition. The preface is dated 1212, but Professor believes (with good reason) that the book was more likely published during the second quarter of that century.

One importance of the Sung text is that it has material that had been lost from standard editions since at least the late Ming period. In Utilitarian Confucianism, I used the essays on the Han dynasty to discuss Ch'en Liang's thought during an early period when available data is limited. In an article, "Ch'en Liang on Statecraft: Reflections from Examination Essays Preserved in a Sung Rare Book," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies 48.2 (December 1988) 403-31, I used the other large body of material in that Sung text to discuss his ideas on governance. The center piece of that article was Ch'en's essay on "People and Laws" (jen fa) (translated in full on pp. 409-12); furthermore, it was this essay that Professor Deng selected to photocopy and reproduce at the beginning of his volume. Although the Professor Deng's new edition arrived too late for me to use his page numbers in that article, it will be easy to find the essays in his edition; hence, the essays which I have been using to expand our understanding of Ch'en's thought will now be readily available to everyone.

Another importance of the Sung text which has been highlighted in Professor Deng's edition is that it permits us to correct errors which have been incorporated into Ch'en's writings. A few of these errors were deliberate and serious distortions of the original text. The most serious case is the preface to Ch'en's San-kuo chi-nien which was changed to agree more with Chu Hsi's interpretation. Using the Sung edition, it is clear that someone no later than the early seventeenth-century edition altered the original to make it appear that Ch'en saw the Shu Han as legitimate instead of the Wei. Now, for the first time in centuries, we know what Ch'en's own view was.

We are indeed fortunate now not only to have a far more complete edition of Ch'en Liang's writings but also to have someone of Professor Deng's erudition

personally correct the edition. As many of our readers will remember, Professor Deng's first book was a biography of Ch'en Liang. We hope that he will now revise that book much like he published a revised edition of his book on Yüeh Fei.

My delight at having this edition available is also based upon what closer scrutiny of Ch'en's writings can do to deepen our understanding of the context of Confucian thought in the twelfth century. After several years of discussing my views of Sung Confucianism with Professor Deng, he has generally accepted much of my interpretation as can be observed in his preface to the Songshi yanjiu lunwenji (Collected research essays from the 1984 meeting on Song history), edited by Deng Guangming, Xu Gui, et al. Hangzhou: Zhejiang Jenmin, 1987. As the superb scholar that he is, Professor Deng did not entertain what I said at face value or even concern himself with the voice which was doing the articulating; but rather, he went back over Ch'en Liang's writings and other Sung sources for himself. It is the Sung sources which he cites for the reader in declaring his change of view in that preface. It is my hope that readers of the new edition will also wrestle with the sources to address some of the larger questions about not only Ch'en's thought and also the larger context of the evolution of Sung Confucianism and the terms we should be employing to discuss that evolution.

Hoyt Cleveland Tillman, Arizona State University

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The Thought of Chang Tsai (1020-1077) by Ira E. Kasoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984. xiii + 209 pp. Bibliography, glossaries, index.

Ira Kasoff's monograph on the thought of Chang Tsai, the first in a European language, provides a very competent account of Chang's philosophical system. By philosophy, says Kasoff, "I mean systematic thinking about man and the universe" (p. 2); in practice this means an analysis of terms and their interrelationships. From a historians point of view, I believe that this a-contextual approach, however skillfully pursued, is inadequate for understanding Chang Tsai's "thought." Nonetheless, Kasoff's project is successful on its own terms.

The book starts with a chapter on Chang's intellectual context. Then come three chapters that each address a key area of his thought: heaven-and-earth, man, and the sage. These are followed by a concluding chapter on the relationship of Chang to the Ch'eng brothers, and by four appendices—Chang's bibliography, his biography, and two glossaries. Kasoff summarizes his findings on pages 125 to 129, which I strongly recommend to anyone who lacks the time for a more thorough reading of the book.

Chapter One is entitled "The intellectual climate of the eleventh century." Kasoff writes:

The philosophical developments of the eleventh century can be seen in part as an attempt by the literati to define the Way—the moral and political principles of the state—and to implement that definition. . . . Much of the philosophical debate during this period centered on how to to [sic] determine a definition of the Way (p. 7).



Kasoff then discusses "seven assumptions" of eleventh-century thought, as well as . . . the issues to which they gave rise. In the course of the discussion I will quote from many eleventh-century figures in order to provide a sampling of what scholars were saying, and also to support my contention that these assumptions and these issues were indeed shared by many eleventh-century figures. Clearly, not everyone was concerned with all of these problems, or without concern for any others. Nor was there anything resembling an orthodoxy (p. 11).

These seven assumptions are worth listing here, since they constitute a micro-glossary of eleventh-century discourse. The first is a sense of mission—the conviction that the Way (tao 道) had been lost, and that it was up to contemporary literati to recover it. This conviction also mandated the implementation of that Way in the personal, social and political spheres. Second, "Many eleventh-century scholars believed that it was necessary to remove the influence of Buddhism, which had become extremely widespread in China by this time" (p. 14). Third, leading literati sought a unified vision of the world—"one thread" that Confucius had spoken of.

The belief that there was one thread running through everything led to several conclusions: first, there could be no room for heterodox doctrines like Buddhism; second, because there was only one Way, each of the Classics and the various sages all had to be describing the same principles; and third, passages about different concepts in a single Classic, which had heretofore been discussed separately, had to be explained by one set of philosophical principles (p. 17).

