CH'IU CHÜN (1421-1495)

AND

HIS VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY

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CHAPTER FIVE

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a. Influences: Traditional Elements and Historiographical Setting

The term "history", may be regarded, objectively, as all we know about everything man has ever done, or thought, or hoped or felt; or, subjectively, as a record of all that has occurred within the realm of human consciousness. In the realm of Chinese historiography, however, "history" never existed merely as a record of past activities, with no relevance to the contemporary situation.

In the Ming dynasty, though we can find no great historian such as Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-86 B.C.), due to unique political developments and the intellectual environment, historical writings excelled former dynasties in terms of quantity and blazed new trails in terms of form. In this respect, the historiography of the Shih-shih cheng-kang (Correct Outline of History of the World) are among those worth attention.

Ch'iu Chun's motives in writing the Shih-shih cheng-kang stemmed from his dissatisfaction with the historiography of his time, and the style of his writing and the form he employed consequently marked a new stage in the development of the Ming dynasty historiography. With regard to his historical thought, two traditional elements in Chinese historiography, namely the principle of "praise and blame" and the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian, which are outstanding influences to Ch'iu's conceptual framework, should be discussed here before we can go further into the content.

As a historian, the "praise and blame" principle served as the leading theme in Ch'iu Chun's historical writing.
This praise and blame function expected of writing history was one of the major principles in Chinese historiography serving to guide the historian in the formation of his opinions and in his selection of materials. This "praise and blame" principle, which originated from the Ch’un-ch’iu 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals), also formed one of the special features of Chinese historiography. In his work entitled *Traditional Chinese Historiography*, C.S. Gardner offers the following observation:

> The influence of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* upon later history has been enormous. To it may be traced the first authoritative expression of the idea that political morality should be upheld by the historian, that it is a function and responsibility of his calling to apportion praise and blame in due measure, not by extended personal comment, but by the manner and emphasis of his record.

Consequently, it was scrupulously observed by historians of later generations and, in fact, it became an obligation of the historian to apportion praise and blame in his writing of history. Very often, objectivity in praise and blame served as a decisive factor in judging a historical work's quality. To accord with this principle, history was required to blame the wicked to serve as a warning to others, and to praise the good to serve as an encouragement. In other words, by means of "praise and blame" of the past, history should perform a didactic role in the present. Nevertheless, it is due to this concept that Ch’iu was discontented with the historiography of his time. He thought that the principle of "praise and blame" was not sufficiently applied in the historical writings of the early Ming and, thus the didactic function of history was neglected.

What Ch’iu felt most annoyed about was the early Ming historian's attitude towards Chinese (hua 华) and barbarian (i 畷) relations,
and especially their recognition of the Yiian dynasty, a barbarian regime, as a legitimate regime. This was perhaps the most important factor that provoked Ch'iu to write the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*.

The demarcation between Chinese and barbarian reflected in Chinese historical writings was a concept that merit attention. In traditional China, Chinese and non-Chinese people were separated, both geographically and culturally. The demarcation between the Chinese and non-Chinese was always treated seriously and with intent. The term "Chinese", in general, referred to the "Han" people. The term "non-Chinese" usually denoted "non-Han" people, or as was commonly used in Chinese documents -- barbarian (*i*). This demarcation between Chinese and barbarian in traditional China was closely related with their concept of *t'ien-hsia*. The Chinese *t'ien-hsia* is a broad and ambiguous term. Its meaning varied according to the understanding of the Chinese of the outside world and the position of the one employing it. In general, it signifies "the empire", "all-under-heaven", or in modern terminology, "the world". *T'ien-hsia* is a more comprehensive notion than the Chinese concept of *kuo*, which only referred to a political unit, a state, a part of "the empire" in classical times, or a "nation" in the modern world. In the past, Chinese understanding of the outside world was rather poor, and perhaps due to the limitations of transport, their knowledge of the world was restricted to the Chinese nation and the barbarians on their four sides. A wealth of goods made China self-sufficient and consequently gave rise to an assumption of Chinese superiority. Thus, according to the Chinese concept of *t'ien-hsia*, China was regarded as, and believed to be, the centre of the world, possessing the highest prestige in the world both politically
and culturally. Related to this concept of *t'ien-hsia* was the creation of terminology such as "Son of Heaven" (*t'ien-tzu*), which the Chinese emperors claimed for themselves, and "Mandate of Heaven" (*t'ien-ming*) etc. Although the title "Son of Heaven", the one who received "Mandate of Heaven" to rule the world, was usually employed by Chinese emperors to assert the legitimacy of their rule, its meaning, nevertheless, suggested the rule of the emperor over both Chinese and non-Chinese people.® Professor John K. Fairbank in an article discussing Chinese foreign relations gives the following interpretation of the Chinese concept of *t'ien-hsia*:

*T'ien-hsia*, "all-under-heaven", presided over by the *t'ien-tzu*, the "Son of Heaven", sometimes was used to embrace the whole world including everything outside of China (*Chung-kuo*, "the Central States", the Middle Kingdom); but in common usage it was taken to designate the Chinese empire, which in any case included most of the known world.9

Without doubt, the Chinese concept of *t'ien-hsia* was sinocentric, or more precisely, ethnocentric.

Though the "racial discrimination" of Chinese against the barbarians in the past is without much meaning nowadays, and the politicians and historians of modern and contemporary China are trying their best to maintain that the Mongols, Tibetans, Manchus, and other minorities are members of the great Chinese race,10 however, we cannot deny the historical fact that nomadic tribes were treated as barbarians and foreigners in the past, and relations between Chinese and non-Chinese peoples were governed by this ethnocentric concept of Chinese superiority.

For a clearer picture, the relations between Chinese and non-Chinese peoples and the Chinese concept of *t'ien-hsia* may be illustrated by the following diagrams:11
I. Geographical Location

As shown in diagram I, within T'ien-hsia, there existed only the Chinese and the barbarians. Geographically, China was located in the middle of T'ien-hsia, and the name Chung-kuo, or the Middle Kingdom, was derived from this concept. Barbarians, or non-Chinese people, living on the four sides of the Chinese kingdom could be generally divided into two categories: the "inner barbarians" (nei-i 内夷) and the "outer barbarians" (wai-i 外夷). Apparently, they were divided according to
their geographical location: the inner barbarians were those located in
the inner circle surrounding the Middle Kingdom, whereas the outer
barbarians were those located in the outer circle far away from the
centre. However, their demarcation also had cultural implications. The
inner barbarians were supposed to be more civilized than the outer
barbarians since they had closer contact with the Middle Kingdom, the
centre of world culture. Theoretically, Chinese would be Chinese and
barbarians would be barbarians, however, this boundary could be changed
through the process of assimilation. Non-Chinese people could come into
closer contact with the Middle Kingdom as the influence of the Chinese
world expanded. They "came and were transformed" (lai-hua 来化),
irresistibly, by the superior blessings of Chinese civilization.\(^\text{12}\)
Ho Hsiu 何休 (129-182), a scholar of the late Han dynasty, in his
commentary on the Ch'un-ch'iu, states: "In a moderately peaceful age,
we include the Hsia 巳 within and exclude barbarians without.
During the age of grand peace, barbarians advance and become dukes."\(^\text{13}\)
Although Ho Hsiu was elaborating the situation of the Spring and Autumn
Era (770-481 A.D.), as well as that of the Han dynasty, during which
barbarians were accepted into the Chinese hierarchy when they "advanced"
to the civilized Chinese kingdom,\(^\text{14}\) basically, this was also the
attitude of the later dynasties. The word "advance" implies the meaning
of "cultural assimilation". This attitude towards Chinese and barbarian
relations, the transformation of the barbarians through assimilation,
was further developed in the later ages: Barbarians who advanced to
China, i.e. admired and therefore assimilated Chinese culture, would be
treated as Chinese. This concept showed the generosity of the Chinese
and likewise, this was also regarded as a "conciliation policy"
adopted by the Chinese to bring the barbarians under control. Thus, in past history, there were often examples of barbarians, or nomadic tribes, who submitted themselves to the Son of Heaven and were granted permission to settle on China's frontier within the Great Wall -- the wall marking the boundary between Chinese and barbarians and one of the clearest symbols of the character of China's early foreign relations. However, barbarians who were "treated" as Chinese, were distinguished merely from those barbarians who remained beyond the Great Wall. In actuality, they remained non-Chinese, or rather non-Han, unless through such means as inter-marriage when they became totally assimilated to the Han race, no longer identifiable as being of barbarian origins.

In theory, the supremacy of the Chinese over the barbarian could never be challenged. The material wealth of the regions within the Great Wall, however, proved a constant temptation to the restless nomadic tribes without. Barbarian invasions, either massive or sporadic, occurred continuously. In most cases the Chinese armies could rebuff such invasions, at times even launching punitive expeditions against their perpetrators. During periods of Chinese weakness however, the Chinese were forced to make concessions to the barbarians, either by means of peace negotiations, as in the case of the "friendly-marriage" (ho-ch'in) policy of the Han or the gift-offerings of the Sung, or, in extreme cases, by moving their capital to the south. China had in its past history, before the Yuan dynasty, experienced conquest by barbarian tribes. On such occasions, their barbarian conquerors had only established hegemony over parts of northern China. For instance, the Toba Wei dynasty (366-534) in 368, the
Khitan (北京) Liao 遼 dynasty (906-1125) in 906 and the Jurchen 女真 Ch'in 宋 dynasty (1125-1234) in 1125. The Chinese people could still retain their 天子 t'ien-hsia and possess their "Son of Heaven". At the very least, they did not have the feeling of the "destruction of the state" (亡國 wang-kuo 元国). To the Chinese, convinced as they were of their own innate superiority, conquest of the whole of China by the Mongols in 1271 proved an humiliating and painful experience.

It was fair and reasonable for traditional Chinese historians to deny a barbarian dynasty the status of a legitimate regime in their own history. Although barbarians successfully occupied and ruled parts of China, their actions would only be treated as usurpatory. Of course, when Chinese historiography was under their suppression and control, it would be otherwise. One particular aspect was that after a non-Chinese people had established their regime in the Chinese territory, they also would lay claim for their legitimacy of succession in Chinese history. Perhaps this was necessary to their rule in China. Originally, the theory of "legitimate succession" (正統 cheng-t'ung 正統) was employed by Chinese imperial rulers to maintain the rightful status of their political regime in an interdynastic linkage scheme of uninterrupted succession and by Chinese historians to justify the rightful status of imperial rulers and political regimes. Especially during times when China was in a state of chaos and ruled by more than one regime, the debate on and interpretation of legitimate succession would be even more intense and acute. Later, when non-Chinese people created the precedent of "outer tribes entering to rule" (外族入主 wai-chen ju-chu 外族入主) in Chinese history, the theory of legitimate succession also became one of the measures employed by Chinese historians to dismiss and reject
barbarian regimes, and by historians and rulers of the barbarian regimes to claim legitimacy for their rule over China.

Although barbarian conquerors tried their best to justify themselves, to Chinese historians, however, barbarian regimes would still appear as illegitimate. In Chinese historical writings, the histories of the regimes established by barbarians in China would be regarded as unorthodox and could only be seen as an appendix to the history of Chinese dynastic succession. Moreover, once the Chinese people had seized back power from the barbarians, any theories of legitimate succession claiming the rightful status of the barbarian regimes and defence for the barbarians would be refuted and condemned. Such was the case with Wang T'ung (584–617), an eminent Confucian of the late Sui period (589–618), who, in order to claim the dynastic legitimacy of the Sui dynasty, endeavoured to legitimize the imperial position of the Toba Wei, which in turn implied a recognition of the rightful succession of the Sui dynasty, the successor to the northern regime. Nevertheless, he could not avoid reproof from the later scholars. The Jurchen Chin, an alien ruling house, established their barbarian regime in the northern part of China during the period from 1125 to 1234. Their emperors, who were very concerned about the legitimacy of their regime within the Chinese traditional dynastic succession pattern, patronized a series of discussions on dynastic legitimacy between 1194 and 1202 in the context of the Five Agents (wu-te, i.e. wood, water, fire, earth and metal) theory. They came to the conclusion that the Chin should bypass the Liao, a barbarian regime from whom the rule of the Chin succeeded, and adopt the Earth Power in succession to the Sung. Their painstaking efforts
were wasted, however, when the Ming dynasty recovered the Chinese empire and Chinese historical writings at that time placed the histories of both the Liao and Chin as supplements to the history of the Sung dynasty.  

The Mongols' conquest of China for ninety-eight years, from 1271 to 1368, was humiliating to the ethnocentric Chinese. When Chu Yuan-chang, founder of the Ming dynasty, overthrew the rule of Mongol Yuan and restored Chinese rule, according to traditional concepts, he should have placed great stress on the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian, and emphasized the cardinal principles of national righteousness (min-tsu ta-i 民族大義), or, at least, he should have repudiated the legitimacy of the Yuan dynasty in Chinese history so that the barbarians would be castigated and the Ming would cast off the shame of succession to a barbarian regime. Instead of acting in accordance with the traditional concepts, Chu Yuan-chang, on the contrary, recognised the Mongol Yuan as a legitimate regime in Chinese political history.

The compilation of an official history for a defunct dynasty by the following dynasty or a later one was usual in Chinese historiography. Very often, such action was political in nature. On the one hand, the official preparation of a history of the fallen dynasty could be interpreted as showing generosity on the part of the new rulers and implied recognition of the fallen dynasty. On the other hand, and most importantly, the compilation of the history of the previous dynasty was in fact a means to legitimize the rule of the succeeding emperor and to confirm his regal status. Thus, the compilation of the history of the preceding dynasty was always the immediate task of
the succeeding dynasty. The Ming dynasty was no exception to this. Early in the second month of the second year of Hung-wu (1369), when most parts of northern China were still under the control of the Mongols, Emperor T'ai-tsu ordered the compilation of the \textit{Yuan-shih (History of the Yuan dynasty)}. He told his courtiers:

> Recently, upon the fall of the Yuan capital, we obtained the Veritable Records of its thirteen reigns. Although the Yuan dynasty has been destroyed, its events should be recorded. Moreover, history marks success and failure and offers lessons of encouragement and warning, it should not be abandoned.\textsuperscript{23}

Of course, such a statement was merely lip service and had nothing to do with his actual motives. Sung Lien (1310-1381) and Wang Wei (1322-1373) were appointed as supervisors to head the compilation. Sixteen Yuan scholars, then in retirement from public life, were invited to take part in the compilation.\textsuperscript{24} The compilation was completed in the eighth month of the same year. Because of omission and gaps, especially in the portion on Emperor Shun (Toghon Temür, r.1333-1368), the compilation project was reopened in the second month of the next year (1370) after a countrywide search for Yuan documents and reference materials. In the eleventh month of the same year, the second version of the work was finished. As a result of the two compilations, the completed work of the \textit{Yuan-shih} was altogether 210 chüan in length, consisting of 47 chüan of imperial annals, 58 chüan of monographs, 8 chüan of tables and 97 chüan of biographies.\textsuperscript{25}

Due to the lack of full-hearted commitment to the work on the part of the compilers, especially the late-Yuan scholars, the \textit{Yuan-shih} was completed in great haste without detailed planning and investigation. Its quality was disappointing, and among the Chinese standard
histories, it has received the most unfavourable comments. Even in Ming times, scholars of the mid and late Ming periods showed their dissatisfaction with the work though they dared not to criticize openly this officially compiled history. But unlike Ch'ing and later scholars, who usually comment on the carelessness and oversight in handling materials, the Ming scholars and historians disagreed with the attitude of the work towards the Yuan regime. Wang Chu, in his *Sung-shih chih* (Essential History of the Sung Dynasty), for instance, did not miss the opportunity to denigrate the historical status of the Yuan dynasty when claiming the legitimacy of the Sung dynasty. He placed the accounts of the Mongol rulers of the Yuan dynasty under the category of *Jun-chi* (Irregular Annals), which differed from the *Cheng-chi* (Orthodox Annals) of the Sung rulers, and he refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Mongol rulers. Moreover, he tried to create an impression of the continuity of native Chinese rule after the fall of the Southern Sung. To accomplish this, Wang deleted all the reign titles of the Yuan emperors and substituted them with a fabricated chronology based upon the ancestral line of Ming T'ai-tsu, elevating this line of succession to the status of direct successor to the Sung house. Obviously, due to its distortion of the historical facts, Wang Chu's method of dealing with the Yuan dynasty was too extreme and did not appeal to all. Nevertheless, the example of the *Sung-shih chih* manifested the opinion of the late Ming historians -- They refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Yuan dynasty, a Mongol regime which the official history, the *Yüan-shih*, had treated as the legitimate successor to the Sung royal house and a legitimate regime in the line of Chinese political tradition.
Although China had experienced conquest by alien nomads in her history before the Yuan dynasty, never before had non-Chinese people conquered the whole of China and ruled over it. When the Mongols defeated the Southern Sung and established the Yuan in 1271, they undoubtedly established a humiliating precedent in Chinese history. But for what reason did the early Ming court show them no strong rebuke?

