The Government Schools in T'ang China and Nara and Heian Japan:
A Comparative Study

by
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J.W.
April, 1979

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work.

Joseph Wong
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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

No dynasty in Chinese history is better known than the T'ang (618-904) for its cultural impact on her many neighbours. The empire was so extensive and prosperous that profound effects were felt among the surrounding peoples. Many of them sent members of their own reigning dynasties to study in China, who on returning applied what they had learned to their own country. Except the case of Korea, perhaps it was Japan which displayed the strongest Chinese influence. Despite difficulties in communication, the Japanese made a Herculean effort in emulating almost every aspect of Chinese culture for more than two centuries, making a replica of China during the Nara (710-84) and the early half of the Heian (794-1185) periods.

Despite the importance of the Chinese influence in these two periods, surprisingly few scholars have gone deeply into the actual process of how the Japanese adopted and adapted Chinese culture.\(^1\) Some meticulous studies have been done by Kojima and others to shed light on the role of Chinese literature played in Japan,\(^2\) but parallel efforts have yet to be made in other areas.

One area which deserves particular attention is that of institutions. The T'ang saw "the culmination of a
long process of prior growth and the adaptation of existing institutions to the needs of a unified empire." The highly organized and efficient administration must have been one of the most impressive things the Japanese first discovered in China. Their desire to emulate the Chinese form of government was revealed early in the Taika Reform of 645, and their endeavour to do so crystalized in the Taihō Code of 702 and the later Yōrō Code of 718. It was after the establishment of a government along Chinese lines that other aspects of Chinese culture, except Buddhism in which the Japanese took a profound interest at an earlier stage, were gradually imported.

Perhaps the fact that relatively little has been done on comparative studies in institutions is not a surprise as many aspects of the T'ang have not been fully understood. Government education is an example. Few historians working on the T'ang have attempted a serious study of the government school system. They are often obsessed with the civil service examination, and the result is that the importance of the government school system is either overlooked or dismissed.

While it is well-known that the government school system in dynasties both before and after the T'ang were for the training of officials and therefore had political
implications, study of the system in the T'ang has been left by and large to historians of education. As expected, few of them are able to relate the development of the system to corresponding political developments, and consequently they fail to put it in its proper historical context. While the development of the school system has been traced, many questions are left unanswered. What were the forces that shaped the vicissitude of the system? If the system was for the training of officials, what kind of officials did it train, and how important was its part in the recruitment of T'ang officials? What was its relationship with the civil service examination? Did it have any bearing on the changing composition of the ruling class, a major theme in the study of T'ang history? In short, what role did the government schools play in the T'ang?

Momo and Hisaki have both contributed much to our knowledge of the school system in Nara and Heian Japan. But again, they have tended to study the system as an isolated institution without relating it to a wider historical framework. Some questions are either answered inadequately or not answered at all. For instance, what kind of officials did the system train, and how important was its part in the recruitment of officials? What factors led its ups and downs? Did Japan adopt the civil service examination? If not, why? If it did, what was the relationship between the two systems?
What significance did the school system have?

These deficiencies in understanding the school system in T'ang China and Nara and Heian Japan have led inevitably to unsatisfactory results in the attempts made to compare them. Both Momo and Hisaki's discussions are limited mainly to the Japanese system as found in the Taihō Code, ignoring the fact that institutions in Japan as well as in China were dynamic rather than static. Hisaki places a heavy emphasis on the originality of the Japanese, thus exposing his misunderstanding or lack of understanding of the Chinese system. Liu and Ch'en, on the other hand, treat the subject in a much more detailed way, but both are more interested in finding similarities rather than differences between the two systems. Their comparisons are also confined, to a large extent, to the structure and administration of the system in theory rather than in practice, and there is little discussion of the actual roles played by the institutions.

Further studies, therefore, are necessary in order to increase our understanding of the school system in T'ang China and the ways in which it was adopted and adapted in Nara and Heian Japan. Since this process of cultural borrowing lasted almost three centuries, it is essential to examine the
institution in its different stages of development and consequently assess its importance in both countries. Only then perhaps are we equipped to compare the two systems, and thus determine the degree of originality possessed and the extent of success achieved by the Japanese in their cultural borrowing from China.
CHAPTER TWO     THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN T'ANG CHINA

2.1 Establishment

The foundation of the government school system in T'ang China was laid down by T'ang Kao-tsu. Immediately on his accession in 618, he ordered the establishment of the University (kuo-tzu-chien),\(^1\) which consisted of the National College (kuo-tzu-hsüeh), the Grand College (t'ai-hsüeh), and the Four Gate College (ssu-men-hsüeh). At the same time government schools were set up in the provincial areas.\(^2\) Later that year the Minor School (hsiao-hsüeh) was specially set up for children of the imperial family and meritorious officials.\(^3\) It was also in this reign, the Wu-te period (618-26), that the School of Law (lü-hsüeh), the School of Mathematics (suan-hsüeh), and the School of Calligraphy (shu-hsüeh) were set up.\(^4\)

In view of the chaos and confusion in the Wu-te period, it is doubtful to what degree these schools actually functioned. Revolts were not completely suppressed until 625, when an edict ordering the establishment of provincial schools was decreed for a second time. It was in the reign of T'ai-tsung (627-49), the second emperor of the dynasty, that the school system was firmly established. The Schools of Law and Calligraphy, once abolished in the Wu-te period,
were set up once more. The number of students was increased to over three thousand in 631 and perhaps to over eight thousand in 640. It was also in the reign of T'ai-tsung that the Hung-wen Academy (hung-wen-kuan) obtained its name which was to be used until the end of the dynasty, and the Ch'ung-wen Academy (ch'ung-wen-kuan) was founded.

Interest of the government in education appeared first, however, not in the T'ang but in its predecessor, the Sui (581-617). Wen-ti (r.581-609), the first emperor, gave great encouragement to government schools in his early years. Although all but seventy of the few thousand students were later dismissed, the schools were revived again immediately when Yang-ti (605-17), the second emperor, ascended the throne.

2.11 Cradle of bureaucracy

Indeed, the genesis of a large part of the University lay in periods earlier than the Sui and the T'ang. The University was first established in China during the reign of Han Wu-ti (140-87BC) and was called t'ai-hsüeh. The name was changed to kuo-tzu-hsüeh in 276 during the Chin dynasty (226-315) when the Schools of Law and Calligraphy were also founded. It was during the reign of Hsiao-wen-ti (471-89) of the Northern Wei dynasty that the University was divided into three Colleges. The Minor School,
the Hung-wen Academy, and the Ch'ung-wen Academy, all had their debuts before the Sui or the T'ang. Only the School of Mathematics was a product of the Sui.

Starting from the Chin dynasty onwards, the school system did not play a very important role as it had done in the Han. As with many other institutions, it was revived during the Northern Wei dynasty, but it did not really gain new momentum until a more profound change was made in the government administration in the Sui and T'ang. The unification of China by the Sui was followed by a policy which abolished the power of provincial officials to control armies or to appoint people to work under them. Instead, all major positions in the provincial government were to be filled by central appointees. This centralization of power meant the virtual abolition of the nine-rank grading system (ch'iu-pin, chung-cheng or ch'iu-pin kuan-jen fa), which had been the dominant system for recruiting officials from the third to sixth centuries, and the government had to resort to other ways to recruit and train officials in order to meet the large demand for officials required by the new administration. The school system, having been an important organ of training officials in the Han dynasty, was revived.

Not much is known about the school system in the Sui. Yet the best evidence demonstrating that it was seen as
a system for the training of officials is found in the imperial edict issued by Wen-ti ordering the dismissal of the students because they were not up to his expectations as competent officials. Although the school system had been placed by a recommendation system to recruit officials, the great demand for officials by the new government probably prompted Yang-ti to revive the school system once more. Yang-ti was highly praised by historians in the T'ang for his efforts made in education, but the confusion at the end of the Sui dynasty limited his success and the school system soon disintegrated.

That the schools were established early and expanded fast in the first decades of the T'ang can also be explained by the great demand for officials. The high standard of living in Ch'ang-an as a result of civil war dissuaded many people who had previously fled the capital from returning. Food and clothes were given to people in the provinces to encourage them to join the civil service in the capital, but many turned down the offer. The shortage of officials was so severe at one time that posts were given to those who were willing to serve the state. The period for recruitment was extended from three months to throughout the year. It is evident that there was a desperate need to build up a bureaucracy. It is not surprising, therefore, that much attention was given to the University in the capital where there were
perhaps eight thousand students at one time. It was probably
due to this demand for officials that the number of students
of the Four Gate College increased tenfold between the years
618\textsuperscript{12} to 631\textsuperscript{13}. Even if there had only been three thousand
students as codified later, and assuming every student took
three years to finish the study of one classic, which was the
basic requirement for entry of the civil service, the University
would have produced one thousand graduates who would
become officials each year, a considerable number when there
were only about ten thousand positions in the government at
the time.\textsuperscript{14}

There were a number of methods of official recruit-
ment in the T'ang. People could become officials if they
were entitled to hereditary rights (yìn), credited for their
military performance, or recommended by officials either
through the civil service examination (kung-chü) or when
there was a special imperial decree for recruitment of offi-
cials.\textsuperscript{15} Those who were entitled to hereditary rights could
enter the Grand College if they were from a family of the
fourth or fifth rank, or they could enter the National College,
the Tsung-wen Academy or the Hung-wen Academy if they were
from a family of the third rank or above.\textsuperscript{16} Education was
also provided by T'ai-tsung to the military
men, in particular those who had supported him in the coup d'état
which enabled him to succeed to the throne.\textsuperscript{17} Those recommended
to the capital by special decrees also had to study first at the University before they were assigned posts in the government and the same system probably also applied to those who were recommended through the civil service examination system. In other words, all those who were to become officials were entitled to study at the University.

Whether the civil service examination was as important a means to recruit officials as many believe, however, is highly questionable. Examinations in China existed long before the T'ang. There seems to have been little innovation in the system adopted by the Sui and the early T'ang, which was introduced to replace the corrupted practice of personal appointment by an open examination in which more objective standards could be used. Both the learning and moral standards of the candidates were examined, and degrees called hsiu-ts'ai, ming-ching, chin-shih, and ming-fa - of which only the chin-shih was a Sui product - were given to the successful candidates. As suggested by the name of the examination, kung-chü, in the Sui and T'ang candidates were divided into two categories: the kung-jen, those not from government schools, and the chü-jen, those from government schools. The scarcity of material makes it impossible to conclude which group was dominant at the beginning of the dynasty, but it is more likely that the students were the majority. Candidates from the provincial
areas, where education was still limited to a few, would probably have come mostly from government schools. Whatever the case, candidates from the provinces, both those who were and those who were not from government schools, would probably have had to attend the University once they were sent to the capital. Supposing that had not been the case, figures in the later period of the dynasty show that at a time when the University was in decline, it alone still provided the largest percentage of candidates for the degree examinations, and the same probably held true in the early years of the dynasty. It is perhaps not too much to suggest that the school system was closely related with the civil service examination system. As will be discussed later, the curriculum of the school system was not different from the syllabus of the examination system. The fact that four of the five students known in the reign of T'ai-.tsung were degree holders - four ming-ching and one chin-shih - suggests that probably many of the students were candidates for the civil service examination.

Lack of material has also left another question obscure: what happened to the candidates who failed to obtain a degree? No figures of the number of candidates taking the civil service examination are available for the reign of T'ai-ntsung. However, considering the small number of degrees conferred - there were less than ten chin-shih on an average
each year during the reign of T'ai-tsung and that for the
hsiu-te'ai was even fewer - the majority probably did
not receive any degree. In view of the demand for officials
in the early T'ang, it would be implausible for the government
not to have utilized these human resources. In fact, even
in the mid-eighth century when the bureaucracy became staffed,
it still seems to have been theoretically possible for a
candidate who did not possess a degree to enter government.

It is difficult to conceive how the vast bureaucracy of the
early T'ang could have been built up without the participation
of those who did not possess a degree, especially if they
had been students. Whether they were high or low officials,
therefore, a large number of the civil servants in the early
T'ang had probably studied at the University for a time be-
fore they entered government service.

2.12 A Means to Consolidate the Empire

The University not only played an important role
in building up the bureaucracy, it also served to cater for
the interests of the aristocracy of the time. The National
College and the Grand College, as mentioned already, were
for students from families of the third and fifth ranks
respectively. This is not surprising, for politically
the Sui and T'ang were not a complete breakaway from the
An analysis of the prime ministers in the first two reigns of the T'ang has shown that the majority of them were related to either the northern or the southern dynasties. The existence of such a group of hereditary officials, who stayed in office despite the change of dynasties, raised a problem: while it was essential to abolish old institutions and introduce new ones under a new government, the interests of this influential group could not be ignored. The Sui seems to have failed to realize this. The University was drastically reduced in size by Wen-ti and revived for only a limited period of time during the reign of Yang-ti. This meant that education, much cherished by high officials in the past, could not serve as an effective route leading to government positions. The recommendation system adopted later emphasized merit more than social status. The hereditary officials must have felt that their positions were being jeopardized, and their dissatisfaction was shown in some of the revolts at the end of the dynasty.

The rulers of the T'ang, themselves having served under the Sui, were more careful to placate this group of hereditary officials. Not only did the new government absorb many officials of past dynasties - those in the University included - but education was provided to ensure that their status could be maintained. This perhaps partly explains the hasty order by Kao-tsu to establish schools soon after
his accession, and the great development of schools in the capital during T'ai-tsung's reign when many buildings were constructed for the University and many scholars were invited to teach in the Colleges. These were measures to attract those who cherished education but had left the capital, to gain support from the upper class, and to centralize the empire by making Ch'ang-an a political as well as an educational centre.

It is impossible to establish what percentage of the upper class sent their sons or grandsons into the University, the Hung-wen Academy or the Ch'ung-wen Academy. Many of the aristocracy must have had their own clan schools or would have employed private teachers for their children. Yet their desire to provide their children with the best education available probably prompted many of them to send their sons and grandsons to the government schools where the best scholars were found. Imperial patronage probably also made the University a prestigious institution favoured by the upper class.

While students from aristocratic families dominated the National College and Grand College, it should be remembered that the majority of the student body came from families of the sixth rank or below. It is also interesting to note that education was provided for the military people who had fought alongside the emperor and formed an important
power base for T'ai-tsung. If one agrees that T'ai-tsung was constantly aware of the balance of power among his officials and was eager to infuse new blood into the government, one is tempted to suggest that the University served as more than an institution for the training of officials. Providing education for the military supporters of the imperial house would make up for their deficiency in civil affairs, thereby preventing a dominance by the big clans. Admitting a great number of people from the lower official class to the University would mean more opportunities for those at the bottom of the official ladder to move upwards.

While the T'ang rulers found it necessary to have a competent bureaucracy to run the country, they were not slow to realize the importance of a spiritual means to bring these people and, consequently, the whole country under control. The periods before the T'ang witnessed a fading interest in Confucianism in contrast to the increasing appeal of Buddhism and Taoism. The Sui tried to reach a compromise between the different traditions by utilizing them in different contexts. However, its failure seems to have made one message clear: it might not be possible to suppress or eradicate the different beliefs, but one ideology must be singled out and given authority if social, cultural, and intellectual unity was to be attained.
Confucianism was adopted as the national ideology in the early T'ang. The choice was not accidental. Both Kao-tsu, T'ai-tsung, as well as many of their advisers, had been trained in the Confucian tradition. Furthermore, the idea of a unified empire had caused many to look back to the Han, a period of unity as well as prosperity for both Confucianism and University education, for inspiration in political principles for a unified empire. On the other hand, Buddhism was foreign to the centralized empire and had not been remolded into a religion or ideology that could serve the many interests of the state. Taoism, though indigenous, advocated non-action and a passivity that could hardly be exercised in a complex mechanism such as the T'ang government; it had also been transformed by this time from a political philosophy into a popular religion. The two continued to enjoy a certain degree of imperial patronage, but they could hardly provide as effective a national ideology as Confucianism which would encourage the people to be submissive, the bureaucracy loyal, and the society disciplined.

No other institution was more appropriate to propagate this ideology than the University. The value systems of the future officials were moulded into a single form, especially after the publication of the Orthodox Interpretations of the Five Classics (Wu-ching cheng-i) in 640. Whether influence from the scholarship of the northern dy-
nasties or the southern dynasties was prevalent is controversial, but undoubtedly flexibility in interpreting the classics vanished. Not only were the classics taught, but Confucius, his disciples, and those earlier scholars who either compiled the classics or wrote commentaries on them received respect in the Libation Ceremony (shih-tien), often in the presence of the emperor and court officials. In short, exemplars of the Confucian tradition were established for the students as a guide to standard behaviour patterns.

The school system in the early T'ang was thus set up not only as a cradle of the bureaucracy but also as a tool for consolidating the newly established empire. It catered for the interests of the group of hereditary officials and at the same time prevented them from becoming too powerful by opening a channel to office for people from the military and low official class. It was the embodiment of Confucianism, which became the dominant ideology as a result of leadership and political and social circumstances, and which was also in the form of a standardized curriculum and traditional rituals. For the students, the school system was an avenue to social status and success. For the rulers, who believed the goal of the University was "to propagate and glorify the exemplary and respectable, to enlighten and transform the people," the school system was a means rather than an end.
2.13 Administration of the School System

Records of the administration of the school system can be found in the two T'ang histories and a number of other sources. Although the records were probably based on the administration of later periods, it can be assumed that they largely followed the practice in the early T'ang when the foundation of the school system was laid down.¹

The major group of schools in the capital was under the University, namely, the National College, the Grand College, the Four Gate College, the Schools of Law, Calligraphy, and Mathematics. The first three were more important because they constituted the major part of the University with the greater number of students. There were three hundred in the National College, five hundred in the Grand College, and one thousand three hundred in the Four Gate College. The three colleges differed not in the curriculum but in the background of the students. Those from a family of the third rank or above entered the National College, those of the fifth rank or above entered the Grand College, and those of the seventh rank and above the Four Gate College.² The teaching staff, the professor (po-shih) and the assistant professor (chu-chiao) were also ranked in the same order, the highest being those in the National College and the lowest being those in the Four Gate College.³
This hierarchical structure meant that students from higher ranking families enjoyed smaller classes and better instructors. In short, the official status of each student's background decided the quality of education he received.

The classics were taught at all three colleges following the Orthodox Interpretations as well as scholarly commentaries. The texts can be divided into four categories. The Book of Filial Piety (Hsiao-ching) and the Analects (Lun-yü) were compulsory texts. The Book of Rites (Li-chi) and the Tso-chuan were the Major Classics (ta-ching), each taking three years to study. The Book of Songs (Mao-shih), the Rites of Chou (Chou-li), and the Rites and Rituals (I-li) were the Middle Classics (chung-ching); while the Book of Changes (Chou-i), the Book of Documents (Shang-shu), the Kung-yang-chuan and Ku-liang-chuan were the Minor Classics (hsiao-ching). The study of each Middle Classic and the Classic of Changes required two years; for each of the other Minor Classics, one and a half years were necessary.

The Schools of Law, Mathematics, and Calligraphy were of smaller scale and lower standing. Priority in admissions was given to those from families of the eighth or ninth ranks, but those from unranked families were also admitted. There were fifty students in the School of Law.
and thirty in each of the other two schools. The professor in the School of Law ranked slightly higher than his counterparts in the other two Schools. This pre-eminence of the School of Law was perhaps a result of the great amount of work involved in legal codification at the beginning of the dynasty.

The curriculum of the School of Law comprised both the civil and penal codes (ling and iu). In the School of Calligraphy, judging from the texts used - Tau-lin, Shih-ching, Shuo-wen - it seems that not only was calligraphy taught, but subjects such as philology and etymology were also included. In the School of Mathematics, students were equally divided into two programs after a one-year compulsory course. The first program was concentrated on applied mathematics, concerning such practical subjects as surveying and astronomy, whereas the second one covered more advanced fields such as trigonometry. It is obvious that the three schools were developed to train professionals.

Students entering the University were aged from fourteen to nineteen, whereas in the School of Law they were from eighteen to twenty-five years old. On entering the University, the Rite of Shu-hsiu was observed. Silk, wine, meat were presented to the teaching staff as a symbol of reverence. The Libation was performed twice annually,
in which meat was offered and music performed in the temples of those worshipped. Sacrifices were offered to past figures of the Confucian tradition, who were honoured as the Ancient Saint (hsien-sheng), the Ancient Teacher (hsien-shih) and the Followers (ts'ung-ssu). After the ceremony discourses on the classics were often held in the presence of the emperor, and awards were sometimes given to members of the staff and students.

Students at the University were exempted from taxation and army service. At the same time, they were granted stipends and provided with dormitories, though it is not known if all of them received the same treatment. Apart from studying, students were permitted to play musical instruments, or to learn archery during their leisure time. Other games were considered as misbehaviour and would result in dismissal.

There were three types of vacations. First was the hsiin-chia, which was one day in every ten. Second was the t'ien-chia, a break which fell in the fifth month of the year to enable students to go home during harvest time. Third was the chou-i-chia, a kind of winter vacation for students to go home to prepare for winter clothing. On special occasions a leave of absence of up to one hundred days could be taken; in the case of sick leave, the period could be extended to two hundred days. Violation of these regulations would also result in dismissal.
The progress of the students was assessed by the ten-day examination and the annual examination. The student was to answer one question orally on the content of every two thousand words learned. Three questions would be asked, and two correct answers would be considered a pass. Those who failed were punished. The annual examination was held at the end of the year. Ten questions on the studies done during the year had to be answered orally. Grades were assigned according to the number of correct answers given: first class for eight or more correct answers, second class to those with six or seven, and third class to those with five or less. Apart from the School of Law where students had to graduate within six years, students could study up to nine years in the University. Many of them probably finished within a much shorter period at the beginning of the T'ang when the knowledge of one classic was a sufficient qualification for office. In order to enter government, however, another examination had to be taken at the Ministry of Civil Office (li-pu).

Besides the University, there were also the Hung-wen Academy and the Ch'ung-wen Academy in the capital. These two Academies were different from the University in a number of aspects. First, the number of students was much smaller; there were thirty in the Hung-wen Academy and twenty in the
Chiung-wen Academy. Second, admission was restricted to members of the imperial family and sons of the top officials. Third, apart from the classics, students in the two Academies also studied history such as the Historian's Records (Shih-ohi), History of the Former Han (Han-shu) and the Later Han (Hou-han-shu), and the History of the Three Kingdoms (San-kuo-ohi). Moreover, the two Academies did not merely function as schools, they also served as Imperial Libraries and, especially during the reign of T'ai-tsung, as meeting places for the Emperor and his advisers. In short, the two Academies had much higher status than the University. This is clearly illustrated by their different location: whereas the University was situated outside and on the southern side of the Imperial City (huang-ck'eng), the two Academies were located not only inside the Imperial City but inside the Imperial Palace (kung-ck'eng).

Outside the capital, government schools were established in the different administrative units, i.e. the commandaries (fu), the prefectures (chou), and the districts (hsien). The number of students in each school varied according to the size of the unit, ranging from twenty to eighty. It seems that no special qualification was required for entering the provincial schools, though priority was probably given to the sons of the officials in the provincial
government. The academic level appears to have been lower than the University, since only the five classics were taught and there was only one professor in each school. Examinations were probably held in a similar way to those in the University. Students passing the graduation examination would be sent to the capital for further studies in the University or to take the examination held by the Ministry of Civil Office.

To sum up, the school system in the early T'ang seems to have had a set of elaborate regulations. Government schools were established all over the country, but the centre of education was the University in the capital. Admissions were hierarchical, and mainly restricted to the official class; few, if any, students were peasants, let alone craftsmen or merchants. The students were provided with good living conditions but were only allowed limited extra-curricular activities. The majority of them received a general education in the Confucian tradition, while the rest received professional training. The quality and standard of education were guaranteed by detailed curricula and regular examinations. The existence of such a well-organized institution for training officials was undoubtedly an asset in building up a competent bureaucracy, and it perhaps helps to explain the strength and durability of the T'ang rule.
2.2 Crisis and Revival

2.21 Development under Kao-tsung

Kao-tsung (r.650-83), the third emperor of the T'ang dynasty, received private tuition in his youth from a scholar-official who had been a University student.\(^1\) After ascending the throne, he displayed an interest in education by personally examining the students in 659.\(^2\) Since the foundation of the empire had been laid down by his father and grandfather, he was more concerned with maintaining the status quo than with initiating new developments. This holds true for the school system as well.

The school system nevertheless continued to expand. Lo-yang, the eastern capital (tung-tu), was now of increasing importance.\(^3\) There was a demand of officials as suggested by the fact that irregular recruitment of officials in the eastern capital during the reign of T'ai-tsung was now changed into a regular system.\(^4\) In 657 a branch of the Four Gate College was established.\(^5\) The University was also established in 661, and the foundation of the National College and the Grand College, though not recorded in histories, was probably also begun at around the same time.\(^6\) The scale of the University in the eastern capital is unknown; but judging from the fact that there were only three hundred students in the Four Gate College in contrast
to the one thousand three hundred in Chang-an, it was cer-
tainly smaller than that in the capital. The student body
of the University in Lo-yang also included, however, an
additional two hundred chün-shih or Outstanding Youth who
came from families of the eighth rank or below. The prac-
tice of admitting people from low official families were
probably a vestige from previous reigns, but this was the
first time official recognition was given to it.

The necessity to set up a quota for people from
low official families might have also been a result of the
expansion of the school system to the provincial areas.
Emphasis was placed on the University in the capital rather
than the schools in the provincial areas in T'ai-tsung's
time. As a considerable number of the graduates from the
University have become provincial officials, they must have
played a part in spreading education in the provinces. Patronage also came from Kao-tsung who ordered the construc-
tion of government schools and temples of Confucius in places
hitherto where they had not been founded. It is hardly
surprising therefore that schools appeared in some of the
more remote areas.

Other aspects of the school system were also ela-
borated. The amount of silk, meat, and wine presented in
the Rite of Shu-hsieh differed between the University and the
provincial schools, and between the professor and his assistant, depending upon their respective places in the hierarchy. Furthermore, the expansion of the school system necessitated further training of staff members. The lecturer (ta-ch'eng), an irregular post at the beginning of the dynasty, became permanent and in 675 was filled by choosing students with outstanding results in examinations. In addition, the technique of t'ieh-ch'ing was introduced into the examination in 680: a page from the classics was placed before the student with all but one line or phrase covered and the student was asked to write or recite the entire text on that page.

While the three colleges for classical studies underwent development, the professional schools had a different fate. All three were abolished in 658, but then re-established in 662 and reorganized later under different government departments. The apparent reason given for their abolition was that they taught merely 'trivial techniques' which did not deserve a place alongside the studies of the classics. But perhaps it is significant that the three schools were abolished after the proclamation of the Yung-hui Code (Yung-hui ling) in 651, the completion of the Commentaries on the Penal Codes of the T'ang (T'ang-lü shu-i) in 653, and the publication of the Ten Textbooks of
Mathematics (Shih-ta-suan-ching) in 656. However, the demand for professionals by the complex system of government probably accounts for the restoration of these schools which were reorganized again later, and placed under the University.

2.22 The School System under Empress Wu

Two memorials suggest that the University did not continue to enjoy the same prosperity as before in the later years of Kao-tsung, and that it disintegrated further after the usurpation of the throne by Empress Wu (r.684-704). One memorial presented in 684 by Ch'en Tzu-an claims that the University had been deserted for a long time and people studying the classics were seldom heard of. A later one in 699 by Wei Ssu-li also claims that the University had been neglected for twenty odd years. Both recommended the issue of an imperial decree to restore the students.

A number of reasons have been given by both past and modern historians, placing blame on the Empress. The compilers of the Old History of T'ang (Chiu-T'ang-shu) and Ssu-ma Kuang accuse the Empress of appointing members of the imperial family who were not Confucian scholars to the post of Chancellor of the University (chih-chiu). This accusation was justified to a large extent because among the six people known to have held the post, half were related
to the imperial family, and one was obviously not an appropriate choice as he was only twenty-five at the time of appointment. However, whether one should label the two others not related to the imperial family as "adulator" and "opponent" of the Empress and consequently conclude that they made little contribution to the school system, as Taga does, is questionable.

Taga also contends that the great expenditure of the Empress on Buddhist activities brought about financial difficulties for the school system, his argument being that the University had only seven ch'ing of Public Administration Land (k'ung-hsieh-t'ien) which would not have been adequate to support even the professors. The Empress certainly allocated a considerable amount of the country's resources to Buddhist activities, yet this does not necessarily mean a reduction in the expenditure for education. In fact, nowhere is it stated that only in the reign of the Empress Wu did the University possess seven ch'ing of Public Administration Land, nor is it stated anywhere that the salary of the staff members had to depend solely on the revenue of the Administration Land. The argument of Taga is thus hardly acceptable.

The scarcity of material makes it difficult to come to a definite conclusion about Empress Wu's attitude
towards education. Although some of the choices for the Chancellor for the University might not have been appropriate, the Empress did appoint Wei Ssu-li, who, as shown above, was enthusiastic about improving the stature of the University. A number of Fellows (hsūeh-shih) appointed in the Hung-wen Academy were famous scholars. Students from the National College and the Hung-wen Academy were also appointed to government office by the Empress personally. The fact that the Empress herself permitted a student to take vacation may be a reflection of the incompetency of the officials in the University, but the accessibility of the Empress to an individual student also shows that she did pay attention to education.

