

## 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 Nü 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 *Tzu-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 chüan: page: section, as above. References to the *TCTC* are from the Ku-chi ch'upan-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 chuan* (anon.) and the *Seng Huai-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, *Chugoku senya ichiya*.

In recent drama, two well-known plays are Kuo Mo-jo's four-act *Wu Tse-t'ien*, first performed in 1959, and T'ien Han's *Hsieh Yao-huan*, first published in *Chü-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.

3. For a summary of the debate in the 1950s see Albert Feuerwerker, ed., *History in Communist China* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1968), pp. 132-135. A more detailed discussion is Tonami, "Zui no bōetsu."

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

5. On Easton's views, see *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York, 1965), particularly pp. 286-305, and for Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (New York, 1957).

6. Weber, pp. 326-7.

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."

8. In the year 696. See *THY* 7, p. 104, *CTS* 6:3076:2, and *HTS* 4:3642:1.

9. *TCTC* 207, p. 6559.

10. *CTS* 6:3077:1 and *HTS* 4:3642:4.

11. I am uncertain here of my translation of the phrase *ch'u-chiu chih ying-mo* 初九之英謀.

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

13. *TTCLC* 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.

19. *HTS* 4:3643:3. On the compilation of the T'ang histories see des Rotours, *Examens*, pp. 111-112.

20. See des Rotours, *Examens*, pp. 111-112.

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-yüan k'ao-t'ing 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, *Excursions*, 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.

28. Karlgren, *Book of Odes*, no. 264.

29. *Analects*, XVII:25. Legge, in the *Four Books*, uses the translation "girls and servants" for *nü-tzu yü hsiao-jen* 女子與小人.

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

31. Ch'ü, *Han Social Structure*, pp. 73-74.

32. See, for instance, *Nien-erh-shih cha-chi*, v. 1, pp. 40 and 57.

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.

35. *Sui-shu* 36:2457:3.

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), née 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.

37. *CTS* 52:3283:2.

38. *HTS* 76:3869:2.

39. Biography in *CTS* 190 *shang*:3581:1 and *HTS* 201:4100:3.

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* 21, 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 *Hsün-chih chai-chi*, *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-chi* 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-hsüan-kung ch'üan-chi*, *chüan* 7 (*Ch'ing hsü t'ai-sheng ch'ang-kuan chü-chien shu-li chuang*). Another noted T'ang figure, Li Chiang (*CTS* 164:3056:1



and *HTS* 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 hsü-pi* is that as a ruler she was the equal of Han Wu-ti.

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 Potsan 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 Wenlan to discredit the Kuomintang. 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-tai ch'ien-ch'i."

49. These are *The Empress Wu* by Fitzgerald, *Wu Tse-t'ien* by Li T'ang, and *Sokuten Bukō* by Toyama Gunji.

## Chapter 2

1. *CTS* 6:3075:3, *HTS* 76:3871:1 and 4:3640:3. A good deal of information is also to be found in the annals of Kao-tsung, *CTS* 4:3070:4, and *HTS* 3:3638:3.

2. The principal compilations of this kind, in addition to the *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*, are the *T'ai-p'ing kuang-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 ssu-ta-shu k'ao*.

3. The chief anecdotal sources used are:

- (a) *Ch'ao-yeh ch'ien-tsai* 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 hsin-yü* by Liu Su, composed 807.
- (d) *Liu pin-k'o hsi-hua lu* by Wei Hsüan, composed 856.
- (e) *T'ang chih-yen* by Wang Ting-pao, ca. 955.
- (f) *Nan-pu hsin-shu* by Ch'ien I, composed between 1008 and 1016.



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

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

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 *WYYH* and *TTCLC* and are conveniently collected in *CTW* 95:4a ff., *T'ang-wen shih-i* 8:19a ff. and *T'ang-wen hsü-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'ui-kung chi* (Collected Writings of the *ch'ui-kung* Period) and *Lieh-nü chuan* (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 *chung*: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-tz'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-chün*). Needless to say, much of this was untrue.

7. Pulleyblank, in "Kaoyih," 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.

9. See Wechsler, *Mirror*, pp. 24-27, *THY* 63, p. 1094, and *TFYK* 554:11a.

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 chih-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-t'ung* 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 20 *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 it 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.

24. *CTS* 58:3296:1.

### Chapter 3

1. See Note 21 to this chapter.

2. The text of this inscription is found in *WYH* 875:1a and *CTW* 249:1a. See also the memorial from its author, Li Chiao, thanking the empress for the rewards he received on its completion. *WYH* 592:2a and *CTW* 246:7b.

In 669 the empress changed the name of the bureau in charge of her father's tomb from Hao-ling shu to P'an-lung t'ai and, according to the Sung epigraphical collection *Pao-k'o ts'ung-pien* 7:22, the stele itself was erected in 700. The *Chin-shih lu* 25:5b describes the stele and tells us that the calligraphy was that of Chung-tsung.



Citations are from the *WYH* text.

3. Just northwest of present-day Ch'eng-ku *hsien* in Shansi, about six miles east of the Fen river; see *HTS* 39:3723:1, *TT* 179:11b and *THY* 70, p. 1257. For geographical references I depend chiefly on Hiraoka Takeo, ed., *Tōdai no gyōsei chiri*.

4. I am not certain of the sense of the phrase which runs *yin meng ku-chieh* 因蒙顧接. The parallel *HTS* passage runs *yin-pei ku-chieh* 因被顧接.

5. According to *TCTC* 183, p. 5732, Wu Shih-huo was occupying this post in 617, and *TFYK* 345:22a gives a more specific chronology, indicating that he was appointed at the time of Kao-tsu's attack on Hsi-ho *chun* 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 *l-yuan*, but I am unable to verify that such a geographical designation existed. On the rank of *chün-kung*, 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 *CTW* 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 kuang-chi* 137:4b. The local history *T'ai-yüan shih-chi* is attributed in the *HTS* treatise to Li Chang (*CTS* 164:3506:4 and *HTS* 152:4008:3) and was 14 *chüan* in length. Li was posted in T'ai-yüan sometime between 847 and 860 so 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 ku-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 legitimation 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 ssu-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 ssu-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-yüan 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 Tōshi*, 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 huang-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 *HTS* 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-tzu* (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 Tōshi*, 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-yü chi* and presented in Ikeda, "Tōdai 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:

太原君十一姓 口<sup>#</sup>口<sup>州</sup> 口口口口口 郝温閻咎令狐尉遲.

The *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi* says:

太原君十一姓 王武郭霍廖郝温閻咎令狐尉遲 并州.

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, "Chūsei." 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 yü-lin* 8:12b and *T'ang chih-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.

28. WYYH 875:5b. The rebellion occurred in 613 and is outlined in *TCTC* 182, pp. 5671 ff. and in the biography of the rebel leader Yang Hsüan-kan. See *Sui-shu* 70:2510:4 and *Pei-shih* 41:2883:2. The best secondary treatment is Nunome, *Zui Tōshi*, pp. 19-49.

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.*

40. *Fonctionnaires*, v. 1, p. 8.



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 *HTS* 88:3893:2, biography of P'ei Chi.

42. *WYYH* 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 kanwa 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'o 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-Tōshi*, 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. *WYYH* 875:8ab.

45. *WYYH* 875:9a. On Yang-chou, see *CTS* 40:3223:1, *HTS* 41:3727:2, and *THY* 71, p. 1270, and on Fu Kung-shih, see *CTS* 56:3920:3 and *HTS* 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 *WYYH loc. cit.*

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

Li-chou was in Shan-nan (*CTS* 39:3220:1, *HTS* 40:3725:3, *THY* 70, p. 1237, and *TT* 176:9b).

48. *WYYH* 875:9b.

49. *WYYH* 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 *CTShih* 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 *Yü-ch'i sheng shih chien-chu* 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 Yüan 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 Yüan stopped in Li-chou on his way to the capital at the request of Madame Yang. The *T'ai-p'ing kuang-chi*, *chüan* 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-Tōshi*, 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-Tōshi*, 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 overturned 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 chih* 9, p. 115. The major discrepancy in the sources lies in the name of the convent, with *HTS* and *Ch'ang-an chih* 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 Rakuyō*. 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) *HTS* 76:3867:1, the only source to date Wu's return to the palace, places it "at the end of *chen-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-ch'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 Hsü 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 *HTS* 76:3867:1 and *TCTC* 199, pp. 6286-7. Interestingly, the event is not recorded in the *CTS* and Ssu-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 *HTS* 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 *HTS* 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-tsu'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 Yüan, Yü 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'u 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 chen-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 O (*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 *HTS* 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 I-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 yüan*). 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.

89. See *CTS* 4:3071:4 ff. On the new office, see *Fonctionnaires*, v. 1, p. 187.

90. *CTS* 4:3071:4.

91. *TCTC* 200, p. 6308, and Chapter 5.

92. *CTS* 4:3071:4 and *TCTC* 200, p. 6308. See also Chapter 6.

93. *TCTC* 200, p. 6295 and *THY* 3, p. 24.

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.
99. *TCTC* 201, p. 6343. "Two Sages" dates from 660.
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-cheng* 攝知國政.
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.
106. *TCTC* 201, p. 6349 and *HTS* 76:3867:1-2.
107. *CTS* 183:3553:1, *HTS* 76:3867:2, and *TCTC* 201, p. 6350.
108. On Min-chih, see *CTS* 183:3553:1, *TCTC* 202, pp. 6366-7.
- 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.
113. *CTS* 5:3074:1, *HTS* 3:3640:1, and *TCTC* 202, p. 6372.
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 corvée 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.
119. *TCTC* 202, p. 6377. See also *TFYK* 261:17b, *THY* 2, p. 20, and *CTS* 5:3071:1.
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.

129. *CTS* 86:3350:3, *THY* 4, p. 42, and *TCTC* 202, p. 6397.

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.

134. *CTS* 5:3074:4.

#### Chapter 4

1. Most notably Elvin, *The Pattern of the Chinese Past*.

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 chu wen-t'i* which seems to have become standard in later works like the cooperative volume *Chung-kuo wen-hsiieh shih* (Peking, 1958). Note also Levenson's reflection on the paradigm in *Confucian China*, v. 3, pp. 56 ff.