Fourth, scholars directed themselves to the general meanings of the classics, rather than worrying about minutiae or inconsistencies between various texts. Kasoff here mentions the analysis of the Taiwan scholar Ts'ai Jen-hou:

In his view, before the Sung the Classics had been primary and Confucius had been important because he was the transmitter of the Classics. Since the Sung dynasty, Confucius' Way, and Confucius himself as exemplar of that Way, became primary, and the Classics became the means by which to grasp the Way. The Classics were still important, but only as the best means to the end of knowing the Way, and not as ends in themselves (p. 21).

Fifth is a new interest in cosmology, most often linked to the Hsi-tz'u chuan, the third appendix to the Book of Change. Sixth is the sage. This included the real possibility that men of Sung could themselves become sages. The sages of the past, after all, were themselves only men, however extraordinary. Seventh is the shared interest in Confucius' favorite disciple, Yen-tzu or Yen Hui, "a man who tried to emulate the sage, but who did not quite succeed because he died too young" (p. 26).

Kasoff concludes this chapter by extending these seven matters as follows: These assumptions in turn gave rise to certain problems. Put most generally, the problem was: What is the one Way that runs through everything? . . . [And more specifically:] "Of what does human nature consist?"; and "what is the mind, and how does one cultivate it

to achieve sagehood?" (p. 28).

These several issues point accurately to eleventh-century concerns, and Kasoff effectively demonstrates their pervasiveness in literati thought. In particular, the notion of "the one Way that runs through everything" seems to me the most fundamental question for many of the men he quotes from. This chapter is based on admirably wide reading. Moreover the bibliography contains the Chinese characters for all works cited, including individual essays from collected works. Thus Kasoff offers a real contribution to current discussions of the period.

Kasoff's list contains an implicit historical development that begins with the institutionalization of the examination system in early Sung. This assured that for the first time in Chinese history cultural qualifications would determine who exercised the state's power. In the 1030's we find literati aspiring to take responsibility for the entire empire—to decry its decadence and to see it whole. By the 1060's certain men make this argument on the basis of the unity of heaven-and-earth, including everything from the largest (the cosmos itself) to the most intimate (the human mind). Human beings shared their nature with heaven-and-earth and thereby had the potential to act as sages within it. Thus Chang is one of a number of men whose foundation was unity, whose scope was universal, and whose agent was man.

Despite the usefulness of Kasoff's treatment, I find it problematical from the perspective of an intellectual historian. Kasoff anthologizes significant views from an impressive range of mid-eleventh-century thinkers, but he neglects the fact that most of these ideas are embedded in contemporary polemics and can be fully understood only in that light. That is, he does not supply the context from which they take their meaning. Thus he has no means to distinguish between how something might have been an issue in the 1030's and how it is at issue in the 1070's. The root cause is that Kasoff treats ideas without reference to their birth in the complex social, political, and military milieu of Northern Sung. For this reason he fails to recognize that these seven items are less the assumptions of eleventh-century thinkers than the issues that the ultimately successful innovators of mid-century were struggling to establish as the key issues that should be of concern to all literati. And while it is certainly asking too much that Kasoff's introductory chapter do all this for us—we will have to wait for Peter Bol's book on eleventh-century thought—it would still have been useful to clarify this important historical difference.

Chapters Two, Three and Four (pp. 34-124) contain Kasoff's analysis of Chang's philosophy. This is always clearly done, and the translations are generally excellent. The analysis is conducted through close textual readings. Indeed the typical page here consists of an equal amount of translations from Chang (usually a passage of two or three sentences) and Kasoff's explication of it. These chapters are largely organized by philosophical term. Thus Chapter Two, on heaven-and-earth, consists of sections on ch'i 气, yin-yang, t'ien 天, and shen 神.

As Kasoff points out, ch'i, "in its various uses, is the most fundamental concept of Chang Tsai's thought" (p. 36). All things in the universe are made of it, from the most rarified to the most condensed, i.e. material objects. This

conceptualization allows Chang to view everything in heaven-and-earth as a continuum stretching from the Great Harmony 太和 and Great Void 太虚 (themselves forms of ch'i) through yin and yang to all things in the universe, visible and invisible. As he himself remarked, "The condensation and dispersal of qi in the Great Void is like the freezing and melting of ice in water" (p. 40). This view of ch'i was highly original. With some important modifications it was adopted by Chu Hsi and thus entered the main stream of Neo-Confucian cosmology. Precisely because Kasoff stresses the great usefulness of ch'i as a unifying term, it seems unfortunate that he uses the transliteration Ch'i "to refer to the undifferentiated, primal substance, ch'i to refer to condensed, tangible matter, and qi when both meanings are intended, or when it is not possible to distinguish which meaning is implied" (p. 37). This dilutes the strength of Chang's solution without adding much heuristic clarity. It insists on a distinction that Chang not only felt he could do without but also deliberately wished to overcome.