There are reasons to believe that the Empress was interested in school education. While it has been pointed out that Buddhism was used by the Empress as a means to justify her coming to power, it has been overlooked that Confucian ideas were also employed. The long years of residence in court perhaps made the Empress well aware of the advantages in utilizing Confucian ideals as a means to run the empire. Not only did she bestow titles to honour the Duke of Chou and Confucius, but she herself compiled a text Ch'ān-kuei, the Way of the Official, for her subjects to study. This placed great emphasis on Confucian virtues such as
discipline and obedience to one's superior. If the Empress accepted these Confucian values, it is more likely than not that her attitude towards education was favourable. It can also be argued that if the Empress wanted to consolidate her own power after the usurpation, the school system was probably a convenient starting place. This perhaps explains the fact that she appointed members of her family as Chancellors of the University, and that she personally assigned students of the Hung-wen Academy and the National College - many of whom probably related to the imperial family - to official posts.

If blame is to be apportioned, then Kao-tsung perhaps should also share a part since the memorial of Ch'en Tzu-ang, sent in the first year of the Empress' reign, clearly states that the University was already in decline before her time. Yet the Empress should not be left uncritized, since she took an active part in the government after Kao-tsung's ill health from 660 onwards, and the memorial of Wei Ssu-li, sent in the sixteenth year of her reign, implies that she had done little to revive the University. The appropriate question perhaps is not who should be held responsible for the decline, but what changes were made and how they affected the University.
The growing popularity of new literature

One of the most evident changes in this period was the decreased interest in the classics and a corresponding interest in new styles of literature. The use of the Orthodox Interpretation as the standard text provided students with a useful reference but at the same formed an obstacle to originality. The tendency to memorise rather than understand the works of past scholars was further increased with the introduction of the practice of t'ieh-ch'ing. Unable to find intellectual satisfaction in the study of the classics, educated people gradually channelled their energy into literature. Literature had already been very popular in the Southern Dynasties, and the unification of China under one rule made it more popular as the culture of southern China was much cultivated by people from the north. The Wen-hsüan, probably the best anthology then available, was widely studied and a number of commentaries were written on it in the early T'ang.

The interest in literature was shared by the rulers. The Tsung-wen Academy established by T'ai-tsung was first called the Wen-hsüeh-Kuan, the Pavilion of Literature. Officials with literary talents were favoured by Kao-tsung, in whose reign a series of irregular decrees were issued
to recruit people with literary skills and a court literature emerged. The tradition continued in the reign of the Empress Wu. A poet herself, the Empress had a propensity for literature no less than her predecessors, and her interest in literature probably surpassed that in the classics. Gatherings were often held in the palace during which poems were composed, and most of the people appointed to become Fellows in the Hung-wen Academy were officials of high literary calibre.

Notwithstanding the popularity of literature, the University remained primarily an institution for teaching the classics. Yet, although literature was not part of the curriculum, literary ability gradually became more and more important because it was favoured by the Empress. It is very likely that many students studied literature privately in order to curry favour. If they neglected their formal studies, as the memorials claimed, one of the reasons was probably that they were more interested in literature than the classics. It is perhaps in this context that the memorials calling for the restoration of order in the University should be understood.

An Expanding Bureaucracy

If the decline of the University corresponded with the growing interest in literature, it also coincided with the increased importance of the civil service examinatio-
tion. As a result of a rapid expansion of the administration at the beginning of the dynasty, students were already facing keen competition to enter the civil service at the beginning of Kao-tsung's reign. Liu-wai, unranked officials at the bottom of the bureaucratic hierarchy, were promoted to ranked positions in greater numbers than the graduates of the University. In order to secure the future of the students, a suggestion was made that two-thirds of the vacant posts should be allocated to graduates of the University. This suggestion, however, was not put into practice.23

Meanwhile, the development of education gradually gave rise to a large number of people qualified for office. Many of them, however, probably did not have the opportunity to become candidates for the civil service examination in the capital because they had first to pass a provincial examination by which only a few people were chosen to continue.24 Whether or not Empress Wu employed the examination to recruit "new men" to consolidate her power,25 she undoubtedly took a deep personal interest in the examination. Not only was she the first to adopt the practice of covering the candidates' names in the examination,26 but she was also the first to examine the candidates inside the palace.27 On top of that, a decree was issued in 685 abolishing the provincial examination28 so that all those who aspired for
office could take the civil service examination. The number of candidates rose from nine hundred in Kao-tsung's time to as many as fifty thousand.  

There were many repercussions from the intensified competition of the civil service examination. Sons of some high-ranking officials inherited their positions at early ages, and others attempted to achieve official posts by seeking marriage with powerful families in the Ministry of Civil Office. Although the administration seems not have been seriously affected, the official recruitment process nevertheless gradually broke down as favours were often sought from the powerful. Corruption became more common and the situation was aggravated by the large number of supernumerary offices created to consolidate the Empress' power.  

While such a profound change occurred in the official recruitment process, it is implausible that the University did not also undergo change. Scarcity of material prevents the drawing of any definite conclusions. Yet one noteworthy fact is that many people of school age did not seem to have attended the University but instead pursued their studies at home. This can perhaps be partly explained by the fact that, as a result of the compilation of a new genealogy, the Hsin-shih-lu, in 659 ranking families by
achievement rather than by birth, many of the "old aristocracy" lost their social status which had enabled them to enter the University. It can also be suggested that if the Empress abolished the provincial examinations so that people from a wider social background could take the civil service examination, it is very likely that she also lowered enrollment requirement of the University to accommodate people from lesser noble background.

Whatever the case, it is evident that the examination was a more effective means than the University for recruiting "new men" for the government. Not only did it provide opportunities for those with literary talent, it also placed less emphasis on the official ranking of a candidate's family background. In addition, although there was an increase in the number of candidates for the civil service examination, the government did not have an obligation to guarantee them employment, as in the case of University graduates, nor was it necessary for the government to provide financial sources for their training. Above all, officials were to be selected from a much larger pool of candidates than before, and therefore would presumably be of higher quality than those chosen merely from University graduates. Although it might not have been the intention of the Empress Wu to neglect the University, the fact that the candidates in the examination greatly outnumbered the students from the
University meant that the role of the University was inevitably undermined. When scholarship of the classics was no longer a guarantee for an official position and as competition intensified, candidates understandably had to resort to other means to gain entry to civil service. The University was neglected, perhaps not so much by the authorities as by the students themselves, and it is not surprising that the number of lecturers decreased from twenty to four in the last year of the Empress' reign. 35

2.23 The reigns of Chung-tsung (r. 750-9) and Jui-tsung (r. 710-11)

This situation of the University during the Empress' rule can be better understood if the measures taken to restore the University in the following reigns are also examined. Perhaps as a result of the emphasis on the civil service examination, internal examinations in the University seem to have been neglected if not abolished. At any rate an edict in 706 re-emphasized the importance of examinations not only in the provincial schools but also in the University. Different grades were to be given in the examination and, for the first time, students who failed repeatedly were to be dismissed. At the same time, order and seniority in the University were also re-emphasized. 1

In the reign of Kao-tsung, the Crown Prince began
to replace the Emperor as the person who was responsible for performing the Libation Ceremony. Whether the ceremony was abolished by the Empress or performed by her Crown Prince is uncertain, but the fact that no record can be found on the performance of the ceremony throughout the twenty-year-long reign of the Empress seems to imply that the ceremony had lost much of its significance. The ceremony was probably revived when it was performed again in 706. Attention paid to the school system is also revealed in another decree which ordered that all temples of Confucius in the provinces should face north, the proper direction.

Whether the school system was restored to the status quo under T'ai-tsung is, however, highly questionable. The power of the Empress Wei soon brought disruption again in the political order. Perhaps following the example of her predecessor, a member of the imperial family was again appointed Chancellor of the University.

Literature also continued to receive imperial patronage. In 708 twenty-four scholars who were famed for their literary abilities were appointed as Fellows, Senior Fellows (chih-hsueh-shih), and Professorial Fellows (ta-hsueh-shih) in the Hung-wen Academy. The chin-shih degree examination, which stressed calibre in literary compositions, became more popular than that of the ming-ching examination,
which emphasized knowledge of the classics. 

Competition in the chin-shih examination became so keen that it had to be divided into three parts. New chin-shih degree holders had their name carved under the Tz'u-en Pagoda and a special feast was held for them in Ch'ü-chiang.

Imperial patronage was given not only to literature but also to Taoism. The T'ang dynasty claimed descent from Lao-tzu, whose surname was supposed to be Li. When symposia were held after the Libation Ceremony during T'ai-tsung's reign, Taoist priests were invited to participate. But Taoism did not play a significant role in the University until Kao-tsung ordered the building of Taoist temples in every province. In addition, he introduced the Lao-tzu into the curriculum in 674 and gave it the status of Major Classic in 678. The Lao-tzu was replaced by the Ch'en-kuet when Empress Wu was in power, but the restoration of the T'ang empire brought it back once more in 705. The growing importance of Taoism is also revealed by the appointment of a Taoist monk as Chancellor of the University in 706.

As the study of the classics and Confucianism continued to lose ground, the official recruitment process also deteriorated. Corruption and malpractice multiplied after the death of the Empress Wu. Li Chiao, a reliable official in the reign of that Empress, now tried to exploit
the disrupted political situation by creating over a thousand irregular offices in order to get support for making himself prime minister. Nor did the new Empress Wei hesitate to follow her predecessor in consolidating her power by giving favours to her relations and others. Large number of degrees were granted in the civil service examination, and ranked positions were given to people from the peasant and even the merchant classes. The official recruitment process became so lax that money was often an important factor in gaining a government position.

In view of such circumstances, it is highly unlikely that many students would have been interested in education as the orthodox way of entering civil service. The situation had improved only marginally since the time of the Empress Wu, and the revival of the school system did not take place until the reign of the next Emperor.

2.24 Revival under Hsüan-tsung

The early years

The first years of Hsüan-tsung's reign (712-55) may be considered as a period of reaction against the culminating effect of the rule of the two Empresses. The influence of the new class of officials developed during the past few decades were gradually suppressed in favour of
the interests of the old aristocracy. Government posts were offered to descendants of past officials who had been deprived of their privileges under the Empresses, and their social status was also re-established with the compilation of a new genealogical manual, the *Hsing-tsu hsi-lu.*

As the new Emperor had been brought up in the traditional Confucian manner - he studied under a Confucian scholar in his youth, and performed the Libation Ceremony as Crown Prince - it is not surprising that the influences of Buddhism and Taoism, prevailing in the decades when the Empresses had been in power, gave way to Confucianism. A large number of Buddhist and Taoist monks and nuns were defrocked, and the rest were ordered to follow the Confucian tradition of worshipping their parents. A number of Confucian scholars were chosen as Imperial tutors (*shih-tu*) in the palace. In 725 a royal pilgrimage was made to the place where Confucius was supposed to have lived.

The importance of the school system was naturally restored as a consequence of the revival of Confucianism. Particular attention was paid to the Libation Ceremony. In 718 it was decreed that not only students and provincial candidates for the civil service examination but all officials of the sixth rank and above were to attend the ceremony. In the following year, the rituals of the ceremony were
elaborated. At the time of performance, silk was awarded to the students and the teaching staff, feasts were provided for those who attended, and discourses on the Book of Filial Piety and the Book of Rituals were held. Regulations covering animals used for offering in the ceremony were also set up for the provincial schools in 722.

The study of rites (lit) was particularly encouraged. The first Chancellor of the University appointed by the new Emperor was a scholar well-versed in the Rites of Chou, the Rites and Rituals, and the Book of Rites. Many of the other members of the staff also shared these interests, which probably formed the impetus for the compilation of the Rites of K'ai-yüan (K'ai-yüan-lit), a project started in 726. A new institution, the Chi-hsien Academy (Chi-hsien-yüan), was also established for collecting, copying, and categorizing books. A scholar himself, the Emperor wrote a commentary on the Book of Filial Piety and ordered that every family should own a copy.

The school system also benefited from the fact that the young Emperor recognized the necessity for a fair and strict method of selecting officials. He personally examined the candidates for the civil service examination in 721. People seeking favour from him by presenting their literary work were rejected and advised to sit for the examination.
Under certain conscientious officials, nepotism was discouraged and the principle of recruiting officials by merit was enforced. School education became once more an important qualification for entering government service.

The reigns of Hsüan-tsung and T'ai-tsung were regarded by a Sung historian as the two culminating points of learning in the T'ang.

**Popularization of learning**

There were, however, some differences between the government schools in the two periods. First, the number of students in the University had decreased from 3,260 in T'ai-tsung's time to 2,200 in Hsüan-tsung's reign. This is probably a reflection of the fact that the bureaucracy, fully staffed during Kao-tsung's reign, no longer demanded large supply of new officials.

Second, the provincial school system was much more fully developed in the reign of Hsüan-tsung. Under the efforts of some enlightened officials, schools were built in some areas where "barbarian practices" continued to exist. In fact, the number of students in the provincial schools reached approximately 60,000 at one stage, twenty-five times the number of those enrolled in the University. Furthermore, in 739 it was ordered that schools were to be set up in each lü (i.e. grouping of one hundred families).
Not only government schools but private schools also flourished in the reign of Hsüan-tsung. In spite of the great development of state education, some private schools had already been instituted at the beginning of the dynasty. These seem to have increased to such a large number that, perhaps as an attempt to absorb them into the state school system, the establishment of private schools were officially permitted and students from the private schools were allowed to transfer into government schools in 734.

It is uncertain to what extent the decree to establish private schools was implemented. Neither is it possible to determine the influence of private schools on education after they acquired legal status. However, the long period of social stability from the time of Empress Wu certainly created a favourable climate for learning. Many of those who did not enter the government or private schools seem to have received some form of education at home. To say that all children of five-ch'ü tall would feel ashamed not to converse upon learning is perhaps exaggerating, but textbooks such as the Meng-ch'iü specially written for children did appear for the first time in this period. It is impossible to determine the literacy rate of the time, but newspaper in the form of public notices were distributed daily from the capital to the big cities. It can safely be assumed that literate population was gradually increasing in numbers.
Further competition and the popularity of the chin-shih

The development of government schools and the recognition of private schools in the provincial areas made competition to enter the University keener than ever. The University, however, did not alter the admission requirements or take any other step to make enrolment more difficult. In contrast, perhaps as a measure to accommodate the provincial students, the Four Gate School lowered its admission requirements by enrolling students under twenty-five years old if they were from a family of an eighth rank or students under twenty-one if they were not. It also admitted those who were intelligent but without the knowledge of a classic, and candidates who had failed in the civil service examination. However, it is obvious that the University did not have the capacity to absorb even two percent of the provincial students. Even assuming that the twenty-one hundred students had the knowledge of one classic when they enrolled at the University, and each took only two years to graduate, there would only be eleven hundred seats available each year, a number much too small to satisfy the need of the provincial students. The existence of a provincial examination and a quota system, however, probably ensured that only a few would be sent from the provinces to the capital each year.

The competition in the capital was just as keen.
as that in the provinces. Military service gradually lost its attraction for the upper classes, for there were less opportunities of receiving meritorious titles and other benefits as a result of the general peace, and the breakdown of the militia (fu-ping) system also brought many people of plebian origins into the army. Many of the upper class thus began to turn to the civil service. Despite the fact that the bureaucracy in the reign of Hsüan-tsung was the largest in the T'ang, only one out of eight or nine applicants could get a government post. The limited number of vacancies in the government compelled the examiners in the civil service examination to pass only a small number of candidates, and the examinations were often deliberately made difficult by selecting unimportant or obscure passages from the classics.

Competition ensured that the degree holders were the cream of the crop among the candidates. The chin-shih were especially favoured. The chin-shih examination allowed more originality than that of the ming-ching as it placed less emphasis on the classics and more on practical problems. Moreover, the chin-shih were also required to be highly proficient in writing. People with literary skills were already gathered in the time of Kao-tsung to form the Scholars of the North Gate (Pei-men-hsueh-shih) to assist the Depart-
ment of the Grand Imperial Secretariat (chung-shu-sheng) in drafting imperial edicts and answering incoming memorials. Officials in the Chi-hsien Academy took over this responsibility and in 739 formed a new institution called the Han-lin Academy (Han-lin-yüan). An increasing percentage of the prime ministers also came from the chin-shih. While only one out of the twenty-nine prime ministers in the reign of T'ai-tsung were chin-shih, twenty-one out of the sixty-three in the time of Chung-tsung, and eleven out of the thirty-four in the time of Hsüan-tsung were chin-shih.

The large number of prominent scholars had already made the University the highest institution of learning in the country. The importance of the degree examination further increased its prestige, since it was regarded as the passport leading to a chin-shih degree. It was said that, because the majority of the chin-shih were University graduates, it was a shame for a chin-shih not to have attended the University.

Although the classics were the major part of the curriculum in the University, the large number of chin-shih from the University indicates that the interest in literature, first emerging during the reign of Empress Wu, continued among the students. The Wen-hsüan must have continued to be popular - it was included among other classics when the
court presented, on request, a few Chinese books to T'u-fan (i.e. Tibet). Kibi no Makibi (693-775), a Japanese student who stayed in China from 718 to 735, was also able to study the Wen-hsüan. The desire to include literature in the curriculum was so strong that in 750 the Kuang-wen College (Kuang-wen-kuan) was especially established for those preparing for the chin-shih examination.

This increased interest in literature corresponded with a decreasing interest in the classics. Perhaps because the passages for the examination were shorter, students preferred to study the Book of Rites rather than the other classics. In 721 there were so few people studying the Rites and Rituals, the Rites of Chou, and the commentaries of Ku-liang and Kung-yang that the standard in passing these examinations had to be lowered. Still the situation did not improve, for in 738 further encouragement had to be given by granting special favours during official appointment to those studying these classics.

Since only about one hundred degrees were conferred each year, however, even if all the degrees were granted to the students, a majority of them would remain non-degree holders. As pointed out in a memorial by the Chancellor of the University in 729, students continued to face competition in government employment from the liu-wai officials.
It was urged that the government should allocate more opportunities to the students so that they could enter the civil service more easily. Although the proposal seems to have been accepted, there was no sign of improvement. Some students probably would stay for a longer period in the University until they attained a degree; others might try other means to enter government.

One of the more popular ways of advancement seems to have been seeking the patronage of court officials. Since the conduct of the candidates was taken into consideration in the examination, the possession of a good reputation would certainly have been advantageous. Many candidates therefore did not hesitate to seek the recommendation of influential personalities. Wang Wei (700-60), for instance, is supposed to have obtained his degree with the assistance of a princess, whereas Li Po (701-62) was not successful because he never had the support of any celebrities in the court.

It is not surprising therefore to find that in the second half of Hsüan-tsung's reign, cliques were often formed among students. Each clique would be associated with certain powerful people and a state of rivalry existed between them. It has been pointed out that "associations" were a major feature in the history of the T'ang dynasty.
and many of them probably originated in the University. The long and close relationship between Li Hua (c.710-c. 67), Hsiao Ying-shih (706-58), and many others, for instance, could be traced back to the days when they were together in the University. It is known that different factions called "p'eng" were formed among the students. The scarcity of material makes it difficult to go into the question more deeply, but it was not impossible that the University became the ground for "proxy factionalism" at the end of Hsüan-tsung's reign.

Signs of disintegration

If the tendency to form cliques characterised the students of the University in this period, it was only one result of a discipline which had gradually become lax. Thus when a professor expressed his enthusiasm for education by whipping his students, far from accepting this with traditional submissiveness, the students reacted by not only bringing slanders against their teacher but also assaulting on him in the street one night. In another case, personal grievance motivated a chin-shih, whether a student or not is unknown, to ridicule a poem of the examiner in the civil service examination. The result was that an official of a higher rank from the Ministry of Rites had to be appointed examiner in order to increase authority over the students.
The formation of cliques and the lax discipline in the University certainly affected the performance of students. In 739 it was pointed out that many students in the Hung-wen Academy and the Ch'ung-wen Academy did not study seriously and passed their examinations only by status. One official lamented that the sons of the upper class often spent much of their time in drinking, eating, and gallivanting rather than in improving themselves. In fact, a number of officials can be found coming from noble families who were "unlearned". In these circumstances, it is perhaps not too surprising that the students did not take a very serious attitude towards study. Thus Feng Yen, a student of the University in this period, expresses a somewhat contemptuous attitude towards his fellow students in his account of the University. Wei Ying-wu (763-?) and Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing (710-85?), two well-known poets who had also been students in this period, seem to have gained little scholarship during their days in the University - the former only started to study seriously after the An Lu-shan rebellion of 755, and the latter obtained his degree by studying in probably a temple.

The decline of standards among the students went parallel with a breakdown of Hsüan-tsung's rule. When the aged Emperor entrusted state affairs to his favourites, the
process of official recruitment once more became a farce. One official had to give way to the pressure of Yang Kuochung, brother of the Emperor's favourite concubine, and grant a chin-shih degree to his son who failed the examination. The selection procedure, which usually took weeks to finish, was completed in one day and was not held in the government office but in Yang's own residence. Although the Kuang-wen College was established, it was soon destroyed in a rainstorm and left unattended for a long time because of the dereliction of the officials.

If the value of University education was not gradually depreciating, it was certainly being questioned. In 744 it was decreed that all provincial candidates for the civil service examination should first attend government schools. One reason given was that the provincial candidates were distracted from their studies by the prosperous city-life of the capital once they were sent to Ch'ang-an. However, another reason was probably that, because of competition and corruption, University education was becoming much less an effective means in entering government service. The school system was once more in crisis at the end of Hsüan-tsung's reign.
The College of Taoist Learning

If the government school system was declining, its basic ideology, Confucianism, was also undermined in the later years of Hsüan-tsung. The cosmopolitanism of Ch'ang-an welcomed the co-existence of many foreign religions, though their impact was never as strong as that of the indigenous ones. Buddhism had become much sinicized and attracted a large number of followers. Hsüan-tsung was careful to keep the power of the Buddhist group well under control in his early years but, as one of the intelligentsia, he was nevertheless gradually intrigued by it, and even wrote a commentary for the Diamond Sutra in 736. 57

It was Taoism, however, that had the overwhelming influence in the second half of the Emperor's reign. The Emperor had always shown a respect for Taoism. When a Taoist priest died in 721, for instance, great posthumous honours were granted. The interest of the Emperor in Taoism was further deepened when one of the scholars in the Chi-hsien Academy, Ch'en Hsi-lieh, gave lectures on the Lao-tzu in the palace in 730. The Emperor was so impressed that he ordered every family to possess a copy of the Lao-tzu in 732. In 736 he even wrote a commentary for the Lao-tzu and included it in the civil service examination to replace the Analects and the Book of Documents. In the next year, he personally examined the candidates on the Lao-tzu. 58
The most significant development, however, came in 741 when the College of Taoist Learning (Ch'ung-hsüan-hsüeh) was set up in the capital and the prefectures to study the Lao-tzu, Chuang-tzu, Lieh-tzu, and Wen-tzu.\(^{59}\) In the following years, Taoist priests were appointed as Fellows in the Chi-hsien Academy, regular posts were established in the College of Taoist Learning, the Lao-tzu became a Major Classics, the Keng-sang-tzu was included in the syllabus of the examination, and honorific titles were given to the Taoist sages.\(^{60}\) The vogue for Taoism continued until the end of the reign when a second Imperial Commentary on the Lao-tzu was written. Some difficulties seem to have been encountered in the development of Taoist learning. The Taoist classics were not always available, especially in the provincial areas to which copies had to be sent specially from the capital. Moreover, the part for the Taoist Studies in the civil service examination seems to have been too difficult for the candidates at first, and had to be made easier later.\(^{61}\)

Despite these difficulties, the establishment of a College of Taoist Learning was not without significance. Schools of Taoist Learning already existed in the Southern Dynasties and the study of the Lao-tzu was first introduced by Kao-tsun in the T'ang, but never before had Taoism achieved such an important position in the government school system in Chinese history. Although the scale of the College
was smaller than the Colleges for the classics, the ranking of the staff and the admission requirement for students indicate that its status was equal. Many educated people of the time, professors and students in the University included, were acquainted with Taoism from their private studies, and their number would certainly have increased with the imperial patronage and the founding of the College of Taoist Learning. Knowledge of Confucian ideas was no longer essential to qualify for becoming an official. The Lao-tzu was to be treasured as much as the Book of Filial Piety. Theoretically, if not always in practice, Taoism and Confucianism were on an even basis.

2.25 Summary

If expansion of the bureaucracy was the impetus behind the development of the school system in the early T'ang, paradoxically it became the negative force leading to a crisis of the school system in the later years of Kao-tsung until the time of Jui-tsung. The endeavour by the Empresses Wu and Wei to consolidate their political power resulted in an unrestricted expansion of the bureaucracy, and naturally allowed room for nepotism, corruption, and malpractices. Changing circumstances encouraged the students to distinguish themselves in literature, to face a keen and
at times unfair competition, and to become unscrupulous "office hunters" rather than devout Confucian followers. The death of the Empress Wu made way for restoration of the old order, but the repercussions of her rule and the political conditions limited its success.

The accession of Hsüan-tsung brought back stability to the political scene and consequently there was a revival of the school system in his early years. Stability enabled the spread of education in the form of both government and private schools in the provinces, but also encouraged competition in entry to an already saturated bureaucracy. Literature was increasingly emphasized in the civil service examination which became gradually more important and popular. Students had to resort to means other than academic excellence in order to obtain a degree and consequently government employment. Confucianism also lost its appeal at a time of social and political stability, and the syllabus of the examination was widened to include the unorthodox Taoist teaching. While the school system established at the beginning of the dynasty was a means of centralization, centrifugal forces gradually appeared in the later half of Hsüan-tsung's reign, foreshadowing ominously the disintegration of the system.
2.3 Decline

The An Lu-shan rebellion of 755 is often considered as the turning point in the history of the T'ang dynasty. The outbreak of war ended a long period of stability, bringing chaos and destruction to every aspect of society. When the army of An rode into the capital, only few students remained. The school buildings were deserted and in many cases taken over by the soldiers. The activities of the University virtually stopped until 760 when the Libation Ceremony was performed for the first time since the rebellion.¹ The situation did not really return to normal until 766 when the school buildings were reconstructed and a student body was formed by gathering the sons of the prime ministers and generals.² The repressive policy of the government towards the provincial garrisons, however, sparked another mutiny in 783 when the capital was once again occupied by a rebel army. It was apparent that the glorious days of the T'ang were gone forever.
2.31 Reduction in Scale

The most obvious feature of the school system after the An Lu-shan rebellion until the end of the dynasty was the great decrease in the number of students. The new student body of 766 comprised about three hundred students. At one stage during the reign of Tsetsung (780-804), it seems that the professional schools did not exist at all. Even after an expansion of the University in 807 under the relatively enlightened Emperor Hsien-tsung (r. 806-20), there were only five hundred and fifty students in Ch'ang-an and one hundred students in Lo-yang, a sharp contrast with the reigns of Hsüan-tsung and T'ai-tsung.

This reduction in scale was an inevitable result of the political situation of the time. The administrative structure of the provincial government had already undergone modifications with the introduction of the chieh-tu-shih or military governor before the An Lu-shan rebellion. The suppression of the rebellion, with the assistance of the provincial armies, brought about the creation of more military governor-
ships. The importance of these men is demonstrated by the fact that it was only by allowing them to retain control of their territories that the government of Te-tsung could re-establish peace. Population figures indicate that the government gradually lost its ability to control its subjects. While the population registered in the reign of Hsüan-tsung was about nine million, that in the reign of Hsien-tsung dropped to around two and a half million.

One result of this weakened control of the central government was the smaller demand for officials appointed to the provinces. The northeast region remained more or less autonomous until the end of the dynasty. Other military governors, although usually submissive, very often appointed their own officials before notifying the central government. The Ministry of Personnel slowly lost its power to assign people to posts of the sixth rank and below, which comprised the major part of the bureaucracy. In addition, the disintegration of the old land tax and registration systems led to the appointment of special Commissioners to deal with financial matters. They were often given extensive powers including that of choosing their own sub-
ordinates as it was thought they were in the best position to pick out men with suitable aptitude for the different posts. This gradually gave way to the revival of the p'ie-chao system or appointment by personal recommendation. Furthermore, the powers of local magistrates often overlapped with and thus weakened those of the Commissioners. The end of the T'ang dynasty also witnessed the rise of a new group which gradually gained official position through their strong local influences. Thus the process of civil service recruitment in the second half of the T'ang dynasty was greatly undermined by decentralization of power, and there was less need for training officials and consequently a decrease in the size of the University.

2.32 Financial Difficulties

A natural result of the loss of control over many regions was the loss of revenue. When the University was rebuilt in 766, old construction material had to be used and the expenses were borne by a eunuch. The fund required for maintaining the University, paying the staff members, and supporting the students must have been large. Financial difficulties were probably one reason why the University had to be reduced in scale. At the end of Hsien-tsung's reign when, as mentioned above, there were only five hundred
odd students, it was still necessary to draw upon the salaries of the civil servants and commissioners to maintain the University. This practice seems to have continued for some years. The tight financial situation of the University is best revealed in the disputes among students over the allocation of grants and hall of residence at the beginning of the ninth century.