7. See Yamasaki's "Bukkyō fukkō" 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.

8. See, for instance, *TD* 52:2108, *PSTS* 3, p. 456a.

9. Ch'en, "Wu Chao," p. 143.

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.



12. Chapter 3, n. 96.

13. *TCTC* 200, pp. 6294-95.

14. See *Sui-shu* 75:2520:2 and *CTS* 189 *shang*:3575:1.

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.

17. *CTS* 4:3071:4. On the new ritual, *THY* 37, p. 670, and on the extension of filial piety, *THY* 26, p. 498.

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.

21. Chavannes, *T'ai Chan*, p. 185. On the ceremony of 665, see also *TCTC* 201, pp. 6344 ff., *CTS* 5:3073:1, *TFYK* 36:2a, 40:20b, 780:24a and 80:9a.

The celebration of 665 seems to have been appropriately timed, and Ssuma 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* 97:1ab.

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.

24. *CTS* 23:3159:4.

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 *Tz'u-hai*, 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, *Kuang 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, *TFYK* 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, *TFYK* 303:20b, and *THY* 50, p. 870. In spite of her later importance, little is known of T'ai-p'ing'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 *TFYK* 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'ing 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 Jūkyō 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.

37. In 678. See *THY* 75, p. 1373 and *TFYK* 639:19a.

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*.

40. Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 86-87.

41. *TCTC* 205, p. 6484. Some of the most conspicuous omens, besides those mentioned in the text, are a three-legged chicken in 684 (*TFYK* 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 (*TFYK* 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, *Chūgoku*, 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, "Tō-Shin," and Tokiwa, *Bukkyō to Jūkyō Dōkyō*, 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, *Bukkyōshi*, 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-tsai* 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.

50. Ch'en, *Transformation*, p. 81, and Michihata, *Bukkyōshi*, p. 339. See also *THY* 47, p. 836 and *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 39, *TD* 49:367a.

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-tsai* 12, *TD* 49:580b.

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

53. Ch'en, *Transformation*, pp. 79-80, and Michihata, *Bukkyōshi*, *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-tsai* 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, *Bukkyōshi*, 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 *ssu-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-chi* 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.

62. *CTW* 12:7b, *Fo-tsu li-tai t'ung-tsai* 12, *TD* 49:561a. See also. Ch'en, *Transformation*, p. 80.

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'un-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'iu 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, "Shotō 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-yüan 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 *Fo-tsu t'ung-chi* 39, *TD* 49:369a.

69. Tsukamoto, *Nishi Bukkyō*, pp. 21 ff. and earlier references.

70. Zürcher, *Buddhist Conquest*, v. 1, pp. 194-5; T'ang Yung-t'ung, *Han-Wei*, pp. 217-219.

71. See, for instance, Ch'en, *Buddhism*, pp. 279 ff., and Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 95-96.

72. Tsukamoto, *Shina Bukkyōshi*, pp. 273 ff. and 581 ff.

73. See Eberhard, *Tobareich*, Chapter 18, and Shigematsu, "Tō-Sō." 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 *yüeh-kuang wang* or *cāndraprābha*.

78. Note 27 above.

79. *Tz'u-yüan*, 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 purposes. 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, *WYH* 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 replacement of the Chao in the empress' own given name by a new character Chao 𡗗 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 *vidyā*, the Buddha-wisdom which enlightens and destroys illusion, while the lower part is *sūnya*, 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:

Heaven	天	𡗗	Year	載	𡗗 or 𡗗 *
Earth	地	𡗗	Beginning	初	𡗗 or 𡗗
Sun	日	𡗗	Country	國	𡗗
Moon	月	𡗗	Year	年	𡗗
Star	星	𡗗	Minister	臣	𡗗
Prince	君	𡗗	Life	生	𡗗



Upright	正	𠂔	Luminous	照	明
Man	人	𠂔	Sage	聖	聖 or 聖
Proof	證	鑒	Give	授	授

\*The nineteenth is probably a variant form.

A number of these characters were used in the reign titles of the empress and so appeared in all official documents.

Tokiwa also finds 𠂔 used for 萬 "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-chuan* 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-tsu 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, *Sangaikyō*, pp. 716 ff.

87. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, p. 217, and Tsukamoto, *Nisshi 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, *Nisshi 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 Tunhuang evidence is to be found in Yabuki, *Sangaikyō*, 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, *Tōdai*, 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, *Today*, 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 Ōtani 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-t'ing 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 *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* puts it, "the merciful and compassionate mind is that of the woman [or daughter]." The empress corresponds to this meaning.

97. Cf. Legge, *I-ching*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1899), p. 425.

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 kanwa 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.

105. A reference to the new mountain peak of 686. See *CTS* 37:3203:4 and *THY* 70, p. 1243.

106. Unless the passage is a pun on the word *shan* which also means monastery,



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

107. *P'an-lung* "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 ching*, in *TD* 12, p. 1098a. The *śākravartīn* was the universal monarch "whose chariot wheels roll everywhere without hindrance," and Jambudvīpa, strictly speaking, was the southernmost of the four Buddhist kingdoms. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō 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.

114. See Legge, *I-ching*, p. 430.

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 乚 + 丩 = 女.

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

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

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 Aśoka (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, "Dynastic 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-chi* 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 + 戈 = 武.

141. This is probably a contemporary augury but one which may echo the classical *Ho-t'u* which contained a *lung-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 tathāgāta, 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 *Fo-shuo Mi-lo hsia-sheng ching*, TD 14:453.

156. Eloquenty 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 cakravartīn. For this move the immediate inspiration was the presentation of a second sutra, that of the *Precious Rain* (Shigenoi, *Tōdai*, pp. 218 ff.), which portrayed her as a cakravartīn and was followed by the erection in the *ming-t'ang* of the *sapta-ratna*--the seven treasures of the cakra. 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 *tz'u-pu* was to supervise the Buddhist and Taoist clergy and nominate their temple heads (*saṅgha*, 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, "Tōsho," 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, *TFYK* 327:21b, and *TCTC* 207, pp. 6549-50. Ti Jen-chieh 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 *HTS* 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. *TLSE* 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, *Sangaiikyō*, 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-kung*. Since the document in question is another containing omens of the empress' imperium, its compilers are likely to have been Great Cloud monks.



172. See, for instance, Huang, *T'ang-tai fo-chiao*, p. 67, and Weinstein's remarks, "Imperial patronage," in *Perspectives*, p. 265.

173. See Ch'en, *Transformation*, pp. 85 ff.

174. Ch'en, *Transformation*, pp. 85 and 92.

175. *Ibid.*

176. See Ch'en, *Transformation*, p. 95 and Michihata, *Bukkyōshi*, pp. 137-77 for a more general examination of the problem of clerical discipline. Wright, "T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," in *Perspectives*, pp. 261-63, has some interesting remarks on another attempt to regulate the clergy through a sutra called the *I-chiao ching*.

177. See, for instance, *TLST* 2, pp. 48-49 which outlines the punishments for such offenses as fornication (*chien* 姦), 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, *Chūgoku*, 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 Avatamsaka 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 Daijii*, 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.

185. Kamata, *Chūgoku*, p. 130. On the conferral of honorific names, see Huang, *T'ang-tai fo-chiao*, pp. 64 ff.

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). Divākara 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 Siksānanda. The origin of the belief is probably the claim she makes in her preface to the new translation. Kamata, *Chūgoku*, p. 130 mentions some of the other collaborators. See also *K'ai-yüan 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'u-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.

193. *Ta-Chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu*, TD 55:372c.

194. Kamata, *Chūgoku*, pp. 144 ff., and more recently, Weinstein, "Imperial patronage," in *Perspectives*, pp. 265-306.

195. Weinstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-91.

196. Kamata, *Chūgoku*, 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.

197. Chang, *Buddhist Teaching*, p. ix.

198. Chang, *Buddhist Teaching*, pp. 28 ff.

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.

7. *CTS* 87:3351:3 and *HTS* 117:3945:2.

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-chih 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.

16. See the excellent short review by D. Sternberger in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), v. 9, pp. 244-48.

17. Found chiefly in *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, A. M. Henderson and T. Parsons, trs., (New York, 1947), pp. 152 ff. Weber, of course, distinguishes three pure types of legitimacy: the traditional, charismatic, and the legal-rational.

18. See particularly D. Easton, *A Systems Analysis of Political Life* (New York, 1965), and A. Etzioni, *The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes* (New York, 1969). These and other sociological theories are very well reviewed in an unpublished paper by Anne F. Thurston, "Authority, legitimacy and power: A reformulation," which is part of a Ph.D. thesis for Yale University. I am indebted to her for some of the ideas which follow in the text.

19. Thurston, "Authority," pp. 49 ff.

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.

23. *CTS* 183:3551:1 and *TCTC* 203, p. 6419.

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 *TFYK* 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-chai* 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.

36. See Twitchett, *Financial Administration* and the succinct summary of the T'ang *liu-ling* system by Ikeda in "Ritsūryo." On the census itself, *TRSI*, pp. 242-45.

37. *CTS* 94:3368:2.

38. *CTW* 96:15a.

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* (*Yü-hai* 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 *Yü-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 protégés. 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 Tzu-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 Ching-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*



197:1a and is abstracted in *TCTC* 203, pp. 6423-4.

50. A reference to the duties of a *ts'ai-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, pp. 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.

64. *TCTC*, *loc. cit.* and *HTS* 117:3945:2.

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. He had been a prominent and successful commander against the Turks and had been given a command in the Yü-lin Guard just prior to Chung-tsung's deposition, in which he assisted. This perhaps indicates a very close relationship to P'ei Yen. Two of his friends were also prominent among the rebels, so that his defense of P'ei may not have been the sole reason for his execution. The Turks are said to have rejoiced at his demise.

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* 4, pp. 42-44. Some sources suggest there were originally four urns, only later united into one.

75. *TCTC* 203, p. 6438.

76. *Ch'en Tzu-ang chi*, pp. 216-17. The memorial is abstracted in *TCTC* 203, pp. 6440-41.

77. See Chao I, "Wu-hou chih jen," in *Nien-erh-shih cha-chi*, 19, pp. 257-58 and the lengthy discussion in Hamaguchi, *Tō ōchō*. The question is explored in Chapter 6.

