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

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The Sung Studies Newsletter commenced publication in May 1970, with the assistance of a small grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. It is published twice a year, usually in March and October. The purpose of the Newsletter is to disseminate news and information to an international community of interested scholars and institutions and to print reports and articles about Sung studies, which is defined to encompass the Sung, Liao, and Chin dynasties as well as the late Five Dynasties and early Yuan periods.

News of personal or project activities, résumés of theses, book notices, bibliographies, reports about research projects, and articles of any length, which can either be finished pieces of scholarship or be of a tentative or speculative nature presenting or testing the preliminary results of research in progress, will be accepted and published in any language of scholarship. Contributions are welcomed and indeed encouraged. Signed items in the Newsletter do not necessarily represent the views of the editor; responsibility for opinions expressed and for accuracy of facts in these signed notices, reports, or articles rests solely with individual authors.

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Address all correspondence, items for publication, and subscription orders to the editor at:

Until December 31, 1973
New Asia College
Department of History
The Chinese University of Hong Kong
Shatin, N.T.
Hong Kong

After January 1, 1974
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pa. 19122

U. S. A.

ISSN 0049-254X
FROM THE EDITOR

In its nearly four years of publication the Newsletter has gained a modest international readership and a more or less secure financial base. It is just at this takeoff point that your editor feels that he can gracefully pass on the editorial brush to another scholar. The ink on your editor’s brush is drying; he has contributed about all that he can to the publication. A new person will inject the renewed vigor and fresh ideas that are now needed to raise the standards and increase the usefulness of the Newsletter.

The credit for whatever success the Newsletter has achieved belongs predominately to the many scholars in the field who support it in various ways. As your editor has often written in these pages, the Newsletter is totally dependent on the contributions of its readers. It is a publication for and by them. For their encouragement and support these four years your editor is humbly grateful. At the same time he knows that the new editor will continue to receive such invaluable assistance and cooperation.

NEW EDITOR: Professor Anthony Sariti, whose article appears in the present issue, will assume editorial responsibility of the Newsletter commencing with the forthcoming issue, the ninth. The process of transfer has already begun so that publication can remain on schedule.

After January 1, 1974 kindly address all correspondence, contributions and subscriptions to Professor Sariti at:

Department of History
Temple University
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19122
U.S.A.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Reminders are being sent with this issue for all readers to renew their subscriptions for 1974. Please do not delay returning your checks as the list of subscribers grows. The subscription rate for the Newsletter must surely be among the few items that have not increased in price during these inflation-ridden times. As long as the list of subscribers grows gradually, subscription fees should remain constant. However, after the experience of next year’s operation in the United States, reconsideration of the rate may be necessary.

FORTHCOMING: In addition to regular features, the ninth issue will contain two articles; “Novels about the Founding of the Sung Dynasty” by W.L. Idema of the University of Leiden and “Sinologie mongole; État des études menées en République populaire de Mongolie sur la Chine du Xe au XIVe siècle et les dynasties barbares” by Françoise Aubin of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris.
A NOTE ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONMAKING IN THE NORTHERN SUNG
Anthony William Sariti
Temple University

It has long been recognized that any meaningful study of bureaucracy must go beyond a simple description of administrative functions and “lines of authority.”\(^1\) The inadequacy of formal, impersonal rules, so much a part of the Weberian “ideal-type,”\(^2\) for a complete understanding of bureaucratic behavior has been pointed out by some analysts.\(^3\) Weber’s ideal-typical bureaucracy is useful as a preliminary model, but the machine analogy that he employs—the bureaucrat “is only a single cog in an ever-moving mechanism”\(^4\)—sometimes obscures rather than illuminates how and why a particular bureau or group of bureaus behave in the way they do in certain situations. For Weber, the bureaucracy is simply a neutral tool in the hands of decision-makers, to be used as they see fit.\(^5\) To the student of Chinese bureaucracy, this characterization that reduces the bureaucrat to an interchangeable part and supposes decisions to be made outside the bureaucracy proper, appears grossly inappropriate to this subject matter. Students of bureaucracy in general, however, also find fault with this characterization and regard it solely as a theoretical model that never is fully manifested in the real world.\(^6\) But even as a theoretical model it lacks an important dimension.\(^7\)

Weber does not concern himself with bureaucratic decisionmaking to any great degree. The rules and formal procedures of the organization seem to be enough for him. Bureaucratic decisionmaking, however, has been the subject of an increasing number of studies.\(^8\) These new studies have forced students of bureaucracy to look closely at the biases of the people who compose the bureau in order to come to a deeper understanding of bureaucratic behavior. The rejection of an explicit “professional ethic” in the Chinese bureaucracy\(^9\) that would function as a counterweight to the personal biases of the bureau personnel makes this more comprehensive and multi-faceted view of bureaucratic behavior particularly welcome from the Chinese historian’s point of view.

In our study of Sung bureaucracy we would be well served to adopt this general analytical framework. I am at present engaged in an overall study of Sung bureaucratic decisionmaking with specific reference to the formulation of foreign policy. It is in this connection that I would like to offer in very rough form a few comments on some of the conscious ideas and ideals that were shared by many Sung bureaucrats. Whether or not these ideas and ideals were simply rationalizations in the face of contemporary historical circumstances—a question we must eventually answer—the fact remains that they provide us with the data necessary to reconstruct the historical actor’s “situational interpretation,” which is a key to understanding his behavior.\(^10\)

What particular ideas and ideals might affect the formulation and execution of Sung foreign policy? Two major areas, it would seem to me, are, first attitudes toward war and the military and, second, the Sung world view. It is in connection with the former aspect that I would like to make some preliminary remarks at this point. What were the Sung views on war and the military? Any attempt to understand the process of foreign policy decisionmaking and the execution of these decisions must include an analysis of these views and the influence they exercised.

II

Historians of China have often observed that among the attitudes of lasting significance taking form during the Sung dynasty a pronounced anti-militarism and pacifism are apparent, that during this dynasty the prestige and status of the military reach its nadir, and that from this time forward military service was held in low repute. To these attitudes is also ascribed a weak military posture and consequent failure in foreign policy. On the other hand, some modern scholarship has cast considerable doubt upon the general belief in the low status of the military in Chinese society. Whatever the case in the general argument, it appears clear that antimilitarism and pacifism—supposed hallmarks of Sung and post-Sung society—did not characterize the thinking of policy-planners and -makers during the Northern Sung period, a period particularly known for its foreign policy “failure” and military weakness. The influence of antimilitarism and pacifism on decision-making, then, cannot be used to explain Sung foreign policy of Sung military policy, as has so often been the case.

On the whole, it is true that Sung officials opposed military expansion, and it is perhaps this fact that has led many observers to conclude that these men were anti-militarists or pacifists. In fact, an expansive foreign policy is not a proper military goal. The professional military man favors a conservative, restrained foreign policy, sees war as a last resort, and thus really favors peace.\(^11\) Such attitudes are not only consistent with national security, they are its only guarantee. Being opposed to militarists\(^12\)—as all Sung officials certainly were—does not make one opposed to the military in general or to war, nor does it mean a weak foreign policy. Thus Sung officials who argued against military expansion and against the existing military institutions and policy were by no means necessarily antimilitary or pacifist.
During the Enlightenment in Europe feeling against war and the military ran high. Some arguments were made on economic grounds (and with these, Sung officials could readily agree) but some other criticism seemed to reject completely war and the military as "senseless, brutal, and unworthy of mankind." A similar rejection of war and the military did not occur in Sung China. No one, not even the most outspoken critic of government policy, rejected war or the military as legitimate instruments through which to settle foreign policy problems.

In 1077 Chang Fang-p'ing 陳方平 delivered himself of a somewhat unusual statement for a Confucian bureaucrat, unusual, that is, in its choice of metaphor. "There are many things that damage the health," he said, "but a fondness for beautiful women [hao se 好色; one could translate this expression in a more colorful manner] is certain to be fatal." He then comes to the main point. "These are many things that injure the people, but a fondness for the military is certain to destroy them." Overindulgence was to be avoided, but in true Confucian spirit one had to keep to the Middle path. Other officials agreed.

"Although a state be large, if it is fond of war it is certain to perish. Although a state be at peace, if it forgets about war it is certainly to be endangered." So wrote Lü Hui 陸海. Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光 remarked that the military was a major state concern. The rise and fall of the state and the peace and security of its citizenry were both closely tied to this concern. Other officials likened the military to medicine—too little, as well as too much, would be fatal. Li Kou 李囝 admitted that even the sage had to rely upon dependable troops to maintain his state in good order.

Although officials thus readily agreed that the military and war both played a crucial role, they were to be methods of last resort. Ssu-Ma “Kuang once called it an “eater of wealth” and the “poison of the empire”. But even he admitted that it was necessary, that it was to be used in extremis. Chang Fang-P'ing reflected the common wisdom of tradition when he said that the “Sage uses it only when he has no alternative.” Early in the dynasty, Chang Chi-hsien 張齊賢 outlined a policy aimed at making the frontier areas prosper so as to engage the barbarians in trade and thus take their minds off border raids. "A hundred battles and a hundred victories are not as good as victories without battles," he argued.

The notion of war as a method of last resort stemmed not from pacific attitudes but rather from two related, practical considerations. First, the general economic dislocation caused by keeping large numbers of troops under arms. Second, the realization, as Ou-Yang Hsiu 欧陽修 had observed, that “troops merely attack and defend. They are strong or weak in accordance with their supply.” In short, military strength was seen by some as directly proportional to economic strength.

As is well known, the Northern Sung government supported a large number of troops. Starting with Some 378,000 in 968, the number had soared to some 1,686,000 in the 1070s. The cost of maintaining such a large force was staggering. In 1069, Ch'en Hsiang 陳襄, then administrator of the Board of Policy Criticism, reported that five years earlier the cost of supporting the national troops, some 1,200,000 men, was over 50 million strings of cash. This represented, according to him, over 83% of the total national income for that year. Such a percentage, incredible as it may seem, is reported by many other officials of the time. Whatever the truth of the matter, officials believed that the military was absorbing an inordinate amount of the national wealth, and many of these men contended that the dynasty’s economic problems all sprang from this single source. What made matters worse was that very few of these soldiers were even battle-worthy.

Ch'ien Yen-yüan 錢彥遠, writing in 1048, declared that only some 30%-40% of this group were worth supporting. Most officials agreed, for scarcely a memorial was submitted on the question of military policy that did not advocate a drastic reduction in the number of government-supported groups.

Although most officials could agree that the cost of maintaining a large, weak army was too high, solutions to the problems differed considerably. Many favored some kind of a militia in place of a standing army. It is easy to see why, of course, for standing armies had frequently threatened the centralized control of the imperial government. This had been especially true during the late T’ang and Five Dynasties period of recent memory. The practical impossibility of resurrecting completely the military system of ancient times was recognized, but a non-career military force still remained the ideal.

There were some bureaucrats, however, who argued vehemently against any kind of militia at all. Foremost among them was Ssu-Ma Kuang. Although he admitted the usefulness of a militia for purely local defense, it was hopeless, he contended, to expect these men to be of any value along the frontier, where China’s military problem really lay. Contrary to the promises of the court, men who had been recruited as local militia were, willy-nilly, impressed into the regular army and eventually found their way to the frontier. Not only was this burdensome for the people, it was a dangerous illusion to think that these troops would be any match for enemy. They may look
good on the parade ground, Ssu-Ma remarked, but when real fighting was at hand it would be like a child’s game for the invaders. A well-trained, well-disciplined, and well-treated elite corps was the answer to China’s national security according to him.

The second factor recognized by many officials was that military security depended primarily upon economic stability. Once the number of troops was reduced, part of the problem would be solved. In the numerous memorials to the throne counseling against territorial expansion, conventional pacifism is not encountered. Arguments against expansion—actually the reconquest of areas held during the T’ang dynasty—did not aim at expansion per se. The arguments were for the most part directed at the unwisdom of launching expeditionary forces without proper logistical support. Such ill-considered ventures, it was claimed, would only further weaken an already frail economy and, by their failure, would bring on the very kind of disaster they had been meant to prevent.