Despite the financial difficulties encountered by the government, the bureaucracy remained larger than necessary. It was pointed out by one official that salaries for government servants were the second largest item in government expenditure. The existence of an over-expanded bureaucracy was also found in the University. At a time when there were only about five hundred students, there were thirty-six staff members. Many of them were not highly regarded because they were promoted by mere seniority without adequate knowledge to teach. When Han Yu (768-824), one of the professors, tried to bring back respect to the teaching profession by writing "On Teachers" (shih-shuo), he was only ridiculed by his contemporaries. The low standing of the professors came also partly from the tiny emoluments which, as expressed explicitly in some of Han Yu's writings, could hardly provide a decent living. Although a suggestion to increase the income of the staff members
was made at the end of Tai-tsung's reign (762-79), it was not implemented. In Ching-tsung's reign (825-6), teaching in the University became so easy when knowledge of only one classic was considered qualified for appointment as a professor. At the same time, the professorships for the Analects and other Minor Classics were also abolished probably as a result of further economic difficulties. In 836 the government was even unable to provide land as wage to the professors, and their salaries had to be paid by the Imperial House.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that there was a scarcity of qualified instructors. It is said that the learned were ashamed to be associated with members of the University. Good teachers were so scarce that when a vice-chancellor of the University, who succeeded in changing the behaviour of his students despite their notoriety, was transferred to a provincial post, the students tried to retain him by sending a petition to the court. The effort, however, was in vain. The transference of the vice-chancellor in fact led one of his students to commit suicide. In order to fill the vacant post, the students then proposed that an outstanding graduate should be appointed as a lecturer, but this proposal was also turned down.

2.33Changing composition of the students

If the professors in the University were not highly
regarded, the reputation of their students was not much better. The famous man of letters Liu Tsung-yüan (773-819) was dissuaded from attending the University in his adolescence and dared not even look at the building when he passed by. The students continued to form groups, and they "insulted the aged and treated the virtuous with contempt", which made many scions of the nobility turn away from the University.1 The most shocking demeanor of the students, however, was their attempt, ruined by the opposition of one of their own members, to join the rebels when their army rode into the capital in 783.2

This lack of discipline among the students can be explained by a number of reasons. The formation of groups, as discussed above, can be traced back into the time of Hsüan-tsung. Because of the deteriorating quality of instruction, the standard of education must have dropped. There was also a gradual change in the composition of the student body as an indirect result of the An Lu-shan rebellion. On the one hand, many of the big families living in the capital migrated to the relatively peaceful south during or after the rebellion, and the resulting confusion often caused many to lose social status. On the other hand, large landowners in the provinces and those who made a fortune by illegally selling salt or other commodities monopolized by the government gradually became influential.3
This breakdown of the aristocracy was reflected to a certain degree in the student body at the University. The loss of identification as a member of the aristocracy probably caused many, whether they were really from families of the third rank or above, to counterfeit their identity in order to enter the Hung-wen Academy and Ch'ung-wen Academy. This seems to have been a regular practice as students were warned repeatedly against the use of counterfeit identification in 790, 825, and 833. In 844, the number of students to be enrolled in the two Academies was greatly reduced, and it has been suggested this was perhaps a measure to allow less room for counterfeit by applicants.

The use of counterfeit identities, however, was not limited to the two Academies. In a memorial presented by Han Yü in 803 when he was a professor in the Four Gate College, he mentioned that among the students, there were some who were from families of merchants and industrialists. It is unknown how these people were able to enroll at the University since they were forbidden to enter the civil service, and one possible explanation is the employment of counterfeit identification.

It is noteworthy that while Han Yü maintained that the admission requirement of the National College should remain as stated in the code as found in the T'ang-liu-tien
or the Six Canons of the T'ang, he also suggested that the Grand College should be open to the sons of officials of an eighth rank or above, and that the Four Gate College should admit students who were not from families of an official background. It is not known whether the proposal was accepted, but his suggestions undoubtedly reveal the influence of a newly emerging class and the necessity to compromise with them. In view of the fact that students who received grants from the government still needed a considerable sum of money for their private expenses during the period of study, it was perhaps advisable for the government to widen the gate of education and accept those who could afford the time and money required to attend the University. In fact it was decreed in 845 that people from official families and even those who stayed in the capital temporarily for the taking of the civil service examination were allowed to attend the University. The fact that the edict makes no mention of social status for the latter suggests that Han Yu's proposal had been at least partly accepted. With their strong financial background, the sons of merchants and industrialists would probably be able to pursue their studies even without the support from government. Indeed, it seems that there was an increasing number of people from merchant families, the best known being Huang Ch'ao (?-884)
who sat unsuccessfully for the civil service examination at the end of the dynasty.9

The inclusion of people from outside the aristocratic class who did not receive strict family education as did the aristocrats may partly explains the demoralization of students in the University. Having a stand-in to take the examinations seems to have been a common practice at the time.10 In 822 the disputes over halls of residence and grants among students went so far as to necessitate the employment of a master in each of the residential halls.11 In 831 it was urged that the regulations set down in the Six Canons of the T'ang should be followed more strictly.12 Indeed, their existence gave an excuse for the scions of the aristocratic families not to attend the University as they were ashamed to mix with people of inferior origins.13

2.34 The Civil Service Examination

Surprisingly enough, while the school system was in decline, the civil service examination became such an important event that a set of terms was coined for the various practices of the institution.1 Even during the An Lu-shan rebellion, the examination continued to be held every year. Its prestige was heightened by a number of new developments. Important officials, sometimes including the
Secretary of the Department of Imperial Secretariat (chung-shu she-jen), were now assigned to the post of examiner. After the examination the new degree holders went to pay their respects to senior officials including the prime minister. Celebration feasts were held, each given a different name and lasting for days. Very often the Emperor would attend these gatherings at which the new degree holders would display their literary talent by composing poems in response to those of the examiner or other officials.

Although the kinds of degrees were gradually increased to include the K'ai-yüan-li, san-chuan, san-li, and san-shih, the chin-shih continued to be the most popular. The possession of a chin-shih degree was almost a basic requirement for those seeking high office - one hundred and seventy-three out of two hundred and fifty-two prime ministers after the An Lu-shan rebellion till the end of the dynasty were chin-shih degree holders. The big families of Shantung, who had preferred to enter government by hereditary privilege, joined the other candidates in competing in the examination actively and compiled their results into records called teng-k'o-ohi. The acquisition of a chin-shih degree became a popular ambition, and formed one of the many themes of the current literature.

Because of the reduction in size of the bureaucracy
as a result of the weakened government, however, even the possession of a *chin-shih* degree was not a guarantee of an official post. The keen competition and perhaps the mistrust of the examination as a means of selecting officials led some examiners to place heavy reliance upon the recommendation of assistants. The tendency to seek the patronage of influential officials, which first appeared in the reign of Hsüan-tsung, became stronger. These officials would sometimes be appointed examiner, and there were cases in which the examiner would pass his private students in open examinations. The inactivity of the University after the rebellions also led some to study, in name if not in practice, under famous scholar-officials. A strong bond thus gradually developed between the officials and their disciples, and also among the disciples themselves. The relationship between the patron and protégé was sometimes considered to be praiseworthy when it was based on intellectual admiration and when the official remained impartial in choosing his candidates. However, it certainly also facilitated the expansion of a political support base when factional struggle or *p'eng-tang* emerged. The giving of favours by examiners became regarded as a kind of political investment, and in return candidates would try to curry favour with an examiner in order to climb the social
ladder. It may be controversial to classify the political factions in the second half of the T'ang dynasty according to their possession of the chin-shih degree, but is certainly true that many of those involved were bound together by a 'classmate relationship'. Niu Seng-ju (779-847), Li Tsung-min (7??-8??) and Yang Sau-fu (774-848), the main personalities in the Niu faction, for instance, were 'classmates' as they all received their degrees in the same year.

The scarcity of material makes it impossible to check if those involved in the factional struggles had enrolled in the University, and so it is impossible to accept or reject the hypothesis that the University had been employed by those involved as a means to extend their power. Yet figures in 645 show that only six percent of the candidates for the chin-shih degree examination came from the University, and so it seems unlikely that any of the factions would have its origins there. However, the long years of power struggle certainly affected the University adversely, as many staff members were involved. When Li Chung-min, the leader of one faction, was exiled to become a provincial in 804, Kao Chung, one of his followers and Chancellor of the University at the time, was also reassigned to another post. It seems that the Chancellorship remained vacant for three months, until Cheng T'an, a member of the other fac-
tion, took up the post. When Li Chung-min regained his position in 839, however, it was Cheng this time who was removed from the post.\textsuperscript{15} This was not an isolated case but one among many.\textsuperscript{16}

Imperial patronage once enjoyed by the University as a whole was now restricted to the examination system. Te-tsung, himself a poet who often composed poems for his officials when they left for provincial posts, selected the candidates personally.\textsuperscript{17} Wen-tsung (r.827-40) was so fond of poetry that he even had the idea of establishing seventy-two positions for poets in the government.\textsuperscript{18} The Emperor who took the keenest interest in the examination, however, was Hsüan-tsung (r.847-59). He not only set questions for the candidates himself but also included his own name among the many chin-shih whose names he had inscribed on the pillars of the palace.\textsuperscript{19}

The examination system certainly provided a channel for many who otherwise could not have become officials. Yet, whether it was an absolutely fair competition is certainly questionable. There were many cases of corruption, following which candidates were required to be re-examined, and sometimes were even deprived of their degrees.\textsuperscript{20} A large part of the vocabulary on the civil service examination was in fact concerned with various forms of malpractice,
including bribery, slandering other candidates, bringing books into the examination hall, etc.\textsuperscript{21} While those who received their degrees with the support of eunuchs, who were becoming influential politically at this time,\textsuperscript{22} were called the 'virtuous',\textsuperscript{23} one brilliant candidate was denied a degree because of his criticism of the eunuchs.\textsuperscript{24} It seems as if the defects of the nine-rank grading system, which the civil service examination should have rectified, were emerging once more.

2.35 Attempts of Revival

The government in the second half of the T'ang dynasty was not unaware of the fact that the position of the school system was weakened by the examination, and that both institutions did not serve the interests of the state in recruiting the best people for the administration. As early as in 763, Yang Wan, vice-minister of the Ministry of Rites (\textit{li-pu shih-lang}) which was now in charge of the civil service examination, stated in a memorial that the \textit{chin-shih} degree examination should be abolished because it had brought about declining moral standards and the neglect of Confucian studies. He contended that the recommendation system of the Han should be adopted in which personal conduct instead of literary ability should be emphasized. His sug-
gestion aroused further discussions among other officials. One added that in view of the migration after the An Lu-shan rebellion, the University should be revived by decentralization. Professors should be sent to the provinces so that those who had left the capital would have an opportunity of receiving education.

The people most concerned about state education were of course those associated with the University. Kuei Ch'ung-ching, a vice chancellor of the University in the later 760s, proposed a thorough reform program for the school system. He contended that more qualified people should be recruited to replace the present staff and, at the same time, their status and emoluments should be improved. Scholarship and discipline must be stressed by closer contact between the teachers and students. The classics should remain the main part of the examination, and equal treatment was to be given to holders of the ming-ching and chin-shih. Students whose results were unsatisfactory would be demoted to a college with a lower status. In the reign of Wen-tsung, the idea of abolishing the chin-shih examination was once more proposed by Cheng T'an, the Chancellor of the University at the time.

All these attempts to reform the schools, however, were abortive. The plan for decentralizing the school system
could hardly be realized when the government was facing tremendous financial difficulties. The proposal to abolish the *chin-shih* examination encountered strong opposition from officials in the Han-lin Academy. Kuei Ch'ung-ch'ing's suggestion of dismissing all the present staff members resulted in a plot to transfer Kuei to a provincial post. Nor was the proposal of Chang T'an in Wen-tsung's time accepted.

The failure of the reforms was perhaps inevitable, and even had the reforms been enforced, the school system would probably still have remained much the same. It might be noted that few of the ideas expressed in the attempts to revive the school system were innovative, most merely aiming at the restoration of the old order. The professors of classics in the provincial school had their titles changed to professors of literature in the reign of Tai-tsung, yet the classics remained the main body of the curricula in the University despite the popularity of literature and the importance of the *chin-shih* examination. This is best illustrated by the engravement of a new edition of the classics under the supervision of Cheng T'an.

The University in the later half of the dynasty no longer produced *chin-shih* in as large numbers as it had done before the An Lu-shan rebellion. In 833 it was decreed that only students from the University were permitted to take
the *ming-ching* and *chin-shih* examinations. But the decree seems not to have been implemented, for figures in 845 shows that while students from the University constituted about thirty per cent of the *ming-ching* candidates, they constituted only six per cent of the *chin-shih* candidates. One *chin-shih* at the end of the dynasty made the observation that few students from the University were able to pass the *chin-shih* examination after the time of Te-tsung.

Students from the Kuang-wen College, specially established for the *chin-shih* examination, probably had the best results. They were able to gain a place at the end of the eighth century, though their results worsened. At the end of the ninth century, even students of the Kuang-wen College found their names at the end of the list of successful candidates, indicating their declining ranking in the examination.

If the school system could not produce *chin-shih*, it is perhaps not surprising that the *chin-shih* were not interested in the revival of the school system. It is interesting to note that both Kuei Ch'ung-ching and Cheng T'an, who strongly advocated the study of the classics in the University and the abolition of the civil service examination respectively, were not *chin-shih* themselves. Although most of the people who became Chancellor of the University after Kuei and before Cheng were *chin-shih* degree holders,
few of them ever attempted any serious effort to improve the University. Han Yü did leave us writings about his concern about government education, yet it seems that no concrete improvements were made at the University when he was a member of the staff.\textsuperscript{12} What concerned the \textit{chin-shih} more was the civil service examination. Officials in the Han-lin Academy who opposed the abolition of the \textit{chin-shih} examination were mostly \textit{chin-shih} holders themselves.\textsuperscript{13} They argued that the \textit{chin-shih} examination had a long tradition and therefore should not be abolished. Even if many of the \textit{chin-shih} had come from the University, it is obvious that the degree examination was more important to them than the University.

\textbf{2.36 Decline of Confucianism}

If the prestige once enjoyed by the school system was now shared by the \textit{chin-shih} degree examination, the prestige once enjoyed by Confucianism was also now shared by Buddhism and Taoism. The popularity of Buddhism in China was vividly depicted by the Japanese monk Ennin.\textsuperscript{1} Though no School of Buddhist Studies was ever established, it might be noted that many of the staff members of the University were closely associated with Buddhist activities. Some studied Buddhism,\textsuperscript{2} some had once been monks,\textsuperscript{3} and some took part in the translation of Buddhist sutras.\textsuperscript{4} While the Colleges for the classics experienced a decline in numbers,
the College of Taoist Studies seems to have remained important with a quota of a hundred students in 768. Not much is known of the College afterwards, but Taoism certainly continued to enjoy a degree of imperial patronage under Emperors such as Wu-tsung (r. 841-6). When Buddhism was being persecuted in 845, staff members of the University as well as degree holders in the civil service examination were ordered to follow Taoism. In Ching-tsung's reign, special honours were bestowed upon a professor in the College of Taoist Studies.

There were indeed some efforts to revive Confucianism, as in the ku-wen movement headed by Han Yu and others. Yet the necessity to revive Confucianism only reveals the decline of its ideas. The descendants of Confucius were indeed given the title wen-hsüan-wang by Te-tsung and Hsien-tsung, and granted silk by Mu-tsung (r. 821-4), yet Confucianism was no longer cherished as it had been in the earlier part of the dynasty. When Te-tsung celebrated his birthday, debates were held between Buddhist and Taoist priests, with Confucian scholars only holding subsidiary positions. The Libation Ceremony received only lip service. A eunuch was given the privilege of lecturing at the Ceremony from 766 to 768 when the University was re-established. No lectures were given from 770 to 782. In 799, it was decided
that the rituals of the Ceremony were too complicated and should be simplified. From 814 onwards, candidates for the civil service examination and officials were no longer required to attend the Ceremony,\textsuperscript{11} signifying a loss of importance for the University where the Ceremony was always held.

2.37 Widespread of Education

The popularity of Taoism and Buddhism also undermined the role of traditional government education, not only by diverting intellectual interests from Confucian studies but also by providing an alternative physical ground for education. It was part of the Buddhist evangelical activity to enlighten the masses, and the religion possessed abundant resources to achieve this goal. The large estates owned by Buddhist organizations often provided an excellent physical environment. Connection with the temples also meant economic security for the people since they would not only be exempted from taxes and corvée labour, they could also obtain free food and lodging.\textsuperscript{1} In addition, many of the temples had large collection of books, with priests well-educated in Buddhism as well as Confucianism.

Evidence from Tunhuang shows that not only Buddhist scriptures but other texts were taught in Buddhist temples. Indeed a large variety of subjects were offered, including general etiquette, writing, translation, corres-
pondence, geography, history, and others. Classes were conducted by learned monks, some of whom in fact were professors in government schools at the same time. This kind of education was probably not limited to Tunhuang. A suggestion made, though not adopted in 788, that all temples in the capital territory should be transformed into schools reveals that the temples at that time must have been playing an important role in education.

The greater emphasis on alchemic practices and the smaller number of Taoist texts perhaps explain the less active role Taoism played in popular education. Nevertheless, many Taoist monasteries also offered places for people who wanted to pursue their interest in learning. A large number of people gathered in groups and studied in Buddhist or Taoist temples, many of which were located on famous mountains. These mountains became so important that the University of the Later T'ang dynasty (923-34) was situated in one of them, and four of the five largest private colleges or shu-yilan of the Sung dynasty (960-1278) had in fact been formed in embryo in the T'ang.

A noteworthy point about those studying at these religious institutions is that many of them were not, nor were they required to become, followers of the Buddhist or Taoist faith. It seems, judging from the evidence from Tunhuang,
that their motive for obtaining an education was to become an official. No special economic or social status was required for studying in the temples - even the poor could stay if they were willing to do some manual labour. On the other hand, the solemn atmosphere of the religious groups and the absence of distractions undoubtedly preserved a disciplined life. This free education thus furnished a pool of candidates for the civil service examination with equal if not better training than those in the government schools. Perhaps it is not surprising that many candidates failing in the examination would choose to stay in temples to wait for the next examination, and that among those who studied with Buddhist and Taoist monks were famous men of letters, prominent officials, and prime ministers among others.

Not much is known about the provincial schools in the later half of the T'ang dynasty. Some of the schools must have been deserted after the An Lu-shan rebellion. One reason was, according to one official, the inappropriate allocation of financial resources - if only part of the money spent on the Libation Ceremony could be spent directly on state education, then not only the provincial government schools but the University in the capital as well would greatly prosper. Whether the observance of the Libation Ceremony was more important throughout the country than the
teaching of the classics is questionable, for the situation probably differed from time to time and from place to place. Arabs who went to China in the mid-ninth century were greatly astonished at the widespread government schools in China. A Japanese monk was also fascinated by the easy access to education of the masses. Biographies of some of the governor-commissioners (shih) also show that schools were built under their auspices.

Whatever the importance of the provincial government schools, it is evident that education became more widespread in the second half of the T'ang dynasty. The breakdown of many big families after the wars compelled some to sell their collections of books or exchange their knowledge for a living. Private schools, already increasing during the reign of Hsüan-tsung, also continued to grow. Their sizes probably varied but some of them had as many as five hundred students at a time. The increasing spread of education is also reflected in the development of a vernacular literature at this time, the best known example being the poetry of Po Chü-i (772-846). The fact that his poems were being printed and sold indicates the demand of an increasingly literate population. It is perhaps not an exaggerated claim that even women and children could understand Po's poems — evidence from Tunhuang shows that even girls
received a certain degree of education, and many officials were in fact much indebted to their mothers for their elementary education.

2.38 Summary

The An Lu-shan rebellion marked a watershed in the history of the school system in the T'ang history. The University suffered both physically and socially after the rebellion and was never able to recover. The weakened government control and the consequent financial difficulties, together with a breakdown of the aristocracy and other repercussions of the rebellion, did not provide the necessary political environment or stimulus for the revival of the University. The University gradually played only a secondary role to the civil service examination, which greatly favoured the chin-shih degree holders, and ironically gave an incentive for many to seek education easily available elsewhere. There were efforts to remedy the situation, but the conservatism of the school system limited their success. The further development of Taoism and Buddhism also gradually led to the decline of Confucianism as the dominant ideology, and at the same time played an important role in diffusing education. Neither an important organ for training government officials nor the champion of education, the University no longer enjoyed the prestige it once did at the beginning of the dynasty.
CHAPTER THREE  THE SCHOOL SYSTEM IN NARA AND HEIAN JAPAN

3.1 Establishment

3.11 Impact of Continental Culture

Long before the Nara and Heian periods, the Japanese had had contact with continental culture. It is recorded in Chinese historical records that as early as the first century a leader of one of the tribes in Japan paid tribute to China and received an official seal. Official relations between the two countries continued only intermittently in the centuries which followed but contacts probably also took place on unofficial levels. Because of political instability, a large number of people migrated to Japan from the continent, bringing with them highly advanced technology. The end of the fourth century saw the introduction of the Confucian Analects and other Chinese books into Japan by a scholar from Paekche, one of the states in the Korean peninsula. More scholars went from Paekche to Japan at the beginning of the sixth century and among them were people well-versed in medicine, astronomy, Buddhism, and Chinese classics. However, no record can be found of the establishment of an institution of learning.

After 502, no official contact between China and Japan seems to have taken place until 600 when an embassy
was sent from Japan to China. Little is known about this embassy; it is not even mentioned in the historical records of Japan. Whether it was dispatched only out of an interest in the Buddhist activities in China, or if it was also motivated by political considerations as an indirect result of the unification of China under the Sui in 581 and the subsequent Chinese expedition to Korea in 589, the embassy had great significance in that it provided the Japanese court with first-hand experience of a more advanced culture. It is interesting to note that important changes took place soon afterwards in the Japanese court: a system of twelve ranks for court officials was introduced in 603; the Seventeen Article Constitution was issued in 604; and further embassies were sent to China in 607, 608, 610 and 614.

The embassies undoubtedly served as a catalyst to further internal reforms. Some of the students and monks accompanied embassies witnessed the change of dynasty from Sui to T'ang, a transitional period when old institutions were revised and new ones were set up in China. Equipped with knowledge acquired in China, they returned to Japan bringing with them a desire to transform their own country. Monk Min (?-653) and Takamuko no Genri (?-654), who spent long periods in China, are often credited with inspiring the 645 coup d'état and being the architects behind the Taika Reform that followed.
Min and Takamuko were appointed *kuni no hakase* in the Taika Reform. Since the reform was essentially inspired by Chinese influence, some interpret the term as the Japanese equivalent of the *po-shih*, the professor, in China, consequently claiming that the University was established at the time of the reform. Though the term *kuni no hakase* was never clearly defined in the historical records, it seems to have had a wider meaning than the *po-shih*. Judging from the activities of Min and Takamuko, it is obvious that the *kuni no hakase* could not have been merely an academic post but was one which carried responsibility for giving advice to and consulting with the Emperor on affairs of state.

It is also argued that the University would have been established during the Taika Reform because there was a need to build up a new bureaucracy to replace the obsolete system. However, this argument is based on the overestimation of the significance of the Taika Reform, which many historians now regard as merely a fabrication by the compilers of the *Nihon shoki*. Though this view is not accepted by all, it is generally agreed that the achievement of the Taika Reform was limited. Although it is recorded that eight ministries were established and a hundred officials appointed in the new administration, many of the newly created posts
were actually left vacant for a considerable period.\textsuperscript{17} If there was a reform in 645-6, it was limited to the upper structure of the government, and even there it was not thoroughly carried out. It is highly doubtful whether the University, which formed only part of the Ministry of Ceremonies (shikibushō), could have been formed during the Reform. It is also questionable, if we assume that the purpose of the University was to train officials, to what extent there was such a need.

The first record concerning the establishment of the University is found in the preface to the \textit{Kaifūsō}, a collection of Chinese poems compiled in 751.\textsuperscript{18} Emperor Tenchi (r.662-71) is praised for his enlightened rule which included the setting up of an institution of learning but a precise date is not given. On the other hand, it is recorded in the \textit{Nihon shoki} that in 671 a migrant Korean from Paekche by the Japanese name of Kishitsu Shushi was granted a rank for his post of \textit{Fumuya tsukasa no kami},\textsuperscript{19} apparently the head of an institution of learning. The institution was obviously the forerunner of the University, which reads both \textit{daigakuryō} and \textit{Fumuya tsukasa} in Japanese. It is very likely therefore that the University was first established at the same time Kishitsu was granted his rank, or perhaps the year before.\textsuperscript{20} The term \textit{daigakuryō} first appears in 675,\textsuperscript{21}
but whether the term was used at the time is in doubt because terms used in later periods might have been adopted in writing the history of the Temmu period (672–86). Nevertheless, it is certain that an institution of learning existed, for there is a record of students in 675 and another of a professor (hakase) in 677. Records of the University, however, do not reappear until 689.

What motivated the Japanese to establish the University? Imperial patronage, as suggested by the preface to the *Kaifūsō*, probably played a part. Emperor Tenchi himself, it might be noted, once studied under a China-educated student. Yet the University was perhaps more a product of political development. While the Taika Reform did not create a centralized bureaucracy, as in early Sui or T'ang China, that would justify the establishment of an institution for the training of officials, the desire to transform the country remained after the Reform. Impetus for further changes came again after the war in 663 in which the allied armies of Japan and Paekche were defeated by those of China and Silla. On the one hand, military bases were reinforced and the court was moved as precautionary measures against possible T'ang invasion. On the other hand, despite or indeed because of this defeat, Japan continued to regard China as the model for internal reform. The ranking system was revised, first
in 664, and the resultant again in 671, each bearing a closer resemblance to that of the T'ang than its predecessor in 647. A new central government office, the *daijōkan* or Grand Council of State, was set up, with characteristics more closely imitating the T'ang system than ever before. Perhaps the most significant step taken was the issue of the Ōmi Code (*ōmiryō*) in 668, the first of its kind in Japan. There are still doubts to whether the Code of a comprehensive system or merely comprised a number of individual edicts, but in any case, it was a part of the series of efforts to reorganize the government along Chinese lines. At the same time there was a need to set up an institution for training officials for the new administration. It was in such conditions that the University was established.

### 3.12 The Korean Migrants and a New Administration

Apart from records of students and professors, nothing is known about the University in its first two decades, which seems to suggest that it underwent a period of slow development. It is noteworthy, however, that both the students and the professor we know— the Chancellor (*kami*), a professor in 677, and a group of students in 675— were Koreans from Paekche who fled to Japan after their kingdom was destroyed in 663.
A number of reasons can be given to explain the importance of these Koreans. The fact that Koreans were assigned to the posts of Chancellor and professor of the University is a reflection of their cultural superiority. Korea had a long history of absorbing Chinese civilization. The first institution of learning on the Korean peninsula was established in Koguryŏ as early as in 372. The Paekche Koreans were credited with the introduction of the Analects and other Chinese texts into Japan in the fourth century. Though not recorded in history, some sort of school probably existed in Paekche in the mid-seventh century. Those well-educated Koreans were always respected by the Japanese. Prince Shōtoku, for instance, acquired much of his knowledge from Korean monks.

It is more difficult but not impossible to explain why many of the students in the Japanese University were of Korean origin. The Korean migrants had not only been intermediaries in transmitting Chinese learning but also had proved themselves to be competent administrators. Perhaps because of their knowledge of the Chinese script, early Korean migrants were entrusted the task of recording local histories. As early as the mid-sixth century, they were found to be compiling registration records in some local areas. Many of the students sent by the Japanese government to study in China in the early
seventh century were in fact migrant Koreans. It was in places inhabited mostly by Koreans that the reorganization or provincial areas into new administrative units became first successful in the Taika Reform. If the University was to train new administrators for a government along Chinese lines, it was only natural for the Koreans, whether first or second generation migrants, to be given priority in receiving education.

There is no record of members of the imperial family or sons of high officials entering the University in the seventh century. This is not to suggest that members of the imperial family and high officials did not receive any education. That many of them are well educated is best illustrated by the example of Prince Shōtoku, and is further reflected in the Chinese poems they composed, a few of them still extant in the Kaifūsō. They probably received their education through private tuition from learned monks and others as did Prince Nakano Ōe no Ōji, the later Emperor Tenchi, and Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–69) who studied under Minabuchi (6??–6??). It is unlikely that the University was established primarily for the education of the upper class, for otherwise it could have been established long before 670.

While the University was set up, in all probability,
to train officials for a new administration, it might be noted that the demand for officials was not as great as in China at the beginning of the Sui or the T'ang dynasties. In Japan there was no change of comparable scale at the top of the government in the mid-seventh century. It was more a change in political style and was essentially a gradual one. The enforcement of radical changes in fact accounts partly for the Jinshin Insurrection (Jinshin no ran) of 672. The imitation of the Chinese form of government necessiated a centralization of power, but a more moderate approach and consequently a relatively long period was required to build up the new system. In 673, 676, and 678, regulations for the selection and promotion of officials were announced for the first time. In 684, the Eight Surnames (yakusa no kabane) were granted to officials as a criterion to determine the social status and consequently the official ranking. In 689, the Kiyomihara Code (Kiyomihara-ryō) was inaugurated, signifying a further step towards a new form of government.