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. *TLSE* 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 corvée 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* (*TLSE* 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, p. 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 *TLSE* 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 *TFYK* 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 protectorate 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. suggest that the move occurred in conjunction with the abolition of the Shan-yü protectorate which was put under a garrison commissioner in the fifth month of 686. See also Ts'ien, *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 system in the late seventh century. The memorial is also found in *Ch'en Shih-i chi*, 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* officials 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, *Yü-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, "Tō-Sō no kakkyō." Pulleyblank's comments in *Background*, pp. 27-32, are still useful and the modifications suggested by Tonami, "Tō no ritsuryō," 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-li* 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'u*, 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'u*, the empress determined to usurp and decided to eliminate the imperial clan.

108. See, for instance, Pan Ku, *Former Han*, v. 3, pp. 191-92, and Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 89-90.

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.

110. On Li Chuan, *CTS* 64:3307:4, *HTS* 79:3875:1; on Ch'ung, *CTS* 76:3332:3 and *HTS* 80:3877:1. On the rising generally, *TCTC* 204, pp. 6449-53 and Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, pp. 121-23. The imperial forces were not large, consisting of two armies of about 100,000 each.

111. *TCTC* 204, p. 6467. Ssu-ma Kuang points out that Princess Ch'ien-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.

115. *CTW* 96:20b, *TTCLC* 4:1b.



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.

119. Wright, "Sui ideology," pp. 93-104.

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.

122. *CTS* 6:3075:4.

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.

124. Shigenoi, *Todai*, pp. 216-33.

125. *Ta-fang teng wu-hsiang ching* 6, *TD* 12:1107a.

126. Chapter 4, n. 157.

127. *TCTC* 204, p. 6467.

128. *Tz'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.

130. *CTS* 6:3076:1, *HTS* 76:3867:4, and *TCTC* 204, p. 6467.

## 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.

4. Ch'en, *Cheng-chih shih*, p. 14.

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 north-eastern 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 *Hsing-hsi lun* (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 Yü-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 criticisms 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 Yü-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, *Rikuchōshi 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 *Kuhon* 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 corvee, and this privilege was a mark of their social status (Miyazaki, *Kuhon*, p. 249, and Mao, *Liang-Chin*, p. 283).

(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 conduct, 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 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 exceedingly 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 Shigeaki, "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 introduction. 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 tradition. 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-hsing* is used consistently throughout the essay as the generalized description of the most important clans on the national level.

12. These terms have received less attention than *shih* and *shu*, probably because the latter was the more common distinction until the middle T'ang. Several 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 officialdom 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 *TCTC* 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 kuang-chi* 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 *hsia*: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.

18. *CTW* 372:7a-11b.

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, *Nan-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* 士 and *shu* 庶 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.

20. Said in relation to Wang Hung, *Sung-shih* 42:1550:4, an imperial favorite who sought *shih* status. Similar statements are found in Miyakawa, *Rikuchō*, pp. 376 ff. and Chou, *Wei Chin*, pp. 99 ff.

21. The secondary literature on this subject is large, and *T'ung-chih* 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-chih erh-shih-lüeh* 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, "Tōdai 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, *Kuo-shih 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-chün 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, "Tōdai heizaikō." 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-chi*, *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 Ikeda's "Tōchō." 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'en 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 Ch'i, 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, "Tōdai," 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, *Rikuchō*, 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 (*TCTC* 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-Tōshi*, 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-tsu chih* 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-liang*) on the right and the lesser (*han-chün*) 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.

31. *CTS* 65:3309:2. See also *TCTC* 195, pp. 6135-36 and *THY* 36, p. 664.

32. Moriya, *Rikuchō*, 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 Saitō 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 Tzu-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 Tz'u (*CTS* 165:3508:2) whose seat was near the capital but who had close marriage ties with the Ts'ui. See also Utsunomiya, "Tōdai 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 tsai-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." The



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, "Tōdai," 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-hsing*, 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. *TTCLC* 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, "Tōchō," 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-peï.

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, "Tōchō," 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* 家 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* 姓 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 underline the fact that we are dealing with a special sort of "family." Imabori, "Tōdai 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, *Rikuchō*, 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 *Yü-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 Saitō cited above, and Tsukiyama, *Tōdai*, 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 *WYH* 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-hsiang* from the *ssu-hsing*:

	<i>Kao-tsu</i>	<i>T'ai-tsung</i>	<i>Kao-tsung</i> (from 659)	<i>Empress Wu</i>
Ts'ui	0	0	2	4
Lu	0	0	1	0
Li	0	0	2	6
Cheng	0	0	0	0

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 Hsüeh 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. *TFYK* 560:20b. See also *CTW* 235:2a.

57. *TFYK* 560:21a.

58. *CTS* 189 *hsia*: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 *chen-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-nei* 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 *wei* 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.

65. Principally the *T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chi*, a Sung geography by Yüeh Shih, the *Kuang-yün* rhyming dictionary, and the genealogical work *Ku-chin hsing-shih shu pien-cheng*. See Ikeda, "Tōdai," pp. 314-18.

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 *tsai-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":

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

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 李績 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 *tsai-hsiang* Ch'ang-sun Wu-chi, Ch'u Sui-liang, Han Yüan, 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 Hsüan-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-chi 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 Yüan Wan-ch'ing (*CTS* 190 *shang*:3581:1) and Yüan Wan-Ch'ing (*CTS* 190 *chung*: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 (*yüan-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* 85:3349:1; and *HTS* 113:3939:3). By contending that the penalty of *chi-mo* which entailed confiscation and registration of household members as *chien* 戍, "un-free," 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 *TFYK*, 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 *TFYK*, *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 Yüan-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 Chün-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 Yü-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. *WYH* 462:9a and *CTW* 95:14b. See also *TCTC* 203, p. 6435.

74. On the informers, see *TCTC* 203, pp. 6438-39, and on slaves and convicts, *TCTC* 205, p. 6507 and *THY* 86, p. 1569. The last measure inspired a strong protest from Ch'en Tzu-ang. See *Ch'en Tzu-ang chi*, pp. 178 ff.

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

76. *TLSE* 22:3, pp. 93 ff. The material is arranged in a very convenient chart in T'ao Hsi-sheng, *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih*, v. 3, pp. 249-51.

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." *Saiiki bunka kenkyū* contains several excellent studies on the mechanics of provincial administration, *fu-ping* 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 chiu-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'o'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 San-ssu 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-tsu 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-tsu'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.

9. *Nien-erh-shih cha-chi* 19, p. 258.

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. Hsiang-tao (*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, Hsiang-tao 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 *tsai-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 *tsa-jen*, *hsü-li*, or *chih-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, "Ritsuryō," 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 *tsai-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, *Tōdai*, 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, *Chūgoku*, pp. 53 ff. I follow his dating rather than the more usual 621.

25. Summarized in *Examens*, pp. 26-36 and Liu T'ang-tai, pp. 128-63.

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 *Yün-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 Chiung-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*.

28. *Examens*, p. 213 and *TTLT* 2:5a.

29. *TTLT* 2:5b, *Examens*, p. 217, and *TCTC* 201, p. 6362.

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.

31. *Examens*, pp. 50 and 231 ff., *TRSI*, p. 288, *TTLT* 2:20b, and *THY* 81, pp. 1500-01.

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-wai 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* 吏部 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. *TFYK* 629:20b.

34. *Examens*, 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, *Chūgoku*, 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. Hsü Ching-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 吏部. 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 Li-fu made appointments on a grand scale but also that he was anxious to identify himself with the Chao-chün 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-chün (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. *TFYK* 629:3a. He, therefore, had no experience in the Board before drafting his reforms.

50. *Feng-shih wen-chien chi* 3, pp. 27-28.

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 guarantors. 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 [appointees] 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.

53. *Examens*, p. 243, *CTS* 84:3347:3, *HTS* 108:3929:2, and *THY* 75, p. 1347.

54. See *Examens*, p. 243. Ch'en Teng-yüan, *Kuo-shih chiu-wen*, v. 2, p. 116, 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 *tsu-li*. We know that in the first stage of the examinations a man had to submit documents 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 concerned solely with official postings. Candidates for the *hsüan* were checked against it and a "long list" of successful candidates with their clan's bureaucratic record was posted together with the number and nature of the expected vacancies for the coming year. When the usage was discontinued because "everyone knew who would be appointed" (see next note), it must have been because family influence was clear to see in the list. The paucity of specific information about the list renders any interpretation speculative, but this view seems consistent 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*, pp. 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 references.

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 Ching-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 *chu-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 *Examens*, 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'o lü* 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 *Yü-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:

664 - 3	670 - 54
665 - all failed	671 - no examinations held
666 - 2	672 - no examinations held
667 - 5	673 - 79
668 - 26	674 - 57

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-yüan* [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'o lü*, discussed in note 68 above, the examination's development in the T'ang may be shown:

	Graduates	Times Held	Average per Time
Kao-tsu	26	5	5+
T'ai-tsung	205	20	10+
Kao-tsung to 669	208	15	14-
Kao-tsung 670-684	430	9	48-
Empress Wu	532	21	25+

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

72. *TCTC* 202, pp. 6386-87.

73. Biography in *CTS* 190 *chung*:3582:2.



74. See *Examens*, 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.

79. See, for instance, *T'ang-kuo shih-pu*, *hsia*, pp. 55-6, *Feng-shih wen-chien chi* 3, p. 22, and *T'ang chih-yen* 1, p. 3. Chao I gives other examples in *Kai-yü ts'ung-k'ao* 28, p. 583.

80. *Examens*, p. 163, *TT* 15, p. 83a, *WHTK* 29, p. 271b, and *Yü-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 *hsiu-tsai* 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 (*Examens*, 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, *Tōdai*, 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 *Yü-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-ching* 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. *Examens*, 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, *TFYK* 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 littérateurs and poets like Sung Chih-wen and Shen Ch'üan-ch'i (*CTS* 190 *chung*: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. *TFYK* 639:20a, *THY* 75, p. 1373, and see Chapter 9.