As a matter of fact, Chu Yüan-chang's attitude towards the Mongol Yuan was inconsistent and ambiguous in terms of the historical records of early Ming. In the beginning when Chu Yüan-chang was still trying to consolidate his power, the slogans of his uprising were racialist and patriotic. Until as late as 1367, Chu maintained his nominal subordination to the Sung movement, which sought the restoration of the Sung dynasty, under the symbolic leadership of Han Shan-t'ung 賀尚堂 (d.1351), who proclaimed himself a descendant in the eighth degree of Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 (Chao Chi 趙佶, 1082-1135), and later Han Lin-erh 韓林儀 (d.1366), a son of Han Shan-t'ung, a descendant in the ninth degree of Hui-tsung.29 Regardless of whether the slogan of the restoration of the Sung dynasty was a rebellious disguise or a military tactic, nevertheless, it implied the return to "non-barbarian" rule.30 Chu Yüan-chang also stressed the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian. In one of his letters to Ming Yü-chen 明翼臣 (1331-1366), the ruler of the Hsia 賀 in Shu 蘇 (Szuchwan) dated 1365, he says:

Originally the barbarians lived in the desert; now, on the contrary, they reside in the Central Plain. This is indeed a situation in which the cap and shoes change places. You should take hold of this opportunity to rise and occupy the upper reaches of the country (i.e. the Yangtze), and I will take advantage of the strategic positions of the Yangtze. You and I, working together like lips and teeth, should cooperate to recover the Central Plain with one mind and one concerted effort.31

In this letter Chu Yüan-chang condemned the Mongols' conquest of China
as violating the natural hierarchy of Chinese and barbarian. However, he expressed no strong denunciation of, nor vigorous protest against the Mongols’ conquest of China, and his condemnation merely consisted of but a few words. The strongest expression of ethnocentric ideas Chu Yüan-chang ever made was a proclamation to the north in 1367 before he launched his northward expedition. This proclamation, later known as "Yü Chung-yüan hsi" (Official Proclamation to the People of the Central Plain), was directed to the people of north China. The proclamation reads:

Since ancient times, emperors and kings reigned over the world, Chinese stayed in the inner realm to restrain the barbarians and the barbarians stayed in the outer realm and served the Chinese; one has never heard of barbarians ruling the world. After the fall of the Sung royal house, the Yüan, who are northern barbarians, entered and ruled China. People within and without the four seas dared not to submit themselves. This was hardly [the result of] human effort, but really the bestowal of Heaven. However, sensible men and people with lofty ideals still realized the sorrow of inverting the cap and shoes ...... When their descendants indulged in dissipation, deviated from the principle of the relationship between ruler and minister, and in addition, prime ministers monopolised power, judicial officers requited personal vengeance, and local officials tyrannized [the people], thereupon, people revolted in their mind and uprisings arose everywhere... At this time, the heavenly cycle was in rotation, and tremendous momentum accumulated in the Central Plain; among the millions of Chinese a sage should be born to drive out the barbarians and restore the Chinese empire... I have respectfully received the Mandate from Heaven, and dare not to rest myself in peace. In the midst of planning a northward expedition to chase the barbarians [out of China], to rescue the people from their misery and recover the dignity of the Han government, I am afraid that people might misunderstand [my motives] and treat me as a foe, moving their families to the north, their plight becoming ever worse. Thus, I make this proclamation before [I launch my army].... Those who submit to me will enjoy perpetual peace in China, those who resist me should flee to the steppe beyond the Great Wall by themselves. For the people of China, Heaven will give mandate to a Chinese [to take up the task] of giving peace to the Chinese. How can the barbarians rule over them ?

Informed with ethnocentric and cultural pride, this summons laid special emphasis on China’s position in the inner sphere and restriction of the
outer barbarians; and the rightfulness of Chinese rule over Chinese is presented as a fixed principle, clearly as a means of creating and spreading hostility against the alien Mongol dynasty. Nevertheless, this proclamation referred to a historically determined view of what had always held true for China and its relations with non-Chinese people. And to a certain extent, according to contemporary scholars, this proclamation can be regarded as an "original manifesto of national revolution", the first piece of work that manifested a nationalistic concept in Chinese history, consequently affecting the anti-Manchu thought in early Ch'ing and the rise of Chinese nationalism in the later part of the Ch'ing dynasty. Of course, what they are referring to, in actuality, can only be classified as Chinese, or Han, proto-nationalism. Perhaps, in rebellions against alien dynasties, ethnic differences and racial prejudice often played an important role in creating and spreading hostility. Since the Mongols superimposed a racial stratification on Chinese society and put "Han Chinese" and "Southern Chinese" at the two bottom layers of it, rebels against these masters seems to make the most of such discriminations. Chu Yüan-chang would not abandon such an opportune cause to appeal for popular support, and the above proclamation was a good example of this intention. However, after the establishment of the Ming dynasty in 1368, Chu Yüan-chang showed recognition of the Mongol conquest of China: an acceptable and legitimate event in the context of China's historical and cultural traditions. In a solemn prayer of sacrifice to heaven that Chu Yüan-chang, then Emperor T'ai-tsu, offered in 1368, he stated reverently: "With the end of the Sung, God (ti) ordered the true man in the steppes to enter China and serve as ruler of the empire."
The same words were repeated in Emperor T'ai-tsu's enthronement announcement in the first month of the first year of Hung-wu (1368). He even explained the downfall of the Yüan dynasty as due to the end of their destiny. In fact, long before 1368, Chu Yüan-chang more than once mentioned that the Yüan dynasty was established with the Mandate of Heaven. This implied that the Mongol Yüan was a legitimate dynasty in the Chinese political tradition. In the ninth month of 1367, he wrote a letter to Emperor Shun, the last emperor of the Yüan dynasty, exhorting Emperor Shun to accept the irresistible fate and surrender. In the letter Chu Yüan-chang says humbly: "In olden days, Chin and Sung were forsaken by Heaven and the astrological fates were on the side of Your Majesty's ancestors. Thus, a Tartar tribe who rose in the desert could enter China and serve as ruler of the [Chinese] people." And one month later, in the tenth month, in the proclamation to the people of north China which has been quoted above, Chu Yüan-chang also mentioned: "After the fall of the Sung royal house, the Yüan, who are northern barbarians, entered and ruled China, people within and without the four seas dared not to submit themselves. This was hardly [the result of] human effort, but really the bestowal of Heaven." This proves Emperor T'ai-tsu's attitude towards the Mongol Yüan— they could enter and rule China because they received the Mandate of Heaven. And needless to say, a regime which received the Mandate of Heaven was beyond doubt a legitimate regime. On many occasions Emperor T'ai-tsu even praised the Yüan in its heyday as a period of prosperity and great peace and its might surpassed all former dynasties. For example, in the letter to Emperor Shun in 1367, he described the early Yüan as follows:
At that time the laws and norms were strict and clear, so that the stupid and villainous were overawed and inclined themselves toward virtue, the strong did not oppress the weak and the many did not do violence to the few. Among the commoners, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, all lived peacefully in their proper spheres. There was no greater blessing than this. In the past, [areas that] emperors and kings amalgamated were simply the Central Plain, barbarians on the four sides were out of control. Only [at the time of] Your Majesty's (Emperor Shun) ancestors, both inside and outside the four seas, different areas and various races, all became their dominions. There is no such precedent from ancient times.  

From the writings of Emperor T'ai-tsu and the documents of early Ming, it is not difficult to find that praise of the politics and livelihood of the Yuan era was constantly on the lips of Emperor T'ai-tsu. In an address to his courtiers in 1369, Emperor T'ai-tsu praised the early Yuan as a "peaceful era", their emperors and ministers were simple and unadorned, their government affairs were brief and concise, their people all lived peacefully. And in an announcement published in 1387, Emperor T'ai-tsu described the Mongol regime saying "everywhere there was harmony", "all existed in abundance", "even the extremely poor could consume what they possessed in their homes and the poor had the joy of poverty."

It is strange, therefore, that the prosperous and harmonious Yuan dynasty, as described by Emperor T'ai-tsu should have collapsed. Emperor T'ai-tsu maintained that the causes of the Yuan dynasty's collapse were: the later Yuan emperors were unable to supervise the details of government operations personally. They ignored their ancestors' instructions and spent their time in enjoyment. Power devolved into the hands of high officials. Likewise, notorious officials took advantage of the times. They perverted the law by playing with legal phraseology. Thus, within the government and amongst the public, corruption became a common
practice. Laws and norms ceased to be binding, discipline and order gradually disappeared until the dynasty disintegrated. The comments of Emperor T'ai-tsu give the impression that the collapse of the Mongol Yuan was not much different from the collapse of former Chinese dynasties. Moreover, the transition from the Sung to Yuan, and from Yuan to Ming, was only a matter of dynastic change. In other words, Emperor T'ai-tsu accepted the Mongol regime as one of the ruling dynasties of China and recognized its legitimacy. This view was proved to be true when Emperor T'ai-tsu ordered the compilation of the official history of the Yuan dynasty in 1369. The format of the Yuan-shih follows the example of the former officially compiled standard histories. With the preservation of "Imperial Annals" (pen-chi), it implies the recognition of the legitimate succession of the Mongol rulers to the Sung royal house. Apart from this, the compilers of the Yuan shih did not express any denunciation of the Mongol's conquest of China, instead, they praised the founder of the Yuan dynasty, Khubilai Khan (1215-1294), posthumously Emperor Shih-tsu (r. 1260-1294) as "benevolent, forthright and brilliant". Furthermore, in the first month of the seventh year of Hung-wu (1374), Emperor T'ai-tsu decreed the moulding and installation of the statues of the great rulers of China's past, which were going to be worshipped in the imperial temple. Seventeen eminent rulers were selected for this purpose. They were: Fu-hsi 伏羲, Shen-nung 神農, Huang-ti 黄帝, Shao-hao 少昊, Chuan-hsü 祝融, Kao-hsin 咎咨, T'ang Yao 塔 Yao, Yu Shun 禹舜, Hsia Yu 夏禹, Shang T'ang 商湯, Chou Wu-wang 周武王 (Ch'i Fa 姜太), Han Kao-tsu 漢高祖 (Liu Pang 劉邦, 2568.C.-1958.C.), Han Kuang-wu 光武 (Liu Hsiu 劉秀, 68.C.-57 A.D.), Sui Wen-ti 隋文帝 (Yang Chien 楊...
It is interesting to know that Emperor Shih-tsu of Yuan was also included as one of the great rulers of Chinese history alongside the founders of the Han, Sui, T'ang and Sung dynasties and the sage rulers of antiquity. Of course, to the Ming historians of later times, including Ch'iu Chun, all these actions were unconscionable. Even in the Ch'ing dynasty, as a matter of fact, the great Ch'ing historian Chao I (1727-1814) challenged the image of Khubilai as a benevolent sovereign, excoriating him over his ungovernable appetite for military conquest and his rapacity in exacting revenue from the people.

Although the existence of these phenomena seems incredible for a Chinese regime who had just supplanted and ended the barbarian conquest, the attitude of Emperor T'ai-tsu was understandable if we care to go into the situation of early Ming in greater depth. T'ai-tsu's confusing views on the Yuan reflected his immediate needs and purposes in establishing the new Ming dynasty. A very peculiar feature of the late Yuan period was that the scholars and gentry class generally stood aloof from the rebellion or actively defended the Yuan regime against it. What they regarded as more distressing was the breakdown of public order and the consequent destruction of life and property. After the collapse of the Yuan, the handling of the remaining Yuan loyalists and the Yuan officials who surrendered to the new government was a difficult problem. Moreover, many of the scholars Chu Yuan-chang recruited in the course of his uprising, such as Sung Lien and Liu Chi (1311-1375), had once served the Yuan government. How should he justify the participation of these Chinese scholars in the Yuan government?
As the contemporary scholar Ch'ien Mu concludes in his study of the writings of the Ming founding officials, there were strong feelings of nostalgia for the deceased Yiian dynasty in the writings and poems of the early Ming scholars. Thus, if Emperor T'ai-tsu wanted to win the support of the literati, he had to make concessions.

Besides, the situation also forced him to recognize the legitimacy of the Mongol Yiian. When the Mongol rule in China came to an end, a large number of Mongols were forced, or chose, to stay behind. Although it is difficult to determine the exact number of Mongols who remained in China, according to historical sources, the number would not have been too small. Moreover, in the early Ming, Mongol migration to China was also a very common feature. A source in the Ming-shih shows that in the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371), altogether eighty-four thousand Mongol families migrated to Peking. Another source shows that in the early Ming period there were more than ten thousand Mongols at the capital, making up a strong proportion of the population of the metropolitan area. There were also Mongol soldiers captured at war or surrendered to the Ming who were recruited to the government troops and became a major force in the Ming army. In order to consolidate his power and successfully build up the new dynasty, Emperor T'ai-tsu was bound to recognize the legitimacy of the Yiian dynasty and abandon racial slogans. This is also the reason why T'ai-tsu every now and then promised in his summons to offer forgiveness to all the non-Chinese who surrendered and official positions to those who were capable of serving the new regime, giving them fair treatment and equality with the Chinese. A typical example of this was in the eighth month of 1368 when T'ai-tsu declared: "As Mongols and Se-mu (Central Asians) are
living on our soil, they are our people (ch'ih-tzu 子子), those who are capable shall be employed on a basis of equality [with the Chinese].” The recognition of the legitimacy of the Mongol regime and the leniency to the barbarians was a compromise necessitated by the actual situation, and it was also, perhaps, motivated by the pro-Yüan scholars at the court. With this line of policy, the compilers of the Yüan-shih had every reason to treat the Mongol Yüan as being of equal status with former Chinese dynasties. Besides, the compilation of the Yüan-shih was also a means employed by Emperor T'ai-tsu to attract the loyalist Yüan scholars.

Private historical writings on the Sung and Yüan were scarce in early Ming. Perhaps early Ming historians were not willing, or dared not, comment on matters that the government had already come to conclusions upon. Two historical works by Chu Ch'üan 朱漸 (1378-1448), Prince of Ning 孝王, the seventeenth son of Emperor T'ai-tsu, namely the T'ien-yüan shao-t'ung 天運昭統 (Dynastic Succession According to the Heavenly Cycle) and the T'ung-chien po-lun 遠經博論 (Extensive Discussion on the Pervading Warning of History), can be regarded as representative of the private historiography of this period. These two works, to a large extent, reaffirmed the official view of the Ming government on the Mongol Yüan. T'ien-yüan shao-t'ung, in 1 chiuan, is a brief genealogy of the rulers of China from Fu-hsi of antiquity down to the end of the Yüan dynasty. In the preface, dated 1406, Chu Ch'üan declares that the motive of this work was to demonstrate the succession to the Mandate of Heaven in history through the Five Agents scheme. A genealogical tree of the Mongol rulers was included at
the end of this work which indicated that the Yuan succeeded to the Sung dynasty's Mandate of Heaven by adopting the Earth Power. The T'ung-chien po-lun, in 3 chüan, was completed in the twenty-ninth year of Hung-wu (1396) and presented to the throne in the ninth month of the same year. The whole work is divided into two parts: the first part, chüan 1 and 2, consists of the biographies of the rulers of China beginning with P'an-ku-shih 興古氏 and ending with Emperor Shun of the Yuan. The second part is a chronological table of former dynasties according to the sexagenary cycle. Worth mention here is that in the T'ung-chien po-lun the Liao and Chin regimes were regarded as illegitimate and appended to the Sung. Established by barbarians, both regimes were also condemned as "usurpatory occupation" (chien-chü 傑僞). But the T'ung-chien po-lun has completely different treatment for the Yuan dynasty though it was also a barbarian regime established by military conquest. In the chronological table under the cyclical year chi-mao 克卯 (1279), Chu Chüan ended the annals of the Sung dynasty and placed the annals of Yuan in the main column, and noted that in this year the Yuan "unified the world". This implies that the Mongol rulers were legitimate successors to the Sung royal house. In the biographies of the Yuan rulers, except in the case of the last emperor, Emperor Shun, Chu Chüan praised the emperors of Yuan as "broad-minded and magnanimous", "good in maintaining the achievements of his predecessors", or "virtuous ruler of one generation". In the concluding remarks, he said:

As a state, the Yuan stayed in China for ninety-three years. The ten emperors who ruled the empire were able to associate
themselves with the [people] everywhere by sincerity and trust, and were known throughout the empire for their benevolence and kindheartedness. Although they were born and lived in the desert, and were without the learning of Classics and histories, their way of rule coincided with the [Way of] rule of T'ang Yü. It may be called the Kingly Way indeed. What are the reasons for this? [It is because their rulers] did not employ the way of might, taking delight in power and killing, or advocating fraud and force to muzzle public opinion. What they employed were no treacherous and deceitful tricks, no suspicious and jealous ideas, no branding and cruel punishments, no laws of secret investigation and illegal arrest.... Therefore, those alive are without complaint, the dead are without regret, and this in consequence led to the [reappearance] of the honest and simple customs of the ancient time. And the Kingly Way is so extensive and far-reaching, it was for nearly a hundred years that people harmoniously enjoyed the peaceful and prosperous era. It was a great fortune for people to be born at this time.71

From these two historical works of Chu Ch'üan, we have the impression of inconsistency and confusion. Generally speaking, the T'ung-chien po-lun and T'ien-yün shao-t'ung observed the principles and moral obligations of historical writing handed down by Chinese historians, especially from that of the Ch'un-ch'iu and the T'ung-chien kang-mu. Usurpers were condemned, such as Wang Mang (45 B.C.-23 B.C.) and Empress Wu, Wu Chao (624-705), and their regimes were treated as illegitimate. Barbarian invasions, like Liao and Chin, were disapproved of. Although they had conquered and ruled a large portion of Chinese territory, what they deserved were still an accessory status and an infamous designation of "usurpatory occupation". The concept of "legitimate succession" was generally complied with, the result being that periods such as the Northern and Southern Dynasties (420-589) and the Five Dynasties (907-979) were regarded as eras "without legitimate successors" (wu t'ung-che).72 However, its treatment of the Mongol Yuan dynasty was inconsistent with the previous examples. What we can deduce from it is that in the T'ung-chien po-lun the Mongolian regime in China
was not regarded as a barbarian invasion or usurpatory occupation, but as a legitimate and honourable polity. The Yüan rulers were no different from previous Chinese emperors, and, to a certain extent, their exalted virtue and high moral character even surpassed their predecessors.

The officially compiled standard history of the Yüan dynasty, the Yüan-shih, and the historical writings of Chu Ch'üan, the T'ung-chien po-lun and the T'ien-yün chao-t'ung, affirmed the attitude of Emperor T'ai-tsu towards the Mongol Yüan and served to define the historical status of the Yüan dynasty in early Ming historiography. Needless to say, these writings may not be representative of general opinion, however, but they can be regarded as representative of early Ming historiographic attitudes towards the Yüan if we consider the poverty of early Ming historical writings. The attitude of Emperor T'ai-tsu towards the Mongol Yüan may be regarded as being motivated by political necessity. Its effort and significance were confined only to his reign or a particular period of time. Whereas historiography is supposed to be something everlasting, any bias or distortion would be bound to receive criticism and reproval from historians of later times. The assessment of the Yüan dynasty in early Ming historical writings violated the principles of Chinese historiography, especially the consistent discountenance of barbarian invasion. Reappraisal of the Mongol Yüan and reaffirmation of the cardinal principles of Chinese historiography was only a matter of time.
b. Motives for Writing the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*

The historiography of the Ming dynasty, as far as principle and realization of its moral obligation are concerned, underwent a great change after the fourteenth year of Cheng-t'ung (1449). In fact, more precisely, the pressing desire for change and reform assailed the Ming dynasty in many aspects after 1449, and consequently a new development in Chinese historiography emerged.