One of the most important features of the Chinese form of government was the employment of written language as a means of administration involving large numbers of imperial decrees, official reports, household registers, and other documents. The lack of qualified and literate offi-
cials probably explains the fact that after the first nationwide census was conducted in 670, a second attempt was not made until 689. The name *daigakuryō* appears for the second time in 689 in the *Nihon shoki*. Whether this was a result of the implementation of the Kiyomihara Code, it seems that steps have been taken to reorganize the institution. Titles of the teaching staff suggest that courses in Chinese language and Chinese writing were offered. It is perhaps not coincidental that the new land system, *handen*, and the related tax and corvée systems could first be implemented in the 690s.

The University, however, remained in a rudimentary stage until the end of the seventh century. It was probably centered only in the capital without branches in the provinces, and understandably suffered a loss of students when the court was moved from Asuka Palace to Fujiwara Palace in 694. Although the professor recorded in 677 is said to have been well-versed in the Five Classics, whether the classics were actually taught is questionable: archeological evidence does not indicate any sign of great learning among the Japanese in the second half of the seventh century. Despite its limited impact, the University was nevertheless similar to its counterpart in T'ang China in that it was part of the central government apparatus for training officials.
3.2 Adoption and Adaptation of the Chinese System

During the last decades of the seventh century when there were no official contacts between China and Japan, Korea served once more as the intermediary of Chinese culture. Ten Japanese embassies were sent to Silla whereas twenty-five embassies came from Silla. Unofficial contacts between China and Japan also continued. A number of Buddhist monks in fact were able to undertake pilgrimages to China and a few students were also able to study in China. Migration from the continent to Japan probably also continued to a certain extent, as two Chinese were employed to teach the Chinese language in the Japanese University in 691. Japan was not as ignorant of China as she had been a century before and was much more eager to learn and import the advanced culture of her neighbour. 710 saw the completion of the Taihō Code, which was subsequently amended and implemented in 758 as the Yōrō Code. It was in these two codes that a comprehensive school system appeared for the first time in Japan.

3.2.1 The Taihō Code

Although the Taihō Code is only partially extant today, it is generally agreed that it was very similar to the later Yōrō Code. In the sections concerning the school
system, only minor differences can be found between the two Codes. That the two Codes were heavily indebted to the T'ang Code is obvious, as they not merely followed the T'ang Code in structure but also in wording, sometimes almost verbatim. The T'ang Code we have today, however, was not reconstructed until 1933 and understandably has some imperfections. Moreover, it is based mainly on codes issued in early eighth century China which might have been consulted in the drafting of the Yôrô Code but not the Taihô Code. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that the T'ang Codes of the early eighth century must have largely followed its many predecessors in the seventh century, which the Japanese probably had used as a model when the Taihô Code was drafted. It is necessary, therefore, to examine these Codes closely to see how the Japanese adopted and adapted the Chinese school system.

Structure

Unlike the University in China in which there were six Colleges and Schools, the University in Japan remained one single entity, the daigakuryo. In this it more closely resembles the Silla system which also had only one school. Unfortunately, little is known about the Silla system at the beginning of the eighth century, but it is probably safe to assume that the University there was also at its rudimentary stage. Although the Silla Uni-
versity was established before 682 as officially recorded, there was not a professor of mathematics until 717, and only in 747 were courses taught by professors specializing in each subject. It is perhaps also safe to assume that the Silla school system was also modelled on that of China—students from Silla were sent to China during T'ai-tsung's reign.

Whether the Japanese had immediately imitated the Silla system, the Chinese system was undoubtedly the main source of inspiration in the division of courses within the Japanese University as the majority of the students—four hundred of them—studied the classics. There were also thirty students studying mathematics. The class of mathematics, it might be noted, was equal in size to its counterpart in China. However, in terms of the percentage in the whole student body, it was much larger. There was obviously an emphasis on the skills of calculation, which was perhaps a result of adopting the highly complicated tax system of China. Whereas the system in T'ang China was a modification of the past and therefore large number of experienced administrators were available, the system was novel to the Japanese and thus basic administrative skills like mathematics naturally became important. This might also show the influence of the Korean system in which emphasis,
too, seems to have been placed on mathematics, since the post of professor of mathematics, as already noted above, was created earlier than those of the classics.

**Students**

The articles dealing with admissions requirements for the University in the Taihō Code closely resemble the corresponding part of the T'ang Code in both content and wording. Whereas in China the three Colleges for classics admitted students according to their fathers' or grandfathers' official status by drawing lines between the third, fifth, and seventh ranks, this was simplified in Japan by admitting sons and grandsons of officials of the fifth rank and above, and then those of the sixth to the eighth if there were vacancies. For professional studies, whereas the Chinese gave priority to the sons of people from low rank families before admitting the "commoners", no similar practice can be found in Japan, suggesting that perhaps this distinction did not exist. However it is evident that the Chinese idea that classical education was for those with high status and professional education was for those with low status was followed in general by the Japanese.

There were, however, two differences between China and Japan. First, while Chinese students were between the ages fourteen to nineteen, the Japanese students were between
thirteen and sixteen. Second, the Japanese University admitted, besides the sons of officials, sons of the Yamato-kabuchi no Fumuhitobe clan, a group of migrant Koreans which had been responsible for the handling of secretarial work in the government.\(^{10}\) This indicates the continued importance of the Koreans who had played a significant role in the first decades of the University and serves as further evidence that the University was an institution for the training of administrators.

Staff

Once again, a close resemblance can be found between the staff of the two Universities.\(^{11}\) Though different in nomenclature, the administrative staffs were similar in organization. For the teaching staff, only the professor (hakase) and the assistant professor (suke no hakase) appear in the Taihō Code, but the position of lecturer (ohokukā) was to be found in 728.\(^{12}\)

The ratio of students to staff members, as noted by Taga, was similar in both countries: one instructor was responsible for teaching about one hundred and thirty students in the class of classics.\(^{13}\) In addition, the rankings of the teaching staff reveal, as in China, the relative importance of the different courses.\(^{14}\) Those teaching the classics occupied a superior position: the professor had a senior
lower sixth rank and the assistant professor had a senior lower seventh rank, resembling their counterparts in the Grand College rather than others in the Chinese University. But the emphasis on administrative skills probably gave better positions to those teaching the professional subjects in Japan: while those teaching calligraphy and mathematics in China had junior lower ninth rank, their counterparts in Japan had junior upper seventh rank. In Japan there was also a professor teaching spoken Chinese, who had a ranking analogous to those teaching mathematics and writing.

The Curriculum

The articles on the curriculum in the Taihō Code and Yōrō Code also resemble closely the corresponding parts in the T'ang Code. The classics constituted the basic and main part of the study program. Students were to study the same texts, except the Kung-yang-chuān and the Ku-liang-chuān which were not imported into Japan until 784. There was no difference in the division of the texts into major, middle, and minor classics or in the accompanying commentaries.

The curriculum for students of mathematics shows, however, some Korean influence. While there were twelve texts in the Chinese curriculum, only six were used by the
Japanese, the ones eliminated being the more difficult ones. Three new texts were added, however. Since they were not found in China but were included in the curriculum of the University in Silla, they were probably compiled by Koreans. The Chinese fashion of organizing the courses was also modified by the Japanese. There was no preliminary course, as was found in China, but three instead of two courses were offered in the Taihō Code. This system was further modified in the Yōrō Code by reorganizing the texts to offer four courses, among which the student was to choose one.

In general, although the curriculum followed closely that of its counterpart in China, there were fewer demands on the student. Neat and beautiful handwriting was all that was expected from those studying calligraphy in Japan, for instance, while their counterparts in China had to acquire a background knowledge in Chinese characters as well. Although a student was required to graduate within nine years in Japan, the same as in China, there was no restriction in Japan on the period of a student might spend studying a certain text.

Examinations

As in China, there were two kinds of regular examinations - the ten-day examination and the annual examination. The tebu method, the equivalent of t'ieh in China, was also employed.
Since the Japanese curriculum was less demanding than its Chinese counterpart, the examinations were also relatively easier. In the annual examination for those studying the classics, students in China had to answer correctly six questions out of ten in order to pass, but those in Japan had to answer only four out of eight correctly. For those majoring in writing, students in Japan were given only a practical examination as they were not required to study any textbooks; their counterparts in China, however, had additional t'ieh and oral examinations. In mathematics, Japanese students were asked three questions on the compulsory course. In China, students had to answer correctly nine out of ten questions in the compulsory course and then six out of ten in the elective; they were also expected to do practical calculation as well as to expound theories of mathematics.

Graduates from the University could also take the civil service examination where four kinds of degrees, the shūsai, myōkyō, shinji, and myōbō were offered, following the Chinese equivalents hsiu-ts'ai, ming-ching, chin-shih, and ming-fa. Once again, the Japanese examinations were less demanding than the Chinese: two instead of five essays were required in both the shūsai and shinji examinations; the tebu examination was excluded in the myōkyō and the
the shinji candidates were not required to have an understanding of the classics, but questions were asked on the first half of the Wen-hsüan (J. Monzen) and Erh-ya (J. Jiga), a collection of literary terms in dictionary form.

The inclusion of the Wen-hsüan in the shinji examination is in particular noteworthy. It was probably imported first to Korea and then to Japan in the early sixth century. As noted before, literature was in vogue in T'ang China, especially after Empress Wu was in power. It was probably due to this influence that the Wen-hsüan gradually became popular in Korea. In 686, for instance, a copy of the Wen-hsüan was granted to the Koreans upon their request. Although it had never been part of the University curriculum in China, it was incorporated into the curriculum of the University in Silla. The Wen-hsüan was not only included in the syllabus for the shinji examination, but was also in fact studied by the students in the University in Japan. This may be partly attributed to Korean influence, but it was perhaps also a product of Chinese inspiration. Whichever was the case, this popularity of the Wen-hsüan in the Universities in Korea and Japan is certainly a reflection of the situation in China, indicating that the Wen-hsüan must have been very important for not only the chin-shih degree candidates but probably many of the students as well.
Management

No difference at all can be discerned between China and Japan in the management of their Universities. There were the same three kinds of vacations. Behaviour of the students was under strict regulation. Students were to respect and obey staff members. The Rite of Shu-hsiu (Soku-shu in Japanese) was also practised on entering the University. Libation (sekiden in Japanese) remained the most important ceremony.

Provincial Schools

Perhaps more is known about the provincial schools in Japan than in China. Although priority seems to have been given to the sons of provincial officials in entering government schools in China, it is questionable if the practice was codified. In Japan, however, it was clearly stated in the Codes that sons of gunshi, the officials of the subprefectures (gun), should first be admitted in the provincial schools (kunigaku). There was one school in each province (kuni), and students numbered from twenty to fifty, depending on the size of the province. Although there was no mention on the qualification of the professor in the provincial schools in China, it is recorded in the Japanese Codes that the professor should be recruited from the province if possible. The status of these professors, however, was relatively low compared to their Chinese counterparts, as they received no
ranking at all. 32

On the whole, the University as regulated in the Taiho Code was very similar to that of the T'ang. Priority in admission was given to those from families of high rank and the Confucian classics constituted the major part of the studies. As a consequence of the difference in size of the bureaucracy and thus the demand of officials, the University in Japan was smaller in scale and simpler in organization. Because of the difficulties in using a foreign language as the medium of teaching, a lower standard was set in examinations generally. The more noteworthy difference, however, is that no institution of a higher status such as the Hung-wen Academy or Ch'ung-wen Academy in China was established in Japan. This perhaps reflects the different attitudes towards education of the two peoples. While the Chinese had long cherished scholarship as an essential quality of the ruling class, the Japanese regarded education as a means to acquire the necessary skills for administration. This attitude of the Japanese is best revealed in their emphasis on subjects such as mathematics. This difference can be explained by the fact that Confucian ideas had not been fully understood and accepted by the Japanese. As shown in the enrolment policy and the choice of texts used in the University, the Japanese had been heavily
dependent on the Koreans. It is understandable that much difficulty was encountered in the implementation of the school system according to the Taihō Code.

3.22 The University in the Nara Period

Difficulties

One of the problems encountered by the Japanese was in the use of texts. It has been demonstrated that a number of commentaries for the classics written by Ch'eng Hsüan (127-200) and Tu Yu (222-284) were not quoted at all in *Ryō no Shūge*, a commentary on the Yōrō Code written in the mid-ninth century and loaded with quotations from Chinese classics. On the other hand, commentaries not included in the Taihō Code, such as the Orthodox Interpretations and Expositions on the Classics (*Ch'ing-tien. shih-wen*), both written in the early T'ang, were frequently quoted. This suggests that the commentaries found in the Taihō Code were probably not studied by the Japanese of the ninth century, and probably not in the eighth century either. One possible reason was that the original commentaries were not imported from China, and were replaced by commentaries written in the early T'ang.¹

Not only were all the texts written in Chinese but most, if not all of them, were written by the Chinese and had to be imported from China. This dependence on Chinese
books not only compelled the Japanese intellectual mind to develop along Chinese lines but also impeded the spread of learning in Japan. The importance of books is best revealed in the extraordinary zeal the Japanese envoys displayed in China where they were said to have spent all their money on buying books. The care taken by Kibi no Makibi, a Japanese student who studied in China, in categorizing the books he bought in China has led some to suspect that he did not go merely to study but also to purchase books.

The lack of appropriate teachers for the texts was another problem. The suspension of official relations between Japan and China in the last three decades of the seventh century meant that there were few scholars who had received education in China. Few could claim to have a comprehensive knowledge of China upon which to pattern their studies. Thus at the beginning of the eighth century, many of the teaching staff of the University were of Korean descent. More qualified instructors were available only after the eighth century when some Japanese students were sent to study in China, but their number was not very large. It is not surprising that when Kibi no Makibi returned from China in 735, he had to give lectures on every subject that was taught in the University. Even Chinese people who were not scholars were invited to teach in the University; one, in fact, became
a professor of the Chinese language and subsequently the Chancellor of the University although he studied the Wen-hsüan only after going to Japan.⁶

The shortage of qualified instructors constituted a great obstacle especially in the development of the provincial schools. A wide gap existed between the capital and the provincial areas in both political and cultural terms. When the Taihō Code was promulgated, officials had to be sent to the provinces to give oral explanations.⁷ This gap perhaps explains the difficulties encountered in following one of the provisions in the Taihō Code which states that staff members of the provincial schools should be recruited from the provincial areas. As early as 703, the central government had to appoint students from the University as professors in the provincial schools.⁸ Many of them probably had not graduated when they were assigned their posts, and because of their unsatisfactory performance, it was decreed in 716 that only graduates were allowed to teach in the provinces.⁹ After 723 either because of the small number of graduates or because of their reluctance to be assigned to the provinces, professors were only assigned to provinces where a Commissioner (azechî) was stationed.¹⁰ Although there were sometimes two or three provinces under one Commissioner, the fact that there were only thirteen Commissioners but sixty odd provinces in total indicates
that government schools in many provinces were abandoned. Very likely in many provinces schools had never even been established. In a few cases, students had to attend schools in neighbouring provinces.

This problem of qualified instructors seems to have been somewhat eased in the mid-eighth century. In 757, the qualification of a provincial professor was raised - only graduates well-versed in three classics or the histories could be assigned to such a post. However there was still a gap between the capital and the provincial areas. In 769, for instance, the texts of the histories were still not available in Dzazifu, where the largest provincial school was located. In fact, it was not until 779 that it was decided every province should have its own school.

Nor was the University in the capital as well developed as the model presented in the Taihō Code. It is doubtful if any student received the law degree in the first two decades of the eighth century, for it was only in 728 that the post of professor of law was instituted. Nor did the students enjoy the same prestigious status as did their counterparts in the early T'ang. In 730 the academic results of students were found to be unsatisfactory not because of their indolence but because of their poverty, and additional clothing and stipend were given to a few to en-
courage them in their studies. In 733 two hundred and thirteen students were found to be in a famished condition. They were given rice and salt, but were criticised for their lethargic attitude towards study. Yet the students were not entirely to be blamed. Not until 757 when the University received thirty cho of Public Administrative Land (kugetden) from the government was it guaranteed a steady income for the first time since its establishment. It is understandable that the students had to lead an austere life in the first half of the century.

Composition of the Student Body

The fact that more than half of the students were in poor condition due to lack of food suggests, however, that most of the students could not have been sons and grandsons of high ranking officials, since they would hardly have been allowed to suffer such a distressing experience. Most of the students probably came from low ranking families. The best known student in this period, Kibi no Makibi, for instance, was from a family of the eighth rank. In fact, an admission requirement set up in 730 clearly specified that only students from unranked families were allowed to study law and literature.

The enrolment of large number of students from low ranking families was perhaps partly due to Chinese influence. Although no embassies were sent to China in the last decades
of the seventh century, it is interesting to note that the late seventh century China seems to have been a model for the Japanese to emulate in the first half of the eighth century. It has been pointed out that many of the policies adopted by Empress Wu (r.684-704) in China were followed by Empress Kōmyō (701-60) in Japan who, although never in throne, was an influential figure during the reigns of Shōmu (724-48) and Kōken (748-57). If indeed Empress Wu lowered the admission requirement to enrol students from families of low rank as suggested, it is possible that Empress Kōmyō followed suit.

Assuming the policy of admitting students from low ranking families was adopted by both Empresses, however, the sons of those from high ranking families would still, according to the provision of the Taihō Code, be granted priority in entering the University. Yet, few of them are known. This partly stems from the fact that biographies in the Shoku Nihongi, which covers the period 697-791, are smaller in number and are less detailed if compared to later volumes of the Six Histories (Rikkokushi). A more important reason is that graduates of the University did not play a very important part in politics in this period. It has been suggested that the students might have criticised the policy of the government in 740, but the fact that their opinion had to be expressed in the form of anonymous letters
only shows that they were not in a position to exert any political influence. In fact, except for Kibi no Makibi, none of the prime ministers (daijin) or councillors (nagon) during the Nara period is recorded as having studied at the University.

Education as a Prerequisite to Office

The fact was that the University was not the most important avenue to office. Unlike their counterparts in early T'ang China which had long cherished learning, the ruling class in Japan, with the exception of a few, had not had much education and so understandably did not consider education a pre-requisite to office. The Japanese probably found the concept of hereditary privilege in the Chinese system more familiar and placed it above that of education in the Taihō Code. Indeed, rankings given to the degree-holders were slightly higher than those in China: whereas that granted to the shūsaï was the same as its equivalent in China, that of the myōkyō was two grades and that to the shinji was one grade higher. However, the gaps between the rankings given to those entitled to hereditary privilege were even greater in Japan than in China: the Japanese youth who came from a family of the fourth rank or above, for instance, would receive a rank at least three grades higher than his Chinese counterpart. Thus however incompetent the son or grandson of a high-ranking official might have
been, he was assured of beginning his climb up the bureaucratic ladder from a relatively high rank.

The acquisition of a degree, on the other hand, was much less important in Japan than in China. While those who were entitled to hereditary privilege would receive four additional ranks in China, they would receive one rank in Japan, but even that one rank was not granted until 771. It is perhaps not surprising to find that those who entered the University were not expected to graduate if they came from a family of the fifth rank or above. As long as they reached twenty-one years of age, they would automatically receive a ranking and become a cadet (toneri). This contrasts with the provision in China where only those who were dismissed from the University would be granted a rank according to their own status. This difference was recognized by the Japanese themselves.

The cadet system in Japan in fact originated in China. The original purpose as it was practised in China was to provide an opportunity for those from high official families who had not studied at the University to enter government by rendering military service in the capital for a certain period. It was still possible for them to enter civil service, however, provided they could pass several examinations. When the Japanese borrowed the system, however, they modified it by placing emphasis on rendering
military service - there was no provision which allow the 
cadet to go on to enter civil service. In addition, while 
in China those who entered government under the cadet system 
never exceeded twice the number of student entrants, in 
Japan, the number of cadets was almost seven times that of 
students. As a channel to enter government, the cadet system 
was much more important than the school system in Japan.

Buddhism and Confucianism

The Confucian ideal that officials should be of 
proven scholastic ability was thus not accepted in the Nara 
period. It was a period which witnessed the flourishing 
of Buddhism under the auspices of the court. Temples were 
tuilt in every province; a big Buddhist image was constructed; 
and an institution was specially set up for the copying of 
Buddhist sutras. Nowhere did the Empress Kōmyō follow more 
closely the example of Empress Wu than in the patronage she 
extended to Buddhism. It was a period when Buddhist ideas 
were more cherished than Confucian teaching.

Since it was also from China via Korea that Japan 
borrowed her Buddhism, it can be argued that the popularity 
of Buddhism would have assisted in the spread of Chinese 
culture. Yet the role of Buddhism should not be exaggerated. 
The Japanese monk Gyōki (668-749) indeed attracted a large 
number of followers, but he was much more interested in im­
proving the social welfare of the people than in studying
the sutras. The large scale copying of the sutras certainly helped to disseminate Chinese learning, but the sutras were regarded more as a symbol of divine protection than a subject of learning. Considering the difficulties the government encountered in recruiting people to teach in the provincial areas, the number of people who could understand the sutras was presumably small. In fact, most of the founders of the six Buddhist sects in the Nara Period (Nantorokushū) were migrant Koreans or Chinese.

Despite the fact that Buddhism was much more cherished than Confucianism, the two were not necessarily incompatible. The classics were also copied alongside the Buddhist sutras, although not to the same extent. If Empress Wu in China did not reject Confucianism, neither did her follower Empress Kōmyō in Japan. In fact, one of the texts compiled by Empress Wu emphasizing the importance of Confucian qualities was imported into Japan. Named Maxims of Governing or Wei-ch'eng tien-hsün, this text was made compulsory reading for officials in Japan by Empress Kōmyō. In 757, possibly following the practice of Hsüan-tsung, it was also decreed that every family should possess a copy of the Book of Filial Piety, although it is doubtful how far this was actually implemented.

Confucianism thus slowly gained ground and its impact was gradually felt in education. When Fujiwara no
Nakamaro (706-64), a nephew of Empress Kōmyō, became the prime minister under the auspices of his aunt in 757, a series of reforms was carried out along Confucian lines. Attention was naturally paid to the University. As mentioned already, it was at this time that the financial structure of the University was strengthened by the acquisition of Public Administration Land, and the standard of the professors in the provincial schools was raised. In addition, incentive was also given to the professors in the University by rewarding them one year's additional salary if one of their students was assigned to teach in a provincial school. Although the rule of Fujiwara no Nakamaro was short-lived as he was soon replaced by the Buddhist monk Dōkyō (?-772) and the influence of Buddhism continued to be dominant, the measures he had taken nevertheless signified an increased acceptance of Confucian ideas in Japan.

Literature

While Confucianism and the classics were not widely accepted by the Japanese in the Nara period, literature seems to have enjoyed much popularity. It has been mentioned that the Wen-hsi lan was included in the syllabus of the shinji examination and that it was studied by students in the University. It was quoted widely in the Nihon shoki, the first historical record of the Japanese completed in 720, as well as in many of the examination essays in the early
Relics from the Shōsōin and wooden strips discovered at the location of the Heijō Palace have also shown that the Wen-hsilan enjoyed a popularity perhaps unsurpassed by any other text in the eighth century. This popularity was not without reason. It is difficult to believe that the Chinese classics could easily stimulate the intellectual appetite of the Japanese when they were gradually being discarded by their contemporaries in China. Because of its simplicity and terseness, poetry was perhaps the easiest form of literary Chinese for a foreigner to learn.

However, it was also no coincidence that Chinese poetry gradually became popular in the Nara period after it had been in vogue in China for almost half a century. The envoys, students, and monks who went to China must have been impressed by the popularity of poetry. Many poems were composed for them by the Chinese, officials and emperor alike. The popularity of poetry in China no doubt stimulated the Japanese, whose desire to imitate China probably explains the compilation of the Kaifūsō, the first collection of Chinese poems in Japan, in 751, a decade before the compilation of the Man'yōshū, the first collection of Japanese poems.

It is interesting to note that while contemporary T'ang China gave the Japanese the stimulus to study and
compose poetry, the China of the past also served as a model for the Japanese. The social gatherings held by the Prime Minister Nagaya no Ō (684-729) at which Chinese poems were composed reminds one of the gatherings held by Empress Wu, but they were also similar to the court gatherings held during the Liang (502-56) and the Ch'en (557-87) as seen in the Wen-hsilan. Chinese poems were also composed at the festivals of Gokusui and Tanabata (Ch'U-shui and Ch'i-hei in Chinese respectively), the origins of which could be traced back to the Six Dynasties.

Although the Japanese embassies sent to China in the eighth century increased in both size and frequency, given the state of knowledge of navigation in Japan at the time, the geographical remoteness of China remained a setback in the process of cultural borrowing. By the time the Chinese models were imported and accepted in Japan, they had often gone out of fashion in China. Thus the poems of early eighth century Japan did not have the same traits that characterised China in the same period, but rather, they showed the influence of the poets of the early T'ang and the dynasties before. Chinese culture continued to be imported through Silla and Parhae (Po-hai). The Gokusui Festival was perhaps borrowed via Silla, where the site for the festival remains today. When the relationship between Silla and Japan deteriorated gradually, that between Parhae
and Japan became closer. The music of Parhae was imported in Japan in 749, and reforms carried out by Fujiwara no Nakamaro in the central government were perhaps more influenced by Parhae than by China. The fact that Parhae had its own University and that their envoys were well versed in Chinese poetry also probably had an impact on the Japanese.

Yet the Japanese were not without originality. The most remarkable step taken in the eighth century was the establishment of a literature course in the University in 728. Literature was undoubtedly taught at the University as the Wen-hsiulan was included in the curriculum, but it is doubtful if there was a specialized course in literature as no professor of literature can be traced. China did establish the Kuang-wen College but that was two decades later. Although students specializing in literature only numbered twenty and there was only one professor of a senior lower seventh rank, the same as those teaching the professional subjects, yet the very existence of this specialization signifies the emphasis placed on literature by the Japanese.

3.23 The University in Early Heian

The accession of Emperor Kammu (r. 782-805) marked a new period in Japanese history. The capital was moved twice, first in 787 to Nagaoka, and then in 794 to Heian,
where the central government and the University were to be located for the next four centuries. Extant maps of the Heian capital show that the University buildings were situated in a similar position as its Chinese counterpart, to the south of the palace. Attempts were made by the Emperor to strengthen control over the provinces, especially in the north-east region, to which expeditions were sent. The reign of Kammu also brought about a new stage in the development of the University. For although emperors and empresses before Emperor Kammu are recorded as having attended the Libation Ceremony or as having bestowed awards on the students, none of them had a relationship with the University as close as Emperor Kammu who had been Chancellor when he was a prince. This experience probably gave him a good understanding of the situation inside the University and played a part in shaping the policy he adopted towards the University after becoming Emperor.

Encouragement of Education

Emperor Kammu realized that one of the reasons for the reluctance of people to go to the University was the lack of incentive. In 771 it had been decreed that those who passed the degree examination and who were also entitled to hereditary rights should be given an additional ranking. However, since the rank received by a degree holder was often
lower than that received by hereditary right, no incentive was in fact created. In 794, it was further decreed that additional rank should be given above that received by hereditary right. Moreover, while in the past only the first two grades were considered a pass in the degree examination, in 802, on the recommendation of some members of the staff in the University, the T'ang example was followed by which the top four grades would be considered as a pass.  

This policy of encouragement of education by Emperor was continued by his successors. Compulsory education for the elite was introduced in 806 under Emperor Heijo (806-9): sons and grandsons of officials of the fifth rank up to the age of ten were to enter the University; even those who decided to enter the government by hereditary privilege and become a cadet should first study at the University, though graduation was not required. The decree did not seem to have much effect, however, and an edict was later promulgated in 824 that education was compulsory for those young men from families of the fifth rank and above. In the edict, the age of enrolment was extended up to the age of twenty at the same time.

The Emperor also realized that the University needed more financial resources. The situation of the staff members in the University was improved in 791 by having the amount of land they received increased. Furthermore, in 794 a
hundred and two chō of Scholarship Land (kangakuden) were added to the holdings of the University. By the mid-830s, the amount of land had increased almost six times from the holdings of the mid-eighth century. In addition, rice seed and money were lent to the peasants under the forced loan system suiko and the interest derived was used for the maintenance of the University.

