NOTES
(Works are usually cited in abbreviated form. For full citations, see abbreviations on page xii and the bibliography.)

Chapter 1

1. According to some classifications of Chinese mythology, the sister of Fu Hsi, called Nu Kua, was numbered among the san-huang of antiquity and so might be considered China's first female ruler. See Ch'en Teng-yüan, Kuo-shih chiu-wen, v. 1, pp. 44-47. The chronology of the reign of the Empress Wu is subject to some dispute, but by correlating the dates of the earliest sources given in the Tsu-chih t'ung-chien k'ao-i, I suggest that her elevation occurred on November 24, 655, that the Chou dynasty was proclaimed on October 16, 690, and that the T'ang restoration occurred on February 23, 705.

On the empress' titles, see THY 3, pp. 23-4, CTS 6:3077:1, HTS 76:3868:2. Citations are to the K'ai-ming edition of 1935, and references take the form of ch'ian: page: section, as above. References to the TCTC are from the Ku-chi ch'uan-she edition (Peking, 1957) which intersperses the k'ao-i and the Hu San-hsing commentary in the text. Other editions noted in the bibliography have been used occasionally for textual verification.

2. One of the best-known novels is the Sui-T'ang yen-i attributed to Lo Kuan-chung in the fifteenth century and revised in a hundred hui by Ch'u Jen-huo, probably about 1681. The chapters pertaining to the empress begin at hui 70. An even more famous example is the Ch'ing work Ching-hua-yüan by Li Ju-chen.

A large erotic literature concerned with the scandals of the Chou court and the empress' "lovers" also exists, many of these works transmitted only in Japan. Professor Herbert Franke of Munich has recently called to my attention two manuscripts found in the Harvard-Yenching Library, the short novel Ju-i-chün ch'uan (anon.) and the Seng Hui-i chapter of the Seng-ni nieh-hai, sometimes attributed to the painter T'ang Yin. A long novel called Wu-hen-t'ien (noted by Sun K'ai-ti, Chung-kuo t'ung-su hsiao-shuo shu-mu, p. 151) does not seem to be pornographic.

Several modern works are rather sensationalistic. Among these are the T'ang-kung erh-shih-ch'ao yen-i by Hsü Hsiao-t'ien and the Li-tai ti-wang hsing-ai mi-wen published under the pseudonym Ling-yün Ko-chu. Some Japanese have been similarly impressed by this aspect of the empress' life, and a representative product is Hayashi Fusao, Chu-goku senya ichiya.

In recent drama, two well-known plays are Kuo Mo-jo's four-act Wu Tsai-tien, first performed in 1959, and T'ien Han's Hsieh Yao-huan, first published in Chu-pen, 1961, no. 7-8, pp. 6-43. Like Wu Han's 'Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," the latter play is an attempt to use an historical figure to criticize the Maoist regime, and it was suppressed in the Cultural Revolution. In recent days the empress' career has once again been widely discussed because of attempts to compare her with Mao's wife Chiang Ch'ing. On this question see Chung-kuo tsa-chih, July 1975, pp. 39-44.

Works in English include Lin Yü-t'ang's imaginative novel Lady Wu, and the late Robert van Gulik's successful series of Judge Dee mysteries based upon Ti Jen-chieh, the most famous of the great ministers of the Empress Wu.


4. See Gardner, Historiography, and several studies in Beasley and Pulleyblank, Historians.


7. For this and some of the following perceptions, I am indebted to an unpublished manuscript by Anne Thurston of Yale University, "Authority, legitimacy and power: A reformulation."


11. I am uncertain here of my translation of the phrase ch'ú-chiu chih ying-mo

12. The reference here is to the legendary Fu Hsi. The phrase runs tang hao-hsi chih ti-shu 當昊羲之歷數 .

13. TCTC 2:3b, CTW 17:10b. At a recent ACLS conference at Asilomar, California in June of 1975 the late Professor Arthur F. Wright suggested that it was unlikely Chung-tsung himself was responsible for this decree. While I tend to agree, I believe that its very promulgation is the important point since it portrayed Tse-t'ien as a legitimate ruler rather than as a usurper.

14. THY 63, p. 1094.

15. TCTC 208, p. 6596.

16. THY 63, pp. 1095-97.

17. Ibid.

18. CTS 6:3075:3.


21. T'ang-shu chih-pi 3:6b-7a and 2:23ab respectively.

22. T'ang-shu chih-pi 4:1ab.

23. HTS 76:3867:3.

24. Kuang never refers to her as anything but t'ai-hou, reporting the usurpation of 690 in the following terms: "The empress dowager accepted [k'o] [the title] huang-ti and the request of the ministers [to establish the Chou]." TCTC 204, p. 6467.

25. For Chu Hsi's listing of the dynasties he considered to be legitimate, see his introduction to the Chih-yuan k'ao-ting t'ung-chien kang-mu. The kang-mu follows Shen Chi-ch'i's suggestion and, considering Chung-tsung to be the legitimate monarch, lists his whereabouts in each year of the Chou before outlining the history of the period.

26. See Note 1 to this chapter and Yang, Excursiones, pp. 27-44. This article, entitled "Female rulers in ancient China," appeared originally in HJAS 23 (1960-61), pp. 47-61.

27. From the "Speech at Mu." See Legge, Shoo King, pp. 302-303.


30. On this term see Pan Ku, Former Han, v. 1, p. 192, n. 1.

31. Chi, Han Social Structure, pp. 73-74.


33. San-kuo chih, Wei-chih 2:0924:2. The edict uses the term fu-cheng, "aid in government."
34. Yang, *Excursions*, pp. 50 ff. The cases in which female regency seems to have been accepted followed closely the Han precedents: the extreme youth of the heir, the illness or inability of a reigning emperor to manage government, and the issue of an edict of permission from a dying emperor.


36. Although most studies contrasting the northern and southern dynasties remark on the relative freedom of women in the North, a monograph on the subject would be most welcome. Teng, *Family Instructions*, p. 19, translates an observation of the late sixth century: "In the city of Yeh it was the custom for women to handle all family affairs, to demand justice and straighten out legal disputes, to make calls and curry favor with the powerful. They filled the streets with their carriages... begged official posts for their sons and made complaints about injustice done to their husbands. Were these customs handed down from the T'o-pa Wei dynasty?" The wife of Sui Wen-ti (*Sui-shu* 36:2457:2), neé Tu-ku, was perhaps typical of this sort of woman and was considered by contemporaries to be almost a partner in her husband's government. On the first T'ang empresses, see *CTS* 51:3278:4 ff.


40. The full text is found in *WYH* 646:11b-12b and *CTW* 199:1a-2a.

41. See, for instance, *CTS* 6:3077:1 and the examples from all three works cited in Appendix A. Several others are pointed out in the text.

42. Yüan Shu entitles *chüan* 30 of his *T'ung-chien chi-shih* pen-mo "The Calamity of the Empresses Wu and Wei" and, as earlier noted, Chu Hsi portrays her as an ambitious and unscrupulous usurper in the *kang-mu*. Wang Fu-chih, in *Tu t'ung-chien lun*, *chüan* 31, details the weakness and stupidity of Kao-tsung, impugns the motives of the Empress Wu in all her acts, expresses outrage at her executions, and even refuses to credit her with such well-known innovations as the palace examination. Fang Hsiao-ju, in what seems to be the prevailing view in the Ming, exhibits a similar attitude in such works as his *Haün-chih chai-cti*, *chüan* 5.

Chao I seems to hold a fairly balanced view of the empress both in his *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao*, *chüan* 41, and in his *Nien-erh-shih cha-cti* where *chüan* 19 contains two essays, one condemning her excessive punishments and the other praising her ability to accept remonstrance and to use the best possible men in her administration. In *chüan* 3 of the latter work, however, he compares her to the Han Empress Lü and states unequivocally that from antiquity, her evil was unparalleled. Wang Ming-sheng, in the *Shih-ch'i-chih shang-chiao* reflects the hostile attitude of the T'ang official histories.

43. In her own time, of course, the empress did not lack defenders, and talented literati like Li Chiao, Ch'en Tzu-ang and the poet Shen Ch'üan-ch'i turned their considerable skills to the praising of her reign. Generally, however, these were conventional, commissioned works and of little historiographical importance.

The first important defense of the empress as a ruler came from Lu Chih, one of the most important of T'ang Te-tsung's ministers. See *CTS* 139:3453:4 and *HTS* 157:4015:3. His political writings are favorable to her, admiring her skillful use of officials and her ability to hold the support of the people. See, for instance, *Lu-hsiaien-kung* ch'üan-ch'i, *chüan* 7 (*Ch'ing hsiü t'ai-sheng* ch'ang-kwuan chü-chien shu-li chuang). Another noted T'ang figure, Li Chiang (*CTS* 164:3056:1
and HES 152:4007:3) holds a similar view. See Li hsiang-kuo lun-shih chi, chüan 299 hsia.

In the Sung, the only figure of note who seems to have been favorably disposed was Hung Mai whose biography is to be found in Sung-shih 373:5460:3. His writings are of great range and make frequent reference to the Empress Wu and developments of her reign. While he censures her for the rise of supernumerary officials (Jung-ch'i san-pi, chüan 7), his wider view as stated in the Jung-ch'i hsii-pi is that as a ruler she was the equal of Han Wu-t'i.

The Ming scholar Li Chih whose career is outlined in Ming-shih 221:7622:3, suggested that no recent ruler had measured up to her standard in the ability either to know men or to value talent. He praised the internal peace of her reign and considered her generally a model for subsequent ages. See Li Chih ts'ang-shu, chüan 48.

44. Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Hun-yin chi-t'uan," pp. 33-51.
45. See Ts'en, Sui T'ang shih, chapter 13; and Lü, Sui T'ang Wu-tai shih, v. 1, pp. 126-149.
46. These works are Lü Chen-yü, Chien-ming Chung-kuo t'ung-shih; Ch'ien Pot- tsan et al., Chung-kuo li-shih kai-yao; and Shang Yüeh et al., Chung-kuo li-shih kang-yao, especially pp. 128-132. Both Professors Lü and Ch'ien have written separate articles on the empress.
47. See the fifty-page appendix to Kuo Mo-jo's Wu Tse-t'ien in the second edition (1963) which introduces a good deal of new information and concludes that the empress' reign was perhaps the high point of the T'ang and the keystone of the dynasty's greatness. Yang Chih-chiu, Sui-T'ang summarizes favorable comments on the empress since Chao I and portrays the Chou as an era of great prosperity and rapid development in agriculture, handicrafts, textiles and water control. Wu Han, a central figure early in the Maoist cultural revolution, wrote about the empress in 1959. His paper, reproduced in his Teng-hsia chi, pp. 140 ff., is a well-argued if poorly documented apology dismissing the standard charges against her as little more than the bias of traditional historiography, and praising the use of her reign by influential scholars like Fan Wen-lan to discredit the Kuominthang. The reference here is to Fan's pioneering survey Chung-kuo t'ung-shih chien-pien.
48. Wu Tse, "Kuan-yü Wu Tse-t'ien," and "Lun T'ang-t'ai ch'ien-ch'i."
49. These are The Empress Wu by Fitzgerald, Wu Tse-t'ien by Li T'ang, and Sokuten Bukõ by Toyama Gunji.

Chapter 2
1. CTS 6:3075:3, HES 76:3871:1 and 4:3640:3. A good deal of information is also to be found in the annals of Kao-tsun, CTS 4:3070:4, and HES 3:3638:3. All date from the Sung and their composition is outlined by Kuo Pai-kung in Sung seu-ta-shu k'ao.
2. The principal compilations of this kind, in addition to the Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei, are the T'ai-p'ing kung-chi and the T'ai-p'ing yü-lan. All date from the Sung and their composition is outlined by Kuo Pai-kung in Sung seu-ta-shu k'ao.
3. The chief anecdotal sources used are:
   (a) Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-t'ai by Chang Cho dating from the early eighth century.
   (b) Feng-shih wen-chien chi by Feng Yen dating from about 800.
   (c) Ta T'ang hsii-yü by Liu Su, composed 807.
   (d) Liu pin-k'o hai-hua lu by Wei Hsüan, composed 856.
   (e) T'ang ch'iin-yen by Wang Ting-pao, ca. 955.
   (f) Nan-pu hsii-shu by Ch'ien I, composed between 1008 and 1016.
Notes to pages 6-9

(g) T'ang yü-lin by Wang Tang, ca. 1100.

Details on several of these works may be found in des Rotours, Examsens.

4. The empress' writings extant today constitute only a small proportion of those attributed to her in the various bibliographies. Her official writings are found in such works as the WYH and TTCLC and are conveniently collected in CTW 95:4a ff., T'ang-wen shih-i 8:19a ff. and T'ang-wen hsiu-shih 1:3b ff. A number of her surviving poems are found in Ch'üan T'ang-shih 5:51b ff.

The bibliographical sections of the HTS (chüan 57-60) list no fewer than twenty-three works issued under her name and comprising in all almost 700 chüan. Among these were such large-scale compilations as the Kao-tsung shih-lu (Veritable Records of Kao-tsung), Ch'üi-kung chi (Collected Writings of the Ch'üi-kung Period) and Lieh-nü chüan (Biographies of Eminent Women), each of them at least 100 chüan in length. Most commentators acknowledge that the majority of the works ascribed to the empress were in fact composed by the so-called North Gate Scholars, but their scope and range is indicative of her demonstrated literary interests and also of her use of Confucianism for legitimizing purposes.

5. On T'ai-tsung's attempts to manipulate the record, see Wechsler, Mirror, pp. 19 ff.

On several occasions Empress Wu revealed a concern with her place in history, for instance when she told Ti Jen-chieh that she wanted her own dynasty to enjoy a reputation equal to that of the Han. See CTS 89:3357:2. Conspicuous examples of her overt influence upon the historical process are cited throughout the text, and both Wu Ching and Liu Chih-chi had occasion to complain of the low standard of historiography in her period of power. During the Chou, in 702 and 703, memorials from Liu Yün-chi and Chu Ching-tse emphasized the great importance of true records, obliquely criticizing the bias of contemporary compilations. On these criticisms, see CTS 190 chüan:3582:1 and HTS 202:4101:1 for Liu and CTS 90:3353:3 and HTS 115:3942:3 for Chu. The memorials are abstracted in THY 63, pp. 1100-1.

6. CTW 11:25b. The edict comments on the prominence of the Wu clan and the "talent and conduct" of the empress which led to her selection for the harem. Her behavior in the palace is said to have won her renown and, contrary to all other evidence, she is said to have gotten along well with the other palace women. The edict further implies by the use of the term hsien-ts' u that Wu served Kao-tsung's mother rather than his father and that it was bestowed upon him by his father (sheng-ch' ing). This was equivalent to making her empress (t'ung-cheng-chüan). Needless to say, much of this was untrue.

7. Pulleyblank, in "Kaoyi," outlines the compilation of the shih-lu and kuo-shih of the seventh and early eighth century and identifies some of the figures involved.

8. In Background, pp. 3-5, and Appendix A of this work.


10. See, for instance, Appendix A, example 1, where the shih-lu identified is attributed to Wu Ching.

11. On Tsung, see CTS 92:3365:4. He is said to be the inventor of the new characters the empress promulgated shortly before her usurpation. His work was in eighteen chüan.

12. THY 63, p. 1094, TFYK 554:17a. The HTS, the Shih-t'ung 12:30a, and the Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu chin-shih-lu all mention this work. It was in twenty chüan and a decade later was revised in thirty chüan by Wu Ching and Liu Chih-chi.
According to the k'ao-i 8:16a, ta-yeh 9, it was this revised version that was used by Ssu-ma Kuang.

13. See THY 63, p. 1098 and TFYK 556:17a. Liu, in his well-known letter of resignation (Shih-tung 20:10a-15b), complained that an official historian was for the most part compelled to follow the directions of his supervisor in what he wrote.

14. On the historiographical standards of Liu Chih-chi, see Beasley and Pulleyblank, Historians, pp. 135-36 and note, for instance, the k'ao-i notice for t'ien-shou, second month in TCTC 204, p. 6463, where the shih-lu posits a natural death for a minister said elsewhere to have been executed on the empress' order.

15. On Hsü, see CTS 82:3342:4 and HTS 223 shang:4163:1.

16. Wechsler, Mirror, p. 25n. See also Pulleyblank, "Kaoyih" for some brief remarks on the composition of T'ai-tsung's shih-lu. The CTS mentions the shih-lu both of Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung in 40 chüan authored by Fang Hsüan-ling, and a second shih-lu in 40 chüan for T'ai-tsung, authored by his brother-in-law Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi. For Kao-tsung there are two listings: one in 30 chüan by Hsü Ching-tsung and one in 100 chüan under the name of Empress Wu.

The HTS notice offers more information, listing a Kao-tsu shih-lu by Ching Po (CTS 189 shang:3576:2, HTS 198:4091:4) under Fang's supervision, and suggests that is was revised by Hsü Ching-tsung. Another work by Ching and supervised by Fang is the Chin-shang shih-lu which clearly refers to T'ai-tsung (THY 63, p. 1092). This seems to have been supplemented in 650 by Wu-chi's additional 20 chüan, becoming the Chen-kuan shih-lu in 40 chüan (THY, loc. cit., and TFYK 554:30a and 556:12a). The HTS is the only source to mention a 30-chüan Huang-ti shih-lu by Hsü Ching-tsung. This work seems to have been used by Ssu-ma Kuang (see next sentence in text) and, if so, it must have been used by the dynastic historians as well.

17. K'ao-i 8:10b, ta-yeh 12/12.

18. See note 16.

19. See note 16.

20. See, in addition to his biographies mentioned in note 15, THY 64, pp. 1103-4, and Wechsler, Mirror, p. 25.

21. THY 63, pp. 1092-3. Interestingly, Kao-tsung refers specifically to incidents in the kuo-shih prior to 649, strengthening my conjecture that Hsü Ching-tsung was largely responsible for our knowledge of the history of this period.

22. See Appendix A.

23. See, for instance, the remarks of Shen Chi-ch'i, a compiler of the kuo-shih in 780, THY 63, pp. 1095 ff.


4. I am not certain of the sense of the phrase which runs yin meng ku-chiēh 因蒙顧撫. The parallel HTS passage runs yin-pēi ku-chiēh 因被顧撫.

5. According to TCTC 183, p. 5732, Wu Shih-huo was occupying this post in 617, and TFKY 345:22a gives a more specific chronology, indicating that he was appointed at the time of Kao-tsu's attack on Hsi-ho chirin which would mean the sixth lunar month. See also TCTC 184, p. 5739 and Nunome, Zui Tōshi kenkyū, pp. 117 ff. The post of ssu-k'ai was in charge of armor, weapons, etc. See des Rotours, Fonctionnaires, v. 2, p. 511.

6. For a good discussion of fu-jui, see a paper recently presented by Anna Seidel to the ACLS conference on legitimation at Asilomar in June of 1975. The paper is called "Dynastic treasures and Taoist lu registers."

7. Biographies are found in CTS 58:3295:1 and HTS 90:3896:1 for Liu, and in CTS 194 shang:3596:3 and HTS 105:3923:1 for Ch'ang-sun.

8. Neither of them has a biography. From the description of the incident found in TCTC 183, pp. 5733 ff. we know that Wang Wei was deputy liu-shou at the time and inferior, therefore, only to Kao-tsu. Both he and Kao were executed in 617.

9. No biography.

10. Another name for the ssu-k'ai post mentioned in note 5.

11. On the honorific post of kuang-lu ta-fu, see Fonctionnaires, v. 1, p. 35. Both the Pei and the HTS call the dukedom I-yuan, but I am unable to verify that such a geographical designation existed. On the rank of chirin-kuang, see Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 45 and 451.

12. That is, president of the Board of Public Works, a position of the third rank, second grade. The Pei adds that the real revenues (shih-shih feng) of 800 households were awarded with the fiefdom.

13. On the position of tu-tu or governor-general, see Fonctionnaires, v. 2, pp. 668 and 675 ff. Ching-chou was 1730 li from the capital.

14. President of the Board of Rites. The Pei adds that T'ai-tsung expressed great sorrow at this death and suggested that he be called "loyal and filial."

15. CTS 58:3295:4. The biography is in HTS 206:4109:2 and the genealogy in HTS 74 shang:3849:3. The latter is summarized without significant alteration in Shen Ping-chen, Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-pien, n. 3, p. 7575 (K'ai-ming ed.).

16. Chapter 5 offers several observations on contemporary beliefs about heredity. We might also note in this regard the remark of Sui Yang-ti, "From the house of a general must come a general, and from the house of a minister, a minister." (TCTC 182, p. 5672). The suggestion that Wu Shih-huo was of rather obscure origin and mediocre ability was also, therefore, a comment on his offspring.

17. Li Chiao (CTS 94:3368:1 and HTS 123:3957:4) was an aristocrat from one of the great lineages of Chao-chou. At a precocious age he passed the chin-shih examination and showed a great deal both of literary and administrative talent early in his career. The collected works mentioned in his biographies are no longer extant, but a large number of his own memorials and those he wrote for members of the Wu clan still survive. See CFW 242 to 250. He seems to have been a highly skilled politician and in spite of his close identification in the Chou with the Chang brothers, he survived their fall with only a temporary demotion to the provinces.
His major positions were in the Chancellery, Secretariat, and History Office, and though some of his memorials are sycophantic, there are also many severe remonstrances and suggestions for administrative improvements. He was a skilled politician and the TFYK preserves a number of notices which show that his literary talents were widely recognized. See 551:5b as well as 460:3a, 671:25a, and 327:24a.

18. The charge was made by several tsai-hsiang in the course of the controversy surrounding her elevation and was raised again during the rebellion of Li Ching-yeh. These instances are outlined in the text.

19. T'ai-p'ing kung-chi 137:4b. The local history T'ai-yuan shih-chi is attributed to Li Chang (CTS 164:3506:4 and HTS 152:4008:3) and was 14 ch'üan in length. Li was posted in T'ai-yuan sometime between 847 and 860 to that his account is some 250 years after the fact. Because of its almost identical wording, an article on Shih-huo in Wei Hsin-tzu, Shu-pen fen-men kuo-chin lei-shih, 15:10ab, seems also to be based on Li's work.

20. The post of cheng was of the seventh rank, third class, too low to confer the yin privilege of facilitated bureaucratic entry upon any of Wu Hua's sons. Since the Pei also points out that he died before Wen-ti, it seems logical to conclude that the family resided in Loyang sometime between 589 and 605.

21. As I shall suggest in Chapter 5, the Wu lineage was probably not included in the carefully researched Shih-tsu chih of T'ai-tsung's reign and was first published, though in abbreviated form, in the Hsing-shih lu of 659. It was not until Kao-tsung's death, and in two stages, that the empress began to embellish her genealogy in an effort to win acceptance and bolster her legitimization in an age where genealogy retained a good deal of importance.

In 684, just after her seizure of the regency, she erected ancestral temples for five generations of her ancestors and bestowed posthumous honors on them (HTS 75:3867:2 and TCTC 203, p. 6422). Included at this time were:

(a) Wu K'o-chi who was said to have held the post of san-ch'i ch'ang-shih in the T'o-pa Wei. His existence is confirmed in no other source, though the HTS treatise adds the information that he held the positions of ta-chung-cheng su-t'u and yüeh-wang ch'ang-shih and inherited the title of shou-yang kung. His wife was of the P'ei clan, perhaps the eminent Ho-tung lineage examined by Yano Chikara, "Kizoku seiji."

(b) His son Chü-ch'ang held the position of Yin-chou suu-ma during the Ch'i (550-577), succeeded to the ducal title, and was posthumously made t'ai-wei. The HTS adds that he was sometime chen-yuan chiang-chün, the first military post in the family. Chü-ch'ang has no biography in the dynastic history, but his existence is mentioned by Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) in his Lung-ch'eng lu 72:9a. Nunome, Zui Toshi, p. 142, also accepts the truth of this part of the genealogy. Chü-ch'ang's wife was of the Liu clan. It is of some importance to notice the Wu identification with the Ch'i dynasty, a fact which later contributed to the empress' acceptance by the great northeastern clans.

(c) The family fortunes in the later Chou seem to have taken a turn for the worse. Chü-ch'ang's son Chien did not succeed to his father's rank and held only the low military post of ts'an-chün. The HTS mentions a posthumous award of prefect of Ch'i-chou. His wife's maiden name was Sung, and it is interesting to note that the Wu clan, unlike the contemporary local Chinese elite, seems to have avoided marriage with foreign surnames.

(d) Of Wu Hua the HTS says that in addition to his cheng position at Loyang, he was posthumously awarded the rank of Ping-chou prefect, further confirming the family connection with that area. His wife was of the Chao clan.
(e) Wu Shih-huo, his fourth son, was entitled t'ai-shih and Prince of Wei in 684.

After a thorough search for collaborating evidence to establish the truth of the genealogy, I am inclined to believe that it was a true record. It was promulgated, after all, at a time when claims could easily have been checked and when there existed a number of potential opponents who must have been eager to prove them false. The empress was in no position to risk public ridicule at this stage of her career and the genealogy therefore does not claim too much.

In the second stage of genealogical publication, four days after the proclamation of the Chou, Wu Shih-huo was posthumously entitled emperor (T'ai-tsu hsiao-ming kao huan-ti). At this time a sixth-generation ancestor, Wu Hsia-shih, said to have been duke of Chin-yang during the Wei, was added to the genealogical list. While this award strengthens the family connection with the Wen-shui area, it seems strange that he went unmentioned in 684 even though only five ancestral temples were established, and I am reluctant to accept the claim. TCTC 204, p. 6467 and HES 76:3867:4 point out that at this time the progenitors of the clan were identified as King Wen of Chou and his son Wu. See Shih-chi 4:13:2 and 4:13:3. This was a perfectly conventional move paralleling the T'ang claim of descent from Lao Tzu and might also be seen as a bid for Confucian support in her new dynasty.

In sum, we have complete certainty in the Wu genealogy only to the empress' paternal grandfather but a high likelihood of truth to the fifth generation.

On the distaff side, the Yang clan of the empress' mother was divided into five branches, and hers, the Kuan-wang, was the second. It took its name from Yang Hung (Sui-shu 43:2469:1) who was tsu-tsu (son of paternal male third cousin) to Sui Wen-ti. Hung held numerous posts during the Sui until he aroused the jealousy of Yang-ti and is classified as one of the "four eminents" of the dynasty. His younger brother Ta (Sui-shu 43:2469:4) was the maternal grandfather of the Empress Wu and served as chief minister (na-yen) under Yang-ti. He died in a military campaign, probably in 616, leaving a son and daughter, the empress' mother. Her own background is outlined in Ta Chou wu-shang hsiao-ming kao huang-hou pei-ming, CTW 239:2a, by Wu San-ssu. The inscription dates probably from 693 when she received the title. Judging by the pei-ming, which accords with TCTC 201, p. 6369 and disagrees with CTS 183:3553:2, she lived from 579 to 670. There is no record of an earlier marriage, though she was in her thirties when her father died.

22. See Chapter 5.

23. Summarizing the evidence from earlier notes, it seems that the clan held a fiefdom until the sixth century and even after that maintained its landowning character and military tradition. Numome, Zui Toshi, p. 144, concludes without citing evidence that the Wu could be numbered among the hao-tsu or magnate clans.

On the matter of their local prominence, some interesting evidence has recently come to light through one of the Tunhuang manuscripts from the Peking collection. This is wei 79 (discussed further in Chapter 5) and is, in brief, a list of clans prominent in T'ang times in the various prefectures of the empire. This list has been studied by several scholars, and an excellent review of the literature on it and related documents is found in Johnson, Medieval Chinese Oligarchy, pp. 62-88. Johnson demonstrates a connection between this list and one of similar nature found in the Sung geography T'ai-p'ing huan-yu chi and presented in Ikeda, "Todai no gumbō hyō," pp. 320-323. Leaving aside the question of the validity of the relationship, an interesting concordance appears in
the parallel sections on Ping-chou. Wei 79, which has several lacunae, runs as follows:

The T'ai-p'ing huan-yu chi says:

While the nature of the connection between the two sources makes the evidence suggestive rather than conclusive, the similarity is striking and the same is true when other parts of the list are compared. The possibility that the empress' own prominence caused the inclusion of her clan in the list can be discounted since this did not happen in the case of great contemporaries like Ma Chou, Wei Cheng, Ti Jen-chieh and Chang Yüeh. At the very least, the concordance of the two lists strongly supports other evidence of the clan's local importance.

24. WYYH 875:36. On the T'ang p'i-chao system of appointment see Tonami, "Chüsei." Tsukiyama, Tōdai, pp. 209 ff. contains several relevant but less coherent remarks. Although the three principal literary examinations were established in the Sui (T'ang yu-ting 8:12b and T'ang shih-yen 1:3b), all our evidence shows that only a minute proportion of officials took a degree and that appointment was based principally on the yin privilege, on recommendation and p'i-chao.

25. Ibid. The governor was Yang Liang, and his biography (Sui-shu 45:2471:3 and Pei-shih 71:2971:2) places him in Ping-chou in 597. Nunome, Zui-Tōshi, p. 128, lists Shih-huo among six early adherents of the T'ang who had held Sui office.

26. WYYH 875:4a. Yang Su's biography (Sui-shu 48:2475:2 and Pei-shih 41:2882:2) contains no mention of the incident. The Empress Wu, at the urging of the Chang brothers, was to ban Yang Su's descendants from capital office. See TTCLC 114:7b and CTW 95:12a. This perhaps supports the truth of the Pei story.

27. WYYH 875:4b-5a which erroneously calls the book Ku-chin tien-yao. Interestingly, CTs and TCTC accept the belief that the book was given to the emperor while HTS does not mention the incident. The Shih-ch'i-shih shang-chiao 86:9ab specifically rejects it.


29. WYYH 875:5b.
30. WYYH 875:6a.
31. Ibid. On Li Mi, see Sui-shu 70:2511:4, Pei-shih 60:2939:4, CTs 53:3283:2, and HTS 84:3886:4. See also the numerous references in Bingham, Founding.
32. WYYH 875:6a.
33. WYYH 875:6ab.
34. Kao-tsu's campaign here against the rebel Li Fei is well documented, but no source mentions the participation of Shih-huo.
35. WYYH 875:6b. Omens in the form of dreams were of great importance at the time. See, for instance, the biography of Lü Ts'ai in CTs 79:3338:4 and HTS 107:3926:4. Fu Yu-i (CTS 186 shang:3564:4 and HTS 223 shang:4163:4) committed suicide because of his dream of imperium. The TFYK account of the dream (766:12b) does not suggest that Shih-huo touched the heavens.
36. WYYH 875:6a-7b.
37. WYYH 875:7a.
38. WYYH 875:7b. The posts were nei-shih-ling and na-yen.
39. Ibid.
41. *TFYK* 626:7b and 627:6a. According to Yen Keng-wang, T'ang p'u-shang ch'eng-lang piao, v. 1, pp. 222-3, Shih-huo held the board presidency from 620 to 624 or 625 when he was commissioned to Yang-chou.

Both edicts seem to date from early 620 since the second gives his rank as yu-hsiang su-wei and the Pei records that he held the post early in the year. The edict mentions that although Shih-huo had lost both his wife and two sons, he had not reported [and asked for a leave of absence] so that he could be regarded as a model.

Another index of Kao-tsu's regard is the fact that Shih-huo was among fourteen men granted the extraordinary privilege of amnesty-in-advance in 618. See *MTS* 88:3893:2, biography of P'ei Chi.

42. *WYHY* 875:10a.

43. Shih-huo's first wife was of the Hsiang-li clan, the first foreign surname to appear in the family tree. On the surname, see *Dai kansa jiten* 8, p. 8315.

His second marriage into a clan so much more exalted than his own has always been a puzzle to historians. Ch'en Yin-k'ao in "Li-T'ang," pp. 553-6, is forced to claim that Shih-huo's timber dealings brought him into contact with Yang Ta who was charged with a number of building projects in Loyang. The explanation in the Pei, confirmed in *TFYK* 853:16a, is much more plausible. In it Kao-tsu suggests to Shih-huo that he take a new wife and recommends Madame Yang as a virtuous and intelligent woman. He is said to have delegated the Kuei-yang princess to serve as go-between, and he offered to have the state bear the marriage expenses. The Pei, exaggerating, places Kao-tsu in the role of go-between.

The Kuei-yang princess, incidentally, was married to Yang Shih-tao, son of Yang Hsiung, and therefore first cousin of the bride. Her choice shows the difficulty of marriage between social unequals in the T'ang. Nunome, *Zui-Toshi*, pp. 314-69 presents a full account of the marriage connections between the imperial clans of the Sui and T'ang.

On the marriage, see also *CTW* 239:10ab.

44. *WYHY* 875:8ab.

45. *WYHY* 875:9a. On Yang-chou, see *CTS* 40:3223:1, *MTS* 41:3727:2, and *THY* 71, p. 1270, and on Fu Kung-shih, see *CTS* 56:3920:3 and *MTS* 87:3891:4. According to the dating in the *TCTC* 190, pp. 5970-71, the appointment would have been made just after the third month of 624.

Kuo Mo-jo conjectures that Shih-huo was also posted to Li-chou in this year since he believes the empress was born here and accepts the traditional date of 624. See note 50. This seems unlikely since *TFYK* 671:24a and the Pei both place him in the capital prior to his appointment, and we know that he remained in this post for more than a year. See also *TFYK* 690:19a.

46. *TFYK* 677:21b and *WYHY* loc. cit.

47. On the rebellion, see *TCTC* 192, pp. 6032 and 6039. It occurred at the end of 627.


48. *WYHY* 875:9b.

49. *WYHY* 875:10a. In addition to his post as governor-general of Ching-chou, he is said to have been charged with the military affairs of six additional prefectures. The Pei exaggerates the posting, calling it ta-tu-fu, but its additional assertion that it was accompanied by T'ai-tsung's commendation is confirmed by *TFYK* 681:17b and *T'ang-wen shih-i* 1:7b.
50. The time and place of Empress Wu's birth have been a perplexing problem since primary sources give three different dates. See the first example in Appendix A. If she was born in 623, 624 or 625, then she would have been born either in Ch'ang-an or in Yang-chou where her father was posted in those years.

Kuo Mo-jo suggests in the appendix to Wu Tse-t'ien, pp. 152-59 and in an article in Kuang-ming jih-pao, September 26, 1962 that her birthplace was Li-chou. He bases this belief on a poem by Li I-shan, found in CTSih 20:47a and T'ang-jen pa-chia shih 2:10a, in which Li-chou is given as the birthplace of the "Golden Wheel," a title used by the empress during the Chou. I have found additional confirmation for the belief in Yu-ch'i sheng shih chien-chou by the Ch'ing scholar Feng Hao (2:30b-31a). Feng quotes Hu Chen-hsiang, a Ming expert on T'ang literature.

Kuo Mo-jo goes on to mention a 1955 archeological expedition to the area (see K'ao-ku, July 1960, pp. 53-57) which excavated a stele identified by the leader of the expedition, Chang Ming-shan, as belonging to a temple built to commemorate the empress in her birthplace. Professor Chang cites other manifestations of the belief, among them certain place names and an annual festival on the twenty-third of the first lunar month, supposedly in celebration of her birthday.

The stele contains some 800 characters, and Kuo quite convincingly establishes its authenticity (Wu Tse-t'ien, pp. 135-39). There are several lacunae, three of them occurring in the key passage which Kuo reconstructs to form a specific statement that the empress was born in Li-chou. His case is convincing.

The question of birthdate now arises. I am not persuaded by Kuo's conjecture that Shih-huo was posted to Li-chou in 624 because his movements that year are accounted for, and because the stele says the event referred to occurred when he was tu-tu. This can be no earlier than 627. Kuo also calls attention to an anecdote in which the soothsayer Yuan T'ien-kang (CTS 191:3590:2 and HTS 206:4106:1) predicts the empress' imperium while she was still an infant in the care of her nurse. Even in its most detailed form, TFYK 860:27a and T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 224:2b, the story is too vague to be dated and says only that Yuan stopped in Li-chou on his way to the capital at the request of Madame Yang. The T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi, chuan 221, does mention a trip to the capital but in 632. I have no doubt that the incident is authentic, but I would use it rather to demonstrate that the empress was born later than 624.

What seems to emerge here is that the empress' age was generally unknown even to contemporaries. Since I find convincing the evidence that Li-chou was her birthplace, I believe she was born either in 627 or 628, making her approximately the same age as Kao-tsung.

51. WYYH 875:10ab.
52. WYYH 875:10b ff.
53. See note 50.
54. See note 21.
55. See Appendix A, example 1.
56. TCTC 194, pp. 6121-22; and see Wechsler, Mirror, p. 137.
57. HTS 76:3867:1. The same source also says that the future empress was highly pleased at her summons to the harem even though the chances of advancement were slim. Interestingly, the CTS does not mention the incident.
58. T'ai-tsung had a large harem whose organization is outlined in CTS 51:3278:3 and THY 3, pp. 32-33. There were nine ts'ai-jen, all of the fifth rank. See also TCTC 199, p. 6284. T'ai-tsung ultimately had fourteen sons, of whom his wife bore three, and twenty-one daughters. See CTS 76:3331:1 and Nunome,
Zui-Toshi, pp. 341-57.

59. Following the lead of Ch'en, "Hun-yin chi-tuan," several scholars have demonstrated the primacy of political concerns in the choice of imperial concubines in the T'ang. See especially Nunome, Zui-Toshi, pp. 314-67. On these grounds Wu's choice is rather puzzling since she was the orphaned daughter of a man with no enduring influence and T'ai-tsung, moreover, had already three concubines of the Yang surname. Kuo Mo-jo, Wu Tse-t'ien, pp. 117 ff., is eloquent on the subject of her beauty, but it is difficult to find contemporary collaboration that she was outstanding.

My own explanation is based on a notice in HTS 80:3877:3 "The mother of Ming, prince of Ts'ao, was originally the concubine of [T'ai-tsung's executed brother] the prince of Ch'ao. T'ai-tsung 'favored' her and wanted to make her [his] empress. Wei Cheng remonstrated . . . and he gave up the plan." CTS 62:3303:1 identifies the lady as the niece of Yang Shih-tao. This made her a same-generation cousin of Wu. Other evidence (T'ang-chien 6, pp. 51-2) suggests the favor of the Yang concubine dates from the late 630s.

If this was the case and Wu came to T'ai-tsung's attention through her cousin, her entry into the harem was unlikely to have occurred in 637 as Ssu-ma Kuang dates it. She was fourteen sui at her entry so that, if my suggested birth-date is correct, the event probably occurred in 640. While the element of speculation in this chronology is great, I believe that it is warranted by the numerous contradictions in the sources.