In the seventh month of 1449, urged on by the chief eunuch Wang Chen (d. 1449), Emperor Ying-tsung led in person a vast army of half a million soldiers against the Oirat-Mongols. The battle however ended in a disastrous defeat for the Chinese. On the fifteenth day in the eighth month of the same year, which happened to be the Mid-Autumn Festival, the dispirited Ming army fell into an ambush in T'u-mu outside the Great Wall fifty li northwest of Peking. One half of the half-million men of the Chinese army were killed; some straggled back to Peking, and the rest fled, or were captured. All the high civilian and military officers of the imperial entourage, who were also veteran statesmen and top-ranking officials at the court, were killed. And, most humiliatingly, Emperor Ying-tsung, the Son of Heaven, was captured by the Mongols and held prisoner in Mongolia for a year. For the emperor of China to be a prisoner of the barbarians, quite apart from the loss of prestige involved, was an unprecedented catastrophe for the Ming. Fortunately, forthright leadership in Peking managed to save both dynasty and nation. The events, however, so altered the consciousness of Ming statesmen and common people that the idea of the Mongol menace remained prominently
fixed in their minds until the end of the dynasty.\(^3\) W.E. Soothill in his *China and the West* on early Chinese foreign intercourse concludes: "The Chinese had early experience of 'foreigners' in their own racial type, long before they came into contact with other races. As long as they were successful in absorbing weaker tribes, there was no anti-foreign feeling. Such feeling naturally began to crystallize when they were the victims and not the victors."\(^4\) His judgement is very appropriate in this case. This humiliating debacle did arouse the anti-foreign feeling of the Ming people. As a result, there was a wave of sentiment against the Mongols, and by extension, against all the alien conquerors in Chinese history. This upsurge of proto-nationalism was manifested not only in memorials to the throne denouncing the Mongols, but also in *belles lettres* and folklore.\(^5\) An example of this trend was the praise and deification, by the common people as well as the government, of the Sung national hero Yüeh Fei 鈞飛 (1103-1141), a general who distinguished himself in resisting the invasion of the Jurchen and a paragon of Confucian loyalty.\(^6\) This anti-foreign sentiment also informed the historical writing of the Ming dynasty and consequently led to the emergence of nationalistic historiography, and was especially reflected in the rewriting of Sung, Liao and Chin histories, in the later part of the Ming dynasty.\(^7\)

To a large degree, Ch'iu Chün's writing of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* was motivated by this anti-foreign sentiment, though his desire to uphold the principles and moral obligation of Chinese historiography and relegate the legitimacy of the Mongol Yiian had already lain buried deep in his heart. In 1449, when the battle between the Ming and the Oirat-Mongols broke out, Ch'iu was a student at the National University
in Peking. He saw with his own eyes the disastrous defeat of the Ming army and the humiliating capture of the Ming emperor by the barbarians. He personally experienced the danger of subjugation by barbarian invaders when the Mongols assembled their horsemen to attack the capital city which necessitated a life-and-death defence of Peking. This experience consolidated his intention to undertake the compilation of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*.

The *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, in 32 *chüan*, covers the period from 221 B.C., the year marking the ending of the chaotic period of Warring States (403-221 B.C.) and the unification of China by Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang 夏始皇 (259-210 B.C.), to 1368, the founding of the Ming dynasty by Chu Yüan-chang; a total of one thousand five hundred and eighty-nine years. Apparently, the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* was written in imitation of Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu* 通鑑綱目 and Lü Tsu-ch'ien's 易祖譜 (1137-1181) *Ta-shih chi 大事記* (Record of Important Events). The *T'ung-chien kang-mu* was compiled in accordance with Ssu-ma kuang's 司馬光 (1019-1086) *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 真説通鑑* (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government). Its special feature is the reinterpretation of historical events by using the writing technique (*pi-fa 立法*) of praise and blame employed in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The *Ta-shih chi* was edited in the form of the chronology employed in the *Shih-chi 录記* (Record of History) by Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145-86 B.C.) and incorporated the records of the *Tso-chuan 左傳* and other historical documents. Its characteristics are the supplementation of what Lü thought was neglected and insufficient in the above writings and the appendix of notes and comments under historical events. On the one hand, the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* took the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*
as a model for applying "praise and blame" and proceeded from the hidden
counsel of the Ch'un-ch'iu. On the other hand, it followed the writing
style of the Ta-shih chi and appended explanatory notes and remarks
to most of its entries. However, Ch'iu's work is not merely an
imitation; it has its own characteristics. As Fei Yin states in
a preface to this work: With regard to the works by Chu and Lü which
Ch'iu modeled himself on, Ch'iu's principle was "to clarify what is
hard to understand and to supplement what is not [expressed] in full
detail."10 In comparing the Shih-shih cheng-kang with the
historical writings of his predecessors, Lü Tsu-chien and Chu Hsi,
Ch'iu said:

Someone may ask: Since the writing of the Ch'un-ch'iu by
Confucius, thereafter, on the main historical events, there
is the account by Master Lü, it is possible to continue his
work; on legitimate succession, there is the writing by Chu
Tzu (Chu Hsi), it is possible to abide by what he wrote. What
is the use of compiling this work? The answer is: The account
by Master Lü [was written in such a way that] it records the
main events and probably gives attention also to trifling
matters; the writing by Chu Tzu [was written in such a way
that] it stresses the legitimate and probably concentrates also
on [the fact of] unification. My humble work will record only
the main events, the trifling and minor matters will not be
included; will accept only the legitimate regimes, whether
they have achieved unification or not will not be taken into
account.11

In other words, the Shih-shih cheng-kang was to be more concise in
content and simple in elaboration. Regarding the concept of "legitimate
succession", which Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu attached much import-
ance to, Ch'iu treated the question even more strictly. He took the term
cheng-t'ung in its original implication, that is, treated the words
cheng and t'ung separately,12 and placed special emphasis on the
problem of cheng (correct, rightful, legitimate, or orthodox) rather
than t'ung (succession, rule, or unification). Concerning the character-
istics of this work and the motives of its compilation, Ch'iu stated:

The writings of sages and wise men are euphemistic and upright. The writings of scholars are clear and direct. Euphemistic and upright, so as to expect [the perusal] by wise men and perfect gentlemen of later generations. Clear and direct, so as to edify the students and youngsters of the present generation.1 3

"Euphemistic and upright" and "clear and direct" are the basic differences between the writing style of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, Ta-shih chi and Shih-shih cheng-kang. And, perhaps, "clear and direct" can also be regarded as one of the characteristics of the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Ch'iu praised the Ta-shih chi and T'ung-chien kang-mu as "writings of the sages and wise men", these works were written for the perfect gentlemen of later times. Thus, according to Ch'iu, the Ta-shih chi and T'ung-chien kang-mu were immortal writings of the sages, which were written in a euphemistic and upright manner, their audiences were only the learned and the educated. Ch'iu regarded himself as a common scholar, not a sage or wise man. His work, the Shih-shih cheng-kang, was written with a different motive and directed to a different type of audience. In fact, Ch'iu thought that the historical writings of the sages and wise men of the past, like those of Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, were only taking care of the learned men and literati who had the ability to understand the sublime words and deep meanings revealed between the lines, not the common people and the general public. He considered that the common people, or what he referred to as "students and youngsters", who were the majority of the society, had long been neglected. Because of this, Ch'iu thought that he had the responsibility to undertake the compilation of a history, with clear and direct expression, for the majority. In the preface of the Shih-shih cheng-
kang, Ch'iu says that people have different natural endowments when they are born. The wise and the learned are usually few, whereas the stupid and the unworthy are many. The writings of the sages, being written with profound purposes and strict principles, cannot be understood without the nature of a wise man or perfect gentleman. Thus, those who can peruse and understand them are usually so few. His work, Ch'iu says, compiled for the stupid and the unworthy, is written in a simple and concise way, giving "plain account of the events and clear elaboration of the significations", so that "those who have eyes can read together, those who have ears can listen together, those who barely know the rudiments of writing and righteousness, without waiting for explanation and speculation, are also able to understand." A history for the commoner and for the present generation, marked the peculiar mission of the compilation of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. Probably, the intention to compile a general history for the public is also one of the underlying motives that provoked Ch'iu to undertake this task.

To a historian, generally speaking, as long as he can give a precise account of the happenings of the past without distortion, his duty is fulfilled. However, Chinese historians seldom give plain record without employing the technique of "praise and blame" -- a guiding principle for the thought and selectivity of Chinese historians. Certainly Ch'iu Chün never gave up these dual obligations. He had the intention to prepare a simple and concise history for the commoner, and, at the same time, he wanted to uphold the cardinal principles of Chinese historiography, which had long been neglected, so that the didactic function of history could be brought into full play again. The *Shih-shih cheng-kang* was a product of these motives. However, are there
any main themes in his work? What does Ch'iu want to reveal to his readers? In the preface, Ch'iu gives an explicit answer:

What are the purposes of writing the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*? [It aims] to show the changes of the world, and to record the origins of [historical] events. In the case of the [historical] events, only those of importance will be recorded. In the case of its significance, it is merely to clarify the legitimacy of succession.15

The above passage gives a clear picture of the purposes behind the compilation of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. In his work, Ch'iu wanted to bring up the important events of the past and the origin of changes in the world. In other words, the selectivity of Ch'iu Chün would be guided by these two lines: (i) to show the changes of the world; (ii) to record the origins of events. Likewise, his writing was also informed by the main motive of this work -- to clarify the legitimacy of succession.

Regarding his desire to show the changes of the world and to record the origins of events, Ch'iu Chün was not setting up a platitudinous ideal which most of the historians claimed but actually showed not much difference from the past writings. Neither was he window dressing his book. The content of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* proves that Ch'iu was not making overstatement. Besides, his understanding and analysis of historical events shows that he was a historian with exceptional insight. A good illustration in this context is his choice of the year 221 B.C. as the beginning of his chronicle. The *Shih-shih cheng-kang* begins in the year 221 B.C., the twenty-sixth year of Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang, something unprecedented in his historical writing. Take the examples of his predecessors: Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu* starts from the twenty-third year (403 B.C.) of King Wei-lieh (r. 485-402 B.C.) of Eastern Chou. Lü Tsu-ch'ien's *Ta-shih chi* commences
in the thirty-ninth year (481 B.C.) of King Ching 蔡文 (r.519-477 B.C.) of Eastern Chou. Both decisions had their own reasons. The T'ung-chien
kang-mu aimed at continuing the record of the Tso-chuan by Tso
Ch'iu-ming 蘇明. The Ta-shih chi was compiled as a sequel to
Confucius' Ch'un-ch'iu, which ended in the fourteenth year of Duke Ai
哀公 (481 B.C.) of Lu 澳 (1027-250 B.C.). Their justification for
having such selection was, perhaps, to imitate and continue the writings
of the sage and wise man. However, Ch'iu did not follow this common
practice. That the Shih-shih cheng-kang begins in the twenty-sixth
year of Ch'in Shih-huang is evidence of his intention to show the
changes of the world. In an introductory note to the history of the
Ch'in era, Ch'iu explains:

Why does the Shih-kang start from the Ch'in dynasty? It aims to show the changes of the world. What is the reason for
this? The Former Three Dynasties are Hsia 興 (a.2205-1766
B.C.), Shang 周 (a.1766-1122 B.C.) and Chou 周 (a.1122-249
B.C.). The Latter Three Dynasties are Han 漢 (206 B.C.-220
A.D.), T'ang 唐 (618-907) and Sung 宋 (960-1279). The institu­
tions of the Former Three Dynasties ended with the Ch'in
dynasty. The institutions of the Latter Three Dynasties
started from the Ch'in dynasty. This was indeed a big occas­
on and a great boundary of the changes between heaven and
earth. Hence, the Shih-kang has its beginning in the
Ch'in. This is to show] its regret at the impossibility of
return to the Old Ways (ku-tao 古道 ) and the decline of
the Worldly Ways (shih-tao 業道 ) day by day.16

In other words, Ch'iu regarded the Ch'in dynasty as an important turning
point in Chinese history. On another occasion, he also affirmed that
the Shih-shih cheng-kang's starting from the twenty-sixth year of the
Ch'in dynasty and ending in the first year of Hung-wu (1368) was to mark
"the beginning of change of the Worldly Ways" and "the final stability
of the Heavenly Ways (t'ien-tao 天道 )."17 To Ch'iu Chün, through­
out Chinese history, the greatest change of the world was no less than
the destruction of the six states by Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang and his unification of the world. The main contribution of the Three Dynasties, Ch'iu said, was the building up of the feudal system. And then, it was all gone and nothing left. The humble desire of feudalism and the system of enfeoffment, which the ancient emperors and kings had pursued since the creation of the world, would never have the chance of revival. This was the origin of the changes in the Worldly Ways. Ch'iu also pointed out certain new policies adopted by Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang which ushered in a new epoch in Chinese history, such as:

a. He broke the practices of the former rulers, who styled themselves Huang, Ti or Wang, and styled himself Huang-ti, a title which implied having the virtue of San-huang and merit surpassing the Wu-ti.18

b. He considered his orders as law (chih) and his commands as decrees (chao).20

c. He referred to himself as chen, a special appellation used by the emperor.21

d. He abolished feudalism and divided the empire into provinces (chün) and districts (hsien), and set up the administrative posts of prefect (shou), commander (wei), and supervisor (chien).22

e. He unified weights, measures and the system of writing.23

All the above policies were certainly new in the context of Chinese political institutions.24 To take the Ch'in dynasty as the era to begin with, Ch'iu was not merely recording a new regime in Chinese history, but also bringing out its consequences to the development of
Chinese politics, institutions and customs. Thus, his intention to show
the changes of the world and to record the origins of historical events
was not to be confined to matters of "newness" or "change" alone, for
he also sought, perhaps mainly, to elucidate the "significance" and
"consequences" of these events to later generations.

In traditional Chinese historiography, Ch'in Shih-huang was
usually portrayed as a brutal tyrant, inhumanely pressing hundreds of
thousands of people into forced labour to fulfil his grandiose ambit­
ions and ruthlessly enforcing political and ideological uniformity to
secure control over the minds and actions of everyone within the
empire.\textsuperscript{25} These criticisms usually came from Confucians who looked
to the ancient past for their ideals and had a strong desire to restore
the old social and political order. And to a large extent, this kind
of criticism was based on a moralistic view point. Ch'iu's comments on
the Ch'in were affected by this line of judgement. He showed strong
regret at the destruction of the Old Ways and the decline of the Worldly
Ways. He felt sorry for the loss of the inheritance of the Three
Dynasties. Of course, he condemned Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang for that.
However, unlike former Confucians who only looked back and echoed
ancient times, Ch'iu showed his concern for the consequences of these
changes to later times, a more practical and realistic attitude in
handling historical events. The greatest impact of all, Ch'iu argued,
was the emergence of despotism in Chinese politics. From then onward,
"monarchical power grew day by day, ministerial status declined day
by day. Thereupon, those above and those below were separated by a
great distance. The courtesy of treating the ministers as teachers
was never heard again in this world."\textsuperscript{26} The above judgement proves
that Ch'iu was a historian with special insight. The rise of autocratic politics began with the establishment of a centralized government by the Ch'in and the elevation of imperial power to the supreme position. With the Ming dynasty, it is said that autocratic politics reached the apex.\(^27\) For historians living in such an environment, how could it be possible to remain without a response? It is quite possible that Ch'iu was using the past to disparage the present, a common practice of Chinese historians since ancient times and an invisible weapon still employed by contemporary historians. As an historian, through the study of history, Ch'iu never missed the chance to criticize autocratic politics and to perform his duty by attempting to restrain its expansion. Thus, the decision to begin his history with Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang, in order to show the changes of the world, may have had this implication.

Traditional Chinese historians seldom justify the Ch'in dynasty from an historical point of view. Perhaps due to their prejudice and also to the short span of the Ch'in dynasty, which lasted only fifteen years, the Ch'in dynasty was not given its correct place in Chinese history. However, the Ch'in political unification of China established the foundations of a centralized and bureaucratic Chinese empire; foundations which were to last with comparatively little change over two millennia until the creation of the Chinese Republic in 1912. Its influence was tremendous and its status in Chinese history should not be ignored. In this context Ch'iu showed his breadth of mind and historical insight. Although he accused Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang of destroying the old customs, he nevertheless recognized the important position of the Ch'in dynasty in Chinese political tradition; a period which marked the ending of the old and the beginning of the new. His
idea that the Ch'in dynasty was the "turning-point" of the Former Three Dynasties and the Later Three Dynasties and a period of great change in Chinese history was a progressive one, given the context of traditional Chinese historiography.

Our understanding of the historiography of Ch'iu Chün, through his Shih-shih cheng-kang, is incomplete if we ignore the motivation of his compilation -- to clarify the legitimacy of succession, the main theme of his work. We cannot find any article or treatise on legitimate succession in Ch'iu's writings, nor can we find a detailed discussion of the theory of legitimate succession in the Shih-shih cheng-kang. However, this does not mean that Ch'iu did not have an integral theory on legitimate succession. The method with which he treats historical cases in the Shih-shih cheng-kang illustrates the thoughtful and painstaking planning of his book. From the comments he makes on different events scattered throughout his work, we can sketch the contours of his idea on this question. Generally speaking, Ch'iu's concept of "succession" can be divided into different levels. In a broad sense, "succession" may be referred to interdynastic supplantation. In a narrow sense, it may be related to the right of succeeding to the imperial throne within a royal house. Certain criteria were set up by Ch'iu to designate his justification for applying "legitimacy" or "illegitimacy" to historical cases of succession. This will be discussed in full detail when we come to the principles and stylistic rules employed by the Shih-shih cheng-kang in the next section.