92. Appendix B, no. 70.

93. Chapter 3, n. 24.

94. I am not sure of the precise meaning of *liu-li* (六禮) and *ch'i-chiao* (七教).

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, *Examens*, p. 247, and *TT* 17, p. 94a. Fukushima, *Chūgoku*, 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.

101. Chapter 6.

102. *Examens*, 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 *Yü-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 *Yü-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.

104. *Examens*, pp. 209-212, *TFYK* 639:20b, *THY* 59, p. 1030, and *TCTC* 207, p. 6558. There was a corresponding *hsüan*. See *Examens*, p. 222, note 1.

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 Chung-tsung 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, *Chügoku*, 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:

	<i>liu-nei</i>	<i>liu-wai</i>
State Affairs	159	1,135
Chancellery	40	176
Secretariat	42	187

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, "Tōdai."

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.

125. Tonami, "Zui no bōetsu," pp. 172 ff. and Tsukiyama, *Tōdai*, pp. 444-52.

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, "Chusei," 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*.

3. See Chapter 9.

4. See Wright, "T'ai-tsung and Buddhism," in *Perspectives*, pp. 250 ff. for a discussion of what the author calls T'ai-tsung's "Han Wu-ti syndrome," and Wechsler, *Mirror*, pp. 101-105 with the sources cited there. Other indications are found in *TCTC* 196, p. 6173, 198, p. 6226, and 198, p. 6247.

5. See *CTS* 194 *shang*:3596:2, 194 *hsia*:3599:2, 196 *shang*:3603:4, and 199 *shang*:3615:1, and the succinct summary of T'ai-tsung's reign by Wechsler in the forthcoming *Cambridge History of China*, Volume 3.

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<sup>4</sup>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 *hsia*:4134:1 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-jen*, 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 Muryō, 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, *Hulbert'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 *TTCLC* 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.



14. *CTS* 93:3366:2. After the recovery of the Four Garrisons in 692.
15. *TCTC* 202, p. 6385. Discussed on pp. 122-123.
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 *hsia*: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, "Tōdai 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.
26. Note 24 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., *Tōyōshi ronsō*, 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 Sui-liang. 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.



32. *TCTC* 200, pp. 6307 and 6317-18. See also Lin, *Sui-T'ang shih*, p. 366.

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.."

A caution about sources might be inserted here. Since the records of Koguryō perished in the sack of Pyōngyang in 668, the *SS* and *Samguk Yusa* offer no more than an abridgment of the Chinese histories in writing about the state. As a result, an unbiased view of peninsular strife in the period is almost impossible.

37. *HTS* 220:4147:4. See also *CTS* 61:3300:3, biography of Wen Yen-po (Appendix B, no. 21). On China's early relations with the peninsula, rapid summaries are found in Hatada, *History of Korea*, pp. 3-24, and Henthorn, *History of Korea*, pp. 18-54.

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-Tō," 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. . . ."

40. *CTS* 199 *shang*:3615:2.

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

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 Koguryō 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-ping* 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-yüan (*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 Pyöng-yang 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-peï, *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 Uija'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 Yŏn'gae 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.

*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.

72. *TCTC* 201, p. 6356 estimates the population at 697,000 households and Hino, pointing out that this is probably a low figure, puts the population at about four million.

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, "Tōa," 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 *yüan-wai t'ung-cheng* 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 Pyŏngyang 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 *hsien-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 account and a number of errors in the text so that the background is not altogether 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 casualties. 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-yüan 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 Ungnyōng. If, as seems likely, it was near Ungjin and Ungch'ōn, Silla did quite well in the settlement. 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 Pyōngyang. 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 suggest that Li was busy reprovisioning the fleet which had lost its supplies before 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-yüan, that he "aid in the subjection of Koguryō." 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 Pyōngyang, it is difficult to say what effect it had. The Sillan annals, incidentally, 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 Sŭng, 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 Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ had been divided. Both Paekche and Silla were presumably subordinate to the protector-general.

96. Ikeuchi, *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 Koguryŏ. 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," *Shien* 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 Koguryŏ 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 Sŭng 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 Sŭng a patent making him king of Koguryŏ. The patent, itself a usurpation of imperial prerogative, contained some inflammatory phrases, among them the statement that Koguryŏ must not be extinguished, its royal line cut off, and its people left leaderless. After their flight, An Sŭng and his followers were given Sillan 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 amphibious 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.

108. *CTS* 199 *shang*:3616:1, *HTS* 220:4149:1, *TCTC* 202, pp. 6382-83, *TFYK* 710:6a. Hino, "Shō Kokuri koku," *Shien* 61 (1957), pp. 28 ff. gives a good secondary account.

Sillan 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 Koguryŏ 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 Sillan 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



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 Pojang'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 Koguryō. 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 (*TT* 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.

122. Ku, *Fu-ping*, pp. 192-97.

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, *Chügoku*, pp. 190 ff. Chavannes, *Documents*, pp. 114-28, translates the *CTS* notice on each.



126. The Chinese sources refer to the clan as Lun 論. 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 རཀ་ཀ་འཕྲུལ་ is derived from *mgar ba* རཀ་ཀ་འཕྲུལ་ "smith" or "wheelwright." The Chinese version should therefore be 輪 "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-an, 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 *THY* 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-yüan 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-wei*, "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. *HTS* 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. *HTS* 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, *TFYK* 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.

14. *TCTC* 204, p. 6473. Wu Yu-i, in fact, became *liu-shou* prior to the movement of the households.

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

16. *TCTC* 205, pp. 6496 and 6502-3. Jao's excellent study, "Tsung-chiao hsinyang" convincingly connects the *t'ien-shu* with Manicheism.

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.



19. *THY* 35, p. 637.
20. *TCTC* 204, p. 6471. The petitions appeared in early 691, and the one suggesting the *feng-shan* sacrifice included 2,800 names.
21. *TCTC* 205, p. 6503. See also *CTS* 6:3076:2 and Jao, "Tsung-chiao hsin-yang," pp. 402-405. On the forms and purposes of the suburban sacrifice, *THY* 9 *shang*, pp. 141 ff.
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.
24. *TCTC* 204, p. 6472 and *CTS* 186 *shang*:3564:4.
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 Hsü, 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" (*chung-hsin 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'en 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-chi (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."



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:

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

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* 兼) 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 *TFYK* 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), Yüan Wan-ch'ing (*CTS* 190 *chung*:3581:4), Miao Shen-k'o (*CTS*, *loc. cit.*) and Hu Ch'u-pin (*CTS* 190 *chung*: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.

59. *TCTC* 204, p. 6466. On Wan-erh, see *CTS* 51:3279:4.

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 secretaries 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-ping* units were created in 690 (*WYH* 464:1b), and later new positions were set up in existing units (*Yü-hai* 138:4a). As we shall see, the empress had to respond to pressures for bureaucratic reduction toward the end of the Chou.

64. Taking once again our *tsai-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 aristocratic 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 *tsai-hsiang* came from the great clans.

65. Pulleyblank, *Background*, pp. 47-60, and Tonami, "Chüsei," pp. 9 ff.

66. *TCTC* 205, p. 6478.

67. See, for instance, the case of Tsung Ch'u-k'o (*CTS* 92:3365:4 and *HTS* 109:3930:4) who had not only a marriage connection with the empress, but whose brother 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 Chün-ch'en lost his position in the Yü-lin Guard in late 692. *TCTC* 205, p. 6487.

68. *THY* 85, p. 1555 and *TFYK* 486:12a.

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.

71. *TCTC* 205, p. 6489, *THY* 63, p. 1104, and *Yü-hai* 48:32a.

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 Ta-fei-ch'uan in 670 and, after living among them for a decade, returned 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 establish himself, Shou-ching had taken the *ming-ching* degree. His early experience was against the Turks.

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

76. *TCTC* 205, p. 6493. On Mo-ch'o, see *CTS* 184:3598:1, *HTS* 140:4132:1, and



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, *Turcs 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, pp. 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 Tz'u-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 *hsia*: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.



93. *TCTC* 205, pp. 6506-7, *CTS* 199 *hsia*:3618:4, and *HTS* 219:4145:4.

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-ping* 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-tsung's Ho-pei campaign of 697 (WYH 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:

Ho-pei	7	Chiang-nan	7
Ho-tung	5	Chien-nan	1
Kuan-nei	4	Ho-nan	1
Lung-yu	3		

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-tsai*. 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 Hsü, 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 Hsü, 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.

109. *TCTC* 206, p. 6514 and *CTS* 78:3337:2.

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'ien, *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."

115. On I-tsung, see *CTS* 183:3554:1 and *HTS* 206:4110:1.

116. *TCTC* 206, pp. 6520-22.

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 Changs. 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 [remonstrance] the empress-dowager had no intention of establishing Ch'eng-ssu or San-ssu."

123. *TCTC* 206, pp. 6526-27.

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.

131. *TCTC* 206, p. 6525.

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.

134. *TCTC* 206, pp. 6530-31 and *CTS* 183:3553:4. Yen-hsiu, the second son of Ch'eng-ssu, reached his destination in the eighth month of 698. He did not return until 704, and in 708 married Princess An-lo.

135. See Appendix B, no. 133 and *TCTC* 206, p. 6530.

136. *TCTC* 206, pp. 6530-32, *CTS* 194 *shang*:3598:2, *TFYK* 964:10b and 998:8b.

137. *TCTC* 206, p. 6533; see also Ts'en, *T'u-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 hsün-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'o, the empress placed command of the remaining troops (*t'un-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'o'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.

146. On Kuo, see *CTS* 97:3373:2, *HTS* 122:3957:1, and *TCTC* 207, pp. 6557-58.

147. *CTS* 196 *shang*:3604:2 and *TCTC* 207, p. 6562.

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-chün and Ch'ung-ming, into the audience hall to show them as prospective bridegrooms to the Turkish envoy. Ch'ung-chün 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'o'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.

152. *CTS* 194 *shang*:3598:2 and Grousset, *L'empire*, pp. 157-58.

153. *TCTC* 206, p. 6539.

154. *TCTC* 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 Chiung-hsiu (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.

159. *CTS* 78:3337:2. Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, p. 167 seems to put a different interpretation on the matter. The memorial is abstracted in *TCTC* 206, p. 6546.

160. *TCTC* 206, p. 6547.

161. *TCTC* 206, p. 6546 and *CTS* 78:3337:2.