The poor quality of the frontier army, because of poor training and inadequate logistical support, led to a conservative foreign policy. Ssu-Ma Kuang, faced with these facts, was forced to conclude, not unreasonably, that “to give [the barbarians] territory before they request it is better than giving it to them after they request it.” At least this way China’s military weakness would be concealed. Su Tung-p’o 蘇東坡, on the other hand, complained that the demands of the barbarians were always acceded to too quickly, that the initiative was always with them. “Without even one battle, our desire for peace and our dislike for the military is seen abroad,” he wrote. Yet Su was no expansionist. A tougher policy was not aimed at acquiring new territory but merely at making the best of a bad situation. The Chinese should make it known that, as Su put it, “although we do not reject their good intentions, neither are we anxious to sue for peace.” One had to save face, after all.

A poor frontier army led to more than just the inability to prevent foreign invasion, it encouraged such invasion. Chang Ch’i-hsien had argued early in the dynasty that border problems were often caused not by the barbarians, but by frontier military officials themselves who tried to wax rich at the expense of the barbarians by engaging in military action for pure self-interest. Other officials also record this same kind of militaristic use of military power. Such a situation would reasonably lead men with frontier experience, as well as others who learned of this, to the conclusion that foreign policy problems might be solved from the Chinese side alone through peaceful means, since these problems were of Chinese making. Foreign policy recommendations that might appear pacifist could thus be the result of inti-

mate knowledge of frontier affairs, a situation that would easily escape the notice of the casual reader of these recommendations.

A very general conclusion that we may draw from the above discussions is that during the Northern Sung the officials who opposed current military and foreign policy did so on several grounds but that none of these is indicative of an antimilitary or pacifist bias. Officials generally admitted the necessity of a strong military and felt that their proposals for reform were a step in that direction. Such officials were not pacifist and no antimilitary. Military weakness, often ascribed to these attitudes and their influence, must be explained on other grounds.

III

Samuel Huntington has pointed out the close connection between the rise of a dependable conscript army in the West and the creation of a professional (not simply career) military corps. With some justification we may extend this observation to include a militia army as well. Just as a conscript army needs a professional core to be effective, so too does a militia. A non-professional, non-career army without professional leadership can only mean military weakness; a career army without professional leadership will pose a serious threat to the central government.

It was not pacifism or antimilitarism that led to the failure to develop a professional military corps; it was the almost pathological fear of the growth of military warlordism. This in turn led to the emphasis on a militia and on a general staff that was supposed to internalize certain civilian virtues. Sung officials did not understand that a powerful army could be anything but a threat to the central government.

As a good example of the confusion and mixed emotions over the creation of a strong military, Li Kou is worth examining. Refuting the extreme position that he ascribes to the civilian scholars, to the effect that in military matters only benevolence and righteousness were necessary, and also rejecting the one-sided and equally extreme view of the military men that cunning and brute strength were the answer, Li Kou strikes middle ground. “Benevolence and righteousness are the root of the military, while cunning and brute strength are the branches.”

The notion that military leaders must be possessed of superior moral as well as superior intellectual and physical attributes is, of course, already evident in the Sun-tzu 孫子, which Li Kou and others frequently quote to support their arguments.

Li Kou goes on to argue that the various special talents of military men should be capitalized upon by the state, and that these specialists in
the management of violence even had their own special canon, separate from but analogous to the Six Classics of the scholars. This was Sun-tzu’s Ping Fa 文法. For Li, the Ping Fa was particularly important because of his belief that good generalship was the result of training and learning, not the product of innate ability or genius.

Three points in Li’s thinking stand out clearly: 1) good military leadership must combine non-martial attitudes with martial ability, 2) good generalship is acquired through study and learning (although one had to be able to interpret creatively the Ping Fa in unforeseen circumstances), 3) there is a special military canon separate from the civilian canon. These points, it so happens, are among those that distinguish the emergence of the professional military in the West. It is with such an institution that productive civilian control of the military becomes possible. One might expect, then, to see Li Kou continue his argument in this direction and argue for a professional military. But this he is unable to do. His fear of warlordism prevents him from seeing that a military code of ethics in which discrete roles and responsibilities guard against undue military influence is the best solution.

After warning against the practice of replacing generals in the midst of a campaign, Li comments that one does not in fact appoint a commander on the basis of victories or defeats, but rather in accordance with his virtue. Furthermore, one does not act too quickly in rewarding officers when they are victorious for fear that this might lead to overbearing troops and great power for the commander. In fact, according to Li, “not to reward when victorious is the [best] way to treat generals.” These men must be much more than just capable in the military sense. So that warlordism may be prevented, they must be imbued with civilian virtues. Tying military and civilian virtues so close together inhibits professionalism. But worse from this point of view is Li’s insistence upon a militia army as the mainstay of national defense. The militia would solve the economic problem and the political problem as well. Ironically, it is precisely this type of army, the non-career, non-professional, that requires professional leadership; yet Li Kou argues against this type of leadership. In his view the military man must be a specialist and a generalist, insofar as the latter connotes the internalization of the code of civilian virtues. Such a combination of unprofessional troops and unprofessional leadership could only lead to military weakness.

Li’s thinking must not be understood to characterize all Sung officials. Ou-Yang Hsiu and Ssu-Ma Kuang, for example, both argued for a military elite and against a militia. Yet those who were of a mind with Li carried the day, for no such professional elite was ever created nor given the opportunity to develop its own separate ethical code. In the end, the overemphasis on wen 文 as against wu 武 during the Sung was not the result of pacifism or antimilitarism but derived from a misunderstanding of the most fruitful relationship between the two.

Footnotes


[6] See the critical but very sensible article by Carl J. Friedrich in Merton et al., eds., PP. 27-33. Also, Reinhard Bendix, p. 118.


[8] The best of which in my opinion is Anthony Downs, Inside Bureaucracy.

[9] “Professional” must be clearly distinguished from simply “career” personnel. Most, but not all, analysts observe this important distinction rigorously. One who does is Reinhard Bendix. See his article quoted above. p. 129, where he explains a professionalized bureaucracy as “subject to a code of professional ethics according to which the official ... execute the duties attending his office regardless of personal sentimentes and disagreements with the policies involved.”


[12] “Militarists” are not “professionals.” This important distinction between militarism and the military way is made by Alfred Vagts, A History of...
Militarism, Civilian and Military, rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp.13-17. Briefly, the military way is concerned with “winning specific objectives of power with utmost efficiency.... It is limited in scope, confined to one function, and scientific in its essential qualities. Militarism on the other hand, presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes.... [It] displays the quality of caste and cult, authority and belief.” p. 13.


[14] This and most of the succeeding quotations in this section are taken from the collection of documents Chu Ch'en Tsou-I 諸臣奏議 comp. Chao Ju-yü 趙汝愚 in 1186 (Sung-shih tzu-liao ts'ui-pien 宋史資料萃編 2nd. ser. ed.). It may be of interest to note in passing that the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen 四庫全書珍本 edition (2nd ser.) is useful for comparison since the 1186 block print is poorly done and many characters are difficult to read; however, the Ssu-k'u edition systematically rewrites or eliminates most derogatory references to non-Chinese. (The Ssu-k'u edition is entitled Sung ming-ch'en tsou-i 宋明臣奏議).


[16] Ibid., pp. 19-58.

NEWS OF THE FIELD

I. American Oriental Society Panel

At the American Oriental Society meeting held in Washington, D.C. in March of this year one panel was devoted to the topic of Sung Dynasty Poetry. The panel was chaired by Professor Adele Rickett (University of Pennsylvania) and consisted of the following papers:

a) Patricia Yuan, Columbia University, "Moon and Water in the Poetry of Su Shih (1037-1101)."


c) Jonathan Chaves, Brooklyn College, "Schools of Early Sung Poetry—Prolegomena to the Study of Mei Yao-ch'en."

d) Diana Yu-shih Chen, Hunter College, "Change and Continuation in Su Shih's Theory of Literature: A Note on His 'Ch'ih-pi-fu'."

The papers have been made available in ditto form at a cost of US$2.00 for the set. Order from Professor Adele Rickett, Oriental Studies, 847 Williams Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., 19174.

II. Chinese Historical Association

The ninth annual meeting of Chinese Historical Association met in Taipei on May 20 at which time four papers concerning Sung topics were read:

a) 王德毅: 賈似道與賈定公田法
b) 丁昆健: 元代的四書學研究

c) 張恩賜: 宋代的和賣制度

d) 朱重聖: 宋代太學發展史中的四個主要階段

III. Asian Studies Association on the Pacific Coast

The annual meeting of this association met in Vancouver Canada from June 14 to June 16. Professor William Schultz of the University of Arizona chaired a panel on “T'ang and Song Poetry: Major Critical Approaches.” The following two papers dealt with the Sung:

a) Shuen-fu Lin, University of Michigan, "Process of Feeling: A Structural Study of Chiang K’uei’s Songs"

b) Michael S. Duke, University of California, Berkeley, "The Drinking Poems of Lu Yu, Themes and Imagery"
holds were mostly divided into five categories (only in the cities they were divided into ten categories) according to records. The three upper categories were required to take part in government service, while the lower categories were required to take part in compulsory labour. During the Sung dynasty, government service was heavy and frequent. In order to avoid government service, the people preferred lower grade household classification to the higher grades. They would rather divide their property, even in name, in order to lower their household grade. It can be seen that government service had a great effect upon the household classification system in the Sung dynasty.


In most of the census registers of the Sung period, the zhu-hu 主戶 and the ke-hu 客戶 were registered separately. Scholars are almost all of the same opinion regarding zhu-hu. As for the ke-hu however, there are such differences of opinion as: Whether they were possessors of land or not, Liang-shui 雨稅 payers or not, natives or emigrants, etc. Giving outlines of these studies in Japan I should like to take up the problem of the employment system in this period.

Viewed from a different angle, the ke-hu also included many employees who engaged in cultivating the land of landowners. The views on these employees expressed so far may be divided broadly into two: one is that the employees had inferior legal status like the serfs dian-hu 佃戶 compared with the landowners in the early stage of feudalism, and the other is that they were free wage labourers who appeared in the embryonic stage of capitalism. I should like to re-examine these opinions in connection with the question of the ke-hu.

2. Sung Shee (College of Chinese Culture): “A Study of the Classification of Households in the Sung Dynasty”

The household classification system was first introduced in the Northern Ch‘i dynasty, with the households divided into nine categories. During the T‘ang dynasty, the households were also divided into nine categories, according to the number of family members and property. From the end of the T‘ang dynasty through the Five Dynasties, the registration of households fell into confusion due to social unrest in the days of local warlords. In the beginning of the Northern Sung dynasty, steps were taken to put the record of population into order and the registration work was started in the northern part of China by dividing the households into five categories. After Emperor Tai-tsung unified China, under the recommendation of Ch‘eng Neng and Hsia Sung 使肆 households were once again divided into nine categories; the upper four categories were required to take part in government service while the lower five categories were exempted from such service. During the latter half of the Northern Sung dynasty, house-
the South Seas and the Western world and advanced their knowledge of these areas, and how this new knowledge and understanding of world geography and civilizations affected the traditional Chinese conception of the world order.

On the last two points, the present study reveals a rising interest among Sung scholars in the geography and culture of countries in modern South and Southeast Asia and the Near East and beyond. Thirty-six treatises were written on the geographical, economic, social, political, military, and religious conditions of these countries. The widening geographical knowledge and unprecedented growth of maritime trade made significant impact on the traditional Sinocentric world order. Leading powers in Southeast Asia and the Near East were for the first time recognized by the Chinese as their equals, in both the military and the cultural sense, in the international community.

From a broad historical perspective, the unprecedented development of Sung maritime commerce and its attendant developments were all part of the tremendous economic and social changes that distinguished the sung as a new age in Chinese history. They also marked the beginning of China’s expansion into the South Seas and the rise of China as the paramount sea power of the Orient—reaching its zenith in the early fifteenth century.