As well as Ch'iu's remarks on particular events, the application of "praise and blame" and the concept of "legitimate succession" were also shown by the use of terminology in the outlines of the events.
Basically, it was a method inherited from the Ch'"un-ch'iu and the T'ung-chien kang-mu, especially the list of guiding principles which Chu Hsi formulated for the guidance of his disciples in compiling the T'ung-chien kang-mu. It was Chu Hsi's conviction in laying down these guiding rules that only by a careful use of terminology and accurate reporting of the facts of history could the moral lessons of the past be clearly and forcefully presented to the ruler. Consequently, it established a standard for the historians of the later decades to follow. Although the set of rules laid down by Chu Hsi was generally observed by later historians, the use of terminology for praise and blame depends on the knowledge of the historian and his perception of the historical events. The Shih-shih cheng-kang could not break away from the influence of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, and, to a certain extent, it was an imitation of the T'ung-chien kang-mu. Into the foundation of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, however, Ch'iu poured a new substance. The praise and blame he employed did not necessarily coincide with that of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, which was in fact largely compiled by Chu Hsi's disciples and which in some cases showed a discrepancy with the rules set up by Chu Hsi. Very often, in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, Ch'iu showed his disagreement with the use of certain terminology in particular cases. It is outside the range of this study to do a comparison between the T'ung-chien kang-mu and the Shih-shih cheng-kang to see how far the influence of T'ung-chien kang-mu affected the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Perhaps it is also meaningless since the focus of the Shih-shih cheng-kang was on the latter half of the record, the history of the Southern Sung and the Yüan Dynasties, which the T'ung-chien kang-mu did not cover. But a sequel
to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* compiled during the Ch'eng-hua period under imperial auspices should be mentioned here and may shed some light on the motives of the compilation of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, and the rigorousness of Ch'i'u's application of praise and blame and the theory of legitimate succession under the inspiration of Chu Hsi's work.

During the Ming dynasty, Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu* was one of the few works that received the same respect as the Confucian Classics. It would not be an overstatement if we say that the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* had been treated as a "Classic" (*ching* 經) by the Ming scholars. Ch'i'u's comment in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* that: "The Ch'un-ch'iu is a history among the Classics; Kang-mu is a Classic among the histories,"\(^{31}\) was not at all personal and subjective, indeed it voiced the general opinion of Ming scholars, especially historians. As a representative of moralistic historiography, the study of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* had been promoted by the Ming court since the beginning of the dynasty.\(^ {32}\) Very often, it was a major discussion item in the Imperial Classic-study Meeting. In view of the lack of a history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties which could perform the didactic function of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, the Ming government had long had the intention to compile a sequel to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*. Early in the sixth year of Ching-t'ai (1455), an order was issued by Emperor Tai-tsung to his literary officials to compile a history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties as a sequel to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* with the suggested title *Sung-Yüan t'ung-chien kang-mu* 《宋元通鑑綱目》.\(^ {33}\) However, because the compilation was making slow progress,\(^ {34}\) following the restoration of Chu Ch'i-chen, the former emperor, in 1457, the compilation was shelved and never finished.
Fifteen years later, a similar project was initiated by the court. In the eleventh month of the ninth year of Ch'eng-hua (1473), P'eng Shi, Shang Lu and Wan An (1489) were appointed by Emperor Hsien-tsung as supervisors responsible for the compilation of a history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties in accordance with the principles of the T'ung-chien kang-mu. It is interesting to note that Ch'iu Chun was recommended by P'ang Shi to take part in the project as one of the compilers in 1474 shortly after he returned to Peking from Ch'ing-shan and resumed office. It should have been a good chance for Ch'iu to achieve his desire to uphold the didactic function of Chinese historiography and to relegate the Mongol Yuan in particular. The compilation lasted for three years and was finished in the eleventh month of the twelfth year of Ch'eng-hua (1476). Regarding the motives of compiling a sequel to the T'ung-chien kang-mu, in the preface of this work, granted by Emperor Hsien-tsung, there are these few lines:

After I reverently succeeded to the great cause, I applied myself to the counsel of the Classics with great concentration, and it has been for years that I have had sincere belief in them. Occasionally I read the historical writings of the former dynasties and [find that most of them are] erroneous and voluminous, [their mistakes are] impossible to point out fully. Only the Kang-mu written by the Sung Confucianist Chu Tzu in accordance with the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien by Master Ssu-ma Kuang, is precise in valuation and rigorous in making rectifications.... There is not a definitive edition on the history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties up to the present. Although there are such works as the [Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ] chang-pien and the Hsü-pien, they are not precise in selection [of materials] and erroneous in [judging] the rights and wrongs. Perhaps they were not written in accordance with the writing style of Chu Tzu. Thus, I required the Confucian officials to uncover the books in the imperial library and make reference to the original text of the official histories, and wholly conform to the general principles of Chu Tzu's T'ung-chien kang-mu, to compile the history of the Sung
and Yuan dynasties so as to incorporate the record of the
T'ung-chien kang-mu and form one single work. [This work],
which starts from the cyclical year keng-shen 康申 (1st
year) of Chien-lung 建隆 (960) of Sung and ends in the
cyclical year ting-wei 丁未 (27th year) of Chih-cheng
(1367) of Yuan, consists of the history of four hundred and
eight years, altogether twenty-seven chüan, is entitled
Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu 虢史通鑑記. All judge­
ments that are concerned with the punishment of rebellion
and usurpation, the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian,
the upholding of divine justice and the reproval of human
desire, and the regulation of titles to erect the constant
obligations of morality, probably coincide with the opinions
of Chu Tzu and could assist the Classics of the sages. 36

Judging from the above preface by Emperor Hsien-tsung, the compilation
of a sequel to the T'ung-chien kang-mu was directed to the lack of a
"definitive edition" of Sung and Yuan history, particularly a history
that could establish praise and blame and perform the didactic
function of Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu. Since Ch'iu was one of
the compilers, and the book was "written in accordance with the
writing style of Chu Tzu", Ch'iu's desire to uphold the cardinal
principles of Chinese historiography and to compile a general history
for the public should have been achieved. Why then did Ch'iu have
to compile another history by himself? Would it be meaningless? As
was mentioned above, although Chu Hsi had laid down a set of rules,
the use of terminology for praise and blame depends on the knowledge
of the individual historian and his perception of historical events.
Ch'iu was only one of the compilers, and he had to act according to
the direction of the supervisors. Needless to say, as a compiler,
Ch'iu had no say in decision making. According to historical record,
the compilation was carried out by dividing the work into different
offices, a compiler would be assigned to one office and, together with
the compilers in his office, prepare a draft on the portion for which
his office was responsible. All the drafts from different offices
would be submitted to the supervisors and amended. Only when there were controversial issues was discussion required, and, of course, the final decision was still in the hands of the supervisors. Thus, Ch'iu was not in a position to influence the decision. In Ch'iu's "Yuan-feng hsien chi", he once grumbled about being a compiler: "Our dynasty did not establish [a special office of recording] the Diaries of Activities and Repose (Ch'i-chü chu), when there is compiling work to be done, a particular office would soon be set up and the government provided it with stationery. [Compilers were to be] absolutely obedient to their supervisors and the rules. All drafts were to be presented [to the supervisors] item by item and amended according to their commands. Perhaps all compilations under government auspices have been like this since time immemorial. Although one forms his own opinions in this process, still he does not dare express them fully." In this passage Ch'iu was complaining about being a government compiler in general. However, we believe that the compiling task which gave rise to Ch'iu's major discontent was the compilation of the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu. A glance at the "Guiding Principles" (fan-li) of this book and which Ch'iu had to follow help us understand the reason for this. Eight rules are listed on the front page of the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu and these served also as guidelines for the readers. They are:

1. All outlines and digest follow exactly Chu Hsi's "Guiding Principles" [in the T'ung-chien kang-mu].

2. All events [will be recorded] entirely in accordance with the Standard Histories. If there is omission or difference in the Standard Histories, works like the Sung chang-pien, ...
the Yuan ching-shih ta-tien 真經世大典 and so on would be referred to for supplement and amendment. Or, events which are dubious and not recorded in the Standard Histories but which are widely spread, will be recorded briefly at the end of the digest and separated by a circle, or marked as "so and so said". So that the dubious will be passed on as being dubious.

3. Those who obtain the empire with the merit of saving the world will usually be promoted (chin 进). The founding of the Sung dynasty is very similar to the T'ang, therefore, following the example of the seventh year of Wu-te 武德 (624) [of T'ang Kao-tsū 唐高祖], the eighth year of K'ai-pao 閔煬 (975) [of Sung T'ai-tsu] is recorded in block characters.

4. When a Chinese dynasty is legitimate, barbarians cannot use their reign title to designate the years. Therefore, until the Chin and Yuan occupy the Central Plain, their reign titles are marked on one side under the reign title of the Sung.

5. When the barbarians interfere with the legitimacy [of China], but the legitimacy of China is not yet terminated, [legitimacy] will still be attached to China. Until the barbarians have occupied the whole empire and the legitimacy of China is terminated, only then will legitimacy be attached to them. In these cases, the style of writing will also be different. When there is the rise of an insurrectionary army in China, the barbarian [regime] will be treated immediately as a vassal state.

6. Any ruler who dies before his first year of rule is completed, will not be addressed by the title "emperor" (ti 帝), nor
will his death be indicated by the character ṃ (deceased).

7. All official titles of the barbarians will conform to the principle of simplicity. A person whose name has changes or differences will be recorded according to his original designation and his own biography in the Standard History.

8. All discussions and inferences by scholars that are appended to the digest will be cited under the author's name. Those that are quoted from the Standard Histories will only be attributed to "the official historiographer." Basically, the general principles observed by the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu conformed to those of the T'ung-chien kang-mu; as was made clear from the very beginning, the style of writing the outlines and digests would follow entirely Chu Hsi's "Guiding Principles" as found in the T'ung-chien kang-mu. However, because some of the cases were without precedent in history, the historians were bound to make their own judgments and determinations. In the case of the Liao and Chin dynasties, the historians could follow the example of the Toba Wei dynasty. But in the case of the Mongol Yuan regime, their decision was definitely not derived from the idea of Chu Hsi, since Chu Hsi could never have expected that barbarians could rule the whole of China. And, most probably, if Chu Hsi had been still alive, judging from his theory of legitimate succession as shown in the T'ung-chien kang-mu, he too would not have recognized the Mongol Yuan as a legitimate regime in China. But the supervisors of the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu who set the "Guiding Principles" were concerned more about unification than morality; if the whole country was unified under a single rule, then legitimacy would no longer be an issue. Thus, when
the Mongol Yuan successfully occupied the whole of China, according to their principle, legitimacy should be attached to them. But this was what Ch'iu Chun strongly opposed. We can imagine that Ch'iu must have been enraged when he received the rules and he was very unwilling to accept this task. Besides, comparing the records found in the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu to those of Ch'iu's Shih-shih cheng-kang, we found that the difference is not only on the legitimation of the Yuan, but is also found in their judgment on various events and historical figures; this is especially obvious in the use of terminology which Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu took seriously and which performed the special function of praise and blame. Some examples can be cited from the outlines of these two works which prove that there is a world of difference in their use of terminology:

1. Under the entry of the sixth year of Hsi-ling 飛 (1073):

   HTCKM: The Magistrate of the Nan-k'ang 面康 army Chou Tun-i 見 (departed [this world]). 7/4a
   SSCK: The great scholar Chou Tun-i 見. 25/7b

2. Under the entry of the first year of Yüan-yu 武 (1086):

   HTCKM: Wang An-shih 許. 8/2b
   SSCK: Wang An-shih 許 (died). 25/15a

3. Under the entry of the fifth year of Cheng-ho 楊 (1115):

   HTCKM: The Chin took Liao's Huang-lung 黃巖. 10/3a
   SSCK: The Jurchen took Liao's Huang-lung prefecture. 26/7b

4. Under the entry of the second year of Ching-k'ang 信象 (1127):

   HTCKM: The Chin people took ( 至 ) the two emperors and their empresses, concubines, princes and relatives [altogether] three thousand people to the north. 11/17b.
SSCK: The Jurchen served (feng 侍) Ex-emperor Chi and Emperor Huan on their travels to the north, and intimidated (hsieh 逼) all their empresses, concubines, heir apparent, princes and princesses, etc. to accompany them. 26/27b

5. Under the entry of the second year of Chien-yen (1128):

HTCKM: The Chin ruler Wu Ch'i-mai deposed (fei 罢) the Ex-emperor as Duke of Hun-te (muddled virtue) and Emperor Ching-k'ang as Marquis of Chung-hun (severe middle), and moved (hsi 彼) them to Han-chou. 12/5a

SSCK: Jurchen Wu Ch'i-mai addressed (ch'eng 領) Ex-emperor Chi as Duke of Hun-te and Emperor Huan as Marquis of Chung-hun, and they lived (chù 居) in Han-chou. 27/2a

6. Under the entry of the fifth year of Shao-hsing (1135):

HTCKM: Chin ruler Wu Ch'i-mai tsu. 13/14b

SSCK: Jurchen Wu Ch'i-mai ssu. 27/10b

7. Under the entry of the twelfth year of Shao-hsing (1142):

HTCKM: Ch'in Kuai 欽樞 killed the former Junior Guardian, Assistant Commissioner of Military Affairs (shu-mi fu-shih 指署副使) and Duke of Wu-ch'ang Yüeh Fei. 14/14b

SSCK: The emperor killed the former Junior Guardian, Assistant Commissioner of Military Affairs and Duke of Wu-ch'ang Yüeh Fei. 27/17a

8. Under the entry of the twentieth year of Shao-hsing (1150):
HTCKM: Palace Guard Shih Ch'üan 柒全 [intended to] assassinate Ch'in Kuai but failed. Kuai killed him. 15/4a

SSCK: Guard Shih Ch'üan [intended to] assassinate Ch'in Kuai but failed, he died [for a just cause]. 27/20b

9. Under the entry of the first year of Te-yu 德祐 (1275):

HTCKM: The Yuan Left Councillor of the Central Secretariat (chung-shu tso-ch'eng 中書左丞) Liu Cheng 龍澄 died at the battlefield in Wu-wei 武威. 22/1a

SSCK: Traitor Liu Cheng died. 30/8b

10. Under the entry of the thirty-first year of Chih-yüan 襄牷 (1294)

HTCKM: The emperor (i.e. Yuan Shih-tsu) peng 稽 (passed away). 23/19a

SSCK: Yüan ruler Khubilai ssu. 31/17a

The examples cited above show the differences in narration by their choice of precise terminology and the style they employ. Though they were narrating the same event with largely identical information, the diversity in the selection of terminology provided a different standard of praise and blame. Comparing the style of writing of these two historical works, the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu and the Shih-shih cheng-kang, the Shih-shih cheng-kang suggests a more stern and rigorous approach. In its narrative, the Shih-shih cheng-kang employs direct "praise and blame" -- the expression of the historian's moral judgment on events by means of careful, critical and precise use of selective terminology -- which Chu Hsi explains in full detail in the "Guiding Principles" of his T'ung-chien kang-mu. In the "Guiding Principles", Chu Hsi gives a detailed account of the terminologies that should be used in different situations. For example, when
recording the death of a person, the selection of the term: *peng*  （passed away), *hung*  （deceased), *tsu*  （departed [this world]）
or *ssu*  （died); and the selection of the term: *shih*  （murdered),
*chu*  （put to death, executed) or *sha*  （killed) in the act of
killing, would imply a completely different standard of "praise and
blame" and judgment. For example, in traditional China, *peng* was a
term specially use for the death of the emperor or empress, *hung*
was a term specially use for the death of the duke, prince etc., *tsu*
was a polite term to denote the death of a distinguished official or
eminent person, whereas *ssu* was a common term for oridinary people.
Each term had its "class" nature. The use of a term which is improper
to his position would, therefore, imply derogation and censure. With
this in mind, we can easily see that the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* has
a stronger moral commitment than the *Hsu t'ung-chien kang-mu*. As
in the case of Sung Hui-tsung  (Chao Chi 趙佶, r. 1101-1125)
and Ch'in-tsung  (Chao Huan 趙桓, r. 1126-1127) in the fourth and
fifth examples cited above, when the emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-
tsung were captured and dethroned by the Jurchen, barbarian invaders
from the north, the use of the terms "feng" (served) and "ch'eng"
(addressed) demonstrate that Ch'iu was a nationalistic historian, who
would never forget his obligation to vindicate national honour. Thus,
although the Jurchen had established their dynastic title — Chin,
Ch'iu still addressed them as "Jurchen" as a means of relegation.
The first and the seventh examples show Ch'iu's personal view on these
cases. His indictment of Emperor Kao-tsung  (r. 1127-1162) for
the death of Yüeh Fei which late Sung and early Ming historians seldom
raised was generally supported by Ming and Ch'ing historians as well
as by the researches of contemporary scholars. In the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, the moral import of the events is revealed through the choice of key words; in the reader's experience it thus emerges directly from the events, rather than as an opinion of the historian presented in assertion or explication. As a historical work, the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* shows strong influence from the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, and to a great extent, carried forward the historical views of the latter. Whereas the *Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu* was intended to be a sequel of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* not only in its chronological scope but also in its didactic ideals, it did not successfully achieve its aim. And, to some degree, it violated the very general principles of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* which its supervisors claimed to follow. On the principles concerning "Death and Burial", the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* states: "For all rulers and chieftains of barbarian tribes, write: 'died'." Therefore, when the *Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu* used the terms "departed" for the Chin ruler Wu Ch'i-mai and "deceased" for the Yuan ruler Kubilai, it was not in accordance with the practice of the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*. Besides, "deceased" was only used in the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* for legitimate emperors. Moreover, in the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, official titles were noted for worthy statesmen of good political performance. Liu Chen was originally a Sung official but surrendered to the Mongol Yuan and lead the barbarian invasion of China. The writing style of the *Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu* only glossed over his mistakes and certainly did not condemn him.

As a sequel to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, the *Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu* was, without the least doubt, disappointing. If moralistic
obligation and didactic function are the two most outstanding features of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, then, the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu could be said to be a failure. But the failure of the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu motivated Ch'iu Chun. Because of the compilation of the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu and being himself a compiler involved with this project, Ch'iu had all the sources on hand, and, no doubt, he had read thoroughly the "Guiding Principles" of the T'ung-chien kang-mu. Thus, five years later he produced his own compilation — the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Ch'iu avoided saying that his work was a sequel to the T'ung-chien kang-mu, but we have every reason to believe that the Shih-shih cheng-kang was written to carry forward the tradition and spirit of the T'ung-chien kang-mu, and consequently, in the realm of Chinese historiography, it was definitely a work that inherited the past and ushered in the future.
c. Guiding Principles and Presentation

The guiding principles of an historical work always play an important role in determining the success or failure of that work. Very often, well-conceived principles provide a favourable foundation for the historian to muster and present his source materials, and, at the same time, serve as guidelines for the reader to grasp the content of the work. It is not an overstatement to say that a historical work without a set of guiding principles, for both the historian himself and for the readers, is bound to suffer from slackness.