The Popularity of Literature

The encouragement of education corresponded to the growing popularity of literature. From the second half of the eighth century onwards, there were signs that literature was becoming more and more important. Although it was decreed in 728 that the professor of literature held only the senior lower seventh rank, in fact, one such professor held the junior lower fifth rank in 769. In 772 the Chancellor of the University held at the same time the professorship of literature, and kept the post until 785 when he ranked a junior lower fourth. It was not until 821, however, that the rank of the professor of literature was elevated to junior lower fifth, the highest ranked teaching post in the University, surpassing even that of the professor of the classics. In a sense, the development of the study of literature was at the expense of the classics. In 808, one lectureship for the study of the classics was eliminated in order to set up a professorship of history (kidēn no hakase). However,
in 834 that post was replaced again, this time by another professorship of literature. There were now two professors of literature, each responsible for only ten students.15

The popularity of Chinese literature at the beginning of the ninth century is best reflected in the compilation of three collections of Chinese poems, the Ryōnunshū, the Bunka shūreišhū, and the Keikokushū in 814, 818, and 827 respectively under the auspices of Emperors Saga (r.810-22) and Junna (r.823-33). Although the decree in 730 limited the study of literature to only students from unranked families, it is interesting to note that most of the poets whose compositions appear in the three collections were of the fifth to eighth ranks.16 In fact, record of all students who are known to have studied literature in the reigns of Kammu, Heijo, and Saga, were not from unranked families.17 This does not necessarily mean that there were no students from ranked families. Yet it indicates that there was a definite interest in literature on the part of the ranked officials. The violation of the decree in 730 also suggests that they were allowed to pursue this interest. While most of the known students of literature were from the fifth and sixth rank families, those at the top of the official hierarchy were no less interested. This is best demonstrated in 820 when it was decreed that only students from families
of the third rank or above were allowed to enrol in the course of literature. It should be remembered that the literature course enrolled only twenty students. The number was obviously too small to satisfy the demand and this naturally led to keen competition for entry to the course. The decree of 820 can best be understood as a result of this competition and an attempt by the high officials to monopolize the course. It soon encountered criticism and opposition, the strongest coming from a professor in the University. Although not revised to its original form as issued in 730, the admission requirement was nevertheless lowered. Subsequent records show, however, that students from families of high rankings, even including members of the imperial family, continued to enrol in the course of literature, and were given priority in employment in the government.

The Acceptance of Chinese Values

It is interesting to note the role played by Chinese ideas in justifying the adoption of compulsory education for the elite, in compiling the collections of Chinese poems, and in the arguments over admission requirements for students of literature: Education should be compulsory because it could transform and enlighten people. Nothing was better than learning to earn a reputation for oneself. Poetry
and prose should be treasured and valued because they formed a great asset in ruling the country. Only those from families of the third rank and above should study literature because that was the practice in the Hung-wen College and Tsung-wen College in China; those not from families of the third rank and above should also be allowed to study literature because the University was a place for the talented but not necessarily for the noble. Not all these ideas were those of the Chinese in the T'ang - that prose and poetry being an asset to ruling, for instance, was first advocated by Ts'aot Ts'ao (155-220) - but they were unmistakably Chinese.

Thus the Japanese in the early Heian period not only wore Chinese costumes, appreciated Chinese cuisine, but also accepted Chinese values - just as in China, education became highly esteemed. It is difficult to determine to what degree compulsory education for the elite was enforced, but historical records show there was a marked increase in the number of people who attended the University. One study estimates that about a third of the people appearing in the historical records of the ninth century received education in the University, contrasting sharply with the centuries before and after when zero and seven per cent of the people went to the University respectively. The importance of University graduates is also reflected in the Grand Council
of State. Other than Kibi no Makibi, no graduate from the University is known to have been a member of the Council in the eighth century. In the ninth century, the situation gradually changed. In 806, only one among the twelve members of the Council was a graduate. In 836, after compulsory education had been introduced for three decades, the number increased to four among sixteen, including one Grand Councillor (daionagon). In 866, the number further increased to five among thirteen, including this time a prime minister (daijin). The heyday of the University, as described in the Tale of Genji is more probably based on the situation in the ninth century rather than that at the end of the following century when Murasaki Shikibu wrote her work.

While the University enjoyed great prosperity, the aristocrats also began to cherish education in ways as their counterparts did in China. Although private tuition had a long tradition in Japan, no clan school of any form seems to have existed before the establishment of a private institute of learning by Kibi no Makibi after his return from China in 735. Private schools with libraries were founded by some of the officials at the end of the eighth century, and more were founded in the ninth century by some of the larger families. The Kangaku College (Kangakuin) was established by the Fujiwara family in 821, the Gakukan College (Gakukan'in) by the Tachibana family in about 845, and the
Shōgaku College (Shōgakuin) by the Ō family in 881.\(^{34}\) At the time of their establishment, these colleges were merely residential halls affiliated to the University. Nevertheless, their establishment indicates the interest of these families in providing their children with a good education.

The Civil Service Examination

Since ninth century Japan was greatly influenced by Chinese learning, it is not surprising that Japan also adopted the Chinese system of civil service examination system. It was stated in the Taihō Code that degree examinations should be held, and indeed a number of examination papers of the early eighth century still survived in the *Keikoku-shū*.\(^{35}\) However, it can be argued that the Japanese did not follow completely the Chinese practice of examination. The *hsiu-ts'ai* examination, on which the *shūsai* modelled, was abolished in China but not in Japan. The *shinji* examination, on the other hand, seems to have never gained as much importance in Japan as its counterpart in China.

Because of the difference in size of the bureaucracy and the population, the number of degrees conferred in Japan was understandably smaller than that in China. A memorial in 802 states that less than a hundred *shūsai* and *myōkyō* degrees had been granted since the examinations started.\(^{36}\) Another memorial in 935 says that since the examinations
were inaugurated at the beginning of the eighth century, only sixty-five people had been able to obtain the shūsai degree. The result of such a small number of the degree-holders was that they were often overshadowed by the students of literature, the monjōshō.

The role played by the monjōshō was comparable to that of the chin-shih in China. If many of the chin-shih occupied important positions in the government in China, so did the monjōshō in Japan. Because of their literary abilities and command of the Chinese language, the students of literature were drafters of the Codes, compilers of historical records, diplomats to neighbouring countries, and also political advisers to the Emperor. If there was competition in China for the acquisition of a chin-shih degree, there was also competition in Japan for a place to study in literature in the University. Competition was so keen, in fact, that an entrance examination was set up for those who wanted to study literature. In the late ninth century, competition also led to the formation of cliques among the officials and the development of a close relationship between students and the professors, who were also the adjudicators in the examinations, greatly resembling the situation in China several decades before. Sugawara no Michizane (854-903), a professor of literature, for instance,
is said to have had a few hundred disciples who occupied half the posts in the government. Hyperbole as it might be, such a claim nevertheless indicates the growing influence of the students of literature. If the chin-shih in China represented a new class in government, there were also the monjōshō in Japan like Sugawara no Michizane, Ki Haseo (845-912), and Miyoshi Kiyoyuki (847-918), who, although not from the big clans, were able to climb to the top of the official ladder and challenge the power of the established aristocracy.

The monjōshō were so important that most if not all the shinji and shūsai degrees went to them. Since both degrees were literature-oriented, the differences between them so blurred and meaningless that they were abolished at the beginning of the tenth century and were replaced by a single term monjō tokugōshō, originally used only for senior students of literature. Examples of using the terms shūsai and tokugōshō interchangeable can in fact be found in the early ninth century. The civil service examination in Japan thus resembled more that of the early T'ang than the later T'ang since the majority of the candidates were students of the University.

The Provincial Schools

The civil service examination in Heian Japan, however,
never reached the stage seen in the later half of the T'ang dynasty when competition to acquire a degree was extremely keen and candidates comprised not only students from the University but also those who had received their education from provincial schools and elsewhere. The University in Japan remained for a long time the centre of education in Japan, and continued to play a dominant role in the civil service examination. The fact that little competition came from outside the University in the examinations can perhaps be explained by the diffusion of learning. A gap in education existed between the capital and provinces in both China and Japan, but whereas that in China was gradually narrowed, in Japan it remained unchanged.

Because of the scarcity of material, relatively little is known about the provincial schools in Japan, and even less about their relationship with the University. The nature of the provincial government, however, can shed some light on the situation of these schools. Although the Japanese set up a centralized government after the Chinese model, the control of the provinces continued to depend greatly on the members of powerful groups in the local areas who held official positions. These men were called gunshī. They enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy after fulfilling their obligations to the central government. Their positions were life-long and hereditary, and their sons were given
priority in entering the provincial schools. But since these youths were destined to inherit their fathers' positions, probably few of them were interested in going to the University in the capital. While in China the people teaching in the provincial schools would sometimes be promoted to the University, in Japan the professor in the provincial schools held, like the gunshi, a life-long post. In other words, the provincial schools in Japan were not as closely related to the University as those in China. They remained more or less a training ground for future provincial officials.

The close relationship between the provincial schools and the gunshi is best illustrated by a decree in 798 which determined that the gunshi were to be selected by merit rather than by hereditary rights. This coincided with the beginning of the decline of the provincial schools in the Ki'nai region, the area around the capital where the effect of the decree was first felt. There was also at the same time a marked increase in the number of people entering the University from powerful groups in the provinces. However, when the central government in 812 decided that it would once more depend on the powerful groups in the provincial area to rule and consequently restored the principle of hereditary rights for the gunshì, the provincial schools were also soon revived.
The ninth century in fact saw a further development of the provincial schools. Even a province as remote as Tsushima had a school established in 821; another one was built in the newly established province of Kaga in 823. In 860 provisions for the Libation Ceremony in the provincial schools were also standardized. However, government support for the University generally had little effect on the provincial schools. Just as in China, the most talented people from the provinces were often drawn to the capital, but they were seldom assigned back to the provinces again like their Chinese counterparts - more frequently they would even have their domiciles moved to the capital. For those who were sent to the provinces, it is interesting to note that even the more conscientious officials never made any attempt to build schools as did their counterparts in China. In addition, the quality of the provincial professors gradually declined in the ninth century. In 813 those who were appointed were students who had majored in law but failed their examinations. In 824 the law forbidding students under thirty to be appointed to the provincial schools was rescinded. Some became professors in the provincial schools without the consent of the central government, while many of those who were appointed by the government were in fact holding the titles only as a means of securing a financial advantage and did little to carry out
their obligations. In short, the provincial schools were never able to get the best qualified instructors. Chinese learning did spread to some areas outside the capital, but this seems to have often been through the medium of a particular family or clan tradition.

Buddhism and Taoism in Japan

If the provincial schools did not play an active part in disseminating education, neither did Buddhism or Taoism. The Lao-tzu and other Taoist texts were not introduced into the curriculum of the University or the civil service examination. The absence of the Lao-tzu in the Taihō Code can be explained by the fact that the Code was mainly based on the Yung-hui Code of China which had been drawn up when this text was still not included into the examination syllabus. But Taoist texts had probably already been imported into Japan in the early eighth century as the Chuang-tzu was quoted in a degree examination essay in 731.

However, it seems that Taoism did not enjoy much favour among the Japanese in the eighth century. When candidates were asked to discuss the merits and demerits of Taoism and compare them with Buddhism and Confucianism, little was written in favour of Taoism; one of the candidates even denounced it as "lacking affection and love, advocating the abandonment of one’s father and opposition to the ruler."
Despite the fact that the end of his stay in China coincided with the development of Taoist studies, Kibi no Makibi not only never showed any personal liking for Taoism but he specifically advised his son to refrain from taking an interest in it.  

Not until the ninth century can the influence of Taoism be found among intellectuals. At first it was only studied privately, but gradually some monks also became interested, and Emperor Montoku (r. 850-57) ordered a professor of literature to give a discourse on the *Chuang-tzu* and the *Lao-tzu* instead of the usual classics or histories. Questions on Taoism were also asked in the examinations. In short, though never included in the curriculum, Taoist texts were studied by some students and Taoism was accepted by an increasing number of people.

There was no need in Japan, however, to associate the imperial throne with any of the deities in Taoism, as the royal family in China was associated. The attraction of Taoism in Japan thus rested on its intellectual form. Taoism in its popular form of sorcery and magic spells was imported into Japan at the beginning of the eighth century but was suppressed. Few, if any, Taoist monasteries can be found, let alone any facilities for mass education.

Buddhism was much more important and popular than
Taoism in Japan, even though it remained essentially a cult of the court. In contrast to China, enlightening the masses did not seem to be part of the Buddhist belief in early Heian Japan. Although much interest and effort were displayed in copying the sutras in the eighth century, it was not until the second decade of the ninth century that an institution for education, the Shugeishuchiin, was established by the China-educated monk Kūkai (774-835). Indeed, Kūkai was familiar with not only Buddhism, but also Confucianism and Taoism. Yet his knowledge of the latter was probably acquired not in Buddhist temples but from his education in the University. The difference in the degree to which education was diffused in China and Japan at his time is evident in his words: "In the cities of T'ang China, in every neighbourhood there were schools for the education of children; in every county there were also schools for the youth. That is why the cities are abound with talented people and the nation has many brilliant men. However, in this prosperous city of Heian, there are no schools except the University. The youth of poor and plebeian origins have no place to study. They have to go to distant places in order to take lessons, and often feel fatigue on their way." Despite Kūkai's endeavour to enlighten more people after the Chinese model, the situation remained unchanged, as the Shugeishuchiin lasted less than three decades. This failure is usually
explained by the financial difficulty that the institution had to face in attempting to maintain its normal function. But perhaps a more basic reason was that there was a general lack of concern for mass education among the followers of Buddhism. Not until much later times did Buddhism assume an important role in education.

**Limitations and Achievement**

Chinese learning was thus limited to only a small group of people in the capital, mainly those who received their education in the University. Understandably, much difficulty was encountered in their learning of the culture of a foreign country, to which few of them had ever travelled. Language was obviously a major problem. One professor of the classics was derided because he never mastered the Chinese language. For those who were gifted in languages, there were naturally some advantages - a student was regarded as brilliant simply because he could recite one chapter of the *Wen-hsüan*. The difficulties in the dissemination of knowledge together with the strong family tradition also resulted in a noted characteristic among the staff members of the University - while it was the exception rather than the rule in China, it was not an uncommon practice for a teacher to inherit his post from another member of the same family.
The custom was most obvious among those teaching the classics and calligraphy. Perhaps it can best be explained by the natural tendency to select outstanding graduates to become instructors, and the best candidates were usually those from a family in the teaching profession. This does not necessarily mean that learning was not spread or popularized, but it does imply that knowledge was spread so slowly and unevenly that it encouraged the development of an elite. No example illustrates this better than the Sugawara trio - Kiyokimi (770-842), Koreyoshi (812-80), and Michizane - grandfather, father, and son, all professors of literature and leading figures in the literary scene of their time.

Despite the small number of educated people in ninth century Japan, their achievement is not to be overlooked. More than any other group, they were responsible for importing continental culture. Not only did they bring back the Ch’u-liang-chuan, the Kung-yang-chuan, and the Imperial commentary by Hsüan-tsung on the Book of Filial Piety, all of which were introduced into the curriculum of the University, but they also imported numerous books to build up a considerable collection of literature in Japan. Over one thousand five hundred books, for instance, were quoted in the Hifuryaku, an encyclopaedic work completed in 831. Even more were found in the Nihonkoku Genzai Shomoku or Catalogues of Books Present in Japan completed
in 891, which contained some books not recorded in the Treatise of Books of the History of Sui (Sui-shu) and of the New History of T'ang (Hsin-T'ang-shu). 79 This large body of literature certainly served as invaluable source material for those who did not have the opportunity to go to China to study Chinese culture firsthand.

Although the number of students was smaller than the cadet, because of their better training and education, students were more often assigned the more important posts. The significant role of those studying literature has already been mentioned, but they were the minority only. The posts taken by others required a high degree of literary competence, such as the compilation of registers and the drafting of official decrees. Those who studied law and mathematics were naturally assigned to posts such as those of jurist or statistician which would enable them to utilize their knowledge. 80 Most of the students remain obscure and do not make a personal appearance in the historical records of the time. However, perhaps no group deserved more credit since they formed the backbone of the bureaucracy of a Chinese-model government.

The last embassy to China in the Heian period was sent in 834. Although there were proposals to send more in the second half of the century, for various reasons none
was in fact dispatched. In spite of the end of direct official contact, Chinese culture in Japan gradually reached a stage of maturity. The years 841, 869, 879, and 901 saw the completion of the last four volumes of the Six Histories, the later ones were generally written in a more elaborate manner and in more natural Chinese and were completed in shorter periods than the earlier ones.\textsuperscript{81} Although history was not offered as an independent course in the University after 834, interest in the subject continued. Discourses on Chinese history were held in the presence of the Emperor in 857, 875, 882, 891 and 907.\textsuperscript{82} From the mid-ninth century onwards, the classics on which discourses were given after the Libation Ceremony were confined to seven; a discourse on a different classic would be given each in a pre-arranged order, an arrangement not found in China.\textsuperscript{83} Reference books specially written for Japanese use also began to appear.\textsuperscript{84} The Codes were revised and additional commentaries were written to meet the circumstances in Japan.\textsuperscript{85} Although less interest was taken in having direct contact with China, Chinese learning had by this time been assimilated and integrated more than ever, forming an inseparable part of Japanese intellectual life.
3.3 Decline

The fact that Chinese learning reached a stage of maturity in ninth century Japan, however, may explain why the idea of sending more embassies to China was never mentioned again in Japan after 894. The waning interest in the continent as a source of culture perhaps also accounts for the fact that no official contact with Silla took place after 882, or with Parhae after 929. Apart from Buddhist monks, those who attempted to go abroad were severely punished. For more than a century, Japan adopted a seclusion policy. When relations with Koryo Korea and China were resumed in the eleventh century, they were largely on a commercial level.

3.31 The Emergence of Japanese Learning

Although Japan adopted a policy of seclusion from the tenth century onwards, the tradition of the past three centuries of importing Continental culture had enabled Chinese learning to become so deep-rooted that it remained an important part of the intellectual life of the Japanese. The large number of extant documents and diaries of court officials show that Chinese remained the official written language. The literary works of the court ladies also reveal that many of them were well-acquainted with and heavily influenced by Chinese writers. But if Chinese learning continued to be
part of the Japanese intellectual life in the second half of the Heian court, it gradually took a different form. By the tenth century, the Japanese had invented a special set of symbols called *okototen* to assist them in reading Chinese in the Japanese manner. The lack of a standard system soon led to differences in the interpretation of the Chinese classics. This did not lead to much scholarly discussion, however, because there was a tendency among Japanese scholars to share as few ideas as possible in order to maintain their personal authority. The study of the Chinese classics thus gradually became a specialized branch of learning which interested only a few people.

Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the Japanese now began to take a deeper interest in their own culture than merely to say that they lost interest in Chinese culture. This is in particular true in the case of literature. The poems of Po Chü-i continued to enjoy great popularity. Festivals at which Chinese poems were recited continued to be celebrated, but to them were added other festivals during which Japanese poems would also be composed. The growing popularity of Japanese poetry, greatly facilitated by the invention of *kana*, is best illustrated by the compilation in the tenth century of two collections of Japanese poems, the *Kokin Wakashū* and the *Gosen Wakashū*. This attracted
not only those who had long found the Chinese language alien and abstruse, but also some who were trained in the Chinese fashion. The result was a gradual integration of Chinese and Japanese poetic traditions as demonstrated in the *Wakan roeshū*, a collection of both Chinese and Japanese poems, completed in 918. But the trend was for more and more people to be diverted from Chinese literature: in the literary works of the court ladies, those written in the twelfth century display a much weaker influence of works by the T'ang writers than those written in the tenth century. ⁴

The same tendency can be seen in the compilation of historical records. Perhaps with the exception of the *Nihon kiryaku*, little effort was made to continue the tradition established by the Six Histories. The Chinese language was gradually abandoned in favour of the Japanese *kana*, although the Japanese followed the Chinese in recording history in a chronological order. ⁵ Likewise, Japanese elements also emerged in other aspects of their culture. Much of their art, music, calligraphy, and Buddhism, originally largely borrowed from China, was becoming more and more independent of Chinese influence. ⁶

### 3.3.2 Financial Difficulties

In view of the waning enthusiasm for Chinese learning, it is not surprising that the University also declined.
The first sign that the University was facing difficulties is seen in the famous memorial by Miyoshi Kiyoyuki in 914 in which he advocated the reinvigoration of University education. He pointed out that the amount of land possessed by the University had been drastically reduced, and it would thus be impossible to support a few hundred students. As a remedy, he suggested an increase of Scholarship Land and the amount of rice loans.

His proposal was probably carried out to some extent as the amount of land increased from seven chō in 914 to forty-two chō as seen in the Engi Code (Engishiki) of 927. The sources of revenue for the University also seem to have been more diversified so that it no longer had to depend too heavily on the Scholarship Land. The University may also have had its own estates (shōen) as a new source of revenue which was gradually replacing the old taxation system. There was also a cutback in the expenditure of the University, including the salary of the staff. Despite all this, however, the financial situation did not improve much over all. The forty-two chō of land is a far cry from the almost two hundred chō at the beginning of the ninth century and, considering the amount of revenue, the University could probably still support no more than a hundred students.

The financial difficulties encountered were perhaps inevitable. The old land tax system was already breaking
down and it gradually gave way to the estates in the ninth century in the ninth century, but the fact that a large number of estates were not subject to taxation meant that the revenue of the central government was decreasing. A decentralization policy was adopted in financial matters by which the salaries of officials were to be paid directly from the revenue of the provincial areas. However, the unstable relationship between the central and provincial government often made its implementation difficult. The very livelihood of the teaching staff in the University became endangered, and a decree had to be issued in 983, ordering special measures to secure their income. Funds for the maintenance of the University were also inadequate and had to depend on the donation of the staff members who would in return become Chancellor of the University. In the twelfth century the financial situation of the University was in such a desperate position that expenditure for the Libation Ceremony had to be sent specially from the provinces.

Not much is known of the financial situation of the provincial schools. The few extant records show little sign of prosperity. As early as the first half of the tenth century, the statue of Confucius and vessels used in the Libation Ceremony were either damaged or lost in a number
of provincial schools. Some of the schools probably survived until the eleventh century, but the remarkable decrease of their records after the tenth century can perhaps be best interpreted as an indication of their inactivity. Nor was there much improvement for those schools which had left records behind. A statue of Yen Hui, the most prominent disciple of Confucius, for instance, was found to have a broken neck in 1095 in the government school of Dazaifu.

3.3 Dominance of Learning by Great Families

Despite all the financial difficulties, the University in the capital nevertheless survived, though with some changes. On the one hand, the number of students directly supported by the state probably had to be decreased, and, on the other hand, official recognition was given to the private colleges established by the clans. The Kangaku College for the Fujiwara family was recognized in the mid-ninth century, and this was followed by the recognition of the Shōgaku College of the Ō family and the Gakukan College of the Tachibana family in 900 and 964 respectively.

This recognition of these private colleges as part of the University had great significance. No detailed record of the number of the students in these colleges is left. But the fact that at the end of the ninth century the revenue of the Kangaku College alone was about twice that of the
University implies that it is possible that the total number of students in the private Colleges was larger than that for the University. In addition, although official recognition was given to these Colleges, no fundamental change occurred in their functioning. They remained under the management of the individual clans, and the majority of the students were drawn from their own clans.  

The education of the students at these Colleges was not inferior to that received at the University itself. The abundant financial resources possessed by the Colleges themselves ensured that the students would lead a reasonably decent life. In fact a scholarship system was specially set up for the students of the Kangaku College. The official recognition of the Colleges also meant that a provision in the Engi Code of 923 prohibiting those not living in the residential halls of the University from taking the examination would no longer apply to the clan students. Moreover, from the tenth century onwards, the Head of each College was given the right to recommend his students for provincial offices without taking the examination administered by the Ministry of Rites.  

The financial difficulties of the University, however, were not the sole reasons for the growing influence of the private colleges. It is interesting to note that the develop-
ment of these clan colleges corresponded to the growing influence of these clans in the political arena. While the second half of the ninth century saw the expansion of power of the Fujiwara family, it also saw the official recognition of the clan college and the first candidate in the shūsai examination from the Fujiwara clan. Heian court society indeed preserved to a large extent many of the characteristics of the traditional clan society and the court was dominated by a ruling elite composed of a small number of high-ranking court nobles. But education also became a ground for rivalry; for example, the establishment of the Shōgaku College was due to a large extent to the stimulus of the Kangaku College. Thus education was used as a political instrument in assisting great families to consolidate and strengthen their power, in a tradition perhaps more Chinese than Japanese. It was probably no coincidence that the large clans of the Heian period either had their own colleges or were active in the University, for, like the big clans in China, they esteemed education highly. The Gakukan College, for instance, was established because learning and virtue were considered to be essential for those who were to become high officials. In fact, it can be argued that one of the basic reasons for the success of the Fujiwara clan was that they realized earlier than the other clans the importance of education, and so they develop-
one of the best institutions of education as a cornerstone of their power base.\(^{13}\)

While the majority of the students in the affiliated colleges were from the big clans, those studying at the University were also mainly from the big clans. These clans never hesitated to strengthen themselves at the expense of the government in the Heian court, and their dominance in the University serves as an example. The Monjō College (Monjōin), probably established in the early ninth century especially for those studying literature, gradually fell into the hands of the Sugawara and Ōe clans and became a private enterprise.\(^{14}\) Although students from other clans were admitted, they were probably drawn from only a limited number of clans. By the eleventh century, it is known that seven families dominated the Monjō College.\(^{15}\)

If those who received education, whether from their own clan college or from the University, came from a limited number of clans, it is perhaps not surprising that the academic staff of the University was also dominated by a small number of families. As already mentioned, although the okototen was invented to assist the Japanese in reading the classics, it became a self-defeating process as Chinese learning became so specialized that it was only confined to a few. It was a period of "familial authority",\(^{16}\) and even the scho-
lars conducted their own studies independently, often sharing their ideas with as few people as possible, usually only with members of the family. In fact, the tendency increased for those who taught in the University to pass their posts to members of the same family, as if they were hereditary posts. The Otsuki family first established themselves in mathematics, and was soon to be joined by the Kiyoshi family which ousted the Iehara and Ōgura families at the end of the tenth century. In the classics and the Chinese language were the families of Nakahara and Kiyohara. In law, Koremune dominated studies for two centuries until the end of the eleventh century when it was gradually replaced by the Saka-gami and the Nakahara. In literature, the two professorships were shared between the Ōe and the Sugawara families until, starting from the eleventh century, they were gradually taken over by the Fujiwara. In theory, the University was run by the government; in practice, it was a private institution run by a small number of families.

3.34 Disintegration of the Meritocracy and the Examination System

Just as clan politics led to the changes in control over government education, it also brought about favouritism in the civil service examination, about which Miyoshi Kiyoyuki complained in his memorial. He pointed out that
talent was no longer a major criterion in assessing students but that patronage of the influential was now most important. Although he did not refer to any particular group that received special favour, the fact he suggested prohibiting those not living in the residential halls provided by the University from taking the civil service examination indicates it was the large clans that were the privileged group. He also complained that parents discouraged their sons from enrolling in the University, fearing they would follow the footsteps of 'snowy-haired students starving on the green banks of a river'.

Miyoshi's memorial can perhaps be considered as a reflection of the general discontent of officials not from the great clans of his time. The weakened situation of the University at the beginning of the tenth century was perhaps somewhat exaggerated, but it certainly did not improve in the eyes of those not from the big clans. In fact, the period of Engi (900-22), in which Miyoshi lived, was idealized by some officials a century later as a sagely period to justify the argument that the learned should not be neglected but should be given better positions in the government.

The frustration of these officials is best illustrated by Miyoshi Tameyasu (1158-39). The son of a provincial
official, he went to the capital and studied under a professor of mathematics, from whom he adopted the name Miyo-
shi. He also studied history and literature, but he never succeeded in passing the examination, despite repeated attempts, and remained a student until he was fifty-one. Frustration made him "change his principles" - he probably sought the patronage of some influential official who helped him to secure a scribe's post which ranked only senior eight. He finally became a professor of mathematics at the age of sixty-eight and held a fifth rank when he died at the age of ninety-one. Just as in the later T'ang, so in Japan in the later part of the Heian period government education became less relevant than before as an avenue to office. Whereas in China, the examination system continued and became more prestigious, in Japan, it gradually disintegrated. The fact that the regulations on examinations found in the Engi Code are much more elaborate than those in the Taihō Code apparently suggests that the examination system was firmly established. The regulations, however, were soon violated. In the mid-
tenth century, for instance, the qualifying examination for the literature course was held only once every two or three years. The civil service examination, which was almost taken exclusively by students from the University, also gradually
became easier. Starting from the early tenth century, students of literature had to study at least seven years before they could enter government. The period, however, was shortened to five years in 1087, and in fact some students graduated within four years of commencing their studies.

It is not surprising therefore that the examination process gradually became a farce. Degrees were conferred out of sympathy for those who had repeatedly failed the examinations. Answers for the examinations were sometimes prepared beforehand by the examiner for the students. Recommendation became such an important part of the examination process that in 1110 thirteen out of the sixteen students taking the entrance examination were recommended by high officials. In sum, the examinations became perfunctory; their meaning was lost and they merely became formalities in the process of selecting a small number of officials for the government.

3.35 Decline of Confucianism

The gradual breakdown of the principle of meritocracy and the examination system increasingly exposed the importance of Confucian ideas in the later Heian period. More and more officials turned to Buddhism out of intellectual interest and the need for spiritual asylum. In fact, a penchant for Buddhism was evident in Sugawara no Michizane when he was in exile in his last days. Miyoshi Kiyoyuki
also inclined towards Buddhist ideas in his final years when his ideas encountered increasing opposition.²

Though never included in the curriculum, Buddhism gradually made its influence felt upon the University. Starting in 964, students of literature organized a private group called the Kangakukai to study Buddhism. Although its activities were discontinued twice, the group lasted almost one and a half centuries. Discourses on the Lotus Sutra were given, and poems paying homage to Buddhism were composed. Activities during the last stage of the organization even saw the participation of the Chancellor and professors of the University. At least one of the more active student members in fact became a Buddhist monk himself. A group of similar nature was also organized by the students of the classics, although little information about them survived.³

While Buddhism continued to win support among the court officials and the commoners alike in the second half of the Heian period, its character remained somewhat different from that in China. There were indeed many cases of learned monks, but the role of Buddhism played in the dissemination of learning in Japan was much less significant than in China. The obsession with the idea Mappō or the End of the Law caused many to look for salvation through spiritual and metaphysical
exercises. To the Japanese, Buddhism was perhaps more a religious belief than a stream of intellectual thought. In China the opposite was true. It is interesting to note that among those who were more interested in the teachings of the Buddha, rivalry gradually developed between the different schools and 'monk troops' had to be used in order to settle the disputes. At any rate, enlightening the masses by education was not one of the priorities in the list of evangelical activities of the Buddhist followers - the initiative in organizing the Kangakukai, for instance, came from the students rather than the monks.