Throughout this chapter Kasoff refers to the importance of Chang's reaction against Buddhism, and elsewhere he states that "One of the major themes of Chang's writings was the refutation of Buddhism" (p. 121). It would therefore have been extremely useful if Kasoff had gone further into Chang's understanding of and relationship to that religion. Why, for example, call the original, undifferentiated state of heaven-and-earth by the name "T'ai-hsü" or Great Void? Kasoff says it is to criticize and undercut the Taoists and Buddhists (p. 41)—presumably it co-opts their language while affirming that the things of the world exist on the same level of reality as the Great Void itself. Thus Kasoff quotes Chang's remarks that "When one knows that the Great Void is Ch'i then there is no non-being 知太虚即气则无无" (p. 42) and that "I claim that qi can unify being and non-being 该为气能一有是" (p. 41). But not surprisingly Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi objected to the concept, claiming that Chang perpetuated rather than undercut heterodoxy (pp. 41-42). What is Chang really talking about here? Does his intuition derive from a Buddhist-like meditative insight into the nature of mind? Do his terminological borrowings indicate a thorough soaking in Buddhist attitudes? Kasoff—and, unfortunately, nearly every other scholar of eleventh-century literati thought—lacks the background in Buddhism to address this issue seriously. Chapter Three, on man, discusses Chang's highly influential dual conception of human nature. It consists of the "heaven-nature" 天性, which is good, and of the material nature, which Kasoff calls "the nature of the ch'i-constitution" 气禀之性, that is variously pure or impure. This allows Chang "to show that moral behavior was 'natural'—consistent with human nature—while accounting for the presence of evil in the world" (p. 125). It is essentially the solution adopted by Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi. In this chapter Kasoff also clears up some misunderstandings of Chang advanced by A. C. Graham, Mou Tsung-san and Feng Yu-lan by showing how Chang moves between both senses of the word hsing (pp. 70, 76 and 169n.36). He also discusses the process of learning (hsüeh 学), to which I will soon return.

Chapter Four addresses sagehood. I found it most interesting for Kasoff's characterization of Chang as

. . . a man of great ambition who saw himself as a latter-day Confucius.

He believed he had rediscovered the Way of the sages, and had a mission to lead the world to revive that Way. Like Confucius, however, he was frustrated in his ambition by political reality, and was left wondering whether his way would flourish. . . (p. 124).

It is a shame that Kasoff does not do more with the nature of those political realities, nor take us further into this world of personal aspirations.

Chapter Five, the conclusions, begins with a useful five-page summary of Chapters Two through Four. The rest of the chapter is devoted to a comparison of Chang's thought with that of the Ch'eng brothers. While Kasoff makes no errors here, the comparison focuses so narrowly on the technical matter of philosophical terms that Kasoff himself concludes, "In part, they were just . . . philosophical differences" (p. 141). This remark is comparable to saying that "psychology is all in your mind" and calls into question the usefulness of any philosophical inquiry. It offers a good transition to three misgivings I have about Kasoff's treatment of Chang's "philosophy," with which I will conclude this review.

First, Kasoff's explanations are always clear and convincing, and his text moves logically from argument to argument. But it is so literally devoted to a passage-by-passage explication of Chang's philosophical system that Kasoff gives himself little chance for deeper reflection on these materials or their larger implications. Also lacking is a sense of the dynamic movement of Chang's thought. One wonderful exception is Kasoff's treatment of how one learns (hsüeh) to become a sage (pp. 76-98). For me, these were the most exciting pages of the book, as Kasoff and Chang take us through a series of linked questions and answers, discussing what learning is, its subject matters, the nature of mind, and especially the processes that lead step by step to realization. Kasoff makes it clear where we are going, what its significance is, and why we might want to go there with him.

My second point about philosophy turns on how we understand the nature of Chang's importance. Why, in other words, should we want to learn about him? Kasoff's answer is straightforward: Chang's thought "marked a new departure in the history of Chinese philosophy—the beginning of the Neo-Confucian movement which was to be the dominant school of thought for centuries to come" (p. ix). Why else might we care about him? Does his thought clarify these origins? What indeed impelled Chang to take the novel course he chose? Regarding the larger movement, Kasoff believes that "we can best understand Neo-Confucian philosophy by examining in detail the work of an individual thinker like Chang" (p. ix). This assumes that Neo-Confucianism is primarily a collection of philosophical arguments. Yet the most interesting recent work on this subject instead addresses thinking as a response to pressing personal, social and political issues. This, after all, is what these philosophers themselves considered the locus of and justification for their ideas.

Third, while philosophy provides an indispensable foundation for addressing the place of Chang in Sung history, it does not by itself establish that place. What I, as a student of eleventh-century thought, will most remember from this book is its overwhelming demonstration of the shared vocabulary of the mid-century revolution. But what was Chang's real relationship to the currents around him?

Can we see him responding to the same forces as his contemporaries Ssu-ma Kuang and Wang An-shih? Or was he, like Shao Yung and Chou Tun-i, an eccentric developing largely in isolation? What was the social basis of his thought or its implications for social practice? Other scholars will be able to pursue such questions because of Kasoff's good work, but it is a shame he himself did not do more here.

In sum, Kasoff's book can be extremely useful to those working in the field. It has the strengths and weaknesses of a good dissertation—well researched and clearly presented, but too focused on details at the expense of larger issues. Like other dissertations, it would have profited by some years of further reflection and research. However, since Kasoff is no longer in academics we are fortunate to have the fruits of his pioneering work.

NOTE: The production of this book is extremely sloppy and a discredit to the Cambridge University Press. The text is riddled with typographical errors that suggest it could not have been seriously proofread. For example, the first paragraph of Chapter Two ends ". . . this was all explained in the Hsi tz'u chuan. explained in the Hsi tz'u chuan" (p. 34). The book's first footnote contains a reference to "p. 000." The glossary refers to t'ai-chi 太極 as "Great void." Several pages needed to be cut apart before they could be read. The index is rudimentary; despite the importance of Buddhism to Kasoff's discussion, there is no index entry for it. Barely 200 pages long, and with an asking price of \$62.50, this volume makes a compelling argument for the xerox machine.