60. TCTC 199, pp. 6259-60. The prophecy surfaced because of an astrological configuration which presaged the rule of a woman, and because of a popular tradition that the T'ang would be overthrown after three generations by a female. Although T'ai-tsung managed to have the suspected threat, a general whose nickname as a child had been "Fifth Lady," executed, he was told that he could not cheat destiny and that although the female ruler would destroy most of the T'ang clan, she would be merciful in her old age. It is interesting to note that the commentary on the Great Cloud Sutra refers to this tradition.

61. TCTC 199, p. 6267. T'ai-tsung's Yü-hua Palace seems also to have had quarters in it for the crown prince (TCTC 198, p. 6253 and HTS 3:3638:3).

62. The origin of the story may be the 684 polemic of Lo Pin-wang quoted earlier. The standard histories are silent on the matter and TCTC 199, p. 6284, simply says that she "pleased" Kao-tsung when he came to wait on his father.

63. See CTS 6:3075:3, HTS 76:3867:1, TCTC 199, p. 6284, THY 3, p. 23, and Ch'ang-an ohih 9, p. 115. The major discrepancy in the sources lies in the name of the convent, with HTS and Ch'ang-an ohih calling it An-yeh, and the others the Kan-yeh. I am unable to verify the existence of the latter in any of the nine sources indexed by Hiraoka and Imai in Chōan to Rakugō. Hu San-hsing in TCTC, loc. cit. suggests that Ssu-ma Kuang is in error. Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 17-19, gives an account of the incident, using the wrong name.

64. A story given in all the primary sources. The concubine Hsiao was one of the three highest consorts, placed directly below the empress in the first rank.

65. The question is fully treated by Li Shu-t'ung, T'ang-shih k'ao-pien, pp. 310-335. Professor Li advances five reasons which, he believes, render invalid the traditional account. These are given below with my comments interpolated.

(a) The account has a number of inconsistencies of which the most important is the contention that Kao-tsung visited the convent on the "taboo day" (chi-jih). This would be the third day of the fifth month in 650, and he was not in the capital at the time.

Here Professor Li is assuming that it is T'ai-tsung's "taboo day" which
is meant. There were, however, several of these days each year to commemorate both emperors and empresses. *THY* 23, pp. 448 ff. I am unable to verify that Kao-tsung was out of the capital at this time.

(b) *HIS* 76:3867:1, the only source to date Wu's return to the palace, places it "at the end of *ohen-kuan* [627-650]." If she had taken the tonsure, it would require two years for her hair to grow out to the customary length for concubines.

This seems unconvincing since the shaving of the head accompanied final vows, and I am not certain that former concubines actually became fullfledged nuns. The form of the tonsure in T'ang times may not have meant a complete shaving of the head.

(c) Kao-tsung's decree of 656 releasing a number of former concubines from the palace (*CTW* 12:1a) indicates that it was the older consorts who entered the convent. It is therefore unlikely that Wu went.

While I agree that all concubines were not necessarily forced into a convent (see, for instance, *THY* 3, pp. 35-37), I read the decree differently and would interpret the phrase *nien-lao kung-jen i-ling fang-oh'u* 年老宮人已令放出 as "the older palace women were already ordered to be sent away." I think the subsequent phrase that many women still remained refers to the younger concubines, since the decree was probably inspired by Wu's fear of female rivals. I agree with Professor Li's conclusion.

(d) The decree establishing Wu as empress (Chapter 2, n. 6) claims that T'ai-tsung bestowed her on his son. This is untrue and was probably inserted in the record to explain why she did not enter the convent.

I believe the claim was made to suggest that Wu had never had relations with T'ai-tsung and absolve Kao-tsung from the charge of incest which had in fact been leveled against him.

(e) There is no evidence that the Empress Wu ever favored or supported the An-yeh monastery. It was not chosen to commemorate her. The obvious explanation, of course, is that she wished to conceal any connection with the monastery which had taken in T'ai-tsung's consorts whether she had ever been there or not. In summation, I do not believe that Professor Li makes a very convincing case even though I accept his conclusion.

The issue, I think, is so confused because we have no idea of the source of the story. The confusion of detail may suggest more than one source, and the lack of any reliable chronology compounds the problem. Professor Li suggests simple fabrication by Hsu Ching-tsung to show his patrons in a favorable light by emphasizing the jealousy of Empress Wang, and that Wu later destroyed all those who knew the truth. Ching-tsung's *shih-lu* of Kao-tsung became the official version.

I find this an appealing explanation and would add the notion that it was an explanation concocted late, probably around 657-8 when the *shih-lu* was being completed. Initially, Kao-tsung hoped the fact of incest could be concealed, but when he found it was impossible, a second and more elaborate justification was developed. I believe that Wu was simply concealed after T'ai-tsung's death, possibly at the An-yeh monastery, since she and Kao-tsung had already planned to continue their liaison and sought thereby to avoid immediate scandal.

An article in *Kuang-ming jih-pao*, September 12, 1962 under the pseudonym Ching T'ang accepts the nunnery story but is puzzled by the chronology and tries to show that the Empress Wu returned to the palace in 651 or 652.

66. See *CTS* 6:3075:3 and 51:3279:3. The best known incident in the rivalry
is the allegation that Wu killed her own infant daughter in order to blame Empress Wang and give Kao-tsung an excuse to depose her. See HES 76:3867:1 and TCTC 199, pp. 6286-7. Interestingly, the event is not recorded in the CTS and Su-ma Kuang concludes his account by pointing out that Wang failed to clear herself. For Fitzgerald's views on the matter, see Empress Wu, pp. 22-23.

The Empress Wang (CTS 51:3279:2 and HES 76:3866:4) was from the same prefecture as Wu, the daughter of one of T'ai-tsung's officials. The clan already had a marriage connection with the T'ang, and her great-aunt, a princess, seems to have had her married to Kao-tsung before he became crown prince. Her great misfortune was sterility, and in 652 she adopted one of her husband's sons by another consort so that an heir could be proclaimed.

Her uncle Liu Shih (CTS 77:3334:3 and HES 112:3938:3) seems to have risen to tsai-hsiang rank because of his niece's position, and it was his resignation in the sixth month of 654 which signaled publicly that she had lost favor. See TCTC 199, p. 6285.

67. TCTC 199, pp. 6283-4. In the third month of 654 Wu persuaded Kao-tsung to elevate the posthumous titles of the thirteen ministers considered to be Kao-tsung's earliest adherents, thereby enhancing her father's prestige. It seems likely that the court recognized his motives.

68. In mid-655 when the important debate, outlined in TCTC 199, pp. 6289 ff., took place, the tsai-hsiang body was composed of Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi, Ch'u Sui-liang, Lai Chi, Han Yuan, Yu Chih-ning and Li Chi. Their careers are summarized in Appendix B.

69. The principal studies, in addition to Ch'en Yin-k'o's cited above, are Yokota, "Bu-Shu seiken seiritsu no zentei"; Matsui, "Sokuten Bukō no yōritsu o megutte"; Chang, "Lun T'ang K'ai-yüan ch'ien ti cheng-chih chi-t'uan"; and Lo Lung-chih, "Lun T'ang-ch'ü kung-li-ssu-hsiang yü Wu Chao tai T'ang ti kuan-hsi."

70. TCTC 199, p. 6267. T'ai-tsung also told his son that while Wu-chi and Sui-liang were alive, he need have no anxiety about the empire. There is a good deal of evidence that Wu-chi hoped to dominate Kao-tsung. This is conveniently summarized in Sun Kuo-tung, "T'ang ch'en-kuan."

71. See Wechsler, Mirror, Chapter 4.

72. TCTC 200, p. 6293.

73. The validity of the incest argument is a moot point, and it is perhaps significant that it was raised by Ch'u Sui-liang, a southerner. There is a good deal of evidence that this sort of union was common in Central Asia and not unknown in North China at the time. See Ch'en Ku-yüan, Chung-kuo hun-yin shih, Chapter 3, and Lin Hui-hsiang, Wen-hua jen-lei hsüeh, pp. 214 ff. Lin T'ien-wei, Sui-T'ang shih hsin-pien, pp. 56-75, amply demonstrates the Turkic cast of the T'ang court by listing 164 great ministers whose lineage was wholly or in part "barbarian." Both levirate and sororate marriages are attested in the biography of Li 0 (Sui-shu 66:2503:2 and Pei-shih 77:2985:2).

In the T'ang imperial clan, the practice was not unknown, and we have earlier noted T'ai-tsung's desire to raise his brother's consort to the position of empress. Though it is not generally known, he also took the consort of a half-brother, releasing her on Wang Kuei's objection. See HES 78:3908:2. The T'ang marriage laws (TLSI 12-14, especially 14, pp. 123-5, and TRSI, p. 248 ff.) seem to contain no prohibition, and Chung-tsung, Hsüan-tsung, and Shun-tsung were all involved in similar relationships.

Sui-liang's objection, therefore, seems less important than the political reasons for tsai-hsiang opposition. Kao-tsung, as earlier suggested, attempted
to conceal Wu's relationship with his father, but he did so probably in deference to the feelings of the more purely Chinese of his ministers. It was, after all, an age marked by the reassertion of Chinese cultural values.

74. Chapter 2, n. 6.
75. For this and the following interpretations, see note 69 above.
76. On Li l-fu, see Appendix B, no. 39.
77. See note 69 above.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. TCTC 199, pp. 6291-2, especially the commentary. For Empress Wu's view on "household matters," see Chapter 9, pp. 134 and 143.
81. See the biographies of the victims in Appendix B, nos. 14, 30, 32, 37 and 38. Also TCTC 200, pp. 6303-4 and 6312 ff.
82. CTS 51:3279:3 and TCTC 200, p. 6294. She had the hands and feet of the women cut off and drowned them in a wine barrel.
83. TCTC 203, pp. 6410-11. See also THY 30, pp. 556-7 and Yü-hai 157:29b. While there is a certain rhetorical exaggeration in the account, there seems to have been an equal degree of truth. In 665 Kao-tsung complained that his ministers never remonstrated, only to be told by Li Chi that this was because there was no need to do so. TCTC 201, p. 6343. The first real remonstrance is dated 682 by Ssu-ma Kuang, TCTC 203, pp. 6410-11.
84. TCTC 200, p. 6294 tells how Kao-tsung visited the prison of his ex-wife and, at her request, changed its name to Court of Recollection (Hui-hsin yuan). On his reaction to the charges against Wu-chi, see TCTC 200, p. 6313.
85. TCTC 200, p. 6313.
86. See TCTC 200, p. 6322 and CTS 6:3075:2. Ssu-ma Kuang here follows the CTS in admitting that the empress was highly intelligent and well versed in literature and history.
87. TCTC 200, pp. 6309 and 6317 where the commentary identifies the various administrative centers. See also Chapter 8.
88. THY 85, p. 1557. This census was designed to keep up-to-date the system of nine grades to which each household was assigned. See Twitchett, Financial Administration, pp. 29 ff.
91. TCTC 200, p. 6308, and Chapter 5.
92. CTS 4:3071:4 and TCTC 200, p. 6308. See also Chapter 6.
94. CTW 12:6ab. The edict begins by tracing back Loyang's history as a good capital site to the Duke of Chou and comments upon its favorable strategic and economic location. It points out that earlier dynasties had established the precedent of two capitals and that since Loyang had often been one of them, it had become a majestic city. Its central location facilitated the payment of taxes and tribute and henceforth it would be the residence of the ruler.
95. CTS 4:3072:4 and TCTC 201, pp. 6344 ff.
96. Ssu-ma Kuang, TCTC 201, pp. 6342-3, begins his account by remarking the empress' initial humility and willingness to serve Kao-tsung and suggests that for this reason he was willing to elevate her in spite of opposition. As time went on, she is said to have arrogated more and more power to herself, much to her husband's chagrin. See also HTS 105:3924:1 and Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 44-47.
97. Appendix B, no. 47.
98. HTS 105:3924:2.
100. CTS 6:3075:3. The same work dates her real power from about 675 when she
was offered the regency. On this question see also Chou, Han-T'ang, p. 631, and
CTS 5:3074:1.
101. Sui-shu 36:2457:2. Wen-ti's wife, of course, was not nearly so prominent
in government as Empress Wu, and the Sui-shu specifies that the term "Two Sages"
was used within the palace.
102. CTS 5:3074:1 and TCTC 202, pp. 6375-76. The phrase is she-chih kuo-chen
攝知政.
103. See the exhaustive study of the ceremonial by Chavannes, T'ai Chan, and
my Chapter 4.
104. See Wechsler, Mirror, especially pp. 123-25.
105. CTS 4:3071:4. On the official posts held by the empress' half-brothers,
see TCTC 201, p. 6349 which also outlines the source of discord in the family.
It is interesting to note that the HTS account of his death (76:3867:2)
portrays him as an innocent victim of Wu's suspicion that he considered her the
murderer of his sister.
109. Their biographies are found in CTS 183:3553:1 ff. and HTS 206:4109:2 ff.
On their arrival at court, see TCTC 202, p. 6372.
110. CTS 5:3073:4 and 3074:1.
111. HTS 76:3867:2.
112. TCTC 201, p. 6365. The offer may have been connected with serious drought
in Kuan-chung at the time. See CTS 5:3073:3.
114. TCTC 202, p. 6372.
115. Submitted in the twelfth month of 674. The fullest text is in HTS 76:
3867:2; see also CTS 5:3074:1, THY 37, pp. 675-76, TFYK 564:56, and TCTC 202, p.
6374.
116. HTS, loc. cit. With the exception of the provisions relating to the Tao-
te ching and the mother's mourning period, the standard sources offer no evidence
of action. Notices in TFYK 80:10b and 490:10ab suggest that early in 675 various
promotions were made and taxes and corvee lightened, and that on some of the other
provisions no formal edict was needed.
117. See Chapter 8.
118. TCTC 201, pp. 6375-76. See also TFYK 180:7a. The remonstrance went on to
suggest that Kao-tsung would be betraying his heritage should he fail to bequeath
the empire to his son.
120. TCTC 202, p. 6377. The k'ao-i points out that neither the shih-lu nor the
CTS hint at murder.
121. HTS 76:3867:2.
122. See note 124.
123. See CTS 86:3350:1 and HTS 81:3878:3. Conversely, the ill health of the
crown prince may have provided the empress with a convenient explanation for his
sudden death, and it may be that she made certain it was mentioned in his epitaph.
For the epigraphical collections containing this, see Chin-k'o t'i-pa so-yin, p.
53b.
124. His biography is in CTS 86:3350:3 and HTS 81:3878:3. There is no direct evidence of illegitimate birth beyond the rumor referred to in the text and his reaction to it.

125. CTS 5:3074:1. This seems to be yet another indication that Kao-tsung retained his independence.

126. CTS 86:3350:3.

127. TCTC 202, p. 6397. The CTS gives no details.

128. Kao-tsung, according to Hsien's biography and THY 4, p. 42, regarded him as a most precocious and talented child and rewarded him lavishly for his Hou Han-shu commentary. At the same time, he remarked in 678 on how he loved most his youngest son who had just married a praiseworthy woman and, after Hsien's fall, expressed disapproval of his reading matter. TCTC 202, pp. 6397-98. The Empress Wu is said to have attempted to instruct him in his duties by sending him uplifting books and personal instruction. CTS 86:3350:3.


130. TCTC 203, p. 6419. Though Ssu-ma Kuang states flatly that the empress ordered her son's death, he does not identify his source. Neither of the official histories suggests openly that she did so.

131. See CTW 17:5a.

132. TCTC 203, p. 6406. There were precedents for the establishment of a t'ai-sun in the Chin and Ch'i dynasties.

133. CTS 5:3075:1.


Chapter 4


2. In "Sui Ideology."

3. These questions are succinctly discussed in John B. Starr, Ideology and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), Chapters 1 and 3.

4. There are, of course, no accurate estimates of the proportion of the Chinese population which gave its primary allegiance to Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries, but Wright, "Sui Ideology," conveys a realistic impression of its great importance in the eyes of the state, and there are a number of suggestive indications to be found in the works of Gernet, Tsukamoto and Michihata cited in later notes.

5. See the remarks in Bingham, Founding, pp. 51 ff. on the "Savior Li" myth and the much more systematic treatment by Seidel, "Image."

6. A distinction first emphasized in 1940 by Lü Chen-yü in his Chung-kuo she-hui shih ch'ü wen-t' i which seems to have become standard in later works like the cooperative volume Chung-kuo wen-hsüeh shih (Peking, 1958). Note also Levenson's reflection on the paradigm in Confucian China, v. 3, pp. 56 ff.

7. See Yamasaki's "Bukkyō fukō" and "Zui no Yōdai." Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Wu Chao" offers more specific information on the empress' mother and the Yang clan, and Ch'en, Buddhism, pp. 194 ff., presents a good summary.


10. See note 8. The author, Yen-tsung, states that Madame Yang was in fact important to the survival of the church.

11. Chapter 3, n. 52.
13. TCTC 200, pp. 6294-95.
15. TCTC 200, p. 6294. It was, of course, Hsü Ching-tsung who brought the formal accusations against those who had opposed Wu's elevation.
16. TCTC 201, p. 6342.
18. THY 64, p. 1117.
19. This was Liu Hsiang-tao whose memorial is discussed in Chapter 7. His comment is found in the abstract of this critique, TT 17, p. 93b.
20. In addition to the sources mentioned in the preceding chapter, see the succinct history of the ceremonial during the T'ang in THY 7, pp. 79 ff. Also CTS 23:3159:1.

The celebration of 665 seems to have been appropriately timed, and Su-ma Kuang remarks on the general prosperity which had followed five successive bountiful harvests. Foreign representatives attended from as far away as Persia, attesting to the success of Chinese arms. The quoted passage is also found in CTW 97:lab.

22. CTS 23:3160:2. The occasion of his remark was an order to prepare a brief on the feng-shan which Hsüan-tsung was considering at the time. On Chang, see Pulleyblank, Background, p. 194. It is of interest to note that Empress Wu became the first woman ever to participate in the great sacrifice of the Southern Suburb in 669. TFYK 596:28b.
23. TCTC 201, p. 6346.
25. TCTC 201, p. 6347. See also TT 20, p. 114b.
26. CTS 5:3074:1, TFYK 30:5a, THY 1, p. 3, and TCTC 202, p. 6372. See also Ts'u-haii, pp. 262 and 266.
27. On the changes of 662, see TCTC 200, pp. 6326-27, CTS 4:3072:3, and HTS 3:3639:2. The new names were given in two stages, in the second and fourth month of the year, and while it is difficult to identify a consistent source of inspiration, the new titles seem in the main to have been wholly new or else derived from those used at the height of the Han. It may be possible, therefore, to see the changes as a reassertion of Chineseness, an attempt to dissociate the T'ang from the "barbarian" regimes which immediately preceded its rise. The motive of ritual replication seems also to have been present and, if so, the reversion to the old names in 670 (TCTC 201, p. 6365 and CTS 5:3073:3) was an acknowledgment of error. The year 670, of course, was an economic low point in Kao-tsung's reign with the worst drought and famine of the period, and was marked by other ritual attempts at solution like the change of nien-hao and the empress' offer to abdicate.

The second change, as comprehensive as the first, occurred in the ninth month of 684, shortly after the accession of Jui-tsung. See TCTC 203, p. 6421, CTW 96:11a, and WYYH 463:6b. On this occasion the chief inspiration for the new names seems to have been the Chou-li so that the Six Boards, for instance, were designated by Heaven, Earth and the four seasons. As we shall later see, a few came from the Taoist pantheon and some were unprecedented, so that the purposes were probably ideological and designed to signal a new and prosperous era.
28. See Pan Ku, Former Han, v. 3, pp. 103 ff. On the close connection between
Chou-li symbolism and usurpers and reformers, see Tanigawa, "Keii."

29. CTW 6:6b-7a, THY 49, p. 859, Kwang hung-ming chi 25, TD 52:283c. The claim was reasserted in each subsequent reign: by Kao-tsung in 666 (CTW 12:13b) and Chung-tsung in 708 (CTW 18:8a). On T'ai-tsung's edict, the disputed date and the possibility of a second one in 641, see Michihata, Chūgoku Bukkyōshi, p. 153.

30. See note 5.

31. TCTC 204, p. 6374, THY 49, p. 859, CTW 95:4a, and TTCLC 113:4a. The edict reviews the Buddhist omens which helped bring the empress to the throne. It is of importance to note that an edict of 675 had given the clerics of both churches equal places at the court. THY 49, p. 859, TFG 60:10a.

32. CTS 5:3073:1. On these foundations, see Tsukamoto, Nishi Bukkyō, pp. 24 ff.

33. TCTC 201, p. 6347. On a similar move by Wen-ti, see Wright, "Sui ideology," p. 87.

34. HTS 83:3884:2, TFG 303:20b, and THY 50, p. 870. In spite of her later importance, little is known of T'ai-p'ling's early life. The youngest of Kao-tsung's three daughters and the only one born to the empress, she was only six when her ordination occurred. The HTS tells us that a palace was remodeled to look like a convent, but the princess seems to have found the monastic life uncongenial, and in 681 she was married in a lavish ceremony marred by the accidental burning of the trees along the processional route (TCTC 202, p. 6402 and TFG 84:17a). Her husband died in prison at the end of 688 (TCTC 204, p. 6453), and two years later she married Wu Yu-chi, a grandson of Shih-huo. This was part of her mother's plan to unite the Li and Wu clans, and the sources say she had to arrange for the death of Yu-chi's wife to make it possible.

From this time, T'ai-p'ling became her mother's closest confidante, and a mark of her favor is the fact that she came to hold a fief of revenue (shih-shih feng) of 3,000 households, almost ten times the statutory limit for a princess. TCTC 204, p. 6466 and CTS 183:3554:2.

35. There is still no systematic study on the development of organized Taoism from Han to T'ang, but see, in addition to Seidel's works cited earlier, her Divinisation and Maspero's Taoisme. Ware's "Wei Shu and the Sui Shu on Taoism" is still useful, as are several sections of Tokiwa, Bukkyō to Jukyō Dōkyō. Several works in the TD refer to the size of the canon and the activities of the church in the early T'ang. See, for instance, TD 49, Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai 12:581b ff.

36. WHTK 29, p. 271c. This was one of the suggestions of her twelve-point memorial. While her motive was most closely connected with Taoist ideology, it is also possible that the Tao-te ching was chosen for its mother imagery and its assertion of female superiority.


38. The best study is Tsukamoto's "Haibutsu."

39. Maspero, Taoisme, pp. 15 ff. and 116 ff. See also the extensive bibliography in Seidel, Divinisation.


41. TCTC 205, p. 6484. Some of the most conspicuous omens, besides those mentioned in the text, are a three-legged chicken in 684 (TFG 46:12a), a new mountain peak in 686 (THY 70, p. 1243), an unseasonal snowfall in 693 and the footprint of the Buddha in 701 (TFG 15:15ab). These are also mentioned in the standard histories.
Like earlier T'ang rulers, she found it necessary to prohibit magical and superstitious practices among the people and did so in 689 and 695. See THY 44, p. 797, and CTW 96:2a.

42. TCTC 205, pp. 6494-95. See Appendix B, no. 110.

43. See Chapter 9.

44. Kamata, Chuugoku, p. 120.

45. See, for instance, TD 49, Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 39:368a and 369a for reference to her votive patronage at Lungmen and the monks she received in this period. Tsukamoto, Shina, pp. 372 ff., shows that the greatest activity at Lungmen occurred in the second half of the seventh century. We might also note an edict of 673 prohibiting the cruel snaring of animals, TFYK 42:15a.

46. On the history of the conflict see Ch'en, Transformation, pp. 78 ff. and Yen Tsung's PSTS. The origins of the problem are examined in Itano, "To-Shin," and Tokiwa, Bukkyo to Tukyo Doky, pp. 56 ff. contains some useful references. Yang-ti's edict is discussed also in Ch'en, Buddhism, p. 202.

47. This is suggested at a number of points in the text and by two articles in Wright and Twitchett, Perspectives, pp. 239-307. The Fo-tsu t'ung-chi, not always a reliable source because of its late date, mentions an early directive that clerical conduct should be guided by the Hsiao-ching. See 39:365b.

48. Chen-kuan cheng-yao (Ssu-pu pei-yao ed.) 7:10a-11b, quoted by Michihata, Bukkyoshi, p. 336. T'ai-tsung once remarked on the importance of Buddhist devotion among his people (THY 47, p. 836) and, as the two articles in Perspectives (see preceding note) make clear, considered it important in his state ideology.

49. Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 39, TD 49:364b suggests that the edict was rescinded two years later, while Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsa 11, TD 49:569a puts the original edict in 632 and does not mention its withdrawal. Caution is necessary in the use of Buddhist sources.


51. CTW 12:4a. See also Kuang-hung ming-chi 25, TD 52:284a; PSTS 3, TD 52:455b. The edict is dated the sixteenth day of the fourth month in Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsa 12, TD 49:580b.

52. Michihata, Bukkyoshi, p. 337 and Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsa, loc. cit. On Wei-hsiu, see SKSC 17, TD 50:812b.

53. Ch'en, Transformation, pp. 79-80, and Michihata, Bukkyoshi, loc. cit. Prince Hsien, of course, was still a child and unless he had been in some way connected to the church as a child, it is difficult to know why he was chosen. The crown prince, of course, had been called Hung because of the force of the name in Taoist messianism, and Chung-tsung, we are told, was called Fo-kuang Wang because of a light appearing at his birth. See Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 39, TD 49:367a. The brief to Madame Yang is found in PSTS 3, TD 52:456a.

54. Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsa 12, TD 49:580c. I am not sure what forms the civil rank (su-kuan) took.

55. Most particularly PSTS 3, TD 52:455b ff. and the CTW which preserves a total of thirty-six briefs connected with the debate, only seven of them advocating freedom from obeisance. Michihata, Bukkyoshi, pp. 335-57, has summarized the arguments of both sides and identified some of their sources. The discussion in the text is based largely upon his work.

56. Tao-te ching, chang 25. The su-ta are the Tao, Heaven, Earth, and the ruler.

57. See, for instance, Zürcher, Buddhist Conquest, v. 1, and note the early appearance of such works as the T'ai-p'ing ching (ca. 126-144) which, in their attack on Buddhism, began with its unfilial nature. See Ch'en, Buddhism, pp. 51-52.
58. Quoted in Ch'en, *Transformation*, p. 79. The original is found in *Kuang-hung ming-ohi* 25, TD 52:286a.

59. For the references, see Michihata, *Bukkyōshi*, p. 343.

60. *CTS* 73:3325:4 and *HTS* 102:3918:3. The member of a clan originally from Tunhuang and, in the T'ang, one of the most eminent of Ho-hsi, Ling-hu, Te-fen, had held high posts under the first two emperors. A very erudite man, he had worked both on dynastic histories and the *Shih-tsu chih*. Shortly after the *pai* controversy, he resigned his posts and died in 666 at the age of 84. His biography contains no suggestion of Buddhist loyalties.

61. See Appendix B, no. 58.


63. *SKSC* 17, TD 50:812c. With no confirmation elsewhere, even in *PSTS*, I am inclined to doubt the statement.

64. *CTS* 8:3081:2.

65. Yang Ssu-hsüan (*CTS* 62:3303:2), who submitted a joint brief with Yang Shou-chüeh, was a maternal cousin of the empress. Yang Ssu-chien and Yang Ssu-cheng (*HTS* 71 *shang*:3814:4) were his brothers. Yang Ling-chieh (*HTS* 71 *shang*: 3814:2) was from a different branch of the same clan and with Ho-lan Min-chih, the empress' nephew, the Yang clan thus accounted for five briefs. Lü Ts'ai (*CTS* 79:3338:4) was a close associate of Hsü Ching-tsung and Li Ch'ün-feng who are mentioned as advocates of the imperial party in *PSTS*, and both he and Li submitted briefs. Li I-fan was the brother of Li I-fu, and Ch'i'u Shen-chi was an adherent of the empress later used to dispose of her son Hsien.

Other examples could be adduced but the role of Hsü Ching-tsung, and the stance of the Yang clan which contrasts so strongly with that of the empress' mother, are perhaps sufficient to illustrate my point.

66. Chapter 3, n. 108.

67. Perspectives, pp. 239-265. See also the short exploration of T'ai-tsung's Taoist bias in Yuki Reimon, "Shōtō Bukkyō."

68. Kao-tsung was by no means an ardent supporter of Buddhism, and I agree substantially with the conclusions of S. Weinstein's "Imperial patronage of T'ang Buddhism," in Perspectives, pp. 265-306. At the same time, he recognized the force of Buddhism among his subjects when he founded a temple to commemorate his mother (*CTW* 11:6b), and when in an edict attempting to place an abbot he commented specifically that Buddhism was declining in the West but flourishing in the East, i.e., in China. (*CTW* 11:8a). His establishment of the Kuo-fen temples in every prefecture after the *feng-shan* sacrifice in 665 was the greatest act of patronage the T'ang had yet seen and led the monk Tao-shih to conclude his great encyclopedia of 668, the *Fa-yuan chu-lin*, with the judgment that no former ruler was comparable to him. I commented earlier on his public stance of respect for Hsüan-tsang, and Buddhist sources comment on other concessions toward the church such as his exemption of their literature from the use of "taboo" characters. See *Po-tsu t'ung-chi* 39, TD 49:369a.


73. See Eberhard, *Tobareich*, Chapter 18, and Shigematsu, "Tō-so." The *TFYK* 921:17b notes that a man called Sung Tzu-hsien had gained some credence and a
rebellious following in 613 by calling himself an incarnation of Maitreya. I
find no formal prohibition of the sect in the T'ang until 715.
74. Fo-tsu t'ung-chi 39, TD 49:367c. The late date of the source and the
lack of confirmation elsewhere make the notice somewhat suspect.
75. THY 48, p. 846. This event, recalled in 684, accounts for the change of
era name to kuang-chai. Soothill and Hodous, Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist
Terms, p. 202a, gives a short history of the temple founded to commemorate the
event. The incident is also mentioned in the commentary on the Great Cloud Sutra.
76. TCTC 203, pp. 6413-14.
77. The k'ao-i notice, ibid. says that another source calls him the yueh-
kuang wang or Čandraprabha.
78. Note 27 above.
79. Ts'u-yuan, p. 339c. It was the era name from 685 to 689.
80. See Wright, "Sui ideology," p. 90, and on the history of the institution
in the T'ang, THY 11, pp. 271 ff. The best examination of the symbolism of the
ming-t'ang and its origins is Granet's Pensée chinoise, especially pp. 175 ff.
and 210-29. Wang Mang, of course, also used a ming-t'ang for legitimizing pur-
poses. See Pan Ku, Former Han, v. 3, pp. 191-94.
81. In the eleventh month of 689. See HTS 76:3867:4, TCTC 204, pp. 6462-63,
and the Act of Grace which promulgated the measure, WYHY 463:1b and CTW 96:16b.
In the act, the empress remarked upon how the writing system had become
progressively confused and complicated so that even scholars had difficulty in
understanding some of the characters. As part of a continuing reform, she was
issuing twelve new characters which would preserve the foundation of the words
while illustrating their meaning. The first of the new forms was the replace-
ment of the Chao in the empress' own given name by a new character Chao 仏
whose components symbolized the heavenly bodies illuminating the void below.
We cannot, of course, eliminate the possibility that the two components of the
empress' new name were chosen for their Buddhist significance. The top of the
character is 仏意, the Buddha-wisdom which enlightens and destroys illusion,
while the lower part is 仏空, the empty or illusory.
Some sources simply attribute the fabrication of the new characters to
the empress but they were, in fact, the invention of Tsung Ch'in-k'o (CTS 92:
3365:4 and HTS 109:3930:4), a close supporter and a relative by marriage.
While the new characters have been a source of fascination to scholars,
especially to those interested in the epigraphy of the period, there seems to
exist no consensus on their form. The only full secondary study is Tokiwa's
"Bu-Shū shinji." In it, nineteen new characters are identified showing that the
list was, in fact, supplemented. It is also clear that the new forms were used
universally for fifteen years, and examples have been found both in Tunhuang
and in Japan.
The new characters are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heaven</th>
<th>地</th>
<th>天</th>
<th>年</th>
<th>荷</th>
<th>荷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Earth</td>
<td>日</td>
<td>月</td>
<td>初</td>
<td>年</td>
<td>國</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A number of these characters were used in the reign titles of the empress and so appeared in all official documents. Tokiwa also finds 岩 used for "ten thousand" since 693, but I am not convinced that this was one of the empress' new characters.

As a legitimizing device, the new characters might have been intended to suggest an implicit comparison with the legendary inventor of a script or perhaps to emphasize the "new beginning" of a second Chou ruling the united empire. Alternatively, they might be seen simply as a sign of the Confucian ruler's concern with literacy and education.

82. The fullest account of this figure is in CTS 183:3554:3; see also TCTC 203, pp. 6436-37. He obtained the surname Hsüeh when the empress had him adopted into her daughter T'ai-p'ing's family, since he was not himself of the shih class.

83. Ch'en, Buddhism, p. 222, seems to suggest that while palace chapels had existed in earlier dynasties including the Sui, they date from 691 in the T'ang. It seems clear from Huai-i's biography that this was not the case though I have seen no earlier reference in the dynasty. On ministerial complaints about Huai-i and the request that he be castrated, see TCTC 203, p. 6441.

84. For a full examination of this event, see the sources cited in note 91 below.

85. The two T'ang histories use the term "falsely compiled" (wei-chüan or wei-tsao), while Ssu-ma Kuang, who says it was a four-chüan work while all extant versions are in six, simply says it was composed and presented. (TCTC 204, p. 6466). The Fo-tsü t'ung-chi says it was "translated by imperial order" (ch'ih-i) and the Seng-shih lüeh says it was retranslated (ch'ung-i). Similar discrepancies exist on the matter of the number of monks involved.

86. Yabuki, Sangakyo, pp. 716 ff.

87. Ch'en, Buddhism, p. 217, and Tsukamoto, Nissh Bukkyō, p. 27.

88. HTS 76:3867:4.

89. TCTC 204, p. 6469, CTS 6:3076:1, and HTS 4:3641:3. In most cases the foundation of the Great Cloud temples involved only a name change for existing establishments, and Tsukamoto, Nissh Bukkyō, p. 29, shows that large and powerful temples were chosen. The source of the new monks is unspecified.

90. In contrast to the equality of Buddhist and Taoist foundations in 666. It must be noted that in 689 the empress stripped Lao Tzu of the honorific bestowed at that time. THY 50, p. 865.

91. The first full study of the Tunhuan evidence is to be found in Yabuki, Sangakyo, pp. 686-761. His reconstruction is based upon Stein 2658, and it is upon the text reproduced in his work that my translation is based. More recently his research has been supplemented by Shigenoi, Todai, pp. 203-37 which looks at the longer and generally superior version of the commentary, Stein 6502. I might note here that the prophetic passages of the sutra which are to be found in the commentary occur in Chapters 4 and 6 of the Great Cloud Sutra and that my citations are to TD 12, no. 387, pp. 1097 and 1107.

92. This need has now been answered with the publication of Forte, Political Propaganda. This most useful work which examines the circumstances and problems
of the sources, composition and meaning of the commentary reached me only when my own study was in press preventing me from incorporating the author's findings. Forte gives a full translation of Stein 6502 and though our translations differ only in minor respects, the reader is referred to his much fuller annotation of the text and his resolution of certain problems which had baffled me.

93. For an exposition of these lines see Shigenoi, Todai, pp. 205 ff.

94. In the translation which follows, I have supplemented the lacunae at the beginning and end of Stein 2658 by the use of Stein 6502 and have sometimes used the latter to correct errors in the former. Where the text uses the term shen-huang, I have translated "the empress" for purposes of clarity and, for the same reason, have occasionally turned direct quotation into indirect speech.

95. Yabuki, Sangaikyō, p. 721 promised a fuller study of this work but, as far as I can tell, never carried it out. The Cheng-ming ching seems to have been a short work, highly prophetic and popular in character which was classified as false or dubious in both the Sui and T'ang indexes. Four or perhaps five copies are to be found in the Pelliot, Stein and Otani collections but a full study has yet to be undertaken. It is of interest to note that even in the Chou index (Ta Chou K' an-ting chung-ching mu-lu, 15, p. 427c) the work is classified as false though it is cited with some frequency in the commentary.

96. At this point the following note is inserted in small characters in both copies of the manuscript: "Maitreya" (Mi-lo) is a Sanskrit word which [in Chinese] is translated as the "Compassionate One" (ts' u-shih). As the Vimalakirti-sutra puts it, "the merciful and compassionate mind is that of the woman [or daughter]." The empress corresponds to this meaning.


98. Chapter 5, n. 108.

99. I suspect that this term refers to the Pao-t'u since HTS 76:3867:4 records that in August of 688, the stream in which it was found was renamed Kuang-wu, probably as a means of drawing attention to the Wu surname. There are many references to the text of the Kuang-wu ming throughout the commentary which leads one to believe that the inscription was much lengthier than previously thought or, alternatively, that the reference is to another prophetic stone altogether. See Yabuki, op. cit., pp. 229-31 where the scattered references are collected to give a rough reconstruction.

100. I am of the view that the reference here is to the classical Ho-t'u, a prognostic text supposedly transmitted by the Yellow Emperor to King Wen of Chou. It enjoyed great currency in the Han and was later outlawed because of its subversive potential. See Dai kawa jiten 6:17245:182 and the remarks of A. Seidel in "Dynastic treasures." Granet's discussion in Pensée, pp. 148-74, is most enlightening. The text also allows the possibility here that Ho-t'u refers to an omen specific to Empress Wu in which case the quotation should be lengthier.

101. The first three T'ang emperors. See also TCTC 204, p. 6447.

102. Here the most ancient terms for local officials are used. I am uncertain why.

103. The name of the Li clan was changed to Hui "viper" after the Princes' Rebellion. See Chapter 5.

104. A feared figure in Buddhist mythology ruling a race of cannibalistic, black-bodied, red-haired demons in the southwestern kingdom of the heavens.


106. Unless the passage is a pun on the word shan which also means monastery,
Notes to Chapter 4

I am not sure how the connection is made by the commentators.

107. *P'an-tung* "ascending dragons" were part of the empress' décor in the *ming-t'ang*.

108. See *THY* 11, p. 277.

109. See *Ta-fang teng wu-hsiang ch'ing*, in *TD* 12, p. 1098a. The ākāraṇa, the universal monarch "whose chariot wheels roll everywhere without hindrance," and Jambudvīpa, strictly speaking, was the southernmost of the four Buddhist kingdoms. Mochizuki, *Bukkyo daijiten* (Kyoto, 1958), v. 1, p. 317, says that Jambudvīpa was also used for eastern lands like China. See also *TCTC* 204, p. 6466.