The increased acceptance of Buddhism corresponded to a growing indifference towards Confucianism. The Libation Ceremony, a symbol of Confucianism in the University, was gradually simplified. From late tenth century onwards, it was performed, regardless of the weather, in the 'rainy day's ritual' rather than the more complex 'sunny day's ritual'. Professors and students were sometimes absent, and consequently discourses to be given on the classics or histories had to be cancelled. In 1017, the banquet usually held after the ceremony was also called off because of the small number of people present. Even the composition of poems, a regular practice after the ceremony in the eighth and ninth century, did not take place often despite the
presence of many poet-officials, as in the case of 1092. In short, the ceremony became also a mere formality, with little significance for the students, the University or the court.

3.36 The Final Days

If the existence of the University in the later Heian was justified by its use as a political vehicle, it lost its importance once those aims were achieved. By the eleventh century, the Heian court society was dominated by a ruling elite composed of a small number of high-ranking court nobles headed by members of the Fujiwara family. A heavy emphasis was placed on hereditary rights as the qualification for entry into the government, and the low esteem of education among those of high birth is illustrated in the Tale of Genji by Murasaki Shikibu. In the words of Ōe no Masahira (952-1012), a professor of literature, it was a time when "those short-sighted and plebian would refrain from studying and perhaps become farmers or merchants, those wanton and presumptuous would despise learning and prefer riding and shooting." It is little wonder that not only the University but also the affiliated Colleges of the clans gradually lost their importance. This can be seen in the case of the Kangaku College which had a decreased number of students as well as a weakening financial structure.
The last century of the Heian period saw the re-emergence of the imperial power and also the reinvigoration of Chinese learning. Yet, as indicated by the authors in the Honchō Shokumonzui, a collection of Chinese prose and poems, Chinese learning was confined to a small group of people, usually those who held the hereditary posts in the University. Learning became more and more isolated from politics, and few scholar-officials emerged. Fujiwara no Yorinaga (1120-56) was probably an exception, but the fact that he received his education not in the University but under a household official (keishī) illustrates only that the importance of government education was gradually replaced by clan education. He did, however, try to revive the University by restoring the Libation Ceremony to its original form in 1153, but his death made the attempt a vain one. The University ended physically when it was burned down together with the Shōgaku College and Kangaku College in the conflagration of Kyoto in 1177, after which the University continued to exist only in name.
CHAPTER FOUR CONCLUSION

While the school system in Nara and Heian Japan was initially influenced by those of the Korean states, it was essentially a product of Chinese inspiration. Many parallels can be drawn between the development of the two systems: both were centralized in the capital with the University as the main feature of the system; both expanded under a centralized government and decline when control over the provinces weakened; both prospered when given support by the rulers and deteriorated in the absence of imperial patronage; both flourished when Confucianism was the favoured ideology and withered when other ideas became dominant. The similarities were the outcome of a whole-hearted cultural borrowing. When Japan imported the school system without reservation, it is perhaps inevitable that it displayed many of the characteristics of the Chinese system.

Despite the fact that the Japanese system had little originality, as there was almost nothing in the Chinese system it did not imitate, it was the Japanese who first established a course of literature in the eighth century, almost three decades earlier than the appearance of its counterpart, the Kuang-wen College, in China. And whereas in China the popularity of literature gradually drew the attention of many away from the University to the chin-shih degree examination,
in Japan, it was literature which attracted many to the University. The importance of the Japanese University was also enhanced by the introduction of compulsory education for the elite, another practice not found in China. Although the Japanese school system was modelled on that of China, its success in Japan should be attributed to those who implemented it rather than those who invented it.

While the University was the highest institution of learning in both countries, it stood for different streams of culture in each. In T'ang China, the University with its long tradition symbolized the classics, Confucianism, and perhaps conservatism, especially after the growing importance of the *chin-shih* degree examination, which represented literature, new ideas, and a new class. The tendency to preserve tradition partly explains the absence of discernible political activism among the students as in the Han or the Sung, the scarcity of significant contribution in scholarship, and, above all, the gradual decline of the University itself. The existence of a tradition, however, also explains the fact the University declined but did not cease - it continued to exist in the Period of Five Dynasties (907-59) and the Sung dynasty (960-1278). The tradition was challenged - whether the classics or literature should be dominant remained controversial - but was too strong to be uprooted.
Despite its close resemblance to the Chinese University, the Japanese University in the Nara and Heian periods was the embodiment of a foreign and advanced culture. Literature was accepted in the same way as the classics because the school system was not indigenous, therefore without any tradition to uphold. In structure, the Japanese University resembled much its Chinese counterpart; yet in spirit, it was closer to the *chin-shih* degree examination. In this sense, the Japanese University incorporated both the school system and the examination system into one entity, displaying a vigour and vitality unmatched by its Chinese equivalent. To a certain extent, the Japanese succeeded in establishing a tradition of Chinese learning. But the tradition was essentially alien for most of the Japanese, and was too weak, especially in the absence of Chinese cultural stimulus, to justify the continued existence of the University when indigenous Japanese culture emerged.

The tradition of the Chinese school system was based on the Confucian ideal that the government should be run by the wise and the learned. However, if this ideal was to be realized, the civil service examination system was to be preferred to the school system; the former not only demanded less human and financial resources on the part of the government, but also placed less emphasis on social status
as well as allowing more room for originality. The school system itself was in fact a self-defeating process - it was not difficult to see that the faster the system developed, the earlier the bureaucracy would be staffed; and once the bureaucracy was staffed, there would be less demand for officials. The T'ang experiment demonstrates that the school system was only practical in a period of stability and prosperity when the government could afford the resources to train its prospective officials and had the capacity to absorb them afterwards; once the government weakened, more reliance would have to be placed on the examination system. Similar trends are discernible in the Sung, Ming (1368-1664), and to a lesser extent, in Koryo Korea (936-1392) as well.

It is inevitable, therefore, that the school system gradually played a role secondary to the examination system in the T'ang. However, the importance of the civil service examination at this time should not be exaggerated. It was not yet as fully developed as that in the Sung when it became the chief avenue to office: the number of degree conferred was small; in addition, it still depended heavily, at least in the first half of the dynasty, on the University for its supply of candidates. The degree examinations did allow some room for "new men", but not so many that their influence was overwhelming. It reflected and served as a catalyst, but should not be viewed as the sole factor leading
to the break down of the aristocracy. After all, the main purpose of the examination system was to tap the best talent in the country; if in this process the dominance of the aristocracy crumbled, it was only a by-product.

The way for the increasing importance of the civil service examination was nevertheless paved in the T'ang. A high degree of social mobility gradually developed as a result of the confusion created by the An Lu-shan rebellion and the subsequent instability which lasted until the period of the Five Dynasties. A relatively large educated population was also formed partly because of the breakdown of the old aristocracy, and partly because of the development of government, private, and religious educational institutions. The dismantling of the old ruling class meant for the Sung government that it did not have to protect the interests of any particular groups - the Sung University was less aristocratic in nature than its predecessor in the T'ang⁹ - and could afford to permit competition in entry to government on an equal basis. The existence of a large educated population meant that there would be a pool of candidates for the civil service examination. In short, the social changes in the T'ang formed the prerequisites for the implementation of the examination in the Sung.

It is oversimplifying the case by stating that the Japanese never accepted the Chinese device of examination
Certainly the degree examinations were never as important in Japan as in China. However, the difference was perhaps not so great if it is remembered that the examination was not "the dominant feature of Chinese government and society" until the Sung, more than a century after Japan had stopped sending embassies to China. The Japanese adopted both the school system and the degree examination together. That the former was more important should scarcely be surprising since that was also the case in the first half of the T'ang dynasty when the Japanese started to emulate Chinese institutions on a large scale. Indeed, the number of degree holders were too meagre to have an impact as significant as the chin-shih in China. Yet the similarities between the chin-shih and the monjöshô, Japanese students majoring in literature, are too many to be ignored. It is true that the ruling class in Japan did not regard education as a prerequisite for entry into government at the beginning of the Nara period and again at the end of the Heian period. However, during the intervening period they did change this attitude. If the University served mainly to educate sons of the court aristocracy, it only started to do so at the beginning of the ninth century. Not only did the aristocrats favour the idea of education, but they managed to dominate the University.
Their success can be explained by their strong clan tradition, as demonstrated in the importance of kinship, but other factors were also important. One difference between the ruling structure in China and Japan was that there was never any change of dynasty in Japan - the legitimacy of the imperial institution was never challenged. In addition, there were no comparable efforts in Japan to those made by T'ai-tsung or Empress Wu in China to curb the influence of the aristocracy. The reform at the end of the seventh century was only a change in the style of ruling but not in the composition of the ruling class. Above all, although there were a number of local revolts, Japan did not experience a war as devastating in scale as the An Lu-sh rebellion. In short, the social mobility in Japan was not as great as in China; the position of the ruling class was never challenged or jeopardized in this period.

While the aristocracy in Japan did not break down as in China, neither did the educated class grow. Why was this so? The Japanese adopted the Chinese script as a means for communication not because it was a convenient way to record the Japanese language, but because they did not have one of their own. The employment of a foreign language was probably an important factor in the slow development of pro-
vincial schools and in the fact that Buddhist institutions in Japan did not play a significant part in popular education until long after the Heian period. Chinese was by and large a written language for a small group of Japanese, and Chinese learning remained their monopoly. Thus while the chin-shih and monjōshō played similar roles, they differed in their origins: more and more of the former came from outside the University, but most if not all of the latter remained graduates of the University. Chinese learning was certainly diffused to a certain extent in Japan, but the absence of large social changes comparable to those witnessed in China made the rate of diffusion too slow to create a class which might have shared or even challenged the power of the existing political order.

The soil in Heian Japan, in short, was still not fertile for the transplantation of the civil service examination from China, much less the cultivation of its own system. If the school system of T'ang China was the flower which bore the fruit of the civil service examination, the school system in ninth century Japan was barely at the initial stage of blossoming - education was encouraged, but only for the elite. More time and nourishment of Chinese culture were perhaps necessary for further flowering. Geographical proximity probably put Korea in a much more advantageous posi-
tion than Japan in emulating the Chinese, yet it was not until the tenth century that the civil service examination was firmly established under the advice of a former Chinese official. It is hardly surprising that the examination system did not fully develop in Japan and that the school system also withered soon thereafter a briefer period of success than in China.
NOTES

Abbreviations

CTS Chiu T'ang-shu
CTW Ch'üan T'ang-wen
CYGS Chōya gunsai
EGS Engishiki
GSRJ Gunshoruijū
HCMZ Honchō monjūi
HCSK Honchō seiki
HTS Hsin T'ang-shu
KGBN Kugyō bu'nin
MTJR Montoku jitsuroku
NHKR Nihon kiryaku
NHSK Nihon shoki
RJFSS Ruijū fusenshō
RJKK Ruijū kokushi
RJSDK Ruijū sandaikyaku
RR Ritsuryō
RSG Ryō no shūge
SDJR Sandai jitsuroku
SGSG Samguk sagi
SNHG Shoku nihongi
SNHKK Shoku nihonkōki
SS Sui-shu
TCTC Ts'u-chih-t'ung-chien
TCY T'ang chih-yen
TFYM Ts'e-fu ydan-kuei
THY T'ang hui-yao
TKCK T'ang kuo-shih pu
TKSP Teng-k'ou-chi-k'ao
TLT T'ang liu-tien
TRSI Tōryō shūi
TT T'ung-tien
TTTS T'ang-tai ts'ung-shu
TTCLC T'ang ta-chao-ling chi
TYL T'ang yü-lin
WHTK Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao

Chapter one


A number of short articles on different aspects of social and economic institutions have been written by Sogabe Shizuo, some of which are collected in his *Ritsuryō o chūshin to shita Nitchū kanketsu no kenkyū*, 1970. Most of the other studies are in fact also done by Japanese scholars; for further details, see Ishi Masatoshi and Kawagoe Yasuhiro ed., *Nitchū Nitchō kankei kenkyū bun-ken mokuroku*, 1976.


Ts'en Chung-mien, *Sui T'ang shih*, 1957, pp.182-3. Chang Ch'ün devotes more pages to the civil service examination (*k'o-chü*), *T'ang-shih*, pp.331-8, than to the government schools, which he claims did not have much political significance, p.310. Han Kuo-p'an, on the other hand, fails completely to mention the school system in his *Sui T'ang Wu-t'ai shih-kang* (both the 1957 first and 1977 revised editions); so does Lin T'en-wei, *Sui T'ang shih hsin-pien*, 1968. The only historian working on the T'ang who gives the school system a high evaluation is Wu Feng, see his *Sui T'ang Wu-t'ai shih*, 1958, p.6.

To give a few examples, for a study of the role of the school system in the Han, see Nagata Norimasa, "Kandai no senkyō to kanryō kaikyū", in *Tōyō gakuhō* (Kyoto), v. 41, 1970, pp.157-96; for the Sung, see Sung Hsi, "Sung-t'ai hsūeh t'ai ch'ū-ts'ai yü yang-shih", in *Chung-kuo lü-t'ai ta-hsūeh shih*, pp.57-76; for the Ming, see Wada Masahiro, "Meidai kyōjinsō no keisei katei ni kansuru ichi kōsaku", *Shigaku zasshi*, v.87-3, 1978, pp.36-71.


Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.11-20; Hisaki, daigakuryō, pp.23-39. Taga also includes a chapter on the government school system in Japan, see Tōdai kyōikushi, pp.123-67. But most of the discussion is devoted again to the system as seen in the Taihō Code.
11 For instance, on the admission requirement of the students, Hisaki emphasizes that a lot of Japanese students were from lowly ranked families but fails to point out that the same case can be found in the T'ang (p.29). He also contends that the system of providing food for students did not start in China until 764 (p.58), which is a misinterpretation of a passage in HTS4, p.1165. This practice can at least be traced back to the time of Liang Wu-ti (r.502-47), see Liang-shu48, p.662.

12 Ch'en, Chung-kuo wen-hua chih tung-chien, pp.758-829; Liu, T'ang-tai cheng-chiao-shih, pp.304-330. Tsang Kuang-en has also written an article on this, "T'ang-tai chiao-yü tui-yü Jih-pen chiao-yü chih ying-hsiang", in Chang Ch'i-yün and others, Chung Jih wen-hua lun-chi hsü-pien, v.1, 1956, pp.207-36, but it is basically, as Tsang admits, a product of inspiration by Taga's previous study.

Chapter two

2.1

1 Note the term University here is a translation of the term kuo-tzu-chien but not kuo-tzu-hsüeh as is often the case. It refers to the institution which incorporated the six schools and colleges, and is so translated in order to draw parallel with the daigakuryō in Japan. The kuo-tzu-chien was originally set up as the kuo-tzu-hsüeh in 276 during the Chin dynasty, and by T'ang times it had acquired a more general administrative role as well as its original role as an educational institution. See Chang Yu-chüan, "The Kuo Tzu Chien", Chinese Social and Political Science Review, v.1-24, 1940, pp.69-106; see also Igarashi Shoichi, "Zuidai kyoiku seido ni kansuru ni san mondai ni tsuite", Nigata daigaku kyōiku gakubu kiyō, v.10-1, 1963, pp.121-8.

2 CTS189A, p.4940. The establishment of the three colleges is dated as 619, but it probably should be 618 as in THY35, p.633; see Taga, Tōdai kyōikushiti, pp.12-3.

3 TT53, pp.302-3.

4 For the Schools of Law and Calligraphy, see HTS48, pp.1267-8. For the School of Mathematics, it is known that there was a professor of Mathematics in the period of Wu-te, see THY42, p.750.

5 CTS24, p.916.
6 MT$48$, pp.1267-8.
7 TT$53$, p.303.
8 TCTC195, p.6153. Similar passages with the year unspecified can be found in the Cheng-kuan cheng-yao$7$, TH$Y35$, TT$53$, WHT$41$, CTS189A, etc. There is a possibility that the figure eight thousand should be eighty, which in fact refers to the number of people participating in a discussion.
9 The forerunner of the Hung-wen Academy was first established in 621, see TH$Y64$, p.1114.
10 The Ch'ung-wen Academy was first established in 621 for the Crown Prince, but did not have regular staff members until 656 (TH$Y64$, p.1117, TLT$26$, p.459, HT$2$49A, p.1294). Apart from its establishment, no record of the Minor School can be found. Taga suggests that it was probably incorporated into either the Hung-wen Academy or Ch'ung-wen Academy since their natures were similar, see Taga, Tōdai kyōikushi, p.25.
11 On Sui government education, see Taga, Tōdai kyōikushi, p.16, Ch'ên T.Y., Chung-kuo chiao-yi l shih, pp.161-3. Whether the scale of the University during the reign of Yang-ti was larger than that of Wen-ti as stated in SS$75$, p.1707, is difficult to determine. For although the number of professor was smaller, the number of students increased as in the case of Grand College (SS$26$, pp.777, 793, 798-9). The number of students in the University was also probably larger than as stated in SS$26$, p.777, since candidates for one examination numbered four to five hundred students (SS$75$, p.1717).
2.11
1 For the University, see TT$53$, p.302; for the School of Law, see TT$27$, p.162; for the School of Calligraphy, see Ch'in-shu, p.1154.
2 The Minor School was founded in the period of Hsiao-wen-ti of the Northern Wei (TT$53$, p.302). The Hung-wen Academy and the Ch'ung-wen Academy had their forerunners in the Eastern Han (25-220), see CTS47, p.1847, TLT$26$, p.459.
3 See Ch'en T.Y., Chung-kuo chiao-yi l shih, pp.118-29.
4 Ch'en Yin-k'o, *Sui T'ang chih-tu yüan-yüan üeh-lun kao*, first published 1944.

5 *TT53*, p. 302.

6 See the discussion by Hamaguchi Shigekuni, "Iwayuru Zui no kyōkan no haishi ni tsuite", *Shin Kan Zui Tô shi no kenkyū*, v. 2, 1966, pp. 770-86.


8 For the role of the University in the recruitment of officials in the Han, see Nagata, "Kandai senkyô" (quoted in note 7, chapter one).

9 *SS2*, pp. 46-7; see also the discussion by Ch'en T.Y., *Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih*, pp. 161-2.

10 For the school system in the reign of Yang-ti, see *SS3*, pp. 59, 62-6, also *SS75*, p. 1707. For the situation of the University at the end of the dynasty, see the biographies of Hsü Wen-yüan and Lu Te-ming, *CTS189A*, pp. 4943-5.

11 For a discussion the recruitment of officials in the early T'ang, see Fukushima Shigejirô, *Chugoku Nanboku-chôshi kenkyû*, 1962, pp. 69-74.

12 According to *CTS189A*, p. 4940, there were only one hundred and thirty students in the Four Gate College in 618. The number of students in the College in 631 is unknown, but the fact that there were over three thousand students together in the University makes it unlikely that the number of students in the Four Gate College was smaller than one thousand three hundred, the quota for the College in later periods.

13 *CTS189A*, p. 4940.

14 For the number of officials in the T'ang, see the table compiled by Ikeda On, "Chûgoku ritsuryô to kanjin kikô", in Fukushima Masao, ed., *Zenkindai Ajia no hô to shakai*, v. 1, 1967, p. 157.

16 CTS44, pp.1890-1.

17 CTS189A, p.4941. It is recorded that education was provided for the military people at the Hsüan-wu-men. It might be noted that it was after the Hsüan-wu-men Incident in which the brother of T'ai-tsung was killed that T'ai-tsung was able to ascend the throne, see Woodbridge Bingham, "Li Shih-min's coup in A.D.626", Journal of the American Oriental Society, v.70, 1950, pp.89-95. For the importance of the army at the Hsüan-wu-men, see Ch'en Yin-k'o, Sui T'ang cheng-chih shih lun-shu kao, first printed 1944, 1957 edition, pp.50-9.

18 TTCLC105, p.539.

19 In the periods of Chung-tsung (709-9) and Hsüan-tsong, the "tribute candidates" (hsiang-kung) for the civil service examination studied first in the University, see THY35, pp.634-5. The practice probably existed in the beginning of the dynasty.


22 See, for instance, a case in 647 when two candidates, despite their stylish writings, were not granted degrees because they lacked content in their essays (TT17, p.93).

23 All the degrees except the chin-shih had their origins in the Han dynasty. For the beginning of the chin-shih, see Teng Ssu-yü, "Chung-kuo k'o-chü chih-t'ung-yüan k'ao", Shih-kèh-ên nien-pao, v.2-1, 1934, pp.275-84.

24 See Sogabe Shizuo, "Chūgoku ōkō no kanri tōyō seido", in his Chuugoku shakai keizaiishi no kenkyū, 1976, pp.44-81 for the discussion of the usage of the term k'o-chü. He points out that the term was not used until the later years of the T'ang dynasty and was only widely accepted in the Sung dynasty, and that the term used in the T'ang was kung-chü.

25 T'ang-lü shu-i 9, p.73.

26 Unlike later periods, we do not have a detailed record of the degree holders in the T'ang. The Ching historian Hsu Sung has compiled a list in his work Teng-k'o-chi-k'ao, but it is by no means complete. Information on
the students is equally, if not more, scarce. From the two T'ang histories, only less than twenty students are known (see the list compiled by Kao Ming-shih in "T'ang-tai kuan-hsüeh ti fa-ch'an", pp.45-50, which also includes some students recorded in other sources). More information can be found elsewhere, such as tomb inscriptions (see, for instance, the supplementary list compiled by Lo Chi-tsu in Teng-k'o-chi-k'ao pu-i) and the biographies of literary figures (a few examples are given by Kao). Yet, they constitute only a very small part of the people who actually studied at the University or provincial schools.

27 TCY1, p.2; see also the discussion in section 2.24.
28 See TKCK1, p.81, and Teng-k'o-chi-k'ao pu-i, p.2044.
29 WHTK29, pp.276-7.

According to the T'ang Code as reconstructed by Miida Noboru, TRSI11/21 (the first number indicates the chapter, the second the article), p.297, a degree holder should have an understanding of at least two classics. According to TT17, p.98, however, there is in fact a regulation permitting those who had only the understanding of one classic to become an official, and the regulation applied only to chü-jen, students recommended to take the civil service examination.

2.12

2 Tsukiyama Jisaburō, Tōdai seiji seido no kenkyū, pp.18-61.
4 See, for example, the memorial of Liu Chih in TT17, p.96.
6 See the biographies of Lu Te-ming and Hsü Wen-yüan inCTS189A, pp.4942-5, for instance.
8 Although no actual cases can be found in early T'ang, the tradition of the clan school in the Six Dynasties probably continued to a certain extent. For the role of clan or family education in the Six Dynasties, see Mao, Liang Chin Nan-pei-ch'ao, v.1, pp.295-8; also A.E. Dien, "Yen Chih-t'ui (531-591+) - A Buddhist-Confucian", in A. Wright and D. Twitchett, ed., Confucian Personalities, 1962, pp.46-9. For the importance of clan schools in the later T'ang, see Sun Kuo-tung, "T'ang Sung chih-chi she-hui men-ti chih hsiao-jung", Hsin-ya hsueh-pao, v.4-1, 1959, pp.220-3.

9 Taga, Tōdai kyōikushi, pp.63-7.

10 Howard J. Weschsler, "Factionalism in Early Government", in Twitchett, Perspectives, pp.87-120.


13 Kao-tsung himself was a student in a government school, see CTS59, p.2327. For a study of T'ai-tsung and his advisers, see, for instance, Howard J. Weschsler, Mirror to the Son of Heaven, 1974, p.37.

14 This is partly reflected in the popularity of the Han-shu and Books on Rituals, see Chao I (1727-1814), Nieh-erh shih cha-chi 20, pp.339-401. Chao also points out in his Kai-yū ts'ung-k'ao 16, pp.295-6, that the fact that T'ang scholars concentrated at the capital also resembles much that in the Han.

15 For Buddhism in the early T'ang, see Stephen Weinstein, "Imperial patronage in the formation of T'ang Buddhism", in Twitchett, ed., Perspectives, pp.239-306; also Yuki Reimon, "Shotō bukkyō no shisoshiteki munjūn to kokka kenryoku to no kösaku", Tōyō bunka kenkyūjo kiyō, v.25, 1961, pp.8-14, which includes also a discussion on Taoism. Further discussion on Taoism can be found in Sun K'e-k'ūan, "T'ang-t'ai tao-chiao yū cheng-chih", Ta-lu tsachtih, v.51-2, 1975, pp.1-15.

16 CTS 73, p.2602.
17 P'i Hsi-jui (1850-1908), for instance, maintains that doctrines of the Northern Schools were incorporated into that of the Southern Schools, see his Ching-hsüeh li-shih, 1923 edition, p.207. Taga, however, holds the opposite view after analysing the background of the people involved in the compilation of the Orthodox Interpretations, see Tôdai kyôikushi, pp.67-83.

18 TTCLC105, p.537.

2.13

1 Sources on how the T'ang school system functioned are scattered in CTS44, HTS44, 49A and 49B, TLT21 and other places. Probably because of the different materials used in the process of compilation, differences can be found in some areas as will be shown below. The tendency is that the closer toward the end of the dynasty, the more elaborate the regulations. The admissions requirement is a good example. That at the beginning of the dynasty as seen in CTS1A89A is much simpler than that in the reign of Hsüan-tsung as seen in TLT21. On the whole, however, the modifications are rather minor, and it is safe to assume that most of the practices found in the later periods of the T'ang were adopted though perhaps not codified at the beginning of the dynasty.

2 HTS44, pp.1159-60, CTS44, pp.1890-2.

3 Ibid. Apart from the professors, there were also lecturers (chih-ch'iăng), the number of which was not fixed, and twenty tutors (ta-ch'êng) at the beginning of the dynasty.

4 TLT21; pp.382-5.

5 TLT 21, pp.385-7. In HTS 44, p.116Q, it is added the words "that priority would be given to those who had the particular knowledge" as a condition for admission requirement.

6 CTS44, p.1892.

7 CTS30, pp.2133-40.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., also HTS44, p.1160, TRSI10/11, p.279. In the
compulsory one-year course, the Chi-i and San-tengssu, two basic texts on mathematics, were studied. In the first program, the Sun-tzu, Wu-ts'ao, Chou-pi, Wu-ching-suan, Chiu-chang, Hai-tao, Chang-chiu-chien, Hsiao-hou-yang were studied. (CTS44 probably misses the Wu-ching-suan.) The Sun-tzu was about the weight system and algebra. The Wu-ts'ao was a guidebook to be used in the five departments under the Ministry of Agriculture or t'ien-ts'ao. The Chiu-chang was also on algebra. The Hai-tao was on surveying. The Chang-ch'iu-chien and the Hsia-hou-yang were both on astronomy.

In the second program, the Chi-ku and the Chiu-shu were studied. The former was on the calculation of the prime on the surface area of a sphere and on other advanced subjects, whereas the latter was on trigonometry. See Ch'ien Pao-chung, Chung-kuo suan-hsileh shih, v.1, 1932, pp.63-71.

10 HTS44, p.1160.
11 CTS44, p.1891.
12 CTS24, pp.917-8, THY35, pp.635-7. At the beginning of the dynasty, Confucius was the Ancient Saint and his disciple Yen Hui the Ancient Teacher. In 647, past scholars headed by Tso Ch'iu-ming were added as Followers. In the period of 650-6, the Duke of Chou or Chou Kung replaced Confucius as the Ancient Saint and Confucius became the Ancient Teacher. The order, however, was once more reversed in 657.

13 For instance, in 640 (TCTC195, p.6152).
14 HTS51, p.1343. Although no mention is made of the students in the professional schools, they probably received the same treatment.
15 CTS24, pp.922-4.
16 TRSI10/12, p.280.
17 HTS44, p.1161.
18 Ibid.
19 T TCLC105, p.537.
20 In CTS24, p.1891 and HTS44, p.1161, it is recorded that the graduates of the University would be sent
to the Ministry of State Affairs (*Shang-shu-sheng*), but what happened afterwards is not specified. According to *TP*15, p.83, candidates taken care of by the Ministry of State Affairs were to be sent to the Ministry of Civil Office.

21 For the Hung-wen Academy, see *CTS*43, pp.1847-8, that of the Ch'ung-wen Academy, *CTS*44, p.1908, also *HTS*44, p.1160.

22 *HTS*44, p.1160.

23 *HTS*44, p.1162, for further discussion on the study of the "three histories", see Kao Ming-shih, "T'ang-tai san-shih te yen-p'ien", *Ta-lu ts'a-chih*, v.54-1, 1977, pp.7-16.


25 *THY*64, pp.1114-5, 1117; *CTS*189A, p.4941.