Kidder Smith, Bowdoin College

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An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China: With Emphasis on Its Personnel Administration. By Winston W. Lo. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987. xii, 297 pp. \$36.00

Bureaucratic organization is one of the triumphs of Chinese civilization. Without it China could never have enjoyed two millennia of cultural and political unity. There is, of course, a price—bureaucracy discourages individual creativity which departs from the orthodox pattern, and in China has also smothered the growth of alternative, and potentially autonomous, social and economic and political institutions. On the other hand, because the central bureaucracy was virtually the only show in town, it has generally attracted the services of the best talent. Supported by the whole body of Confucian doctrine, public service was to most educated Chinese what it was to the classical Athenians—the supremely human activity. Given the importance of the subject, it is surprising that so little scholarship has been devoted to it.

We can therefore be thankful that Winston Lo has directed his energies to this subject, and produced a major contribution to our understanding of bureaucracy in China. The book consists of an introduction, which places the subject in a comparative context, seven chapters covering the basic structure of public

administration, the historical context of the Sung civil service, job assignments and the functional rank system, the personal rank system, evaluation, and a case study of public administration in Szechwan, followed by a conclusion and six appendices. The notes are helpful and complete, and there is a useful glossary, bibliography, and a brief index.

There appear to be two or three themes which run throughout the book. One is that the role of the bureaucracy was not confined solely to the limited realm of public administration, but was also the principal means by which the central government channelled the energies of the social elite in China toward supporting the state. To point this up, Lo employs a useful comparison with another great bureaucratic empire—the Byzantines. He notes that one of the most important functions of the bureaucracy in China was to build up the political cohesion of the empire, and support for the regime among the general population, by opening up access to power to all segments of Chinese society. This access brought new vitality into the bureaucracy, as well as inspiring loyalty to the central institutions of government, gradually strengthening the foundations of support for the state throughout all levels of society. One of the consequences, incidentally, was that there were often more officials—sometimes twice or three times as many—than positions.<sup>1</sup> The Byzantines, it seems, drew their bureaucrats from only a small group, undermining the loyalty of other segments of the population, and the "consequence was an unbridgeable gap between the people and the state" (p. 21).

This dual function of the bureaucracy in Sung China was partly in response to the decline of the T'ang aristocracy (men-fa). The government had to create a new elite to fill the emerging vacuum of political and social leadership, and the new "literati" had the added advantage to the emperor of being more malleable to imperial designs, since they owed their status to an examination system under the ultimate control of the court. The Sung bureaucracy was thus invested with two responsibilities: "efficiency in performing the services expected of it in the dynamic economy with the ever-increasing involvement of the government and, moreover, creation of a body of officials with the characteristics of the men-fa elite capable of providing the dynasty with prestige, legitimacy, and stability" (p. 22).

A second theme stresses the unique aspects of the Sung bureaucracy, different from its predecessors and successors. For one thing, it was much bigger than ever before. That was partly due to a tremendous increase in the number of clerical workers, who were for the first time paid a regular salary. It was also due to the large mercenary army which the Sung maintained. Whereas previous and successive dynasties usually relied on conscripted troops or agrarian militia, the Sung hired

<sup>1</sup>There is a discrepancy in the text on this point. One passage mentions that "in the mature Sung civil service, there were between twelve and fourteen thousand positions in a personnel system of about forty thousand individuals. With a ratio of almost three to one between personnel and positions, competition for positions was intense" (p. 121). In the Conclusion, however, the text says that "the personnel pool was normally more than twice the size of the personnel actually funded by the dynasty" (p. 219).

soldiers, keeping about one million troops under arms during most of the dynasty, three times the size of Hadrian's army in the Roman empire (p. 7). To generate the revenue necessary to pay the salaries of such a large army, the Sung bureaucracy was much more activist than other dynasties, promoting all kinds of revenue-generating economic activities. The result was that the "aggregate nonagricultural revenue of the Sung government was nine times larger than that of the Ming and the per capita revenue still larger" (p. 9). Some of these sources of revenue were, well, imaginative: "To maximize revenue from the wine monopoly, for instance, the state actually operated taverns featuring singing girls (who were registered as official courtesans)" (p. 12). One can only assume that the memorial proposing that innovative enterprise no doubt included assurances that the young ladies in question would sing only uplifting tunes from the Book of Poetry.

A third theme is the dual system of separating job assignment and rank, which was so complex that it even confused later Chinese scholars in the Ming and the Ch'ing. This confusion, Lo speculates, may be one explanation for the paucity of Chinese scholarship on the Sung bureaucracy (p. 15). Adopting many titles unchanged from previous dynastic experience, the Sung evolved two parallel personnel systems, one (Right) with formal military rank, and the other (Left) with civilian rank. Lo believes that this dual system is in part based upon the dual mission of the bureaucracy, and that the Right was responsible for carrying out the specific bureaucratic functions while the Left contributed more to generating support for the dynasty. For this reason, then, the exam system was not used extensively in the Right, whose members were recruited mostly through the yin (protection) privilege.

The separation of job assignment and rank system also had an advantage in flexibility of appointment, because it made it easier for a talented junior official to be given a position over other officials with higher seniority. This dual system was not followed by the Ming or Ch'ing, who relied primarily on job classification. The Ming-Ch'ing also differed from the Sung in decentralizing many functions of the bureaucracy, allowing provincial administrators, for example, to take over the job assignments of about half of the county magistrates (there was a precedent for that in the Sung in Szechwan, which is treated in Chapter Seven).