As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu is highly praised in Chinese historiography is that it has a set of detailed and thoughtful "Guiding Principles", which served as guidelines for the exercise of "praise and blame". Basically, the Shih-shih cheng-kang followed the principles established by Chu Hsi in the T'ung-chien kang-mu, especially in the use of selective terminology. Nevertheless, five brief guidelines were listed in the front page of Ch'iu's work which explain the stylistic form and standard of judgement employed. These five principles, which may be regarded as the key to Ch'iu's work, furnish valuable material for our understanding of Ch'iu's historical thought, especially his ideas on the function of written history. The "Guiding Principles of the Shih-shih cheng-kang" (Shih-shih cheng-kang fan-li 世界王 篇例) read:

1. In the composition of this work, all historical events will be recorded in terms of the year in which [they occurred], and the
season and the month will not be recorded. This is because in his writing of the classic, the sage recorded the full details of the four seasons, calling his work *Ch'ün-ch'iu* (Spring and Autumn), and I dare not arrogate to myself the right to imitate him.

2. In this book, only the outlines [of important events] will be referred to, and the details of the events will not be recorded. I dare not imitate the *kang-mu* (Outlines and Digests) of the wise man.

3. This work differs from previous historical writings in that a circle will be drawn below the sexagenary cycle (*chia-tzu* 禄) and above the reign title (*nien-hao* 聶), and the dynastic title (*kuo-hao* 国號) being written within this circle. (For examples, see the illustration at the back of this section.) Moreover, the dynastic title given, will be differentiated by being written in either vermilion or in ink. In all previous printed editions, vermilion characters have been represented by printing the background of the circle in black and leaving the character itself hollow. In this edition, vermilion characters will be represented by printing the outlines of the character only. Because the background being printed in either white or black, each having a particular meaning, reliant not only on whether they are printed in vermilion or in ink. In this way, the principles of *yin* 阴 and *yang* 阳 of the Supreme Ultimate (*t'ai-chi* 太極) are embodied [within the text].

4. All historical works are written in accordance with certain
principles of composition (i-li 理). This work presents the main and important events of former dynasties in order that scholars should be shown their significance, and to render them clear and easily understandable, concise and easily remembered. The composition of the text is determined by historical events without reference to any other principles of composition. Where, occasionally, a special principle is applied to an event, it will be recorded under the same entry.

5. All events recorded in this work accord with all that which is said in the preface. These, therefore, are my guiding principles (fan-li 箇).¹

On the whole, the above "Guiding Principles" give only very brief guidelines to the readers. In order to avoid the accusation that he was imitating the Ch'un-ch'iu and the T'ung-chien kang-mu, and, perhaps more importantly, in order to produce an explicit and concise work for the general public, Ch'iu employed the method of arranging all events on a yearly basis and omitting the season and month. Under each entry (viz. each year), he listed the important events that happened in that year according to their order, and only outlines of the events were given. Sometimes, with influential and controversial events, Ch'iu appended his own comments after the outline. This condensation, or simplification, did not detract from the readability of the book; on the contrary, it served to make it "easy to understand" and "easy to remember".

Quite apart from the first, second and fourth principles, all of which deal with the style of writing of this book, the third and the fifth principles merit our special attention. The third
principle gives a brief account of a new system employed in this book for marking the dynastic title and reign title — a new approach designed to show the legitimacy of succession. This system, invented by Ch'iu himself, was rather complicated, but it solved a problem which had long been troubling historians. Before we can go any further into the content of this system, we have first to understand more deeply the principles of this book since they are closely related to the functioning of this system. Although Ch'iu gave only five guiding principles, as cited above, for his book, there are some more which are not included in this passage. Under the fifth item, Ch'iu maintains that all that he states in the preface also formed part of his guiding principles. Having investigated Ch'iu's preface, we find that it did raise a couple of points which are important for our understanding of his work. In the preface, when Ch'iu is discussing his purposes in writing the Shih-shih cheng-kang, he states the aims of his book: to show the changes of the world, and to record the origins of historical events. Ch'iu states also that the significance of his work is to clarify the legitimacy of succession. It is an important statement that needs further elaboration. The clarification of the legitimacy of succession, being what Ch'iu referred to as the significance of his compilation, seems to be the major theme governing the writing of this work. But how exactly does he seek to "clarify"? And what does Ch'iu mean by the "legitimacy of succession"? What is his justification for legitimacy? The answers to these questions can be derived from the "Great Principles and Main Themes" (hung-kang ta-chih 宏纲大旨) of this book which Ch'iu had discussed at length in the preface. They are:
1. to rigorously differentiate between Chinese and barbarian
2. to establish righteousness between sovereign and minister
3. to restore the proper relationship between father and son

Ch'iu explained the meaning of "the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian", "the righteousness between sovereign and minister", and "the proper relationship between father and son", and their significance and importance. In the preface he says:

The demarcation line between Chinese and barbarian is determined by the frontiers. When Chinese [act] as Chinese, and barbarians as barbarians, things are in their proper order. When Chinese do not [act] as Chinese, nor barbarians as barbarians, however, the distinctions within mankind are obfuscated. The world cannot be allowed to be in improper order.

The decorum of the relationship between sovereign and minister is determined by the court. When the sovereign [acts] as a sovereign, and ministers as ministers, things are in their proper order. When the sovereign does not [act] as a sovereign, nor the ministers as ministers, however, the discipline of mankind would diminish. The state cannot be allowed to be in improper order.

The transmission of the proper relationship between father and son is determined by hereditary principles. When the father [acts] as a father, and a son as a son, things are in their proper order. When a father does not [act] as a father, nor a son as a son, however, the relationships of mankind are perverted. The family cannot be allowed to be in improper order.

The above statements give a clear picture of the content of the

Shih-shih cheng-kang's three "Great Principles", whilst at the same time they illustrate the broad vision of Ch'iu's book. Ch'iu attached importance to the relationships between Chinese and barbarian, sovereign and minister, and father and son, and regarded that these relationships directly affected the order of the world, the state and the family respectively. The focus here is the matter of the proper relationships, or the proper order. According to Ch'iu's concept,
there were three different levels of relations: the world level, the state level, and the family level. The order of the world, the highest level, depended on the relationship between the Chinese and the barbarians. The order of the state depended on the relationship between the sovereign and his ministers. The order of the family depended on the relationship between the father and his sons. The three levels denoted the width of the influence and the degree of importance. Geographically, the world was divided into the inner and the outer realm. It involved the interaction between the state, which was occupied by Chinese, and the outside world, which was occupied by barbarians. The order of the world directly affected the state; and the order of the state directly affected the family. Looked at from another angle, the family was a sub-set of the state; and the state was a sub-set of the world. Therefore, the world, the state, and the family, were inter-related, directly or indirectly, and affecting each other. In fact the three principles had the same end — the question of proper or improper order. These three principles were probably derived from Ch'iu's main guiding theme — the clarification of the legitimacy of succession. And the problem of "proper" or "improper" order, therefore, was the foundation of Ch'iu's criteria for determining "legitimacy" or "illegitimacy". Previously, as seen in the writings of former historians, the concept of legitimacy was generally directed to imperial succession as a whole, and inter-dynastic succession in particular. Historians usually confined themselves to a consideration of whether or not the founding of the dynasty was legitimate, or whether the founding emperor obtained the throne by rightful means, or, in some cases, whether the reign
accomplished the requirement of "unification". Seldom did they systematically classify into different levels as Ch'iu suggested and consider whether one's status and power, no matter on which level, came within one's jurisdiction. To Ch'iu, legitimation should be determined by whether one's reign was perfectly justifiable. To begin with, he stressed the importance of proper order: that is, the barbarians should know their place and behave themselves. They should not go beyond their bounds and encroach upon the Chinese's frontiers, the natural boundary between Chinese and barbarian, or make inordinate demands. If they did, their actions would be regarded simply as aggressive and their achievements would not be recognized as legitimate; in a state, the ministers should perform their duties and obey the decrees of their sovereign. They should not make presumptuous demands, or else, even though they may have successfully achieved their aims, what they had done would be recorded only as usurpation; in a family, the sons should fulfil their obligations and show filial obedience to their father. What the son inherits should be received from his father or be conferred by his father. In other words, a proper world order would see the Chinese living peacefully in the inner realm and the barbarians remaining in the outer realm; a proper state order would see the sovereign cautiously exercising his rule and the ministers attentively performing their duties; a proper family order would see the father willingly conferring what he possessed to his son and the son respectfully obeying the will of his father. More precisely, the superior and the inferior, the high and the low, the young and the old, all knew their place and behaved themselves. This is what Ch'iu says in the preface:
The Chinese must by all means rule over the barbarians, and the barbarians should never interfere in the dynastic lineage of China. The sovereign must by all means rule over the ministers, and the ministers should never develop inordinate ambition. Men must by all means rule over the women, and women should never serve in the masculine positions.7

However, in the course of history, human activities are never in a tranquil state without any impermissible behaviour. It became the obligation of Chinese historians to dispense praise and blame in history so that the didactic function and admonitory effect of history could be achieved in their time. The three "Great Principles" in the Shih-shih cheng-kang were Ch'iu's criteria by which to judge impermissible behaviour, and these three levels of proper order also served as criteria by which Ch'iu was to clarify and justify the legitimacy of succession. In this context, Ch'iu constantly stressed the necessity of knowing one's place. But were there any exceptions?

What should ministers do if their sovereign was deficient? In terms of the demarcation between Chinese and barbarians, Ch'iu maintained that there should be no excuse for encroachment, and in no circumstances should the barbarians invade the Chinese territories. As to the relationship between the sovereign and his ministers, however, Ch'iu had this to say:

If the minister has none of the sagelike qualities of a Shun or Yu, [the sovereign] should never talk of abdication. If the sovereign is not as tyrannical as Chieh or Chou, [the minister] should never talk of punitive expeditions. Although the sovereign is not as good as T'ai-chia or Yin, and the minister is without the will of Yin, there should not be any talk of banishment. [If the minister] is not empowered as a servant of Heaven, he should never raise punitive force [against his sovereign]. [If the minister] has not received the command of Heaven to denounce [his sovereign], he should never rid the sovereign of his evil courtiers. Although the situation may deteriorate to a point where nothing can be done, unless the action is perfectly
justified, [a minister] should never employ expedient measure. The distinction between the Heaven above and the Earth below, like the position of a cap and shoes, must be rigorously maintained. And the original intention in the heart must be sincerely maintained. Only in this way will the cardinal principles of righteousness [between sovereign and minister] be established.8

In the above passage, Ch'iu makes very clear the attitude a minister should have towards his sovereign. A minister should respect the majesty and loftiness of the sovereign. A minister should never dispatch punitive expeditions against his sovereign or force his sovereign to renounce the throne. For such actions would only be regarded as treason and heresy. Ch'iu made strong emphasis of this by his use of the words "should never". This shows that his argument was affirmative and definite. "Exceptional" circumstances whereby he considered that a minister was allowed to take action against his sovereign, were brought about by the combination of several conditions: First of all, the sovereign had to be really bad, worse even than Chieh or Chou, the examples of tyrannical rule in Chinese history. Secondly, the intention of the minister must be sincere and without any selfish motive. Even then, he had to be acting as a servant of Heaven or under the command of Heaven to do so. If this were not the case, Ch'iu argued that his action would not be perfectly justified. His idea to take into consideration both sides of the equation -- both the performance of the sovereign and the intention of the minister, to justify an insubordinate action was pretty objective and prudent. Besides, he was concerned also with the will of Heaven. Perhaps Ch'iu's reference to terms such as "servant of Heaven" or "command of Heaven" appear to us to be abstract terms. If however we understand that in Ch'iu's concept the people's will was merely the
reflection of Heaven's will, then the implication here is made very explicit. Since the will of Heaven is manifested by the people, a minister's actions must be accepted by the people or seen as being at the request of the people. Of course, it was a solution with no alternatives. Basically, the majesty of the sovereign should not be challenged. His position, Ch'iu explained, resembled Heaven or a cap, which should be on the top and could not be exchanged with Earth or shoes below. And this was a distinction that should not be confused.

Usurpation of the imperial throne by prominent and powerful ministers had occurred from time to time in Chinese history. Why then did Ch'iu wish to place particular emphasis upon the establishment of righteousness between sovereign and minister? His motives were twofold: apparently he wanted to condemn treacherous ministers of the past, so that their actions would go down in history as a byword of infamy; more importantly, he hoped that through the correct apportioning of "praise and blame", the didactic and admonitory effect expected of history could be felt in the present. In this way people of his time would know how to properly evaluate similar events if they were to happen again, based on their understanding of the examples of the past. As we have pointed out, Chinese historians never gave plain accounts of the past with no relevance to the contemporary situation. Ch'iu's emphasis on the righteousness between sovereign and minister as an important consideration of legitimation in his book was perhaps a reaction to deep feelings. The usurpation of the Prince of Yen 易王子, Chu Ti 軍提 (1360-1424), the fourth son of Emperor T'ai-tsu, in 1402 was not an incident far removed in time from Ch'iu's own. When the Prince of Yen dispatched his forces against his
sovereign in the seventh month of the first year of Chien-wen (建文, 1399) and seized the throne from Emperor Chien-wen (r.1399-1402), who was also his nephew, Chu yüün-wen (朱仁文, 1377-1402?) in 1402, the Ming scholars were really shocked and did not know where to turn. The virtue and the righteousness of an official to his sovereign could become a Gordian knot puzzling Confucian scholars from that time onward, especially when Fang Hsiao-ju (方孝孺, 1357-1402)12, an eminent Confucian scholar of the Chien-wen period and a loyal minister of Emperor Chien-wen who had refused to draft the rescript announcing the rightful succession of Chu Ti and who had berated Chu Ti as a criminal and usurper, was sentenced to death by Chu Ti, the then Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, together with his brother, all his kin, all his associates, his students, his friends, neighbours, and all persons even loosely connected with him. Although Chu Ti had described his expedition as an effort to "extirpate the disasters on orders from Heaven" (feng-t'ien ching-nan 奉天靖難) and had destroyed all historical records unfavourable to his claim of legitimate accession; later proving a vigorous and brilliant emperor, historians of the Ming dynasty generally disavowed his action to "rid the emperor of evil courtiers" and perhaps even treated his case as one of usurpation. In this way, Ch'iu's intent to strengthen righteousness between sovereign and minister in his Shih-shih cheng-kang and to express his views on punitive expeditions by ministers against their sovereign should not be treated as a sentimental pose.

With regard to the order of the family, Ch'iu considered it merely as a matter of relations between father and son, or more precisely, as a question of properly arranging the matter of
succession and the appointment of heirs. Why is this important?

Ch'iu said: "Although the root of the world is in the state, the root of the state is in the family. The family must be set in order, and only then is the state stable. There is never a case when the root is in disorder and yet the branches are in order." Confucian precepts maintained that the state was a combination of families, and that the state and families were in a direct relationship. The regulation of one family would, as a whole, then, lead to the regulation of the state. This is where Ch'iu's idea of "root" (pen 란) and "branch" (mo 木) was derived from. However, what Ch'iu meant by "family" here referred to the royal family in particular. As the modern scholar Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929) concludes in his study of traditional Chinese historiography, Chinese histories were merely the genealogies of the various monarchs. It is not surprising at all, therefore, that what Ch'iu was concerned about in his Shih-shih cheng-kang was order within the royal family. When we consider the particular pattern of traditional Chinese politics, and the importance of royal succession to an imperial dynasty, Ch'iu's special attention to the succession of the royal family was getting at the root of the problem. Although Ch'iu did not make an explicit statement of his beliefs, there are indications that he preferred family inheritance be handed down from father to son and by the method of primogeniture. In the preface, he says:

If the father has the kingdom, he is bound to vest it in his son. If the son holds the throne, it should be received from his father. If the father is not a real Yao or Shun and the son is not a real [Tan] Chu or [Shang] Chūn, [the father] should not offer [his kingdom] to a Shun or Yū. If
the son is not a real King Wu and the father is not a real Hsi-po (King Wen), [the father] should never give up passing the throne to his eldest son... It must be to his son that the father offers [his kingdom]; only then is the heart at ease. It must be from his father that the son succeeds [to the throne]; only then are the heart's wishes fulfilled. If it is not really a manifestation of the resolution of the great righteousness, one must not use expedient measures. Without a sincere desire to return [the throne], one must not speak of acting. The granting and receiving, taking and giving, must all accord with the fulfillment of the heart's wishes. To restore the original nature of the true heart, the human order must be regular, the principle must be proper, and the heart must be at ease. In this way are names rectified and positions determined.

Ch'iu did not prefer abdication, for perhaps he thought that this would only create confusion and lead to the struggle of the ministers for the throne. He thought that for the kingdom to be handed down from the father to the son was what one's heart felt ease at and desired. He insisted that the kingdom of the father should be passed on to the son and the throne to which the son succeeded should be inherited from the father. He regarded this as a rule. In history, however, imperial succession was very often breaking this rule. What was Ch'iu going to say in such cases? Did he treat them all as illegitimate? This depended on the intention of the father and the son. Ch'iu hoped that by restoring the original intention of the heart of the father and of the son, an upright decision could be made. In this way, the title and the position of the historical figure in question, whether it was legitimate or illegitimate, could then be justified.

Obviously, Confucian concepts of human relations played an important role in Ch'iu's philosophy of history. It is through the relations between Chinese and barbarian, sovereign and minister, and father and son that Ch'iu exercised the legitimation of succession.
The "Great Principles and Main Themes" of his book -- to rigorously differentiate between Chinese and barbarian, to establish the righteousness between sovereign and minister, and to restore the proper relationship between father and son -- were also Ch'iu's means of clarifying the legitimacy of succession. These three great principles and main themes together with the three motives mentioned in the chapter above, formed the central core of the Shih-shih cheng-kang.