110. *TD* 12, p. 1107a.

111. I am unable to identify this reference though the title suggests a Buddhist prophecy. It is quoted on other occasions in the commentary.

112. *TD* 12, p. 1097c.

113. Wu Tse-t'ien had established at the time of the *feng-shan* sacrifice that as Heaven was associated with the emperor, Earth was associated with the empress.


115. Wu, of course, was the second of Madame Yang's three daughters.

116. By using the characters "son" (子) and eighteen (十八), the Li surname is composed (李). The reference is to the ballad tradition (*t'ung-yao*) of omenology upon which we earlier commented.

117. It will be recalled that Wu was named Mei 美 "beauteous" when she entered T'ai-tsung's harem.

118. The phrase *t'u-chung* in the *Shu-ching* (Legge, p. 428) refers in fact to Loyang.

119. The bureaucratic expansion in the Chou will be discussed later.

120. In this passage we see three of the empress' *nien-hao* used. *Kuang-chai* was adopted in 684, *yung-ch'ang* in 689, and *sheng-li* in 698.

121. The phrase might also be translated "has not ruled long."

122. In the fashion $k + \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{2}$

123. *TD* 12, p. 1096c.


125. *Ibid.* This passage shows that the commentators knew that the church might trespass on its new favor, and it also helps to explain why an emperor like T'ai-tsung had had the sutra so frequently chanted.

126. See note 74 to this chapter.

127. In imitation of the Emperor Asoka (r. about 274-237 B.C.) who is said to have built 84,000 stupas. Sui Wen-ti used the same model.

128. The first five commandments against killing, stealing, adultery, lying and intoxication. They bind both laity and clergy. The passage is found in *TD* 12, p. 1098a.

129. The passage might also mean "good spirits protect her person."

130. Māra is the destroyer who appears in different categories like desire, falsehood, etc.

131. Since Maitreya was the Buddha and not a bodhisattva, the inclusion of this passage is a very significant one.

132. I am unable to locate any text by this name and suspect a reference to the many *ch'an-wei* texts associated with the Confucian Classics. Seidel, "Dynamic treasures," offers a convenient summary of the literature.

133. Wei Yüan-sung was a well-known fortuneteller of the Northern Chou and seems to have been instrumental in the Buddhist persecutions of 574-77. He is
described sometimes as "one who attained the Way" and, as a Taoist, may have written some of the messianic ballads current at the foundation of the T'ang. Some of his sayings, engraved on stone, were presented to Kao-tsung in 674 and locked away. Translation is extremely difficult.

134. Shih-min was also the given name of T'ang T'ai-tsung.
135. Another of Empress Wu's era names.
136. The phrase ta-sheng hsüan-ch'i here is unclear. I can locate no text with this title and so translate literally. It has been suggested to me that there might be a connection with the Amitāyus Sutra (Wu-liang-shou ching).
137. I think the meaning here is that in the I-ching hexagrams, the fifth place from the bottom is that of the ruler. In this case it should be a broken or "female" line.
138. This is an alternate name for the Pao-t'u discussed in the following chapter. See HTS 76:3867:3.
139. The theme of T'ang continuity is resumed at several points in the commentary, and I will later suggest that this is how the empress saw her role.
140. Probably an attempt to depict the Wu surname in the fashion 止+ 止 = 武.
141. This is probably a contemporary augury but one which may echo the classical Ho-t'u which contained a tung-t'u.
142. I am rather unsure of my translation here.
143. TD 12, p. 1107a.
144. TD 12, p. 643b. There are three extant versions of the sutra, and the quotation is from the most recent or "southern" text.
145. See TD 27, p. 912a for the quotation.
146. As mentioned earlier, Ch'en Yin-k'o regards this as evidence that the empress was early placed in a Buddhist convent. I find his argument unconvincing.
147. The empress' father was posthumously entitled T'ai-huang, though the phrase might also mean "the great emperors" of the past.
148. I cannot identify this character.
149. A prognostical work in one volume compiled in the reign of T'ang T'ai-tsung and said initially to have contained sixty prophecies.
150. Shen-lung was the last of the empress' era names adopted just before her deposition.
151. This prophecy turned out to be wrong since the empress changed her era name before the end of the year.
152. I find no specific mention elsewhere of a plot headed by these two men although the standard sources confirm their execution. It seems that three explanations are possible: (a) that the executions were a residue of the Princes' Rebellion of 688 since Li Ch'ang was a member of the imperial clan and P'ei Chien a relative by marriage, (b) that the persons executed were involved in the plot of 689, discussed in Chapter 6, n. 70, or (c) that the charges were fabricated by the overzealous penal officials active in the terror and are thus unmentioned in the official sources. I am of the view that there was indeed a last-ditch stand against the proclamation of the Chou and the Western Capital would be a natural focus for it.
153. The numerous lacunae hereafter make coherent translation from Stein 2658 impossible. Stein 6502, as I said earlier, is much longer and my translation has covered only 284 of its 375 lines. The most interesting facet of the remaining portion is perhaps the extensive use of Taoist omenology, most particularly the inscription of the famed K'ou Ch'ien-chih of Mount Sung and Yü Hsien-chang of the Western Mountain. The last omen mentioned is the new mountain peak of 685
which, as I will suggest, is identified by Confucian historiography as the first sign of the impending usurpation.

154. Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 97 ff., in pointing out how Wen-ti stopped short of proclaiming himself the tathāgata, suggests that this formula had been used by the rulers of the Northern Wei. This tactic and the hostile reaction of the South against it is studied by Takao, Chūgoku. It is important to note, however, that the Wei precedents were neither so elaborate nor systematic as the actions of the Empress Wu who established special temples and monks and who used her imperial title, her architecture and ceremonial to establish her claim.

155. Ta-fang-teng wu-hsiang-ching 6, TD 12:1107a. The vision described was not a particularly original one and might be compared with that of another of Dharmarakṣa's translations, the Po-shuo Mi-lo hšia-sheng ching, TD 14:453.

156. Elocuently translated in de Bary, Sources, v. 1, pp. 175-76.

157. CTS 6:3076:2, HTS 4:3641:4, and TCTC 205, pp. 6492, 6494 and 6496. The empress took her full title in three stages. In the autumn of 693 and in response to a petition of 5,000 names solicited by Wu Ch'eng-ssu, she called herself "Golden Wheel," the symbol of the Čakravartī. For this move the immediate inspiration was the presentation of a second sutra, that of the Precious Rain (Shigenoi, Todai, pp. 218 ff.), which portrayed her as a Čakravartī and was followed by the erection in the ming-t'ang of the sapta-ratna—the seven treasures of the Čakra. See Soothill and Hodous, p. 303a, and TCTC, loc. cit.

In 694 Ch'eng-ssu again sponsored a petition of 26,000 names requesting an augmentation of title, and "Peerless" was added. Ch'eng-ssu seems in this to have been flattering his aunt in hopes of gaining the succession. Only at the beginning of 695, and with no apparent reason, was "Maitreya" added to the title.

The sequence is somewhat puzzling in view of the importance the empress attached to the Maitreya omen and to which she referred on other occasions. See, for instance, CTW 97:6b-7a, her preface to the new translation of the Hua-yen Sutra. In the second month of 696, and immediately after the ming-t'ang burned, she divested herself of "Maitreya the Peerless" (TCTC 205, p. 6502), seeming therefore to connect the assumption of the title with the calamity which followed. Her initial reluctance to call herself Maitreya might perhaps be attributed to humility and reverence.

158. Yabuki, Sangaikyō, p. 726.

159. K'ai-yuan shih-chiao lu 18:39b, in TD 55. The "three evil treasures" were the Great Cloud omens, the claim of the empress to be Maitreya reborn, and the Great Cloud temples erected under the auspices of the "false monk" Huai-i.

160. THY 49, p. 859 and TCTC 204, p. 6473. The edict is found in TTCLC 113:4a and CTW 95:4a.

161. THY 49, p. 859. See also Fonctionnaires, v. 1, p. 412, n. 1. According to TTLT 18:13a-14b, the ts'u-pu was to supervise the Buddhist and Taoist clergy and nominate their temple heads (sangha, Ch. san-kang) as well as the bhadanta (ta-te) of the capital. It later carried out a triennial census and registration (TRSI, p. 859).

Earlier in the T'ang, the affairs of the church had been overseen by two offices attached to the Board of Rites, the Ch'ung-hsüan shu which was primarily concerned with Taoism and the Hung-lu ssu whose principal function was the management of tribute envoys. The implications of this organization are that Buddhism was seen as an extension of Taoism and as a foreign religion.

On the matter of clerical discipline and state regulation, see Moroto, "Tosho," pp. 66 ff.
162. The only sect to rise after the Chou was that of Ch'an, and it might be argued that its principal tenets were developed prior to the end of the Chou. 

163. See TCTC 205, p. 6498. According to Ssu-ma Kuang, the expense was so great that the treasuries were emptied to pay for it. See also TCTC 205, pp. 6499-6501. On the opposition to Buddhist expenditures, see THY 49, pp. 857 ff. 

164. See the commentary translated in the text. Whether or not the ming-t'ang was ever so simple as the ideal would suggest is difficult to know, but those who protested the plan of 696 to reconstruct it seem to have seen it in this light. This is discussed in later notes. 

165. See Mochizuki, Bukkyō daijiten, v. 8, pp. 221 shang.

166. TCTC 205, p. 6498.

167. See, for instance, CTW 95:8a and TTCLC 80:11b for a decree of 696 condemning excessively elaborate funerals and other forms of commemoration. The clan instructions of Yao Ch'ung (Appendix B, no. 122) warned his descendants against excessive patronage of Buddhism. CTW 207:5b. 

168. THY 49, p. 857, TFK 327:21b, and TCTC 207, pp. 6549-50. Ti Jen-ch'ieh criticized not only the wealth of the church but the burdens which the clergy placed on the people by the non-productive nature of their vocation, their sale of sutras and relics, and their disregard of the law. He went on to point out that as a compassionate religion, Buddhism should not be the cause of imposing labor upon the people.

The empress apparently rescinded the call for corvée labor but continued to make collections from the clergy for five months. Li Chiao later pointed out that over 170 million ch'ien had been collected and suggested that this be distributed to the poor at the rate of 1,000 ch'ien per household. The suggestion does not seem to have been followed. THY 49, pp. 857-58. 

169. THY 41, p. 731, CTS 6:3076:1, and TCTC 205, p. 6482. Ssu-ma Kuang adds that the ban included fishing and, since there was drought and famine in the South, caused starvation. Human life was thus deemed less valuable than animal life. 

Bans on butchery seem first to have been enacted in China under Liang Wu-ti, and there are examples in the Sui and T'ang though usually for the space of three days. It is difficult to know how severely the ban was enforced, but TCTC, loc. cit. mentions one high official nearly cashiered for contravening it, and the memorial of Ts'ui Yung which resulted in its lifting indicated that it had caused much suffering among the poor though the rich had often managed to avoid it. THY 41, p. 731. Ts'ui's biographies are in CTS 94:3368:3 and RTS 114:3940:1. 

See also Huang, T'ang-tai fo-chiao, pp. 107 ff. 

170. THY 41, p. 746. This meant that crimes against state property entered the ta-ni category of punishment. TLSI 1, pp. 15 ff. and 19, p. 61. This enactment occurred shortly after Buddhism was attached to the tz'u-pu, again emphasizing its position in the state. 

171. TCTC 205, p. 6469. The notice says that only the nine men who, with Huai-i, were responsible for the commentary were awarded the red (instead of black) cope and the silver belt ornament of fourth-rank officials. Judging from Stein 2278, reproduced by Yabuki, Sangaikyō, pp. 748 ff., the award was much wider. Twenty-seven monks are given name and rank, and several who had no connection with the Sutra are hsien-t'ang. Since the document in question is another containing omens of the empress' imperium, its compilers are likely to have been Great Cloud monks.
175. Ibid.
177. See, for instance, *TLSI* 2, pp. 48-49 which outlines the punishments for such offenses as fornication (chien), disrespect to or assault upon superiors, mistreatment or killing of slaves, theft, etc. In most cases, punishment was heavier than that imposed for the same offense upon commoners. See also Ch'en, *Transformation*, p. 102.
178. *CTW* 95:9b, 96:5b, and 95:11b respectively. The first two date from 698 and 700. I have been unable to date the third.
179. See the several references to the abuses of this period in Gernet, *Aspects économiques.* See also TCTC 209, p. 6624.
180. See note 168 above and see the remonstrance in 704 by Chang T'ing-kuei (*CTS* 101:3385:1 and *HTS* 118:3946:1) found in TCTC 207, p. 6571. As a result of this memorial, the empress halted her plan to erect a huge and costly image.
181. *TD* 50, no. 2061.
182. Hsüan-tsang (600-664) has a full biography in *TD* 50, *Ta-tz'u-en-ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan*, no. 2053 and SKSC 4:721b. Tz'u-en (632-82) was his successor and the systematizer of Fa-hsiang doctrine. SKSC 4:725b.
When Hsüan-tsang returned to China in 645, T'ai-tsung had supported his translation work and Kao-tsung continued this patronage. He seems to have had a fondness for Tz'u-en, setting him up in the temple he founded for his mother, listening to his lectures and composing a eulogy for him.
183. The best account of Fa-tsang's life and the historiographical problems surrounding it is Kamata, *Chugoku*, pp. 129 ff. See also SKSC 5:732b, and Ts'ui Chih-yüan's biography in *TD* 50:280c.
On Chih-yen, see Fa-tsang's biography of him in *TD* 51:163b, *Hua-yen-ching ch'uan-chi* 3. He lived from 602 to 668 and though he seems to have been at court, the favored position of the Fa-hsiang school meant that he received little support. The Hua-yen or Avatāmsaka school derives its name from the massive sutra first translated in 403. See the *Hua-yen ching ch'uan-chi*, *TD* 51:153a. It is often considered the most sophisticated and recondite of Chinese schools. The most useful study for the T'ang is that of Kamata, cited above, and Chang, *Buddhist Teaching* is an ambitious attempt at an overview of the sect.
184. *THY* 48, p. 848 and Hanada, *Bukkyō Daiziti*, v. 5, p. 3149a. The *THY* mistakenly dates the foundation in 675 rather than 670 and, according to SKSC 2:719a, there was a T'ai-yüan temple in each capital.
186. *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* 9, *TD* 55:564a, SKSC 2:719a. Also associated with them at the time was the monk Buddhapāla who came from Kabul in 676 (SKSC 2:717c). Divakara translated eighteen texts before his death and the *K'ai-yüan shih-chiao lu* says the empress contributed a preface to his canon.
187. SKSC 2:718c. The notice here gives the impression that the empress considered the former translation inadequate and, hearing of the existence of an
earlier Sanskrit version in Khotan, sent a messenger to summon Siksananda. The origin of the belief is probably the claim she makes in her preface to the new translation. Kamata, Chugoku, p. 130 mentions some of the other collaborators. See also K'ai-yuan shih-chiao lu 9, TD 55:566a.

188. Found in CTW 97:5b and TD 10.

189. SKSC 1:710b. After his two maritime pilgrimages to India in 671 and 685, he brought back to China over 400 texts he had collected. The empress is said to have met him at the gates of Loyang, showered him with gifts and set him to work on the Hua-yen translation. She later supported his other translations and his studies of the lands he had visited since she "respected the Law and valued the man." KYSCL 9, TD 55:968bc. Chavannes, Mémoires translates from his work.

190. See, respectively, Li-tai fa-pao chi, TD 51:184a, and SKSC 5:732b on Heng-ching who became Master of Precepts (shou-chieh shih), perhaps because of the Yang clan's friendship for T'ien-t'ai. Other examples are found in SKSC 19:832b on Wu-hsiang, and 20:836b on Ch'iu-chi of Pure Land, as well as Pao Ssu-wei (3:720a), Bodhiruci (3:720b), Yin-tsung (4:731b), Tao-tsun (8:758a), Tao-ch'eng (14:791b), Hui-an (14:823b), etc.

191. Hui-neng (SKSC 8:754b) was invited at the request of Shen-hsiu but, because of illness, did not attend.

192. SKSC 8:755c. The empress may have played a part, though unintentionally, in the eclipse of northern Ch'an by its southern rival. Yamasaki, Zui-Tō, pp. 197 ff., sees the success of northern Ch'an in gaining imperial support and converts among the upper classes as the cause of southern Ch'an's greater success among the commoners and hence its longevity.

Further instances of the empress' support for northern Ch'an are found in CTW 97:6b and in the fact that Shen-hsiu is one of only three monks to be given an official biography. See CTS 191:3592:2.


196. Kamata, Chugoku, pp. 134 ff. Ch'an had not yet systematized its doctrine at the time of Fa-tsang's schema, but in the second highest category of 'abrupt teaching' he placed such basic Ch'an doctrines as that of sudden enlightenment and the ineffable character of all religious experience.


199. THY 36, p. 657 and CTW 78:8ab.

Chapter 5

1. On Chung-tsung, CTS 7:3077:2, HTS 4:3642:4, and THY 1, p. 4. He was born in late 656 and, prior to his elevation to crown prince in 680, had held only the usual sinecure of younger imperial sons, the position of mu in the two capitals. See Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 396-404 and v. 2, 884-904. There is no record either of civil or military administrative experience beyond this.

2. TCTC 203, p. 6416. The complete document is found in TTCLC 11:3b and CTW 13:20a.

3. Yang, Excursions, p. 31.

4. TCTC 203, p. 6416. P'ei Yen, the paramount minister, memorialized to ask
that the coronation take place without delay.

5. Empress Wei (CTS 51:3279:3 and HTS 76:3868:2) was a member either of the Yung-chou or Tu-ling branch of the Wei clan, both of them extensive and powerful and both having produced consorts and chief ministers earlier in the dynasty. Wei became Chung-tsung's consort only after the death of his first wife who had incurred the displeasure of the Empress Wu, and was to give him only a son and a daughter. The son was executed in 701. The total domination of Wei over her husband is traditionally dated from his exile in 684 when in gratitude for her support, he is said to have promised her a free hand should better days ever come. She seems to have become virtual ruler on his restoration and was responsible for much of the corruption and administrative decline which marked the period. Some sources accuse her of poisoning her husband in 610, an allegation which Ssu-ma Kuang accepts (TCTC 209, pp. 6641-2).

6. TCTC 203, p. 6417. See also CTS 87:3351:3 and HTS 117:3945:2. The empress' father had been made prefect when Chung-tsung became crown prince in 680, and this customarily was the highest post he should have held. Chung-tsung wished simultaneously to raise the son of his wet nurse, a man not of the "clear stream," to the fifth rank.


8. Sun Kuo-t'ung, "San-sheng-chih" sees the transfer of the Cheng-shih t'ang to the Department of State Affairs as a result of the gradual shift of departmental importance. The evidence is quite convincing and fails only to account for the timing of the move, since the Chancellery had lost its paramount position prior to 684. What is more, the Chancellery was at that time under Liu Jen-kuei (Appendix B, no. 51), a man of greater experience and prestige than P'ei Yen and the one person feared by the empress at the deposition. TCTC 203, pp. 6418-19. It seems therefore to have been an inappropriate moment for P'ei to assert his leadership.

I believe that to Professor Sun's analysis we must add the character and ambition of P'ei Yen. It seems clear from his biography that he was highly ambitious, once trying to cashier P'ei Hsing-chien, of whom he was jealous, and remaining as close as possible to the crown prince as Kao-tsung died. Since Jen-kuei was over eighty in 684, P'ei Yen found it a propitious moment to seize control of the tsai-hsiang group and was especially hostile to the plan to replace Jen-kuei with Empress Wei's father since this would obviously dilute his personal power. It was for this reason, I think, that he took the extreme step of betraying Chung-tsung to Empress Wu.

Subsequently, he became the strongest advocate of a restoration of power to Jui-tsung and his failure in this may have led him to the attempted coup of which he was accused later in the year.

9. TCTC 203, p. 6417. See also CTS 86:3351:3.

10. TCTC 203, pp. 6417-18, and note the commentary. On the Yü-lin Guard, see Fonctionnaires, pp. 555-560, and more particularly Ch'en, Cheng-shih shih, pp. 39 ff. for a demonstration of how the Yü-lin Guard determined every palace revolution in the early T'ang. At this time they numbered only about a hundred men, most of them retainers of the Li clan (CTS 106:3396:2), so their willingness to depose Chung-tsung is doubly interesting. Their number was to be greatly increased in 689 by the Empress Wu, and under Chung-tsung's restoration the force reached 10,000. THY 72, pp. 1291-92. See also Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 64-67.

11. CTS 7:3077:1 and TCTC 203, p. 6420. Chung-tsung, demoted to Prince of
Lu-ling, was soon transferred to Chün-chou, even farther from the capital. Empress Wei gave birth to the notorious Princess An-lo on the way.

12. On Jui-tsung, see CTS 7:3079:1, HTS 5:3643:3, and THY 1, p. 5.
13. TCTC 203, p. 6418.
14. Ibid.
15. See Ch'ü, Han Social Structure, p. 74.
20. See, for instance, TCTC 203, p. 6418 in which she admits self-assumption of the regency.
21. TCTC 203, p. 6419. I have seen no instance of "hanging the curtain" prior to its usage by Empress Wu, and it might therefore have been her own innovation cast aside at this time.
22. See the two biographies cited in notes 7 and 8 above.
24. TCTC 203, p. 6419, and see Chapter 4.
25. TCTC 203, p. 6422 and THY 12, pp. 294 ff. and 15, pp. 325 ff. Subsequent discussions on the ancestral temples in the T'ang invariably referred to the sacrilege of Empress Wu. Arthur Wright, in a recent paper on the formal procedures by which Sui Wen-ti legitimized himself (Asilomar, 1975), emphasized the importance of ancestral temples and titles.
26. TCTC 203, p. 6422.
27. The Act of 684 is found in TTCLC 3:4b, WYYH 463:6b, and CTW 96:11a. See also TTYK 15:14b ff. For Empress Wu, this Act and that of 689 are the only ones extant in their entirety.
28. I have divided the document somewhat arbitrarily into three sections which seem to contain provisions of the same nature.
29. I do not mean to suggest here that Wu was openly and consciously following the model of Wang Mang. If anything, she avoided exact duplication of his actions. The use of Chou-li symbolism, however, seems to have had a great appeal to rulers concerned about their legitimacy. On the peculiarly Confucian use of literary titles see Dubs' remarks in Pan Ku, Former Han, v. 3, pp. 104 ff.
30. The Phoenix Court and Luan [a type of phoenix] Terrace were used respectively for the Department of State Affairs and the Chancellery. The luan, for instance, is said to have conveyed the Han Taoist adept Mei Fu to the land of the immortals. The phoenix had since ancient times been a sign of the impending appearance of a sage-king.
31. The era name was changed to kuang-ch'ai to commemorate the discovery of relics described in the last chapter.
32. CTW 17:10a.
33. See CTW 17:8b and 14b-16a.
34. Several examples are given in Chapter 9, and we might note the specific criticism of the frequency of the Acts by Liu Chih-chi in 695. *TCTC* 205, pp. 6500-01 and *THY* 81, pp. 1494-5.

35. *CTW* 96:15a. On the new branch of the Censorate, see *THY* 60, p. 1041.


39. See Pulleyblank, *Background*, Chapter 5, and my remarks in Chapter 8. The usual starting point in discussing the decline of the *fu-ping* is the *Yeh-hou chia-chuan* (*Yu-hat* 138:20ab), translated by Pulleyblank, *Background*, p. 143. Yeh's remarks seem to have been influential in Ch'en Yin-k'o's suggestion [Chapter 6] that Empress Wu deliberately weakened the *fu-ping*, and the contention of Ku, *Fu-ping*, p. 216, that her reign was "the decisive first step" in the decline of the institution. Hamaguchi, "Fuhei" has explored the question in detail.

Generally speaking, the aspects of the Chou blamed by modern scholarship for the *fu-ping* decline are:

a) The political climate of the Chou court—factionalism and disputes among *tsai-hsiang* and generals, as well as the empress' disgrace or execution of so many high military officials.

b) The empress' excessive use of the troops.

c) The expansion of her personal bodyguard and the use of eunuchs in it. The *Yu-lin* Guard came to overshadow the *fu-ping* and exercise too much control over the court.

d) The overgenerous conferral of honorific rank, even to the nonmilitary, which destroyed the merit principle. Tangible rewards of land and grain were curtailed in spite of promises to the contrary so that expectations were disappointed.

e) Landlord and official classes scorned the *fu-ping* and hired peasants, often the poor and weak, to serve for them. Worse, they bribed the officials in charge of draft lists to exempt them so that peasants were unfairly conscripted or quotas were left unfilled. Tunhuang evidence makes clear this absolutely key factor in the decline of the system.

f) The government could not control the problem of vagrant or fugitive households. Unable to tell who was eligible for *fu-ping* service, it was unable to equalize the burden.

As we shall see, there is some evidence that all of these factors were present in the Chou, but because our evidence is scanty, it is difficult to judge the degree to which they affected the system's decline. It should not be too much to say, however, that the list alone reveals something of Wu's attitude toward the system, and it seems unreasonable to deny that she failed to offer it support or contribute to its viability.

Her motives are difficult to discern, and I can agree with Professor Ch'en only in the widest sense. The *fu-ping* was at its most basic level an instrument of centralization, but because the initial distribution of units was so weighted in favor of the Northwest, contradiction was inherent from the first. If the system had to be weakened in the name of regional equalization, then Professor Ch'en is right. I am not sure, however, that this was the case.

By the Chou dynasty, two ill-fated rebellions had demonstrated that a viable centralization had been achieved and that the T'ang system could
withstand even a female ruler. As we shall see, the hard-pressed northeastern prefectures strongly resisted the invasions of Khitans and Turks and their invitations to collaborate in the deposition of the empress. In these circumstances, the fu-ping had no function that could not be better served by professional armies, and what is more, its inadequacies had become apparent as early as mid-century when it was first used as a semi-permanent garrison in Korea and when the decline in its morale came to imperial notice. By the Chou dynasty it was probably too late to arrest the decline without a full-scale reform and for reasons I shall mention later, this was impracticable.

In short, while I admit that the Empress Wu bears much of the responsibility for the decline of the fu-ping, I am not convinced that she consciously set out to destroy it.

40. CTW 96:15ab.
41. The most striking use of recommendation for appointment came in 686 when the establishment of the Urn began a continuing process whereby anyone who felt himself qualified for office could recommend himself for appointment. In addition, decrees were issued after 684 whereby present officials were asked to recommend their own replacements and, in some cases, to suggest up to three names (THY 26, p. 890). Specified ranks were often ordered to recommend, sometimes the third rank and above (THY 53, p. 920) but more commonly fifth rank and above (TFYK 67:27b ff.). On occasion, the hereditary principle was served by having officials recommend "sons and nephews" (THY 53, p. 919) or, conversely, those "not of powerful or influential clan" (CTW 13:14a, Kao-tsung). Decrees calling for recommendation were issued both on auspicious occasions and calamitous ones, as in the case of the burning of the ming-t'ang (CTW 96:2b). An edict of Kao-tsung in 677 commanded that capital officials above the third rank every year recommend all whom they knew of civil or military talent or good character (CTW 13:14a and TFYK 67:28a).

In the Chou we find commissioners sent out to seek worthy men, and prefects and tu-tu enjoined to recommend so that, as will be shown, the empress became the butt of much criticism. Monographic study of the frequency with which she used this method of recruitment relative to other T'ang rulers would be useful.

Judging from CTW 95:14b, there were legal penalties for a bad recommendation in response to these decrees, and several biographies suggest that existing officials were reluctant to recommend since their own fate was then tied to that of their protegés. Yang Tsai-ssu (Appendix B, no. 111) "never once recommended another" in the course of his successful career.

42. From a memorial of 685. See Ch'en Tsu-ang chi, p. 184.
43. Discussed in detail in Twitchett's "Note."
44. On Li Chi, see Appendix B, no. 27.
45. TCTC 201, p. 6360.
46. A good study of the area in this period is Ch'üan Han-sheng, "Ching-chi ching-k'uang."
47. The names and former ranks of several of these figures are found in TCTC 203, p. 6422.
48. The rebels restored the era name of Chung-tsung and claimed to be acting on his behalf, but there is no indication that he was even cognizant of the rising. The use of a double for the deposed Prince Hsien throws suspicion on Ch'ing-yeh's motives. See TCTC 203, pp. 6423-24.
49. On Lo Pin-wang, see CTS 190 shang:3581:3, HTS 201:4100:3 and Kuo Mo-jo's speculation on his fate in Wu Tse-t'ien, p. 147. The manifesto is found in CTW
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197:1a and is abstracted in TCTC 203, pp. 6423-4.

50. A reference to the duties of a ts'ei-jen concubine in the imperial wardrobe. Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, p. 97, renders the passage, "Formerly she served T'ai Tsung with her body and then made use of an occasion when [Kao Tsung] was changing his clothes to commit fornication with him."

51. The reference here is probably to Wu's niece rather than to her sister (Chapter 3, n. 107), and there is, of course, no evidence that Wu had anything to do with the death either of Kao-tsung or of her mother. It is interesting to note that Pin-wang makes no reference to the murder of her infant daughter or, indeed, to Prince Hung.

52. Here Pin-wang is referring to Jui-tsung's exclusion from politics and also perhaps to the rapid rise of the Wu nephews. It might be noted that Wang Mang was also charged with murdering the ruler and planning usurpation in Chai I's rebel manifesto in 8 A.D. Pan Ku, *Former Han*, v. 3, pp. 235-36.

53. There is no evidence that Ching-yeh received Kao-tsung's testament or that he ever held a post higher than prefect.

54. The ambiguity might be deliberate here since the rebels were using the names both of Crown Prince Hsien and of Chung-tsung.

55. CTW 197:1a ff.

56. TCTC 203, p. 6424.

57. The imperial force consisted of 300,000 men led by one of the T'ang princes, and amnesty was extended to all who would voluntarily submit. Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, pp. 98 ff, outlines the campaign. On the leader of the force, see CTS 60:3298:3 and HTS 78:3872:4.

58. The advice of Wei Ssu-wen, about whom nothing is known except that he was a demoted censor. See TCTC 203, p. 6426-27.

59. See Pulleyblank, *Background*, pp. 75-81, and the references cited in later chapters.

60. TCTC 203, p. 6426.

61. On the end of the campaign, see TCTC 203, pp. 6430-31.

62. HTS 117:3945:2. See also TCTC 203, pp. 6425-6 where the k'ao-i examines the conflict. Ssu-ma Kuang repeats a story from the Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai which also suggests that P'ei Yen was connected with the rebels but concludes that the allegations arose from his enemies, and so refuses to give credence to his guilt.

63. Note 8 above and TCTC 203, p. 6425.


65. TCTC 203, p. 6426. "I know that P'ei Yen was rebellious. . . .!"

66. CTS 87:3551:4 and TCTC 203, p. 6425.

67. TCTC 203, p. 6432. On Ch'eng, see CTS 83:3345:2 and HTS 111:3935:2.

68. TCTC 203, p. 6432, k'ao-i which traces the incident to the T'ang t'ung-chi, a source which Ssu-ma Kuang refuses to accept. The story is also found in HTS 76:3867:3.

69. TCTC, *loc. cit.*

70. Discussed in Chapter 9.

71. TCTC 203, p. 6418. Chung-tsung had apparently been generous with his hunting attendants and one of them expressed dissatisfaction at his deposition.
On the establishment of these attendants, see TCTC 195, p. 6141.

72. CTS 186 shang: 3564:1.
73. CTS, loc. cit. and TCTC 203, pp. 6439-40. See also Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 115-117.
74. TCTC 203, pp. 6437-38, THY 55, pp. 956-59, Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 143-46, and Feng-shih wen-chien chi. Some sources suggest there were originally four urns, only later united into one.
75. TCTC 203, p. 6438.
76. Ch'en Tsu-ang chi, pp. 216-17. The memorial is abstracted in TCTC 203, pp. 6440-41.
78. See TCTC 192, p. 6031 and 193, p. 6080. Wechsler, Mirror, notes several occasions on which T'ai-tsung withdrew edicts on the advice of Wei Cheng or others.
79. On Liu, see Appendix B, no. 72. He was an early favorite of the empress, seconded P'ei Yen at Chung-tsung's deposition, and was paramount minister from the time of P'ei's death. On this occasion, he challenged the legality of an order to have him investigated for bribery and adultery.
80. TLSI 3:1, pp. 40 ff. lists three types of punishment for errant officials. The first was removal from present office, the second the stripping of all posts including honorific ones, and the third "eradication of name." The latter was the most severe and meant that the official lost all offices and titles and paid tax and corvee according to his basic status (pen-se). Once convicted, a man could hand on to his sons none of the privileges of rank and was often himself without livelihood. The penalty of eradication was often applied together with those of exile or of chi-mo (TLSI 17:3, p. 40) in which the criminal himself, his father and son(s) were executed with the sole concession that those under fifteen and over sixty could be strangled rather than beheaded. His mother, daughter(s), wife and concubines, his grandfather and grandson(s), brother(s), sister(s), and slaves all became state property while his land, dwellings and property were confiscated.
81. TCTC 206, pp. 6513.
82. TCTC 205, pp. 6491-92 and Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 150-151.
83. TCTC 203, pp. 6438-39.
84. TCTC 183, p. 6061.
85. The most famous was Hou Ssu-chih, a cake seller who rose to the Censorate after convincing the empress that illiteracy was no barrier to the fulfillment of his functions. TCTC 204, p. 6464.
86. TCTC 203, p. 6439.
87. For this rather insidious principle see TLSI 1:1, pp. 26-27. In 697 the empress commented that she had always seen the confessions of those who were executed. TCTC 206, p. 6523.
88. On Hsü Yu-kung, see CTS 85:3349:1 and HTS 113:3939:3. A summary of the trials in which he acted as defender is found in TT 169, pp. 894c ff. and TSYK 616 and 617. A case could be made to suggest that the precedents set by the cases he won contributed to making the law more lenient during the terror.
89. TCTC 206, p. 6523. On Yao, see Appendix B, no. 122. The phrase I have translated as "followed their own interests" might be rendered "took care of things without hindrance."
90. CTS 183:3554:4 and TCTC 205, p. 6498. A censor had been given permission...
to examine the monk's conduct but Huai-i rode his horse into the courtroom,
dismounted briefly, then rode out again. The empress did not order a retrial
but gave the censor permission to exile the many ruffians with whom Huai-i had
surrounded himself.

91. _TCTC_ 203, p. 6437.

92. Sources here are contradictory. The Turkish raids, which had become a
problem in Kao-tsung's last years, had increased in intensity and in early 685
the Chinese had suffered a great defeat in Hsin-chou, losing over 5,000 men.
Three months later they were able to recoup their losses, and the An-pei pro-
tectorate was moved to T'ung-ch'eng to accept the surrender of the defeated
tribes. _TCTC_ 203, p. 6435 and Hu San-hsing locate the new center. I think
the date given, however, is a year too early since _THY_ 73, p. 1309, Yü-hai
133:20a, _Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih_ 4, and Ch'en Tzu-ang _chi_, pp. 190 ff. sug-
gest that the move occurred in conjunction with the abolition of the Shan-yū
protectorate which was put under a garrison commissioner in the fifth month of
686. See also Ts'en, _T'u-chüeh_, pp. 309-20 for a full examination of events.

Ch'en Tzu-ang at this time had just left a post in Kan-chou, and the
long memorial cited is our best contemporary source for the state of the Turks
and the Uighurs in the period. In it Ch'en suggested first of all that the
court discard its arrogant refusal to receive the so-called Shih-hsing tribes
who had just inflicted heavy defeats on the Uighurs without instructions from
China. Second, he suggested that the new An-pei protectorate be substantially
strengthened and much better supplied in order to deal with the surrendered
Turks. Finally, he recommended that since Kan-chou was the key to the defense
of the Northwest and was also an object of plunder both to the Tibetans and the
Chiu-hsing Turks, more Chinese should be settled there. Pointing out that the
3,000 _kuan-hu_ there supplied scarcely a hundred good troops and were unable
even to bring in the annual harvest, it was entirely possible that all three
prefectures of Kan, Liang and Su would soon be lost to the foreigners along
with the entire Ho-hsi region.

The situation he describes was all too typical of the protectorate sys-
tem in the late seventh century. The memorial is also found in _Ch'en Shih-i_
_choi_, 8.

93. In 689, Loyang for the first time produced more _chin-shih_ than Ch'ang-
an. _Teng-k'o chi-k'ao_, first year of _yung-ch'ang_.

94. See respectively, _THY_ 69, p. 1213 [687], _THY_ 69, p. 1213 [685] and _THY_
56, pp. 965-66 [685].

95. See, for instance, _TCTC_ 205, pp. 6477-78.

96. The precise origins and definitions of _yüan-wai_ officialdom are unclear.
The Hu commentary, _TCTC_ 201, p. 6356, suggests that the first time one of these
supernumeraries received equivalent rank and emoluments (_yüan-wai_ _t'ung-cheng_)
was 654 but implies that the practice did not become widespread until 668. _THY_
58, pp. 1003 ff. lists many of these appointments as they were regularized in
the Boards, and I have found that in the decade following 668, _yüan-wai_ offi-
cials were added almost every year to one or another of them.

Because this was a time when officialdom generally was expanding, the
new appointments were warranted and probably beneficial, especially in the
Board of Civil Office. In 697, however, a massive increase occurred when Li
Chiao, in charge of the selection system, "began the establishment of several
thousand _yüan-wai-kuan._" ( _TCTC_ 206, p. 6525.) I think this meant that the
practice was extended to the provinces. Ironically, Li Chiao advocated a
great reduction in these positions in 706, contending that they performed no
service but drew salaries and extorted from the people. *CTW* 247:26.

97. *TT* 7, p. 40c. See also *THY* 89, pp. 1623-4, Yu-hai 80:18b. On these problems, there are several useful remarks in Twitchett, *Financial Administration*, especially pp. 66 ff.

98. The literature on the question of registration and vagrancy has grown very large since the Tunhuang discoveries, and a good review of the problem is Nakagawa, "Tô-Sô no kakkyo." Pulleyblank's comments in *Background*, pp. 27-32, are still useful and the modifications suggested by Tonami, "Tô no ritsuryô," solve many of the outstanding questions. Li Chiao's thorough memorial of 695 on the problem has been translated by Balazs in "Beiträge," pp. 27 ff. Judging from his remarks, the problem had existed for some time but the measures of 684, mentioned earlier, seem to have kept it under control.