5. Chan Wing-tsit (Chatham College): "Chu Hsi’s Criticism of Taoism"

On Neo-Confucian criticism of heterodoxy, Chinese and Japanese scholars have virtually concentrated on Buddhism, but Neo-Confucianists attacked Taoism too.

Ch‘eng I 程義 and Ch‘eng Hao 程頤 attacked Lao Tzu 老子 for teaching intrigue and expediency such as to give in order to get, thus striking at the basic claim of Taoism, that is, being natural. Chu Hsi 朱熹 followed the Ch‘engs generally. However, this is the conclusion only if we confined investigation to Chu Hsi’s Yü-lei 语類 (classified sayings) as the source, as scholars have done. But Chu Hsi’s mature philosophical ideas are found in his commentaries on the Four Books. Since he wrote the Questions (Huo-wen) on the Four Books to explain his commentaries, the Questions should be the ultimate source for his final philosophical ideas. Here we find that he criticized Lao Tzu on a much higher level, that is, the philosophical. He said that in separating Tao and virtue, the named and the nameless, etc., Lao Tzu failed to understand that substance and function cannot be divided, much less opposed. It is this failure that has caused Lao Tzu’s Tao 老道 to be non-concrete and defective. Thus he struck at the root of Taoism and was its strongest philosophical critic.

Strangely, he also praised Lao Tzu’s ideas that the spirit of the valley is the root of heaven and earth and that weakness is the companion of life. In these Chu Hsi saw the spirit of life giving. He even said that in their basic doctrine that the universe is a process of creation and re-creation, the Ch‘eng brothers were influenced by Lao Tzu.

6. Tu Wei-ming (University of California, Berkeley): "An Inquiry into Chu Hsi’s (1130-1200) Mode of Thinking"

One of the defining characteristics of the Chu Hsi school of Confucian thought is its belief that historicity, sociality and religiosity are integral dimensions of creative self-transformation. In simple terms, for a person to become a sage, which means to become a genuine human being, he must continuously reanimate his cultural heritage, establish unceasing relations with others, and bear witness to the ideal of the unity of man and Heaven. The assumptive reason is based on a fiduciary commitment that the discovery of new ideas is predicated on a spiritual appropriation of past values, that the manifestation of individual dignity is dependent upon a conscious effort to enter into communion with a variety of social relations, and that an experiential understanding of the Way of Heaven is indispensable to the ultimate fulfillment of human potential. This ethico-religious approach rejects notions such as (1) discrete stages of progress, denying the meaning of tradition to modernity, (2) isolated leaps of faith, denying the value of human-relatedness to spirituality, and (3) self-sufficient processes of socialization, denying the relevance of Heaven to human affairs. Specifically it refuses to recognize the supposedly unavoidable either-or choices: new/old, self/society, and man/Heaven. Rather it purports to choose new ideas, which build upon the old, self-realization, which leads to communal living, and human values, which extend beyond anthropocentrism. My inquiry into Chu Hsi’s mode of thinking begins by probing the experiential basis upon which these root concepts are constituted, for in the Confucian perception they are not mere "intellectual" ideas about man but original insights into the meaning-structure of human existence, involving affective as well as conceptual and conative aspects of the whole person.

7. Jerry D. Schmidt (University of Windsor): "Ch‘an Influences on Southern Sung Literary Criticism"

The purpose of the paper is to explore the influences of Ch‘an Buddhism on Southern Sung literary criticism and poetry, particularly as exemplified by the work of Yang Wan-li 杨万里 (1127-1206), one of the four great masters of the Southern Sung. Yang is particularly important for such a study, because not only does he use Ch‘an terms in his critical writings but he also had a life-long interest in Ch‘an and, in fact, describes his development of an individual style in terms of a "sudden enlight-
enement” experienced in 1178. In common with Ch’an ideas, Yang maintained that after his enlightenment, the writing of poetry became completely spontaneous just as a monk acts without karma once he is enlightened. Yang uses the late T’ang and Sung Ch’an thinkers’ attack against the transmission of the patriarch’s begging bowl and robe to counter the Kiangsi School’s imitation of earlier poets. Yang also agreed with the Ch’an opposition to “setting up words” in order to stress the intuitive nature of the poetic experience and the relative unimportance of outward form. The Ch’an contention that “the ordinary mind is the Way” provided Yang with justification for his belief that poetry should be entirely natural and make use of the colloquial language. Unlike Yen Yü, Yang had a true understanding of Ch’an thought and actually put Ch’an concepts into practice in his poetry rather than merely using them as a convenient conceptual framework for his literary criticism.


The chanda is a song and dance composition which seems to have enjoyed a vogue at the end of the Northern Sung. Like the Drum Song and the Polymodal Medley, it is a mixture of literary forms: the body of the piece alternates seven-syllable shih with tz’u to the tune T’iao-hsiao ling. At its most elaborate, it will have a prelude and a coda, although the chanda by Ch’in Kuan has neither. The basic unit of the composition is one shih and one tz’u, linked to one another through verbal repetition and rhyme.

Unlike the Polymodal Medley, the chanda is thematic rather than narrative. Of the six chanda which survive, five are on the subject of famous beauties, women from semi-legendary history and literature. The authors draw mainly upon T’ang poetry for their stuff-material, especially the literary ballads and shih of such writers as Po Chü-i and Liu Yü-hsi. They freely incorporate phrases, even whole lines, from the writings of these earlier poets; this may be related to the practice of “line-collecting” 由句. The chanda of Ch’in Kuan is again unique in that it relies mainly upon literary-language fiction 由古今 as its source.

9. Yung Young (New Asia College, The Chinese University of Hong Kong): “Chu Hsi on Chi and Shih in Han Yu’s Works”

Han Yu (768-824), a classical prose writer of the T’ang Dynasty, was the leader of the Classical Prose Reform Movement. His writings, powerful with chi and shih, have distinguished him as one of the Chinese literary immortals. In his letter Ta Li Yi Shu, Han Yu presented his theory of cultivating chi and shih in writing. Classical writers of later generations accordingly laid special emphasis on this theoretical treatment, tending to neglect the techniques he employed to achieve his style of writing. This negligence inevitably cost them a lot more of time and energy than was necessary to attain their goal.

Mastery of the techniques to strengthen chi and shih in writing was advocated by Chu Hsi (1130-1200), the great scholar, philosopher and writer of the Sung Dynasty. In his work Han Wen K’ao Yi 覈文考異 Chu Hsi made use of mistakes found in hand-written copies of Han Yu’s writings to illustrate his theory. There are in his analysis such examples as: what can be called the “theme expanding and contracting process” in Han Yu’s Poem Nan Shan Shih 納山詩; the “raising and curbing process” 拒頂法 in his poem Pa Yüeh Shih Wu Yeh Tseng Chang Kung Ts’ai Shih 八月十五夜贈張功曹詩; the “natural process” 自然法 in his poem Tzu Jih Tsu K’e Hsi Tseng Chang Chi Shih 此日足可惜贈張常志; the “reversal of textual order process” 逆倒法 in his essay Liu Chou Lo Chih Miao 逆倒法; and the “tempo altering process” 緩急法 in his essay Sung Ou Ts’e Hsu 送異冊序. In addition, there are such devices as “contextual analogization” and “contextual harmonization” and also suggestions on how to enhance forcefulness and avoid sluggishness. Such concrete and precise criteria are rare and precious in theories of Chinese literary criticism.

This thesis is an attempt to put forth Chi Hsi’s observations in a systematic way, with reference to Han Yu’s writings, in order to illustrate factually how the distinguished classical prose writer employed his techniques to strengthen the chi and shih of his works.


The desire to trace a tradition to the earliest possible date is common among literary historians. The discoveries of pien-wen 詩文 tales and hua-pen 话本 stories, both concerning public narration, have understandably tempted scholars to treat them as representing consecutive stages of an unbroken tradition, the remote end of which has been a prize goal for scholars to establish. A group of references from written records and a figurine unearthed in the fifties have been repeatedly cited to sustain such claims. This study is to demonstrate the vagueness and negativeness of such evidence. Several theoretical blunders account for this: the neglect of defining the concept of fiction and of discerning the various types of narration with their corresponding functions, the inability to see pien-wen and hua-pen as sufficiently different, and the subjectivity to take those written references at face value. These cast great doubt on what has been
generally considered a closed issue. This study is not to deny the existence, or rather possibility, of commercialized professional storytelling (versus that for religious ends) before the Northern Sung period, but to warn that the evidence so far repeatedly quoted prove almost nothing and that the current theories are too loopholed to be likely correct.

11. Shih Chung-wen 史中文 (George Washington University): “Poetic Images in Yüan Drama”

The Yüan playwrights enjoyed experimenting with figurative language in addition to developing a new metrical structure. All of the standard poetic devices of the long literary Chinese tradition—simple and complex imagery, symbolism, parallelism and illusion—are used with ingenuity, endowing many plays with an extraordinary richness of texture. Because of its unique and profound effect in Yüan drama, poetic imagery will be the focus in my discussion of the figurative language in this genre.

Imagery serves a variety of functions in Yüan drama. Perhaps the most important of these is the creation of atmosphere, suggesting the context of action on a stage essentially devoid of scenery. Given the weight of tradition and the concision of the language, even apparently simple nature images can carry a whole complex of connotations. In some plays, images functioning primarily to set the scene are developed in such a way as to suggest the tone of the play as a whole thus underlining the theme and often taking on symbolic overtones. The dramatists also employ images in establishing character and relating the characters to the milieu. These various functions are illustrated particularly in the works of such leading dramatists as Wang Shih-fu 王實甫, Kuan Han-ch'ing 閻鑑卿, Ma Chih-yüan 馬致遠, Chen Kuang-tsu 陳康素, and Po P'u 白樫.


It is often asserted that in premodern times the Chinese almost always considered that they were the only civilized people in the world. Looking down upon the barbarians, they developed a strong ethnocentrism, which entailed China’s antagonistic response to the West in modern times. This thesis, however, should be tested by case studies of China’s foreign relations. This paper seeks to describe and analyses the relations between the Northern Sung and the Liao, with special emphasis on diplomatic practices. While the relationship between the Sung and Liao emperors was established as that between brothers, the relations between the two states were marked also by carefully designed diplomatic practices of parity according to the treaties of 1005 and 1042. The Sung Chinese in general realized that it was impossible to impose the Chinese world order on such formidable neighbors as the Ch’i-tan, and they were forced by the circumstances to deal with the Ch’i-tan on equal terms as a kind of expediency. But it should also be noted that there were quite a few statesmen who not only recognized the vulnerable position of the Sung against the great military power of the Liao, but also were aware of Ch’i-tan cultural and political achievements, which differentiated the Ch’i-tan from other barbarians in Chinese history.

13. Luc Kwanten (Ramapo College, New Jersey): “Tibetan-Mongol Relations During the Yüan Dynasty, 1207-1368”

A close examination of the early sources for the study of Tibetan-Mongol relations during the Yüan dynasty does not uphold the conclusions that are drawn from the later sources, especially the Hor-chos-'byun and the Erdeni-yin tobo. The authors of these later sources have stressed the prestige of Lamaism in the eyes of the shamanistic Mongols of their time. These authors would like us to believe that these relations were extremely peaceful and very important. They stress the fact that the Mongols were interested only in Tibetan Lamaism and, according to these authors, the Mongols had no interest in Tibet as a country. This interpretation accepted by most Western scholars, however, does not take into consideration the essential characteristic of Tibetan-Mongol relations as revealed by the earlier sources. This key feature of Tibetan-Mongol relations during the Yüan was that it was dual in nature. On the one hand, Tibet was a vassal of the Mongols throughout the Yüan dynasty, and on the other hand, it enjoyed, from 1260 to 1280, a favored position at the Yüan court, a position predicated upon the personal relations between the Mongol Emperor, Qubilai, and a Sa-skya monk, the 'Phags-pa Lama.