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-tsung'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.

171. *TCTC* 207, pp. 6563-66.

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

173. *TCTC* 207, p. 6565.

174. *TCTC* 207, pp. 6565-66.

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

176. *TCTC*, *loc. cit.*

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.

180. Jao, "Tsung-chiao hsin-yang," pp. 403-405.

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 Jui-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, Hsüeh 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.

195. *THY* 66, p. 1157 and *Yü-hai* 59:38b.

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.

202. *CTS* 78:3337:2, *TFYK* 515:9a, and *TCTC* 207, pp. 6572-73. Fitzgerald, *Empress Wu*, p. 182 construes "meritorious service" as a possible double entendre.

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 *yün* 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'en 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).

208. On Sung, see *CTS* 96:3372:1 and *HTS* 124:3960:1.

209. See Appendix B, no. 132. Ts'ui was in many ways typical of the north-eastern *ssu-hsing*. After passing the *ming-ching*, 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. Yüan 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.

214. *TCTC* 207, p. 6579.

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."

219. *CTS* 6:3077:1 and *TCTC* 207, p. 6581.

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 阿史那賀魯  
 A-shih-na Hu-se-lo (Hu-se-lo Khan) 阿史那斛瑟羅  
 A-shih-na Ni-shu-fu 阿史那泥熟匄  
 A-shih-te Wen-fu 阿史德溫傳  
 Act of Grace SEE ta-she  
 Amitāyus 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 安舜  
 An Sung 安勝  
 An-tung 安東  
 An-yeh 安業  
 Avataṃsaka (Hua-yen) 華嚴  
 Azumi no Hirabu no Muraji 阿曇比羅夫連  
 bhadanta (ta-te) 大德  
 Bodhiruci 菩提流志  
 bodhisattva (p'u-sa) 菩薩  
 Buddhapāla 佛陀波利  
 cakravartīn 轉輪王  
 candraprābha (yueh-kuang wang) 月光王  
 Chai I 翟義  
 Ch'an 禪  
 ch'an-wei 讖緯  
 ch'an-yü 闡宇  
 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 Chiu-ling 張九齡  
 chang-fu 章符  
 Chang Hsing-ch'eng 張行成  
 Chang I-chih 張易之  
 Chang Jen-wei 張仁禪  
 Chang-ku 掌固  
 Chang Ming-shan 張明善  
 Chang T'ing-kuei 張廷珪  
 Chang Wen-kuan 張文瓘  
 Chang Yüeh 張說  
 ch'ang 唱  
 Ch'ang-chou 常州  
 ch'ang-liu chi yü-nu 長流及域奴



- ch'ang-ming hsing-li pang 長名姓歷榜  
 ch'ang-sheng chiu-shih 長生久視  
 ch'ang-sheng yüan 長生院  
 ch'ang-shih 長武  
 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-yüan Chiang-chün 鎮遠將軍  
 ch'en 臣  
 Ch'en Ku-yüan 陳顧遠  
 Ch'en Shih-i chi 陳拾遺集  
 Ch'en Tzu-ang 陳子昂  
 Cheng 鄭  
 cheng 承  
 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 成  
 Ch'eng-ku hsien 城固縣  
 ch'eng-kuang 承光  
 Ch'eng Ming-chen 程名振  
 ch'eng p'li-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 籍  
 Chi Hsü 吉須  
 chi-jih 忌日  
 chi-mo 籍沒  
 Chi sha-men pu-ying pai-su teng-shih 集沙門不應拜俗等事  
 Chi-su 蛇水  
 Ch'i 岐  
 Ch'i-chou 齊州  
 ch'i-chu she-jen 起居舍人  
 ch'i-pao SEE sapta ratna  
 Ch'i-pi Ho-li 契必何力  
 chia-k'ou chi-mo 家口籍沒  
 chia-men 甲門  
 Chia Pi 賈弼  
 Chia Yen-chung 賈言忠  
 Chiang-nan 江南



- Chiang-tso 江左  
 Chiang Ya 姜牙  
 Ch'iang 羌  
 chiao-hsing 僥倖  
 chiao-i 教義  
 ch'iao-hsing 僑姓  
 chieh 階  
 chieh-kung 介公  
 chieh-tu 節度  
 chien-ch'a 簡察  
 Chien-chen 監真  
 chien-chiao 檢校  
 chien-jen tu-fu chih heng 姦人妬婦之恒  
 Chien-nan 僉南  
 chien-te 建德  
 chien yü shang erh chih yü hsia 僭於上而治於下  
 Ch'ien-chin, Princess 千金公主  
 ch'ien-feng 乾封  
 Ch'ien-yüan tien 乾元殿  
 chih-chang-jen 職掌人  
 chih-cheng-shih che san-p'in 知政事者三品  
 chih-chü 制舉  
 Chih-hsien 智詵  
 Chih-i 智顗  
 chih-ming-chu 值明主  
 Chih-sheng 智昇  
 Chih-yen 智嚴  
 Chih-yüan k'ao-ting t'ung-chien kang-mu 至元考定通鑑綱目  
 ch'ih-i 勅譯  
 Chin 晉  
 chin chung-yü 禁中語  
 Chin-k'o t'i-pa so-yin 金刻題跋索引  
 Chin-ling 金陵  
 Chin-shang shih-lu 今上實錄  
 chin-shen 搢紳  
 chin-shih 進士  
 Chin-shih lu 金石錄  
 Chin-shih-tzu chang 金獅子章  
 chin-tai chih ch'üan-tao 近代之權道  
 Chin-yang 晉陽  
 Ch'in 秦  
 Ch'in Shih-huang-ti 秦始皇帝  
 Chindok, Queen 真德女王  
 Ching-ai ssu 敬愛寺  
 Ching-chao 京兆  
 Ching-chou tu-tu 荊州都督  
 Ching-hsi 京西  
 Ching-hua-yüan 鏡花緣  
 Ching Hui 敬暉  
 ching-lun 經綸  
 Ching Po 敬播  
 Ching T'ang 敬堂



- Ch'ing-ho 清河  
 Ch'ing-ho Ts'ui 清河崔  
 ch'ing-hsien 清賢  
 Ch'ing hsü t'ai-sheng ch'ang-kuan chü-chien shu-li chuang 請許台省長官舉薦  
 Chiu-hsing 九姓  
 Ch'iu Shen-chi 丘神勳  
 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 朱熹  
 Chu-hsing liieh 著姓略  
 chu-kuo 柱國  
 chu-mei feng-yao 著美風謡  
 chu-se 諸色  
 chu-shih 主事  
 chu-shu 主書  
 chü 舉  
 Chü-ch'ang 居常  
 chü-jen wei mi-chü 舉人為覓舉  
 Ch'u-chi 處寂  
 ch'u-chiu chih ying-mo 初九之英謀  
 Ch'u Jen-huo 褚人獲  
 ch'u-ming 除名  
 ch'u-shen 出身  
 Ch'u Sui-liang 褚遂良  
 ch'uan-chih 專制  
 ch'uan-wei 傳位  
 Ch'ui-kung chi 垂拱集  
 Chün-chou 均州  
 chün-fu 軍府  
 chün-hsing 郡姓  
 chün-kung 郡公  
 chün-kuo ta-shih 軍國大事  
 chün-tzu 君子  
 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-hsüeh 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 重俊  
 Ch'ung-hsien kuan 崇賢館  
 Ch'ung-hsüan shu 崇玄署  
 ch'ung-i 重譯  
 Ch'ung-ming 重明



Ch'ung-wen tsung-mu chih-shih lu 崇文總目輯釋錄  
Churyo 周留

Dai karwa jiten 大漢話辭典  
Dharmarakṣa 曇無讖  
Divākara 日照, 地婆訶羅

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 泛階之恩

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 汾晉

feng-ch'en fu 奉宸府

Feng-chou 豐州

Feng Hao 馮浩

feng-ko 鳳閣

feng-ku 風骨

feng-nei 封侯

feng-po 封駁

feng-shan 封禪

Fo-kuang wang 佛光王

fu 符

fu-cheng 輔政

Fu Hsi 伏羲

fu-ju 符瑞

fu-kao 符告

Fu Kung-shih 輔公祐

fu-lu 符錄

Fu-ma 馬付馬

fu-ping 府兵

fu-t'ien yü ming-p'i 復忝於明辟

Fu Yu-i 傅遊藝

mGar 𑖀𑖄𑖅𑖆

han-chün 寒暄

Han Hsien-tsung 韓顯宗

Han Hsiu 韓休



- Han Kao-ti 漢高帝  
 Han-lin Academy 翰林院  
 han-shih 寒士  
 Han Ta-min 韓大敏  
 Han Wu-ti 漢武帝  
 Han Yüan 韓瑗  
 Hansöng 漢城  
 hao-chieh 豪傑  
 Hao-chou 毫  
 Hao Ch'u-chün 郝處俊  
 Hao Hsi 吳義  
 Hao-ling shu 吳陵署  
 hao-tsu 豪族  
 hei-ho 黑河  
 hei-i 黑衣  
 Hei-shan 黑山  
 hei-shui 黑水  
 Heng-ching 恒景  
 Ho-hsi 河西  
 Ho-lan Kuo-ch'u 賀蘭國姝  
 Ho-lan Min-chih 賀蘭敏之  
 Ho-nan 河南  
 Ho-pei 河北  
 Ho-pi Palace 合璧宮  
 Ho-t'u 河圖  
 Ho-yüan 河源  
 Hou Han-shu 後漢書  
 Hou Ssu-chih 侯思止  
 Hsi 奚  
 Hsi-chou 鄜州  
 Hsi-ho chün 西河郡  
 Hsi-kung 鄜公  
 Hsia 夏  
 Hsia-chou 夏州  
 hsiang 象  
 hsiang-chü 鄉舉  
 Hsiang-li 相里  
 Hsiang-li Chin 相里金  
 hsiang-tang 鄉黨  
 Hsiao 蕭  
 Hsiao-ching 孝經  
 hsiao-ch'uan 小銓  
 hsiao-hsüan 小選  
 hsiao-jen 小人  
 Hsiao Liang-ti 蕭良娣  
 Hsiao Wen-ti 孝文帝  
 hsieh-san-pao 邪三寶  
 Hsieh Yao-huan 謝瑤環  
 Hsien, Prince 賢  
 hsien-ch'ing 顯慶  
 hsien-feng 乾封  
 hsien-heng 咸亨