99. See *THY* 91, p. 1652 and *TCTC* 204, p. 6445 respectively.

100. See Chapter 4, note 28. It is difficult to account for the attraction of the Chou-Î although the Confucian doctrine of rectification of names certainly played a part. *Analects* 11:23 and 111:14 provide a clue, the latter reading: "Chou had the advantage of viewing the two past dynasties. How complete and elegant are its regulations. I follow Chou." (Legge, *Four Books*, p. 31).

101. Pan Ku, *Former Han*, v. 3, p. 219. Like the Pao-t'ü, the stone found in 6 A.D. was white with red writing. Seidel discusses omens of this kind in "Dynastic treasures."

102. *CTS* 6:3075:4, *HTS* 76:3867:3, and *TCTC* 204, p. 6449. See also the commentary to the *Great Cloud Sutra* translated in the preceding chapter.

103. Chapter 4, n. 96. Evidence from Tunhuang suggests a longer inscription.

104. *TCTC* 204, p. 6449 and *HTS* 76:3867:3. I have found no previous instance of a ruler adopting the title shen-huang though there may be some connection with the san-huang of antiquity or perhaps to the shen-huang of Taoist mythology who possessed the secret of immortality.

105. See Chapter 4, note 80.

106. *TCTC* 203, p. 6425.

107. *HTS* 76:3867:4. *TCTC* 204, p. 6449, suggests that after the discovery of the Pao-t'ü, the empress determined to usurp and decided to eliminate the imperial clan.


109. *TCTC* 204, p. 6449, which suggests that the princes were beginning to make plans to save the state (kuang-fu). See also *CTS* 64:3307:4, biography of Li Yüan-chia.


111. *TCTC* 204, p. 6467. Ssu-ma Kuang points out that Princess Ch'i-en-chin who had introduced the empress to Hsüeh Huai-i was the only adult survivor, and *TCTC* 205, p. 6485 offers a rough estimate of the number of victims.

112. *TCTC* 204, p. 6451.

113. *THY* 50, p. 865.

114. *TCTC* 204, p. 6454 and *HTS* 76:3867:4. *CTShih* 5 preserves the verses she is said to have composed for the ceremonial at the Lo River. On the calendar, see *TCTC* 204, p. 6462.

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116. Chapter 4, note 82.
117. A suggestion of Lin Yü-t'ang in the novel Lady Wu which I do not find very convincing. It is interesting to note, however, the legend that Yü was able to compose the Hung-fan after receiving the Lo-shu which was engraved on the shell of a turtle which emerged from the Lo River. Acker, T'ang and Pre-T'ang Texts, v. 1, pp. 85-94, looks at some legends of this sort.
118. TCTC 204, p. 6463. See Chapter 7.
120. See Ch'en, Transformation, pp. 82 ff.
121. Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 85-86, discusses the most notable example, that of the Northern Chou.
123. HTS 109:3931:1. The diviner was attempting to show Chung-tsung that the Chou and T'ang were the same and that the course of events could have been predicted on the basis of eight signs.
125. Ta-fang teng wu-hsiang ching 6, TD 12:1107a.
126. Chapter 4, n. 157.
127. TCTC 204, p. 6467.
128. Ta' u-yüan, p. 1688b.
129. See Legge, Book of History, v. 2, p. 298. The comparison may seem forced, but in view of the preceding replication of Chou symbolism and the fact that the empress was to choose red as the color of her banners, it does not strike me as unreasonable.

Chapter 6

1. See Chapter 1, notes 46-49.
2. See Miyakawa Hisayuki, "Outline of the Naitō hypothesis," and Miyakawa Ichisada, "Four ages."
3. The thesis is presented most systematically in Parts I and II of Cheng-chih shih, pp. 1-94.
5. See, for instance, Wechsler, "Factionalism," in Perspectives, pp. 87-120, and the several remarks in Johnson, Oligarchy, pp. 128-130. In an earlier version of his work, Johnson listed three broad categories of objection to Ch'en's thesis, and these seem worthy of mention here. In the first place, Ch'en's belief that the ruling class polarized along historico-geographical lines because of the rivalry between Chou and Ch'i does not give sufficient weight to the fact that the imperial clans of both originated in the so-called Four Garrisons, and that the ruling group in both was composed of precisely the same type of clan; that is to say, of Hsien-pei and collaborating Chinese who were not numbered among the preeminent surnames of the time.

This latter fact is important because while the refusal of the northeastern elite to collaborate with the Ch'i and the Sui is well-known, the corresponding attitude of the northwestern clans usually goes unremarked. Liu Fang, in his Hsiang-hsi lüan (see note 8), identified as the preeminent of the Northwest the six clans of Wei, P'ei, Liu, Hsüeh, Yang and Tu. While they were prominent in the government of Sui and T'ang, they seemed to play hardly any role at all in the Chou central administration and so can hardly be
identified with Yu-wen T'ai's "northwestern bloc." The imperial clans of Sui and T'ang both claimed kinship with the purely Chinese elite of this area, but it is well established that these were spurious claims and that both were of Six Garrison (Wu-ch'uan) origins. For this reason there seems no cause to assume a political polarization of the T'ang ruling class on purely regional grounds. I shall later show that friction arose more from perceptions of cultural and racial purity than from geography.

The second criticism of Ch'en's formulations is one applied to his definitions. To him the T'ang "ruling class" consisted of "the [imperial] Li clan and the high civil and military officials," so that the local and semi-official power structure receives too little consideration. His use of such terms as "class" and "social revolution" are rather vague and, more seriously, his attempt to divide the so-called Shan-tung and Kuan-chung blocs by the existence of the T'ai-hang Mountains is hardly adequate. To cite only one example, the native place of the Empress Wu lies to the northwest of the range yet, as I shall show, she was considered by contemporaries to be an "easterner."

Finally, Professor Ch'en seems never to resolve a basic contradiction. After depicting so clearly the regional rivalry in Part I of his book, he moves on in Part II to the struggle between the new [post-Empress Wu] and the old elites, writing on p. 53, "Before the Empress Wu destroyed the old 'Kuan-chung First' policy, the T'ang ruling class had been made up not only of the Chinese, non-Chinese, and semi-Chinese clans of Yu-wen T'ai's northwestern bloc, but also of the great Shan-tung clans who in tradition followed that of the northern dynasties. Men of this type composed almost the whole of the upper bureaucracy..." [My emphasis]. A comparison of this passage with that quoted in the text shows a direct contradiction, caused by an initial failure to define closely the ruling class.

These criticisms, of course, do not invalidate Ch'en's work, but they do suggest that some modification is required.

6. Of several reasons which could be cited, the most important is that extant sources provide information on only a tiny proportion of the T'ang population, and that with the exception of the Tunhuang manuscripts, no local history has survived. Twitchett, "The composition of the T'ang ruling class," in Perspectives, pp. 47-85.

7. See CTS 149:3479:3 and HTS 132:3975:3.

8. The full text is found in CTW 372:7a-11b and in an abbreviated form in HTS 199:4093:4. It is the only lengthy discussion of the subject remaining from T'ang times.

9. This distinction was the most crucial in medieval status terminology and was sanctioned both by law and by custom. While shu is rendered conventionally by "commoner," the term shih has yet to find a suitable English equivalent, and rather than use "scholar," "gentry" or "literati," I prefer to leave the word in its Chinese form and define the characteristics of the group.

The best studies on the term are Niida's Shina and his supplementary remarks in "Rikuchō." Miyakawa, Rikushōshi kenkyū (Tokyo, 1956) attempts to make the distinction a precise one, and Mao, Liang-Chin demonstrates the wide range of status terminology used even within the shih class. Miyazaki's Kohon shows that the meaning of shih varied over time and differed in North and South.

Johnson, Oligarchy, Chapter 1, pp. 5-17 elaborates upon some of this research.

Working from these studies, the following salient characteristics of the shih in the early T'ang might be isolated:
(a) They were generally and by social convention recognized to constitute a
class distinct from the shu.
(b) The criminal code granted them no concessions on the basis of social as
opposed to occupational status (Johnson, *Oligarchy*, p. 8).
(c) They were exempted from corvée, and this privilege was a mark of their
(d) State schools, both central and provincial, tended to admit only the shih,
but Miyazaki's view (p. 247) that education was reserved to the shih is an over-
statement.
(e) Shih status depended principally upon the sanction of other shih and was
beyond the power of the emperor to confer (Chou, *Wei Chin*, pp. 99-100).
(f) The hallmark of the shih was culture: morality, high standards of con-
duct, loyalty to discipline and tradition, a certain commitment to noblesse
oblige and to the self-consciousness of class. Within these limits, it was an
hereditary status.
(g) The shih were distinguished by an exclusive marriage circle and by a de-
determination not to marry below their station (Mao, *Liang-Chin*, pp. 230-37).
There was no statutory ban on marriage with commoners (Niida, "Rikuchō," p. 22).
(h) Status and officeholding were closely connected. Commoners found it ex-
ceedingly difficult to enter the bureaucracy and, although never barred de jure
from officialdom, tended to rise only in unusual circumstances, chiefly through
military prowess in periods of dynastic change. For the shih, state service was
an important means of preserving their status, but it was not all-important, and
culture and lifestyle combined with social recognition permitted some clans to
eschew office while retaining prominence. See, for example, Ochi Shigeki,
"Nancho no koseki mondai," *Shigaku zasshi*, 69:8 (1960), pp. 940-64. Shih status
could be gained by office, but office was granted generally only to those who
already possessed shih status.
It is this final point which has led Japanese scholarship in this century
to characterize the entire post-Han era as that of the "aristocratic society" to
which Toyama's book of readings *Kizoku shakai* provides an excellent short intro-
duction. Johnson, *Oligarchy*, pp. 5-45, is a most useful new addition to the
literature on the subject.
10. A term discussed later in the chapter. I prefer the translation "magnate
clans" which perhaps conveys something of the close regional ties, military
prowess and "feudal" organization which seem to have been common to their tra-
dition. Liu Fang provides a useful insight here, for by T'ang times the term
seems to have included a connotation of opposition to centralization and was
applied most frequently to the northeastern clans.
11. The term yu-heing is used consistently throughout the essay as the gen-
eralized description of the most important clans on the national level.
12. These terms have received less attention than shih and shu, probably be-
cause the latter was the more common distinction until the middle T'ang. Sev-
eral translations, such as "noble and base" or sometimes "free and unfree" have
been used, but these are not altogether satisfactory since chien is often used
for servants, slaves, artisans, merchants, prostitutes, etc., and kuei seems
often to have been highly relative and to have meant simply "non-chien." It
was replaced by the term liang "free" in T'ang law. There now exists a full
study of the chien class in the T'ang. The opening chapter in Hamaguchi Tō Ōchō
discusses the distinction.
13. It was members of this group who were most prominent in the high official-
dom of the early T'ang and who constituted Professor Ch'en's "Kuan-chung bloc."
On the ssu-hsing question which follows in Liu's essay, see Johnson, *Oligarchy*, pp. 28-30, and note TCCG 140, p. 4394, where Hu San-hsing anachronistically applies the term to the first four clans of the realm. This seems to have been T'ang usage.

14. The only mention I find is in *T'ai-p'ing kung-ohi* 184:41a, and the bibliographical treatises of the T'ang histories make no reference to the monk's work. The *T'ung-chih, chüan* 66 which is probably our most complete listing of genealogical works, mentions neither this nor the next two works listed by Liu Fang.

15. I find no other reference, though the title seems to indicate that this was a statewide compilation.

16. Again I find no details of this work, and it seems odd that it goes unmentioned at the time the *Shih-tsu chih* was compiled. As the first work since the Han to apply to the entire country, it should have been a primary source of reference. In this connection, we might note the growing tradition in northern dynasties of compiling national status lists, and the parallel development whereby the definition of preeminent surnames came increasingly to be divorced from local prominence. It seems clear that whereas in the Wei each prefecture had its preeminent surnames, these later compilations listed only clans of wider prominence and, therefore, some prefectures would go wholly unmentioned.

It is important to note here that the term mao-hsing seems to refer to Chinese clans of long and proud lineage and suggests that the Sui was more ambiguous than is generally thought in its "anti-aristocratic" policies.

17. On Lu, see CTS 189 haiv:3577:1 and HTS 199:4092:3. His work is attested in the CTS, HTS, TFYK, T'ung-chih and Yü-hai which also mention an earlier compilation called the *I-kuan p'u*. He died in prison in 696 and is considered by Liu Fang as the father of T'ang genealogical studies.


19. Numerous anecdotes from the dynastic histories could be cited to demonstrate this, and some are to be found in Ikeda On's draft chapter for Volume 3 of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of China*, "The decline of the T'ang aristocracy." We might also note, for instance, *Nam-shih* 56:1754:4 which tells of a man who had the "bearing, [official] qualification and style" of the *shih* and requested the Southern Ch'i emperor to confer the status. After consultation with his social arbiters, the emperor had to confess that he could do nothing since "the shih-ta-fu really stand beyond my authority [in this matter]."

Chou, *Wei Chin*, pp. 98-99, cites this anecdote to demonstrate the snobbery and the necessity of peer recognition which were part of the shih group, but it seems equally valid to suggest that it was lack of lineage which led to the rejection of the aspiring shih.

*Wei-shu* 60:2035:2 contains a memorial from Han Hsien-tsung asking that shih and shu have separate living quarters in Loyang rather than being assigned their places on the basis of official rank. In it, Han contends that official rank is transient, its holders rising and falling. On the other hand, if artisans were to cultivate the conduct and standards of the shih, they would not reach the status in a hundred years. He went on to say that if the sons of the shih followed the behavior of the artisans, they would become like them in a single morning.

Some scholars, for instance Johnson, *Oligarchy*, p. 8, see this as a denial of the hereditary principle. I believe that Han is suggesting that shih status can be lost but that "conduct and standards" are in themselves insufficient to gain the status. The emperor might bestow high office or expose
non-shih to their superiors in the hope of raising their status but, according to Han, both tactics are futile.

These examples suggest, therefore, that while office and culture are attributes of the shih, they are not the determinants of the status. I shall later attempt to show the tenacity of the hereditary principle in relation to the early-T'ang attempts at status fixing and even in the form taken by its regulations concerning the examination system.


21. The secondary literature on this subject is large, and T'ung-shih 66, pp. 783c ff. gives some idea of the volume of these compilations, listing 131 works in the four categories of arrangement, those by rank, rhyme, single area and single clan. Cheng Ch'iao, T'ung-shih erh-shih-tüeh 1:1b, tells us that under the T'ang, "the study of lineage and clan reached its zenith." A good overview of the subject is the important article by Utsunomiya, "Tôdai kijin." A number of studies cited in later notes shows the prevalence of falsification.

22. CTW 372:10a. This passage offers an interesting insight into Ch'en's Northwest-Northeast hypothesis. The greater role of Kuan-chung in the government of the early T'ang was perhaps as much a matter of choice and regional proclivity as of dynastic policy.

23. THY 37, p. 663.

24. CTS 57:3292:4. The minister is P'ei Chi (Appendix B, no. 2) who, though poor in his youth, considered himself a member of the eminent Ho-tung P'ei clan which is systematically studied by Yano, "Kizoku seiji." Note also Kao-tsu's conversation with Tou Wei (no. 5), CTS 61:3301:1, in which he speaks in a similar vein.

25. The lengthy debate on the origins of the T'ang clan has centered chiefly on whether their lineage was purely Chinese or Hsien-pei, and Ch'en, Kuoshih chiu-wen, v. 2, pp. 2 ff. collects most of the important data. Ch'en Yin-k'o has three articles on the subject in CYYY but his suggestion that they were a decayed branch of the Chao-ch'un Li clan seems to have been effectively rebutted by Chu Hsi-tsu, "Po Li-T'ang," and Liu P'an-sui, "Li-T'ang." Though conflicting evidence makes the problem very vexing, I am of the view that the Lung-hsi connection was false and that it should be seen in the same light as the Sui attempt to claim connection with the eminent Hung-nung Yang clan.

26. On the bride gift, see Okamoto, "Tôdai heizaikô." Okamoto shows that the gifts were often of very great value and as important as the letters of engagement in formalizing the marriage. Since the northern dynasties the state had attempted to define the gifts in terms of official rank, but social status seems to have been of greater importance. See also TRSI 9:27 and 30, pp. 245 ff. and Nien-erh shih cha-chî, chüan 15, v. 1, p. 197.

27. On the compilers, see respectively Appendix B, no. 15; CTS 77:3333:2 and HTS 98:3910:2; Appendix B, no. 26; and CTS 73:3325:4 and HTS 102:3918:3. The large literature on the subject is extremely well reviewed by Ikedo's "Tôchô." In this literature the background of the compilers is generally neglected.

The reason for their choice is difficult to know. Te-fen and Wen-pen had been the compilers of the Chou-shu in the large project of 629 and so could claim historical expertise, but neither of the other two seem to have been distinguished scholars. Both of them, however, were from relatively eminent clans, both held the highest positions in the Board of Civil Office, and both had present marriage connections with the imperial clan. The Ling-hu and Wei clans
shared the background and regional origins of the T'ang, and the grandfather of Ts'len Wen-pen had been closely identified with the Later Liang and so may have been included to represent the South in an attempt to achieve regional balance.

Kao Shih-lien was probably the key figure, not only as head of the project but as the only northeasterner in it. He claimed descent from the imperial clan of Chi, and thus his Six Garrison origins and the fact that he was the uncle of T'ai-tsung's wife would effectively set him apart from the four great northeastern clans against whom the list was directed.

Therefore, although the chief compilers reflected the regional balance typical of the upper bureaucracy in the early T'ang, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the group constituted a "packed jury." Their first verdict must have been a great surprise and attests to the overwhelming prestige of the northeastern clans and the dichotomy between office and social status which was still so strong.

28. Ikeda, "Todai," in perhaps the most important study to date correlates Tunhuang evidence with later sources to reconstruct the fullest list of eminent T'ang clans. Interestingly, the Wang and the Hsieh do not seem to appear in the lists. Moriya's classic study of the T'ai-yüan Wang clan, Rikuoho, identifies two branches early established in the South and remaining prominent for three to five centuries, so it may be to one of them that T'ai-tsung refers. Both of the northern Hsieh clans mentioned by Ikeda had southern branches.

29. T'ai-tsung is reported to have chosen marriage partners for the imperial clan only from the households of his meritorious ministers and to have refused even to discuss the possibility of a northeastern marriage (TCCTC 200, p. 6318). His great ministers, however, men like Wei Cheng, Fang Hsüan-ling and Li Chi, did not hesitate to seek brides from these clans once their fortunes were made. This was an important phenomenon since it was not only the bride gift but the influence of and aid from in-laws at court which helped keep these clans solvent.

See also Nunome, Zui-Toshi, pp. 358-9 and 362-3, which offers a complete list of the marriages of T'ang princesses, confirming the boycott of the northeastern elite.

30. This was Ts'ui Min-kan whom the dynastic histories call Ts'ui Kan since "min" was a taboo character under T'ai-tsung. The Ts'ui clan was composed of ten branches and Min-kan belonged to that of Ch'ing-ho. At the time of the list, he was vice-president of the Chancellery, a post of the fourth rank, and Wei T'ing was his opposite number.

The diction of CTS 65:3309:3 creates something of a problem here, since the passage in question is usually interpreted to mean that Ts'ui was placed above the imperial clan. I am not sure this was the case. The rather sketchy descriptions of the Shih-teu shih which remain tell us that the work contained 100 chüan and placed all the preeminent clans of the empire in nine ranks. It seems unlikely, therefore, that there would be only one clan in the first rank and T'ai-tsung was probably objecting to equality rather than superiority.

It would be well to take note here of two possible interpolations in the parallel HTS account found in 95:3903:4. In the first T'ai-tsung is said to have instructed his compilers to "rank first the imperial house and follow it with the consort families. Demote new clans and promote the old, placing the great (kao-t'iang) on the right and the lesser (han-chüan) on the left." Second, just before pointing out that he wished to honor the officials of his own court, he is reported to have said, "For many unbroken generations to be kung, ch'ing, or ta-fu—that is what should be defined as a great family (men-hu)."

Both these statements are somewhat suspect since they contradict the
main criterion for inclusion, that is, present official position. Since this is confirmed in every other source, the HTS statements must be rejected. They do, however, illustrate the quandary in which the compilers found themselves and suggest the possibility that the finished work was organized in such a way that the first two ranks were monopolized by the imperial and consort families with the other clans spread through the remaining seven.


32. Moriya, Rikuchû, especially pp. 135-36, shows how narrow the marriage circle of the T'ai-yüan Wang, who were often grouped with the northeastern ssu-hsing, remained throughout the T'ang; and an unpublished M.A. thesis by Saitô Aiko for Tokyo University has shown in meticulous detail that this was true for the other super elites of the Northeast. The contrast with the Li-T'ang clan, whose first rulers had married into the Tu-ku, Tou, and Ch'ang-sun clans, should be noted.

The refusal to marry with foreigners was principally a matter of pride, but a suggestion by Ts'en, Sui-T'ang shih, v. 1, p. 117, has merit. He points out that dissociation from the central power of the foreign regimes was also dissociation from exploitation of the peasantry and so became a source of popularity among the people.

33. TCTC 143, pp. 4393-6. The passage also offers some information on the Wei perception of the ssu-hsing and their relation to the Lung-hsi Li clan. The northeastern elite was not wholly successful in preserving its daughters from the foreigners.

34. For a general exposition of the clan rules, see Liu, Clan Rules. In the T'ang the two most celebrated sets of rules were those of Mu Ning and Han Shou, both from prominent northeastern clans. See CTS 155:3487:3 and HTS 163:4026:1. Among the ssu-hsing, the Ts'ui were most famous for their life style, cohesiveness and piety. See, for instance, HTS 182:4062:2, the biography of Ts'ui Tsu-yüan, and note how the qualities they instilled in members suited them for official careers and maintained them as the predominant T'ang clan. The biography of Ts'ui Hsüan-wei (Appendix B, no. 132) contains an admonition from his mother, née Lu, that as he embarked upon his official career he should not seek profit for himself or his clan but seek only honesty and integrity. Another fine example of clan rules are those of Liu Ts'ü (CTS 165:3508:2) whose seat was near the capital but who had close marriage ties with the Ts'ui. See also Utsunomiya, "Todai kijin," pp. 493 ff. and Takeda, "Tōdai shizoku."

35. The best-known case is that of Ts'ui Hao whose execution in 450 led to the decimation of the entire northeastern aristocracy. See Wang I-t'ung, "Ts'ui Hao."

36. Evidence could be adduced to support each of these points, and I suspect that these are what T'ai-tsung had in mind when he suggested that the people of Kuan-chung and Shan-tung were different in their way of thinking (CTS 78:3336:4). An incomplete study I have made of the data in the HTS ts'ai-hsiang table suggests that in the two generations from the inauguration of the Sui to the death of T'ai-tsung, the number of officials produced by the northeastern ssu-hsing was proportionately almost the same as that of six super elite clans of Kuan-chung identified by Liu Fang but, as several scholars have suspected, the proportion of central officials was appreciably lower. Interestingly, a fairly high proportion of these provincial appointments was made in the Northeast in spite of the fact that since the Sui attempts had been made to restore the Han practice of avoidance. The reasons, I think, are the same as those in the northern and southern dynasties recently explored by Kubozoe's "Gi-Shin."
long resistance of the Northeast to the T'ang and its continuing hostility meant that Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung not only used intermediaries like Wei Cheng and Ts'ui Kan there but seem also to have permitted the region a greater degree of autonomy. See, for instance, TCTC 186, p. 5823.

A current debate in Japanese scholarship concerns the precise relationship between the aristocracy and the rural community (hsiang-t'ang). What seems clear, however, is that the peasants, even in the T'ang, were still in the habit of looking to the great clans in their area for relief in times of calamity. The early T'ang seems to have been slow to usurp these relief functions in the Northeast, and I shall show that Kao-tsung and Empress Wu were more active in this respect.

37. See Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 75 ff. and the literature reviewed there.

38. See, for instance, Ch'en Yin-k'o, "Hao-chieh," which stresses the cohesion and military prowess of the group, demonstrating that T'ai-tsung's coup depended on them. Matsui, "Tódai," shows that the term was also used commonly for the aristocracy of the Southwest which shared many characteristics with those in the Northeast. Kikuchi, "Setsudoshi!" is the best short treatment of the hao-chieh as a distinct group and their influence on the societal structure.

39.CTS 82:3343:4 and TCTC 200, p. 6315. I am sceptical about this in view of the forced revision, the treatment of the northeastern ssu-hsiang, and the fact that the quoted passage occurs only in the biography of Li I-fu. It met approval, I think, only in relation to the Hsing-shih-lu.

40. TCTC 110:4a, TFYK 159:7a, and THY 83, p. 1528. The ban was issued in the sixth month of 642 and is discussed with its secondary literature in Ikeda, "Tôchô," pp. 51 ff. In it T'ai-tsung again attacks the northeastern clans saying that traditions and standards of conduct there have declined, and while the clans still enjoyed local prominence and renown, they had fallen into poverty and rejected the propriety of marriage by interesting themselves primarily in the wealth of those clans who wished to marry with them. They turned weddings into a business proposition. Although T'ai-tsung accused the clans of Shansi (Yen-Chao) of the same fault, his regional bias is clear.

41. TCTC 200, p. 6318.

42. See Appendix B. Ts'ui Jen-shih was from Ting-chou in Ho-tung, and I find no relationship with the eminent Ts'ui of Ho-pel.

43. The sources disagree. CTS 82:3343:4 claims that Li I-fu initiated the recompilation because his clan was unranked, and TCTC 200, p. 6315 says Hsü Ching-tsung asked for a revision because the empress' clan was unranked. HTS 95:3903:4 and THY 36, p. 665 cite both reasons. I find it hard to believe, in view of Shih-huo's career, that the Wu clan was unranked and prefer the THY wording: "was not clearly ranked." This would suggest that the empress was unsatisfied.

Li I-fu was very conscious of his inferior clan status and falsely claimed membership in that of the Chao-chün Li clan. He had to resort to intimidation to enforce the claim but when he attempted to use his false status to marry his son into the northeastern elite, he was rebuffed. His motives for desiring a new list were therefore strong, and he may also have inspired the marriage ban issued the same year that he was attempting to marry his son. See TCTC 200, p. 6318.

44. The compilation of 659 was delegated to twelve men of whom we have the names of only five. Of these, only Li I-fu and Lü Ts'ai (CTS 79:3338:4 and HTS 107:3926:4) are known in any other context. With the exception of Li I-fu, none occupied a position above the third rank, and one even held a liu-wai post!
Since the compilers represented neither great clans nor the upper bureaucracy, a new concept of status was reflected in their choice.

45. The table is based on information found in all the standard sources and follows that of Ikeda, "Tocho," p. 48.

The chief differences lie in the size and scope of the works. In addition, the Hsing-shih-lu makes an exact correlation of official rank and rank within the treatise and deletes all but the immediate family of the man ranked. The list of 659 was much larger than its predecessor and reflects the growth in officialdom and in the number of persons rising through the military in a time of foreign expansion. The approximate number of clans and persons ranked is difficult to know because we are by no means sure that the term chia is similarly used in both lists, nor indeed are we certain of the exact meaning of the term. Johnson, Oligarchy, pp. 91-92, sees chia as a subdivision of hsing which might be translated as "surname" or "descent group," and this seems justified in view of the form of the list. We must be cautious, however, about equating chia here with "family" or "household," a unit in T'ang times of five or six members, since if we did so we would find ourselves with an unbelievably small ruling class—less than .02% of the population. In the table I have chosen to translate the term chia as lineage in full realization that the rendering is unsatisfactory, but in the hope that it will underlie the fact that we are dealing with a special sort of "family." Imabori, "Todai shizoku," convincingly establishes a difference in the size of shih and shu households, and Niida, Shina, p. 337, suggests an average figure of ten persons in what would here be termed a chia. This, of course, is about double the size of an ordinary hu. Moriya, Rikuohô, pp. 143 ff. assembles evidence of a much larger figure but, after finding that a hundred was not uncommon, is reluctant to use the figure. Judging from specific cases of clans punished by Empress Wu, I would tend to put the number of individuals in a chia at between ten and thirty in this case. See, for instance, TCTC 200, p. 6317, and 206, p. 6513.

46. CTS 82:3343:4. HTS 223 shang:4163:4 uses the term ch'ang-shih. This is rather puzzling. Since a stated aim of the compilation was to form a nexus between status and official rank, it could hardly be left unrevised and was probably intended to serve as the basis of future lists.

47. CTS 82:3343:4, HTS 223 shang:4163:3, and THY 35, p. 665. Ikeda and Johnson are both of the view that the burning did not serve its purpose since the list of 707 was to be based on the Shih-tsu chih. This shows, however, only that some copies survived and underestimates the symbolic importance of the act. In any case, the Hsing-shih lu was the standard of status measurement for half a century of rapid social change and so of greater importance than T'ai-tsung's compilation.

48. Note 36 above.

49. CTS 82:3343:4, HTS 95:3904:1, THY 83, pp. 1528-29, TCTC 200, p. 6318, and Yu-hai 50:25a. In the ban seven surnames and eleven chia were forbidden to intermarry, and the bride gift was limited so that chia of the third rank or above could receive 300 p'i of silk [a p'i was 1.8 by 40 feet] and one of the eighth rank received fifty p'i. It had also been the practice, if the groom's house were higher than the bride's, for his chia to accept double these gifts. This was now forbidden.

50. See the studies of Moriya and Saitô cited above, and Tsukiyama, Todai, pp. 163 ff.

51. Chung-tsung reissued the ban, probably in 707 when the new clan list was
compiled. The standard sources do not mention the event but, judging from WYYH 900:7a, this final prohibition specified five surnames, mentioning the Northern Wei head of the clan by name and numbering the sons of each, so that the descendants of a total of forty-four men were forbidden to intermarry. In the case of the Ts'ui, eight generations were represented so that the scope of the ban was wide, including perhaps 300 chia.

52. On the fondness of the empress for Loyang, see Ch'üan, T'ang-Sung and Ts'en, Sui-T'ang shih, v. 1, pp. 142-47.

Both political and economic factors were present in the lengthy sojourn of the court at Loyang from the time of the empress' rise, and while I accept the belief that there existed antipathy between her and the northwestern clans concentrated near Ch'ang-an, I also believe that she and Kao-tsung were attempting consciously to reconcile the Northeast. It is significant that immediately after the marriage ban in the intercalary tenth month of 659, they went to Loyang where they were to stay for two years. This was, incidentally, a prosperous time in the Northwest and a period of drought in Ho-pei. In 660 there was a good deal of construction in Loyang—palaces, bridges, marketplaces, etc., and it was also from here that Su Ting-fang's great Korean expedition was launched. See THY 30, p. 560 and 86, p. 1577, and TCTC 200, p. 6320.

The growing importance of Loyang had been evident from about 656 when the first new palace in many years was built there (THY 30, pp. 551-2 and note the reasons why the first T'ang emperors did not build there), and when in early 657 the officials at Loyang were declared in all respects equal to their Ch'ang-an counterparts. THY 68, p. 1190. As noted earlier, Loyang became the Eastern Capital at the end of that year. It seems clear that the emphasis on Loyang reflected not only an appreciation of political and economic realities but, more specifically, was an attempt to reconcile the Northeast. In 660 when Kao-tsung and the empress made a well-publicized trip to Ping-chou, the geographical origins of the empress were further emphasized.

53. The exception was the Cheng clan of Jung-yang, and T'ang-kuo shih-pu, shang, p. 21, tells us that even in the T'ang they were considered reluctant to move from their native place. My calculations show the following distribution of tsai-heiang from the ssu-heang:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kao-tsu</th>
<th>T'ai-tsung</th>
<th>Kao-tsung (from 659)</th>
<th>Empress Wu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ts'ui</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheng</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54. CTS 189 hsia:3578:1, and see Utsunomiya, "Tōdai kijin," p. 59 for other sources. The work was suggested in 707 and completed seven years later. See also Ikeda, "Tōchō," pp. 48 and 56. Lü, Sui T'ang, p. 788, contends that this was the last of the state-sponsored treatises, and although there is evidence of other, much smaller works (Utsunomiya, "Tōdai kijin," pp. 59 ff.), this was certainly the last large-scale manifestation of state concern with status fixing.

55. The compilers were all high officials. Headed by Wei Yüan-chung (Appendix B, no. 121) and Chang Hsi (no. 124), they included five Board vice-presidents, most of whom were concurrently appointed to the History Office. Wei's death put a temporary stop to the project but Liu Ch'ung, who made the original proposal, continued to work with the historians Wu Ching and Liu
Chih-chi and five others to complete the project. Hsüan-tsung had it corrected and brought up-to-date by Liu Ch'ung, Liu Chih-chi and Hsueh Nan-chin. See THY 36, p. 665. The same source notes that Liu Chih-chi had recently created a stir by publishing the first honest and critical genealogy of his clan.

56. TFKK 560:20b. See also CTW 235:2a.
57. TFKK 560:21a.
58. CTS 189 heia:3578:1. The use of the Shih-tsu chih as a model is usually explained in terms of an aristocratic revival after the Chou. I doubt, however, that this was the case as early as 707, and I suspect rather that it reflects a nostalgic wish to associate the era with "the good government of ch'eng-kuan" and to eradicate the influence of Empress Wu in as many respects as possible.
59. The story is told of Hsüeh Yüan-ch'ao (Appendix B, no. 61) and is found in T'ang yü-lin 4, pp. 140-41. Interestingly, his biography tells us that he was a compiler of the kuo-shih while attached to the Hung-wen kuan and also that he was married to a T'ang princess. The anecdote may therefore be apocryphal, but if not, his preference in wives is doubly interesting.

The T'ang-kuo shih-pu contains several anecdotes of the sort.
60. See, for instance, the essay from Shen Kua's Meng-ch'i pi-t'an translated by Twitchett, "T'ang ruling class," in Perspectives, pp. 54-56.
61. My own estimate. See note 45 above.
62. TCTC 200, p. 6308, from a memorial by Liu Hsiang-tao, discussed in the following chapter. Liu counts 13,465 liu-net officials in 657 and says that 1,400 more entered the bureaucracy annually. The list of 659 was to include those who had reached the fifth rank, perhaps one-tenth of this figure. Of these higher posts there were a total of about 3,000 in capital and provinces so that, considering the figures in the Hsing-shih lu, it seems clear that we are dealing with a highly inbred bureaucracy.
63. There is a fairly full literature on the subject, including the studies of Ikeda, Takeda and Twitchett mentioned earlier. In addition, see Niida Noboru, "Stein," and Mou Jun-sun, "Tun-huang."
64. The most important are Peking vei 79 and Stein 2052. Four fragments collectively numbered Stein 5861 and Pelliot 3191 may, according to Ikeda, be part of a whole. Another Pelliot fragment, no. 3421, may be related. I had intended to discuss these documents in detail because I am reluctant to accept all of Ikeda's conclusions, but Johnson, Oligarchy, pp. 64-87, has recently outlined the relationship and filiation of the documents with great care. I am not sure, however, that his view of the purpose of the lists is convincingly established.
66. Because the Tunhuang documents give only hsing and not chia and are so very fragmentary, comparison is difficult. Still, they list about five hsing per prefecture, while the state lists of 638 and 659 average less than one, so that even allowing for uneven distribution, the multiple of five seems reasonable.
67. To avoid a major inconsistency of Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o, I must specify here that the term "national elite" henceforth includes the preeminent clans of the Northeast. These were, I have suggested, well represented in the Hsing-shih lu and increasingly accepted high posts in the central government from 659. Analysis of the T'ang t'ai-hsiang, or chief ministers, has recently become conventional among scholars despite the shortcomings of the group as a
representative sample. Johnson, *Oligarchy*, Appendix I, pp. 204-206, outlines some of the problems and advantages of using the sample and on p. 138 offers the following breakdown in "chief ministerial man-years":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Great Clan (claimed)</th>
<th>Non-Great Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>618-626 (Kao-tsu)</td>
<td>91.8 (38.8)%</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627-649 (T'ai-tsung)</td>
<td>63.2 (15.9)</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650-659 (Kao-tsung)</td>
<td>40.0 (8.0)</td>
<td>60.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>660-683 (Kao-tsung and Wu-hou)</td>
<td>53.3 (1.8)</td>
<td>46.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>684-704 (Wu-hou)</td>
<td>53.1 (0.4)</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>705-711 (Chung-tsung and Jui-tsung)</td>
<td>56.3 (1.0)</td>
<td>40.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>712-735 (Hsüan-tsung)</td>
<td>52.2 (4.4)</td>
<td>47.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>736-755 (regime of Li Lin-fu)</td>
<td>50.0 (38.6)</td>
<td>50.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Professor Johnson seems to recognize the existence of unusual situations in 618-626 and 736-755 which might distort his conclusions, he uses these figures as his principal evidence in refuting Ch'en Yin-k'o's notion of the rise of a new class during and after the regime of Empress Wu. I do not accept his view.

In the first place, the use of "man-years," even if combined with the very different matter of individual appointment, can be extremely misleading and is valid only when placed in the context of the evolution of *tsai-hsiang* policy and the differing views of the institution held, for instance, by T'ai-tsung and the Empress Wu. T'ai-tsung's "usurpation" and Empress Wu's destruction of the entire *tsai-hsiang* group who had opposed her rise were events that were perhaps atypical but nonetheless distort the percentages of such a small sample to an unacceptable degree.

Finally, and this is a more serious methodological objection, the possession of great-clan status did not prevent a man from being at the same time an "examination bureaucrat." Appendix B of the present work shows how rapidly even members of the greatest clans turned to examination as a qualification for office in the later part of the seventh century.

Professor Johnson concludes on p. 139 that "the examination system had very little effect on the social composition of the political elite in the T'ang dynasty." This is true only in the narrowest sense. Equation of the *tsai-hsiang* group with "political elite" is tendentious, to say the least and, moreover, ignores the changes which the examination system began to occasion even in this narrowly-defined political elite. The typical great-clan chief minister during Kao-tsu's reign was very different from his counterpart during Hsüan-tsung's reign. To obscure this fact does no service to our understanding. It seems to me that in dealing with the *tsai-hsiang* sample, questions of a different sort might be asked and I attempt to do so in subsequent sections. I deal with aristocratic domination of the Chancellery and the Board of Civil Office in Chapter 7.