Vassalage thus became the primary characteristic of the relations between Tibetans and the Mongol court. The Tibetan historians, however, never mention this, and the only information we have about it is in the Chinese sources. It is important to note that the Mongols never incorporated Tibet in the Chinese administrative structure. They always considered it as one of the conquered countries and created a whole new structure, the Hsüan-cheng yüan, to administer and govern Tibet indirectly. In their administration of Tibet, the Mongols, apparently followed the same rules that they had created for the administration of certain territories in Russia.

This particular aspect of Tibetan-Mongol relations was the result of the actions of the Sa-skya Pandita and it did not matter much to the Mongols that the Pandita did not represent a “Tibetan” government, a structure that simply did not exist at that time. The Sa-skya can only be considered as a primus inter pares.
Consequently, numerous Tibetans refused to accept this situation and only the frequent military intervention by the Mongols prevented a major revolt prior to 1285. When after the death of Qubilai, Mongol interest in Tibet declined, it was this vassalage relationship that enabled Byan-chub-rgyal-mtshan, leader of the Phag-mo-gru-pa sect, to muster the Tibetans against the representatives of Mongol power in Tibet, i.e. the Sa-skya-pa-sect.

Mary Ferenczy (Budapest, Hungary): “Dual Economy in the Tangut Empire, On the Basis of Chinese Sources”

Chinese historians started really to focus their interest on the activities of the Tangut tribes in the tenth century. They recorded mainly the contacts between the Tanguts and Sung Empire, the exchange of products in various manners, and the political activities of the Tangut leading circles on the Chinese frontiers (e.g., the sending and demanding of presents; plunderage and peaceful trade; fighting for the opening of the markets on the borderland; getting position by the Tangut elite in the Chinese administration, etc.). There was much less written about the life of the Tangut tribes and the structure of the Tangut state and empire.

On the basis of this, material the paper will present a working hypothesis, which should inspire the further study of the source material in Chinese and Tangut languages and the analysis of cultural relics. The paper will try to demonstrate that the above mentioned one-sidedness of the Chinese material not only gave a false image about the Tanguts to the traditional Chinese historiography but also has a certain disadvantage for the modern study of the Tangut state and economy. This source material shows that the agricultural (non-migratory) population of the Tangut territory played a more important role in the economy, the social life and in the transmission of the Chinese influence.

Igor de Rachewiltz (Australian National University): “Some Remarks on the Khitan Clan Name Yeh-lü I-la”

The author discusses the origin of the Khitan imperial clan name Yeh-lü 耶律 and its so-called “doublet” I-la 雷新 as well as the various forms that this name assumed after the fall of the Liao dynasty. He reaches the conclusion that the meaning of the Khitan tribal name I-la, from which apparently derivatives the clan name Yeh-lü, is “stallion” and that this name is probably related to the legendary origins of the tribe. The Khitan term I-la meaning “stallion” survived in North China until the XIV c. This term may be related to Turkish ala “mottled (horse)”. Further, the author deals with the military term I-la “foot soldier(s)” of the Liao, which is almost certainly related to the i-lo-ho of the Hsin T’ang-shu 新唐書 and the An Lu-shan shih-chi 安祿山事跡, where it designates various non-Chinese troops which formed a personal army of An

Louis Hambis (Études à l’École Pratique des Hautes Études, 4e Section): “L’écriture Khitan”

L’écriture adoptée par les Khitan ou Kitai était connue depuis longtemps par ce qu’en disent les sources chinoises d’après lesquelles A-pao-ki 阿保機, fondateur de la dynastie des Leao, ordonna en 920 de créer une écriture pour transcrire la langue de son peuple et de son ad-ministration. Elle fut mise au point par des Chinois et elle fut nommée “grands caractères”, car elle consistait en un certain nombre de caractères chinois modifiés et simplifiés qui devaient transcrire phonétiquement le Khitan, comme le firent plus tard les Tanggut quand ils voulaient transcrire leur langue et Comme,plus tard encore, ce fut le cas lors de la transcription en caractères chinois des textes mongols de l’Histoire Secrète ou du Houa-yi yi-yu 華夷譯語. Devant la complication de ce système d’écriture, il fut décidé de créer un nouveau mode de transcription inspiré par l’alphabet ouigour. Nous connaissons surtout les “grands caractères” Khitan grâce à la découverte d’un certain nombre d’inscriptions funéraires quifurent recueillies et publiées par Lo Fou-tch’eng. Depuis cette époque des tentatives ont été faites, tant au Japon qu’en U.R.S.S., en particulier par M. V.S. Starikov; mais si l’on arrive à cataloguer un certain nombre de graphèmes, il ne semble pas qu’il ait été possible de leur donner une valeur précise. Diverses méthodes ont été employées, mais aucune ne parait avoir obtenu des résultats positifs.

No abstracts are available for the following papers:

1. T’ang Chi (Institute of International Relations, Taiwan) : “A Study of Mongolian Tribes in the 13th Century”
2. V. Sufronov (Institute of the Far East, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow) : “The Deciphering and Study of the Tangut Language”
3. K. Czegledy: “The Foundation of the Turfan Uighur Empire”
I. Europe


Between the covers of this volume are actually two books, one dealing with early Sung socio-economic history and the other collecting several essays with no direct relevance to the Sung. Of greater interest to readers of the Newsletter is the first “book,” the one for which the entire volume is titled.

This monograph on the economic base and social structure of the Sung during the first five decades is divided into five parts of varying length and value. The first is a brief introduction to the history, administrative structure, population size, and territory of the Northern Sung. The second chapter treats the forces of production (Produktivkräfte) of the economy—agriculture, mining and handicraft manufacturing. The section on agriculture examines the types of land under cultivation, the various crops, agricultural tools of the period, and the issue of landholdings and landholders, the figures and percentages for which Lewin attempts to calculate. The subsections on mining (most salt manufacture) and handicraft manufacturing (porcelain and textiles) are rather cursory. The third chapter of the book is by far the most substantial and valuable. It focuses on the composition and functions of the various social classes and the operation of the private and government sectors of the economy. The chu-hu 主户, k’ē-hu 客户, serfs, slaves, artisans, the ruling class including emperor and officials, the landlords, and scholars all come in for extensive discussion. The second half of the chapter reviews the taxation and corvée system, the structure and operation of private and state rents, government monopolies, and private trade. Unfortunately, Lewin makes scant utilization of the voluminous and crucial Japanese scholarship in these areas.

The second and main part of the book begins with a discussion of shih 詩 and relates Mei to the poetry of his time. The author then proceeds to consider the poetry under a series of topical headings beginning with a section on narrative and description in Mei’s poetry. He next turns to personal themes in Mei’s poetry including the poet’s love for his family and his sorrow over the death of his first wife. This is followed by a discussion of Mei as social critic and his attitudes toward political and military problems. In the next two sections Leimbiger calls attention to some general tendencies in Mei’s work. One section is devoted to the poet’s propensity to draw abstract generalizations from concrete events as when he ends a poem on the globefish (delicious but sometimes poisonous) by noting that something bad invariably accompanies the good. Mei’s primary interest is in man, and this is the topic of the next section where Leimbiger indicates that few of Mei’s poems deal solely with nature and mentions that up to the present no Sung poet has won fame by his descriptions of nature. A summary and evaluation of the poet conclude the book.

Under the various rubrics of Part II are included complete translations of a total of sixty poems. As the author remarks, Mei considered...
no theme beneath him, and this book offers many reminders of the richness of Sung poetry as a source for social history including such intimate details of family life as a child afflicted with head-lice. Mei's interest in even the humblest forms of animal life is also much in evidence as in his poem to mosquitoes or that on the earthworm. Where appropriate throughout the book Leimbigler refers to secondary works and draws on the studies of such scholars as James T. C. Liu and Yoshikawa Kōjirō 古川孝次郎, the latter whose views on Sung poetry Leimbigler tends on the whole to accept and confirm.

--- Conrad Schirokauer

II. Hong Kong

Sung-shih Hsin-pien 宋史新編, by K'o Wei-ch'i 柯維騏, Hong Kong: Lung Men Book Store, 1973, i, ii, x, 793 PP., Hardback HK$320, Paperback HK$220.

Sung specialists will be pleased to know that a reprint of this 200-chüan Ming rewriting of the Sung-shih has again become available. Many Sinological libraries in the United States do not claim among their holdings this important work that is written from standpoint of the Sung dynasty being the sole possessor of legitimacy.

This reprint is of the Ta Kuang Bookstore 大光書局 (Shanghai) edition of 1936. This edition has the virtue of being punctuated, although the printed characters are fairly small. For the most part the Lung Men photographic reproduction is quite clear. A detailed table of contents and marginal notations providing the chüan number, the section title, and in the case of biographies the names of the biographical subject(s) treated on the particular page facilitate the use of the work.

III. United States


This elegant volume translates for the first time in a Western language many poems by eleven Northern Sung poets. Hsü Hsúan 徐絖, Lin Pu 林逋, Mei Yao-ch'en 梅堯臣, Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修, Su Shih 蘇軾, Su Shun-ch'ien 蘇舜欽, Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, Wang An-shih 王安石, Su Ch'e 蘇軌, and Su Kuo 蘇過. While the landscape poetry of the Sung does not compare in quality or nature to the works of earlier great masters of this genre such as Hsieh Ling-yun, Wang Wei, or Meng Hao-jan, the poems translated in this collection reveal Sung poets' involvement with the theme of nature, in spite of what Yoshikawa Kōjirō 古川孝次郎 said about Sung nature poetry taking a second place to poems on other subjects. Tagore's translations are not technical or laden with a plethora of notes. Only a thumbnail sketch of each poet, the source of the poems (with titles in romanization), and a few pithy notes are to be found at the back of the volume. Specialists may demand more than this, but the book is obviously intended for the general public as well as the scholarly community. Even though the translator reveals in his foreword that the "only criterion of selection has been one of personal liking," some critics may hold different ideas about the selection of "better" or more famous poems to be translated. For the most part the translations are competent, but as with any translation, especially of poetry, there will be differences of opinion regarding some interpretations and translations.

This collection is attractively and profusely illustrated by the landscape paintings of Yang Po-jun 楊伯潤 from the late 19th century.

IV. Taiwan


In 1915 Miao Ch'üan-sun 繆荃孫 discovered the manuscripts for nine tales in the vernacular language which he correctly attributed to Sung authorship. This discovery was an early event in this century's interest and study of colloquial literature. Now for the first time eight of the tales found by Miao are translated in toto. (The ninth story, "The Licentiousness of King Hai-ling" 金海陵縱欲亡身 is not translated here because it is considered too pornographic.) Three of the tales have been translated previously in Gladys and Hsien-i Yang's The Courtesan's Jewel Box (Peking, 1957), but these translations omit the sections of verse and paraphrase certain portions of the text. Richard Yang's translations attempt to be as faithful to the original as possible. He provides many useful notes to each tale. Moreover, he has written both an introduction about the genre of colloquial stories and a foreward explaining in detail the texts he has utilized.

The tales translated are: I) Carving the Jade Goddess Kuan Yin 碾玉觀音;
2) Stubborn Chancellor 拗相公; 3) The Reunion of Feng Yü-mei 馮玉梅團圓; 4) The Mistaken Execution of Ts’ui Ning 崔寧; 5) ‘U-sa Man 禪隆善; 6) Chang, The Honest Steward 志誠張主管; 7) Ghosts in the Western Hills 西山一窟鬼; and 8) The White Hawk of Ts‘ui, the Magistrate’s Son, Led to Demons 崔衙內白雞招禍.

V. Japan

Kinshi kenkyū III 金史研究三, Kindai seiji,shakai no kenkyū 金代政治社會的研究 by Mikami Tsugio 三上次男, Tokyo: Chūō-Kōron Bijutsu Shuppan 中公論美術出版, 1973, 486 pp., Index, English Table of Contents, ¥7,000.

The publication of this volume completes Professor Mikami’s trilogy on Chin history. The first two volumes dealing with the social system of the Jurchen and with the administrative system of the Chin dynasty were published in 1972 and 1970, respectively. All three volumes collect Mikami’s articles previously published throughout his long, distinguished career. Of the 14 articles appearing in this volume the earliest was published in 1937 and the most recent in 1970. Corrections and emendations have, however, been made to the original articles before inclusion in this republication.