However, although Ch'iu's justification for legitimacy, to be determined by applying the three principles, was by all means considerate and thoughtful, there was also the question of the presentation of such a complicated pattern of legitimation. This was especially so if he was going to take into account the legitimacy of the world, the state, and the family at the same time, in other words, both external succession and internal succession. In former times, theories of legitimate succession advocated by historians or political thinkers were usually directed to dynastic succession. The legitimation of dynastic succession, which was confined to the question of legitimacy in interdynastic supersession, had its limitations. Usually, when legitimacy was granted to a dynasty by the historian, it denoted that all the emperors in this dynasty were legitimate successors to the throne. However, usurpation or conspiratorial seizure of the throne within the royal family was not at all rare in history. Very often, usurpation which happened within a royal family did not necessary mean a change in dynastic title. While historians found it difficult to take into account both the internal and external successions, thus, an illegitimate successor in a
legitimate dynasty would not be pointed out and would succeed in evading criticism from the historians. Such was the case with Fang Hsiao-ju. His theory of legitimate succession was criticized as giving importance to the founding of the regime and making light of the successions within that regime, a tyrannical succeeding sovereign of a legitimate regime would be uniformly respected, and a worthy succeeding sovereign in an illegitimate regime would be uniformly condemned. Another technical problem that historians could not solve was the dichotomy between ideal and reality. This dichotomy was particularly acute when historians of chronicles had to decide whether they were going to use the reign title of the deposed emperor or the reign title of the usurper, such as in the case of Wang Mang and Empress Wu. For example, in the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien, in order to respect the historical facts, Ssu-ma Kuang used the reign title of Empress Wu. However, he was criticized for this by later historians as having approved of the usurpers. In his T'ung-chien kang-mu, in order to show his condemnation of usurpatory actions, Chu Hsi employed, or prolonged, the reign title of Emperor Chung-tsung, the deposed emperor, and forsook the reign title of Empress Wu. This implied that the regime established by Empress Wu was not considered legitimate. However, this idealistic treatment could not avoid distorting the historical facts.

In order that his principles could be fully applied, several methods of presentation were employed by Ch'iu. Firstly, was the selective use of terminology in the Outlines (kang) with which Ch'iu enforced his "Great Principles". Secondly, were the remarks which he appended to his outline of historical events providing ample
opportunity for Ch'iu to give detailed explanations of his judgement, with regard to the principles, and serving as footnotes to elaborate the message of his principles and how they applied to particular events. Thirdly, was the style he employed to record the dynastic and reign titles in his *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. These three approaches can also be regarded as Ch'iu's means to apply "praise and blame". And, needless to say, this "praise and blame" was indeed based on his "Great Principles".

The style Ch'iu employed to record the dynastic and reign titles merits special attention. In order to give consideration to both the ideal of the historian and the reality of historical event, Ch'iu invented a peculiar "system" of recording the dynastic and reign titles in his chronicle. This new system, which had been explained briefly in the "Guiding Principles", was also Ch'iu's means of demonstrating legitimacy at three levels of human relations: the world, the state, and the family.

One of the special features of this system is a circle being drawn below the sexagenary cycle and above the reign title for the purpose of denoting the dynastic title. Ch'iu explained that the colour of the character, i.e., the dynastic title, being written in the circle, whether it was in red or black, would have special implications. He also pointed out that the background of the circle, whether it was white or black, also had different implications. But how does it work? Ch'iu did not give further details in the "Guiding Principles". Explanations of the functioning of this system were scattered throughout the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. It was when special treatment had to be applied, that Ch'iu gave his reasons in
the remarks. For example, in the remark under the entry of the
twenty-sixth year of Emperor Shih-huang of Ch'in, Ch'iu explains:

Why does the Shih-kang give the dynastic title within a
circle printed above each successive year? This is done in
accordance with the example of the Kang-mu's notation of
the sexagenary cycle. For Heaven revolves above and must be
bound by means of a yearly [cycle], while mankind lives below
and must be ordered by means of a state. Thus, the dynastic
title is given below the sexagenary cycle and above the
notation of each successive year, in order to show who had
received the Mandate of Heaven and was going to take
responsibility for the livelihood of mankind. The legitimate
regime of the time will be indicated here [within the
circle]. The different use of either vermilion or black ink
to print [the dynastic title] further differentiates between
partially legitimate [dynasties] and completely legitimate
[dynasties]. As to eras without a legitimate [dynasty], in
such cases, the circle will be left empty.²³

It is necessary to point out that this system is not modeled exactly
on Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu, despite the fact that Ch'iu
claims that his system accords with the example of the T'ung-chien
kang-mu in writing the sexagenary cycle.²⁴ Obviously, Ch'iu's
system is more complex and better conceived than the method Chu Hsi
employed in the T'ung-chien kang-mu. And, besides, the T'ung-
chien kang-mu does not have a "circle" drawn under the sexagenary
cycle and above the reign title. The special features of the system
Ch'iu employed were his way of marking the dynastic titles and reign
titles of past regimes. His purpose was, perhaps, to make the
question of legitimacy, either of the regime or of the emperor, no
matter if it was external succession or internal succession, clear
at a glance. In order to have a thorough understanding of how Ch'iu's
system functions, we should look at the "rules" governing the marking
of the dynastic titles and the reign titles. In fact, the two
"titles" can be discussed separately. They display two different
techniques in handling the question of legitimate succession although they are also closely related.

In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, under the sexagenary circle, that is, the years that were designated by the Heavenly Stems and Earthly Branches, Ch'iu placed a circle and marked the dynastic title inside the circle. This circle indicates legitimacy: the regime to which the Mandate of Heaven was attributed. In other words, regimes which received the Mandate of Heaven to rule the world and take responsibility for the livelihood of the people, would have their dynastic titles marked in the circle. However, there was also a difference between dynasties with "complete legitimacy" (ch'üan-t'ung 全統) and "partial legitimacy" (pien-t'ung 傀統), which were indicated by the colour, either red or black, of the character used for dynastic title. For completely legitimate regimes, their dynastic titles would be marked in the circle in vermilion, or, in some editions, presented by a hollow character;25 For partially legitimate regimes, their dynastic titles would be marked in the circle in ink.26 (See illustration 1) Worth mention here is that, whether the legitimacy of a regime was complete or partial, as shown by the examples in the text, was not exactly decided by the area the regime occupied but rather by the method they acquired their power, the inclination of the hearts of the people, and the prosperity of the regime. Nevertheless, throughout the Shih-shih cheng-kang, the cases of "complete legitimacy" were treated rigorously. Only to those regimes with righteous founding, legitimate emperors, and a completely stable political situation did Ch'iu grant "complete legitimacy". Thus, great dynasties such as Han, T'ang and Sung, at
their infancy, when their position were not yet consolidated, were
treated only as "partially legitimate". Moreover, within one
dynasty, such as the Han dynasty or the T'ang dynasty etc., their
status of "complete legitimacy" could be degraded to "partial
legitimacy" if the succeeding emperor was an illegal successor or the
empire was facing political turbulence. Likewise, "partial
legitimacy" could be upgraded to its original position, "complete
legitimacy", if the impropriety was rectified and the state was
restored to its prosperity. Apart from the cases of "complete
legitimacy" and "partial legitimacy", which in fact could be generally
grouped as being "legitimate", there were also the cases of having
no legitimate regimes, or "no legitimacy" (wu-t'ung 無統). This
was indicated by just leaving the circle blank, which meant that there
was no regime qualified to be the master of the world during this
period. Likewise, in cases of eras with "no legitimacy", there were
also two different conditions, as was indicated by the colour of the
background of the "blank circle", whether it was white or black. This
showed, according to Ch'iu, the growth and decline of the relative
strength of the yin and yang, the two antithetic forces of the
Supreme Ultimate. We should not be confused by these ambiguous terms
if we understand how they work. In this context, the growth and
decline of the relative strength of the yin and yang denoted the
relations of the Chinese and barbarians; and the Supreme Ultimate,
which was symbolized by the "circle", referred to the universe, or,
more precisely, the world. It was proper and correct, according to
common understanding, that yin should be subject to yang; this
meant that the female should be subject to the male, petty men
(hsiao-jen 小人) should be subject to noble men (chün-tzu 春子), barbarians should be subject to Chinese, etc. In cases where yang was overpowered by yin, such inversion was regarded as extraordinary and destructive. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, in cases of "no legitimacy", yin and yang were represented by black and white respectively; in the case of a proper situation, i.e., proper order of yin and yang relationships, the background of the circle would be white, in the case of an improper situation, the background of the circle would be printed black.²⁹ (See illustration 2) By means of the style he employed in marking the dynastic titles, Ch'iu successfully clarified the question of the legitimacy of the master of the world. The dynastic titles marked in the circle denoted a legitimate regime which had received the Mandate of Heaven to govern the world and take responsibility for the livelihood of human beings. It was usually during the period of "no legitimacy", when China was in chaos and division, that the barbarians launched their massive invasions and attempted to interfere with the legitimacy of China. Thus, through the colour of the background of the "circle", Ch'iu manifested the relations of the Chinese and barbarians. Its function, needless to say, was to show the rigorous differentiation between Chinese and barbarians.

There were two methods employed in marking the reign titles in the Shih-shih cheng-kang: either marking the reign title with block characters in the middle of the column, or marking it with small characters on one side of the column. (See illustration 3) That is, for a sovereign whose reign was a legitimate one, his reign title and years would be marked by black characters in the middle of the column
under the "circle"; for a sovereign whose reign was an illegitimate one, his reign title and years would be marked by small characters on one side of the column under the "circle". The purpose of employing these styles was to demonstrate the legitimacy of succession. In the eras of "no legitimacy", since the regime itself was regarded as illegitimate, there would of course be no legitimate reign or legitimate sovereign. However, in periods of legitimacy, either complete or partial, a sovereign of a legitimate regime could be treated as illegitimate and his/her reign title would be marked by small characters if his/her succession violated proper order and righteousness between sovereign and minister, such as in the case of Emperor Wu of Chin (Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎, 236-296), between father and son, such as in the case of Emperor Su-tsung of T'ang (Li Heng 李亨, 711-762), and between man and woman, such as in the case of Empress Lü (Lü Chih 呂雉, 241-180 B.C., r.187-180 B.C.) of Han.

The method of marking the dynastic and reign titles employed in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, and the stylistic rules Ch'iu observed, performed a peculiar pattern of legitimation in Chinese historiography. And what is deserving of our praise is that the style he employed was not mere parading fancy but made a practical contribution to the problem. Likewise, it provided a simple and direct approach for the readers to the complicated question of legitimate succession and consequently established a good foundation for further elaboration.
Illustration 1: Examples of marking dynastic titles of regimes with complete legitimacy or partial legitimacy
Illustration 2: Examples of printing the background of the "circle" in eras with "no legitimacy"
Illustration 3: Examples of marking the reign titles of sovereigns with legitimate or illegitimate succession.
d. Objectivity and the Application of "Praise and Blame"

(I)

In the "Great Principles and Main Themes" of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, the emphasis upon the differences between Chinese and barbarian was regarded as an issue of first importance. Although in Chinese historical writings, the relation between Chinese and barbarian was a common topic of discussion, seldom was it highlighted and treated with the seriousness we observe in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. In a number of cases, Ch'iu mentions that he was following the example of both the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*. There is not the slightest doubt that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* was the prototype of Chinese historical works that stressed the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian. The motive behind the writing of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* -- "Honour the king and expel the barbarians" (tsun-wang jang-i 敬王攘夷 ), was constantly emphasized by scholars of later decades as the hidden counsel of this work.¹ We have every reason to believe that the *Ch'un-ch'iu* greatly influenced the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. In the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, also, the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian was a question under consideration. Chu Hsi, however, though denouncing barbarian invasions in strong terms did not single out the problem. In the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, it was merely one among many of the historical issues, not a national problem which it was to become in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*.

Addressing the problem of the relations between Chinese and
Ch'iu considered that the source of the trouble originated in the policy of the Chinese to allow the barbarians to move into Chinese territory. In the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, under the entry of the second year of Yuan-shou (121 B.C.) of Emperor Wu of Han (r. 140-87 B.C.), it is recorded that Prince Hun-hsieh of the Hsiung-nu came over to the Han government with his people and the Han government established five vassal cities (shu-kuo) within the Chinese borders to settle them. Ch'iu points out that this was the first case in Chinese history where a barbarian chieftain submitted himself to the Chinese and was accepted to settle in Chinese territory. He sighs: "Alas, [this action] exposed the defence of the within (nei) to the without (wai), and confused the customs of the Chinese with those of the barbarians. The seeds of the barbarian's disturbances in China since the Wei and Chin dynasties, were in fact sowed at this time." Later, in the twenty-sixth year of Chien-wu (50 A.D.), when Emperor Kuang-wu (Liu Hsiu, 6-57, r. 25-57) allowed the Southern Hsiung-nu tribes to move inland and to settle in Hsi-ho, Ch'iu's remarks in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* read:

Alas! There exists a great dividing line within Heaven and Earth and it is [the division between] Chinese and barbarian. The Chinese reside within and the barbarians reside without. This is why Heaven and Earth use the mountains and rivers, dangerous and difficult passages to divide the districts and to demarcate the outer from the inner, so as to provide for the great defense of our China for a myriad years. Why then have we ourselves destroyed these defenses and lead [the barbarians] within the inner reaches of our heartland?

Throughout the ages the barbarian was a scourge of the Chinese. This confrontation can be traced back to the Chou dynasty and the Spring and Autumn Period when there were already frequent contacts between
the two "nations". Geographic features should not provide the main obstruction to the barbarian's invasion; however, Ch'iu brought forward the geographical separation of the Chinese and barbarians, his ultimate aim being nothing more than to lay stress on the demarcation of nei (within) from wai (without). The leading of barbarians to enter into Chinese territory, would imply the destruction of the geographic distinction between Chinese and barbarian and the assimilation of the two nations. This was what Ch'iu strongly opposed.

Although there existed the idea that barbarians who advanced into China and who became assimilated into Chinese culture obviously would be treated as Chinese, Ch'iu begged to differ from such a view. According to Ch'iu, Chinese were Chinese and barbarians were barbarians, and they could not be confused, or assimilated. Thus, he felt sorry for the Han people who destroyed their own defences themselves by ignoring the natural boundary between Chinese and barbarians. The effect of barbarians settling within China, Ch'iu regarded, would not be merely regional, but also racial and cultural. They would bring harm to the Chinese, and the effect would be profound and lasting. The policy of the Han government to move the barbarians inside the border, Ch'iu argued, resulted in barbarian disturbances within China. By the time of the Five Degenerate Reigns (wu-chi 五代, i.e. the Five Dynasties, 907-960), when the Khitan Yeh-lu A-pao-chi 耶律阿保機 (Liao T'ai-tsu, r.907-926) launched a massive invasion of China, Ch'iu pointed out that the nature of barbarian invasion had already undergone three changes:

Alas! Since the Spring and Autumn Period, the [nature] of the disasters brought upon us by the barbarians has under-
gone three changes. Initially, the people of the states such as Wu 虢 [ended 473 B.C.] and Ch'ü 處 [ended 223 B.C.], although Chinese, dwelt within the regions of the barbarians, thus arrogating the status of China. This was the first change. Later, men such as [Liu] Yuan 樊 (?-310) and [Shih] Le 秦 (274-333), although of barbarian [descent], were born within the area of China, and did do harm to China. This was a further change. At this time, the Khitan, being barbarians, and living within barbarian areas, undermined the people of China. Is this not a third change? The harm done by them becomes more far-reaching the longer it is allowed to continue, and greater as it becomes ever more far-reaching.8

The above passage gives a brief account of the changes in the nature of barbarian disturbance in China. The first stage began in the Spring and Autumn Period, when the Wu and Ch'ü peoples, Chinese who lived in barbarian areas and who had become accustomed to barbarian customs, sought to usurp Chinese titles and honours. Later, during the Chin 周 dynasty, the situation changed. Barbarians who had been moved inside China's borders or who had been born in China rebelled against the Chinese government and a situation of "five barbarian races throwing China into confusion" (wu-hu luan-hua 五胡亂華)9 developed. By the time of the Sung, Ch'iu said, when barbarians from without brazenly invaded the Chinese within and finally established their regimes within Chinese territory, it had become obvious that the problem was becoming more serious with each passing day. Of course, when the Mongols conquered the whole of China and established the Yuan dynasty in 1271, the acuteness of the problem had already reached its extremity. The founding of the Ming dynasty, which supplanted barbarian rule and restored the Chinese empire, certainly gave new hope to the Chinese historian. In his writing of the Shih-shih cheng-kang, with its highlighting of the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian as the first great principle, Ch'iu Chŭn's intention
was to restore the prestige of the Chinese. He reiterated the differences between Chinese and barbarian, in order that: on the one hand, it could remind the people and draw their attention to this threat, and so avoid following the same old disastrous road; on the other hand, condemnation of barbarian invasion could perhaps serve to preclude further action on the part of the barbarians. For these reasons, barbarian invasions were dealt with severely in the Shih-shih cheng-kang.