My reservations are minor. I don't understand, for example, why Eisenstadt's theories of bureaucracy are raised so often in the Introduction, since in two places (pp. 4, 16) Lo himself acknowledges that the theories don't apply to Sung bureaucracy. I would also like to have seen some mention of Hucker's treatment of the Sung bureaucracy, and Lo's views on Hucker's translations. Perhaps Hucker came out too late to be included.

Alan T. Wood, Seattle

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Viktor Andreevich Vel'gus, Srednevekovi Kitai, Issledovaniia i materialy po istorii, vneshnim svyaziam, literature (Medieval China: Researches and material on history, external relations, literature.) Moscow: Nauka, 1987.

This volume brings together the posthumous works and papers of the Leningrad sinologist, V. A. Vel'gus (1922-1980), whose premature death in 1980 ended a scholarly life devoted primarily to the study of Chinese activities in the maritime world from the 10th to 15th centuries, with special emphasis on the Song period.

Vel'gus' entry in Miliband's Biobibliographical Dictionary of Soviet Orientalists (Moscow, 1977; an Euro-American counterpart is sorely needed) informs us that he was born in 1922 in Moscow in a "worker's" family; completed a degree in Chinese philology in the Oriental Department (vostochnyi fakul'tet) of Leningrad State University in 1962; and in 1966 (1967 per L. N. Men'shikov, see below) earned his candidate's degree (roughly the equivalent of an American Ph.D.) upon defending a dissertation titled, "Early Medieval Chinese Notices of Africa and the Problem of Cultural Connections in the Indian Ocean Basin."

From 1960 to 1978 Vel'gus was on the research staff of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Ethnography, Soviet Academy of Sciences. According to the notice on the back of this paperback volume, Vel'gus authored 70 some works on a wide variety of topics (only 61 are listed in the bibliography of his works on pp. 139-142 of this book). In 1978 he published a well-received monograph titled, Izvestiia o stranakh i narodakh Afriki i morskije svyazi v basseinakh Tikhovo i Indiiskovo okeanov (Kitaiskie istochniki ranee XI v.) (Notices on the Countries and Peoples of Africa and Maritime Connections in the Pacific and Indian Ocean Basins [Chinese sources of the early 11th century]).

Isolda E. Tsiperovich, the author's widow and compiler of the work under review, acknowledges the aid of her late husband's colleagues. Among them, the gifted hand of L. N. Men'shikov, a Dunhuang specialist and responsible editor for this book, is evident in its fine organization, attractive presentation, and abundant use of Chinese characters (still a rarity in Soviet sinological publications) throughout the text and scholarly apparatus. The latter includes: a table of contents in Russian and English; indices of proper names, titles, and sources; bibliography, and abbreviations. Pages 169 to 177 contain an essay by Men'shikov on the life and scholarship of Vel'gus.

#### VEL'GUS' LIFE

At the age of 6, in 1928, Vel'gus was taken to China, the home of his adoptive Chinese father who had taken part in the October Revolution and served as a commander in the Red Army (p. 169). Men'shikov does not say what happened to Vel'gus' own parents, nor comments on his adoptive father's connections or business in China. Vel'gus grew up in the Shandong countryside and attended middle school in Peking (or Beijing) and Tientsin, attaining fluency in Chinese and Japanese, and also studying English. In 1946 he became a Soviet citizen and returned to the Soviet Union the following year. At the invitation of the renowned Russian sinologist, V. M. Alekseev, Vel'gus went to Leningrad in 1948 and became an assistant instructor of Chinese language in the Oriental Department at Leningrad State University, at the same time embarking on a full course of university study.

For reasons unspecified but probably connected to his Chinese childhood, in

1949 Vel'gus' studies and teaching were interrupted, and only in 1956 was he able to return to the university, completing his work there in 1962. When Vel'gus joined the research staff of the Institute of Ethnography in 1960, his section chair, the Africanist D. A. Ol'derogge, suggested that he investigate ancient Sino-African links. Vel'gus' subsequent researches contributed to a 1964 IONESCO project of preparing a general history of Africa. In 1967 (p. 173), Vel'gus became a "candidate of historical science."

Vel'gus close and careful examination of the sources pertinent to his theme led him to the general conclusion that Chinese sailors in their own vessels were only able (or interested) to travel short distances hugging the shoreline. Open ocean sailing was the province of Malayasian mariners. Thus Chinese information about distant regions comes almost exclusively through second-or third-hand sources.

#### SURVEY OF MEDIEVAL CHINA

This book is organized into three parts: 1) "Source Study," 2) "Chinese Seafaring in the 10th-15th Centuries," and 3) "Literature and Translations." Part I contains the eleven entries that Vel'gus wrote for A Song Bibliography, plus a short article on the Song hui yao 宋会要, "as a source for the study of ethnocultural relations in the middle ages." Part II comprises, in my opinion, the most interesting section of the book. Not all of Vel'gus' remarks may be original and some are now out of date, but his hypotheses merit attention.