Three articles deal with Chin-Koryo relations, while several others focus on forms of governmental control over the Chinese by the Chin. The civil service examination system and the provincial administration are examined in other pieces. Jurchen society and culture in the Chin period, the problems and successes, is the general subject of three more articles. Finally, several other essays discuss the unification of the Jurchen tribe through the royal Wan-yen 完顏 family and the growth of this royal house’s power.

REVIEW ARTICLE

James Zimmerman
Yale University

Iwanami köza sekai rekishi 岩波講座世界歴史, Volume 9, Chūsei 中世

This multi-author volume is not, properly, a history; it is rather a collection of essays by specialists so chosen as to present the important aspects of the history and culture of China and Central Asia in the “medieval” period, that is, roughly speaking, in Sung times. The “medieval” of the title is deliberate, and polemical; so is the disagreement with the “medieval” periodization, and the adherence to the “modern” (kin-sei 近世) theory, voiced by many of the authors. Thus Saeki Tomi 佐伯富, in his “Introduction” (p. 147, n. 6) proclaims his adherence to the “modernist” theory, a position in defiance of the book’s title which is strongly endorsed by Shimada Kenji 島田虔次 (p. 427). Whatever the result of these disagreements, there can be no doubt of the book’s aim: It is a work of synthesis, aimed at a relatively wide audience, and presenting the results of intensive studies by specialists.

For those who do not have a copy of the book—and it is not easy to obtain, even in Japan, at least apart from the multi-volume collection to which it belongs—it may be well to begin with a brief summary of the contents. The first part, devoted to the “Development of the Inner Asian World,” begins with a general introduction by Mori Masao 萩雅夫, followed by five chapters which discuss, in turn the Liao state (Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松), the Chin (Kawachi Yoshihiro 河內艮弘), the Hsi-Hsia 西夏 (Nishida Tatsuo 西井龍雄), the Mongols (Murakami Masatsugu 村上正二), and the “Tartar peace” (Saguchi Tōru 佐口透). I shall not offer any comments on these essays.

The second, end more substantial part of the volume (pp. 145-550) contains, in addition to the sixteen-page general introduction by Saeki Tomi, previously mentioned, nine essays on the history of China, and one article each on Korea and the development of international relations and communications.

A collection of such articles by specialists, each viewing the situation within a rather narrow compass of opinion, research, and method, presents its own problems. It is immediately apparent that the volume cannot offer a view of the history of the period comparable, say, to the treatment of Otto Franke in his great Geschichte, and no doubt the authors would have no wish to do so, although at times they move on a comparably high level of
generalization. Franke, it will be recalled, viewed the period as a whole as one of renewed conflict between the forces of “universalism” and “ethnic particularism” (völkisches Sonderstreben). With his Rankean emphasis on political history, his conclusions followed naturally from this premise: In the Sung, as throughout Chinese history, the spiritual forces of Confucian universalism ultimately prevail. In a lofty flight of personification, Franke even proclaimed that “stärker als [der Kaiser] thronete über dem ganzen der unsichtbare, der Beherrscher der Geister, der konfusianische Gedanke.” (Geschichte des Chinesischen Reiches, Berlin, 1948, IV, p. 10). While Franke’s brand of idealism is currently unfashionable, he—and other European interpreters—do offer alternative modes of explanation for many of the problems raised in the Iwanami book, explanations which might well deserve discussion beside the neo-Marxist and “medieval-modern” classifications which are found there.

At the same time, the level of generalization attempted is far higher than that of the usual Japanese kenkyū 研究 or research collections, which are apt to contain a series of miscellaneous studies related only because they appear between two covers and all somewhere use the word “Sung.” Despite what is still often an expressed opinion in partibus barbarorum, these essays by no means reflect a pre-occupation with points of philological detail; they all reveal a concern with intelligent interpretation, and with social history, which has obviously been sustained over many years of scholarly work. At the same time, it is rather bewildering to view the results of eleven different hands, each—if I may use the metaphor—with its own axe to grind, setting to work on the Sung. The reviewer is left with no serious alternative to a detailed consideration of each essay. Here I shall pursue this course a certain way, hoping that other hands may in time do some of the rest.

Let us return to the introduction, where Saeki Tomi presents his views on the political achievement of the Sung dynasty in suppressing the divisive forces at work during the late T’ang and Five Dynasties periods, and moving towards administrative and fiscal centralization. Behind this argument, one senses the belief—possibly Weberian—that such a development must of course have been a good thing, which has the happy result of putting Mr. Saeki into line with the tradition of administrative channels between the executive officials and the Throne (p. 173)? If so, we should be hard put to it to account for the extent to which a single powerful minister was able to dominate the government for ten, twenty, or thirty years, which is one of the most striking phenomena of Sung politics. As for plots, there is no dearth of those either—the deposition of the Empress Meng 孟 in Che-tsung’s 慶宗 reign, the Crown Prince’s faction in Hui-tsung’s later reign, and the maneuvers which brought Kao-tsung 高宗 to the Throne. And Han T’o-chou 韓託齊 was a relative of the Empress—as was Cheng Chu-chung 始居中 in the reign of Hui-tsung, to mention only two examples.

Indeed, in view of the general impression left by Mr. Saeki, it is perhaps not amiss to point out that the Sung emperors, if they wished to rule de facto as well as de jure, had always to rely on political maneuvering and a certain amount of divide-and-conquer politics. How could they not do so? Particularly after 1126, the threat to the continued existence of the dynasty came not only from the foreign invaders, but from members of the highest ranks of the civil administration who had turned collaborator. And the Chin 季 were not slow to admire Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光! And if their servants did not turn traitor, rulers suffered all too often from that well-known phenomenon of European history, the overmighty subject. How else can one characterize Ts’ai Ching 錢京, Ch’in Kuei 蔡京, Shih Sung-chih 史嵩之, and the rest? Yet even apart from such flaws in the bureaucratic machine, it is only common sense that rulers should make use of their own men; this is not only a stable feature of Chinese history but, from the Eminence Grise to Henry Kissinger, an all but universal political phenomenon.
The conception of the Suung—or at least the trend of the tao—a from the end of T’ang—as the time of resurgence of central power and the origin of the bureaucratic state of later times, goes back at least to the scholars of the end of the Ming dynasty, who of course viewed the development with hearty distaste. Huang Tsung-hsi 黄宗羲 and Wang Fu-chih 王夫之 held up the T’ang as a model for decentralization, and the virtues of “feudalism” (feng-chien 赋稅) were re-discovered. Doubtless there is much truth in this theory. But there is a difference between achieving a modus vivendi or balance of power in such a patrimonial system, and creating a truly modern state. The hundred officials (Pai-kuan 百官) were simply not a Prussian officer corps (they were probably more like a Foggy Bottom), and the distinction should not be blurred. But I have dwelt too long on this point of view, which is too obvious to be in any way offensive; despite it, Mr. Saeki provides a good introduction to the themes of the book as a whole (no mean task) and to the problems requiring fresh study and thinking.

After Mr. Saeki’s introductory chapter, Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁 of the Jimbun Kagaku Kenkyujo 人文科学研究所, Kyoto University, proceeds to the analysis of the Wang An-shih 王安石 reforms. Mr. Umehara, a specialist in institutional history, is well equipped for his task and announces his intention (p. 195) of analyzing “almost all” the reform measures in order to counter the strong tendency to base conclusions primarily upon the well known “hired service” (mu-i 爲役) and pao-chia 保家 measures of the great Reformer. Mr. Umehara begins by recounting the “background of the reforms”: the unification of China by the Founder, and the loss of the sixteen northern prefectures in 947. The account of Chen-tsung’s 真宗 expenditures on the fang 賞 and shan 薪 sacrifices is perhaps a bit exaggerated (taken over from traditional historiography), as may well be the case too in Mr. Umehara’s description of the critical problems of Jen-tsung’s 任宗 reign, for historiographical shaping and prefiguration is also at work: The historical materials on the period 1023-1068 were only compiled in the reign of Shen-tsung 詩宗, indeed late in that reign, and after much discussion and imperial “instruction;” the temptation to mold the small reforms in the pattern of the greater can have been only too irresistible.

On this note of the financial and military difficulties of Jen-tsung’s later years and of Ying-tsung 英宗, Mr. Umehara begins his account of the counter-measures of Wang An-shih. True to his plan, he proceeds through all the basic reform laws of the period, which are grouped under “measures effecting the villages” (ch’ing-miao 銓苗 and nung-t’ien 朋田水利, fang-t’ien chün-shui 方田均水, mu-i fa 爲役, etc.), “measures to strengthen defense” (pao-chia 保家, pao-ma 保馬), “measures effecting commerce” (chün-shu fa 均輸, shih-i fa 市易, mien-hsing ch’ien-fa 籴行錢法), and “reforms within the ruling class” (tsang-fa 三省, san-she 三舍). This presentation naturally occupies the largest part of the essay (pp. 200-224). The organization according to individual “reform” measures is clear and concise, as are Mr. Umehara’s descriptions. But this method of organization also sacrifices some of the unity and quality of the period as a whole. Certainly it will be difficult for the reader to grasp the flow and texture of events if he is not already well versed in the main outlines of Shen-tsung’s reign. In general—although this is hardly the fault of Mr. Umehara—the measures are seen from the viewpoint of the court and not the country; we have little feeling for the reactions of the men in the field (though from all subsequent indications, these must have been negative); we see the grand visions of the reformers, yet have little notion of what they actually achieved. Attempts like Mr. Umehara’s to estimate the quantity of new land brought under cultivation as a result of the “agricultural irrigation scheme” (nung-t’ien-shui-li 農田水利) help to widen the perspective (P. 203), as do his details on the horse-farm, system (p. 215) on which he will soon publish a detailed study, centering or the Ch’in-chou 蓮州 tea-horse trade. Those who are particularly interested in certain reform measures will appreciate both Mr. Umehara’s description and his footnote reference to the recent Japanese scholarship on them.

The discussion is tied together with some pages of summation entitled “The Significance of the ‘New Laws’” (pp. 224-232). Having previously quoted Kuo Mo-jo’s 郭沫若 judgment that it is glorious for China to have produced such a figure as Wang An-shih (p. 196), Mr. Umehara begins by introducing the traditional, negative appraisal of An-shih, which he views as “intimately connected” with the development of imperial despotism, the landlord class, and institutional rigidity (p. 225). There are other explanations. Mr. Umehara’s final summation treats the reforms from two points of view. First, their failure, he alleges, stems from attempting to apply to all of China measures suited only for the more economically developed areas of the southeast (p. 226). But there is little solid evidence that the reform measures really were applied uniformly throughout the country, and even had they been, there is no need to develop the apocalyptic argument that their failure, which was really in part a retrospective judgment produced by the political debacle of the reform party after 1126, was in fact responsible for the Ming and Ch’ing rural system, agricultural
tenancy and the mandarin mentality. Secondly, Mr. Umehara presents the reformers and their opponents in the context of a north-south antithesis, which he traces back to Ch'in times (p. 227). Although he makes it very clear that geographical differences and interests cannot provide a full explanation of the reforms, Mr. Umehara nonetheless perceives a great difference between the mentality of the northerners, conservative and narrow, and the “rationalism, progressivism, and realism” (p. 228) of the southerners. This latter mentality, he even suggests, has been said to result from contact with the Arab traders at ports in the southeast. I have never before heard this theory, and I can only say that I do not believe this. Nonetheless, a certain geographical cleavage is real enough, and it is Mr. Umehara’s merit to have presented it subtly enough to be believable.

I wish that Mr. Umehara had further developed an interesting remark he makes towards the close of this section, where (though without citing his source) he quotes Chu Hsi to the effect that, if there had been no Wang An-shih, Su Shih and his faction would doubtless have pursued the same sort of policies. In other words, factional politics dictate ideology—a proposition which is surely basic to any comprehension of Sung politics. This point, incidentally, is also made in another connection by Mr. Saeki (p. 184), when he asserts that the struggle for wealth through office holding made factions inevitable.