In terms of human relations, what Ch'iu advocated was, basically, a proper relationship between Chinese and barbarian. Thus he condemned both barbarian invasions and Chinese emperors' military aggressions in strong terms. His opposition to military aggression was fully expressed in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. His condemnation of barbarian invasion became a major issue of the Shih-shih cheng-kang. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, barbarian intrusions and the regimes they established within Chinese territory were, without exception, rigorously censured. For example, during the period of the Five Degenerate Reigns, under the entry of the first year of T'ien-lu 天禄 (947) of Emperor Shih-tsung of Liao 遼世宗(耶律屋質衍947-951), the Outline in the Shih-shih cheng-kang reads: "Khitan Yeh-lü Te-kuang 耶律德光 died in Sha-hu-lin 沙胡林." Yeh-lü Te-kuang was in fact Emperor T'ai-tsung of Liao (r.927-947). In this year the Khitan had established their dynastic title "Liao", and titled their chieftan as "emperor". Besides, the power of the Liao regime at this time was far stronger than was the power of Hsiung-nu or T'u-chüeh 楚撼 of the past. Ch'iu, however, followed the examples in the T'ung-chien kang-mu, and refused to address, or accept, them.
as "Liao" and "emperor", thus implying his disapproval and condemnation. Needless to say, the reign titles of Liao were marked with small characters on one side following the reign titles of the Chinese regimes. Ch'iu also called Emperor T'ai-tsung by his personal name and used the term ssu ("died", used for commoners) for his death, thus suggesting the illegitimacy of his emperorship. The same treatment was applied to the regime of the Jurchen Chin. Under the entry of the fifth year of Cheng-ho 政和 (1115) of Emperor Hui-tsung, the Outline reads: "Liao Jurchen A-ku-ta 阿骨打 unduly assumed the imperial title in An-chu-hu-shui 安暬水, taking the dynastic title Chin 金." A-ku-ta (Wan-yen Min 安顯晉 1068-1123), posthumously T'ai-tsu (r.1115-1123), was the founder of the Chin dynasty. The founding of the Chin was a historical fact. The Shih-shih cheng-kang recognizes this undeniable truth and records its founding. Thereafter, however, Ch'iu continued to record them as "Jurchen" instead of "Chin". The remarks by Ch'iu state that the national power of the Chin was much stronger than that of the Liao; they occupied the entire Central Plain and captured two Sung emperors. Even Emperor Kao-tsung of Southern Sung had to accept the title they conferred and submit himself. Yet they could only be put on an equal footing with the Khitan Liao. To do otherwise, would only have amounted to condoning the ambitions of the future invaders. Ch'iu further elaborates: "The barbarians dwell beyond the limits of Chinese territory, and it is their duty to safe-guard the border areas. Barbarians who remain true to their duty should certainly be commended. As to commending also those barbarians who cross over into our territory and usurp our dynastic titles, thus gravely transgressing the limits of
their duty, however, how can this be in keeping with the sage's intentions as expressed in his composition of the Ch'un-ch'iu?"13

The cases of the Liao and Chin reflected Ch'iu's attitude towards barbarian invasions. Certainly, in accordance with the principle of the Shih-shih cheng-kang which placed much emphasis on proper order and discipline, it was impossible for either the Liao or Chin regimes to escape from Ch'iu's censure. Would there be any reconsideration with the Jurchen Chin, however, since they had successfully conquered the northern parts of China and brought the Chinese regime in the south, the Southern Sung, into subordination? Would they be given a position in Chinese political history? The answer to both questions was no. Ch'iu considered that all barbarian invasions deserved condemnation. Historians should not be influenced by the extent of the land barbarians occupied nor try to justify legitimacy in terms of their accomplishments. Rather, the principle of righteousness had to be maintained. It was the obligation of Chinese historians to censure, not to encourage, barbarian invasion. With reference to barbarian regimes in China, Ch'iu expressed his opinion on the attitude Chinese historians should have; he said:

Commentators [on historical events] should look to the righteousness or otherwise of the case, rather than gauge the extent or otherwise [of barbarian occupation]. In accordance with the principles of the Ch'un-ch'iu, Chinese are Chinese and barbarians are barbarians. This is an unalterable principle of Heaven and Earth and the great dividing line of all time, both ancient and modern. It is right and proper that barbarians dwell within barbarian territories. It is also their right duty. It is not proper for barbarians to invade Chinese territory. Historians should determine the severity of their transgression in terms of the extent of their invasion. If on the other hand we accept and promote them simply because they occupied a large part of China, is this not providing the barbarians with an example to be imitated, and to cause endless harm to China? 14
The above passage expounds the role of Chinese historians in resisting barbarian invasion. In applying "praise and blame", historians should give no thought to the gains or losses, but write in accordance with the principle of righteousness. People who lived during times of barbarian invasion either could not, or dared not, condemn their actions. Thus the duty of upholding righteousness and justice rested on the shoulders of historians of later times. Hence, vehement condemnation of barbarian invasion, either by selecting derogatory terms in the Outlines or by giving detailed statements in the remarks, can be found everywhere in the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Very often, Ch'iu's censure was reflected in the careful selection of terminology, especially in the history of the Sung era when China was subject to repeated foreign aggression. Accurate terms had to be used to outline the frequent contacts between the Chinese and barbarians, and the activities of the barbarians in China. The refusal to acknowledge the dynastic titles of either the Khitan or the Jurchen cited above provided examples of this nature. Likewise, the method of "praise and blame" given to Chinese emperors also applied to barbarian emperors. Thus, in the fifth year of Shao-hsing 紹興 (1135) of Emperor Kao-tsung of Sung, when Emperor T'ai-tsung (Wan-yen Ch'eng 吳越, also known as Wan-yen Wu-ch'i-mai 吳越吳大帝, r.1123-1135) of the Jurchen Chin died, and Wan-yen Tan 吳越, posthumously Emperor Hsi-tsung 惠宗 (r.1135-1149), succeeded to the throne, the Outline in the Shih-shih cheng-kang reads: "Jurchen Wu-ch'i-mai died (ssu), his brother's grandson Tan was enthroned (lieh 文) [as the emperor]."15 Apart from rejecting the title "Chin", Ch'iu addressed its emperors by their names instead of their posthumous titles, used the
vulgar term ssu for their death instead of peng, hung, or tsu, and employed a relegated term li to describe the succession instead of the proper term chi-wei (ascended the throne). All this expressed Ch'iu's censure of barbarian regimes in China. In situations where Chinese were subjugated by the barbarians, the "praise and blame" principle performed also the subtle task of vindicating national honour. This was the case in 1127 when the Jurchen captured Emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung of Sung and took them to the north. As mentioned in the above section, Ch'iu used the term "served" (feng) to narrate the incident instead of "captured" or "intimidated". Of course, it was distressing to see a Chinese emperor being taken to the north by the barbarian invaders, but by using the term "served", Ch'iu aimed to restore the dignity of the Son of Heaven. However, would this treatment not distort historical truth? How did Ch'iu reconcile the contradiction between "praise and blame" and objectivity? The application of "praise and blame" seems to be an indispensable element in Chinese historical writing, and very often, scholars of the past judged the quality of a historical work by the criterion of technique used in applying "praise and blame". Nevertheless, in the realm of historiography, the question of objectivity also occupies an important place. A historical work with a remarkable contribution in terms of "praise and blame" but without objectivity would be doomed to failure. Perhaps, an eminent historian could be justified in his reconciliation of both "praise and blame" and objectivity. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, although the application of "praise and blame" was regarded as a major purpose of the work, Ch'iu did not overlook the prerequisite
of a good historical work — objectivity. It was in the coordination of the Outline and of the remarks that Ch'iu filled in the gaps. In the above case, the remarks by Ch'iu read: "The Jurchen actually intimidated the two emperors by force; why then have I written 'served'? Alas, although China was weak and the barbarians were strong, the great position [of Chinese and barbarian] of Heaven and Earth should not be ignored." Ch'iu also used the term "address" (cheng 擧) instead of "confer" (feng 封) or "depose" (fei 废) which former historical works had employed, when, in 1128, the Chin ruler, Wan-yen Wu-ch'i-mai, deposed the two Chinese emperors whom he had captured, Emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung, and demoted them to Duke of Hun-te and Marquis of Chung-hun respectively. In the remarks, Ch'iu explains:

In their treatment of the [relationship between the] Chin and the two emperors, earlier works all wrote "depose" or "confer". Why then do I write "address" in this work? This is done in order not to allow the barbarians to profane the ruler of China and to maintain the great distinction [between superior and inferior]. At that time the barbarians were powerful and brutal, and we Chinese could do nothing to them. With the passage of time, however, if we continue to agree with what they have done and do not oppose them according to what is right and proper, then the numerous and powerful will always be victorious, and there will never be a time when the unalterable warp of heaven can be settled. In this case [the emperors] were actually deposed, but to write "address" is to warn later generations of barbarians that Heavenly Principles are indestructible and that the unalterable warp of Heaven cannot be violated. Although they have acted in this way, later generations of the universe do not approve of what they have done, and [henceforth barbarians] will not dare rely upon their power or employ their stratagems to profane our Heavenly warp. In this way, our ruler of China can [rule] in peace and honour.

The above cases reveal Ch'iu's concern to remain true to the historical facts whilst at the same time placing primary emphasis...
upon expressing the differences between Chinese and barbarians. In the Outline, by means of the careful selection of terminology, the actions of the barbarians were censured, and the dignity of the Chinese was restored. From a traditional Chinese point of view, Ch'iu's method was unexceptionable. Even in the perspective of a modern historian, he appears to be aware of a basic requirement of objectivity. He had no intention of withholding the truth, even if it was distressing to recall. He unfolded the facts in the remarks, frankly, and expressed his disapproval, which reflected a general Chinese view of barbarian invasion. Cases of this kind, where Ch'iu had to vindicate national honour, were not common in history, and on every occasion Ch'iu clearly states his position in the remarks. Indirectly, Ch'iu's judgement sheds light on his philosophy of history. Firstly, according to Ch'iu, the rights and wrongs in history should not be decided in terms of relative strength, but by the principle of righteousness. Hence, it is indubitable that Ch'iu did not subscribe to the common concept in history that — "Those who succeeded became kings, those who failed were bandits" (*ch'eng-wang pai-k'ou 仇讎苦厄*). This can be proved by the examples in his book which will be discussed in a later section. Secondly, the concept reveals that Ch'iu was in favour of a peculiar function of historical writing — for wrongs that the ancients could do nothing about, or were powerless to set right, history, the final arbiter of righteousness, would right the wrongs and redress injustices. Hence, the mission of history was free from time and space and history could take account of two types of time and space: on the one hand, it
corrected the wrongs of the past on behalf of the ancients; on the other hand, history performed a didactic function for the enlighten­ment of the present. Whether Ch'iu's ideas on history can be accept­able to modern historians is irrelevant here; they certainly reflected the mentality and the needs of his time.

When dealing with barbarian invasions and their outrageous activities in China, Ch'iu's condemnation was not only directed at the barbarians, but also at Chinese sovereigns. In Ch'iu's opinions, it was also the fault of these Chinese rulers whose dereliction of duty and indulgence in pleasure brought about the downfall of the nation, by creating situations of which the barbarians could take advantage. In the case of the capture of Emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung by the Jurchen for example, although in the Shih-shih cheng-kang the dynastic title of Sung was marked in the "circle", albeit in ink, and the reign titles of the Sung emperor were put in the middle with block characters, this only marked the legitimacy of succession, either external or internal, but was not meant to express approval of their policies. In the Outline, Ch'iu called the two emperors by their given names, which denoted blame, and in the remarks, he proceeded to censure the two emperors: "When a sovereign dies for the state it is a worthy death. When a sovereign is captured by the barbarians it is really galling and humiliating. In the case of the Ch'un-ch'iu, when the feudal lords lost their territory, their names alone were recorded without mention of their titles." When the Shih-shih cheng-kang called Emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung by their names, apart from following the principles of
the Ch'\un-ch'iu and demoting them to the status of commoners, the underlying motive was to warn rulers of later generations, "so that rulers who possess the state, rule in fear and trepidation, maintaining permanently their wealth and honour, and without doing anything perilous or improper." Also in the thirty-first year of Shao-hsing (1161), when the news of Emperor Ch'in-tsung's death spread to China, the Outline in the Shih-shih cheng-kang reads: "Till then the obituary of Emperor Huan (i.e. Ch'in-tsung) is heard." Ch'iu remarked with deep emotion that with the death of Emperor Hui-tsung, people were still aware of the exact year and month, whereas with the death of Emperor Ch'in-tsung, even the year and month was not fully known, but only the news of his death, and what misery and despair could be compared to this? Yet, the expression of such feelings did not mean that Ch'iu sympathized with Emperor Ch'in-tsung. For his ultimate aim was to admonish the sovereigns of later times. If they failed to maintain a good balance of military power and keep the barbarians under control, they too would suffer this tragic fate. The remarks by Ch'iu further support these views:

Alas, esteemed as the Son of Heaven and with the riches of all within the four seas, yet, once he fell to the barbarian tribes, he died without a coffin for his funeral and a place for his burial. Alas, rulers of men when they think of this, can they not be cautious and conscientious?

Condemnation through historical writing was, without question, a method of passive resistance to barbarian invasion, and its effects were limited. Very often, it was only their own sense of righteousness and self-esteem that induced Chinese historians to launch their criticisms rather than cherishing any hope of achieving actual results.
However, if such condemnations could, in some ways, stimulate national awareness and reactions within the imperial court, then, passive resistance could probably become a positive force. Some historians were fully aware of this, and Ch'iu Chün was one of them. He understood that the peace of China depended on the balance of power between China and the barbarians: relatively, as one grew, the other declined; as one got strong, the other became weak. Likewise, though the barbarians were not getting any stronger, if the Chinese government relaxed its vigilance and did not strengthen her military defences, it would also provide an opportunity for the barbarians to take advantage of. Thus, by describing the tragic end of Emperor Ch'in-tsung, though with slight exaggeration, Ch'iu reminded Chinese rulers of the future and also, most likely of his own time, of the consequences of their unawareness of the constant enemy at the border. Of course, when Ch'iu drew the examples of Emperors Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung, and expressed his deep feeling towards them, he was, to a large extent, not without ulterior motives, since these examples were most meaningful and appropriate to the situation during Ming times.

Of all the barbarian regimes established within Chinese territory, the Yüan dynasty received Ch'iu's harshest treatment. Throughout the Shih-shih cheng-kang, during those periods without legitimate rulers, Ch'iu usually left the "circle" empty without putting in any dynastic title. This was to show that no regime at that time qualified to be considered as the legitimate ruler of the world. This is the case of the history of the Five Degenerate Reigns, which started in 908 and ended in 959, during which the circle was
left empty and the reign titles of the struggling powers were marked by small characters on both sides of the column under the circle. This denoted that no legitimacy, either external or internal, was granted to any of the contending powers. Likewise, the same treatment was applied to the later part of the era of the Three Kingdoms after the fall of the remnant Han regime established by Liu Pei 劉備 (161-223), posthumously Emperor Chao-lieh 昭烈 (r.221-223), 24 in Shu 蜀, the present Szechuan, in 223. 25 However, the treatment given the Yüan, both rigorous and particular, was employed for no other dynasty. According to Ch'iu, China faced a period of great change in Yüan times, a period during which the human order was in complete confusion: the Chinese behave not like Chinese and the barbarians behave not like barbarians. It was also a period which marked the growth of the Negative Ways (yin-tao 隱道) and the decline of the Positive Ways (yang-tao 明道). In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, throughout the era of the Yüan, the "circle" was coloured black and the reign titles of the Yüan emperors were marked in small characters. The reason for this was explained in one of the remarks:

I have myself investigated the principles of Heaven and Earth and elucidated the will of the sages and wise men in order to strengthen the boundary between the Chinese and barbarians of all ages. In treating the unification of the empire by the Yüan, I have followed the examples of [treatment of] the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Five Dynasties in the [T'ung-chien] kang-mu and marked their reign titles on one side under the sexagenary cycle and in addition, blacked the "circle", so as to show that this is an era of complete darkness (ch'ün-yin 春陰) when heaven and earth had been turned upside down. Barbarians conversely became the rulers of China. This had never happened since the beginning of the universe, the case of Yüan is certainly the first time. Alas, isn't this an immense change in the world of men?
As discussed previously, the "circle" drawn below the sexagenary cycle was a symbol of the Supreme Ultimate, or the universe, and the colour of the background, whether white or black, represents the relative strength of yin and yang. In Chinese political thought, yin usually referred to the scoundrel, wicked men or treacherous officials, while yang generally related to the fine people, noble men or faithful officials. However, in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, yin and yang referred to the barbarians and the Chinese respectively. Hence, when the empire was ruled by Chinese, the circle was white, which implied a proper relation of Chinese rule over the barbarians, yang rule over the yin; and if the empire was ruled by barbarians, the circle was black, which denoted an inverse order: Chinese subject to the barbarians, yang subject to the yin.

Needless to say, subjugation of the whole Chinese empire by barbarians was an event that had never happened in Chinese history before the Yuan. This experience, which Ch'iu described as an age of "complete darkness", "an immense change in the world of men", was certainly unforgettable. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, when describing how Khubilai successfully unified the whole China in the seventeenth year of Chih-yüan Ḫū Ḫū (1280), Ch'iu added this awe-inspiring remark:

The Tartars dwell in the far away barren desert land, they wear skin but not cotton or silk fabrics; they eat meat but not beans and millet; they live without the domicile of palace and chamber, without the principles of sacrifice and relationships; they are little different from the birds and the beasts. Now they wantonly indulge their wolfish nature, undermine the ruler of our China, take possession of the land established by our emperors and kings, and rule over the courteous people of our China. They style themselves "emperors", and we also follow this practice and call them "emperors". People who were born in their times, [living] in their pitfall and under their swords and saws, surely could
do nothing to them. [However, if] official historiographers of the later generations also desert the discipline of our Confucius and forget the great instructions of the Ch'un-ch'iu by our Sage, who can we depend upon to take up the responsibility of the Earthly Ways?

Ch'iu's context constantly placed emphasis on "our" -- our Chinese, our Sage, our Confucius, and this was highly revealing. "We" and "they" denote his intransigent attitude on the question of demarcation between Chinese and barbarians. And this boundary, Ch'iu supposed, should not be confused in any age. Chinese were Chinese and barbarians were barbarians, their differences, geographically and culturally, could hardly be removed. As to the history of the humiliating conquest of the Chinese empire by the Mongols, presumably, Ch'iu was going through it with bitter hatred. As a matter of fact, in 1368, when Chu Yüan-chang overthrew the Mongol Yuan and ended their eighty-nine years of domination of China, it was nearly a hundred and twenty years before Ch'iu's own time, and the Yuan dynasty had already become a thing of the past. Why then was Ch'iu still so concerned with the evaluation of the Yuan dynasty? This is a complicated question but deserving detailed examination.