Vel'gus poses the question (p. 29), why were ties between India and China severed after the first quarter of the 15th century? He observes that before the 11th century Chinese ships did not travel beyond Sumatra and Java. If, as sources indicate, Chinese boats went to India, it was during the 12th to early 15th centuries. Vel'gus emphasizes the importance of the Persian Gulf and Muslim traders to China in the Song-Yuan era. The death of Fu Shougeng brought an end to regular contacts between China and India (late 13th-early 14th centuries), and hence it was no surprise that Europeans did not find Chinese sailors in India in the 15th century. The exceptional, official missions of Zheng He were largely occasioned by the character of the Yongle emperor, after whose death Chinese navigation once again did not venture beyond Java and Sumatra. Chinese became skilled ship-builders, but not far-ranging sailors. Trade remained in the hands of Persian Gulf merchants, with India as an international entrepot. Who manned the Chinese junks? Notices from Arab sources about "Chinese merchants," "merchants from China," Chinese ships," and "ships from China" do not refer to Chinese people *per se*, but rather to Muslims in the Persian Gulf who resided in China, and to boats constructed by Chinese commandeered by foreign merchants. Vel'gus urges that this distinction not be lost on the contemporary reader.

The rest of Part II contains Vel'gus' outline and further notes for a planned study to follow his 1978 monograph and examine the later period (up to the 15th century) of Chinese contacts with the Indian Ocean. Here he reviews the work of John Mills, Zhang Xun 张薰, et. al. Vel'gus disagrees with Mills' early periodization of the development of Chinese navigation (p. 37), and deplores the then tendency to call the Yue people (the chief early navigators) "Chinese." In

regard to Joseph Needham's studies (vol. 4, part 3 of Science and Civilization), Vel'gus adopts a cautious stance, respectfully observing of Needham that he "sees far more in a fact than the fact alone can say" (p. 38). Lo Jung-pang is original if not completely objective. Vel'gus dismisses European (mainly German) scholarly fantasies of an early diaspora of Chinese to the African and American continents (p. 40).

There follows a solid and thorough discussion of the identification of the name Zeng-tan:Zangistan, and a critical review of Zhang Tiesheng 张铁生, Zhongfei jiaotong shi chu tan 中非交通史初探 (Beijing, 1965; 2nd edn. 1973).

In the last section of the book appears an essay on the literature of the Song period, prepared in 1959-60 for a volume that was never published. It contains several representative translations of various poems, including seven love poems from the corpus of Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084-1147). This section concludes with the Chinese text and Russian translation of Liao Daozong's official imperial eulogy. The original stele, engraved with parallel Chinese-Khitans texts, was excavated in the 1930s and, according to Men'shikov's footnote, (p. 111), served as the basis for a partial decipherment of the so-called "small" Khitan script.

This book will appeal to a limited audience of specialists with a particular research interest in the material and themes that preoccupied its author. Vel'gus evidently was a sinologist of rare caliber in the Soviet Union, and it must be regretted that the difficult circumstances of his life and his early death have deprived us of the full flowering of his scholarship. The greatest interest of this book, perhaps, lies in the autobiographical clues that someone so motivated might pursue to puzzle out the fragmented picture presented here of Vel'gus' life and work.

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The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Expansion, Settlement, and the Civilizing of the Sichuan Frontier in Song Times, by Richard von Glahn. Cambridge, Mass. and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1987 (Harvard East Asian Monographs, 123). xxii + 305 pp. Bibliography, notes, maps, tables, glossary, index.

In Country of Streams and Grottoes Richard von Glahn has given us a detailed portrait of the Sichuan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and a fresh new case study for scholars of frontier history. For some time historians of the American West have been interested in comparing the United States frontier experience with

others around the world.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, one of the classic essays in frontier studies that has attracted the attention of Americanists is from the noted sinologist Owen Lattimore.<sup>2</sup> While there has been much interest in the various world frontiers, no special comparative approach has come to the fore. Some scholars have been interested to know if other frontiers fostered individual economic advancement and democracy.<sup>3</sup> Such inquiries are rooted in the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner who asserted that the frontier's relative abundance promoted democratic institutions and ideals in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Other historians have looked to China for models that help to explain the American experience.<sup>5</sup> Still others have examined southern Africa, Australia and New Guinea to try to understand how native peoples have been affected by the frontier process.<sup>6</sup> Von Glahn does not reconcile these disparate works—and I hasten to add that was not his purpose—but his careful dissection of the Sichuan region in Song times will be of interest to frontier historians because he suggests a frontier model that incorporates some old ideas while adding a few of his own.

<sup>1</sup>W. Turrentine Jackson, "A Brief Message for the Young and/or Ambitious: Comparative Frontiers as a Field of Investigation," Western Historical Quarterly 9 (1978):4-18; Leonard Thompson and Howard Lamar, "Comparative Frontier History," in Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson, eds., The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven, 1981), 3-13.

<sup>2</sup>Lattimore, "The Frontier in History," in Owen Lattimore, Studies in Frontier History, Collected Papers (London, 1962).

<sup>3</sup>David M. Potter, People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character (Chicago, 1954); Walker D. Wyman and Clifton Kroeber, eds., The Frontier in Perspective (Madison, Wis., 1957).

<sup>4</sup>In 1893 Turner wrote his classic essay "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," published in Turner, The Frontier in American History (New York, 1920). See also Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage (New York, 1963; Albuquerque, 1974).

<sup>5</sup>Donald Worster recently employed Karl Wittfogel's ideas about the relationship of oriental despotism to large-scale irrigation and water management project in Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity and the Growth of the American West (New York, 1985).

<sup>6</sup>Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson, eds., The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared (New Haven, 1981); Wilbur R. Jacobs, "The Fatal Confrontation: Early Native-White Relations on the Frontiers of Australia, New Guinea, and America—A Comparative Study," Pacific Historical Review 40 (Feb., 1971); reprinted in Jacobs, Dispossessing the American Indian (New York, 1972), 126-50.