68. See Chapters 5 and 9.
69. See Utsunomiya, "Tōdai kijin," pp. 81-95. The family codes, private genealogies, and continued exclusivity of marriage were symptoms of the phenomenon, and anecdotal collections offer many examples of the pride of clan tradition continuing to flourish. See, for example, *T'ang-kuo shih-pu*, shang, p. 20, for Li Chen  李  who refused to use his official titles, always signing himself "Lung-hsi Li Chen." Several other interesting points are raised in the excellent article by Takeda, "Tōdai shizoku."
70. In order to clarify somewhat the full extent of the tragedy of so many great clans during the period of the Empress Wu, I provide below a list of those exiled and executed for real or alleged crimes. In most cases their immediate families were exiled or enslaved and their property confiscated. Sources are given only for those who do not appear in Appendix B.

(a) In 659, at the instigation of Hsü Ching-tsung, a final revenge was carried out on the former ts'ai-hsiang Ch'ang-sun Wu-ch'i, Ch'u Sui-liang, Han Yuan, and Liu Shih. In every case, their immediate families were enslaved, those of sons and grandsons exiled to the far South, and several collateral relatives, nephews and cousins, also executed (see CTS 183:3553:1 Ch'ang-sun Shang). When the empress pardoned Ch'ang-sun in 674, there remained only a single grandson to carry on his ancestral sacrifices, and the others were pardoned only in 706, in the last will of the empress (CTS 7:3078:1). It may be noted that the Liu family, for example, was in desperate straits economically when the pardon came, and Liu Shih's grandnephew had to beg from Hsiian-tsung the money to bury properly his ancestor. In the same memorial, he pointed out that all five families punished at the time [including, I think, that of Lai Chi, who suffered only exile] were in a similar position. See CTS 77:3334:4.

In 664, the adopted son of the deposed Empress Wang, who was degraded to commoner when tied to the "treason" of Ch'ang-sun Wu-ch'i and the others, was executed for complicity with Shang-kuan I (TTCLC 39, and CTS 4:3072:4).

(b) In 664 Shang-kuan I, who was a poet of renown as well as scion of an eminent Shan-chou clan, was executed for his part in persuading Kao-tsung to depose the Empress Wu. His only son died with him and the rest of the family was enslaved. Shang-kuan's son had married into the Cheng clan, and it was their daughter Shang-kuan Wan-erh who, after rising from palace slave to private secretary to the Empress Wu, came to exercise such power in the reign of Chung-tsung and was able then to rehabilitate her grandfather. She, of course, perished in the coup against the Wei faction.

(c) In 681 a small rebellion in Ch'ang-chou led by Li Lung-tzu was snuffed out and the leader executed (HTS 3:3640:2). I am unable to establish his lineage.

From 659 until the rebellion of Li Ching-yeh, with the sole exception of the Shang-kuan affair, the regime of the empress was singularly bloodless and compares favorably with that of almost any other T'ang ruler. It is difficult not to notice that this was the period in which she sought, above all, consolidation and centralization, when she was wooing the elite of the Northeast to the center.

(d) In the aftermath of Li Ching-yeh's rebellion of 684, the carnage was great. The most prominent of the clans to fall were those of Li Chi whose own tomb was desecrated, T'ang Chih-ch'i (CTS 85:3348:4), Lo Pin-wang (CTS 190 shang:3581:3), and Tu Ch'iu-jen (HTS 106:3924:3). Only Lo Pin-wang was of undistinguished lineage. Of capital officials the list is much greater; P'ei Yen and the general Ch'eng Wu-t'ing were largely self-made men but at the height of their influence, while Yang Shen-jang (CTS 190 shang:3581:1) and Yuan Wan-ch'ing (CTS 190 shang:3581:1) and Yuan Wan-Ch'ing (CTS 190 shang:3581:4) were of old and eminent families, the former a maternal relative of the empress. Several of the other victims (Hsüeh Chung-chang, Wei Chao, Liu Ch'i-hsien) are without biographies but bear surnames appearing in the clan lists and appear in the HTS treatise as members of great clans.

The most interesting aspect of this incident is that, with the exception of the Yang-chou ringleaders, officials above the fifth rank suffered the
ultimate penalty, while those below that rank were either demoted or exiled with their immediate family. In Yang-chou itself, those below the sixth rank were simply disenrolled (ch’u-ming). See CTS 190 shang:3580:2, biography of Liu Yen-yu.

There is no complete list of the victims of the long series of reprisals which followed the suppression, since the evil officials in charge of the investigations "forced every man indicted to implicate tens and hundreds of others. The eminent families (i-kuan) trembled in fear . . ." (CTS 186 shang:3565:1).

The persecutions concerned with the uprising ended with the Act of Grace of 690 when all but the ringleaders received a complete pardon (yuan-mien), and it is interesting to note that by 801 even Ching-yeh's descendants had flourished and became prominent in the semi-foreign area to which they were exiled (CTS 87:3314:3). The major reason for the higher recovery rate of the families involved was the relatively short period before amnesty, and a legal precedent supported by the Empress Wu on a personal plea from the celebrated censor Hsü Yu-kung (CTS 85:3349:3; and HTS 113:3939:3). By contending that the penalty of chi-mo which entailed confiscation and registration of household members as chien^, "unfree," in the census registers could not be applied to the family of a man already dead when the charge was brought, he saved over 300 families, reducing their punishment to exile. See TT 169, pp. 8940 ff. and TTYK, pp. 616-17, which both contain several other examples of how Hsü Yu-kung successfully pleaded for clemency before the empress and so set several legal precedents. Paradoxically, the law seems to have become more lenient during the terror!

(e) The week-long Princes' Rebellion of 688 ended in the wholesale destruction of the T'ang family. At least forty-four princes were executed and over one hundred chia destroyed, with many others barred from holding office (mei-kuan). The sources, with some exaggeration, claim that only a few children, exiled in the remote South, survived. At the same time, the evil official Ch'iu Shen-chi (CTS 186 shang:3564:1) seized the opportunity to implicate in the rising former exiles in Ling-nan and, as commissioner to the area, carried out a brutal massacre, drowning over 1,000 families.

A complete list of casualties is impossible to draw, but we are told that particularly in the two centers of the rebellion, Po-chou and Yü-chou, they were great. In the former over 1,000 families were killed, in the latter 6,700 persons were convicted of complicity which usually carried a sentence of exile, and 5,000 persons suffered the penalty of chi-mo (CTS 89:3356:2, biography of Ti Jen-chieh). Several capital officials, including the empress' own son-in-law, were also executed. TT and TTYK, loc. cit., show that the empress presided personally over many of the trials at the time, and she appeared both competent and just.

(f) In 689 several of the highest capital officials, including the tsai-hsiang Chang Kuang-fu, were executed for conspiracy with the brother of Li Ching-yeh who had escaped his place of exile. Several more, including Wei Yuan-chung, were sentenced to death and amnestied only on the day of execution. There are a number of historiographical problems surrounding the event; see the k'ao-i notice for TCTC 204, p. 6460.

After the declaration of the Chou dynasty and the elimination of the T'ang family, there occurred a respite in the terror, and only in 697 was there another large incident.

(g) In the first month of that year, a provincial prefect, Liu Ssu-li, conspired to rebel and, when word leaked out, was executed with his closest associates. At the time, Lai Chun-ch'en, seeking to regain his lost favor, managed
to convince the empress that numerous high officials in the capital were involved, with the result that over thirty chia were destroyed. CTS 57:3293:2 has a good account of the incident.

I count during this incident a total of thirteen high officials executed, among them members of such eminent clans as the T'ai-yüan Wang, the Lung-hsi Li, and the Yu-wen. The celebrated genealogist Lu Ching-ch'un also died. In many ways this event was a turning point in the dynasty. Ssu-ma Kuang remarks that so eminent were the victims that "the whole empire was angered," and the empress, of course, destroyed the evil officials later in the same year and almost immediately summoned Chung-tsung back to the capital.

The six incidents cited above account for most of the empress' victims, though the list is by no means complete. The years 690 and 691 saw the execution of eighteen other officials above the fifth rank, several of them tsai-hsiang and many, members of great families. Most perished for opposing Wu Ch'eng-ssu's ambition to be named crown prince—a most natural cause and a fine example of the intensification of the tradition which initially had given the elite members their status. In almost every case the penalty of chi-mo was applied to the victim's family, but in several Acts of Grace before her deposition the empress specifically amnestied those who for complicity had been exiled or enslaved (ch'ang-liu chi yü-nu). I hope to complete soon a separate study on the recovery of these families.

71. Appendix B, no. 59. Interestingly, Li first became vice-president of the Board of Civil Office in 669 when the first major reform of the period was undertaken. Just as Ch'en Shu-ta (Appendix B, no. 7) was earlier credited with bringing many southern shih to accept capital office, Li is credited with recruiting numerous men from the Northeast. In all, he served in the Board for eight years.

72. As, for instance, in the form of census registration. See the standard study by Masumura, "Kōhakuseki," and the studies cited in note 9 above.

73. WYHY 462:9a and CTW 95:14b. See also TCTC 203, p. 6435.


75. See, for instance, CTW 96:4b, 96:6a, and 96:11a.


77. The most important recent work on the system has been done by Ikeda On. See his fine summary, "Ritsuryō" where on p. 289 he offers some cogent remarks on the interaction between status and lü-ling systems. See also, in the same volume, Ogata, "Ryōsensei," which offers a tabular presentation (p. 354) of the shift in usage from shu to min.

78. TTCLC 100:3a, CTW 95:9b, and THY 67, p. 1183. For instances of sumptuary regulations directed at merchants and artisans, see THY 31, p. 572 and CTW 96:19b.

79. TCTC 202, p. 6402.

80. For the former, see CTW 95:12a and TTCLC 114:7b, an edict of 701, forbidding the descendants of Yang Su to hold capital office, and CTShih 5, p. 57 where she speaks of the virtues of her own ancestors. The influence of geography on character was a prevalent idea of the age as we have seen in Liu Fang's essay and Lo Pin-wang's polemic. Pulleyblank, in Historians, pp. 135-66, shows that Liu Chih-chi expressed the view in his historical works. Empress Wu exhibited the same feeling on several occasions as, for instance, in her decree executing
Lai Chün-ch'en, and sometimes when she honored other officials. See CTW 95:11a and HTS 109:3930:2.

This idea may help to account for the popularity of northeastern marriages and the propensity of so many officials to claim native places with which they had only the most remote connection.

81. Explored in earlier notes, especially note 70 above.

Chapter 7

1. The uses and limitations of Tunhuang evidence are succinctly explored by Twitchett, "Chinese social history." Saitō bunka kenkyū contains several excellent studies on the mechanics of provincial administration, fu-p'ing and tu-hu-fu systems, etc., based on the manuscripts.

2. The problem was first brought to T'ai-tsung's attention by Ma Chou (Appendix B, no. 29) in 664 and, because no action was taken, appeared again in subsequent reigns. Chao I cites some examples in Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao 17, pp. 328-29, and its manifestations in the Chou are discussed in Chapter 9. The Empress Wu once told a talented minister that she wished to keep him in the capital because the provinces were of lesser importance. TCTC 206, p. 6517.

After t'ien-pao (742-756) the situation began to reverse itself, as several scholars have noted. Ch'en, Kuo-shih ehtu-wen, v. 2, pp. 13-15 cites the most useful sources on the question.

3. See Chapter 9. On eunuchs in the T'ang, Rideout's "Rise of eunuchs" is still useful and a more generalized view is presented by Mitamura, Chinese Eunuchs.

4. Chapter 9. As we shall see, the empress used various clan members in military positions at the capital during crises, most notably following her usurpation when four of them were given commands in the Yü-lin Guard and other capital units. Considering, however, that seventeen members of the clan were given posts and titles at the time and hence were available for military duty, the proportion was small. Furthermore, as Ching Hui was to comment in 705, the Wu princes were usually posted outside the capital (CTS 183:3553:3) during the Chou, and it would therefore be false to suggest that the empress needed to concentrate military power in Wu hands to maintain her position. On several occasions she also gave command of expeditionary armies to relatives or favorites, but only in the case of the final expedition against Mo-ch'ao's Turks does there seem to have been any feeling on her part that the loyalty of the troops might have been in doubt. Most striking of all, Wu postings in the Yü-lin Guard were so infrequent in view of this force's history and intimate connection with the T'ang that they amount almost to bravado.

5. See Chapter 9.

6. See CTS 183:3553:2, HTS 131:4109:3, and Wan Ssu-t'ung's short essay in Erh-shih-wu shih pu-pien 6, p. 7573 which suggests that the Wu relatives became wealthy but had little political power.

I am, of course, speaking here of "fiefs of maintenance," a subject upon which the fundamental study is Niida, "Tōdai no hōshaku." Chao I, in Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao 77, pp. 336-9, was perhaps the first of modern scholars to charge that "as a result of the desire of the Empress Wu to make great her clan, she bestowed the title [and emoluments] of prince upon more than twenty [members of her family], and this was the inception of the cheapening of the title. . . ."
This theme is followed and amplified by Tonami, "Zui no bōetsu," pp. 165 ff., which is the best of recent studies and contains a most useful bibliography on the subject.

While I agree with Professor Tonami about the magnitude of a problem which was probably directing into private hands most of the revenues of the richest areas of the country by the early eighth century, I cannot accept that the Empress Wu was responsible for the development. My own research on the matter is incomplete, but the following points may be made. There was a statutory limit on the number of households assigned to each rank (TRSI, pp. 318-19 and THY 90, p. 1642) and, for present purposes, the important point is that a prince was limited to 1,000 and a princess to 350. The T'ai-p'ing Princess, the favorite of her parents, had early exceeded this limit, in the ch'ui-kung period (685-9) receiving the revenues of 1,200 households, and in sheng-li (698-700) of 3,000 (TCTC 204, p. 6466). Tonami believes that the awards of the Wu clan were increased in proportion. There is, in fact, no evidence for this, and I believe that the special role of the princess as the only family member taken fully into the confidence of the Empress Wu, explains the excessive grant. In 690 when seventeen members of the clan received princely rank, only Ch'eng-ssu and Sanssu received the full 1,000 households, and the two figures mentioned for the more junior members are 300 and 400. I find no mention of an increase prior to the restoration.

My reading of the biographies of the seventh century and of the rather misleading list in THY 90, pp. 1638-42, would indicate that awards beyond the limit were made by Kao-tsung to favorite ministers, and that T'ai-tsung was an even worse offender. See, for instance, CTS 55:3292:4 and 3293:3. The destruction of the very extensive T'ang family and the confiscation of their property and revenues in the late 680s also provided the empress with an enormous financial cushion. Considering, for example, that almost all of Kao-tsung's twenty-two sons received the full 1,000 households, these alone would cover the Wu awards, and it seems perverse to criticize the empress on these grounds. The genuine abuse arose in the next reign and should be attributed to Wu San-ssu and the Empress Wei. There remains a good deal to be said on the matter.

7. See the biography of Yang Tsai-ssu, Appendix B, no. 111.
8. See Chapters 4 and 9 on these figures.
10. Chou Tao-chi's massive if diffuse study Han-T'ang has left little to say on the subject. TT 20, pp. 119-21, gives a succinct evolution of the position from earliest times. See also Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 4-11 for a translation with annotation of the HTS treatise.
11. HTS 46:3739:3. The claim seems first to have been made under Han Wu-ti. See TT 20, p. 1196.
12. Hsia-chao (HTS 106:3925:2) was a native of Wei-chou, the son of Lin-fu, who had died in office in 629 after a successful career in which he served three years as vice-president of the Board of Civil Office. With his Chancellery appointment, Hsia-chao was concurrently made vice-president of the Board of Civil Office in charge of selection. He ended his career in honor, dying in 666 at the age of 71.

The full memorial is found in CTW 162 and is abstracted in his biography, in TCTC 200, p. 6308 and TT 17, p. 93a. The discussion in the text follows the arrangement of the latter.
13. See Appendix B, no. 39. Li, who seems to have possessed a good deal of
literary talent as well as an ambitious and ingratiating personality, had risen rapidly in his official career until he offended Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi who used his influence to have him demoted to the provinces. While attempting to block this order, I-fu discovered that Kao-tsung was seeking support in his campaign to depose Empress Wang and made himself the first official to urge formally that he do so. Immediately upon the empress' elevation, he was rewarded with ts'ai-hsiang status. Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 36 ff. outlines the remainder of his career.

14. TT 17, p. 93a. Tu Yu's commentary here outlines the meaning of these terms, and we might note that they were also referred to by such terms as tse-jen, hsiu-li, or chiin-chang-jen and sometimes meant officials "outside the current." It is difficult to know whether Liu is specifically contrasting these men with examination graduates since he speaks of men "educated in the classics and contemporary affairs." Because of the form of the examinations, I assume that this is his meaning.

15. The term liu-nei referred to the nine ranks of career officials "within the current" of promotion. By the eighth century there were approximately 2,500 in the central administration and another 16,500 or so in the provinces. In the same period we find about 56,000 liu-wai officials and another 300,000 minor or part-time employees composed of clerks, guards, runners, etc. See Ikeda, "Ritsuryo," pp. 300-303.

16. On this examination, see des Rotours, Examens, pp. 31 and 128-30. It had been discontinued in 651, largely because of its tremendous difficulty.

17. TCTC 200, p. 6308.

18. See Appendix B for the ts'ai-hsiang sample and further discussions in this chapter which suggest that bureaucratic recruitment by examination did not really gain momentum until the 670s.

19. In addition to these, one could enter on the grounds of a father's or grandfather's noble title or through a special act of imperial favor. The relative importance of examination and yin is discussed by Wittfogel, "Public office," pp. 23 ff., which gives also his calculations for the T'ang. See also the lengthy discussions in Tsukiyama, Todai, pp. 139-63 and 195-224 which lists a number of other relevant studies.

20. See Appendix B and later notes. Literary evidence, some of which is cited later in the chapter, suggests a rough figure of one-tenth, and a fairly careful calculation made in the forthcoming Cambridge History of China, Volume 3, estimates that examination graduates accounted for fifteen percent at most of the entire T'ang bureaucracy.

21. By this I mean to suggest not that examination was increasingly the sole form of bureaucratic entry, but rather that it was increasingly used in tandem with hereditary privilege. Examining only the small sample in Appendix B, it is clear that many chief ministers could have entered the bureaucracy on the basis of yin alone but used examination to better their chances of reaching one of the "pure" posts. The combination of yin and examination gave a man a higher initial rank at the beginning of his career and seems also to have facilitated promotion. See TRSI, pp. 297-98, Examens, pp. 146-51 and 227-29, and TTLT 2:19b. This meant, of course, that the existing elite possessed a great institutional advantage in the competition for office.

22. See note 16.

23. The only innovations explicitly credited to the empress are her foundation of the military examination and the ending of the principle of anonymity,
a usage, incidentally, which she had herself initiated. HTS 44:3737:2 glosses over developments in the Chou by suggesting that "from the [time of the] disorders of Empress Wu, many of the old ways were upset but Chung-tsung set them again in order."

24. The precise beginnings of the system in the T'ang are subject to some dispute. The most detailed examination is Fukushima, Chuqoku, pp. 53 ff. I follow his dating rather than the more usual 621.


26. A full study of the decree examinations, the first of which appeared in 658, would be most welcome. These examinations seem to have been held in the palace, sometimes under imperial supervision, and were designed to produce a particular type of official such as one who was "upright and correct" or "sage and good," qualities listed in the examination title. Many sources offer lists of these titles which numbered over seventy in the T'ang, and the Empress Wu employed them often in her reign. Between 688 and 702 they were held nine times and, although the usual practice was to respond with dissertations to a question put by the emperor, some of these seem to have required poems or rhyme-prose. A notice in WHTK 33, p. 311b suggests that the emperor tested the candidates without knowing their identity, rewarded those who scored well with excellent posts (mei-kuan), and gave the others positions appropriate to their basic rank. The number who passed was usually small, though in 688 thirty candidates succeeded.

See ExamenS, pp. 205 ff. for the HTS description of these examinations and note the fairly full listing in Yin-lu man-ch'ao, chüan 6, pp. 82-86. Contemporary anecdotes suggest that these examinations carried a good deal of prestige, and some scholars like Li Chiuang-hsiu (Appendix B, no. 128), Liu Ssu-li, Chang Yüeh and Chang Chiu-ling sat for them several times.

27. On the hsüan, see ExamenS, pp. 146-51 and 227-79, TRSI, pp. 297-98, and TTLT 2:19b. This provision meant that only the sons of princes (wang) were exempted from the hsüan.


30. TTLT 2:6a, and ExamenS, p. 217. des Rotours distinguishes the tally from the patent, but Ssu-ma Kuang, TCTC 200, p. 6293, considers them to be the same thing. It seems, incidentally, that the patent had to be rescinded before an official and his family could be punished by the law. See also Niida, Hōritsu bunsho, pp. 793-806.


32. TTLT 2:10a and Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 59-71. The k'ao was basically the responsibility of the lang-chung assisted by an auxiliary secretary (yüan-wat lang) in the k'ao-kung branch of the Board. They were supervised by two higher officials from the Chancellery and from State Affairs.

33. Ti Jen-chieh (Appendix B, no. 93) was raised from B-plus to A-minus by Liu Jen-kuei (no. 51) who was new at the task and seems to have required direction. THY 81, p. 1501. The second example, from 669, is found in TCTC 201, p. 6358. Lu Ch'eng-ch'ing (no. 46) had placed in the B-minus category an official who had lost an entire cargo of grain being transported to the capital in stormy weather. Lu is said to have been a man who thought highly of his own generosity and when the lower official appeared unaffected by his low rating, he raised him to B. The man now requested an even higher grade and, remarking that he had
shown himself unaffected by favor or insult, Lu again raised him to B-plus.

How typical these cases were is difficult to know. Ma Chou complained in 632 that no ratings higher than B-plus had yet been awarded (THY 81, p. 1500) so that the impression was created that the dynasty lacked good men. A rating of B in four k’ao was required for advancement, and for these reasons the evaluation tended to become more generous at least until an official reached the fifth rank. To enter this charmed circle, a man needed a patent from the emperor, who received a list of eligible persons from the Board of Civil Office. TTLT 2: 5b and 21a ff. Evaluation was probably taken very seriously at this level, and it is evident also that the Li-pu 部 and the tsai-hsiang could use this power to block "undesirables." Yang, Cheng-chih shih, pp. 173-74, documents several cases where men left the civil service after reaching this threshold of power.

By the Chou, it seems that advancement to the fifth rank had been greatly accelerated by the empress' special promotions, and this was undoubtedly a source of dissatisfaction in the upper bureaucracy. In 695 she decreed that before an official could apply for the fifth rank he must have undergone at least twelve k'ao, have committed no crime, and have occupied one of the "pure" posts above the seventh rank. Those who applied for third-rank posts should have undergone twenty-five k'ao, though exceptional talent could be exempted from these regulations. TTFC 629:20b.

34. Examen, pp. 239-40 and THY 75, p. 1355. HTS 45:3738:3 points out that prior to that time there were too few officials to fill the posts, and as a result the central government simply sent out tallies to designate those who should come to the capital for appointment. Once prospective officials had become more numerous, it was decided to make the selection more careful, and the hsüan was created at the suggestion of Liu Lin-fu, the father of Hsiang-tao. On conditions early in the dynasty, see Fukushima, Chügoku, pp. 71 ff.

35. THY 26, p. 507. The five successful candidates were appointed to the Hung-wen kuan to deal with imperial decrees and, in turn, to come to the palace and draft them on alternate days. This was an unprecedented honor for inexperienced men. Hsi Hsing-tsung, incidentally, had earlier been attached to the same body for similar purposes, and it seems that this college, established in 626 with places for twenty students, had by now become an advisory body to the throne. It perhaps inspired the creation of the "North Gate scholars."

36. On T'ang Lin see CTS 85:3348:2 and HTS 113:3939:1 and on Hsiang-tao, note 12 above. T'ang Lin's native place is given as Ch'ang-an though the family was originally from the North and had held office since the Chou. His uncle's execution by the Sui had deprived the clan of privileged status, and Lin was largely a self-made man rising through military ability.

Although the Liu clan claimed a native place in Ho-pei, Lin-fu had been one of the earliest servants of the T'ang and T'ai-tsung's first vice-president of the Li-pu, probably residing in the capital and certainly identified with the Kuan-chung group. For contemporary evidence of capital residence by the great clans, see TT 17, p. 96c.

37. These were Li Kang (CTS 62:3303:1 and HTS 99:3910:3), Yin K'ai-shan (CTS 58:3295:2 and HTS 90:3896:2), Yang Shih-tao (Appendix B, no. 24), Yang Kung-jen (no. 8), and Feng Te-i (no. 9).

38. See note 34 above.

39. Appendix B, no. 29. He was married into the clan of Tai Chou (no. 22).

40. For their tenure in the Board of Civil Office, see Yen, T'ang p'u-shang, pp. 81-90.
41. Those related by blood were Yang Shih-tao (Appendix B, no. 24), Yang Tsuan, and Yang Kungjen (no. 8); Tu Yen (no. 13) and Tu Ju-hui (no. 17); Liu Lin-fu and Liu Hsiang-tao; T'ang Lin and T'ang Chiao. Related by marriage were Kao Chien (no. 15), Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi (no. 14), Liu Shih (no. 35), and Ch'u Sui-liang (no. 15). Several more distant marriage relationships also existed.

Taking the group as a whole from 618 to 705, I find a total of seventy-seven men, of whom I am unable to find information on eight. Of the remainder, thirty-three were related in the same very close fashion described above, and the high incidence of father-son, uncle-nephew relationships gives the Board almost an hereditary cast for the entire century. In the T'ang, seven direct descendants of Liu Lin-fu held Li-pu positions (CTS 81:3342:1).

After 659 there seems to have been little dilution of the aristocratic character of the body, but the regional balance improved rapidly and even before the Chou, three of the "four surnames" of the Northeast were represented. Tsukiyama, Tōdai, pp. 74-84, has some rather scattered remarks on the Li-pu at this time.

42. CTS 77:3333:2. Ma Chou is referred to as han-shih.

43. Chapter 6, note 44. Kao Chien was president of the Li-pu and Wei T'ing had just been transferred to the Chancellery.

44. The tsai-hsiang connection became less pronounced after 659, but between 618 and 705 twenty-three were concurrently tsai-hsiang and six more had held the status before their appointments to the Li-pu. It is also of note that the majority were president or vice-president of the Chancellery when awarded tsai-hsiang status, and that evidence could be adduced to show a greater concentration of aristocrats there than in the other two Departments until about the end of Kao-tsung's reign. The role of the Chancellery in the hsüan was the most important of the Departments. Examens, p. 218 and Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 137 ff. Acting with the Li-pu, it could genuinely control the awarding of posts.

45. These were Yang Tsuan, Lai Chi (Appendix B, no. 38), and Tu Ju-hui (no. 17).

46. See CTS 82:3343:2. Evidence for this is largely deductive. From his biography we learn not only that l-fu made appointments on a grand scale but also that he was anxious to identify himself with the Chao-ch'un Li clan, one of the greatest of the Northeast. As I suggest in Chapter 7, pp. 93-94, his appointment as president of the Li-pu was designed primarily to weaken the control of appointments by the northwestern aristocracy.

47. His fall is outlined in TCTC 201, pp. 6334-5. This category of punishment was exempted from the amnesty of 666 which followed the feng-shan sacrifice, and Li is said to have been so disappointed that he took sick and died.

48. The two ssu-hsing representatives were Lu Ch'eng-ch'ing (Appendix B, no. 40) and Li An-ch'i (no. 56). Chao Jen-pen (no. 53) was also from the Northeast. The others, Hao Ch'u-ch'un (no. 60) and Yang Hung-wu (no. 54) represented the South and Northwest respectively.

49. Biographies in CTS 84:3347:2, HTS 108:3929:2, and Examens, p. 243. In the fourth month of 669, and as a result of P'ei's reform, a second vice-president was added to the Li-pu, and P'ei himself took the post. TFK 629:3a. He, therefore, had no experience in the Board before drafting his reforms.


51. HTS 45:3738:3. "At this time, candidates were very numerous, and [even] ignorant and mediocre men applied. Some forged their tallies (fu-kao) and falsely claimed to have been appointed while others used someone else's name to gain
appointment. Some from far-off regions had no relatives but still found guar­
antors. On the examination day, some found others to use their name [and take
the examination for them], and some cheated by using the answers of those near
them or by seeking help [from friends] outside the hall. Therefore, many [ap­
pointees] had no real talent. . . ."

As early as 627 T'ai-tsung had complained that candidates were falsifying
their credentials. TCTC 192, p. 6031.

52. Appendix B, no. 59.


connects it to a list of retiring officials.

55. See CTS 84:3347:3, TT 15, p. 84c, TFYK 629:18b, and TCTC 101, p. 6362.
Both HTS 45:3738:3 and THY 75, p. 1347, use the shorter form, and Feng-shih wen-
chien chi 3, p. 28, suggests that this was the common abbreviation. The notices
also reveal that the same year Chang Jen-wei composed a hsing-li which des
Rotours calls a 'catalogue des noms de famille,' but this does not seem to give
the connotation of li. See Feng-shih wen-chien chi 5, p. 53, on the tzu-li.

We know that in the first stage of the examinations a man had to submit docu-
ments showing his ancestry and native place (Examens, pp. 147 and 184) and this
was true also for the hsüan (note 51 above). I believe that these were checked
against the hsing-li to be certain of a candidate's eligibility. If so, the
hsing-li was a permanent list similar to the national status registers but con-
cerned solely with official postings. Candidates for the hsüan were checked
against it and a "long list" of successful candidates with their clan's bur-
eaucratic record was posted together with the number and nature of the expected
vacancies for the coming year. When the usage was discontinued because 'every-
one knew who would be appointed' (see next note), it must have been because fam-
ily influence was clear to see in the list. The paucity of specific information
about the list renders any interpretation speculative, but this view seems con-
sistent with the class-conscious and exclusivistic character of the other
measures of 669. The list seems to have been designed to prevent the entry of
undesirables. See also Ts'ui Jung's memorial of 680 in THY 74, p. 1335.

56. Feng-shih wen-chien chi 3, p. 28. The passage goes on to say that the bias of the vice-president of the Li-pu who drew up the list resulted in such
lively protest that he was demoted to the provinces.

57. HTS 45:3738:2. See also Examens, p. 180.

58. That is to say, all those whose basic rank was above nine; listed in
Examens, pp. 227-8. On the universities, by which I mean the kuo-tzu hsüeh,
the t'ai-hsüeh and the ssu-men hsüeh which were administered by the kuo-tzu
chien and had a total of perhaps 350 students at this time, see Liu, T'ang-tai,
p. 92-98. Only the ssu-men hsüeh admitted commoners.

59. Examens, p. 215 and TT 15, p. 84b.

60. TCTC, 201, p. 6362, TFYK 629:19a; and see TRSI, p. 285 for other refer-
ences.

61. The presidency was left vacant from 669 to 674 and 676 to 684 perhaps
since the vice-presidents had been given the whole task of selection in 670.
Li Ch'ing-hsüan was raised from vice-president to president in 674 and remained
there until raised to State Affairs in late 676. P'ei Hsing-chien remained as
vice-president until mid-679.

62. This was first noted in Liu Hsiang-tao's memorial of 657 (note 12 above)
and several other examples appear in later notes. See also the remarks of Ch'u
Sui-liang in the biography of Wei Ssu-ch'ien (Appendix B, no. 79). This attitude was to be of importance in the dynamics of the Chou bureaucracy.

63. TFYK 629:19a. According to this decree, the shou-se from the Boards of Civil Office and War who had undergone the requisite number of k'ao, needed to be examined only on one classic and one history before becoming eligible for appointment "within the stream."

64. HTS 45:3738:2. The passage adds that there were sometimes ten persons waiting for a single position.

65. See THY 58, pp. 1004 ff., TT 23, pp. 135 ff., and TFYK 629:3a ff. The principal increases occurred in 669, 689, and 694.

66. On the ta-ch'eng, see Exams., p. 165 and on the restoration of the schools, TFYK 550:4b and CTW 11:20b. Fukushima, Chūgoku, pp. 129 ff., examines the decline of the provincial schools showing a correlation with the numbers who presented themselves for examination. For educational policy in the reign of Kao-tsung, see Taga, Tōdai kyōiku, pp. 94 ff.

67. Note 26 above.

68. WHTK 29, pp. 276-80. The list is derived from the Teng-k'ō lu of the Sung scholar Yüeh Shih and is exhaustively discussed by Fukushima, Chūgoku, pp. 77 ff. Lin, Sui-T'ang shih, pp. 202-264, reprints the list with some annotation. The origins of this kind of compilation are discussed in Fukushima, Chūgoku, pp. 159 ff., and Yu-hai 115:19b ff. lists a number of indexes of graduates, usually compiled by a single clan. These began to outstrip genealogical compilations in the later T'ang. See Fukushima, Chūgoku, pp. 194-201.

69. Fukushima, Chūgoku, p. 78.

70. No examinations were held in 669. The figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Times Held</th>
<th>Average per Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>664</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>670 - 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>665</td>
<td>all failed</td>
<td>671 - no examinations held</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>666</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>672 - no examinations held</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>667</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>673 - 79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>668</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>674 - 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These years seem to be the high point of success for chin-shih candidates in the dynasty, and when fifty-five succeeded in 682, a reexamination, which only fifteen passed, was held. In the k'ai-yuan [713-742] period, an annual upper limit of twenty-five was set, but it seems not to have been enforced since by my calculation the average for Hsüan-tsung's reign was twenty-seven. The numbers changed little after that, and Ma Tuan-lin's remark that at its most flourishing period the chin-shih never produced more than fifty graduates (WHTK 29, p. 280) refers to this period.

Again working from chin-shih figures in the Teng-k'ō lu, discussed in note 68 above, the examination's development in the T'ang may be shown:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Graduates</th>
<th>Times Held</th>
<th>Average per Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kao-tsu</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ai-tsung</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kao-tsung to 669</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kao-tsung 670-684</td>
<td>430</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empress Wu</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71. TCTC 202, pp. 6374-75. The memorial came from Liu Hsiao about whom no further information exists.

72. TCTC 202, pp. 6386-87.

74. See Examen, pp. 166-67 for the numerous sources in which the memorial is abstracted. I follow des Rotours' translation.

75. HTS 45:3738:3. I have found this passage nowhere else.

76. HTS 45:3738:4. I find few other references to this problem prior to 705, and it seems to have become serious only in the reign of Chung-tsung. See TCTC 209, pp. 6633 and 6635.

77. See their biographies cited earlier. Li's biography points out that while his ability and carefulness were praised and while he could remember the names of all his appointees, he brought "more than 10,000" men into the administration in one year. This figure, of course, is a conventional approximation. He was dismissed in 676 because of Kao-tsung's displeasure with the manner in which he built a large clientele in the upper bureaucracy through his appointments and his three marriages into the preeminent northeastern clans. The T'ang-kuo shih-pu, shang, p. 20, tells how his marriages so confused the generation order of the clans that grandfathers were grandsons and vice versa.

78. TCTC 252, p. 8167.


80. Examen, p. 163, TT 15, p. 83a, WHTK 29, p. 271b, and Yu-hai 115:11b. The biography of Tu Cheng-lun (CTS 70:3319:4) tells us that fewer than twenty men attained the degree in the Sui, and prior to 651 only another twenty-eight were successful. In the same period the chin-shih sometimes produced seventeen graduates in a single year! When the hetu-tsei was reestablished in 736, the TT tells us it was considered less difficult than the chin-shih. Ch'en, Kuo-shih chiu-wen, v. 2, pp. 117-20 and 125-27, introduces some useful sources on the relative positions of the examinations.

81. Feng-shih wen-chien chi 3, pp. 24 ff., states that the chin-shih was more highly esteemed than decree examinations, but this reference, I think, is to the situation in the eighth century. The HTS treatise (Examen, p. 208) says that those successful in the decree examinations received the most illustrious titles, and I find it suggestive that those recorded to have taken both examinations in the seventh century chose usually to take the decree examination first. The ming-ching, as we have seen, conferred a higher point of entry to the bureaucracy than did the chin-shih.

82. Taking as a sample the graduates among the tsai-hsiang from 664-705, I find that fifteen had chosen the chin-shih and thirteen the ming-ching.

It is of interest to note that Japanese scholarship seems widely to accept that the aristocracy long favored the ming-ching over the chin-shih. See, for instance, Tsukiyama, Todai, pp. 69 and 139. This is reasonable in view of the greater need for books, tutors, orthodoxy, tradition and discipline to prepare the curriculum, and also in view of the form of the examination which from 737 and possibly from 681 included an oral interview with the aristocratic members of the Li-pu. It is difficult, however, to find statistical evidence.

In the later part of the T'ang few high officials seem to have entered the bureaucracy via the ming-ching.

83. See Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 194-204. Seven men had chosen the chin-shih while six passed all the other types.

84. WHTK 29, p. 271c and Yu-hai 115:15b. The T'ang chih-yen, 1, p. 4, comments that "the chin-shih was founded in the Sui ta-yeh [era, 605-617] and flourished in chen-kuan [627-650] and yung-wei [650-656]." If a scholar-official reached the
highest of state offices without passing the chin-shih, he was in the end not considered praiseworthy. The candidates before long often numbered no less than eight or nine hundred men. . . . The difficulty [of the examination] was expressed [by saying] thirty is old [to pass the] ming-ohing and fifty is young [to pass the] chin-shih."

Ts' en, Sui-T'ang shih, v. 1, pp. 184 ff. gives four reasons for the relative popularity of the chin-shih.

85. Examin. p. 147.

86. See Chapter 2. We cannot be certain, of course, of the actual role of the empress in the writings issued under her name, but there is ample evidence of her fondness for literature, and most sources which comment on the form taken by the chin-shih attribute the literary emphasis to her interest. In addition, we find several other examples of this. See, for instance, TFK 110:3b which describes a poetry-composing party, and 840:16a which tells how she awarded high office to the author of a fine poem on the ming-t'ang. THY 77, p. 1405, suggests how widespread was private scholarship and literature in her reign, and we are told also that when she dispatched commissioners in 691 to inquire about the state of the provinces, the whole court submitted poems to mark the event. THY 77, p. 1414. The dynastic biographies of noted litterateurs and poets like Sung Chih-wen and Shen Ch' u-an-ch'i (CT S 190 ohung; 3581:4 and HTS 202: 4100:4) suggest the importance of her patronage. Other examples are cited by Lin, Sui-T'ang shih, pp. 199-200.

87. CTS 118:3414:1, the biography of Yang Yen. The occasion was a debate of 763 in which Yen protested the literary emphasis in the examinations, and his opponent rebutted his arguments by suggesting that the Hsia dynasty was founded upon sincerity, the Shang upon respect and the Chou on literature which governed men's conduct quite as much as sincerity and respect.