In this connection it is good to recall Mr. Saeki’s argument in the introductory chapter (p. 186) as to the reasons bureaucratic factionalism could arise at all under Mr. Saeki’s “despotic” Emperor. Mr. Saeki sees the explanation for this in the weakness of Chen-tsung and Jen-tsung; however, since factionalism continued in one guise or another throughout the dynasty, this explanation does not reach quite far enough. Similarly, although we may distinguish the members of the “reform” faction as realists and men of practical administrative experience, they were hardly the first men of this breed to figure in Chinese history; the T’ang financial experts studied by Denis Twitchett come immediately to mind. Implicitly, these facts argue against the “modernist” theory, as indeed Mr. Umehara recognizes on p. 226, where he suggests the still-undeveloped character of most of the Chinese economy as a possible reason for the failure of the reforms.

In general, statements such as that which depicts the anti-traditional, Chiang-nan rationalistic thought of Wang An-shih being blown away by the waxing forces of despotism and bureaucratic landlordism (p. 231) surely reflect what Jacques Gernet has described in another place as “une conception platonicienne de l’histoire qui est sans doute plus répandue qu’on ne l’imagine: les entités, les essences et les idées sont la vérité de l’histoire; les réalités, les faits et les événements ne sont que son apparence.” (T’oung Pao LVII, Liv. 5, p. 306). It is similarly treacherous to accept the argument that the defeat of An-shih and his worthy or unworthy successors opened the door to landlordism and other bogeys. It is unfortunate that Mr. Umehara should end his essay on these questionable notes—after his masterful description of the reforms themselves—even repeating certain traditional statements about the pro-reform party after the death of Shen-tsung. Statements of their cupidity, opportunism, and departure from the principles of An-shih are the product of historiographical necessities and must be regarded as, at best, unproven. Nor can we be convinced by the theory (p. 231) that the reformers in the reigns of Che-tsung and Hui-tsung exhausted their energies in exacting revenge; the purges of these reigns are doubtless deplorable, but also typical of the age, and one cannot well blame the faction for seeking to isolate the opposing persuasion from the center of power; the “reformers” themselves, after all, had languished in the provinces under Ssu-ma Kuang. But these points, however some readers may take them, in no way detract from the value of Mr. Umehara’s study which is so solidly based on the facts and offers, surely, the best description of the reform era in short compass.

The problem which Yamauchi Masahiro poses in regard to the Southern Sung—how did its regime lay the ground for Mongol rule? -- is traditional; his analysis is not. Mr. Yamauchi provides a fact-and-name-filled account which views the events of the period as the result of social conflict which resolves itself basically into that between “new” and “old.” “New” is the ruling-style of the Emperor Kao-tsung—the traditional snubs of the historians on his character are interpreted by Mr. Yamauchi in a positive sense—and this new breed of statesmanship is to be typical of the Southern Sung. The social dynamic is the interaction between the “newly implanted Court” and the “new landowning class” on the one hand, and the indigenous—i.e. Northern Sung—landowners on the other. (p. 235) These groupings, incidentally, are never defined or analyzed; they are simply assumed throughout by Mr. Yamauchi. Problems develop, however, when a given individual is to be assigned to a certain class, and these cases are carefully discussed by the author.

The first problem which faced the restored Sung was the institution of an administration, when the remnants of the old northern Sung bureaucracy remained in Kaifeng under Chang Pang-ch’ang. The lack of records, Mr. Yamauchi thinks, was equally an obstacle, but surely prefectures possessed their own records for land tax and other purposes; indeed many of the historical records for the northern Sung could only be restored from the archives of
southern prefectures. In describing resistance to the Chin, Mr. Yamauchi distinguishes again between the “old” northern Sung military establishment (Liu Kuang-shih 劉光世, Miao Fu 苗傅, etc.) and the “new” self-made leaders who had risen from the ranks during the “guerilla” (Yüeh Fei 岳飛, Wang Yuan 王樞, Han Shih-chung 韓世忠, Chang Chün 唐崇). On this interesting point the author refers us to his own studies as well as those of the Russian historian Smolin (p. 243, n. 5).

The same opposition between “new” and “old” is used to explain the political maneuvering of the early years of Kao-tsung’s reign. With the failure of Miao Fu’s coup d’état, (Ming-shou chih pien 明受之禪), the conservatives, particularly the military, brought the financial expert Lü I-hao 吕頤浩 into power to put things right. But he in turn, doomed by the lack of administrative records and personnel, had to yield his post, eventually bringing in the ultra-loyalist Ch’in Kuei 秦薈.

Because of Ch’in Kuei’s marriage connections (his wife Madame Wang 王氏 was the niece of Cheng Chu-chung of Hui-tsung’s reign and the granddaughter of a Prime Minister), and also because of his success in the elite Po-hsüeh hung-tz’u 博學鴻詞科 examinations under Hui-tsung, Mr. Yamauchi places Kuei in the traditionalist, Northern Sung bureaucratic faction. Ch’in Kuei’s appointment, like that of Hu An-kuo 胡安國, suggests Kao-tsung’s desire to make use of this tradition. His success is explained by the “overwhelming” support of the landlord class (P. 241). As for the rest, Kuei’s liquidation of the generals (particularly Yueh Fei), as Mr. Yamauchi coolly remarks, “shows the general intentions of the Southern Sung regime” (p. 239). But in this old controversy, Mr. Yamauchi is perhaps too prone to believe in the fallen hero, who unlike Chang Chün “did not accumulate wealth for himself, rather distributing any surplus to defray army expenses.” Such a statement should perhaps be qualified in regard to a man on whom the biographical information is problematical, and the historiographical distortion grave. Readers interested in Ch’in Kuei and his regime can also anticipate a forthcoming study by Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川秀在 the Tōhōgakuho 東方學報.

The Southern Sung after Ch’in Kuei, according to Mr. Yamauchi, is the story of the rise of the “new” landlord class, which Kuei had suppressed, and the increase in military expenditures under Chao Ju-yü 朝著履 and Han T’o-chou 韓詫, the latter rising to power as the focus of the aspirations of the “new” landlords (p. 248). As an example of his social conflict theory, Mr. Yamauchi introduces the example of Ming-chou 明州 in Che-tung circuit 浙東路 where a mixture of the thought of Wang An-shih and Ch’eng I 程頤 provided the basis of Southern Sung “orthodoxy” (p. 258). Ming-chou was to produce, from the newly-risen class, the “most powerful” of Southern Sung ministers, Shih

Mi-yüan 史彌遠 While the facts about Ming-chou are interesting, I confess to finding Mr. Yamauchi’s analysis of their significance somewhat baffling.

In his final section (pp.252-266) on “Steps of Decline and Fall,” there are some variations on Mr. Yamauchi’s familiar theme. The final years of the dynasty are seen as dominated by twenty years of alliance between the southern generals and the Ming-chou officials, followed by twenty years of power held by the generals in collaboration (pace Mr. Saeki) with the imperial in-laws and the eunuchs (p. 257). A coalition of interest between the merchants and officials, which had its origins in Kao-tsung’s day, is also introduced (p. 259), as is one between the “clerks” (hsü-li 胥吏) and landlords (p. 263). There is also a certain tendency to depict the tao-hsüeh 道學 struggles as reflecting the conflicting interests of “court” and “country” parties. In short, Mr. Yamauchi, as well as the other authors, shows what is at times an extreme lack of caution in identifying men, events, and ideas with larger patterns of social conflict and change. Perhaps the most extreme example of this is Mr. Yamauchi’s attempt to explain in sociological terms the alleged debauches of the Emperor Tu-tsung 度宗 (who brought thirty women a day into the inner palace) as a last-ditch effort to win the support of the landowners through marriage alliances. This is rationalization—and no mention is made of the Bad Last Ruler topos, despite the studies of Arthur Wright, Herbert Franke and others. Indeed, Mr. Yamauchi even wonders if the Mongols may not have been greeted as latter-day Dukes of Chou.

Perhaps enough has been said to indicate some of the general problems of these studies. Those we have considered so far have been rather general in nature, and consequently bold in interpretation. The next article, on “Yüan Control and Chinese Society” by Otagi Matsuo 愛宕松男, is more sharply focused; beginning with the accession of Qubilai and its significance, Mr. Otagi concentrates on the problem set by the title, particularly on the control of Chiang-nan 江南 and the role of the “travelling chanceries” (hsing-sheng 訪書省) and other institutions. I pass over this article, as well as the three rather more specialized articles which follow it: “Development of the Village System,” by Tanagida Setsuko 田中篤子, “Development of Large-scale Landholdings and the Tenancy System,” by Kusano Yasushi 草野靖, “Development of Commerce and Industry and the Cities,” by Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信. These all deal with areas well known to students of Japanese sinology, and taking their place in a voluminous literature all really require specialist comment. All are very detailed, with abundant statistical data, and offer a solid treatment of these problems.

In discussing Sung intellectual life, Shimada Kenji 島田虔次 modestly notes (p. 426) that he has nothing to add to his book on Chu Hsi and
Wang Yang-ming 王陽明, published in 1967. He limits himself therefore to two problems (having forsaken a third, the relationship of sung thought to Buddhism and Taoism): The establishment of the Sung “gentry,” from the intellectual point of view, and the importance of the doctrine of ta-i ming-fen 太義名分 in the thought of Chu Hsi.

In taking up the first problem, Mr. Shimada remarks three distinguishing features of Sung thought: The insistence on Confucian orthodoxy (cheng-t'ung 正統), personal cultivation as the basis for political achievement (hsiu-shen 學身治國), and reliance on cognition (shen-ssu 深思) over erudition (po-chih 博知). The first half of the article is devoted to showing how these principles formed a perfect ideology for the examination-formed “gentry” (or literati, shih ta-fu 士大夫). Mr. Shimada maintains a consistent view of the importance of the examinations and official career patterns in intellectual developments. Quoting Lü Tsu-ch’ien 呂祖謙 (p. 433) he notes that in the beginning of the dynasty there were no schools or other facilities for study, and that consequently the important scholars of the day were “hermits,” whose teachings had a great influence on scholars of later times, notably Shih Chieh 石介 and Sun Fu 孫傅. By early Sung, of course, the civil service was in full swing again and classical learning its basis. Mr. Shimada illustrates this with the interesting case of the examinations of 1005, when the examiners ploughed two candidates of great promise, a certain Li 李 and Chia 賈, Li for mistakes in rhymes and Chia for contradicting the commentaries on a passage in Lun-yü 論語. The case came before the high minister Wang Tan 王旦, who forgave Li his poetic license, but could not accord Chia his interpretive freedom (p. 434). The formation of a true Sung culture was the result of a striking change of attitude. The great change, according to Mr. Shimada, came with the writings on the classics of Sun Fu, Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修, and Wang An-shih, by whose time those who accepted the traditional commentaries were sneered at as “decadent scholars” (fu-hu 革儒). As other contributing elements in the distinctive literati culture, Mr. Shimada cites the ku-wen 古文 prose movement, the canonization of Mencius, the development of printing, and the increasing independence of the examinations from political and other influence as they came to be the dominant method for selecting the elite.

As noted, Mr. Shimada’s discussion of the doctrine of ta-i ming-fen 占義名分 occupies the second half of his essay; this is particularly significant for Japanese readers, because of the great importance in that country of Chu Hsi’s doctrine of the proper duties of a subject.

As a final comment on the book, I should like to make a few remarks on Onoe Kanehide’s 尾上兼英 article, “The Birth of Popular Culture,” which seems to me not only one of the most interesting but also perhaps the most revealing and successful in the entire collection. It gives us a direct glimpse into the life of the period which is more forceful and therefore more impressive than the veiled perceptions we get from the institutional hypotheses and theories of the other articles, important as these may be.