26 See, for instance, the map of Ch'ang-an compiled by Ikeda On in *Iwanami kōsa seikai rekishi*, v.5, 1971, pp.318-9.

27 *CTS*44, pp.1915-21; *HTS*44, pp.1159-60.

28 The edict to establish school in 689 can perhaps be cited as a piece of evidence, *CTS*24, p.916.


30 *CTS*44, p.1920.

31 In *HTS*44, p.1160, it is recorded that graduates for provincial schools were sent to the Ministry of State Affairs in the capital. They were probably treated in the same manner as the students in the capital, see note 20.

2.21


2 *CTS*42, p.79.

3 Ch'üan Han-sheng suggests that economic factors accounted for the most important reason, see his *T'ang Sung tî-küo yî yûn-ho*, 1946, pp.20-8. Pulleyblank, however,
points out that the importance of transport from the south began only at the end of the seventh century, see his *The Background of the An Lu-shan Rebellion*, 1955, p.127. The theory of Ch'üan is opposed even more strongly by Ts' en Chung-mien, who claims the long period of residence were motivated by hedonism, see *Sui T'ang shih*, pp.142-7.

4 THY75, p.1368.

5 CTS24, p.918.

6 CTS4, p.82, CTS24, p.918. In THY66, p.1157, it is recorded that students, their status not specified, were divided and taught in the two Universities. Taga contends that only the Four Gate College was established in Lo-yang during the reign of Kao-tsung while the others were not established until the reign of Hsien-tsung (806-20), see *Todai kyōkushi*, p.95. However, according to the memorial sent during the reign of Hsien-tsung, it is obvious that the Grand College and National College were established long before that time.

7 CTS24, p.918.

8 Among the five students known in the period of T'ai-tsung (see note 28, section 2.11), two in fact became professors in the provincial schools. Many graduates of the University in later periods are known to have become *te'an-chünn*, an assistant to the governor of a province who would be responsible for civil affairs including education (see *Tōng-k'o-chi-k'ao pu-t*).

9 CTS24, p.918.

10 For example, see the biography of Wei Chi in *CTS185*, pp.4795-6.

11 The Rite of *Shu-hsü* was probably practised in the beginning of the dynasty although no record can be found. But the fact that the amount of silk, meat, and wine was specially mentioned during Kao-tsung's reign suggests that there were no specific provisions in the beginning of the dynasty.

12 WHTK41, p.392.

13 TT15, p.83 says that the *t'ieh* method was first introduced in 680 into the civil service examination. It is unknown if the practice had been adopted in the Univer-
sity before, but if it had not, it probably would have been adopted in 680 since the University was the main source of supply of candidates for the examination system, and that the curriculum of the University was exactly the same as the syllabus of the examination system.

14 THY66, p.1157.
15 CTS4, p.69.
16 THY39, pp.701-2.
17 CTS79, p.2719.

2.22
1 HTS107, pp.4068-70.
2 HTS116, p.4230.
3 CTS189A, p.4942.
4 TCTC206, p.6542.
5 Taga, Tōdai kyōiku-shi, pp.169-73.
6 Ibid., pp.173-4.
7 Nowhere in CTS21 is the Public Administration Land or the University mentioned, as quoted by Taga in his footnote. From TT35, p.202 (an English translation can be found in D. Twitchett, Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty, 1970 revised edition) it is known that the University normally, but not only during the reign of Empress Wu, had seven ch'ing of Public Administration Land.
8 HTS116, p.4233.
9 See the biographies of Lu Ching-shun, Wang Yuan-kan, Chu Ch'in-ming in CTS189B, Meng Li-chên in CTS190A, and Liu Yun-ch'i, Wu Chu-pin, Chou Ssu-mou, Yuan Pan-ch'i'en in CTS190B, for instance.
10 TCTC206, p.6542.
11 TCTC204, p.6476.
12 Weinstein, "Imperial patronage", pp.297-303.
13 CTS24, p.918. For the content of the ch'ên-kuei, see Morohashi Tetsuji, Daikanwa jiten, pp.9740.

14 Taga, Todai kyōikushi, pp.169-72.

15 TCTC206, p.6542.

16 CTS24, p.918.

17 See, for instance, TTCLC106, p.549.


19 For further discussions on the popularity of the Wenhsüan, see Fukushima, Nanbokucho, pp.143-7.

20 CTS189A, p.4942.

21 See the table by Teng, Chung-kuo k'ao-shih, pp.122-4.

22 The literary patronage by Empress Wu was perhaps the most significant achievement in her reign, see Toyama Gunji, Sokuten Bugō, 1966. More detailed discussions on the literary scene in this period can be found in Nishimura Fumiko, "Shotōki no ōsei shijin", Shitennōji joshi daijaku kiyō, v.9, 1977, pp.119-39.

23 CTS81, pp.2750-3.

24 TT17, p.93.

25 The idea is first put forward by Ch'en Yin-k'o (T'ang tai cheng-chih shih, pp.18-9) and is supported by Yokota Shigeru ("Bugō seiken seritsu no zentei", Tōyōshū kenkyū, v.14-4, 1956, pp.273-94) but critized by Ts'en Chung-mien (Sui T'ang shih, pp.397-405).

26 T'eng, Chung-kuo k'ao-shih, pp.85-6.

27 TT15, p.83.

28 CTS5, p.117.


30 HTS87, p.2581.
31 The best example is probably Li Ssu-hsüan, see his biography in CTS81, p.2755.

32 For a general discussion of the recruitment process in Empress Wu's period, see P.A. Herbert, "Civil Service Selection in China in the later half of the seventh century", in Papers on Far Eastern History, v.13, 1976, pp.1-40.

33 HTS44, p.1164.

34 See Ikeda On, "Tōchō shizokushi no ichi kōsatsu: iwayuru Tonkō meizokushi zankan o megutte", Hokkaidō daigaku bungakubu kiyō, v.13, 1965, pp.3-64. For further discussion, see D. Twitchett, "The composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang", in Perspectives, pp.60-6.

35 TT27, p.162. The name ta-ch'eng was changed to chih-chiang at the same time.

2.23

1 THY35, pp.634, 638, 641-2.

2 Taga, Tōdaï kyōikushi, pp.99-103.

3 THY35, p.641.

4 Ibid., p.638.

5 Taga, Tōdaï kyōikushi, p.185.

6 TCTC209, p.6622.

7 For a comparison of the chin-shih and ming-ching examinations, see Ts'en, Sui T'ang shih, pp.183-5.

8 TCY1, p.9.


10 For a general discussion on Taoism in the early T'ang, see Sun K.K., "T'ang-tai tao-chiao", pp.1-15.

12 THY50, pp.869-70.
13 CTS4, p.65, CTS5, p.79.
14 TT15, p.83.
15 TCTC208, p.6598.
16 THY74, p. 1137.
17 For a discussion of the effect of political events on the recruitment process, see Herbert, "Civil Service Selection"; also Tanigawa Michio, "Bugōchō matsunen yori Gensōchō shonen ni itaru seisō ni tsuite", Toyō-shi kenkyū, v.14-4, 1956, pp.54-60.

2.24
1 CTS8, pp.171-3.
2 As Hsüan-tsung was the Crown Prince in 711, he probably performed the ceremony that year, see THY35, p.642.
4 CTS8, p.175.
5 Ibid., p.189.
6 Ibid., p.200; also THY35, p.642.
7 CTS102, p.3165.
8 THY37, pp.670-1.
9 CTS 8, p.188. For a detailed study, see Ikeda On, "Sei-Tō no shūken'in", Hokkaidō daigaku bungaku kiyō, v.19-2, 1970, pp.47-98.
10 CTS8, p.180.
11 TFKY643, p.7710.
12 TCTC12, p.6733, see also Chang, T'ang-shih, pp.59-61.
13 TT15, p.85. Although there is no date for the passage, it can be assumed that the record was one after 725 as the Chi-hsien Academy is mentioned.
14 Fan Tsu-yü (1041-98), *T'ang Chien* 5, p.35.

15 *HTS* 44, pp.1159-60.

16 See the biographies of Li Jo-shui (*CTS* 85B) and Miao Chin-hsiang (*CTS* 113), for instance.

17 *TT* 15, p.85. See note 13.

18 *THY* 35, pp.635-6.


20 *THY* 35, pp.635-6.

21 This is partly due to the scarcity of material, and also partly because of the difficulty of making generalizations about the nature of the provincial administration. On the one hand, there are cases of maladministration (see, for instance, P.A. Herbert, *Under the Brilliant Emperor*, 1978, pp.43-65); and on the other hand, a high degree of efficiency is also shown in financial matters (see, for instance, the discussion by Nishijima Sadao, "Tōdai kindensei to shikō jōtai", *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, v.233, 1959, pp.31-7).

22 Kao, "*T'ang-tai ssu-hsüeh*", pp.245-8.

23 *TT* 15, p.84.

24 See the preface in Meng Ch'iu (1973 Mejij shoen edition), pp.36-7. A discussion on the date of compilation can be found in pp.26-8.


26 *THY* 35, p.634.

27 Although many of the students wanted to attain a chin-shih degree which required only the knowledge of one classic, a large number of them probably ended up becoming ming-ching degree holders. It should be remembered that the University was basically training people for the ming-ching rather than the chin-shih degree.
According to TT15, p.83, a major oh'ün would send three candidates, a middle oh'ün would send two candidates, and a minor oh'ün would send one candidate to the capital each year. Although it is said that the regulation was not strictly observed, it is unlikely that the actual number of candidates far exceeded the quota.


Arthur Waley, The Poetry and Career of Li Po, 1965, pp.98-100; see also the discussion by Ogawa Tamagi in Tōdai no shijin, 1975, pp.7-9, 20-1.
and Literary Theory in the Mid-eighth century", in Twitchett, ed., Perspectives, pp.307-44. The biographies and Frankel have all failed to point out, however, that both Li and Hsiao as well as some of their close associates were students at the University, see TCY1, p.5.

46 CTS185, pp.4813-4.
47 TCY1, p.11.
48 THY77, p.1402.
49 CTS99, p.3093; as examples, see the biographies of Li Chi-wu (CTS105, p.3254) and P'ei Mien (CTS113, p.3353).
50 From Feng-shih wen-chien-chi 2, p.14, it is known that Feng Yen, its author, was a student. For his account of the University, see Feng-shih wen-chien-chi 3, pp.20-1.
52 According to Feng-shih wen-chien-chi 3, p.20, Liu was a student in the later years of Hsüan-tsung's reign. But it is known from other sources that he received a degree in the first half of Hsüan-tsung's reign. It is recorded that he studied at the Sung Mountains or Sung-san before he received his degree, but whether he had been to the University before he received his degree is uncertain. (See Ch'en Hsiao-ch'iang, "Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing shih-chi ch'u-k'ao", Ta-lu tsa-chih, v.29, 1964, pp.81-4, 129-34, 170-5.) He probably went to the University not for studying but rather for establishing connections with influential officials, for he was not holding any official positions and he was a leader of one the cliques when he was in the University.
53 TCTC214, p.6920.
54 CTS106, p.3244.
55 TYL5, p.167.
56 THY77, p.1402.
Various dates are given for the establishment of the College of Taoist Studies in different sources, see the discussion by Taga, *Tōdai kyōikushū*, pp.216-7.

It seems that there existed a separate Taoist classic called the *Keng-sang-tzu* in the T'ang which no longer survives. One of the chapters in the *Chuang-tzu* we have today, however, is entitled *K'ang-sang*.

For professors in the University of this period, see Taga, *Tōdai kyōikushū*, pp.188-98. For students, the best example is probably Hsiao Ying-shih, see Chien I, *Nan-pu hsin-shu*, p.84.

For a detailed discussion on the importance of Taoism in this period, see Sun K.K., "T'ang-tai tao-chiao", pp.15-27. For further discussions on the significance of Taoist learning as a means to attain office, see Fujiyoshi Masasumi, "Kanryō tōyō ni okeru dōkyō to sono igi", *Shirin*, v.51-6, 1968, pp.1-35.

2.3

1. *WHTK43*, p.408.

2.31

1. *CTW532*, Li Kuan, "Ch'ing shu t'ai-hsüeh shu", pp.6850-1.
2. *WHTK41*, p.393. Also in *THY66* the number of students in the National College is recorded to be fifteen, which probably should be ten in order to match the total number of students.

3. For the development of military governors, see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, *The Background of the Rebellion of An

4 THY84, p.1551.


9 Otagi Hajime, "Tōdai gohanki ni okeru shakai henshitsu no ichi kōsaku," Tōhō gakuho (Kyoto), v.42, 1971, pp.91-126.

3.32

1 CTS24, pp.923-4.

2 THY66, p.1160. The practice continued at least until the following year (CTS16, p.478), and appeared again in I--tsung's reign (860-74) though under a different name (WHTK41, p.394).

3 THY66, pp.1160-2.

4 Tsukiyama, Tōdai seiji seido, pp.550-69; Chang, T'ang-shih, p.299.

5 CTS556, p.7145, Han Yü, "Shang-i-jih yin-t'ai-tzu t'ing t'an-ch'in shih-hsü".
6 "Kuo-tzu-chien lun hsin-chu hsüeh-kuan tieh", CTW554, p.7121.

7 For the original of "On teachers", see CTW558, pp.7166-7. (An English translation has been done by Shih Shun-lin in Renditions, no.8, 1977, pp.78-9.) For the response of his contemporaries, see Liu Chung-yüan, "Ta Wei Chung-li lun shih-tao", CTW575, pp.7382-4.

8 For example, see "Chi Hsieh chu-chiao wen", CTW568, p.7301.

9 CTS149, pp.4017-8.

10 TFYK50, p.564.

11 THY66, p.1162.


13 Han Yü, "Shih hsien-sheng mu-ming", CTW566, p.7277.

14 For a detailed account of the incident, see the biographies of Yang Ch'eng in CTS142 and HTS194; also TCY3, p.112, CTW573, pp.7353-4, "Yü t'ai hsüeh chu-sheng chi i ch'üeh Yang Ch'eng shih-yüeh shu".

15 Nan-pu hsin-shu 3, p.35.


2.33

1 CTW549, pp.7056; CTW573, p.7353; TCY1, p.7.

2 CTW567, pp.7284-5.


5 See TFYK63, p.7571; for further discussions, see Otagi Hajime, "Tō dai ni okeru kanjīn nyūshi ni tsuite", Tōyōshi kenkyū, v.35-2, 1976, pp.90-102.


7 See the example of Kuo Yüan-chen in Empress Wu's reign, for instance. (Biography CTS95, pp.3042-9, HTS122, pp.4360-4) His family had to send 400,000 chien for his expenses, see TCY4, p.53.

8 THY35, p.635.


10 THY77, p.1103.

11 Ibid. 66, pp.1160-1.

12 Ibid., p.1162.

13 CTW580, 7440.

2.34

1 TKSP3, pp.56-7.

2 Chao I, Kai-yü-ts'ung-k'ao 28, pp.590-1.


4 THY76, pp.1396-8.

5 For the composition of the prime ministers, see Tsuki- yama, "Tō dai sai in-nyūshi", pp.172-92. For a discussion on the compilation of the teng-k'o-chi, see Fukushima, Nanbokuchōshi, pp.199-204; such compilations started in the first half of the dynasty, but nevertheless it was in the reign of Hsüan-tsung that they gradually became popular, see Yü-hai 115, 19b-20b.


8 For a study of one of the ways to seek the patronage of influential officials, see Victor H. Mair, "Scroll Presentation in the T'ang Dynasty", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* v.38, 1978, pp.35-60.

9 See, for instance, Li Ao, *Cho-i-chi*, *TTTS*, p.701.

10 See, for instance, the examples given in *TCY6*, pp.63-72.


12 The idea was first suggested by Ch'en Yin-k'o in *T'ang-tai cheng-chih*, pp.79-94, but has been under severe criticism by Ts'en Chung-mien as seen in *Sui T'ang shih*, pp.397-423.

13 *TFCK15*, pp.1012-3.

14 *TCY1*, p.2.

15 For a detailed account, see the biographies of Cheng T'an (*CTS173*), Li Chung-min (*CTS176, HTS174*), and the annals of Wen-tsung (*CTS178*).

16 Taga, *Tōdai kyōikushi*, pp.288-308. Taga in fact traces the origins of the factional struggles to the time of Su-tsung (r.756-61). Since the University did not function immediately after the An Lu-shan rebellion, it is questionable if the part played by the University was as important as Taga claims.

17 *TFYK40*, pp.455-6; *TYL3*, p.102.

18 *TYL2*, p.56.

19 *TYL5*, p.238. See also *Lo-shih cha-shuo* in *T'ai-p'ing kuan-chi* 182, p.713.

20 For further discussion, see Liu Po-chi, *T'ang-tai cheng-chiao-shih*, pp.177-80.
21 TKSP3, pp.55-6.


23 TYL3, p.8.

24 CTS142, pp.4664-5.

2.35

1 CTS190, pp.5064-77.
2 Ibid.149, pp.4014-9.
3 Ibid.173, pp.4490-2.
4 Fan-shih wen-chien-chi 1, p.4.
5 CTS173, pp.4491-2.
6 THY35, p.635.
7 TCY1, p.8.
8 Ibid., p.5, p.8.
9 Ibid., p.8; TKSP3, p.56.
10 CTS149, p.4014; CTS173, p.4489.
11 Taga, Tōdai kyoikushi, pp.319-20.

2.36

1 See E. Reischauer, Ennin's Travel in T'ang China, 1955; and Ennin's Diary: The Record of a Pilgrimage to T'ang in search of the Law, 1955, an annotated translation of the Nittō kyūhō junrei ki by the Japanese monk Ennin.
For instance, Li Ao (CTS160, pp. 4250-9, HTS177, pp. 5280-3).

See the biography of Wei Ch'ü-mon, CTS135, p. 3728.

See the biography of Kuei Teng, CTS149, p. 4019.

HTS48, p. 1253.

Ennin's Diary, 844/2/5/, p. 97.

CTS17A, p. 527.

TFYK50, pp. 563-4.

According to TCTC235, p. 7571, Confucian scholars participated in the debate only after discussions by Buddhist and Taoist priests. In Ennin's Diary, the debates held on Wu-tsung's birthday were only between the Buddhist and Taoist parties without the participation of Confucian scholars (841/6/11, p. 86, 842/6/11, p. 80, 843/6/11, p. 193). In TYL6, p. 193, however, it is recorded that it was a debate between different parties, in which three Confucian scholars, two Buddhist monks but only one Taoist monk was found. See also the discussion by Lo H.L., "T'ang-tai san-chiao", pp. 169-74.

CTS24, p. 923.

THY35, pp. 642-3.


For further discussions, see Naba Sadao, "Tō seibon zakkō", Shinagaku, v. 10 (special issue), 1942, pp. 437-527; also Ogawa Kan'ichi, "Tonkō butsudera no gakushirō", Ryūkoku daigaku ronsō, v. 400-1, pp. 488-506.

THY35, p. 635.


6 See, for example, TCY1, p.74.

7 TCY1, p.4; TKSP3, p.56, *Nan-pu hsin-shu* 2, p.17.

8 Yen, in "T'ang-jen hsi-yüeh", cites many well-known examples such as Li Hsin, Niusheng-ju, Meng Chiao, Li Hua, Tu Mu, and many others.

9 The case of Cheng Yu-ch'ing can be taken as an example, see CTS158, pp.4163-7.

10 HTS168, pp.5130-1.

11 This view is shared by both traditional and modern historians. See LU Ssu-mien, *Sui T'ang Wu-tai shih*, pp. 1275-6.

12 See Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine* (1718), p.28; also Reinaud, *Relations des Voyages, faits par les Arabes et les Persans l'Inde et à la Chine*, 1845, p.47 (Quoted in Naba, "Tó seibon zakkō").

13 See Kūkai, *Henjō hakki shoryōshū*, p.423.

14 See the examples of Chang I (CTS125, pp.3534-6), Kao Chih-chou (CTS185A, p.4792), Kao Ch'eng-chien (HTS170, p.5163) and Ts'ao Hua (HTS162, p.4242).

15 See Ch'ao Lin, *Yin-hua-lu* 4, p.98.

16 See Kao, "T'ang-tai ssu-hsüeh", pp.219-89.

17 See CTW675, p.8739.


19 See Kao, "T'ang-tai ssu-hsüeh", pp.251-3.

Chapter three

3.11

1 *Hou Han-shu* 85, p.2821.
For a general discussion on the relationship between the two countries before the Sui, see Ch'en S.F., Chung-kuo wen-hua chih tung-chien, pp.28-159.

According to Kojiki2:6, p.257, a scholar by the Japanese name of Wani brought the Analects and the Thousand Character Classics (Ch'ien-tzu-wen) to Japan. The date is given as the sixteenth year of Emperor Ōjin NHSK10, pp.276-7. According to the calculations in NHSK, this would be 284AD when the Thousand Character Classics had not appeared. It is generally agreed that the Thou and Character Classic was compiled in the period of Liang Wu-ti (502-49). However, Seki Akira suggests that if the Thousand Character Classics can be taken in wider sense to mean some sort of basic text in Chinese reading, then it may be possible that it was imported to Japan in around 372 when Paekche presented a number of gifts to Japan, see his discussions in Kikajin, 1956, pp.33-46.

It might be noted that the two cases of contacts between China and Japan during the Ch'i (479-502) and Liang (502-57) dynasties, no embassies were sent from Japan to China (Liang-shu 2, p.36, Nan-shih 79, pp.1974-5, Nan-Ch'i-shu 58, p.1012). It is highly questionable if Japanese embassies were sent to the northern dynasties in the sixth century, for they would probably have been recorded as had the Korean embassies.

The only place it appears is Sui-shu 81, p.1827.

For a discussion on the impact of external threat on the internal affairs of Japan, see Ishimoda Sho, Nihon no kodai kokka, 1971, pp.22-47.

For the impact of Chinese influence on Japan in this period, see the discussion by Yü Yu-sun, Sui T'ang Wu-tai Chung Jih kuan-hsi shih, 1964, pp.19-29.

Mori, Kentōshi, pp.15-6.

This is first suggested by Yoshida Kumaji in *Hompō kyōikushi gaisetsu*, 1922, p.7, and is shared by Taga, *Tōdai kyōikushi*, pp.127-9.

See Nosei Sakae, *Naigai kyōikushi*, 1893, p.6. Sakamoto Tarō, on the other hand, suggests that the *kuni no hakase* might have been the chief of another government organ, see *Taika kaishin no kenkyū*, 1938, p.268.


A large number of articles have been written on this, the most important one being by Hara Hidesaburō, "Taika kaishin ron hihan josetsu", *Nihonshi kenkyū*, v.86, 1967, pp.25-45, v.88, pp.23-48. For a general survey, see Kito Kiyoaki, "Taikai kaishin ron no genjō to kadai", in *Nihonshō o manabu*, v.1, 1975, pp.123-37.


*NHSK27:671/1/?*, p.298; see also the discussion by Sakamoto Tarō, "Tenchiki no shiryō hihan", in his *Nihon kōdaishi kisoteki kenkyū*, v.1, 1964, pp.216-8.

This argument is put forward by Hisaki, *Daigakuryō*, pp.15-7.

*NHSK29:675/4/1*, p.335.


*NHSK29:675/4/1*, p.335.

*NHSK29:677/5/3*, p.344.

*NHSK4:644/1/6*, p.203.

On the Japanese effort to imitate the T'ang in this period, see Osabe Yoshitaka, "Ōmiryō no seiritsu", Ōsaka Rekishi Gakkai, *Kodai kokka no keisei to tenkai*, 1976, pp.279-301.

1 Hisaki, *Daigakuryō*, p.18.
For Koguryō, see SGSG16, 4a, p.143. Very little is known about the University, however, except that it was for the education of the imperial family and high officials. In the treatise on Koguryō in both CTS (199A, p.5320) and HTS (220, p.6186), it is recorded that learning was much favoured by the people. Less is known of Paekche, but taking into account the fact that scholars were sent to Japan in the sixth century and that students were sent to China in the early T'ang, some kind of institution of learning probably existed. See the discussion by Han Ki-ôn in Kankoku kyōiku shi (tr. by Han and Inoue Yoshiya), 1965, pp.8-12.


NHSK14, fourth year of Emperor Richū, p.328; NHSK14, second year of Emperor Yūryaku, p.364. See also the discussion by Seki Akira, Kikajin, 1956, p.30.

Seki, Kikajin, p.112.

Mori, Kentōshi, pp.9-11.


According to a study by Kojima Noriyuki, most of the poems composed in the seventh century were by members of the upper class, see his Jōdai Nihon bungaku to Chūgoku bungaku, v.3, 1965, pp.1246-8.

NHSK24:644/1/6, p.203. In Kadon 1 (GSRJ v.4, p.313), the biography of Fujiwara no Katamari, Monk Min is recorded to have given lectures on the Book of Changes in his residence. Taga interprets this as a private school and suggests that it was the forerunner of the University, see Tōdai kyōikushi, pp.131-2. But this is merely speculation without any supporting evidence.

Inoue Mitsusada, "Jinshin no ran - toku ni chihō gozoku to dōko ni tsuite", in his Nihon kodai kokka no kenkyū, 1965, pp.455-90.

See Nomura Tadao, Ritsuryō kanjinsei no kenkyū, 1967, for a detailed study.
12 See Takeuchi Rizō, "Temmu yakusa seitei no igi", in Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken, v.1, 1957, pp.85-104.


14 See Hayagawa Shohachi, "Ritsuryōsei no keisei", in Iwanami koza Nihon rekishi (hereafter IKNR), v.2, 1975, pp.236-42.


17 See Kaden. It is recorded that the University suffered a great loss of students during the removal of the court. However, there is probably some exaggeration here as the Kaden was written to glorify the achievement of the Fujiwara family, and it may be suggested that the exaggeration was intended to bring out the achievement of Fujiwara no Muchiro, who was the vice-chancellor of the University at the end of the seventh century.

18 See Sakamoto Taro, ed., Sho no Nihonshi, 1975, pp.23-5, for the list of archaeological findings for this period. Most of them are bronze vessels, in contrast to the discoveries of the Nara period which include many strips of bamboo used for writing.

3.21

1 Takigawa Masajirō, Ritsuryō no kenkyū, 1931, pp.353-422.

2 Ibid., pp.485-8.

3 See Niida Noboru, Tōryō shūi, 1933. A revised edition was published in 1964, which I have not been able to consult.

4 There is, however, the possibility that the K'ai-yüan-li, which constituted the major part of the T'ang code we have today, was consulted when the Yorō Code was being drafted. See the discussions by Inoue Mitsusada, "Nihon ritsuryō no seiritsu to sono chūshakusho", in Ritsuryō (hereafter RR), Nihon shisō taikei v.3, 1976, pp.764-7.
5 RRY2/14 (Y stands for ryō, civil code, the first number indicates the chapter, the second the article), pp.166-7.

6 See SGSG 8.2b-3a, 11b-12a, 9.4b. Hisaki maintains that Silla established its first institution of learning in 651 (Daigakuryō, p.24), without giving an identified reference. Since during the reign of T'ang T'ai-tsung students were already sent from Silla to China, some kind of institution of learning probably existed at the beginning of the seventh century in Silla.

7 See, for example, TCTC195, p.6157.

8 RRY2/14, pp.166-7.

9 Niida has not included any article on the admission requirement in the hsyleh-ling, the part of the civil code on school administration. It is very likely, however, that some articles existed as found in CTS44, pp.1890-2, or HTS44, pp.1159-60. For the admission requirement in Japan, see RRY11/2, p.262.


11 RRY2/14, pp.166-7. For China, see HTS44, pp.1159-60, CTS44, 1890-2.

12 RSGl, p.18. This is the first time the term chokuka appears, although it might have been established earlier.

13 Taga, Tōdai kyōikushi, pp.149-50.

14 RRY1/12-15, pp.131-44.

15 Ibid., Y11/5-7, p.263.

16 NHKR13:784/10/15, p.275.

17 RRY13/13, pp.265-6.

18 For the Korean system, see SGSG38, 12a-13a.


20 Ibid., p.456.

There is no record on the exact date of the import of the Wen-hsi-lan to Japan. It may be suggested that it was brought to Japan at around the same time as the Thousand Character Classic, see note 3, section 3.11.


See the biography of Yüan Chin-ch'ing in SNHG35:778/12/18, pp.445-6.
11. SNHG:719/7/4, p.77; 721/8/17, p.88.
14. SNHG29:769/10/10, p.371. For the government school in Dazaifu, see FY2/69, pp.190-1.
16. RSG1, p.18.
22. See the discussion by Hayashi Rokurō, Kömyō Kōgō, 1961, pp.127-200.
24. The incident can be found in SNHG17:749/2/21, p.197. For further discussion, see Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.34-5.
26. For Japan, see RRY22/30, p.278. For China, see TRSII/21, p.297.
27. For Japan, see RRY12/38, p.280. For China, see TRSI 11/26, pp.301-2. This importance of hereditary privilege in Japan has been pointed out by Maki, "Shion kō," Ōsaka shōitsu daigaku hōgaku zasshi (quoted in Nomura Tadao, Ritsuryō kanjinsei no kenkyū, p.242).
29. RSG17, p.507.
31. TRSI10/13, pp.280-1.
32. RSG15, p.460.
33 It has been suggested that article 46 of the Military Treatise of the Taihō Code (RRY6/46, p.332) which deals with the cadet system came from article 27 of the T'ang Code (TRSI p.381), see TRSI, p.874. However, since the T'ang Code does not include people from fifth rank families as included in the Japanese Code, the discussion here has included the san-wei, those from families below the fourth rank. See CTS43, pp.1833-4; HTS49A, pp.1281-3; TRSI6/21, pp.377-8, 16/27, p.381.