- hsien-ho 顯和  
 Hsien-hsiang 咸享  
 hsien-kung 縣公  
 hsien-liang fang-cheng 賢良方正  
 Hsien-pi 鮮卑  
 hsien-shou 賢首  
 hsien-t'ien t'ai-hou 先天太后  
 hsien-tz'u 先慈  
 Hsien-yang 咸陽  
 hsin 信  
 Hsin-ch'eng 新城  
 Hsin-chou 忻州  
 Hsin-feng ch'ing Mountain 新豐慶山  
 hsing 姓  
 Hsing-chou 興州  
 hsing-chün 行軍  
 hsing-chün ssu-k'ai 行軍司鎧  
 Hsing-hsi lun 姓系論  
 hsing-li 姓歷  
 Hsing-shih lu 姓氏錄  
 Hsing-tsu-hsi lu 姓族系錄  
 hsiu-ts'ai 秀才  
 hsiung 雄  
 Hsiung-chin SEE Paekche  
 Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗  
 hsü-li 胥吏  
 Hsü-mi Mountain (Mt. Sumeru) 須彌山  
 Hsü P'eng-chiao 徐鵬校  
 hsü-shih 胥士  
 Hsü Sung 徐松  
 hsü-t'u 胥徒  
 Hsü Yen-pai 徐彥伯  
 Hsü Yu-kung 徐有功  
 hsüan 選  
 hsüan-chieh 選解  
 Hsüan-tsang 玄奘  
 Hsüan-tsung 玄宗  
 Hsüan-t'ung shih-chi 宣同師記  
 Hsüan-wu Gate 玄武門  
 Hsüeh 薛  
 hsüeh 學  
 Hsüeh Ch'ien-kuang 薛謙光  
 Hsüeh Huai-i 薛懷義  
 Hsüeh Jen-kuei 薛仁貴  
 Hsüeh Yüan-ch'ao 薛元超  
 hsün 勳  
 Hsün-chih chai-chi 遜志齋集  
 hsün-fu-shih 巡撫使  
 Hsün-ko 勳格  
 hsün-kuan 勳官  
 hu 戶  
 Hu Chen-hsiang 胡震享



- Hu Ch'u-pin 胡楚賓  
 hu-ming 胡名  
 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 lai mo-ting wei shou chi 化佛從空來摩頂為受記  
 Hua-yen SEE Avataṃsaka  
 Hua-yen ching ch'uan-chi 華嚴經傳記  
 Huai-chou 懷州  
 Huai-nan 淮南  
 Huai-shuo 懷朔  
 Huan Yen-fan 桓彥範  
 huang-ssu 皇甫  
 huang-sun 皇孫  
 huang t'ai-sun 皇太子孫  
 huang-ti p'u-sa 皇帝菩薩  
 Hui 惠  
 hui 回  
 Hui-an 慧安  
 Hui-ching 慧淨  
 Hui-hsin yüan 回心院  
 Hui-neng 惠能  
 hui-yao 會要  
 Hukch'i Sangch'i 黑齒常之  
 hun-chu 婚主  
 Hung, Crown Prince 弘太子  
 Hung-fan 洪範  
 Hung-lu ssu 鴻臚寺  
 Hung Mai 洪邁  
 Hung-nung Yang 弘農楊  
 Hung-wen kuan 宏文館  
 Hwabaek 和自  
 Hwarang-to 花郎徒  
 Hyoso 孝昭  
 i 義  
 i-cheng 役征  
 I-chiao ching 遺教經  
 I-ching 易經  
 I-ching 義淨  
 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-yüan 義源  
 Ili River 伊麗河  
 Jambudvīpa 閻浮提  
 jen 仁  
 Ju-i-chün chuan 如意君傳  
 ju-lai SEE tathagata  
 jui-shih 瑞石



- Jui-tsung 睿宗  
 Jung-ch'i hsu-pi 容齊 容齊 三人 筆  
 Jung-ch'i san-pi 容齊 容齊 三人 筆  
 Jung-kuo fu-jen 榮國夫人  
 Jung-yang Cheng 榮陽鄭  
 k'ai-fu-i-t'ung san-ssu 開府儀同三司  
 k'ai-huang 開皇  
 k'ai-yüan 開元  
 Kan-chou 甘肅  
 Kan-yeh 咸業  
 K'ang Yu-wei 康有為  
 Kao-ch'ang 高昌  
 Kao Chien 高儉  
 Kao Chün-ya 高君雅  
 kao-hua 高華  
 Kao Li-shih 高力士  
 kao-liang 高梁  
 kao-shen 高身  
 Kao Shih-lien 高士廉  
 Kao-tsung 高宗  
 kao-yang 高陽  
 k'ao 考  
 k'ao-kung 考功  
 Kashgar (Shu-lo) 疎勒  
 Khotan (Yü-t'ien) 于闐  
 Kim Ch'un-ch'iu 金春秋  
 Kim Yu-sin 金庾信  
 ko 格  
 k'o 可  
 k'o-chün 客軍  
 k'o-ping 客兵  
 K'ou Ch'ien-chih 寇謙之  
 Koguryō 高句麗  
 Kokonor (Ch'ing-hai) 青海  
 Ku-chin hsing-shih shu pien-cheng 古今姓氏書辯證  
 Ku-chin ping-yao 古今兵要  
 Ku-chin tien-yao 古今典要  
 Ku-ch'u-lu 骨咄祿  
 ku-t'ō 顧託  
 k'u 酷  
 kuan 官  
 Kuan-chung 關中  
 kuan-hu 官戶  
 kuan-mien chih chia 冠冕之家  
 Kuan-nei 關內  
 Kuan-wai 關外  
 Kuan-wang 觀王  
 kuang-chai 光宅  
 kuang-chai ssu-t'ien-hsia pa-piao i-shih-chih 光宅四而天下八表一時至  
 kuang-lu ta-fu 光祿大夫  
 kuang-ming sheng huang-ti 光明聖皇帝



- Kuang-ming ssu 光明寺  
 Kuang-wu ming 廣武銘  
 Kuang-yün 廣韻  
 k'uang-fu 匡復  
 Kucha (Kuei-tzu) 龜茲  
 kuei-ch'i 貴戚  
 Kuei-kuo, Duke of 歸國公  
 kuei-men 貴門  
 kuei-tsu 貴族  
 Kuei-yang 桂陽  
 K'uei 癩  
 k'uei-chi 窺基  
 k'uei-yu 癸酉  
 Küm River 錦河  
 kun-lung 袞龍  
 K'un-ling 崑陵  
 K'un-lun 崑崙  
 kung-pu shang-shu 工部尚書  
 K'ung-hao fu 控鶴府  
 K'ung-tzu ch'an 孔子識  
 kuo-chia chih chou 國家之州  
 Kuo-fen ssu 國分寺  
 Kuo Hsiao-chen 郭孝慎  
 kuo-lao 國老  
 kuo-shih 國史  
 kuo-tzu chien 國子監  
 kuo-tzu hsüeh 國子學  
 Kuo Yüan-chen 郭元振  
 Kyerim 鷄林  
 Lai Chi 來濟  
 Lai Chün-ch'en 來俊臣  
 lan-kuan 濫官  
 lang-chung 郎中  
 lao 勞  
 lao-chün 老君  
 Lei-li 類例  
 Li Chan 李湛  
 Li Chang 李璋  
 Li Ch'ang 李敞  
 Li Chao-te 李昭德  
 li-cheng 里正  
 Li Chi 李勣  
 Li-chi 禮記  
 Li Chiao 李嶠  
 Li Chih 李贄  
 Li Chih ts'ang-shu 李贄藏書  
 Li Chin-chung 李盡忠  
 Li Ching 李靖  
 Li-ching 禮經  
 Li Ching-ch'en 李景諶  
 Li Ching-hsüan 李敬玄



- Li Ching-yeh 李敬業  
 Li-chou 利州  
 Li-chou Chiang-t'an tso 利州江潭作  
 Li Chuan 李謨  
 Li Ch'un-feng 李淳風  
 Li Ch'ung 李冲  
 Li Ch'ung-jun 李重潤  
 Li Fei 歷飛  
 Li-hsiang-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 李賢  
 Li Hung 李弘  
 Li I-fan 李義範  
 Li I-fu 李義府  
 Li I-shan 李義山  
 Li Ju-chen 李汝珍  
 Li Kang 李綱  
 Li Lung-tzu 李龍子  
 Li Mi 李密  
 Li O 李謗  
 Li Ping 李昉  
 Li Shan-kan 李善感  
 Li-shih ti chen-shih yü 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 李多作  
 Li-ts'un 里村  
 Li Yung 李邕  
 Liang 良  
 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超  
 Liang-chia 良家  
 Liang-Chin Nan-pei ch'ao shih 兩晉南北朝史  
 Liang-chou 涼州  
 Liang-jen 良人  
 Liang-kuo, Duke of 梁國公  
 Liang Wu-ti 梁武帝  
 Liao River 遼河  
 Liao-tung 遼東  
 Lieh-chuan 列傳  
 Lieh-nü chuan 列女傳  
 lin-ch'ao ch'eng-chih 臨朝稱制  
 lin-pao 鄰保  
 lin-te 麟德  
 ling 令  
 Ling 靈  
 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  
 ling-shih 令史  
 liu 流  
 Liu Ch'i-hsien 劉齊賢