Factualy, Mr. Onoe begins with early descriptions—by the Japanese pilgrim Enin 圓仁 among others—of the activity of the popular preachers of Buddhism, both monks and nuns. Whether or not these “performances” may have included secular stories, it is certain that female entertainers were performing pien-wen 悅文 on secular themes, like the Wang Chao-chun 王昭君 story, by the end of T’ang; Mr. Onoe cites in evidence two poems preserved in the Ch’üan T’ang Shih 全唐詩 (pp. 452-453). As the preachers had done, in Mr. Onoe’s view, the courtesans used painted scrolls (hua-chüan 設卷) to illustrate and accompany their performances. Mr. Onoe then describes the various feats—sword-dancing, juggling, ropetricks, fire-swallowing—which had been popular entertainments at least since Han times and which were joined in the T’ang by Central Asian innovations like the barbarian “dance” hu-t’eng 胡騰 described by another T’ang poet. Puppets also furnished much of the material for dramatic and historical stories, having been used for ritual-healing purposes since Han times, and Mr. Onoe devotes four fascinating pages to describing their role in T’ang culture. Perhaps the ritual function was still present when puppets re-enacted battles between the Chinese and T’u-chüeh 突厥 and depicted the encounter between Hsiang Yu 璃羽 and Han Kao-tsu 漢高祖 on the occasion of the funeral of the military governor of T’ai-yüan in the eighth century; but pure entertainment seems to have been the aim of similar performances before Sui Yang-ti 隋煬帝 a century earlier. The author underscores the presence of common people (pai-hsing 寮生) ca. 878, watching puppets perform before the residence of Governor Ts’ui An-ch’ien 崔安濟, a devout Buddhist, while officials banqueted inside (on vegetarian food).

Coming to the Sung itself, Mr. Onoe proceeds from a description of Kaifeng—perhaps slightly idealized—with its willow trees, its wineries, and its colorful citizens, whose clothing according to profession and rank is carefully described (p. 460). Much of this is familiar from the well known reminiscences of Chou Mi 周密 and others about the city; Mr. Onoe’s contribution is his detailed description of the stories and theatrical pieces performed, which he identifies when possible. Less familiar than the hua-pen 話本 are the puppet- and shadow-plays described on pp. 472-476; we learn of the development of “flesh” puppets and life-size shadow-figures which could
entertain an entire ward of the city on an improvised stage. While Mr. Onoe’s examples of T’ang puppetry come from aristocratic milieux, the Hang-chou and Kaifeng descriptions are definitely of popular entertainment, many of them depicting the people’s view of the emperors and statesmen of the Northern Sung. The paper shadow figures were so constructed that heroes and villains each had an appropriate countenance, and as one source remarks, “praise and blame (pao-pien 褒貶) could be shown even to the commoners of the market” (p. 475).

While having to omit much, I have I hope been able to show some of the richness, as well as the weaknesses of this book. Together with its companion volumes on other periods, it offers a total view of Chinese history and culture which is rarely undertaken in any country. The current attempt in the English-speaking world is the Cambridge History of China, soon to be in press. While the Iwanami and Cambridge volumes will doubtless complement each other, one awaits eagerly an English-language history on the Iwanami scale; in the meantime, all interested readers can use the Iwanami series with great profit.

THESIS REGISTRY

I. Dissertation Résumés


Hui Tsung (1082-1136) ruled China from 1100 to 1125, as the eighth emperor of the Sung Dynasty.

He was a dominating figure in one of the most splendid ages of art; himself a talented artist and the greatest of imperial collectors, he used his powers as sovereign to institutionalize the production of art at a uniformly high level. However his absorption in beauty made him ignore the well-being of his nation with fatal results. In a sudden attack by the Chin “Tartars,” half of China was lost. Hui Tsung was captured with his retinue and ended his life in the far north. To posterity all of his achievements, including those in art, were judged and condemned in the light of this catastrophe.

The first half of the writer’s research, accepted as a Master’s thesis in 1966 at the University of Hawaii, was a survey of Hui Tsung’s position in cultural history. The present dissertation represents a more intensive study of his role as artist and collector, and his imperial sponsorship of the arts. It describes the mingled refinement and the splendor of court life in his generation, partly inherited but raised to a new peak of sophistication by the standard of art he established.

Only a few specimens of Hui Tsung’s much admired, and highly individual handwriting may be authenticated with assurance. The task of trying to isolate works of painting from his own brush is even more hazardous. As an aid in establishing standards of judgement, all seals, signatures, and ciphers attributed to him on works claimed as his own, and that are found on old master’s works from his collection, are here passed in critical review. Literary accounts of pictures attributed to him are assembled, with an emphasis on those closest to his own time. To help clarify the emperor’s relationship with the court artists in his entourage, the organization of the Imperial Academy of Calligraphy and Painting is outlined, and the duties of the artists in attendance are enumerated.

With this sort of documentation defining Hui Tsung’s historical position, Hui Tsung emerges from the legends and the implausible attributions that have congregated around his name. His approach to art and the general style of his painting can be certified beyond doubt though the products of his own hand must remain merged with those of the professionals who worked
under his direction. Beyond all questions, he was sincerely and profoundly involved. The literary and inquisitive flavor that he encouraged was deeply rooted in Chinese tradition, and was sustained by well established educational and research institutions. By his own example he supported the loftiest conviction. His interest in flower-and-bird painting bordered on scientific observation (medicine). One of its by-products in fact was the creation of the close-up botanical study, designed to fit an album-leaf form. As applied under his direction the requirement of truth to life became rich and meaningful. It was only later, when the imitations of his style made by Sung Academicians were still further copied, that his innocent realism descended into a purely decorative genre.

Nearly 300 plates illustrate all attributions to Hui Tsung worth noting. To define his aesthetic approach does not mean to represent the ideal, but one of the important phases in Chinese art. The context remains a biographical study. It views Hui Tsung as an individual, as a personality, that, without compromise, had indulged in the visual arts.

-- Betty Ecke


The study is an intellectual biography of Su Hsün 蘇洵, a provincial literary talent of unusual genius unappreciated in his day. The general focus of analysis is the problem of intellectual response to the transition of social value in the early Sung Confucian “restoration” movement, roughly between 1040 and 1060. Su Hsun tried to meet those new status criteria; he failed because his provincial values were stronger than his understanding of the normative Confucian culture emerging. In that failure, he raised in his writing an alternative to the Confucian paradigm, which was highly original and significant for larger problems in Chinese political and historical thought.

Part I pursues the problems of Su Hsun’s biography, wholly an exercise in self-conception by the man himself as he advertised his writing to patrons such as Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修. Part II analyzes the structure of Su Hsun’s literary style, finding a preference for rhetorical persuasion on the Warring States model and in the place of Confucian normative communication. The conceptual problems of the classical prose movement are reconsidered to find the ground on which Confucian writers briefly accepted and praised his style. Part III seeks to define the basic political ideas of Su Hsun’s essays. An early infatuation with military strategy and political action builds gradually to a concept of historical contingency, a compelling refutation of the premise of classical orthodoxy in his day. As that idea is anomalous in the context of Sung thought, Part IV measures its role in the experience of other thinkers who opposed Confucian orthodoxy between Han and Ch’ing. Su Hsun’s conception is found to be implicit and troublesome in many other critics, and to have played a role in the development of the historicist argument in Chinese political dialogue. The introduction to this study undertakes an analysis of the nature and role of intellectual pluralism in Sung Neo-Confucianism, emphasizing the mature and highly institution- alized modes of self-cultivation in the 1070’s. Su Hsun is related to this in concluding the larger meaning of his response to the Confucian movement in its early stage. He sought to retrieve a historical past (and its manifest process) in place of the Confucian return to a classical antiquity (and its concept of immanent value). His development of this theme began with an attempt to find some alternative measure of social status than the Confucian classics and literary refinement; in the course of his writing it assumed a far greater importance. We may introduce Su Hsun as a new figure in the study of Chinese historical thought, inspired by the separate social experience of a highly original mind.

-- George C. Hatch, Jr.


The Her Bor-shyh Bey Luenn 何必備論 was written in the years 1089-90 by Her Chiuh-fei 何去非, a little known Sung scholar. It is an attempt to find the military reasons why dynasties and emperors rose and fell. Her Chiuh-fei came to realize that the much acclaimed Suen Tzyyy Bing Faa 孫子兵法 left much to be desired in its philosophical treatment of war. The Her Bor-shyh Bey Luenn, therefore, is also a critique of the Suen Tzyy, and thus actually a military-philosophical text rather than a strict military history.

The Her Bor-shyh Bey Luenn has 26 chapters in all modern editions. The author, however, has found a 27th chapter in an extremely interesting, but little known, Sung anthology of historical opinion, the Lih Day Ming Shyan Chiueh Luenn 劉代名賢確論.

(Editors' Note: This dissertation has been published by the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Stockholm.)

Sur le soulèvement dit “des Casaques Rouges”, hung-ao 紅幗 au Shan-tung, et son organisation interne: de 1214 à 1218, les troubles éclatent spontanément en tous points de la province, parfois sous la direction de meneurs qui se proclamaient Empereurs et copient le système politique de la société globale; puis la révolte devient la spécialité de quelques groupes de hors-la-loi installés avec leurs familles dans des repaires fortifiés. A partir de 1218, les Sung détournent à leur profit l’opposition sociale et économique des Chantongais au régime des Chin, enroîtant les révoltés dans des milices établies dans les zones frontalières; à partir de 1222 environ, le mouvement tourne court devant l’invasion mongole. Ainsi, contrairement à ce qu’on a longtemps cru, le mouvement n’est pas originement tente dé nationalisme pro-Sung.

-- Francoise Aubin

(Editor’s Note: A revised version of this dissertation is to be published in the *T'oung Pao* monograph series.)


This work is a study of the censorial officials of China in the context of power struggle during the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127-1278 A.D.). As keepers of public conscience, the censorial officials of China had always taken a strong interest in the political affairs of the country. This was especially so during the Sung Dynasty, when the increase in censorial power and the prevalence of factionalism and power struggles were highly contributory towards a heavier censorial involvement in politics. This thesis attempts to make a case study of the censorial role in power struggle during the Southern Sung. Besides analysing the part played by the censorial officials in factional strife, an attempt is made to examine the intricate relationship that existed among the emperors, the Councillors and the censorial officials, by drawing various examples to illustrate the use of censorial power against councillor power by the emperors. Finally, an account of the censorial preoccupation in building up the power of the usurpers at the expense of imperial authority further portrays the censorial officials as instruments of power struggle.

-- Gong Wei Ai

II. These in Progress


This thesis traces the history of one county in southern Anhwei province from T’ang to Ming times through a social analysis of a clan of the region. It attempts to reveal all social, economic, and political aspects of the area’s development with an emphasis on the relationship between lineage function and local control.

Hsiu-ning Hsien in Hui-chou 徽州 is the subject of this project for two reasons. First, Hsiu-ning and its five neighboring districts, compose one of traditional China’s main commercial centers, famous for merchants dealing in tea, salt, silver and ink. By studying the conditions of this region, the author hopes to determine those factors, which gave rise to a merchant class in medieval China. And secondly, the area is particularly well documented for this type of study. Numerous local gazetteers and genealogical works spanning most of the period under study are still extant.

The first section of the thesis discusses the geography, population history, economy (local products), settlement and urbanization patterns, and political history of Hsiu-ning and the particular importance of the Ch’eng 程, Wu 吳, and Wang 汪 shih 氏 and their connections within and without the district. Finally, this section reviews local administration – appointments (where magistrates came from their adjustment into this local society), water control, taxation, judicial administration and military jurisdiction.

The second section presents the 800-year history of Fan lineage and analyzes the Fan 范 clan’s social structure over this entire period. Factors considered include birth rates, death rates, adoption, migration, academic background, and career patterns. Emphasis is placed on those Fans who were able to translate wealth gained in commerce into academic-bureaucratic success. Another topic studied is the Fan’s joint property, both rural and urban, and the administration of the clan wealth. This data is coupled with an analysis of the Fan’s marriage strategies, systems of inter-marriage, plural marriage, and remarriage. From all this, a map of the social status of the Fan clan from the T’ang through the Ming is drawn.

The next section looks at merchants in China in general,
and in Hsin-an in particular. A major portion of this discussion defines the merchant class. Attention is paid to government control, taxation, and utilization; merchant financial organization, cultural affinities, and attitudes toward rebellion and rural life. Short biographic sketches of Hsin-an merchants are given.