88. TTLT 4:4b.

89. There is no evidence that the empress discriminated on the basis of a man's degree, but her patronage of the chin-shih created the climate which caused high officials to have contempt for those of their colleagues without the degree. See the examples cited earlier and the anecdotes in Yin-hua lu, 3, and T'ang-kuo shih-pu, hsia, pp. 55-56, which outline the honorific vocabulary which grew around the degree.

90. See the chart in the text and note 87 above. Yang Yen also complained that chin-shih candidates knew neither the classics nor the histories. Other evidence is cited in following notes.

91. TFK 639:20a, THY 75, p. 1373, and see Chapter 9.

92. Appendix B, no. 70.


94. I am not sure of the precise meaning of liu-li (六禮) and ch'i-chiao (禮教).

95. Discussed on pp. 103-105. Wei might be referring here to the practice whereby sons of honorific officials of the fifth rank or above and high regular officials could enroll their sons as prefectural na-k'o p'in-tzu, "sons of ranking officials paying a tax." At the age of eighteen, these were attached nominally to the Guards and after thirteen years took what seems to have been rather an easy examination to enter the regular bureaucracy.

96. The memorial is found in full in CTW 168:2b and is abstracted in THY 74, pp. 1336-7, Examin. p. 247, and TT 17, p. 94a. Fukushima, Chugoku, pp. 106-21, analyzes it chiefly as a catalog of abuses growing out of Wei's conviction that Confucian virtue received too little attention in selection and his belief that
the Board of Civil Office had grown too powerful.

97. *THY* 74, p. 1337.

98. *TT* 15, p. 83a. See also *THY* 76, p. 1390, *WHTK* 29, p. 2720, and *TFYK* 639: 20a. The latter text uses only the term *pi*, "finish," not suggesting that the candidates all failed.

99. The important steps in the process were the inauguration of decree examinations in 658 and the settlement of their basic form in 683 (*THY* 75, p. 1376), the ceremony of 659, the creation of the *ta-ch'eng* in 675, the reforms of 681 and, of course, the continuing process of raising more and more graduates to the highest posts.

100. *WHTK* 29, p. 272a. The full text is found in *CTW* 281:10b, and it was submitted by Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang whose biography is found in *CTS* 101:3383:2. See also *TT* 17, p. 94c.


102. *Examen*, pp. 247-8, *TT* 14, p. 85b, and *WHTK* 37, p. 348c. The *TT* says that the empress believed the *Li-pu* often failed to select the right men and so decreed that examinations be written anonymously and that the same regulation apply to the *k'ao*.

No source offers a dating for this event, but *Yu-hai* 115:25b suggests that she ordered a decree examination in 689 to be administered anonymously. The notice is rather puzzling because it goes on to say that Chang Yüeh, after a re-examination, was placed first. In other sources we are told that Chang Chien-chih (Appendix B, no. 133) topped over 1,000 candidates, and the *Yu-hai* also mentions this event (115:24ab). The *Teng-k'o chi-k'ao* puts Chang Yüeh's examination in the preceding year and I am, therefore, suspicious of the first notice. Even if it is reliable, we cannot be sure that the principle was extended to other examinations. However, since it is the earliest mention of the *hu-ming*, we might assume that the practice began about this time.

103. Chapter 9, note 87.


105. Appendix B, no. 131. The full text is in *CTW* 236:3b and the memorial is discussed in Chapter 9.

106. *CTW* 236:5a. It was submitted in 709 and is abstracted in his biography and in *TCTC* 209, p. 6634. The conditions described are for the reign of Chungs-tung and are a good deal worse than those of the Chou.

107. These were Li Yüan-su (Appendix B, no. 101), Wei Chü-yüan (no. 105), Tou-lu Ch'in-wang (no. 107), and Wang Hsiao-chieh (no. 109).

108. Japanese scholarship has demonstrated the existence of this division even in the *chung-cheng* system. See Miyazaki, *Kuhon*, pp. 233-43. I pointed earlier to several of its applications in the T'ang and might recall that the fifth rank was the standard for inclusion in the *Hsing-shih-lu* and that for all her innovations in recruitment, the empress never changed the rule that entry into the fifth rank was possible only by imperial decree. Fukushima, *Chugoku*, pp. 152 ff., collects other data on the division.

109. The term used by Ch'en Yin-k'o (see Chapter 6) and fairly standard in Japanese scholarship.

110. Note 14 above.

111. See *TT* 40, pp. 229 ff., *TRSI*, pp. 114 ff., and *CTS* 42:3253:3 which provides a full list of titles.

One of the greatest lacunae in T'ang studies prior to the rebellion of
An Lu-shan lies in the study of the liu-wai officialdom. Since this group was extremely important, especially in the provinces where it formed the closest link between government and people, our perception of T'ang administration remains somewhat blurred. Tsukiyama, Tōdai, pp. 437 ff., looks at the hsü-li, who were not strictly speaking liu-wai but often grouped with them, under the five headings of function, entry "into the current," restrictions placed upon them, provincial abuses, and the various attempts made to reduce their number. His treatment is useful but not too coherent.

It is useful perhaps to have some concept of the size of the group, and Ikeda's figures in "Ritsuryō," pp. 300-303, suggest for instance that in the three Departments at the capital there were a total of 241 liu-nei officials and 1,498 liu-wai distributed as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>liu-nei</th>
<th>liu-wai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State Affairs</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>1,135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chancellery</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretariat</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On a wider level, TCTC 214, k'ai-yüan 21 (733) gives a total of 17,686 liu-nei officials and 57,416 liu-wai in the whole administration. TT 40, p. 230b, speaking of a slightly later period, gives a grand total of 368,668, so that the hsü-li must have numbered almost 300,000. The figure is further divided into 18,805 liu-nei and 349,863 liu-wai. In addition to these, there was a large number of minor employees recruited on a part-time basis.

As mentioned earlier, memorialists tended to group together all those who were not liu-nei in their complaints.

112. TTLT 30:23a.
113. TTLT 2:31a and CTS 43:3245:1. This minor examination was held annually and consisted of tests in writing, mathematics, and contemporary affairs though the last was not important. Candidates underwent an annual k'ao and had to take the minor examination after three k'ao in order to advance, although the constant complaints suggest that enforcement of the promotion rate was lax. See also Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 67 ff.

114. As Miyazaki, Kuhon makes clear, the distinction between "pure" and "muddy" posts was a very old one, and in the T'ang the key capital appointments, perhaps 500 or so, were reserved for men of good birth and scholarly attainment usually demonstrated by examination. See TTLT 2:24a ff.

115. TT 35, p. 200c. The passage notes the establishment of 7,000 hsü-shih chosen from the superior households.

116. THY 67, p. 1183. The full text is in TTCLC 100:3a and CTW 95:9b.
117. TTLT 2:31a and Tsukiyama, Tōdai, p. 443.

118. On the question of honorific rank, see Fonctionnaires, v. 1, pp. 50-59, THY 81, pp. 1491-92, and the useful secondary study by Matsunaga, "Todai."

119. The sale of honorific ranks is mentioned in the Act of Grace of 684, CTW 96:15a, and there is a good deal of Tunhuang evidence to show that the government was concerned with fraudulent claims.

According to Tu Yu (TT 48, p. 773), the real cheapening of honorific rank occurred in the k'ai-yüan period (713-742), but Professor Matsunaga's work indicates that from the mid-670s and perhaps from the rationalization of the system in 674 (THY 81, p. 1491), awards became increasingly free. Liu Jen-kuei complained in 664 (TCTC 201, pp. 6340-41) that military rewards were not being distributed, and in 688 we hear that honorific rank was being given for special corvée duty, for instance, in the construction of the ming-t'ang. See CTW 96:
19a. Matsunaga ("Tōdai," p. 36) shows that land grants often accompanied these awards so that the economic ramifications were quite serious.

120. Fukushima, Chūgoku, p. 119.

121. Note 113 above. Liu-wai officials could advance only one grade every three years, and once they entered the regular bureaucracy and became subject to the k'ao system there, every four years. Since the bottom ranks contained six grades, it would take twenty-four years to reach the seventh rank! Although Liu-wai officials could expect their bureaucratic careers to be longer than the twenty to thirty years which seems to have been average for high officials, they could not expect to come anywhere near the fifth rank in the normal course of events.

122. Chapters 5 and 9.

123. TCTC 201, p. 6346.

124. THY 81, pp. 1493-94.


126. See, for instance, the remarks of Tsukiyama, Tōdai, pp. 453-64.

127. TCTC 204, p. 6460. Kao-tsung, it seems, had planned to promote Chou Hsing to a "pure" post until he found out that he was ineligible. Chou is said to have gone frequently to the audience hall to await the announcement of his appointment, and this embarrassing experience may help to account for the revenge he ultimately took on the "pure" officials.

128. Chapter 9. The most striking instance is their opposition to the Chang brothers and the large faction which grew up around them. See also Tonami, "Chūsei," pp. 47 ff. on the forms of factionalism after Empress Wu.

129. This was Ti Jen-chieh, and the question is fully discussed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 8

1. See, for instance, Scott, Golden Age; Mahler, Westerners; and Reischauer, Ennin's Travels.

2. CTW 96:11b, from the Act of Grace changing the reign title to kuang-chai.


6. TCTC 197, p. 6218, and 200, p. 6323 for his intention personally to attack Korea. Other indications are found in TFYK 124:8b and 543:7a. The latter notice is an interesting memorial dissuading him from going to Korea.

7. TCTC 199, pp. 6269-70. CTS 196 shang:3604:2 points out that since the warning was accompanied with precious objects for T'ai-tsung's tomb, Kao-tsung was able to put a favorable interpretation on it, exchanging gifts and bestowing on the Tibetan ruler an additional title.

8. TCTC, loc. cit.

9. TCTC 199, p. 6273 and CTS 194 hsia:3600:1. The best secondary accounts are Ise, Chūgoku, pp. 196 ff. and Ts'en, T'u-chüeh, pp. 269-74. I am in agreement with Professor Ise that the rising was inspired not by any Chinese action,
but by internecine strife among the Western Turks which can be traced back to 646 and to A-shih-na'Ho-lu's rapid success which led him to believe that Chinese arms were weakened by T'ai-tsung's death.

10. TCTC 199, p. 6274. HTS 215 heta:4134:i says there were only 20,000 Chinese troops while CTS and TT 199 are silent on the matter.

The troops were levied in the chün-fu of Ch'in, Ch'eng, Ch'i and Yung, all of which lie just west of Ch'ang-an and are cited in Ku, Fu-ping, p. 155. In Yung (Ching-chao) there were 131 chün-fu with an average of about 1,000 men each, so that I think the higher figure is the more likely one.

On the fu-ping system there have been few studies of note since Pulleyblank reviewed the literature in 1955 (Background, p. 140) aside from Ku's excellent if tendentious work cited above. Kikuchi Hideo has published some fine articles, and his "Fuhei seido" is perhaps the best available introduction to the subject. See also his "Tō sesshō fu" which settles, I think several outstanding questions on the distribution of the units and their relationship to earlier military systems.

Because of the necessity to contrast it with expeditions later in the century, the form of Kao-tsung's first major army is worth a closer look. Generally speaking, the emperor, on the advice of the Board of War chose one or more generals who were designated as tsung-kuan for the area in which the expeditionary army or hsing-chün was to engage. At the time they and their deputy commanders were chosen, each was allotted a specific number of troops, called cheng-hsing-fen, who were usually chosen from fu-ping units in specified chün-fu. The troops, who provided their own clothing and equipment, etc., were told how long the expedition was to last (TCTC 201, pp. 6340-1) and, as far as I can tell, were to be replaced when their tour was complete, usually after one year. The government had a pool of perhaps 500,000 troops to draw upon, less about 100,000 who acted in rotation as capital guards and another 50-100,000 stationed at the borders. The establishment of these border garrisons remains something of a puzzle. See Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 147-49. Empress Wu increased the fu-ping just prior to her usurpation.

11. TCTC 199, p. 6277.

12. CTW 15:3b and TCTC 199, p. 6277. For reasons shortly to be spelled out, it is difficult to know which of the states began the hostilities which inspired Kao-tsung's rebuke. I tend to believe the Sillan account that Paekche was emboldened by T'ai-tsung's death to violate the Sillan border and seize seven fortresses, since it had been formally allied with Koguryō since 643 and both had designs on Sillan territory. Silla, however, had retaliated even before sending Kim Ch'un-ch'u, the future King Muyol, to China in 649.

A second embassy arrived in 650 bearing the plea for aid from the Sillan Queen Chindok, and Kao-tsung seems to have responded with a "mutual security" treaty. See Weems, Hubert's History of Korea, v. 1, p. ED105.

There are few satisfactory studies of Sino-Korean relations in this period, and most of my remarks on the subject are drawn from Kim Pusik's Samguk Sagi of 1145 supplemented, of course, by the Chinese sources. The best secondary study is Ikeuchi, Man-Sen shi; another useful work is Nishijima, "Tōa."

T'ai-tsung's will is found in TTLC 11:2b and CTW 9:8b. On tsai-hsiang opposition to the attack on Korea, see Wechsler, "Factionalism," in Perspectives, p. 95. Of Kao-tsung's tsai-hsiang only Li Chi had been in favor, and Ch'u Sui-liang had been a most outspoken opponent.

13. TCTC 199, p. 6287.
16. TCTC 199, pp. 6287-8 and CTS 199 shang:3615-2. See also Ikeuchi, Man-Sen shi, v. 1, pp. 308 ff. on the campaign. It might be noted that this first campaign caused great hardship in the Northeast, a fact called to Kao-tsung's attention in early 656 by Lai Chi (Appendix B, no. 38). See TCTC 200, pp. 6296-97.
17. Discussed on pp. 112-117 passim.
18. TCTC 200, pp. 6295-96, which describes an attempt to set up rival khans in order to detach A-shih-na Ho-lu's followers. See also TCTC 200, pp. 6301-2 and note the lengthy review of T'ang-Turkic relations in the k'ao-i notice.
19. Biographies in CTS 83:3344:3 and HTS 111:3934:2. Su's background was typical of the northeastern hao-chieh. The son of a man who never held office but was able to lead thousands of men into the fray at the collapse of the Sui, he gained early experience against the Turks under T'ai-tsung and thenceforth pursued a career of uninterrupted military success. He won noble titles without ever holding significant civil offices and was praised at his death in 667 as the conqueror of three states. His biography gives an account of the ensuing campaign.
20. TCTC 200, p. 6305.
21. On the mu-ping, see Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 146-47.
22. The best short account is in TCTC 200, pp. 6306-8; see also CTS 194 heia:3600:2.
23. This practice of attaching a censor to expeditionary forces seems to have been discontinued sometime before 687 when the empress was petitioned to reinstate it. She refused on the grounds that generals required freedom of action. THY 62, p. 1086 and TCTC 204, pp. 6446-7. On central control of the military, see Kikuchi, "Fuhei seido," pp. 421 ff.
24. On these terms see note 21 above and Kikuchi, "Todai fubo." Under this system, a central official called the ping-mu was sent to an area usually chosen for its military reputation, large population or absence of fu-ping units, and there chose a suitable number of troops from households with several sons. Kikuchi shows that from the beginning the wealthy and influential managed to avoid service and that troops of this sort tended to be used often as occupying forces, not being demobilized so rapidly as the fu-ping. Liu Jen-kuei's memorial of 664, cited earlier (CTS 84:3346:3), is a good indication of this.
25. See note 10 above.
27. Note 24 above and subsequent discussion in the text.
28. Note 24 above.
29. The T'ang use of foreigners is well-known, and Chao I comments on it in Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao 17, p. 327, following his discussion of the amazing success of T'ang arms.
30. On the early organization of the area, see Ōtani Shōshin's study of the An-hsi protectorate in Ikeuchi Hiroshi, ed., Toyō Đại ronso, pp. 271-92. On Lu Ch'eng-ch'ing, see Appendix B, no. 46. Lu had made his reputation by compiling for T'ai-tsung a complete census of China's population from earliest times but was in mild disgrace at this time because of his close relationship to Ch'u Suiliang. He had much administrative ability and pursued a successful career in the Board of Finance until his dismissal for erroneous estimates of expenditure.
31. TCTC 200, p. 6307 and CTS 81:3341:3.

33. A recent and eloquent appreciation of the T'ang empire is Miyasaki, *Dai Tō teikoku*, especially pp. 319 ff.

34. Ise, *Chūgoku*, p. 204.

35. This was the sixth month of 658. The troops were mostly those of Ch'eng Ming-chen (*CTS* 199 shang:3615:2), presumably raised in Liao-tung, though the famed general Hsüeh Jen-kuei (*CTS* 83:3345:1 and *HTS* 111:3934:4) was dispatched as his deputy. In the major battle of the campaign the Chinese were victorious against a force estimated at 30,000, but the victory was facilitated by the rebellion of the Koreans' Khitan allies.

36. *TCTC* 200, p. 6320. China later justified this attack in the treaty she forced Silla and Paekche to conclude in 665. *SS* 6, p. 68. Claiming that Paekche had thrown off its allegiance to China, fomented discord with Silla and formed alliances with Koguryō and Japan, the emperor had given the state a chance to recant, attacking only when it "considered its position impregnable because of the great distance and was contemptuous of Our Will."


38. *TCTC* 190, p. 5976 and *HTS* 220:4194:1 and 3. The kings of the three states received patents calling them chün-wang and using the names of the Han commanderies. They also received the Chinese titles of chu-kuo or shang-chu-kuo (*CTS* 1:3065:4), the highest in the system of honorific rank. Nishijima, "Tōa," p. 255, notes the ambiguous nature of these conferrals.

Mori, "Zui-To," summarizes a paradigm widely used in Japanese scholarship in which China's foreign relationships are divided into several types: father-son, father-in-law-son-in-law, ruler-subject, patent and seal, direct control, and enemy state, roughly in their order of chronological evolution. The relationship with the Korean states was a highly advanced one.

39. *CTS* 199 shang:3615:2, *TCTC* 197, p. 6202, and *SS* 49, pp. 486 ff. for his biography. The latter source tells us that after murdering over a hundred high officials at a banquet, he killed the king and installed a puppet ruler from a cadet branch of the royal house. He was himself the real ruler and one of great cruelty and severity. "No one dared [even] to look upon his face and when he mounted or dismounted from his horse, nobles and generals prostrated themselves on the earth. . . ."


41. *TCTC* 201, p. 6355. See also *THY* 43, p. 766. The occasion was the sighting of a comet which Hsü Ching-tsung interpreted as an omen of Koguryō's fall. Kao-tsung disagreed.

42. *SS* 4, pp. 56 ff. Although the process had been going on for some time, it became wholly conscious in 649 when Silla changed its calendar to that of the T'ang and began to use Chinese era names. See also Nishijima, "Tōa," pp. 258 ff.

43. Text in *CTS* 199 shang:3617:1 and *SS* 5, p. 57. It is of the five-word
line style and combines praise for the T'ang with an appeal for aid.

44. The Hwabaek was the ancient Sillan Council of State and continued to exist above the Sinicized administration, deciding the most important state matters. The Hwarang-to which might be translated as "Company of Knights of the Flower," was inaugurated in the middle of the sixth century and aimed to develop carefully chosen young men into military and societal leaders. It rapidly built a tradition of patriotism and loyalty, high culture and leadership, and under Kim Yu-sin, the Hwarang became the flower of the Sillan army. The only English treatment of the subject is Rutt's "Flower boys of Silla."

45. SS 5, pp. 58. Muyol (r. 654-661) was a nephew of Queen Chindok, not, as the CTS suggests, her brother.

46. His son Munmu was to make the claim in the document quoted extensively in the text.

47. SS 28, pp. 276-77 from the annals of Paekche is probably the best account of the events and agrees in general outline with the Sillan record, SS 5, pp. 59-63. It was apparently Kim Yu-sin's victory which prevented Paekche from fortifying the mouth of the Paekhang and so blocking the passage of the Chinese fleet. The Chinese accounts, for instance TCTC 200, p. 6321, make no mention of the Sillan contribution.

48. SS 28, p. 277. When King Uija and the crown prince fled, the king's second son declared himself ruler and invested the capital. His nephew, son of the crown prince, judged this to be usurpation and surrendered to Su Ting-fang with most of the capital residents. On the fall of the city, Uija gave himself up and died of illness shortly thereafter.

49. CTS 199 shang:3616:2 and SS 28, p. 277. Overall authority was vested, however, in a Chinese tu-tu, a post soon given to Liu Jen-yuan.

50. CTS 199 shang:3616:2 and SS 28, p. 277.

51. SS 28, p. 277 specifies that those exiled consisted of "eighty-eight persons of the royal family, great generals and ministers, and 12,807 of the people." We know very little of this resettlement, but the much greater movement of people at the fall of Koguryo has been studied in detail by Hino, "Shō kokuri koku." Hino points out that as early as 643, T'ai-tsung had settled inside the Wall about 3,500 of Korea's best soldiers in order to weaken resistance in the state, providing a precedent for the deportation. Later it was hoped that by removing the leaders of society movements of national liberation could be forestalled. In all likelihood, the same motive was present in 660 and suggests that the Chinese planned to incorporate the peninsula into their empire.

Professor Hatada (Korea, p. 25) is convinced that the Paekcheans were enslaved, but I find no evidence of this. The Koreans, we are told, were later settled in underpopulated areas of the Northwest so that the need for labor was a motive in their placement, but we are also told that they took with them their chariots, horses and cattle, and this seems to suggest quite the opposite of enslavement. Professor Hino makes no suggestion.

52. TCTC 200, pp. 6322-23. In the three areas mentioned there existed nineteen prefectures which had fu-ting units and, according to the figures of Ku Chi-kuang and Kikuchi, these yielded on paper about 130,000 troops. The fact that only a third of this total was produced by what seems to have been a full levy, and that at least a portion of these were probably conscripts and volunteers, would seem to indicate that the effective strength of the system had been substantially reduced by 660.

53. With the exception of Ch'i-pi Ho-li, the other three commanders were all
prominent members of the northeastern hao-chieh. Coupled with the fact that the expedition was launched from Loyang, this suggests a special effort to persuade the Northeast.

54. TCTC 200, p. 6324. The year 660 was that of Kao-tsung's first serious illness. Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, p. 59, speculates on the empress' reasons for opposing her husband's participation, and see also THY 95, p. 1708, for other opposition.

55. SS 28, pp. 278-9 and TCTC 200, pp. 6323-4. Poksin set up as ruler a son of the former king who had been a hostage in Japan. These two, aided by a Buddhist monk called Tochim, managed to rally the people and put the garrison of Li Jen-yuan (HTS 220:4148:4) under severe pressure.

56. SS 5, p. 62 and 28, p. 278 both record engagements in which Silla was bested and this may be the real reason it retired. The Sillan king Muyol, who was to die in mid-661, seems to have left state affairs in the hands of his son Munmu and, as will be suggested later, he was playing a double game at the time. Liu Jen-kuei, given the task of relieving the garrison, is said to have remarked that he wanted to pacify once and for all (sao-p'ing) the Eastern "barbarians"--a remark hardly calculated to defuse the situation. TCTC 200, p. 6324.

57. TCTC 200, pp. 6325-27. Su, in fact, was already at the walls of Pyongyang by the seventh month of 661. On Ch'i-pi, see CTS 109:3400:2 and HTS 110:3932:2.

58. On the Uighur rebellion, which in three months had also gained the support of 100,000 Mulguls, see TCTC 200, pp. 6326-29. Five generals were sent against them and, though the heroism of Hsüeh Jen-kuei resolved the incident with relatively little bloodshed, 13,000 Chinese were lost in a fruitless pursuit of the Uighurs. In early 663 two new protectorates were set up in the area.

On Kao-tsung's illness, see TCTC 200, p. 6329, and on the cancellation of the sacrifice, TCTC 201, p. 6332.

59. TCTC 201, pp. 6336 ff. The full text of these instructions is found in CTW 14:3a.

60. SS 6, p. 67. Munmu had been Sillan ambassador to China in 650.

61. SS 28, p. 279. Jen-kuei was able to do this when the restoration leaders killed each other, leaving Prince P'ung in command. See also Jen-kuei's biography in CTS 84:3346:1 and HTS 108:3928:3, and for the troops, all levied in Ho-pei, TCTC 200, p. 6330.

62. TCTC 201, p. 6337, dates the decree found in CTW 12:10a in the eighth month of 663.

63. TCTC 201, pp. 6336-37, SS 28, p. 278 and 6, p. 67. The Sillan source claims that the state had twenty-eight generals in the field and that they were responsible for taking the capital. The only Chinese source to acknowledge Sillan aid is CTS 199 shang:3616:3. Ikeuchi, Man-Sen shi, v. 2, pp. 72-246, offers the fullest account of the campaign.

The remnants of the Japanese are said to have surrendered, and SS 42, p. 436 preserves a severe reprimand delivered to them by King Munmu.

64. TCTC 201, pp. 6340-42, and a fuller version in CTS 84:3346:3.

65. TCTC 201, p. 6342 and CTS 84:3346:4. Liu had powerful enemies at court of whom Li Ching-hsüan was the most notable. See note 107 below.

66. See SS 6, p. 68, and CTS 199 shang:3616:3 for the text. The pact, which is discussed later in the text, was sealed with the slaughter of a white horse, a ritual seemingly sufficient to guarantee its sacredness. In it Silla is
praised as a model of "barbarian" submission, and the claim is made that Silla requested the treaty. Munmu was later to claim that it was imposed on him.

67. Munmu's position was that of ta-tu-tu, a post he considered superior to that of Jen-kuei. Hino, "Shō kokuri koku," Shien 61 (1957), p. 32, suggests that it was the practice to have a Chinese tu-tu supervise native rulers even if their ranks were superior. Munmu was also disgruntled because Ijija's son had been given the same rank as he. SS 28, p. 279.

68. Liu returned, ostensibly to participate in the feng-shan sacrifices and seems never to have returned to the peninsula. In 668 he was appointed general against Koguryō but almost immediately removed for "loitering" in the prosecution of the attack. TCTC 201, p. 6355.

69. TCTC 201, p. 6347. In the fifth month of 666 Youngae Somun's heir requested aid against a challenge from his younger brothers. The final campaign is described by Ikeuchi, v. 2, pp. 276-418.

70. TCTC 201, p. 6351.

71. SS 6, pp. 70-71, TCTC 201, pp. 6352 ff., and TFYK 986:9a ff. The biographies of the various commanders also offer details.

72. TCTC 201, p. 6354 preserves a very interesting conversation between Kao-tsung and Chia Yen-chung, a censor who had been attached to the army and was able to explain why this campaign would succeed where the others had failed.

73. The siege lasted only two months and the city was betrayed by a monk so that the capital was taken with little bloodshed. The burning seems, therefore, to have been less a reprisal than an expression of Chinese ambition to pacify the country permanently. It should be seen in the context of the exiling of 150,000 Koreans.

74. CTS 199 shang:3616:1. Nishijima, "Toa," pp. 263-4, suggests some of the implications of the organization, and we might note especially the appointment of King Pojang to the presidency of the Board of Works. Appended to his title was the term yuân-wai t'ung-chêng which Hu San-hsing (TCTC 201, p. 6356) explains as an auxiliary appointment with all the emoluments of the regular holder of the post. This was essentially a sinecure, awarded only once before and for a much lower post in 654. It was to become increasingly frequent and, as one of the empress' irregular forms of appointment, was to contribute to the serious economic problems of the end of her reign.

75. CTS 199 shang:3616:1.

76. The major accounts, CTS 199 shang:3616:1 and HTS 220:4148:4 make no mention of Sillan participation. The Sillan account suggests that their troops engaged the Koguryōns once, in the seventh month of 668, and reached P'yŏngyang two months later. This was almost twenty months after the campaign was initiated and a few days before the city fell. Munmu on two occasions refused to meet either Li Chi or Hsüeh Jen-kuei, each time sending a subordinate to represent him.

The attitude of the Chinese in these circumstances seems understandable, and we might note here a remark in CTS 199 shang:3617:1: "In the fifth year of hsiên-ch'ing [660]... [Paekche was extinguished]. From this time Silla gradually seized the territory of Koguryō and Paekche and greatly expanded her borders, in the West even to the sea." Curiously, the other sources have no parallel passage and, if it represents more than the historian's hindsight, it
could explain, for instance, why Munmu was demoted to tu-tu in 663 and why China
determined to incorporate the peninsula.

77. SS 5, pp. 77-81. There exist many lacunae in the early part of the ac-
count and a number of errors in the text so that the background is not altogeth-
er clear. It seems, however, that in the sixth month of 671 Silla had badly
defeated a combined Chinese and Paekchean force, inflicting over 5,000 casual-
ties. The next month it received a severe reprimand from Hsüeh Jen-kuei which
gave Munmu two days to decide whether he would repent for his recent "crimes"
or face attack by two Chinese armies.

78. There is no Chinese record of any such promise.

79. An event unmentioned in Chinese sources but attested in SS 28, p. 278
and 5, p. 62, the annals both of Paekche and Silla. Neither mentions Munmu's
leadership.

80. Unmentioned in any text.

81. SS 5, p. 62 verifies the Sillan defeat which occurred in the fourth
month. During the first part of the year, Silla was also meeting an invasion
of Koguryōns and Mulguls and was unable to repel them until mid-year. SS 42,
p. 434, the biography of Kim Yu-sin, gives details. I find no other mention of
an epidemic, but if Munmu's statement is true, Silla was indeed hard-pressed at
the time.

82. The name Te-min, found in Kim Yu-sin's biography, seems to have been a
reference to Jen-kuei though it is not mentioned in his biography.

83. The text refers to Jen-yün as tsung-kuan rather than tu-tu which was
his actual rank while heading the garrison.

84. No information is available on Sun.

85. I have not been able to pinpoint the exact location of Ungnyøng. If, as
seems likely, it was near Ungjin and Ungch'ón, Silla did quite well in the set-
tlement. See map.

86. SS 6, p. 70, relates that at this time, the tenth month of 667, Li Chi
was two hundred li north of Pyŏngyang. The king sent him a message by fast
Khitan cavalry and was told to advance. He had scarcely done so when he heard
that Li Chi had retreated, so he also withdrew.

Chinese sources offer little enlightenment on the matter except to sug-
gest that Li was busy reprovisioning the fleet which had lost its supplies be-
fore effecting a junction with his troops. This, combined with the severe
winter, may have prevented him from moving. The next engagement recorded took
place in the second month of 668. It is interesting to note that no sooner had
Munmu withdrawn than he received an imperial command, transmitted by Liu Jen-
yün, that he "aid in the subjection of Koguryo." Receiving orders from two
sources must have caused confusion.

87. I cannot identify the site mentioned.

88. SS 6, p. 71 records a Sillan victory in the seventh month and this is
probably the one to which Munmu refers. Coming two months before the fall of
Pyŏngyang, it is difficult to say what effect it had. The Sillan annals, inci-
dentially, make no mention of their cavalry leading the assault on the city, and
I suspect exaggeration here.

89. The Chinese sources make no mention of reward to the Sillans, and the
Sillan annals detail only the rewards bestowed by their own state. SS 42, p.
433 records that in 660 Su Ting-fang offered Kim Yu-sin and some other generals
fiefdoms to be carved from the conquered territory. Kim Yu-sin refused on the
grounds that China had rescued his country from peril, but the refusal has a
ring of insincerity and the text continues, "the T'ang troops had extinguished Paekche . . . and secretly plotted to invade Silla. Our king knew of this and asked his ministers and generals what should be done . . . [preparations were made and] the spies of the Chinese learned we were ready . . . [and the attack was aborted]." There is no confirmation in other sources, but as an explanation for the strained relations which followed, it seems plausible.

SS 43, p. 438 records that in 668 gold and silk were bestowed by the Chinese upon those who had assisted in the campaign and an imperial commendation awarded to Kim Yu-sin. In view of Munmu's claim and in view of the fact that Kim Yu-sin is recorded to have been absent at Pyŏngyang, this report seems contradictory. The Chinese, furthermore, had never before rewarded the Sillans in this fashion, and I am inclined to reject the report.

90. There is no record elsewhere that Paekche reinitiated hostilities, and the Sillan annals mention no fighting until early 670.

91. The reference here is to the episode of An Sung, discussed on p. 121 in the text. See SS 6, p. 73. Munmu's version seems reliable since the Sillans had repulsed a large Koguryŏn invasion only two months earlier and so considered Koguryŏn the greater threat.

92. I am not sure of Munmu's meaning here.

93. SS 7, pp. 77-82.

94. SS 6, p. 67. The text says ta-tu-tu-fu.

95. TCTC 201, pp. 6356-57. An-tung consisted technically only of the nine tu-tu-fu and forty-two chou into which Koguryŏn had been divided. Both Paekche and Silla were presumably subordinate to the protector-general.

96. Ikekuchi, Man-Sen shi, v. 1, pp. 84-87 provides in tabular form a summation of relations among the peninsular states, and the annals of Paekche and Silla, while often contradictory, at least present a chronicle of aggression and reprisal from which Silla emerges no better than its neighbors.

97. Kim Yu-sin's biography makes no mention of his illness, but SS 6, p. 71 remarks that when Munmu was summoned to join Li Chi in the sixth month he "remained in the capital because of Yu-sin's illness." Munmu arrived in the ninth month and without Kim Yu-sin. The latter's biography says simply, "Our great king Munmu and the Duke of Ying-kuo [Li Chi] defeated Pyŏngyang." SS 43, p. 438.

98. For instance, Hatada, History of Korea, p. 24 sees the beginning of Sillan ambition only with the fall of Koguryŏn. Han Woo-keun, History of Korea, pp. 75-89 offers an interpretation of events very similar to my own though far less detailed.

99. TCTC 201, p. 6359. Every other source gives the figure 28,000. See, for instance, TFYK 486:12a.

100. See note 51. The deportation of so many Koreans is an indication of the ferocious anti-T'ang feeling which must have been present among the Koreans. Their exile in underpopulated sectors of Northwest China was probably designed to separate them as completely as possible from their homeland since as a group, they were not really farmers and since depopulation was equally serious in the Northeast. Hino, "Shō Kokuri koku," Shiten 61 (1957), p. 25 points out that the settlers were taken from every part of the defeated state, and their removal thus caused widespread disturbance.

This measure was perhaps the single most important factor in Silla's later unification of the peninsula. The exiled clans were precisely those who had constituted the greatest opposition to it in previous years, and their removal left Koguryŏn substantially weakened and her people so angered they either turned on
China or fled to Silla.

101. SS 6, pp. 73-74 and TCTC 201, pp. 6363-64 where the rebel is incorrectly called An Shun. The uprising was not, in fact, initiated by An Sung who appears as rather an unsuitable leader, killing his colleague and fleeing to Silla at the appearance of the Chinese troops. Munmu provided the rebels with supplies early in the rising and in the eighth month of 670 bestowed upon An Sung a patent making him king of Koguryô. The patent, itself a usurpation of imperial prerogative, contained some inflammatory phrases, among them the statement that Koguryô must not be extinguished, its royal line cut off, and its people left leaderless. After their flight, An Sung and his followers were given Silla bone rank and settled in territory seized from Paekche.

102. SS 7, p. 76.

103. Weems, Hulbert's History of Korea, v. 1, pp. 114 ff. contains an account of Silla's aggrandizement in the period. On Munmu's apology, see SS 7, p. 84.

104. SS 7, pp. 82-83.

105. SS 7, pp. 84-85. In 675 Silla claimed eighteen successive victories "large and small" and in an ambigious engagement of 676 claimed to have killed more than 4,000 of Hsüeh's troops. In the second month of 676 Hsüeh was forced to move the seat of the protectorate back to the old city of Liao-tung (THY 73, p. 1318 and TCTC 202, p. 6378). The k'ao-i notice, in TCTC 202, p. 6378, reproduces a shih-lu notice saying the move was made in 670, but Ssu-ma Kuang rejects this, following the Hui-yao.

106. TCTC 202, p. 6379. A second feng-shan sacrifice in the same reign would have been an unprecedented event.

107. See TCTC 202, p. 6385 and the biography of Li Ching-hsüan, Appendix B, no. 59. The affair reflects badly on Liu Jen-kuei who knew that Li had long been his enemy at court and, knowing also that he had no military ability, recommended him to put down the Tibetans. Li's protests were to no avail since Liu's prestige was so great. The Western Turks were flirting with the Tibetans, and a brief alliance did occur in mid-676. TCTC 202, pp. 6390-91.


Silla successes in the 670s and the demonstrated unreliability of the Mulguls probably account for the king's return, though the immediate cause was another rising in Koguryô in 676 which showed that even the highly praised administration of Hsüeh Jen-kuei could not pacify the area. The hope of the court was that the return of the exiled Koreans would bolster Pojang's authority and perhaps constitute a barrier to further Silla expansion. The king's betrayal aborted the project, and it seems that most of the Koreans remained in the Liao-tung area.

109. Among the several sources cited in the preceding note are a number of contradictions. TCTC is alone in using wang instead of chün-wang, and in the matter of the tu-tu position, CTS 199 shang:3616:1, HTS 220:4149:1, and THY 95, p. 1709 give Liao-tung, TFYK gives Liao-chou, and TCTC gives Liao-tung chou. All term Paekche, Hsiung-chin. The use of Ch'ao-hsien and Tai-fang with its overtones of the Han colonial venture strikes me as rather inept and perhaps reflects the unwillingness of the court to admit the failure of so costly a conquest.

110. The return of Pojang had been accompanied by the movement of the protectorate forward from Liao-tung to Hsin-ch'eng. The latter was an admirable
Notes to pages 121-122

defensive position, and when the venture failed the Chinese remained there. It is interesting to note that in 676 when the protectorate had been moved back to the Liao, the Chinese had relied principally on Korean officials (TCTC 202, p. 6379), and the same procedure was probably followed at this time. The Chinese awareness of the need for self-government was slow in coming.

After Pojjang's death, his position was inherited by his son under whom most of the area between Hsin-ch'eng and the Taedong River became virtually independent and is often termed Lesser Koguryo. In 698 the empress ended the fiction of Chinese rule there by creating a much smaller An-tung protectorate. THY 73, p. 1318 points out that most of the Koreans joined the Turks or Mulguls and the royal line died out.

111. SS 7, p. 86.
112. The relations are outlined in SS 8, pp. 89-100 and 9, pp. 101-109, and THY 95, pp. 1712-13. See also Ikeuchi, Man-Sen shi, v. 1, pp. 325-87.
113. See Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 75-81, and Ku, Fu-ping, pp. 261-70, which emphasizes the strains placed on the system by the Korean wars and the An-tung administration. He suggests that the important change there was the melding of conscript and garrison forces.