34 According to the Taihō Code, there were 2,960 cadets in the government, almost seven times the number of students, see RRY17/37, p.329; 17/46, p.332, 2/3, p.160. For China, HTS49A, p.1281, gives a figure of 4,963 for the san-wei, those from families of the fifth rank or below. Assuming that the students numbered 3,000, those from families of the fourth rank and above who did not go to University probably would not exceed a thousand. A detailed discussion of the cadet system in Japan can be found in Nomura, Ritsuryō kanjinsei, pp.249-307.

35 For a survey of Buddhism in this period, see Inoue Kaoru, Narachō bukkyōshi no kenkyū, 1966. For the influence of Empress Wu on Empress Komyō in relation to Buddhism, see Hayashi, Kömyō Kōgo, pp.86-126.


38 Inoue, Narachō bukkyōshi, p.138.


40 SNHG20:757/4/4, pp.230-1; the Chinese precedent can be found in CTS8, p.183.

41 For a detailed discussion, see Kishi Toshio, Fujiwara no Nakamaro, 1969, pp.186-241.


43 Kojima, Jōdai Nihon bungaku, pp.358-68.

44 Ibid.


48 See the discussions on the Gokusui Festival and the Tanabata Festival by Ikeda Kikan, Heian jidai no bungaku to setkatsu, 1977, pp.543-4; see also Kojima, Jōdai Nihon bungaku, pp.1120-93.

49 Mori, Kentōshi, pp.31-68, 113-22.

50 Kojima, Jōdai Nihon bungaku, v.2, pp.891-1012; v.3, pp.1120-81, 1235-1492.

51 See, for instance, the plate in Lin Pyŏn-tae and Yi Huidok, ed., Han'guksa taegye, v.3, 1974, p.223.

52 For instance, see Mori Katsumi, "Tō Shiragi Bokkai to no kankei," Shiten, v.48, 1951, pp.1-26.

53 Tsuda Sayukichi, Bokkaishikō (Ch'en Ch'ing-ch'üan tr.), 1964 edition, pp.105-6.


56 RSG1, p.18; RJSOK4, p.158.

57 Ibid.

58 It may be noted that there were precedents in China. Some sort of literature course was offered in the Sung (420-477) of the southern dynasties. Two cases can be found, one in 439 (Nan-shih 2, pp.45-6), and the other in 470 (Nan-shih 3, p.82). But they did not last long and it is questionable if there were many students.
3.23

1 See the map in p.192, *Zusetsu Nihon bunkaishi taikei*, v.4, 1958, for instance.


4 The record of Emperor Kammu appears for the first time in 764/10/7 (*SNHG25*, p.308). The Chancellor of the University was probably the first post he held (*SNHG27*: 766/11/5, p.337). He stayed there for five years until 771/8/28 (*SNHG30*, p.381) when he was promoted one rank and the Chancellorship was later taken over by the son of Kibi no Makibi. He received a new post in the following year (*SNHG31*:772/3/11, p.390) and became the Crown Prince in 773.

5 *RSG17*, pp.505-8.

6 *NHKK14*:806/6/10, p.63.

7 According to *NHKK22*:812/5/21, p.114, the decree issued in 806 was not followed. For the decree of 824, see *RJSVDK7*, p.284. It is not found in the *Nihon shoki* because records for this year are not extant.

8 *RJSVDK25*, p.475. When the practice of granting this Professional Land (*shokuden*) was adopted for the staff of the University is unknown since no specific provision can be found in the Taihō Code. Taga claims that 791 was the year of its inauguration (*Tōdaikyō kaisei*, p.162), while Fusei Shōheiji (*Myōbōdo no kenkyū*, 1964, p.77). Hisaki contends, on the other hand, that it started somewhere between the years 773 and 791 (*Daigakuryō*, pp.70-1), basing his argument on evidence suggested by Momo (*Tōdaikyō gakusei*, p.40). Yet by the same reason that Hisaki refutes Fusei's suggestion, the date 773 is also highly questionable. The fact that there was no provision in the Code does not necessarily mean that there could not have been Professional Land for the staff. Murakami in fact suggests these lands could have existed as early as 704, "Daigakuryō no shakai keizai teki kiso," pt. 1, p.3. No definite conclusion thus can be drawn, though it is clear that such land did exist before 791.

For the financial management of the University in this period, see Hisaki, *Daigakuryō*, pp.63-75; Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, pp.55-60; Murakami, "Daigakuryō no shakai keizai teki kiso," pt.1 and pt.2., pp.1-20.

See the biography of Oumi no Mifune, *SNHG*38:785/7/17, pp.510-1.


The exact nature of the course of history is not clear. Murakami thinks it was only a subject like writing and the Chinese language ("Ritsuryō no henshitsuka to daikuryō no shôchô," part one, quoted in Hisaki, *Daigakuryō*, p.88), while Hisaki thinks it was an independent course (*Daigakuryō*, p.79) because students seem to have been able to major in history just as in literature (*RJSDK*4, p.15). However, nothing more is known about the course.

*RJSDK*5, p.15, no record of the increase in the number of students can be found.

Seventeen students are found in the historical records of this period. Among them two were from the top ranking families, the rest either from fifth or sixth ranking families. For a list, see Momo, *Jōdai gakusei*, pp.81-3, which gives also the names of a few students not found in the historical records, but little is known of their background.

*HCMZ*2, p.38.

*Ibid*.

Records of imperial members attending the University can be found in the following: *MTJR*4:852/12/20, p.42; 7:855/6/26, p.73; 10:858/7/10, p.118; *SDJR*4:860/11/16, p.60; 7:863/12/28, p.237; 28:876/5/27, p.375; 37:880/1/26, p.469. On the policy of discriminating against those from unranked families, see *SNHK*6:837/7/16, p.68 and *MTJR*5:853/10/22, p.56.

*NHKK*14:806/6/10, p.63.

For a detailed discussion of this idea, see Ikeda Genta, "Heian shoki ni okeru bunsho no keikokuteki seikaku," Kodaigaku Kyōkai, Kammuchō no shomondai, 1961, pp.1-20.

HCM22, p.38.

Ibid.

This is first found in Ts'ao Ts'ao's "T'ien-lun lun-wen," see Lin Yin ed., Liang Han San-kuo wen-hui, 1960 edition, pp.102-3.

See Takahashi Toshinori, Nihon kyōkushii, p.96.

The date 806 is chosen here because it was the first year in the ninth century when there was member of the council who was from the University. The other two dates have been chosen to show the changes which occurred after every thirty years. The data are from KGBN, v.1, pp.61-135.

See Edward Seidensticker, The Tale of Genji, 1977, pp.360-86. In the chapter called Otome or the Maiden, Genji was determined to send his son to the University, notwithstanding the fact that most of his contemporaries thought that education was not essential for those from a good family. When Yugiri, his son, showed his proficiency in his studies, however, more and more people from aristocratic families began to study and sit for the degree examinations. However, this is unlikely to have happened as late as the beginning of the eleventh century when, as will be discussed later, the University was in decline. It was perhaps more a reflection of the longing for the glorious past. Murasaki probably based her ideas on what actually happened in the ninth century, when education was encouraged in the imperial family. For a discussion of the passage, see Tamagishi Tokuhei, "Murasaki Shikibu no kyōiku ri'nen," Kodaigaku Kyōkai, Sekkan jidaishi no kenkyū, 1965, pp.442-62.

Miyada, Kibi no Makibi, p.252.

Two examples can be found. The first is the Ûterin established by Ishikami no Yakutsuku, see his biography in SNHG36:781/6/24, p.474. The second is the Kōbun'in established by Wake no Hirose, see his biography in NHKK8:799/2/21, p.19.

RJSDK12, p.392.
See, for instance, Torao Toshiya, Engi shiki, 1964, pp.10-62. Many of the compilers might have been studied at the University, but because of the lack of information it is hard to be sure.

See Sakamoto, Rikkokushi, pp.178-87, 220-32, 252-7. The noteworthy thing here is that the later the volume was compiled, the more compilers were from the University. Again, it can be suggested that many of the other compilers whom we know little of were in fact graduates of the University.


See, for instance, SDJR15:868/2/25, pp.231-2; 45:884/5/29, p.569-63. Many of the professors of literature, themselves probably graduates of the University, were in fact appointed Imperial Tutors (shitoku), see Kawaguchi Hisao, Heiancho Nihon kanbungakushi, 1960, pp.106-8.

This examination is called the gi monjôshō shi, a term which officially appears in EGS18, p.487, and 20, p.524. Hisaki thinks it was probably started between the years 825 to 860 (Daigakuryô, pp.82-4). It may be suggested that it was established at the time when the number of professors of literature was increased to two in 834, but no supporting evidence can be found.

For further discussion, see Momo, Jôdat gakuset, pp.126-32. It is difficult to determine again whether the development of patron and protegé relationship was influenced by the T'ang, but it is interesting to note that some of the terms used, such as "mounting the dragon gate", "disciples", resemble much those used by people in the T'ang.
For Sugawara, see Sakamoto Tarō, Sugawara no Michizane, 1962; for Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, see Tokoro Isao, Miyoshi Kiyoyuki, 1970; for Ki Haseo, see KGBN v.1, pp.158-9, in which his official career till his death is traced.

The system of tokugōshō was started in 730 (RGS3, p.80) with four for the students of the classics, two for each of the other courses. Yet only a few records appear throughout the ninth century and little is known about them. See the list by Momo in Jōdai gakusei, pp.92-6. In EGS19, p.510, the term tokugōshō was used to replace the terms shūsai and shinji as found in the Ko'ninshiki (article on the shikibushō, pp.9-10). Whether the terms were used exchangeably in the ninth century is uncertain, though in a memorial sent in 837 (HCMZ2, p.38), it is stated that at one stage the term shūsaishō was used for both the candidates taking the shūsai and shinji examinations.

For further discussion of the characteristics of the gunshi, see Sakamoto, "Gunshi no hiritsuryōteki seisshitsu," Nihon kodaishi kisoteki kenkyū, pp.142-51.

The best Chinese example is probably Ma Chou, see CTS74, p.2612.

Momo, Jōdai Gakusei, p.419.

Hisaki, Daigakuryō, pp.160-1.

RJKS19, p.124; RJSDK15, p.205.

RJSDK5, p.206.

RJSDK5, p.195.

SDJR4:860/12/8, p.62.

For a relationship between the provinces and the capital in this respect, see Kida Shinroku, "Kammuchō ni hajimaru chihōjin kyōto kanbu ni tsuite," in Kammuchō no shomondaiz, pp.159-70.

These were called *higyo hakase*. In 862, for example, in the province of Shimotsuke, there were four professors, but they were all appointees without the consent of the central government (*SDJR* 44:883/12/25, pp.545-6). However, it seems that the order was not obeyed strictly. In 885 those who taught without the approval of the government were allowed to stay in their post for four or five years (*SDJR* 47:885/3/15, pp.584-5).

See, for example, *MTJR* 10:858/6/20, pp.117-8; *SDJR* 6:862/3/20, p.89; 6:862/8/?, p.95.

See, for instance, Yokota Ken'ichi, "Man'yō jidai no chihō shakai to bunka," *Hakichō Ten'heido no seikai*, 1973, pp.764-54.


*Keikokushū* 20, p.572.

*Miyada, Kibī no Makibi*, p.221.


*MTJR* 10:858/3/15, p.113. The earliest example of an Emperor who showed an interest in Taoist texts, however, was Minmyō, see *SNHK* 17:847/5/11, p.199.

See, for example, *HCMZ* 3, pp.58-9.


For a biography of Kūkai, see *SNHK* 4:835/3/21, p.38. Also see Kawasaki Tsuneyuki, "Kūkai no shōgai to shisō," in *Kūkai*, 1975, pp.405-35.
71 Shōryōshū 10, p.423. For further discussion, see Fuji Kenkyō, "Kōbo taishi no kyōiku shiso," Bukkyō kenkyū ronshū, 1975, pp.492-6.

72 Tōhōki, (Shokuzoku GSRJ v.12) p.121.

73 MTJR8:856/4/18, p.81.

74 SNHKK15:845/2/20, pp.176-7.

75 See, for instance, Kuei Ch'ung-ching and Kuei Teng in CTS149, pp.4014-20.

76 Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.72, 118.

77 The Kung-yang-chuan and Ch'ü-liang-chuan were brought back by a member of the staff of the University in 776 (NHKRA13, p.275) and was first taught in the University in 798 (RSG15, p.447). The Imperial Commentary of the Book of Filial Piety was first taught in the University in 860 (SDJR4:860/10/16, pp.55-6).


79 Kawaguchi, Heianchō Nihon kanbungaku, p.148.

80 To give some examples, for register compiler, see SNHKK 9:840/4/23, p.101; for decree drafter, SNHKK5:836/4/18, p.50; for statistician, SNHKK12:840/9/5, p.112; and for jurist, MTJR5:853/5/29, pp.52-3.

81 Sakamoto, Rikkokushi, p.19.

82 Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.387-8.


84 The earliest known textbook written for a Japanese by a Japanese is the Shikyō ruijū written by Kibi no Makibi in around 769. The better known ones afterwards were the Tōgu setsuin, a rhyming dictionary written by Suga-wara no Koreyoshi in around 847-50. For further discussion, see Con Clifford Bailey,"Early Japanese Lexicography," Monumenta Nipponica, v.16, 1960-1, pp.1-22.

85 One example to show that the Japanese had a good understanding of the T'ang legal system can be seen in SDJR6:862/8/?, p.95. For further discussions on the revision of the Japanese codes, see Inoue, "Nihon ritsuryō," pp.777-94.
3.3

1 Mori, Kentōshi, pp.187-214.

2 The official contact between Japan and Silla was an embassy from Japan to Silla in 882 (SGSG11, 11b) and that between Japan and Parhae was an embassy from Parhae to Japan in 929 (NHKRB1:929/12/24, p.29).


3.31

1 Kawaguchi, Heianchō Nihon kanbungaku, pp.660-5.

2 Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.344-9.

3 See the detailed study by Kaneko Hikojirō, Heian jidai bungaku to Hakushi bunshū, 1955 (revised edition).

4 For a general survey of the role of Chinese literature in the second half of the Heian period, see Kawaguchi, Heianchō Nihon kanbungaku; on the knowledge of Chinese learning on the part of the court lady writers at the end of the twelfth century, see Hagitani Boku, Heianchō bungaku no ehiteki kōsatsu, 1969, pp.331-40.

5 Sakamoto, Rikkokushi, pp.331-57.


3.32

1 HCMZ 2, pp.46-7; an English translation of this memorial can be found in D.J. Lu, Sources of Japanese History, v.1, 1974, pp.63-5.

2 EGS20, pp.525-6.

3 For an analysis of the financial situation of the University as seen in the Engi Code, see Momo, Jōdai gakusei, pp.353-60; Murakami, "Ritsuryōsei no henshitsuka to daigakuryō kyōiku no shōcho," pt.2, pp.33-44; Hisaki, Daigakuryō, pp.115-124.


7 SJYR27, p.161.

8 CYGS9, pp.237-8. This is recorded in a memorial submitted in 1110.

9 Ibid. 21, p.475.

10 For instance, those of Ise, Tajima, and Ishimi were damaged in 916, 933 and 937 respectively, according to one report (SJYR54, pp.341-2).

11 For instance, a professor was appointed to Tajima in 987 (RJFSS8, p.207). The Libation Ceremony was also observed in Kōzuke in 1057 (CYGS26, pp.535-6).


3.33

1 RJSDK12, p.192-3, mentions the Kangaku College being an affiliated college for the first time. The exact date however is unknown, but it is unlikely to be earlier than 836 (SNHKK5:836/5/26, p.54). For the recognition of the Shōgaku College and the Gakukan College, see NHKRB1:900/9/?, p.6 and B4:964/11/5, p.94 respectively.

2 The only records we have are the number of students of literature together with some members of the staff when they paid formal visits to the court during different years. See the table by Momo, Tōdai gakusei, p.191.

3 Hisaki, Daigakuryō, p.136.

4 For instance, some appeared in 1021, Shōyūki, (Shiryō taisei 1935 edition) 1021/8/22, pp.328-9; another was in 1112 (CYGS8, p.226).
EGS20, p.524. Since many of the provisions in the Engi Code existed only in theory but not in practice, whether this was actually carried out is questionable, see Torao, Engishiki, pp.131-3.

Only one student was recommended each year, but nevertheless, it signified the importance of the affiliated Colleges. See Takeuchi Rizō, "Uji no chōja," Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken, v.2, 1957, pp.367-8.

The first record of a Fujiwara to take the civil service examination was in 874 (RJFSS9, p.248).


NCMZ5, p.117.

Takeuchi in Ritsuryōsei to kizoku seiken, pp.349-66, has pointed out twelve large clans. Seven among them - Taka, Sugawara, Wake, Minamoto, Tachibana, Ō, and Fujiwara - either possessed an institution of learning or were active in the University.

MTJR11:851/5/5, p.11. See also p.234 of Momos Jōdai gakusei, where one part of the Irohajirushō is quoted.

Ishomōda Sho in fact also argues that the establishment of the Kangaku College was an attempt by the Fujiwara to expand its own influence within the framework of the existing governing system, see Kodai makki seijishi gaisetsu, 1956, p.56.

For a history of the Monjō College, see Murakami Tadao, "Monjōin no nendai sōsetsu ni tsuite," pp.12-37; also Hisaki, Daigakuryō, pp.110-2.

Nichūreki, (Kaitei shiseki shūran., v.23) p.40.


Shokugenshō 1 (GSRJv.4), pp.6290-300; also Hisaki, Daigakuryō, pp.193-8.
3.34

1 HCMZ22, pp.46-7.


4 See his biography in Honcho shinshū ōyōden, (Nihon shisō taikei v.7) p.687. For further discussion, see Hayamizu Tasuku, "Miyoshi Tameyasu no seikai," in Nihon shūkyōshi ronshū, v.1, 1976, pp.191-216.

5 For a discussion of the provision on examination in the Engi Code, see Hisaki, Daigakuryō, pp.124-31.

6 RJFSS7, p.160. Although the normal practice was perhaps resumed in the following year (NHKRB4:962/2/9, p.85; 962/8/2, p.89), records a century later suggest that it was not uncommon for the bi-annual event to be held once every two or three years ("Shien nenjū gyōji, shoku GSRō, v.10, p.240).

7 RJFSS 9, p.246.

8 Hisaki, Daigakuryō, p.185.

9 In 973, special treatment to those who repeatedly failed the examination was criticized in a memorial (RJFSS9, p.264), indicating such a practice existed as early as in the tenth century.

10 Momo, Jōdai gakusei, p.266.

11 Eishōki, 1110/3/18, p.113.

3.35

1 Sakamoto Tarō, Sugawara Michizane, 1960, pp.125-6.

2 Tokoro, Miyoshi Noriyuki, pp.204-6.

3 Momo; Jōdai gakusei, pp.360-80.
4 For a general survey of Buddhism in this period, see Nakamura Hajime, ed., *Heian bukkyō*, 1974.

5 See Kanno Takanobu, *Sōhei*, 1955, for a detailed study on the disputes and the development of the 'monk troops'.

6 *Chūyuki*5:1095/8/8, p.72.

7 To cite some examples, the professor of mathematics was absent in 942 ("Seki en shidai", *GSRJ*, p.519); no officials were present in 983 (*NHKB*7:983/8/4, p.143) and students were absent in the period of 1077-88.

8 *Chūyuki*5:1092/2/14, p.72.

3.36


2 Gōrihoshū, (*GSRJ*, v.6) p.911.

3 Hisaki, *Daigakuryō*, p.144.


6 The University was not rebuilt after the conflagration, but the Libation Ceremony and the internal examinations nevertheless continued to be held in the office of the State Councillor. The Kangaku College was rebuilt, but it probably disintegrated again soon afterwards as no more record of it can be found (*Gyokuyō*, 1117/5/28, p.50). The Shōgaku College probably did not exist when the fire broke out in 1177 as it was not mentioned.

Chapter four


See Chao, "Sung-tai te t'ai-hsuëh."


See the study by Hō Hung-sik, translated by Magoshi Tetsu, "Korai kakyō seido no kento," in Kan, pt.1, v.6-8, 1977, pp.3-25; pt.2, v.6-10, pp.54-84; pt.3, v.6-11, pp.91-124; pt.4, v.7-3, pp.44-67; originally printed in Han'guksa yon'gu., 1974.

Ch'ien Mu, for instance, writes in Kuo-shih hsìn-lun, (1975 edition), p.19, that "any individual (in the T'ang) could apply for taking the (civil service) examination." He also claims, in p.104, that the examination system had become the dominant practice of official selection in the government. The same idea is shared by E. Reischauer and J. Fairbank in East Asia, the Great Tradition, p.486.

Even in the later half of the T'ang dynasty when the chin-shih examination became very prestigious, the number of degrees conferred usually did not exceed forty, see WHTK29, pp.276-7. In the Sung, however, it was not unusual for a few hundred degrees to be conferred each year; for a detailed study, see Araki Toshikazu, Sōdai kakyō seido kenkyū, 1969.

A quantitative study of the changing composition of the ruling class in the T'ang dynasty has been conducted by Mao Han-kuang, T'ang-tai tung-chih chieh-ts'eng she-hui pien-t'ung, unpublished Ph.D dissertation, T'ai-wan cheng-chih ta-hsieh, 1968. He calculates that the actual effect of the civil service examination on the composition of the ruling class was only six percent, although the psychological effect it brought about was perhaps more significant, pp.327-35.

Sung-shih157, pp.3657-61. The National College and the Grand College continued to exist at the beginning of the Sung dynasty, and the Four Gate College was also established later. Yet it was the Grand College which became the most important institution. Its number of students was much greater than the National College or the Four Gate College, and it was for people from families of the eighth rank or above although admission was also granted to those from below.

Reischauer and Fairbank, East Asia, the Great Tradition, p.486; Murai Yasuhiko, Ōchō kizoku, 1974, pp.113-5;

11 Reischauer and Fairbank, *East Asia, the Great Tradition*, p.486.

12 This is pointed out by both Hall (*Japan: From Prehistory to Modern Times*, 1968, p.51) and Sansom (*A History of Japan to 1334*, 1958, p.474), but both fail to add that this did not hold true throughout the Nara and Heian periods.


14 It is clearly demonstrated in Mao's study (see note 8) that the An Lu-shan rebellion was a turning point in composition of the ruling class in the T'ang. Mao has calculated that confusion created by war and political instability played a greater role than any other factors in dismantling the existing social order - together they were responsible for about seven per cent of the changes (*T'ang-tai tung-chih chieh-ts'eng*, pp.342-6), but it may be suggested the effect might have been larger if it is remembered that social instability provided the necessary environment for other factors to become effective.


16 As early as 788, the *tokso samp'ungwa*, a form of examination was introduced in Silla (*SGSGII, 1b*), indicating that the Koreans were aware of the examination system's existence in China. In fact a number of Korean students went to China and successfully passed the Chinese examinations there in both the T'ang and the Period of Five Dynasties, see Yen Kang-wang, "Hsin-lo liu-T'ang hsüeh-
sheng yǔ ts'en-tu," in *T'ang-shih yen-chiu ts'ung-kao*, pp. 425-41. However, it was not until 959 that the civil service examination was firmly established, see *Koryosa*, 73, 2a-b. See also the discussion by Hö, "Kórai kakyō," and H.W. Kang, "Institutional Borrowing: the case of the Chinese Civil Service Examination System in Early Koryŏ," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, v. 34-1, 1974, pp. 109-125.
GLOSSARY

An Lu-shan 安祿山
Asuka 飛鳥
azechi 按察使
Bunka shūrei shū 文華秀麗集
Ch'ang-an 長安
Ch'en Hsi-chieh 騰希烈
Ch'en Kuei 匠執
Ch'en Tzu-ang 鈕玄
Chen T'an 鄭玄
ch'i-hsi 七夕
chi-hsien-ylan 稚賢院
chieh-tu-shih 節度使
ch'ih 丁
chih-chiu 祭酒
chih-hseeh-shih 直學士
chin-shih 进士
ch'ing 頃
Ching-tien shih-wen 敬典
Ching-tsong 九品中正
chiu-pin chung-cheng 九品中正
chiu-pin kuan-jen-fa 九品官法
Chiu T'ang-shu 九品官書
cho 頃
chokukai 直講
chou 州
Chou-i 周易
Chou-lic 周礼
Ch'ü-ch'iang 曲江
Ch'ü-shui 曲水
chu-chiao 助教
chu-jen 舍人

Chuang-tzu 樊子
ch'ih-shih 俊士
chung-ching 中經
chung-shu-sheng 中書省
chung-shu shen 中書舍人
Chung-tung 中宗
ch'ung-hsüan-kuan 崇玄館
ch'ung-wen-kuan 崇文館
daigakuryo 大學寮
daijokan 大政官
dainagon 大納言
Dazaifu 大行方
Engi 延喜
Engishiki 延喜式
Ennin 僧仁
Erh-ya 儒雅
Feng Yen 封演
fu 府
Fujiwara no Nakamaro 復起
Fumuya 俊長
Gakukan'in 学管院
Gosanwakashi 保善和歌集
Gokusui 曲水
Gunshi 群司
Gyōki 行基
hakase 博士
Han-lin-ylan 翰林院
Han-shu 漢書
Han Wu-ti 漢武帝
kuo-tzu-hsueh 国子學
Lao-tzu 老子
Li-chieh 礼記
Li Chiao 季嘗
Li Hua 李華
Li Po 李白
Li Pu 李逋
Li Pu Shih-lang 李逋侍郎
Li Tsung-ming 李宗閔
Lieh-tzu 列子
Liu Ch'ang-ch'ing 劉長卿
Liu Chung-yuan 劉崇淵
Li-wai 力外
Lo-yang 洛陽
Lu-hsueh 律學
Lun-yü 論語
Man'yoshu 万葉集
Mao-shih 主詩
Mappo 末法
Meng-ch'iu 蒙求
Min 明
Minabuchi 南浦
Ming-ching 明經
Ming-fa 明法
Miyoshi no Kiyo-yuki 宮西政行
Tameyasu
Monjo'in 文章院
Monjōshō 文書署
Montoku 文德
Mu-tsung 穆宗
Murasaki Shikibu 武蔵川紫式部
myōbō 明法
myōkyō 明経
Nagaoka 長岡
Nagaya no O 長屋王
nagon 納言
Naka no Oe 中大兄
Nakahara 中原
Nakatomi no Kamatari 中臣鎌足
Nanto rokushū 南都六書
Nihon kiryaku 日本紀略
Nihon shoki 日本書紀
Nihonkoku genzaisho 目録
Niu Seng-Ju 牛僧孺
Oe Daishō 大王
Oe no Masahira 大江匡庭
Ogura 大蔵
okototen 平古子點
Otsuki 小松
Paekche 百済
Parhae 渤海
pei-men-hsueh-shih 北門學士
P'eng 明
P'ai-chao 斐昭
Po Ch'i 白居易
po-shih 博士
Rikkokushi 六國史
Ryō no Shūge 陵霊集
Ryūunshū 龍雲集
Saga 大隅
Sakagami 酒安い
San-chuan 寺傳
San-kuo-chi 三國志
san-1i 三礼
san-shih 三史
Shang-shu 尚書
shih 使
Shih-chi 史記
Shih-ching 石經
Shih-shuo 石說
Shih-ta suan-ching 大衍經
shih-tien 釋奠
shih-tu 侍讀
shikibusho 式部省
shinji 莊園
shoen 資學
Shogakuin 順天學
Shoku Nihongi 紳時紀
Shomu 國學院
Shosoin 正倉院
Shōtoku, Empress 順德
Princen
shou-i-chia 服衣假
shu-hsueh 修學
shu-hsüeh 書院
shu-yuan 政院
Shugeshuchiin 調吏院
Shuo-wen 読文
shūsai 素才
ssu-men-hsüeh 四門學
suus-hsüeh 算經
Sugawara no Kiyokami 柴原清公
Koreyoshi 葛原清
Michizane 河原宗
suke no hakase 出翁
suike 助博士
ta-ch'eng 大成

ta-ching 大經
ta-hsüeh-shih 大學士
Tai-ko 代宗
t'ai-hsüeh 太學
T'ai-ko 太宗
Tahō 太后
Taika 大化
Takamuku no Genri 髙向玄理
Tanabata 七夕
T'ang-lui-tien 唐六典
T'ang-liu shu-i 唐律疏議
Te-ko 德宗
tebu 帖
Tenchi 天智
teng-k'o-chi 唐科記
t'ieh-ching 帖經
t'ien-chia 田假
tokugōshō 得業生
toneri 侍人
Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操
Tso-chuan 曹操
Tso-chuan 曹操
Tsushima 倫世
T'u-fan 吐蕃
Tu Yü 唐典
tung-tu 東都
Tunhuang 蘇懐
Ts'u-en 通經
Ts'ui-shen 通經
Tsao Lin 王維
Wang Wei 王維
Wakan Roeshū 和漢朗詠集
Wei, Empress 韋妃
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