Part IV is devoted to the relationship between the Fan clan and the other clans in the area, the geographic focus being the three principal villages in Hsiu-ning where the Fan clan lived. The purpose is to determine the particular clan controlling each of these villages over time and then to correlate this information with the status of the Fan clan (as shown in Part II) at the given time. This section also aims to note those periods when large numbers of Fan merchant families were able to marry or make other kinds of clan-alliances with prominent clans.

Part V delineates aspects of daily life in Hsiu-ning: schooling, shamanism, rent collection, natural disasters, diseases, and farming techniques. Social relations between merchants and scholar-officials of the area as well as attitudes of the populace toward social ascent are considered from the evidence presented in Part IV.

-- Harriet T. Zurndorfer

2. History of Printing in Sung China, 960-1279, Ming-sun Poon, Graduate Library School, University of Chicago.

From an obscure art at the end of the T'ang dynasty, printing became fully developed in the Sung. During the early 11th century, printing activities were concentrated in K'ai-feng 开封, Hang-chow 杭州, Chien-an 建安 and Ch'eng-tu 成都, substantiated by socio-political conditions, material availability, and historical traditions. The spread of printing to other places reached full speed in the following two centuries. Records indicate that in the Southern Sung dynasty books were being printed in 173 different locations within the 15 prefectures, with every circuit having some printing activity sponsored either by governmental agencies, academies, monasteries, private families or commercial bookstores. The expansion was equally spectacular in terms of subject varieties. In addition to the Buddhist writings, calendars and other popular reference books, and the Classics, which were already printed in the preceding period, works in all other fields, including history, philosophy, literature, medicine, archaeology, even mathematics and architecture, began to appear in printed form.

Sung printing represents the peak of traditional Chinese print-
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宋代研究文獻速報.


海老澤哲雄：「元代奴婢問題小論」社会文化史学 8: 48-61 (7/1972)


岡田武彦：「朱子の父と師（上）」西南学院大学文理論集 13.2 (3/1973)

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森克己：「「宋経統論文」日本歴史 300: 17-29 (5/1973)

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村上哲明：「柳谷卿記綱論」東北大学教授部紀要 17: 105-134 (2/1973)

SUNG STUDIES DIRECTORY

1973

UA University Affiliation
RI Research Interest
RIP Research in Progress
PUB Recent/Forthcoming Publications

ADLER, Ruth Woods
266 Arch Road, Englewood, New Jersey 07631, U.S.A.
UA Columbia University, Dept. of Far Eastern Languages & Cultures.
RI M.A. Thesis: Tz'u of Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修; Sung poetry (Tz'u); Biochemical aspects of traditional Chinese pharmacological materials.

ARAKI, Kengo
福岡市南區皿山4丁目6-6
UA Kyushu University, Literature Faculty
RI Relationship of Buddhist and Confucian thought from Sung through Ming.
RIP Relationship of Confucian and Buddhist thought in the Sung.
PUB 「性善說と無善無悪説」的文化 9.4: 26-36; 「羅近溪」陽明學大系 6: 279-377; 「費南野」陽明學大系 5: 155-221; 「吳幾民的漫想」九州中國學會報 19: 10-19; forthoming: 「事善善而立善」工学文報について」「費南野的漫想」

AUBIN, Francoise
B.P. 10, 86 Chauvigny, France.
UA Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
RI Yüan history; Mongolian history and society
RIP Sociological study of modern Mongolia; history of Inner Mongolia; history of Shantung at the beginning of 13th century.

BERTHRONG, John H.
6029 S. Kimbark, Chicago, Illinois 60637. U.S.A.
UA Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago
RI Chinese philosophy
RIP A study of Chu Hsi's metaphysics

BIEG, Lutz
6906 Leimen, Albert-Schweitzer-Str. 4, West Germany BRD
UA Sinologisches Seminar der Universität Heidelberg,69 Heidelberg, Hauptstr. 240
RI Sung literature, especially poetry
RIP Remarks on Huang T'ing-chien's poetry in the Sung shih-hua chi, 十詩話輯佚
KAPLAN, Edward H.
History Department, Western Washington State College, Bellingham, Washington, 98225, U.S.A.

KAWAHARA Masahiro
河原正博
1. Hiyoshicho, Kohokuku, Yokohama, Japan

KAWAHARA Yoshirō
河原由郎
Wakahisa 5-21, Fukuoka City 810, Japan

KUSANO Yasushi
高野靖
Faculty of Law and Letters, Kumamoto University, Kurokami-2 chome, Kumamoto, Japan

JOSEPHS, Hilary K.
Department of Religion, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada L8S 4K1

KAGAMISHIMA Gen'ru
鏡島元隆
2325-66 Kamehameha Ave., Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

LAING, Ellen Johnston
2106 Wallingford, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48104, U.S.A.

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LEDDEROSE, Lothar 606 Kyoto-shi, Sakyo-ku, Shimogamo, Hagigakaki Uchicho 30, Japan
UA University of Heidelberg
RI Calligraphy, painting
RIP Mi Fu 畳甫, Calligraphy criticism

LEVENTHAL, Dennis A. #9 Lane 681, Wen Lin Road, Shih Lin, Taipei, 111, Taiwan, R.O.C.
UA Department of Oriental Studies, University of Pennsylvania
RI Neo-Confucianism
PUB Ph.D. thesis: Yang Shih 楊時: A Neo-Confucian Transmitter

LEWIN, Günter Bereich Süd- und Ostasien, Sektion ANW der Karl-Marx-Universität, Leipzig, 701 Leipzig (DDR), Univ.-Hochhaus, 22, Stockwerk
UA Karl-Marx-Universität
RI Economic history of China, Sung and pre-1949
RIP Not dealing with the Sung

LIN Shuen-fu 林舜夫
Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104, U.S.A.
UA Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan
RI Sung literature; modes of traditional Chinese literature; Ming and Ch’ing fiction
RIP Tzu songs after Chiang K’uei 章公: the social background of Yung-wu 英物 songs (songs on objects)

LIU, James T. C. 劉子健 Jones Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 08540, U.S.A.
UA Princeton University, History Department and East Asian Studies Department
RI Political history
RIP Administrative history

Memory of Balazs, 1971/73.

LIU Ts’un-yan 柳存仁
Faculty of Asian Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, A.C.T. 2600, Australia.
UA Department of Chinese, Australian National University
RI Chinese popular fiction and Taoist literature.

PUB “道藏本三聖注道德經會箋” 香港中文大學中國文化研究學報

MA, Laurence J. C. 麥蘭生
Department of Geography, University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, U.S.A.
UA University of Akron
RI Geography and spatial economy of traditional China.

MA Yau-woon 麥幼燾
Department of East Asian Literature, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.
UA Department of East Asian Literature, University of Hawaii
RI Traditional Chinese fiction; bibliography

PUB Forthcoming: “Themes and Characterization in the Lung-t’u kung-an 虛平公案,” T’oung Pao 59 (1973)

MAEDA, Robert J. 麥安達
Department of Fine Arts, Brandeis University
UA Department of Far Eastern Languages and Literatures, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104, U.S.A.
RIP Tz’u 趙: Chinese painting, particularly of Sung period


MCKNIGHT, Brian E. 麥克納奇特
Department of History, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.
UA Department of History, University of Hawaii
RI Law and government; social history.
RIP Study of Sung police and judicial systems

MENŠIKOV, Lev Nikolayevič
USSR 191025, Leningrad. Dmitcovski per., 10, kr. 13

SHIBA Yoshinobu 斯波義信
Toyonaka-higashi Godo-shukusha 136, 183-9 Nobatake, Toyonaka City, Osaka 560, Japan.


SHIIH Hsien-yen 釋學顥
Far Eastern Department, Royal Ontario Museum, 100 Queen’s Park, Toronto 5, Canada.

PUB "Nanga and Zenga" 東海堂文庫: Japanese Paintings in the Finkley Collection (Winsor, Ont.: Art Gallery, 1972); Chinese Art from the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972)

SHIMADA Masao 島田正郎
601 Manion Ichigaya, 82 Ichigaya-yakuboji, Shinjuku, Tokyo, Japan.

PUB "Nanga and Zenga" 東海堂文庫: Japanese Paintings in the Finkley Collection (Winsor, Ont.: Art Gallery, 1972); Chinese Art from the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972)

TAGORE, Amitendranath
6884 Deerhill Drive, Clarkston, Michigan, 48016, U.S.A.


TAKAHATA Tsunenobu 高田正信
日本書道雜誌1972年10月号36号
PUB "Nanga and Zenga" 東海堂文庫: Japanese Paintings in the Finkley Collection (Winsor, Ont.: Art Gallery, 1972); Chinese Art from the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1972)

TILLMAN, Hoyt Cleveland
Box 451, Crestview, Florida 32536, U.S.A.

PUB "The Concept of Li of Li Kou and Its Historical Significance." Shigaku kenkyu Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 5-24; "On correlative thinking of comments on sea tides in the Sung.

TOYAMA Goro 向山剛
255-1, Nerima-Oizumi Neriura-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

PUB "Fan Chung-yen’s Political Thought and Its Historical Significance" 委員: An areal study in the socio-economic development of Chekiang.

UCHIKAWA Kyûhei 内海久平
Nishi-Ochial 4-15-21, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

PUB "Chu Hsi and Controversies in Sung Political Thought." (Ph.D. Thesis)
fields in the Sung.


Von MENDE, Erling
Ostasiatisches Seminar der Universität zu Köln, Köln-Lindenthal, West Germany.
UA Universität zu Köln.
RI Economic history
RIP Irrigation and land reclamation in Kiangsu and Chekiang during the 12th century.

WEST, Stephen H.
Oriental Studies, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona 85721, U.S.A.
UA University of Arizona, Oriental Studies.
RI Chin Dynasty Literature, classical and popular; Chin history; Chinese theater and narrative literature; Sung literature.
RIP Book on Yuan Hao-wen 元好問; Kuei-ch' ieh-chi 归潜志; Yuan Ch'u-hsüan 元曲選; 24 Hu-t'ou-p'ai 虎頭牌.

WILKINSON, E.P.
SOAS, University of London, England.
UA History Department, University of London.
RI Socio-economic history of late imperial China.
RIP Analysis of agricultural changes in late imperial Shantung.

WIXTED, Tim
17 Baker Street, Belmont, Mass. 02178, U.S.A.
UA Oxford University.
RI Chinese literature: poetry, literary theory and literary criticism

YOKOYAMA Isae 横山伊勢雄
5-202 Apt., 5-2 Asahigaoka, Kiyose, Tokyo, Japan.
UA Tokyo Kyoku University, Literature Faculty.
RI Sung Literature.
RIP Sung popular fiction; shih 詩 and t' u 詞 of the literati, particularly Su Tung-p'o; Sung shih-hua 詩話, particularly of the Kiangsi school.


YOSHIWARA Fumiaki 吉村正文
5-4 Ōi-7-chôme, Shinagawa-ku, Tokyo 140, Japan.
UA Department of Philosophy, College of Literature, Chûtô University.
RI Ching-hsüeh 稟學, especially its relation to Political and historical circumstances.
RIP The 雲夢章工詩集 by Sun Fu 孫祜.

YUAN, Patricia Lee 袁李華富
1759 Arbort Place, Fairborn, Ohio 45324, U.S.A.
UA Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Columbia University.
RI Sung poetry and painting.
RIP The T'zu poetry of Su Shih (1037-1101).

ZIMMERMAN, Allen
Department of Chinese, Box 1622, Connecticut College, New London, Connecticut 06320, U.S.A.
UA Connecticut College.
RI Poetry of the late T'ang and Sung dynasties; literary criticism of the Six Dynasties period.
RIP A study of the Northern Sung poet Liu Yung 柳永.

ZURNDORFER, Harriet T.
c/o Suzuki Sama Kata, 12-3, I-chome, Komagome, Toshima-ku, Tokyo 170, Japan.
UA University of California, Berkeley, Department of History.
RI Chinese social and economic history from T'ang through Ming.