I am in sympathy with this view but would date the development rather earlier than Professor Ku, possibly from 663 when Kao-tsung lowered to fifty-eight the age when service was ended (TTC 6, p. 33). I have tried to point out the initial inadequacy of the northeastern units for the prosecution of the Korean wars and the gradually decreasing reliance of the court upon them. Chapter 9 will attempt to show their inability to cope with the Khitan and Turkish invasions. The argument against this interpretation would point to new units established by the Empress Wu in 690, but my view is precisely that their location was largely a recognition that in Ho-pei the system was no longer viable. Kikuchi, 'Tōdai fuhei seido' shows that most of the new units were placed in Ho-nan near the new capital, and the only two Ho-pei locations were Wei-chou and Huai-chou. The first was on the Ho-nan border, and the second adjacent to what was to be the northern capital. It seems fair to assume that had the empress deemed it practicable, she would have taken this opportunity to correct the imbalance between the Northeast and the Northwest which had existed since the inauguration of the system and, particularly with her capital at Loyang, set up units to protect it from the North instead of restricting herself mostly to Ho-nan. The following chapter will point out that the new military dispositions she eventually made in Ho-pei were a pointed denial of the continuing validity of the fu-ping system.

114. TCTC 201, p. 6385. On Chang, see Appendix B, no. 57.
115. T'ang relations with the Tibetans are conveniently summarized in THY 97; CTS 196 shang; HTS 216 shang; and TFYK 970. The best secondary treatment of the years under discussion is Ise, Chūgoku, pp. 315 ff.

Their first recorded tribute mission to the T'ang arrived in 634, and by 638 they could send an army estimated at 200,000 to press upon T'ai-tsung their demand for a marriage. In 641 the Wen-ch'eng princess, who may have been an inmate of the harem rather than a daughter of the emperor (HTS 83:3883 and 3884), was married to the Tibetan ruler. She seems to have hastened the process of Sinification in the area and to have played an important role in fostering the harmonious 'in-law' relationship of the next decade.

The death of the ruler in 650 and the seizure of power by Lu Tung-tsan brought about a change. Lu and his five sons succeeded not only in strengthening
the internal power of their people, but also in bringing under their sway many of the surrounding tribes. The most notable of these were the T'u-yü-hun whose 300-year history of independence ended when they became Tibetan vassals in 663. See CTS 198:3612:3. Tribute to China, often in the form of Buddhist statues and other golden artifacts, continued until 665, but after 667 when many Western Turks joined them, the Tibetans took up a hostile stance and in the summer of 670, they burst into eighteen prefectures in the Western Regions and seized the Four Garrisons (TCTC 201, p. 6363). Henceforth their raids became an annual threat.

116. TCTC 202, pp. 6385-88. The force sent against the Tibetans, whose power was not at its height, was perhaps the largest of the century. In the spring of 677 an army under twelve commanders was levied from large western prefectures like Feng and Hsing, some of which had no fu-ping units whatsoever. The force must, therefore, have been composed largely of conscripts and volunteers, and two of Kao-tsung's sons were given nominal command. In the twelfth month a statewide call for more troops went out (TCTC 202, p. 6384), and in addition to calling up troops in Shan-nan and Chien-nan where there had never been many fu-ping units, commissioners were sent through Ho-nan and Ho-pei to "recruit brave soldiers without inquiring into their background and official position." See also CTW 14:5a.

It seems fairly clear from the constitution of this force that the available pool of fu-ping troops was largely exhausted and if Ku Chi-kuang is correct in suggesting that exemption from expeditions was granted to all those slated for garrison duty in a given year and that this left a pool of only 100,000 (Fu-ping, p. 174), this is understandable. The recruitment of the lower classes suggests a certain desperation on the part of the court, and it seems incredible that an attack on Silla could be considered at the same time.

The Tibetan force must have been formidable since it could draw on the resources of an empire which the CTS describes as contiguous to China in the East, touching upon northern India in the South, encompassing the Four Garrisons, and reaching in the North to the territory of the Turks. CTS 196 shang:3604:2.

117. TCTC 202, p. 6396.
118. TCTC 202, p. 6386.
119. On Wei, see Appendix B, no. 121. The memorial is abstracted in TCTC 202, p. 6387.

120. See Ku, Fu-ping, pp. 165-97, and Fonctionnaires, v. 2, pp. 763-69. I simplify greatly here because Ku's treatment is so thorough and because the mechanics of the fu-ping are beyond the scope of this discussion. It is necessary to note, however, the connection between the fu-ping and the lure of empire. The fu-ping made T'ang imperialism possible, but only at the cost of the destruction of the institution itself and ultimately of the centralization it had early promoted so successfully.

121. Chapters 5 and 9.
123. See earlier notes and Chapter 9.
124. TCTC 202, p. 6390. On the resurgence of the Western Turks under the khan of the Shih-hsing tribe, see Chavannes, Documents, pp. 74 ff.

125. The vagaries of the foundation and control of the Four Garrisons of Kucha (Kuei-tzu), Kashgar (Shu-lo), Tokmak (Sui-yeh) and Khotan (Yü-t'ien) are studied in detail by Ise, Chūgoku, pp. 190 ff. Chavannes, Documents, pp. 114-28, translates the CTS notice on each.
126. The Chinese sources refer to the clan as Lun. This is somewhat puzzling since the sounds bear no resemblance to each other, and I am indebted to Professor Henry G. Schwarz for the suggestion that the Tibetan surname nGar is derived from mgar ba, "smith" or "wheelwright." The Chinese version should therefore be "wheel," but the sources write the character with an incorrect radical.

127. P'ei was vice-president of the Board of Civil Office at the time but, as noted earlier, had had a good deal of experience on the western frontiers. His discussion centered on the recent defeats by the Tibetans and recommended that since the king of Persia has recently died and his son was a hostage at Ch'ang-ang, an embassy should be sent to install him on the throne and, while crossing the territory of the Turks, take the opportunity to detach them from their Tibetan alliance. P'ei was given charge of the affair, and his biography recounts a brave saga of near-starvation on the desert before an ingenious stratagem enabled him to take the khans prisoner and bring them back to the capital, thereby defusing a dangerous situation.

The subsequent administration of the area is best outlined in the biography of Wang Fang-i in CTS 185 shang:3561:1 and HTS 111:3934:1.

128. TCTC 202, pp. 6392-93, CTS 5:3074:3, and T'ang 94, pp. 1690-91. Ts'en, T'u-chüeh, pp. 289-92 examines the full range of sources. The Turks and their allies advanced to the area of modern Peking before retreating to the Northwest as P'ei's armies advanced. The decisive battle took place at Hei-shan, north of Feng-chou, where the combined Chinese forces are estimated by CTS at 450,000.

129. This is not to say that there was no follow-up to the victory. The great Korean general Hukch'i Sangchi made viable the defenses of the entire Ho-yuan area (TCTC 202, p. 6395 and CTS 109:3400:3), and by mid-682 Wang Fang-i could report the final pacification of the Western Turks (TCTC 203, p. 6409). The same year Hsüeh Jen-kuei, recalled from his second disgrace over the Korean debacle, administered another defeat to the restive Turks, taking over 200,000 captives. TCTC 203, p. 6412.

At Kao-tsung's death the Tibetans were recuperating from eight successive defeats at the hands of Lou Shih-te (Appendix B, no. 104), and there were troops in the field pursuing recent Turkish invaders. These returned two months after his burial. The Tibetan campaign was not renewed until 687.

Chapter 9

1. The question of ritual abdication is discussed by Carl Leban in a paper titled "The accession of Ssu-man Yen, A.D. 265: Legitimation by ritual replication" (Asilomar, 1975). In the case of the Chou, it is important to note that the annals of the empress in both T'ang histories state simply that she "raised her title" to emperor, and Ssu-ma Kuang records that "the empress-dowager accepted (k'o) the request of the emperor and the ministerial body . . . and elevated her title to sheng-shen huang-ti." TCTC 204, p. 6467. Jui-tsung does not seem to have signed the petition which requested the foundation of the Chou, but rather to have asked simply that his surname be changed from Li to Wu. TCTC, loc cit. In 705 the CTS, HTS, and TCTC use the term ch'uan-weih, "transmit the throne" for Chung-tsung's reassumption of the position of emperor.

2. CTS 6:3076:1, HTS 4:3641:3, and TCTC 204, p. 6467. Jui-tsung's heir was at the same time made huang-sun.
3. Notes 124 and 139 below.

4. Some of these relationships are outlined in Ch'en, "Hun-yin chi-t'uan," and Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, p. 147. See also TCTC 204, pp. 6466-67 for T'ai-p'ing's marriage to the empress' nephew and the conferral of the Wu surname on the Ch'ien-chin princess in 690 just prior to the usurpation.

5. TCTC 206, p. 6540.

6. HST 4:3641:1 and TCTC 204, p. 6470.

7. Professor Hok-lam Chan has recently pointed out to me that the T'ang did not formally adopt the earth power until 750. Since this is the case, we might assume that the empress had no need to formally choose an element for her dynasty. On the other hand, the tradition of doing so had become well-established in the period of division, and in the early T'ang there were extensive debates on the matter in which Wang Po (648-75) proposed the scheme which was eventually adopted. See Lü Ssu-mien, Liang-Chin, pp. 1469-72.

8. NTS 76:3869:2.

9. See, for instance, Kuo Mo-jo, Wu Tse-t'ien, pp. 135-37 and 154-55 which outline the findings of an academic expedition to the old Li-chou area which discovered epigraphical evidence of her popularity and also the existence of an agricultural festival said to be held in commemoration of her birthday. See also TCTC 208, p. 6587, for Ts'ui Chiao's secret memorial to Chung-tsung pointing out that the hearts of the people still adhered to the empress.

10. For a recent and succinct discussion of the importance of role in legitimation, see J. D. Langlois Jr., "Ritual and law in the legitimation of the Ming dynasty" (Asilomar, 1975).

11. TCTC 204, pp. 6467-68. Arthur Wright, in his paper on the formal procedures by which Sui Wen-ti sought legitimation, emphasized the importance of the foundation of ancestral temples. For examples of the substitution of "Wu" for "T'ang" in place names, see THY 70, p. 1257 and 71, p. 1261.

12. Chapter 4, n. 92, and Chapter 6; see also Twitchett's remarks in Financial Administration, pp. 84 ff. A northern capital was founded in 692, TCTC 205, p. 6487.

13. TCTC 204, p. 6473, TFKK 486:336, THY 84, p. 1553, and CTS 6:3076:1. This occurred in the seventh month of 691 with the households from such chou as Yung, T'ung, and Ch'in where the concentration of fu-ping units was high. There are some source contradictions, with CTS and TCTC saying that those resettled were drawn exclusively from Kuan-nei while the others say Kuan-wai. TCTC limits the number transported to 100,000, and CTS goes on to say that Yung-chou was divided immediately into four parts.

The basic motives, it seems, were to provide a larger base of support for the new capital and the official class concentrated there, and to weaken the old Ch'ang-an area.


15. TCTC 205, pp. 6478-79. Li Chao-te (Appendix B, no. 99) was placed in charge of the project.


17. TCTC 205, p. 6496. Note also Ssu-ma Kuang's comments on p. 6498 suggesting that the treasuries were emptied to pay for the construction of the ming-t'ang complex.

18. TCTC 205, p. 6493, which describes these treasures, and also Chapter 4.
20. TCTC 204, p. 6471. The petitions appeared in early 691, and the one suggesting the feng-shan sacrifice included 2,800 names.
22. TCTC 204, p. 6473. The sons of the former Crown Prince Hsien were given the Wu surname and imprisoned with Jui-tsung's family.
23. TCTC 204, pp. 6473 and 6489.
25. CTS, loc. cit. See also TCTC 205, p. 6485 for Ssu-ma Kuang's estimate of the toll taken by the so-called evil officials.
26. TCTC 205, p. 6485.
27. On Hsu, see Chapter 5, n. 88. His early refusal of office is found in TCTC 204, pp. 6469-70.
28. For examples of the activities of these, see TCTC 205, pp. 6485-86. It is of interest to note that in mid-692 Chu acknowledged in a memorial that "the minds of the people are already made up" (shung-hsün i-ting), presumably in favor of the Chou.
29. TCTC 205, p. 6486.
30. Details are found in TCTC 205, pp. 6479 ff. and Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 138-40.
31. CTS 183:3553:2 and TCTC 204, pp. 6474-75. See also CTS 87:3352:4.
32. On Li, see Appendix B, no. 99. He is depicted as a courageous official opposing, for instance, the attempt of Lai Chün-ch'ên and his cohorts to marry into the T'ai-yüan Wang and Chao-chün Li clans (CTS 87:3352:4), and once having one of the most powerful of the "evil officials" flogged to death, ostensibly for a violation of the sumptuary regulations (TCTC 205, p. 6491). In the matter of the succession, he rapidly showed his position by having Ch'eng-ssu's spokesman beaten to death. TCTC 204, p. 6475.
33. TCTC 204, p. 6476.
34. TCTC 205, pp. 6483-4. Three others, Ts'ui Shen-ch'i (Appendix B, no. 97), Yao Shou (no. 100) and Li Yüan-su (no. 101), were all raised to tsai-hsiang status with Chao-te on this occasion and so might be identified as his adherents. All were eventually disgraced or executed.
35. On the posts held by the Wu clan, see CTS 183:3553:1. After 695, with the fall of Hsüeh Huai-i, the use of family and favorites in military posts was very rare, the only exceptions being Wu I-tsung and Wu Yu-i. This is discussed passim in the text. I do not suggest, however, that members of the Wu clan became a negligible factor in the political equation. The empress used them on subsequent occasions to further her political aims so that, for instance, Ch'eng-ssu and San-ssu assisted her in the New Year's ceremony of 693 from which Jui-tsung was barred. (TCTC 205, p. 6488 and HTS 76:3867:4). We may surmise that her aim was to confuse the advocates of a T'ang restoration.
36. See note 32 above.
37. TCTC 205, p. 6496.
38. TCTC 206, p. 6519.
39. Note 35 above.
40. TCTC 205, p. 6488. Hsüan-tsung's mother, the Virtuous Concubine, was the great-granddaughter of Tou K'ang (Appendix B, no. 6).
41. CTS 186 shang:3564:3 and TCTC 205, pp. 6489 and 6490. Ssu-ma Kuang remarks that "from that time none of the nobles or ministers were able to see him."
Notes to Chapter 9

42. TCTC 205, p. 6490.
43. See Chapter 5, n. 7 and 8.
44. Chapter 5, n. 79.
45. See Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 48 ff., and more particularly, Chou, Han-T’ang, pp. 373 ff.
46. By my calculations, ten men held tsai-hsiang rank in 645. The totals vary according to source and, although my own are different, I am here following the figures given in THY 1, pp. 3-4. Those for the reign of Kao-tsung, divided to correspond with the expansion of Empress Wu’s power, are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Appointments</th>
<th>Tenure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>650-659 (4th month)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>659-664 (12th month)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>664-684</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5.5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>3.1 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

47. See Appendix B, no. 104, and note TCTC 206, p. 6541), which comments on his remarkable longevity in spite of the terror and the confused politics of the time.

48. While I have made no exact count, I have found that virtually every kind of irregular appointment occurred within the tsai-hsiang group in the Chou. The terms used to designate this type of position are several: chien-chiao "acting," shih 試 "probationary," shou "temporary," and she "provisional." We find also a large number of concurrent (chien 乘) appointments, supervisory duties (p’an) and those appointed to one post but designated to fill the function (chih 知 ) of another. This led not only to uncertainty of tenure among the tsai-hsiang but severely restricted their freedom of action and created an atmosphere of distrust in the highest ranks of officialdom.

49. My calculation. See Appendix B.
50. TCTC 205, p. 6501.
51. On these appointments see, for instance, TCTC 206, p. 6533 and 205, pp. 6496-95 and 6499-6500.
52. See Chapter 1, n. 42, and CTS 6:3077:1.
53. For instance, TCTC 205, p. 6484 and p. 6478, respectively.
54. See the biography of Chi Hsiu in Appendix B, no. 120 and TCTC 206, p. 6544.
55. On the question of the succession as a "household matter," see TCTC 206, p. 6526. Criticism of the Changs brought death in 701 to the son and daughter of Chung-tsung and the son of Wu Ch’eng-ssu. TCTC 207, pp. 6556-57 and CTS 86:3350:4. Other examples of both are cited in the text.
56. Chou, Han-T’ang, pp. 506 ff.
57. TCTC 202, p. 6376. Judging by the dates of the literary works for which they were responsible, and by a notice in TEYK 550:2b, the group seems to have existed prior to 674, perhaps as early as 667. Most of those whose names are preserved, Liu Wei-chih (Appendix B, no. 72), Fan Li-ping (no. 85), Yuan Wanch’ing (CTS 190 chuang:3581:4), Miao Shen-k’o (CTS, loc. cit.) and Hu Ch’u-pin (CTS 190 chuang:3582:1) received their first capital appointment at about this time. TCTC 204, p. 6447, a notice of 688, is the last mention of the group.
58. TCTC 203, p. 6417.
60. TCTC 206, p. 6526.
61. TCTC 205, pp. 6477-78. See also THY 67, pp. 1180-81, which says that 132
appointments were made at this time. The highest posts, acting grand secretar­
ies of the Secretariat, were of the fifth rank, first grade, and the lowest were
clerks of the ninth rank, third grade.

62. See TCTC 205, pp. 6500-01 and THY 40, pp. 728-29.

63. See Chapter 7. The bureaucratic expansion in the early Chou seems to
have equaled that in the period just prior to the usurpation. Although we are
offered no estimates so specific as Wei Yüan-t'ung's statement of 685 that over
1,000 chu-se entered the "current" each year (THY 74, p. 1336), we are told,
for instance in 692, that vast numbers had their selection rescinded. THY 74,
p. 1345 and T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi 185:5a. It is possible that some of the excess
was absorbed in the expansion of military administration: eighty-six new fu-
ning units were created in 690 (WYYH 46:1b), and later new positions were set
up in existing units (Yu-hai 138:4a). As we shall see, the empress had to re-
respond to pressures for bureaucratic reduction toward the end of the Chou.

64. Taking once again our teai-hsiang sample from the Chou, and excluding
those who rose as family or favorites of the empress, we find that of fifty-nine
chief ministers, at least thirty-three came from clans which were either aristo-
cratic in background or had a tradition of office holding. Of these, however,
only fourteen were from clans specifically regarded as preeminent. This means
that less than a quarter of the Chou teai-hsiang came from the great clans.


66. TCTC 205, p. 6478.

67. See, for instance, the case of Tsung Ch'u-k'ao (CTS 92:3365:4 and HTS 109:
3930:4) who had not only a marriage connection with the empress, but whose broth-
er had been one of her firmest supporters in the usurpation and is said to have
invented her new characters. The Tsungs' first demotion occurred in the tenth
month of 690. TCTC 204, p. 6468. A relative of Lai Ch'un-ch'en lost his position
in the Yü-lin Guard in late 692. TCTC 205, p. 6487.

68. THY 85, p. 1555 and TFYK 48:12a.

69. On the decree examinations, see Lin, Sui-T'ang shih, pp. 210-211, and on
the Board increases, THY 58, p. 1006, and 59, p. 1030.

70. TCTC 205, p. 6485, from a memorial of 692.


72. See, for instance, the list of tributary missions in TFYK 970:17a ff.,
and the investiture of the Sillan king in TFYK 964:10a.

73. My own calculation. When the Shih-hsing sought refuge in China in 690,
it was after five years of constant attack by the Eastern Turks. Their leader,
the Hu-se-lo Khan, was made a general (TCTC 204, p. 6469). THY 98, p. 1756
remarks on the settlement of the Ch'iang, and TCTC 205, p. 6494, that of the Man.

74. On Wang, see CTS 93:3366:2 and HTS 111:3935:3, and on T'ang, CTS 93:3366:
3 and HTS 111:3935:4. Wang had been captured by the Tibetans Hsüeh Jen-kuei's
defeat at T'ai-fei-ch'uan in 670 and, after living among them for a decade, re-
turned to become China's greatest expert on the Western Regions. T'ang came
from a family whose military tradition went back to the Northern Chou, but which
had chosen the wrong side at the time of the T'ang foundation so that to estab-
lish himself, Shou-ch'ing had taken the ming-ch'ing degree. His early experience
was against the Turks.

75. CTS 93:3366:2. The campaign is outlined in the biographies above and dis-
cussed in some detail in Ise, Chugoku, pp. 197 ff. See also Fitzgerald, Empress
Wu, pp. 144-45.

76. TCTC 205, p. 6493. On Mo-ch'ao, see CTS 184:3598:1, HTS 140:4132:1, and
Notes to Chapter 9

THY 94, pp. 1691 ff. Ts'en, T'u-chüeh, pp. 324 ff. outlines Mo-ch'o's raids from 689, even before he became khan. In Western languages, see Giraud, Tours célestes, pp. 49 ff., and Grousset, L'empire, pp. 155 ff. Mo-ch'o was the brother or half-brother of the Khan Ku-ch'u-lu, usurped the leadership on his death in late 693, and immediately invaded Ling-chou.

77. TCTC 205, p. 6503. The request to submit may have been in response to the fact that Wang Hsiao-chieh had just been sent against him with a large force.

78. Note 63 above and TFYK 532:14a. It is interesting to note also a decree of 694 (THY 78, p. 1438) whereby each of the major provincial officials, governors, prefects and garrison commanders were required to leave one son in the capital guard. It seems unlikely that any new posts were created for this but rather that a hostage system was being established.

79. TCTC 205, p. 6495-96.

80. TCTC 205, p. 6496. It is of interest to note that no protest is recorded.

81. On Li Chiao, see Appendix B, no. 123, and on his memorial, Chapter 5, n. 37 and THY 85, pp. 1560-61. The memorial, along with others relating to the problem, is translated by Balazs in "Beiträge."

82. CTS 94:3368:2.

83. See Tonami, "Tō no ritsuryō," and Pulleyblank, Background, pp. 27 ff. On the Tunhuang evidence, see T'ang Ch'ang-ju, "Fo-t'ao-hu."

84. Most notably, the construction of the nine tripods (TCTC 205, p. 6499) on whose Confucian associations, see Ts'ū-yüan, p. 58a.

85. TCTC 205, p. 6500 and THY 11, pp. 278-79.

86. On the reconstruction, see THY 11, pp. 279-80, TFYK 564:7a, and TCTC 205, p. 6505. The new building was called the T'ung-t'ien t'ang and was smaller in all dimensions than the original. On the death of Huai-i, see TCTC 205, p. 6502, CTS 183:3554:4, and note the contradictions pointed out in the k'ao-i notice. The nun who ran a house of ill repute was enslaved with all her followers. TCTC 205, pp. 6499-6500.

87. The hu-ming principle was abolished in the tenth month of 695. THY 75, p. 1358. The full decree is found in CTW 96:6a but offers little enlightenment on the reason for ending the practice. The empress acknowledges that she initiated the principle of anonymity so that her officials could be chosen from as many sources as possible, but then goes on to characterize the practice as contrary to principle and calls for its end in the name of efficiency and good government. The reason I suggest for the change is conjectural.

88. TCTC 205, p. 6503.

89. The best account of this campaign is found in the biography of Lou (CTS 93:3366:2, HTS 108:3929:4). See also TFYK 443:5a and TCTC 205, pp. 6504-5. The empress was extremely angry, demoting Wang to commoner's status and Lou to a low provincial post.

90. On the history of Sino-Tibetan relations, see Chapter 8, n. 115.

91. See CTS 199 hsiā:3618:3 and TCTC 198, 6252-3. The details of early Khitan history are extremely sketchy, and since the Sillan annals in the SS make fairly frequent reference to them, the lost annals of Koguryō would probably have been our best source. TCTC 205, p. 6505, k'ao-i, gives a brief administrative history of Ying-chou.

92. TCTC 205, p. 6505. The rebel leaders descended from tribal chieftains, and one had won the imperial surname for dynastic service. They were related by marriage and held the positions of governor (tu-tu) and prefect at the time of the rising.
Notes to pages 137-141

94. TCTC 205, p. 6507.
95. The only full description of the empress' actions are contained in a memorial from Ch'en Tzu-ang, abstracted in TCTC, loc. cit., and found in full in Ch'en Tzu-ang chi, pp. 178-82.

Ch'en's basic purpose in the memorial was to protest the levy, regarding it as unnecessary, dangerous, and an affront to the national dignity. He took the opportunity, however, to raise a number of other matters, both general and specific. Pointing out that the Khitan ambush was unfortunate and had created a very serious problem, he begged the empress to remain calm and to keep in mind that the Tibetans and Mo-ch'o's Turks posed a more serious threat than the Khitans. To send troops from the northern and western frontiers to meet the latter was folly. Ch'en was critical of the standard of ministerial advice which the empress received, particularly that which permitted the "barbarization" of the armies, and he urged her to seek out the many competent men who had been neglected in appointment to high office. He spoke of self-seeking and timid ministers and conflicts between civil and military officers which the empress should no longer tolerate.

Turning to the situation at hand, he asked that the troops levied from Shan-nan and Huai-nan be given a more reasonable length of time to reach the frontier and not be threatened with the death penalty for tardiness. The diversion of grain to the front, he believed, would not only cause enormous hardship and resentment among the carriers for whom no special reward seems to have been arranged, but would cause a great price rise in the Northeast and general confusion. The actual situation at the front, he pointed out, was not even known!

Finally, and perhaps with some regional jealousy, Ch'en pointed out that because the Northeast supplied the armies, its people were not conscripted. He had recently heard that in their arrogance and rudeness, they had claimed that the government could not compel them to serve, and this was being discussed everywhere. Furthermore, the area had recently found itself plagued by a growing number of bands composed of the lawless and unemployed. Central officials should be sent out immediately to conscript them into the forces, thus augmenting the national strength and ensuring that their relatives remain loyal to the state. He ended with a plea that the court be more generous with incentives and rewards for military service lest the task of recruitment become impossible. The common people of the Northeast were exhausted.

From this memorial, submitted less than a month after the defeat, it would seem that the neglect of the military had reached serious proportions. Ho-pei had suffered only two minor invasions since 679, the Turkish raids of 683 and 687 (TCTC 203, p. 6413, and 204, p. 6443), and when Ch'en mentioned the "magnates and roving warriors who have become bandits, the jobless drifters, the wealthy families and strong clans," he was commenting also on the military potential of the area which we noted earlier. This seems to confirm my finding that the fu-ting declined earliest there, and it might be reasonable to suggest that the dissident elements were deserters or men who might otherwise have found niches within the system.

Two additional facts support this view. In 696 the empress set up in the frontier areas of the Northeast special units called wu-ch'i t'uan-ping, and the next year these were extended throughout Ho-nan and Ho-pei to defend against Mo-ch'o. In these units 150 households provided fifteen soldiers and one horse among them. THY 78, p. 1438 and TCTC 205, p. 6507. See also Hamaguchi, "Fuhei," pp.
1466 ff. These units were almost certainly the prototypes of the later t'uan-chieh, and their creation seems to reflect a concession to regional feeling and an alternative to fu-ping service. Moreover, in Chang Yüeh's report on Wu I-tsun's Ho-pei campaign of 697 (WYYH 647:8a) we find the names of those 'mentioned in dispatch.' Twenty-two men are mentioned, and the origin of their units may be tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho-pei</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-tung</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuan-nei</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lung-yu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chiang-nan</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chien-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-nan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table suggests that the fu-ping in Ho-pei was weak, especially in view of the fact that of the northeastern units mentioned, only one was among the 86 established in 690 when the empress augmented the forces there. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that these new units were not viable from the start.

We need not, however, read too much into these facts for they seem to say little about the oft-mentioned "separatism" of the area. They suggest more, I think, that because the Northeast had borne the brunt of the T'ang's early imperialism, the inappropriateness of the fu-ping was revealed there first. The response of the area to alternative service and its refusal to respond to Khitan and Turkish calls to dethrone the empress support this view.

96. TCTC 205, pp. 6507-9.
97. On Ch'en's background, see Chapter 5, and on Kuo, CTS 97:3373:2 and HTS 122:3957:1. The latter, a chin-shih graduate of undistinguished lineage, had just returned from personal negotiations with Lun Ch'in-ling and seems to have been familiar with the situation among the Tibetans since it was he who conceived the plan adopted by the empress.
98. TCTC 205, pp. 6508-9. The k'ao-i reproduces a notice from the Yü-shih-t'ai chi outlining subsequent events.
99. TCTC 205, pp. 6509-10.
100. TCTC, loc. cit.
101. The Khitan call for Chung-tsung's restoration seems to have been made in early 697, and judging from the k'ao-i notices in TCTC 206, pp. 6526-28, the source of the report is the Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-t'ai. Corroboration is lacking, but in view of the harmony of Khitan relations with T'ai-tsung and Kao-tsung, it seems perfectly reasonable.

There seems to have been a certain amount of collaboration with the enemy in the area, since we are told that Wu I-tsung executed several guilty persons (TCTC 206, p. 6522) before Ti Jen-chieh's pleas for clemency were heeded. Ti's statement (CTS 89:3356:4) mentions both those who were coerced and those who joined the Khitans willingly, but points out that the area suffered from economic depression and the unreasonable demands of harsh officials, so that under the circumstances it had been highly loyal. See also TCTC 206, pp. 6535-36. His remarks were made in late 698 after Mo-ch'o had withdrawn and refer both to Turkish and Khitan invasions.
102. On this affair, see TCTC 206, pp. 6512-13, Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 152-3, and Chapter 6, n. 70(g).
103. Lai had gone so far as to accuse Chi Hsu, the man who had brought the conspiracy to his notice, of being implicated in it. After Chi had cleared himself he, of course, hated Lai, and the empress used their hatred once again to balance...
her appointments. On Chi Hsu, see Appendix B, no. 120.

104. TCTC 106, p. 6517. These two figures, about whom we would like to know a good deal more, have biographies in CTS 78:3337:1 and HTS 104:3921:4; and for their ancestry, see Appendix B, no. 34. Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, pp. 163 ff., outlines their careers in some detail.

105. See, for instance, Fitzgerald, Empress Wu, p. 163 for his suggestion that the terminology of HTS and TCTC is such as to indicate that both became the empress' lovers. For contemporary evidence, see note 159 to this chapter.

106. TCTC 205, p. 6487. A notice of the ninth month of 692 when the empress grew some new teeth and changed the era name to ch'ang-shou, "long life."

107. TCTC 206, p. 6546 and CTS 78:3337:2. It was for this reason probably that the literary institute, founded in 699 (TCTC 206, p. 6538) to provide a sinecure for the Changs, was called Office of the Crane (K'ung-hao fu). Wang Tzu-ch'in (6th century B.C.), also known as Wang Ch'iao, ascended to the immortals on the back of a white crane and so became a symbol of longevity. See also the remark of Yang Tsai-ssu in TCTC 207, p. 6572, suggesting that Chang Ch'ang-tsung had made an elixir of immortality (shen-tan) for the empress.

108. See preceding note; also TCTC 206, p. 6517 for the account of a man who won lavish rewards from the empress for claiming that he dreamt she would live forever. Jao, "Tsung-chiao hsin-yang," pp. 402-5 discusses the question in some detail.


110. TCTC, loc. cit. See also the biography of Yao Shou (Appendix B, no. 100) who dissuaded the empress from the project. The verses said to be written by the empress for the erection of the tripods are found in CTShih 5:1a. These tripods, incidentally, are said to have been cast from 800 tons of bronze.

111. TCTC, loc. cit.

112. CTS 185 shang:3560:1 and TCTC 206, pp. 6515-16. In the early 670s, many of the Western Turks and the Tu-yü-hun had submitted to China (TCTC 201, p. 6363, and 202, pp. 6371-72) and had been settled in the six prefectures of Feng, Sheng, Ling, Hsia, Shuo, and Tai. To send these back to Mo-ch'o would weaken the entire North. Ts'en, T'u-chüeh, pp. 333-39 offers a good examination of the events of this year.

113. On Li Chiao, see Appendix B, no. 123 and on T'ien Kuei-tao, CTS 185 shang:3560:1 and HTS 197:4088:3. Their position was that the Turks were covetous and lacking in good faith and that granting their demands was an invitation to invasion. Their opponents were Yang Tsai-ssu (no. 111) and Yao Shou (no. 100).

114. TCTC 206, p. 6416 and THY 94, p. 1691. The latter remarks "from this Mo-ch'o grew even stronger."


117. On Lai's activities at this time and his fall, see CTS 186 shang:3564:3 and TCTC 206, pp. 6518-19.

118. See CTW 95:8b for the edict of punishment, and TCTC 206, p. 6520.

119. TCTC 206, p. 6523.

120. On Ti, see Appendix B, no. 93, and TCTC 207, pp. 6550-1. Ti was the most famous and perhaps the greatest of the empress' ministers and is the subject of a large secondary literature. A man of uncompromising integrity and infinite subtlety, he won the empress' complete trust and, "although he was fond of arguing with her [in court], she accepted it and followed his advice." She is said to have called him the 'old man of the state' (kuo-lao) and in one incident,
recounted in *TCTC*, *loc. cit.*, is said to have valued his safety more than that of the crown prince. She was disconsolate on his death in 700.

It must be acknowledged, however, that Ti's power was never total, partly because Wu San-ssu usually occupied a parallel position in the hierarchy and partly because the empress seems to have insisted on the invulnerability of the Ch'angs. Probably because of their relative harmlessness, Ti never sought a confrontation with them. His biography suggests a different reason for this, pointing out that he recommended "several tens" of T'ang loyalists for high posts, so that these were in a position to carry on his work when he died. Most notable among them were three leaders of the restoration coup, Chang Chien-chih, Huan Yen-fan and Ching Hui. See also *TCTC* 207, pp. 6551-52. *THY* 75, p. 1357, says he recommended all five leaders of the coup.

121. *TCTC* 206, p. 6526.
122. *TCTC*, *loc. cit.*. "From this [monument] the empress-dowager had no intention of establishing Ch'eng-ssu or San-ssu."
124. *TCTC* 206, p. 6537, and see the lengthy examination of the event in the *k'ao-i* notice.
125. *TCTC* 206, p. 6532.
126. *TCTC* 206, p. 6525. As pointed out earlier, it was Li Chiao who first requested the reduction of *yüan-wai* officialdom in the next reign.
127. See Chapter 7. See also *TFYK* 629:20b-21a for a decree of 696 which recognized that advancement "within the current" had been much too rapid.
128. The full text is in *CTW* 169:2b, and the memorial is abstracted in *THY* 73, pp. 1326-27 and *TCTC* 206, pp. 6524-25.
129. For Ti's reference here, see *TCTC* 195, p. 6148.
130. I cannot identify this figure.
132. Ch'en Tzu-ang chi, pp. 173-78. In general Ch'en approved of the demobilization but warned the empress that the self-seeking officials in the prefectures of Sung and Mao, deprived of the profit they reaped from the supply of the military, might falsely stir up trouble with the Ch'iang in order to restore their fortunes. He spoke also of 30,000 vagrant households who had fled to the West from the Szechwan region, attributing their migration to the harshness of officials there and requested administrative reform there. Finally, since he saw the necessity for keeping the T'ung-kuei Army stationed in Sung-chou active, he recommended a much less costly and onerous means of keeping them supplied.

Perhaps because he was a westerner, Ch'en was more conscious than most of the Tibetan threat. The fact that even he advocated a relatively passive stance toward the foreign neighbors suggests that the attitude was becoming widespread in officialdom.

133. See the preceding note and *TCTC* 206, p. 6530. Lou Shih-te was appointed commissioner to assess the garrisons in the area.
135. See Appendix B, no. 133 and *TCTC* 206, p. 6530.
137. *TCTC* 206, p. 6533; see also Ts'en, *T'iu-chüeh*, pp. 339-50 which offers a full examination of the events of this year, introducing two inscriptions which contradict the standard account. We have no details on the constitution of the
force, but since the three commanders were designated as tsung-kuan of the eastern, western, and central provinces, it seems likely that the troops were raised throughout the empire.

138. TCTC 206, p. 6534. It is difficult to know whether or not this is true. The dynastic histories reproduce the story only in Ti's biography and there as his claim rather than as fact. It is found also in Ta-T'ang hsin-yü 1:11a. I am prepared to believe that Chung-tsung's appointment increased the levies, but the story still seems too contrived to be fully credible.

139. TCTC, loc. cit. It is important to note that the new volunteers came from Ho-pei since it is a strong indication that the area was not "separatist" or disloyal to the T'ang. The other possibility, of course, is that Ho-pei had been alienated by Wu I-tsung's cruel swoop through the province in 697 to punish those suspected of collaboration with the Khitans. He acted so harshly then that the inhabitants composed a bitter proverb about him. TCTC 206, p. 6522. Undoubtedly the empress' popularity suffered.

140. TCTC, loc. cit. It is interesting to note that while Ti Jen-chieh led the new army against Mo-ch'0, the empress placed command of the remaining troops (t'um-ping) at the capital in the hands of Wu I-tsung and Wu Yu-kuei, the first sign that she was concerned about her security. TCTC 206, p. 6535.

141. CTS 194 shang:3598:2. Ssu-ma Kuang uses the conventional term "over 10,000" but adds that casualties in the region from Mo-ch'0's five invasions were countless.

142. TCTC 206, p. 6535. See also Grousset, L'empire, pp. 150 ff.

143. TCTC, loc. cit.

144. TCTC 206, pp. 6539-40 and CTS 196 shang:3604:2.

145. CTS 93:3366:3 and TCTC 207, p. 6549.


148. See TCTC 207, p. 6558 and 206, p. 6539; also note 95 above.

149. TCTC 207, p. 6562.

150. TCTC 207, p. 6568. CTS 194 shang:3598:2 says that the empress brought two of her grandsons, Ch'ung-chüen and Ch'ung-ming, into the audience hall to show them as prospective bridegrooms to the Turkish envoy. Ch'ung-chüen was shortly to be active at court, and no other source mentions that Chung-tsung had a son called Ch'ung-ming. Perhaps Mo-ch'0's new son-in-law was not a prince at all.

151. See TCTC 207, pp. 6562-63. This incident, in fact, involved only the Western Turks but, according to CTS 194 hsia:3600:3, the An-pei protectorate was set up at this time at T'ing-chou.


153. TCTC 206, p. 6539.

154. CTS 206, p. 6546. The elixir was a costly one and had taken three years to synthesize.

155. TCTC, loc. cit. and CTS 6:3076:4. In celebration of the event she changed the era name to chiu-shih, "everlasting youth," from the phrase ch'ang-sheng chiu-shih in the Tao-te ching.