- Liu Ch'ung 劉冲  
 Liu Fang 柳芳  
 Liu Hsiang-tao 劉祥道  
 Liu Hsiao 劉曉  
 Liu Hsü 劉昫  
 Liu Hung-chi 劉弘基  
 Liu Jen-jui 劉仁睿  
 Liu Jen-kuei 劉仁軌  
 Liu Jen-yüan 劉仁願  
 Liu Liang-pin 柳良耆  
 Liu Mien 劉沔  
 Liu Mu 柳模  
 Liu-nei 流内  
 Liu Shih 柳奭  
 Liu-shou shu-tso 留守書佐  
 Liu-shou ssu-ping 留守司兵  
 Liu Ssu-li 劉思禮  
 Liu-t'iao 劉六條  
 Liu Tsung-yüan 柳宗元  
 Liu Tz'u 柳玭  
 Liu-wai 流外  
 Liu Wei-chih 劉禕之  
 Liu Wu-chou 劉武周  
 Liu Yen-yu 劉延祐  
 Liu Yün-chi 劉允濟  
 Lo-chih ching 羅織經  
 lo-hsing 虜姓  
 Lo Kuan-chung 羅貫中  
 Lo Pin-wang 洛賓王  
 Lou Shih-te 婁師德  
 Lo-shu 洛書  
 Lu Ch'eng-ch'ing 盧承慶  
 Lu Chih 陸贄  
 Lu Ching-ch'un 路敬淳  
 Lu-hsüan-kung ch'üan-chi 陸宣公全集  
 Lu-ling, Prince of 盧陵王  
 lu-shih 錄事  
 Lu Tung-tsan 祿東贊  
 Lü 呂律  
 Lü 呂州  
 Lü Hsia-ch'ing 呂夏卿  
 Lü-ling 律令  
 Lü Ts'ai 呂才  
 luan-t'ai 鑪臺  
 Lun Ch'in-ling 論欽陵  
 Lung 龍  
 Lung-ch'eng lu 龍城錄  
 Lung-hsi 龍西  
 Lung-men 龍門  
 lung-shuo 龍朔  
 Lung-t'u t'u 龍吐圖

- Lung-yu 隴右  
 Ma Chou 馬周  
 Ma Tsai 馬載  
 Mahāvibhāṣa-sāstra 大毘婆沙論  
 mai-hun 賈婚  
 Maitreya (Mi-lo) 彌勒  
 Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮  
 Man 蠻  
 man-fen-chieh 滿分戒  
 Mao-chou 茂州  
 mao-hsing 茂姓  
 Māra 魔羅  
 Mei Fu 梅福  
 mei-kuan 美官  
 mei-niang 媚娘  
 men-hu 門戶  
 Meng-ch'i pi-t'ian 夢溪筆談  
 Meng-ch'ih 濛池  
 meng-ya 萌芽  
 mi-chü 貢舉  
 Mi-lo SEE Maitreya  
 miao 廟  
 Miao Shen-k'ō 苗神客  
 min 民  
 ming-ching 明經  
 ming-chu 明主  
 Ming Ch'üan 明倫  
 ming-fa-wang 明法王  
 Ming-sha 鳴沙  
 Ming-shih 明史  
 ming-t'ang 明堂  
 Mo-ch'ō (Qapaṅ) 默口頤  
 mo-fa 末法  
 mu 牧  
 Mu Ning 穆寧  
 mu-ping 募兵  
 mu-shih 募士  
 Mulgul 鐵勒  
 Munmu 文武  
 Muyol 武烈  
 na-k'ō p'in-tzu 納科品子  
 na-yen 納言  
 Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎  
 Namgōn 男建  
 Nan-shih 南史  
 nei-ch'ung 內寵  
 nei-fu 內輔  
 nei-shih-ling 內史令  
 nei-tao-ch'ang 內道場  
 nien-hao 年號  
 Nien-i-shih ssu-p'u 廿一史四譜



- Nü Kua 女媧  
 nü-kuan 女官  
 nü-tzu yü hsiao-jen 女子與小人  
 Ōda Teizō 太田惲藏  
 Ōtani Shōshin 大谷勝真  
 Pa-chou 巴州  
 pa-piao 八表  
 Paekang 白江  
 Paekche 百濟  
 pai 拜  
 pai-hsing 百姓  
 p'an 判  
 P'an-lung-t'ai pei 攀龍臺碑  
 Pañcaveramanī (Wu-hsing-fa) 五戒法  
 pao 保  
 Pao-k'o ts'ung-pien 寶刻叢編  
 Pao Ssu-wei 寶思惟  
 Pao-t'u 寶圖  
 Pao-yü ching 寶雨經  
 parahita 利他  
 Parhae 溲海  
 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 裴兼  
 P'ei Hsing-chien 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 蓬萊  
 pi-hsia 陛下  
 pi-wei 避位  
 p'i 疋  
 p'i-chao 辟召  
 p'i-yang chih ch'ung 辟陽之寵  
 pin-k'o 賓客  
 p'in-ts'ai 聘財  
 Ping-chou 并州  
 ping-mu 兵募  
 Po-chou 博州  
 Po-ling Ts'ui 博陵崔  
 Po-shan tien 博山殿  
 Pojang 寶藏  
 Poksin 福信  
 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

- p'u-sa t'ien-tzu 菩薩天子  
 p'u-she 僕射  
 p'u-t'ieh 譜牒  
 P'ung 豐  
 Puyorung 扶餘隆  
 Rāksāsa 羅刹叉娑  
 Saitō Aiko 齋藤愛子  
 samadhi 三摩地  
 Sanguk Yusa 三國遺事  
 san-ch'i ch'ang-shih 散騎常侍  
 San-chiao chu-ying 三教珠英  
 san-ch'üan 三銓  
 san-huang 三皇  
 san-i 三儀  
 san-kuan 散官  
 san-kung 三公  
 San-kuo chih 三國志  
 san-lei 三類  
 san-wei 三衛  
 saṅgha (san-kang) 三綱  
 sao-p'ing 掃平  
 sapta ratna (ch'i-pao) 七寶  
 śāri 舍利  
 Seng-ch'ang 僧長  
 Seng-ni nieh-hai 僧尼涅槃  
 Seng-shih lüeh 僧史略  
 Sha-po-lo khan 沙鉢羅可汗  
 shan 善  
 Shan-chou 陝州  
 Shan-nan 山南  
 Shan-tung 山東  
 Shan-yü 單于  
 shang 上  
 shang-chu-kuo 上柱國  
 shang-hu 上戶  
 Shang-kuan I 上官義  
 Shang-kuan Wan-erh 上官婉兒  
 shang-pien 上變  
 shang-shu 尚書  
 shang-shu tu-shih 尚書都事  
 shang-t'ien 上天  
 Shang-yang Palace 上陽宮  
 Shang-yüan 上元  
 Shao Tzu-wu of P'ing, Prince 平王少子武  
 she-chih kuo-cheng 攝知國政  
 shen 身  
 Shen Chi-ch'i 沈既齊  
 Shen Ch'üan-ch'i 沈佺期  
 shen-hsien 神仙  
 Shen-hsiu 神秀  
 Shen-huang wang 神皇王



- 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 勝  
 sheng-chiao 聲教  
 sheng-ch'ing 聖情  
 Sheng-chou 勝州  
 sheng-li 聖歷  
 sheng-men 盛門  
 sheng-mu lin-jen yung-ch'ang ti-yeh 聖母臨人永昌帝業  
 sheng-mu shen-huang 聖母神皇  
 sheng-shen huang-ti 聖神皇帝  
 sheng-shih 聖氏  
 sheng-wang 聖王  
 Shih-cheng chi 時政紀  
 Shih-chi 史記  
 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-jiang 士讓  
 Shih-kuo SEE Tashkent  
 Shih-leng 士稜  
 shih-ling 市令  
 shih-liu-wai 視流外  
 shih-lu 實錄  
 Shih lun-chi 史論集  
 shih-min 世民  
 Shih-pen 世本  
 shih-shih feng 食實封  
 shih-ta-fu 士大夫  
 Shih-tsu chih 氏族志  
 shou 守  
 Shou-yang kung 壽陽宮  
 Shu 蜀  
 Shu-ching 書經  
 shu-jen 庶人  
 shu-p'an 書判  
 Shu-pen fen-men ku-chin lei-shih 蜀本分門古今類事  
 Shun 舜  
 Shuo-chou 朔州  
 Siksānanda 寶義難陀  
 Silla 新羅  
 Sinmun 神文  
 So Yüan-li 索元禮  
 Söngdök 聖德  
 Ssu-ch'en fu 思慎賦  
 ssu-hai t'ung-wang 四海通望  
 ssu-hsing 四姓

- ssu-k'ai ts'an-chün 司鎧參軍  
 ssu-k'ung 司空  
 ssu-ma 司馬  
 Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷  
 ssu-men hsüeh 四門學  
 ssu-ta 四大  
 ssu-t'u 司徒  
 Su An-heng 蘇安恒  
 Su-chou 肅州  
 su-kuan 俗官  
 Su Mien 蘇冕  
 Su Ting-fang 蘇定方  
 Su-tsung 肅宗  
 Sui-chou 綏州  
 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'en 大臣  
 ta-ch'eng 大成  
 ta-chiang-chün fu-k'ai-ts'ao 大將軍府鎧曹  
 Ta Chou k'an-ting chung-ching mu-lu 大周刊定衆經目錄  
 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 大中正司徒  
 Ta-fei-ch'uan 大非川  
 ta-i 大義  
 ta-kuei 大圭  
 ta-ni 大逆  
 ta-pao 大寶  
 ta-she (Act of Grace) 大赦  
 Ta-sheng hsüan-chi 大聖懸記  
 ta-te SEE bhadanta  
 ta-tu-tu 大都督  
 ta-yeh 大業  
 Ta-yün ching 大雲經  
 Ta-yün mi-tsang 大雲密藏  
 Taedong River 大同江  
 T'ae-p'yöng song 太平頌  
 Tai-chou 代州  
 Tai-fang 帶方  
 Tai Li ching-yeh t'ao Wu-shih hsi 代李敬業討武氏檄  
 Tai-pej 帶北  
 t'ai 泰  
 t'ai-ch'u 太初  
 T'ai-hang 太行



- t'ai-ho 太和  
 t'ai-hou 太伯  
 t'ai-hsüeh 太學  
 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 太司  
 t'ai-sun 太孫  
 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 曇剛  
 tang hao-hsi chih li-shu 當吳羲之歷數  
 T'ang Chiao 唐皎  
 T'ang Chih-ch'i 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 唐僕尚丞郎表  
 T'ang-shih lun-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 hsü-shih 唐文續拾  
 T'ang-wen shih-i 唐文拾遺  
 T'ang Yin 唐寅  
 Tao-an 道安  
 Tao-ch'eng 道成  
 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 德免  
 te-ta tzu-tsai 得大自在  
 Te-tsung 德宗  
 te-yün 德運  
 Teng-ch'eng 桒乘  
 Teng-hsia chi 燈下集