While the Sichuan and North American frontiers were distant from each other in time and space, Song, European and American policy makers had similar problems. Namely, how were they to exploit frontier resources, deal with native tribes, control their own colonizers, and effectively administer remote provinces. In many ways, the native tribes posed the most troublesome problems. They were numerous, dangerous, and—from the perspective of Han civilization—barbaric. Even though Song bureaucrats had a low opinion of tribal culture, they believed that the native folk could be "civilized" and brought within the pale of Han society. Such an incorporation would be beneficial because the renovated tribesmen would augment the frontier population, aid in its defense, and contribute to economic development. Desirable as these aspirations were, they could not be realized until the Song dynasty could maintain a forceful political and military presence in Sichuan. In the meantime, a practical compromise was reached. The Song recognized "haltered and bridled" tribes that accepted the emperor and paid taxes, but who lived tribal lives unmolested. There were also "raw" and "cooked" tribes, terms indicating how well boiled were native people in the Han pot of civilization.

Ultimately, Song domination adversely affected all native polities, but some tribes that were allied with the Han improved their position of power in relation to other native people. This could have results that the Han had not intended. By 1115 many of the "raw" tribes beyond the frontier had become powerful as a result of their association with Han civilization. In order to enlist the support of powerful tribesmen Song officials had designated some of their chieftans "Marshalls of the Tribal Realm." These new officials then used their power to dominate the weaker "cooked" and "haltered and bridled" tribes that had already submitted to the Han. Unwittingly, Song officials had upset the delicate balance of tribal power on the frontier and encouraged turmoil instead of the stability that they desired. In this Song policy makers were not so different from Euroamericans who intervened in tribal affairs, inadvertently promoting frontier warfare instead of peace.<sup>7</sup> Builders of empires are forever surprised at how complicated a matter it is to impose new order on the complex arrangement of native societies that they

<sup>7</sup>For example, Elizabeth A. H. John, Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds (College Station, Tex., 1975); William Cronon, Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England (New York, 1983); James Ronda, Lewis and Clark among the Indians (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984); Gary Clayton Anderson, Kinsmen of Another Kind: Dakota-White Relations in the Upper Mississippi Valley, 1650-1862 (Lincoln, Nebr., 1984).

seek to displace.

In order to minimize expenditures the Song administrators at first relied on private individuals to provide for frontier defense, but this led to great mischief. The few powerful magnates who controlled frontier militias gained power at the expense of the state. Moreover, the magnates often kept peasant settlers in servile conditions in Sichuan. While servility was hardly an innovation in Chinese society, frontier conditions seemed to favor the maintenance of personal bondage in Sichuan while it was declining elsewhere. Bonded servants under the legal jurisdiction of a magnate were required to perform labor for the him and to serve in his militia. In effect, magnates were patriarchs of a fictive family who were responsible for the welfare of their servants. Obviously, personal bondage was a useful device that provided labor and military service on a frontier that was in need of both. Such practices fly in the face of notions about the frontier as a cradle of freedom, but servitude was a feature of the American West as well as the Sichuan. In regions where labor was scarce frontier entrepreneurs had no compunction about impressing labor, especially if the laborers were racially distinct. Thus, Blacks, Mexicans, Indians, and Chinese were a part of the nineteenth-century West's coerced work force.<sup>8</sup> Frontier opportunity for some meant servility for others.

Ultimately magnates and their militias were incapable of maintaining order on the southern frontier, and Song administrators replaced them with regular troops commanded by professional officers. However, professionals did not always master difficult Sichuan conditions. In 1080 the tribal chieftain K'iatdiei killed General Wang Xuan and eight hundred imperial guards who had rashly attacked the native army. The Song directed General Han Cunbao and his army of more than thirty thousand soldiers and a like number of bearers to eradicate "the bandits" as they styled K'iatdiei and his followers. This army, experienced on the steppes of the north but new to the broken terrain of Sichuan, wandered into unfamiliar territory, attacked peaceful native communities and generally mucked up the situation. Unnerved by the strange country and impressed with his army's seeming

<sup>8</sup>Howard Lamar, "From Bondage to Contract: Ethnic Labor in the American West, 1600-1890," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 293-324; Albert L. Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven, 1988).

vulnerability, Han Cunbao struck a truce with the undefeated K'iatdiei and withdrew only to be attacked by another native group angry at the army's previous unwarranted assault on their community. Han Cunbao's failure of nerve was not suffered gladly at the Song court which ordered the general's trial for cowardice. The luckless Han Cunbao was beheaded in Luzhou marketplace, an example that stiffened the resolve of his military colleagues in subsequent frontier campaigns. Perhaps the Song court gave the general too much blame and conditions of frontier warfare too little credit for the army's failure. Only in hindsight is the outcome of conflicts fought on unfamiliar and difficult ground with native enemies who used guerilla tactics a foregone conclusion. With a little luck and good leadership native fighters could beat professional armies in China and the Americas, a possibility that Han Cunbao evidently appreciated.<sup>9</sup>

Of all the resources that attracted Song attention, salt was the most enticing. Salt was precious and rare, and the Song carefully controlled its production and sale. Far removed from the oversight of Song bureaucrats, Sichuan salt well owners often evaded the heavy salt tax levys. Tax evasion was made easier by the invention of the "lofty pipe wells" that drew salt from deep deposits through a narrow aperture in the ground. When tax collectors were in the vicinity the bamboo pipes were easily hidden and the small well holes concealed. Thus the Song did not receive the revenues that had been anticipated. Moreover, "lofty pipe wells" were less labor and capital intensive than the older wells had been. Thus, men of relatively modest means could open wells, especially if they could evade onerous taxes. Eventually, the Song instituted policies that encouraged the concentration of salt well ownership. First selling its own wells to the highest bidder, and then implementing a system of licensing, confiscation, and sale of bankrupt private wells, the Song raised revenues and encouraged oligopoly in the salt industry.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>Robert Utley, The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890 (Albuquerque, N.M., 1984); Evan S. Connell, Son of Morning Star: Custer and the Little Big Horn (San Francisco, 1984).