156. TCTC 207, p. 6551.

157. TCTC 206, p. 6538 and CTS 78:3337:2. Among the best-known scholars appointed to the institute were Li Ch'ung-hsü (Appendix B, no. 128), Chi Hsü (no. 120), T'ien Kuei-tao and Yüan Pan-ch'ien. The latter, disgusted at the unprecedented nature of the office and the quality of its incumbents, immediately resigned and was demoted for his presumption. See CTS 190 chung:3582:2.

158. THY 36, p. 657 and TCTC 206, p. 6546. This was the San-chiao chu-ying
and probably marks the first time Buddhism was officially classified as a teaching equal to Confucianism and Taoism.


160. TCTC 206, p. 6547.


162. It is difficult to get a complete picture of the Chang clan, but since the principals were referred to as "fifth and sixth master," they must have had several brothers. Two elder and one younger are mentioned in the histories, all of them involved in corruption. On the case of bribery in the hsüan, see TCTC 206, p. 6547.

163. TCTC 207, p. 6572. Both Li Chiung-hsiu (Appendix B, no. 128) and Chang Hsi (no. 124), who were otherwise reputable officials, seem to have fallen into the same ways.

164. See, for instance, TCTC 207, p. 6563.

165. CTS 78:3337:2.

166. TCTC 207, p. 6556.

167. TCTC 207, pp. 6556-57, and CTS 78:3337:2. Chung-tsung's crown prince was of necessity his son by a concubine, and Empress Wei is said to have been so unhappy with this situation that she sought to have her daughter An-lo replace him. Her actions goaded the Crown Prince Ch'ung-chün into an attempted coup in the summer of 707, initiating a period of unremitting palace intrigue which ceased only with Hsüan-tsun's accession.

168. On Wu San-ssu, see Appendix B, no. 118. He is said at this time to have formed a liaison with Empress Wei in preparation for her husband's succession.

169. TCTC 207, p. 6559. The empress refused, awarding instead dukedoms with revenues of 300 households to both brothers. The TCTC notice is somewhat misleading here since the titles were a reward for literary compilation. CTS 78:3337:2.

170. On Wei, see Appendix B, no. 121.


172. See Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, pp. 173-77, which follows closely the TCTC account.

173. TCTC 207, p. 6565.


175. TFYK 604:4a, TCTC 206, p. 6542, and the full text in CTW 236:3b. On Wei, see Appendix B, no. 131.


177. CTW 236:3b ff.

178. See, for instance, TCTC 207, p. 6557, on selection. The problem of provincial administration is discussed on p. 151 in the text.

179. See Chapter 7.


181. See TCTC 207, pp. 6549-50, and my remarks in Chapter 4.

182. Chapter 4. On the clerical tax, see TCTC 207, p. 6571.

183. TCTC 207, p. 6554 and see the k'ao-i notice.

184. CTS 6:3076:4 and TCTC 207, p. 6557. It may be significant that Ju-tsung was given command of the Yü-lin Guard immediately before the empress' departure.

185. TCTC 207, p. 6556. Su memorialized again on the same subject the next year. See TCTC 207, p. 6559, also TFYK 544:6b.

186. Chapter 7. See Examens, pp. 36 and 209-212.
187. TCTC 207, pp. 6560-61. It was not until 704, however, that complete rehabilitation occurred and the road to office was reopened to those whose relatives had been found guilty of crime. TCTC 207, p. 6574.

188. On the appointments of Li and Wei to tsai-hsiang rank, see TCTC 207, p. 6571. Wei An-shih (Appendix B, no. 125) was already well-known as an opponent of the Changs. Wei Ssu-li (no. 131) held his position in the university until the twelfth month of 704 and, in view of his concern with education, was probably a successful administrator. On the new censors, see THY 60, p. 1053 and TFYK 512:6a.

189. TFYK 554:17a and THY 63, p. 1094.

190. TCTC 207, p. 6567.

191. The concern perhaps arose from a disturbance in the far South in the eleventh month of 703. TCTC 207, pp. 6568-69. I have been unable to find a definition of the "six categories" of the Han.

192. TCTC 207, p. 6570 and THY 68, pp. 1198-99. Some of the best-known officials assigned to the task were Wei Ssu-li, Hsueh Ch'ien-kuang and Yang Tsai-ssu. In some cases, at least, the officials retained their current posts and became only acting prefects so that the experiment was perhaps not a wholehearted one.

193. TCTC 207, p. 6571.

194. Note 9 above.


196. TCTC 207, p. 6578.

197. TFYK 629:22a and THY 75, p. 1359.

198. THY 60, p. 1053 and TFYK 512:6a.

199. TCTC 207, p. 6574.

200. See, for instance, on the palaces, THY 30, p. 557 and TCTC 207, p. 6569.

201. TCTC 207, p. 6575 points out that for several months the empress saw only the Changs, receiving neither chief ministers nor her own sons. The many demotions at the restoration give some idea of the size of the Chang faction.


203. TCTC 207, p. 6576.

204. On Huan, see CTS 91:3360:4 and HTS 120:3951:3. He was the scion of an official clan from Huai-nan obtaining his first post through the yin privilege. Much admired by Ti Jen-chieh, he rose to high positions in the Censorate where he was responsible for the restoration of the political rights of the victims of Lai Chün-ch'ên and Chou Hsing. At Ch'ang-tsung's treason trial, his was the strongest call for punishment, and his biography contains the fullest account of the coup.

205. On Chang, see Appendix B, no. 133.

206. TCTC 207, pp. 6574 ff. Fitzgerald's account is found in Empress Wu, pp. 184-88.

207. The "tame" judges were Wei Ch'eng-ch'ing (Appendix B, no. 135) and Ts'ui Shen-ch'ing (CTS 77:3335:3 and HTS 109:3930:3).


209. See Appendix B, no. 132. Ts'ui was in many ways typical of the north-eastern ssu-hsing. After passing the ming-ch'ing, his mother, who was a member of the eminent Lu clan, instructed him on the integrity necessary to an official calling, and it was his incorruptibility while charged with the examination system which brought him to the personal notice of the empress. His biography shows that he was one of the empress' most sincere supporters, never suggesting abdication.
It was the complete lack of alternatives which finally brought him into the conspiracy.

210. See *TCTC* 207, p. 6579.

211. *CTS* 91:3361:3 and *HTS* 120:3952:2. Ching was one of the "new" officials prominent in the Chou, a member of a family with no tradition of office, a ming-ching graduate and a man whose reputation had been made in the provinces. His opposition to the Wu interests, carried into the next reign, precipitated the destruction of himself and his four co-conspirators by Wu San-ssu.

212. *CTS* 91:3362:3 and *HTS* 120:3951:3. Yuan was another of the "new" type of official. A northeasterner, his early career is nowhere documented, and we know only of his capital appointments. He may have had some military experience since during the actual coup, he was in charge of the Southern Guard whose task was to deal with unforeseen resistance.

213. *TCTC* 207, pp. 6578-79. Li found himself on the losing side in 707 when he joined the crown prince in an attempted coup against Empress Wei.


215. *CTS* 78:3337:2. These included Li Chiao, Ts'ui Shen-ch'ing, Ts'ui Jung, Sung Chih-wen, Shen Ch'üan-ch'i and several others who not only held high posts but were among the best-known figures of their time. Their connection with the Changs shows how influential the faction had become.

216. *CTS* 193:3553:4. Wu Yen-hsiu had returned to the capital in 704 and, although he was not married to Princess An-lo until later, their relationship seems to have existed from this time.

217. *TCTC* 207, p. 6580. He was persuaded by Li Chan, the son of Li I-fu.

218. *TCTC* 207, pp. 6580-81. The empress had special scorn for Chung-tsung whom she thought perhaps to intimidate, for Li Chan whose father had been her earliest supporter, and for Ts'ui Hsüan-wei who had been her personal and independent choice for high office. Ts'ui, perhaps with some sadness, could attribute his presence only to "Your Majesty's great virtue."


220. See, for instance, *TCTC* 208, p. 6587, and 207, p. 6582 for T'ien Kuei-tao's refusal to cooperate with the conspirators.

221. *TCTC* 208, p. 6596.


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GLOSSARY

A-shih-na Ho-lu 阿史那霍羅
A-shih-na Hu-se-lo (Hu-se-lo Khan) 阿史那斛瑟羅
A-shih-na Ni-shu-fu 阿史那泥熟處
A-shih-te Wen-fu 阿史德溫傳
Act of Grace SEE ta-she
Amitayus Sutra (Wu-liang-shou ching) 無量壽經
An-hsi 安西
An-lo, Princess 安樂公主
An Lu-shan 安祿山
An-pei 安北
An Shun 安順
An Sing 安勝
An-tung 安東
An-yeh 安業
Avalamśaka (Hua-yen) 華嚴
Azumi no Hirabu no Muraji 阿曇比羅天連
bhadanta (ta-te) 大德
Bodhiruci 菩提流志
bodhisattva (p'u-sa) 菩薩
Buddhapala 佛陀波利
çekravartin 轉輪王
candraprabha (yueh-kuang wang) 月光王
Chai I 翟義
Ch'an 禪
ch'an-wei 謐字
ch'an-yü 謌字
Chang Ch'ang-i 張昌儀
Chang Ch'ang-tsung 張昌宗
Chang Chao 張昭
chang-chiao 章醮
Chang Chien-chih 張柬之
Chang Chi-yu-ling 張九齡
chang-fu 章符
Chang Hsing-ch'eng 張行成
Chang I-chih 張易之
Chang Jen-wei 張仁範
Chang-ku 張固
Chang Ming-shan 張明善
Chang T'ing-kuei 張廷珪
Chang Wen-kuan 張文瓘
Chang Yüeh 張説
ch'ang 唱
Ch'ang-chou 常州
ch'ang-liu chi yu-nu 長流及域奴

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ch'ang-ming hsing-li pang 長名姓歷榜
ch'ang-sheng chiu-shih 長生久視
ch'ang-sheng yuan 長生院
ch'ang-shih 長式
ch'ang-shou 長壽
Ch'ang-sun Shun-te 長孫順德
Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌
Chao-chou 趙州
Chao-chün 趙郡
Chao-i 昭義
Chao Wan-li 趙萬里
Ch'ao-hsien 朝鮮
chen 震
Chen-kuan cheng-yao 貞觀政要
chen-kuan chih chih 貞觀之治
chen-kuei 鎮圭
Chen Ti-erh 甄翟兒
chen-yuan chiang-chun 鎮遠將軍
ch'en臣
Ch'en Ku-yuan 陳顧遠
Ch'en Shih-i chi 陳拾遺集
Ch'en Tzu-ang 陳子昂
Cheng 城
cheng hsing-jen 征行人
cheng-ming 正名
Cheng-ming ching 證明經
Cheng-shih t'ang 政事堂
cheng-t'ung 正統
Ch'eng 城
Ch'eng-ku hsien 承光
Ch'eng-kuang 承光
Ch'eng Ming-ch'en 程名振
Ch'eng p'i-yang chih ch'ung 承辟陽之寵
Ch'eng Wu-t'ing 程務挺
Ch'eng-yang, Princess 城陽公主
chi 赤
Chi Hsü 吉須
chi-jih 慈日
chi-mo 慈沒
Chi sha-men pu-ying pai-su teng-shih 集沙門不應拜俗等事
Chi-su 齊水
Ch'i 岐
Ch'i-chou 起居舍人
Ch'i-pi Ho-li 契必何力
chia-k'ou chi-mo 家口慈沒
chia-men 家門
Chia Pi 賈弼
Chia Yen-chung 賈言忠
Chiang-nan 江南
Glossary

Chiang-tso
Chiang Ya
Ch’iang
chiao-hsing
chiao-i
ch’iao-hsing
ch’ang
ch’ang-kung
ch’ang-tu
chien-ch’a
Chien-chen
chien-chiao
chien-jen tu-fu chih heng
Chien-nan
chien-tu
chien-yu shang erh chih yu hsia
Ch’ien-chin, Princess
ch’ien-feng
Ch’ien-yuan tien
chih-chang-jen
chih-cheng-shih che san-p’ing
chih-chu
Chih-hsi
chih-hsiang
Chih-i
chih-ming-chu
Chih-sheng
Chih-yen
Chih-yuan k’ao-ting t’ung-chien kang-mu
Chih-i
Chin
chin chung-yu
Chin-k’o ti-pa so-yin
Chin-ling
Chin-shang shih-ku
chin-shen
chin-shih
Chin-shih lu
Chin-shih-tsu chang
chin-tai chih ch’uan-tao
Chin-yang
Ch’in
Ch’in Shih-huang-ti
Chin-dok, Queen
Ching-ai ssu
Ching-chao
Ching-chou tu-tu
Ching-hsi
Ching-hua-yuan
Ching Hui
Ching-lun
Ching Po
Ching T’ang
Ch'ing-ho 清河
Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui 清河崔
Ch'ing-hsien 清賢
Ch'ing-hsien Ts'ui 清賢崔
Ch'ing-hsien T'ai-sheng ch'ang-kuan chü-chien shu-li chuang 請許台省長官舉薦層吏狀
Chiu-hsing 丘姓
Ch'iu Shen-chi 丘申池
Chou 周
Chou Chü 周矩
Chou Hsing 周興
Chou Li 周禮
Chu Ching-ming 祝欽明
Chu Ching-tse 朱敬則
Chu Hsi 朱喜
Chu-hsing lüeh 著姓略
chu-kuo 往國
chu-mei feng-yao 著美風譜
chu-se 著色事
chu-shih 著事
chu-shu 著書
Chü 居常
Chü-ch'ang 處常
Chü-jen wei mi-chü 處人為覔舉
Ch'u-chieh 初九之英謀
Ch'u Jen-huo 初九人穀
Ch'u-ming 除名
Ch'u-shen 出身
Ch'u Sui-liang 處遂良
Ch'uan-chih 類志
Ch'uan-wei 偏位
Ch'ü-jang chi 垂拱集
Chün-chou 軍府
Chün-fu 郡府
Chün-hsing 郡興
Chün-kung 郡公
Chün-kuo ta-shih 軍國大事
Chün-tzu 君王
Chün-wang 君王
Chung, Crown Prince 忠太子
Chung-cheng 中正
Chung-hsin i-ting 衆心已定
Chung-kuo hun-yin shih 中國婚姻史
Chung-kuo tsa-chih 中國雜誌
Chung-kuo wen-hüeh shih 中國文學史
Chung-nei ch'ing-wai 重內輕外
Chung-nü 中女
Chung-shu tu-shih 中書都事
Chung-tsung 中宗
Ch'ung-chün 中俊
Ch'ung-hsien kuan 崇賢館
Ch'ung-hsun shu 崇玄署
Ch'ung-i 諭明
Ch'ung-ming 中明
Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu chih-shih lu 堂文總目輯釋錄
Churyo 周留
Dai kanwa jiten 大漢語韓典
Dharmaraksa 墨無識
Divākara 日婆詞羅
en-tu 恩度
Erh-shih-wu-shih pu-pien 二十五史補編
Fa-hsiang 法相
Fa-min 法敏
Fa-ming 法明
Fa-tsang 法藏
fa-tzu 法子
Fa-yüan chu-lin 法苑珠林
fan-chieh chih en 法階之思
fan-hu 番戶
Fan Tzu-kai 樊子蓋
Fan-yang lu 范陽盧
Fang 房
Fang-chou 房州
Fang Hsiao-ju 方孝孺
Fang Hsüan-ling 方玄齡
fang-pien 方便
fei-ch'ang ts'ai-yung 非常才用
fei ju-shih 非儒士
Fen-chin 汾寳
feng-ch'en fu 奉宸府
Feng-chou 梁州
Feng Hao 陜州
feng-ko 陝
feng-ku 陝
feng-nei 封難
feng-po 封寳
feng-shan 封禅
Fo-kuang wang 佛光王
fu 符
fu-cheng 輔政
Fu Hsi 輔義
fu-jui 符瑞
fu-kao 符告
Fu Kung-shih 輔公祏
fu-lu 符錄
Fu-ma 马府
fu-ping 符平
fu-t'ien yu ming-p'i 復泰於明辟
Fu Yu-i 傳遊藝

mGar 梵天
han-chün 繁頔
Han Hsien-tsung 韓顯宗
Han Hsiu 韓休
Han Kao-ti
Han-lin Academy
han-shih
Han Ta-min
Han Wu-ti
Han Yüan
Hansông
hao-chieh
Hao-chou
Hao Ch'ü-chun
Hao Hsi
Hao-ling shu
hao-tsu
hei-ho
hei-i
Hei-shan
hei-shui
Heng-ching
Ho-hsi
Ho-lan Kuo-ch'u
Ho-lan Min-chih
Ho-nan
Ho-pei
Ho-pi Palace
Ho-t'u
Ho-yüan
Hou Han-shu
Hou Ssu-chih
Hsi
Hsi-chou
Hsi-ho ch'un
Hsi-kung
Hsia
Hsia-chou
hsiang
hsiang-chu
Hsiang-li
Hsiang-li Chin
hsiang-tang
Hsiao
hsiao-ching
hsiao-ch'uan
hsiao-hsüan
hsiao-jen
Hsiao Liang-ti
Hsiao Wen-ti
hsieh-san-pao
Hsieh Yao-huan
Hsien, Prince
hsien-ch'ing
hsien-feng
hsien-heng
Hu Ch'u-pin 胡楚賓
hu-ming 紅名
Hu-pei 湖北
Hu-se-lo Khan SEE A-shih-na Hu-se-lo
hua-ch'eng 化城
hua-fo tsung-k'ung l'ai mo-ting wei shou chi 佛從空來摩頂為受記
Hua-yen SEE Avatamsaka
Hua-yen ching ch'uan-chi 華嚴經傳記
Huale-chou 懷州
Hual-nan 懷南
Huai-shuo 懷朔
Huan Yen-fan 懷遠範
huang-ssu 皇孫
huang-t'ai-sun 皇太孫
huang-ti p'u-sa 皇帝菩薩
Hui-hui 惠安
Hui-an 惠安
Hui-ching 惠靜
tai-shih 惠心院
Hui-hsin yuan 惠能
Hui-neng 惠能
Hui-yao 惠曜
Hukch'i Sangch'i 惠妻 曉 譜
Hung, Crown Prince 弘太子
Hung-fan 洪範
Hung-kuo 蘇 龍
tiun-kung-jen i-ling fang-ch'u 一廄宮人已令放出
Hung-nung Yang 弘養
tiun-p'u 宜同師記
Hung-wen kuan 宏文館
Hung-wen kuan 宏文館
Hwabak 洪柏
Hwarang-to 洪烈
i-ching 懐經
I-chiao ching 易經
I-ching 易經
I-kuan 衣冠
I-kuan p'u 衣冠譜
I-nien-lao kung-jen i-ling fang-ch'u 一年老宮人已令放出
I-t'u 異圖
I-t'ung-shih chi 宜同師記
I-yuan 懷源
Ili River 伊麗河
Jambudv'Tpa 閻浮提
Jen 仁
Ju-i-ch'in chuan 如意君傳
ju-lai SEE tathagata
ju-li-shih 瑞石
Jui-tsung
Jung-ch'i hsu-pi
Jung-ch'i san-pi
Jung-kuo fu-jen
Jung-yang Cheng
k'ai-fu-i-t'ung san-ssu
k'ai-huang
k'ai-yüan
Kan-chou
Kan-yeh
K'ang Yu-wei
Kao-ch'ang
Kao Chien
Kao Chun-ya
kao-hua
Kao Li-shih
kao-liang
kao-shen
Kao Shih-lien
Kao-tsung
kao-yang
k'ao
k'ao-kung
Kashgar (Shu-lo)
Khotan (Yu-t'ien)
Kim Ch'un-ch'iu
Kim Yu-sin
ko
k'o
k'ou Ch'ien-chih
Koguryö
Kokonor (Ch'ing-hai)
Ku-chin hsing-shih, ahu pien-cheng
Ku-chin ping-yao
Ku-chin tian-yao
Ku-ch'ü-lü
ku-t'o
k'u
kuan
Kuan-chung
kuan-hu
kuan-mien chih chia
Kuan-nei
Kuan-wai
Kuan-wang
kuang-chai
kuang-chai ssu-t'ien-hsia pa-piao i-shih-chih
kuang-lu ta-fu
kuang-ming sheng huang-ti
Glossary

Li Ching-yeh 李敬業
Li-chou 利州
Li-chou chiang-t'an tso 利州江潭作
Li-chen 李淳風
Li Chung 李冲
Li Chung-jun 李重潤
Li Fei 李飛
Li-hsing-kuo lun-shih-chi 李相國論事集
Li Hsiao-ch'ang 李孝常
Li Hsiao-i 李孝逸
Li Hsien 李撰
Li Hung 李洪
Li I-fan 李一帆
Li I-fu 李一夫
Li I-shan 李一山
Li Ju-chen 李居珍
Li Kang 李綱
Li Lung-tzu 李龍子
Li Mi 李密
Li O 李愼
Li Ping 李平
Li Shan-kan 李善感
Li-shih ti chen-shih yu i-shu ti chen-shih 歷史的真實與藝術的真實
Li-tai fa-pao chi 歷代法寶記
Li To-tso 李Todos
Li ts'un 李叡
Li Yung 李勇
Liang 良家
Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超
Liang-chia 梁家
Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih 兩晉南北朝史
Liang-chou 梁州
Liang-jen 良人
Liang-kuo, Duke of 梁國公
Liang-Wu-ti 梁武帝
Liao 河州
Liao-tung 陳
Lieh-chuan 李傳
Lieh-ni chuan 列女傳
Lin-ch'ao ch'eng-chih 臨朝稱制
Lin-pao 鄭德
Lin-te 鄭德
Ling 靈州
Ling of Wei, Empress Dowager 魏靈太后
Ling-chou 靈州
Ling-hu Te-fen 令狐德棻
Ling-nan 嶺南
Liu 潮
Liu Ch'i-hsien 劉齊賢
Liu Ch'ung
Liu Fang
Liu Hsiang-tao
Liu Hsiao
Liu Hsü
Liu Hung-chi
Liu Jen-jui
Liu Jen-kuei
Liu Jen-yüan
Liu Liang-pin
Liu Mien
Liu Mu
liu-nei
Liu Shih
liu-shou shu-tso
liu-shou ssu-ping
Liu Ssu-li
liu-t'lao
Liu Tsung-yüan
Liu Tz'ü
liu-wai
Liu Wei-chih
Liu Wu-chou
Liu Yen-yu
Liu Yün-chi
Lo-chih ching
lo-hsing
Lo Kuan-chung
Lo Pin-wang
Lou Shih-te
Lo-shu
Lu Ch'eng-ch'ing
Lu Chih
Lu Ching-ch'un
Lu-hsüan-kung ch'üan-chi
Lu-ling, Prince of
lu-shih
Lu Tung-tsan
Lü
lü-chou
Lü Hsia-ch'ing
lü-ling
Lü Ts'ai
luan-t'ai
Lun Ch'in-ling
Lung
Lung-ch'eng lu
Lung-hsi
Lung-men
lung-shuo
Lung-t'ü t'ü
Lung-yu 龙右
Ma Chou 马周
Ma Tsai 马载
Mahāvibhasa-sastra 马ausesastra
mai-hun 大ucionesastra
Maitreya (Mi-lo) 彼勒
Makita_Tairyo 牧田譚亮
Man 满
man-fen-chih 满分或
Mao-chou 茂州
mao-hsing 茂姓
Māra 马 ninety
Mei Fu 美福
mei-kuan 美官
mei-niang 美娘
men-hu 門户
Meng-ch' i pi-t'an 應池
Meng-ch'i'h 應池
meng-ya 應雅
mi-chü 祭都
Mi-lo SEE Maitreya
miao 苗
Miao Shen-k'o 苗神客
min 民
ming-ching 明經
ming-chu 明著
Ming Ch'üan 明佺
ming-fa-wang 明法王
Ming-sha 明沙
Ming-shih 明史
Ming-t'ang 明堂
Mo-ch' o (Qapagan) 貝神
mo-fa 貝法
mu 牧
Mu Ning 册宁
mu-ping 册平
mu-shih 册师
Mulgul 册烈
Munmu 册烈
Muyol
na-k'o p'in-tzu 納科品子
na-yen 納言
Naitō Torajirō 納附朝龍
Namg'on 納建
Nan-shih 納史
nei-ch' ung 納史令
nei-fu 納史論
nei-shih-ling 内史令
nei-tao-ch' ang 内道場
nien-hao 年號
Nien-i-shih ssu-p'u 岳一史四譜
Nü Kua 女媧
nü-kuan 女官
nü-tzu yü hsiao-jen 女子與小人
Ōda Teizō 太田顯蔵
Ōtani Shōshin 大谷勝真
Pa-chou 巴州
pa-piao 八表
Paekang 白江
pai 拜
pai-hsing 百姓
p'an 判
P'an-lung-t'ai pei 攀龍臺碑
Pancaveramanī (Wu-hsing-fa) 五戒法
pao 保
Pao-k'o ts'ung-pien 寶刻篆編
Pao Ssu-wei 寶思維
Pao-t'ü 寶圖
Pao-yü ching 寶雨經
parahita 副他
Parhae 海
pei-men hsüeh-shih 北門學士
Pei-shih 北史
Pei-t'ing tu-hu-fu 北庭都護府
P'ei Chien 裴秉
P'ei Hsing-chjen 裴行儉
P'ei Yen 裴炎
pen-chi 本紀
pen-kuan 本貫
pen-se 本色
pen-wang 本望
P'eng-lai 本位
pi-hsia 肥下
pi-wei 肥位
p'i 脂
p'i-chao 碧召
p'i-yang chih ch'ung 碧陽之寵
pin-k'o 客聘
p'in-ts'ai 客風
Ping-chou 博州
ping-mu 博
Po-chou 博州
Po-ling Ts'ui 博陵崔
Po-shan tien 博山殿
Pojang 寶藏
Poksin 福藏
pu-ch'üeh 補缺
pu-k'o i chiang 不可以降
pu-shun 不順
p'u 譜
p'u-sa SEE bodhisattva
Glossary

P'u-sa t'ien-tzu
P'u-she
P'u-t'ieh
P'ung
Puyorung

Rākṣāsa

Saitō Aiko
Samadhi
Sangūk Yusa
San-ch'ī ch'ang-shih
San-chiao chu-ying
San-ch'üan
San-huang
San-i
San-kuan
San-kung
San-kuo chih
San-lei
San-wei
San-ghiha (san-kang)
Sao-p'ing
Sapta ratna (ch'i-pao)
Sārī
Seng-ch'ang
Seng-ni nieh-hai
Seng-shih lüeh
Sha-po-lo khan
Sāria shang
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Shan-nan
Shan-tung
Shan-yü
Shang
Shang-chu-kuo
Shang-hu
Shang-kuan
Shang-kuan Wan-erh
Shang-pien
Shang-shu
Shang-shu tu-shih
Shang-t'ien
Shang-yang Palace
Shang-yüan
Shao Tzu-wu of P'ing, Prince
She-chih kuo-cheng
Shen
Shen Chi-ch'i
Shen Ch'üan-ch'i
Shen-hsien
Shen-hsiu
Shen-huang wang
Shen Kua 沈括
shen-lung 神龍
Shen Ping-chen 沈炳震
shen-sheng huang-ti 神聖皇帝
shen-tan 神丹
shen-tu 神都
sheng 胜
sheng-chiao 師教
sheng-ch'ing 師情
Sheng-chou 蒸州
sheng-li 師歷
sheng-men 師門
sheng-mu lin-jen yung-ch'ang ti-yeh 聖母臨人永昌帝業
sheng-mu shen-huang 聖神皇帝
sheng-shen huang-ti 聖神皇帝
sheng-shih 聖王
sheng-wang 時政紀
Shih-cheng chi 史記
Shih-chi 史紀
Shih-ch'i-shih shang-chiao 十七史商榷
Shih-ching 詩經
shih-chou ming-chia 世胄名家
Shih-hsing 十姓
Shih-jang 士讓
Shih-kuo SEE Tashkent
Shih-lung 十陵
shih-lu 實錄
shih-lu 視流外史論集
Shih lun-chih 世民
shih-min 世本
Shih-pen 世部
shih-shih feng 食實封
shih-ta-fu 士大夫
Shih-tesh chin 氏族志
shou 守
Shou-yang kung 壽陽宮
Shu 獭
Shu-ching 書經
shu-jen 庶人
shu-p'an 書判
Shu-pen fen-men ku-chin lei-shih 獭未分門古今類事
Shun 舜
Shuo-chou 哲州
Siksänanda 實義難陀
Silla 新羅
Sinnun 神文
So Yüan-li 索元禮
Söngdok 星德
Sssu-chen fu 思慎賦
ssu-hai t'ung-wang 四海通望
ssu-hsing 四姓
ssu-k'ai ts'an-chün 司鐘參軍
ssu-k'ung 司空
ssu-ma 司馬
Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 四閏學
ssu-men hsüeh 四門學
ssu-ta 四德
Su An-heng 安恆
Su-chou 安城
su-kuan 蘇龛
Su Mien 蘇民
Su Ting-fang 蘇定方
Su-tsung 蘇宗
Sui-chou 蘇州
Sui T'ang yen-i 隋唐演義
Sui Wen-ti 隋文帝
Sun Jen-shih 孫仁師
Sun Wan-jung 孫萬榮
Sung 宋
Sung-chou 松州
Sung Chih-wen 宋之問
Sung-shih 宋史

Ta 達
ta-ch'ien 大臣
ta-ch'eng 大成
ta-chiang-chün fu-k'ai-ts'ao 大將軍府鎭曹
Ta Chou k'ao-ting chung-ching mu-lu 大周刊定紀經目錄
Ta Chou wu-shang hsiao-ming kao huang-hou pei-ming 大周無上孝明高皇后碑銘
Ta-chuang-yen Temple 大莊嚴寺
Ta-chung-cheng ssu-t'u 天中正司徒
Ta-fei-ch'uan 大非川
ta-i 大義
ta-kuei 大圭
ta-ni 大寳
ta-pao 大僕
Ta-sheng hsüan-chi 太聖慈記
Ta-te SEE bhadanta
ta-tu-tu 大都督
ta-yeh 大業
Ta-yün ching 大雲經
Ta-yün mi-tsang 太雲密藏
Taedong River 太同江
T'ae-p'yong song 太平頌
Tai-chou 代州
tai-fang 太方
Tai Li ching-yeh t'ao Wu-shih hsi 代李敬業討武氏檄
Tai-pei 太北
t'ai 太初
t'ai-ch'u 太初
T'ai-hang 太行
t'ai-ho 太和
t'ai-hou 太后
t'ai-hsüeh 太学
t'ai-huang 太皇
T'ai-p'ing ching 太平經
t'ai-shang hsüan-yüan huang-ti 太上玄元皇帝
t'ai-shih 太師
t'ai-ssu 台司
t'ai-sun 台孫
T'ai-tsu hsiao-ming kao huang-ti 太祖孝明高皇帝
T'ai-tsung 太宗
t'ai-tzu 太子
t'ai-tzu san-shih 太子三師
t'ai-wei 太尉
T'ai-yüan 太原
T'ai-yüan, Prince 太原王
T'ai-yüan chün-kung 太原郡公
T'ai-yüan shih-chi 太原事跡
T'an-kang 楊剛
tang hao-hsi chih li-shu 當昊羲之歴數
T'ang Chiao 唐皎
T'ang Chih-ch'í 唐之奇
T'ang hsing hsien 唐興縣
T'ang Hsiu-ching 唐休景
T'ang-jen pa-chia shih 唐人八家詩
T'ang Lin 唐臨
T'ang p'u-shang ch'eng-lang piao 唐僕尚丞郞表
T'ang-shih lin-tuan 唐史論斷
T'ang-shu chih-pi 唐書直筆
T'ang-t'ang 唐唐
T'ang Te-tsung 唐德宗
T'ang t'ung-chi 唐統記
T'ang-wen hsii-shih 唐文續拾
T'ang-wen shih-i 唐文拾遺
T'ang Yin 唐寅
T'ang tsung 道宗
Tao-an 道安
Tao-ch'eng 道cheng
Tao-hsüan 道宣
Tao-seng ko 道僧格
tao-shih 道世
Tao-te ching 道德經
Tao-tsun 道俊
Tashkent (Shih-kuo) 石國
tathāgata (ju-lai) 如來
te 德
te-hsing 德行
te-mien 德見
te-tzu-tsu-tsai 得自在
Te-tsung 德宗
te-yün 德運
Teng-ch'eng 燕乘
Teng-hsia chi 燕下集
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<td>則天順聖皇后</td>
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<td>則天大聖皇帝</td>
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<td>tsu</td>
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tsu-fu 祖賦
tsu-tzu 祖子
tsu-wang 族望
tsu-yung-tiao 祖廟
ts'u-yu wen-li 祖有文理
tsui 最
Ts'ui Chih-yüan 崔致遠
Ts'ui Hao 崔浩
Ts'ui Hsüan-wei 崔玄𬀩
Ts'ui I-hsüan 崔瓘
Ts'ui Min-kan 崔敏 คน
Ts'ui Shen-ch'ing 崔慎慶
Ts'ui Tzu-yüan 崔子遠
Ts'ui Yung 崔融
tsung-chang 總掌
Tsung Ch'in-k'o 總管
Tsung-kuan 總管
Tu Cheng-lun 杜正倫
Tu Ching-chien 杜景仁
Tu Ch'iu-jen 杜永仁
tu-hu-fu 都督府
Tu-ku 都督府
Tu-ling 都鹿府
tu-shih 獨鹿府
tu-tu-fu 都督府
tu-tu-fu ch'ang-shih 都督府長史
Tu t'ung-chien lun 通鑑論
T'ui 徒
T'u-chüeh 突厥
T'u-chung 土中
t'u-te 土德
T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾
tuan 端
t'uan-chieh 圓結
T'ui-pei t'u 推背圖
tun-chiao 頓教
t'un-ping 屯兵
T'ung-ch'ang chün 同昌軍
T'ung-cheng-chün 同政軍
T'ung-ch'eng 同城
T'ung-chien chi-shih pen-mo 通鑑紀事本末
T'ung-chih 通志
T'ung-chih erh-shih lüeh 通志二略
T'ung chung-shu men-hsia san-p' in 同中書門下三品
T'ung-kuei Army 通天軍
T'ung-t'ien t'ang 通天堂
t'ung-yao 童謠
tz'u-ch'iü 陳氏
Tz'u-en 聲慈
Tz'u Hsi 慈禧
tz'u-pu 慈氏
tz'u-shih 慈氏
Glossary

Tz'u-yüan 終源

Üija 義家
Ungch'on 熊川
Ungjin 熊津
Ungnyŏng 熊嶺

wai-ch'i 外戚
wan-kuo chih chu 萬國之主
wan-sui t'ung-t'ien 萬歲通天
wang-ch'i 王氣
Wang Ch'iao 王喬
Wang Ch'iu-li 王丘里
Wang Fang-i 王方之
Wang Fu-chih 王伏之
Wang Fu-sheng 王服生
Wang Hsiao-chieh 王孝傑
Wang Hung 王弘
Wang Kuei 王邁
Wang Mang 王滿
wang-ming 王名
Wang Ming-sheng 王名盛
Wang Po 王勃
Wang Tzu-chin 王子貞
Wang Wei 王威
Wei An-shih 魏安石
Wei, Prince of 魏王
Wei Chao 魏超
Wei Chi 魏州
Wei-chih 魏子
Wei-chou 魏昭
wei-chuan 魏川
Wei Hsin-tzu 魏信子
Wei-hsiu 魏休
Wei Hsuan-chen 魏顯成
Wei Hsuan-t'ung 魏顯通
Wei-kuo fu-jen 魏國夫人
Wei Ssu-li 魏思立
Wei Ssu-wen 魏思溫
Wei T'ing 魏廷
wei-t'ao 魏道
Wei Wen-ti 魏文帝
Wei Yuan-chung 魏元忠
wen 文
Wen-ch'eng, Princess 文成公主
wen-lü 文律
wen-ming 文明
Wen of Chou, Prince 周文王
Wen-shui 文水
Wu 武
wu 武
Wu-ch'ang hsien 武昌縣
wu-che-hui 武德會
吴承嗣
武承嗣
吴承恩
吴承明
吴承烈
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Glossary

Yang Ssu-hsüan 楊思玄
Yang Su 楊素
Yang Ta 楊達
yang-tao 楊道
Yang-ti 楊帝
Yang Tsai-ssu 楊再思
Yang Tsuan 楊蕃
Yang Yen 楊殷
Yang Yün-ju 楊祿卿
Yao Ch'ung 姚崇
Yao Yüan-ch'ung 姚元宗
Yeh-hou chia chuan 藝候家傳
yen 言
Yen-chi 延基
Yen-hsiu 延休
Yen Li-pen 延禮颇
Yen Shan-ssu 延山處
yen-sheng 延勝
Yen-tsung 延宗
Yin 殷
yin 殷
Yin-chou ssu-ma 殷州司馬
yin erh pu-luan 深而不亂
Yin-hua lu 氤化錄
Yin K'ai-shan 殷開山
Yin-tsung 氤宗
yin-yang 氤陽
Ying-chou 影州
ying-chü 影舉
Ying-kuo, Duke of 燕國公
Yön'gae Somun 湊蓋蘇文
yu 西
yu-hsiang su-wei 右廂宿衛
yu-hsing 右姓
yu-su-cheng yü-shih-t'ai 右肅政御史臺
Yü 翼
Yü-ch'i sheng shih chien-chu 王給生詩箋注
Yü Chih-ning 于志寧
Yü-chou 懐州
Yü Hsien-chang 頤賢常
Yü-hua Palace 頤華宮
Yü-lin chün 頤林春
Yü Pao-chia 頤保家
Yü-shih-t'ai chi 御史臺記
Yü-wen Hua-chi 頤文華
Yü-wen T'ai 頤文泰
yüan-mien 原冕
Yüan of Lu-chiang, Prince 盧江王瑗
yüan Pan-ch'ien 盧元宦
Yüan Shu 盧宇
Yüan Shu-chi 盧恕己
yüan-shuai 元帥
Yüan-sung ch' an 元素識
Yüan T'ien-kang 表天綱
yüan-t'ao 綾坐
yüan-wai 員外
yüan-wai-lang 員外郎
yüan-wai t'ung-ch'eng 員外同正
Yüan Wan-ch'ing 元萬穎
yüeh-kuang wang SEE āndraprabha
yüeh-wang ch'ang-shih 越王長史
Yung 雍
yung-ch'ang 永昌
Yung-chou 雍州
yung-hui 永徽
yung-lung 永隆
yung-shih 永熙
Yung-t'ai, Princess 永泰公主
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