- Teng-k'o chi-k'ao 登科記考  
 Teng-k'o lu 登科錄  
 teng-ti 等第  
 ti 地  
 ti-chu 地著  
 Ti Jen-chieh 狄仁傑  
 tiao 調  
 tieh 諫  
 t'ieh 帖  
 tien-shih 殿試  
 tien-yeh 典謁  
 t'ien-hou 天后  
 t'ien-huang 天皇  
 T'ien Kuei-tao 田歸道  
 t'ien-ming wei-kai 天命為改  
 t'ien-nü 天女  
 t'ien-nü shou-chi 天女授記  
 t'ien-pao 天寶  
 t'ien-she-nü 田舍女  
 t'ien-shou 天授  
 T'ien-shou sheng-t'u 天授聖圖  
 t'ien-shu 天樞  
 T'ien-t'ai 天臺  
 t'ien-t'ang 天堂  
 T'ien Te-p'ing 田德平  
 t'ien-ts'e wan-sui 天冊萬歲  
 t'ien-t'ung-tzu 天童子  
 Ting 定  
 Ting-chou 定州  
 t'ing-ch'ang 亭長  
 T'ing-chou 庭州  
 Tōdai no koyomi 唐代の曆  
 Tokchim 道琛  
 Tokmak (Sui-yeh) 碎葉  
 Tou 竇  
 tsa-hu 雜戶  
 tsa-se-jen 雜色人  
 tsa-wen 雜文  
 tsai-ch'u 載初  
 tsai-hsiang 宰相  
 ts'ai 才  
 ts'ai-jen 才人  
 tsan-che 贊者  
 btsan-po 贊普  
 ts'an-chün 參軍  
 ts'an-tso shih-p'in 參佐視品  
 Ts'ao 曹  
 Tse-t'ien shun-sheng huang-hou 則天順聖皇后  
 Tse-t'ien ta-sheng huang-ti 則天大聖皇帝  
 Ts'en Wen-pen 岑文本  
 tsou-ch'ü chin-chih 奏取進止  
 tsu 祖



- tsu-fu 租賦  
 tsu-tzu 祖子  
 tsu-wang 族望  
 tsu-yung-tiao 租庸調  
 ts'u-yu wen-li 粗有文理  
 tsui 最  
 Ts'ui Chih-yüan 崔致遠  
 Ts'ui Hao 崔浩  
 Ts'ui Hsüan-wei 崔玄暉  
 Ts'ui I-hsüan 崔義玄  
 Ts'ui Min-kan 崔民幹  
 Ts'ui Shen-ch'ing 崔神慶  
 Ts'ui Tzu-yüan 崔子遠  
 Ts'ui Yung 崔融  
 tsung-chang 總章  
 Tsung Ch'in-k'o 宗秦客  
 tsung-kuan 總管  
 Tu Cheng-lun 杜正倫  
 Tu Ching-chien 杜景儉  
 Tu Ch'iu-jen 杜求仁  
 tu-hu-fu 都護府  
 Tu-ku 獨孤  
 Tu-ling 杜陵  
 tu-shih 都事  
 tu-tu-fu 都督府  
 tu-tu-fu ch'ang-shih 都督府長史  
 Tu t'ung-chien lun 讀通鑑論  
 t'u 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 團結  
 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 同政君  
 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 通志二十略  
 t'ung chung-shu men-hsia san-p'in 同中書門下三品  
 T'ung-kuei Army 通軌軍  
 T'ung-t'ien t'ang 通天堂  
 t'ung-yao 童謠  
 tzu-ch'iu 自求  
 Tz'u-en 慈恩  
 Tz'u Hsi 慈禧  
 tz'u-pu 祠部  
 tz'u-shih 慈氏

Tz'u-yüan 辭源

Üija 義慈

Ungch'ön 熊川

Ungjin 熊津

Ungnyöng 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 王求禮

Wang Fang-i 王方翼

Wang Fu-chih 王夫之

Wang Fu-sheng 王伏勝

Wang Hsiao-chieh 王孝傑

Wang Hung 王弘

Wang Kuei 王珪

Wang Mang 王莽

wang-ming 王命

Wang Ming-sheng 王鳴盛

Wang Po 王勃

Wang Tzu-chin 王子晉

Wang Wei 王威

Wei An-shih 韋安石

Wei, Prince of 魏王

Wei Chao 韋超

Wei Chi 韋機

Wei-chih 魏志

Wei-chou 魏州

wei-chuan 偽傳

Wei Hsin-tzu 魏心子

Wei-hsiu 魏秀

Wei Hsüan-chen 韋玄貞

Wei Hsüan-t'ung 魏玄同

Wei-kuo fu-jen 魏國夫人

Wei Ssu-li 韋思立

Wei Ssu-wen 魏思溫

Wei T'ing 韋挺

wei-tsao 偽造

Wei Wen-ti 魏文帝

Wei Yüan-chung 魏元忠

wen 文

Wen-ch'eng, Princess 文成公主

wen-liü 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 無遮會



- Wu Ch'eng-ssu 武承嗣  
 wu-ch'i t'uan-ping 武騎團兵  
 Wu Ch'ia 武洽  
 Wu-chiao ch'ang 五教章  
 Wu Chien 武儉  
 Wu-chih-lei 烏質勒  
 Wu Ching 吳兢  
 Wu Chü-ch'ang 武居常  
 Wu-ch'uan 武川  
 Wu Chung-kuei 武重規  
 Wu Han 吳晗  
 Wu-hen-t'ien 武恨天  
 Wu-hou chih jen 武后之忍  
 wu-hsiang 無想  
 wu-hsing 吳姓  
 Wu-hsing-fa SEE Pañcaveramanī  
 Wu-hsing hsien 武興縣  
 wu-hsüan 武選  
 Wu Hua 武華  
 Wu Huai-yün 武懷運  
 Wu I-tsung 吳懿宗  
 Wu K'o-chi 武克己  
 Wu-liang-shou ching SEE Amitāyus Sutra  
 Wu Mei-niang 武媚娘  
 Wu of Chou, Duke 周武公  
 Wu San-ssu 武三思  
 Wu Shih-huo 武士彠  
 wu-te 武德  
 Wu Tse-t'ien 武則天  
 wu-tzu 戊子  
 wu-wang 武王  
 Wu Wei-liang 武惟良  
 Wu Yen-hsiu 武延秀  
 Wu Yu-chi 武攸暨  
 Wu Yu-i 武攸宜  
 Wu Yu-kuei 武攸歸  
 Wu Yu-ning 武攸寧  
 Wu Yüan-ch'ing 武元慶  
 Wu Yüan-shuang 武元爽  
 Yang-chou 揚州  
 Yang Hsiung 楊雄  
 Yang Hsüan-kan 楊玄感  
 Yang Ju-shih 楊汝士  
 Yang-kuan 楊館  
 Yang Liang 楊諒  
 Yang Ling-chieh 楊令節  
 Yang Shen-jiang 楊神讓  
 Yang Shih-tao 楊師道  
 Yang Shou-chüeh 楊守樞  
 Yang Ssu-cheng 楊思正  
 Yang Ssu-chien 楊思儉

- Yang Ssu-hsüan 楊思玄  
 Yang Su 楊素  
 Yang Ta 楊達  
 yang-tao 陽道  
 Yang-ti 煬帝  
 Yang Tsai-ssu 楊再思  
 Yang Tsuan 楊纂  
 Yang Yen 楊炎  
 Yang Yün-ju 楊筠如  
 Yao Ch'ung 姚崇  
 Yao Yüan-ch'ung 姚元崇  
 Yeh-hou chia chuan 鄴侯家傳  
 yen 言  
 Yen-chi 延基  
 Yen-hsiu 延秀  
 Yen Li-pen 嚴立本  
 Yen Shan-ssu 嚴善思  
 yen-sheng 嚴勝  
 Yen-tsung 嚴宗  
 Yin 殷  
 yin 陰  
 Yin-chou ssu-ma 殷州司馬  
 yin erh pu-luan 淫而不亂  
 Yin-hua lu 因話錄  
 Yin K'ai-shan 殷開山  
 Yin-tsung 印宗  
 yin-yang 陰陽  
 Ying-chou 營州  
 ying-chü 應舉  
 Ying-kuo, Duke of 應國公  
 Yö'n'gae Somun 淵蓋蘇文  
 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 羽  
 Yü-ch'i sheng shih chien-chu 玉谿生詩箋註  
 Yü Chih-ning 于志寧  
 Yü-chou 于家州  
 Yü Hsien-chang 於仙掌  
 Yü-hua Palace 玉華宮  
 Yü-lin chün 羽林軍  
 Yü Pao-chia 魚保家  
 Yü-shih-t'ai chi 御史臺記  
 Yü-wen Hua-chi 宇文文化及  
 Yü-wen T'ai 宇文泰  
 yüan-mien 原免  
 Yüan of Lu-chiang, Prince 盧江王瑗  
 Yüan Pan-ch'ien 袁半千  
 Yüan Shu 袁樞  
 Yüan Shu-chi 袁恕己  
 yüan-shuai 元帥



Yüan-sung ch'an 元 高 謙  
 Yüan T'ien-kang 袁 天 綱  
 yüan-tso 緣 坐  
 yüan-wai 員 外  
 yüan-wai-lang 員 外 郎  
 yüan-wai t'ung-cheng 員 外 同 正  
 Yüan Wan-ch'ing 元 萬 頃  
 yüeh-kuang wang SEE ċandraprābha  
 yüeh-wang ch'ang-shih 越 王 長 史  
 Yung 雍  
 yung-ch'ang 永 昌  
 Yung-chou 雍 州  
 yung-hui 永 衛  
 yung-lung 永 隆  
 yung-shih 永 式  
 Yung-t'ai, Princess 永 泰 公 主

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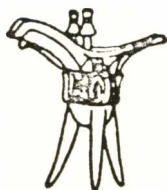


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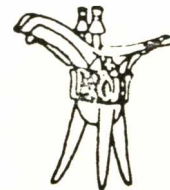
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