<sup>10</sup>U.S. officials also found it difficult to effectively regulate extractive industries in the West. Instead of raising revenue and regulating the exploitation of resources on the public domain, federal laws resulted in—or at least did not inhibit—concentrated control of the extractive industries. See Patricia Nelson Limerick, The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West (New York,

(continued...)

The Sichuan salt industry posed a social as well as an economic problem for the Song. The salt wells attracted a kind of frontier rabble—rootless, unmarried men seeking employment. Thus, the Sichuan frontier was not buttressed by the family ties that underpinned Han society. As the Song distributed land to farmers, bureaucrats hoped that the regular agricultural routine would encourage stability in Sichuan. Indeed, farm families came to dominate the Sichuan region, but conditions dictated that frontiersmen adapt marriage practices that were abhorrent to Han traditions. Specifically, in families without male heirs testators willed their unparted estates to a son-in-law. This meant that a husband moved to his wife's family residence and abandoned his own aged parents. This novel strategy assured not only a male heir, but kept tenant farmers from asserting a claim to estate lands that they farmed. But to Song administrators this practice represented a dangerous and barbaric destabilizing influence of the frontier on Han society.

The frontier had other influences on Sichuan families as well. As parts of the frontier became more settled younger sons were not able to acquire property so they moved to unsettled places to take up land and establish new households. Thus, the frontier broke down old family patterns while establishing new ones. While differing in detail, the Sichuan experience is comparable to that of the American frontier where landless sons also sought out new lands on which to settle new families.<sup>11</sup> In both cases economic opportunity—and the lack of it—evidently affected the formation of new families and the creation of new communities.

Although von Glahn's work suggests some striking similarities of the North American and Sichuan frontiers, a longer list of dissimilarities could be compiled. The Song polity and Han society were unique in their time and place just as American ways and institutions were peculiar to their age. Nevertheless, comparison reminds us that the creation of empires, extension of societies into new lands, and the dispossession of native peoples is an age old process that deserves to be studied and understood in the generic sense. Professor von Glahn offers some suggestions that may further such comparative endeavors. First, he rejects theories of modernization that see history as a progression to more developed,

<sup>10</sup> (...continued)

1987); Rodman W. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848-1880 (New York, 1963).

<sup>11</sup> Walter Nugent, Structures of American Social History (Bloomington, Ind., 1981).

integrated and "civilized" societies. Sichuan history indicates the balance between Han and native societies was constantly shifting, first one way and then the other. He further suggests three different types of frontiers that emerged as conditions changed: borderland, periphery, and hinterland. The borderland phase occurred when the first Han settlers arrived. Outside direct government control these settlers had to deal with the natives and other frontier exigencies themselves. More or less on an equal footing, Han magnates and native chieftains depended on local clientage rather than government power. Han residents were beholden to the magnates for protection who in turn needed bondsmen for labor and soldiers. Agriculture was often characterized by primitive swidden methods and subsistence rather than market production.

The periphery emerged when the Song asserted sovereignty over the frontier, but this did not mean that the magnates were immediately displaced. Instead, the elites managed social and economic affairs on the local level. The peripheral frontier was characterized by intensive market agriculture and a large non-Han population. During the hinterland phase the frontier became more dependent on the market as the metropolitan core imported agricultural products and raw materials. By now the farmer was enmeshed in a web of debt, rent and tax obligations and the days of relative frontier independence were long past.<sup>12</sup>

Von Glahn cautions against seeing his model as an immutable progression from borderland to hinterland. Nor did the frontier process lead inevitably to integration with the metropolitan core. Warfare or some other shock could lead to depopulation and concomitant changes in the status of any frontier region, as happened in the Sichuan. The frontier was not simply a retarded backwater or a charging engine of economic development, but a dynamic, changing place fraught with good and bad opportunities for natives and newcomers alike—a quicksilver-like regional marchland that was sometimes controlled by outside forces and sometimes exerted influence outside its own realm.<sup>13</sup>

The frontiers of the world tell us much about the societies that spawned them—

<sup>12</sup> Von Glahn's model is in some respects similar to the ideas of Immanuel Wallerstein, The Modern World System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1976). Wallerstein divides the developing capitalist world between metropolitan core and dependent peripheries and semi-peripheries.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Bailyn, The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction (New York, 1986).



-native societies as well as the imperial polities that replaced them. While necessarily concentrating on the Song administration that produced the documentary evidence he cites, Professor von Glahn has produced a balanced study that elucidates the people on both sides of the frontier, showing how they interacted and influenced one another. In addition, he stresses the connection between the core and frontier areas, thus making frontier history more than the story of a marginal region of limited significance. He has shown that scholarly exploration can reward students of the world's frontiers. If his success inspires others to emulate him, we will all be enriched.

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\* EDITOR'S NOTE: Professor Hurtado received his Ph.D. at the University of California at Santa Barbara where he studied under the noted frontier historian Wilbur R. Jacobs. Hurtado has written several articles on frontier history as well as a book, Indian Survival on the California Frontier (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988).

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Julia K. Murray

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