One of the reasons for which Ch'iu paid particular attention to the Yuan issue pertained as a matter of fact to history-writing. As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, Ch'iu was not pleased with the officially compiled Yuan-shih. His discontent probably had two aspects: Firstly, it was the attitude of the compilers of the Yuan-shih to the Mongol Yuan regime, especially their indifference towards the question of the demarcation between Chinese and barbarians. Secondly, the compilers' partiality for the Yuan and, as occasionally suggested in Ch'iu's writings, their intention of
covering up Mongols' wrong-doings, were further cause for Ch'iu's displeasure with the Yüan-shih. These views were reflected in the passage quoted above where Ch'iu said: "If official historiographers of the later generations also desert the discipline of our Confucius and forget the great instructions of the Ch'un-ch'iu by our Sage, who can we depend upon to take up the responsibility of the Earthly Ways?" Although Ch'iu was making a general comment on the obligations of official historiographers and did not name the compilers of the Yüan-shih, if we care to go through the related remarks in Ch'iu's book, we understand that the "official historiographers" to whom he referred to were the compilers of the Yüan-shih and, very likely, he was obliquely attacking them. Such comments are often found in the Shih-shih cheng-kang whenever there was an opportunity for him to make them. For example, under the entry of the twelfth year of T'ien-fu 天福 (947) of Emperor Kao-tsu (Liu Chih-yüan 劉知遠, 895-948, r.947-948) of Han (Later Han, 947-950), as he was explaining the choice of terms employed in the Outline for the death of Yeh-lü Te-kuang, he suddenly changed the subject and said:

In discussing the Yüan dynasty, however, people of later generations have wished to raise this dynasty to be on a par with the Han and T'ang dynasties because of its ability to unify China. Why has this been so? Both Khubilai and Te-kuang were of barbarian stock and it is only in the extent to which they occupied Chinese territory [that they are differentiated]. But to decide their relative merits merely in terms of the extent of territory which they managed to occupy is to discuss affairs solely in terms of utilitarian values. How could this accord with the intentions of the Ch'un-ch'iu?30

Needless to say, what Ch'iu meant by "people of later times" was the early Ming historians, who treated the Yüan as an era of "great
unification", the equal of the Han and T'ang, and granted it legitimacy. Ch'iu's complaint was not at all groundless for the view according to which the prosperity of Yüan and its unification of China could be compared to those of the Han, T'ang, and Sung, can often be found in the writings of early Ming scholars. To comment explicitly on an officially compiled work would have been dangerous. However, in some cases, Ch'iu could not restrain himself and attacked directly the "compilers of the Yüan-shih". Two examples from the Shih-shih cheng-kang can be cited here to illustrate this:

(i) Under the entry of the first year of Te-yu 漢祐 (1275) of Emperor Kung 建宗 (Chao Hsien 趙熾, 1271-1276?) of Southern Sung, the Outline reads: "The Mongol Bayan 毛葛 and massacred the civilians, only seven people survived. The Magistrate of Subprefectural Affairs Yao Shan 姚淙, Assistant Prefect Ch'en Chao 陳祐, and the Regional Commander Wang An-chieh 王安㝡 all died martyrs." In the remarks, Ch'iu angrily asked: "The compilers of the Yüan-shih said that Bayan [led troops] down to Kiangnan and did not kill one single man. Alas, isn't Ch'ang-chou a place in Kiangnan? The verbal command of the Yüan stated: In all attacks on cities and confrontations with the enemy, when there is resistance of only one arrow, [the army] should at once massacre the enemy. Before this, Bayan secretly led his troops across the Han River 漢江, and surely, he had massacred [the people] of Sha-yang 沙洋. Subsequently when he made an assault on Ch'ang-chou, he was angry that he was unable to capture the city for a long time, and with the refusal of the enemy to
surrender, he thus brought into service the inhabitants outside
the city to transport earth for the building of a fortress. He
also stuffed the ground with the bodies of those he buried
alive, and killed the commoners in order to extract grease from
their bodies for artillery purposes. On the very day when the
city was captured, he massacred all the people in the city.
The number of those who dwelt in this one city was far more than
thousands and tens of thousands, however, after the brutal
slaughter, only seven people survived. Alas, the brutal nature
of the barbarians, after all, goes to the extreme. Those
barbarians were like tigers and wolves, for whom to kill people
was certainly a natural instinct. But the Chinese who are
writing history, however, also made deliberate distortion in
their writings and concealed [Bayan's] crime, even comparing him
to Ts'ao Pin (曹彬). How can they be of the same type?"32

(ii) Under the entry of the second year of Te-yu (1276), the Outline
in the Shih-shih cheng-kang reads: "The Mongols classified
the people of Kiangnan into ten grades." And Ch'iu's remark
the system and the law of the great Yüan, people are divided
into ten grades: first officials, second clerks. Those higher
[grades] are honoured, and they are honoured because they are
useful to the state; seventh craftsmen, eighth prostitutes,
ninth Confucians, tenth beggars. Those lower [grades] are
treated with contempt, and they are so treated because they are
useless to the state. Alas, how lowly it is! Lower than the
prostitutes and higher than the beggars, in between, are the
Confucians of our times.' Having examined the *Yüan-shih*, I
found that this system was not recorded, because [the
compilers were] covering it for Emperor Shih-tsu. A historian
should not fabricate the good and conceal the evil, both the
good and evil ought to be recorded without reservation, other­
wise, how can [one's writing] be considered as a 'straight­
forward record' (*chih-pi*)?"33

Bayan (1237–1295) was a chief minister at the court of Khubilai who
led the Mongol troops down to the south and took Lin-an, the
present Hangchow, the capital of Southern Sung.34 Likewise,
he captured Emperor Kung and Empress dowager née Hsieh of Sung
and took them to the north after the fall of Lin-an, making no small
contribution to the overthrow of the Southern Sung empire. A more
detailed account of the massacre of the inhabitants of Ch'ang-chou by
Bayan was also given in the *Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu*.35 Although
the Mongols' brutal massacre of the inhabitants of their captured
cities was not fully recorded in the official history, the *Yüan­
shih*, we still have sufficient evidence and reason to believe that
the cruel killing of a large number of captives was a common practice
with the Mongols. Besides, no matter what position they took on the
question of the legitimacy of Mongol rule in China, historians of
later times generally condemned the cruel and ferocious methods they
used to build up their empire.36 In the *Yüan-shih*, the massacre
of the inhabitants of Ch'ang-chou by Bayan, an undeniable fact of
history, was disposed of in a few words.37 This is perhaps the
reason why Ch'iu criticized the compilers of this work. To Compare
Bayan to Ts'ao Pin (931-999), an encomium first made by Emperor Shih-tsu of Yüan and recorded in the Yüan-shih, is at once fulsome and obscure. Ts'ao Pin was notable generalissimo of the early Sung, who contributed to the destruction of Later Shu in 964 and was also the chief commander of the military force that annihilated the Southern T'ang in 974. Apart from his contribution to the foundation of the Sung dynasty, he was also praised for his lenient and magnanimous behaviour when he forbade his troops to kill or plunder after the capture of Chin-ling, the present Nanking, in 975.

Regarding the "ten grades" imposed by the Yüan, they are not recorded in the Yüan-shih; moreover, contemporary investigations into the occupational categories of households in the Yüan period make no mention of this system of classification. Hsieh Fang-te (1226-1289) was an outspoken Sung official, who displayed unwavering loyalty to the fallen dynasty and chose to live in retirement in his native Fukien, as a teacher after the fall of Hangchow in 1276. The Yüan court offered him a number of attractive posts, but he declined each of them. His life ended tragically in 1289 when after having been taken to the Mongol capital, Tai-tu, where he finally starved himself to death rather than accept an office. The Ch'ing scholar Chang Po-hsing (1651-1725) in a preface to the collected works of Hsieh Fang-te, the Hsieh Tieh-shan chi, praised Hsieh as one of the four loyalists in Chinese history who "starved himself willingly and without regret." Since Hsieh lived during Yüan times, his writings should be reliable. Having checked the Hsieh Tieh-shan chi, we find that Hsieh's words as quoted by
Ch'iu appear in an essay dedicated to Fang Po-tsai at their parting, entitled “Sung Fang Po-tsai kuei San-shan hsü”. In this essay, which was written in 1288, one year before his death, Hsieh seized on an incident to make ironic remarks on being a Confucian in the Yüan era and brought forward the “ten grades” imposed by the Yüan as evidence showing the lowly position of a Confucian during his times. These “ten grades” were, probably, not necessarily written law, since we find no further trace of such a system, but rather a social phenomenon reflecting a general perception of the hierarchy of professions during the Yüan period. Nevertheless, since the Yüan-shih never said a single word about these “ten grades”, the point was bound to provoke Ch'iu's challenge. In a nutshell, despite the fundamental principle — the question of legitimacy of the Mongol Yüan — Ch'iu's criticisms of the compilers of the Yüan-shih were directed mainly at the digressions under which they endeavoured to conceal the faults of the Mongols, and at their incapacity to censure the Yüan ruler. Of course, to a large extent, Ch'iu's hatred of the Yüan was inspired by his belief that Chinese and barbarians ought to remain separate. However, his criticisms of the Yüan-shih were not dictated by prejudice but founded on factual grounds.

As a matter of fact, today we may disagree with Ch'iu's strong advocacy of an apartheid between Chinese and barbarians and with his views regarding the strict differentiation that ought to separate Chinese and barbarians — which were among the main themes of his historical work. Moreover, we may also wonder whether Ch'iu's
attitude towards the barbarians, especially the Mongol Yuan, was not too radical and extreme. Some might even feel that Ch'iu expressed a kind of parochial nationalism, or even racism. However, if we were to look at him from that angle, we would be guilty of anachronism. Our only purpose here is to explore, understand and analyze Ch'iu Chün's ideas, not to pass 20th century value-judgments upon them. Otherwise, historical figures would, unfortunately, become victims of changes in social, political, and philosophical values. It is obvious that the concept of Chinese and barbarians in the eyes of Ch'iu Chün and his contemporaries was different from that of our times, almost five hundred years later. Whether Ch'iu's ideas are acceptable in, or applicable to, our own times is not the concern of this study. The only relevant questions are whether Ch'iu's concept of the distinction between Chinese and barbarians was acceptable in, or appropriate to, his own times, whether it was necessary for him to advocate this idea, and what was its significance?

In Ming times, the "distinction between Chinese and barbarian" was still a deeply-rooted concept governing the thought of most historians and political thinkers. The Mongol conquest of China had created a situation without a precedent in Chinese and barbarian relations; nevertheless, it did not obliterate the Chinese people's intrinsic concept of the barbarians -- on the contrary. Although early Ming scholars who were nurtured and educated in Yuan times showed their acceptance of the Mongol regime, this attitude was very short-lived, and the distinction between Chinese and barbarian was reaffirmed by Fang Hsiao-ju during the Chien-wen reign, and later,
Fang Hsiao-ju was the first Ming scholar to put emphasis on the distinction between Chinese and barbarian, and his idea formed an integral part of his discussion of dynastic legitimacy, as reflected in two of his essays, namely "Shih-t'ung" (On Succession), in three parts, and "Hou cheng-t'ung lun" (Further Discussion on Legitimate Succession). Fang divided the rule of China into two categories: "legitimate succession" (cheng-t'ung) and "abnormal succession" (pien-t'ung). He considered that in the world there were only one kind of legitimate succession and three kinds of abnormal succession. Only those regimes whose foundings were perfectly justified could be considered as based upon legitimate succession. Fang listed three kinds of abnormal succession: (i) when the authority had not been obtained by rightful means; (ii) when the authority was not being maintained by benevolence and justice; (iii) usurpation of the Chinese throne by barbarian invaders, and usurpation of the imperial throne by empresses. Fang expended much ink in insisting that barbarian rule could not be regarded as legitimate because barbarians were not of "our" kind; furthermore, "the debasement [brought about by barbarian rule] exists not only during the life of the usurper; even if his descendants have some virtue, they still cannot redeem the essential wickedness of their ancestors." This is to say, neither time nor acculturation could legitimize barbarian rule. In "Hou cheng-t'ung lun", Fang strongly indicted the barbarians:
Barbarians... do not have any order of human relations nor [difference between] superior and inferior. [They do not have] the grace of dress and etiquette. Therefore the ancient kings reared them like animals and did not accord them a place on par with the people of China. To elevate them to a position above the Chinese people would be to teach the world to be no better than the birds and the beasts. If a dog or a horse were to occupy a human's seat, even small boys would burst out in anger and take a club to drive them away. If an imperious maid or a malicious servant were to slay the master and take over his household, even a dog or a horse would become indignant at the injustice and bite the person. Why? Because of the confusion of the proper order.51

At the same time, although Fang placed barbarians on a level with animals and deemed their rule abnormal, he also stated that usurpers and female rulers were as objectionable as barbarians and must be excluded from the category of legitimate succession.52 As Fang suggested, it was hoped that the enforcement of the theory of legitimate succession would "embody praise and blame, rectify the great title, strengthen the righteousness between sovereign and ministers, clarify the differences between benevolence and tyranny, the [boundary of] Chinese within and barbarians without, and uphold divine justice and punish human hypocrisy." And Fang concluded that only "when the two types of succession (i.e. legitimate succession and abnormal succession) are established, can the principle of admonition [of history] be clarified. Rebellious ministers who escape from censure by chance would be struck with fear."53 Judging from the similarity in conceptual framework of both Fang Hsiao-ju and Ch'iu Chun, it is obvious that Fang's discussion of dynastic legitimacy deeply influenced Ch'iu, or, as the compilers of the Catalogue of the Imperial Manuscript Library noted, what Ch'iu wrote was "based on
the ideas of Fang Hsiao-ju." However, Fang's theory of legitimate succession was brief and cursory. It was Ch'iu who further developed the idea in a more systematic and thorough way, and put it into practice by applying it to history.

In short, Ch'iu's drastic censure of barbarian invasions, and in particular of the Mongol conquest of China, was perhaps inspired by three different motives, namely, historiographical, political and cultural. With regard to the historiographical aspect, as discussed previously, it was a matter of upholding the tradition of "praise and blame" and the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian. With reference to his political and cultural motives, Ch'iu's reaffirmation of the distinction between Chinese and barbarian proved meaningful and, to a large extent, important to his own times. In the political aspect, to reaffirm the distinction between Chinese and barbarian and to censure barbarian invasion was a response to the catastrophic defeat of the Ming forces by the Oirat-Mongols in 1449. Ever since that time, both officials and non-officials were, inevitably, obsessed by the terror of a barbarian reconquest of China. And indeed, the menace of a Mongol invasion had turned into a national crisis. To strengthen the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian was a more critical and relevant issue in Ch'iu's times than it had been in the age of Fang Hsiao-ju. The outburst of anti-barbarian sentiment after 1449, especially reflected in Ch'iu's Shih-shih cheng-kang which initiated a new trend in historical writing in the latter half of the Ming dynasty, was not merely a "psychological compensation for the Chinese humiliation at the hands of the Mongol descendants", for
it served also to raise the self-consciousness of the intellectuals at a time when the nation's very existence was in peril. Consequently, it was hoped that the propagation of anti-barbarian feelings would foster national awareness, which in turn could stimulate a spirit of popular resistance against foreign invasions. Hence in view of the situation of his times, Ch'iu's reaffirmation of the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian should not be regarded as racism, but rather could be described as a form of Chinese proto-nationalism.

In its cultural aspect, a strengthening of the distinction between Chinese and barbarian was directed at the remains of barbarian customs which commonly affected Chinese people under Mongol rule and, every now and then, were still practised by the populace in Ming times. As a matter of fact, it has been generally believed that when barbarians had direct contact with China, which undoubtedly had a higher level of culture than the nomadic tribes, they would rapidly be absorbed and assimilated by Chinese culture, or, in other words, lose their identity and become Chinese. Researches by scholars on periods of barbarian domination, such as the Northern Wei, Chin and Yüan etc., proved that indeed in the course of time many barbarians adopted Chinese culture and were sinicized. However, more recently, scholars have proved that this theory is not generally true, especially of the Khitan Liao dynasty, and it is also suggested that the sinicization of the Mongols of the Yüan period was not as rapid and complete as had been generally supposed. In the case of the Mongol Yüan, on the one hand, their sinicization was slow and they displayed lesser enthusiasm towards Chinese culture as
compared with other barbarian conquerors of China, whereas on the other hand, Mongol customs had considerable impact on the Chinese during the Yuan era; as a result, by the time of the collapse of Yuan rule in China, some Mongol customs had been adopted by the Chinese people and had taken firm root in Chinese soil. In fact, at the very beginning of the Ming dynasty, Emperor T'ai-tsu was greatly concerned by this phenomenon. In the second month of 1368, in order to regulate customs with regard to raiment and caps he decreed that the "T'ang Institutes" had to be followed. The T'ai-tsu shih-lu remarks:

Yüan T'ai-tsu was originally a barbarian who rose from the northern desert. When he conquered the universe, he replaced Chinese institutions with barbarian customs, [and from then on], officials and commoners all braided their hair and wore plaits. They wore long tunics and barbarian hats. Their garments comprised breeches and jackets with narrow sleeves, and they plaited thread to grid their jackets. The women wore short clothes with narrow sleeves and wore petticoats below. Nobody followed China's ancient customs regarding dress and hats anymore. Some went so far as to change their surnames to barbarian names, and they learned the barbarian languages and observed their customs. Since they had been doing this for a long time, they took it all for granted. His Majesty, however, had long detested such practices and at this time he decreed that all [styles] of raiment and caps should return to the T'ang institutes. Officials and commoners all were to tie their hair [in a knot] on top of the head... Singing girls... were not allowed to dress as ordinary women, or to wear the two-piece barbarian clothes. As to braided hair, plaits, barbarian clothes, barbarian languages and barbarian names, these were all forbidden.

It is indeed very likely that after a hundred years of barbarian occupation, such things as dress fashions and hair styles would have become so widely accepted by the Chinese, that they were no longer aware of their foreign origin. As far as the adoption of barbarian names by Chinese and the learning of barbarian languages was concerned,
this was not at all uncommon during the Yuan period.66 With the restoration of Chinese rule, however, these habits should have naturally disappeared, as there would have been no more advantage for the Chinese in speaking Mongol and in adopting Mongol names. Besides, historical records show that even the Mongols in Ming service had changed their names and assumed Chinese names.67 However, Emperor T'ai-tsu's ban did not seem to have been very successful in eradicating Mongol customs. Records in the Ming shih-lu under the entry of 1372 state that "the people refused to be civilized. In the villages and hamlets they still continued to follow Yuan customs."68 Thus, the earlier prohibition was reaffirmed by Emperor T'ai-tsu towards the end of his reign, in 1391.69 Likewise, Emperor T'ai-tsu was also concerned about the impact on the Chinese of Mongol marriage customs, which allowed a son or brother to marry by succession the widows of his deceased father or brother. We feel sure that this practice did indeed exist among the Chinese, for otherwise Emperor T'ai-tsu would not have attacked it in such strong terms and repeatedly condemned it. He denounced this marriage custom as early as 1367 in his proclamation to the people of North China, and an imperial declaration made in 1385 states explicitly that followers of this practice would not escape punishment.70 But it seems that his warnings did not prevent the continuance of Mongol customs among the Chinese. In the third month of 1394, Emperor T'ai-tsu reaffirmed his prohibition in an address to the officials of the Ministry of Rites, he stated:
Social morality formed the basis of the government of the universe by the ancient kings, but under the barbarian Yüan, during ninety-three years of cultural ignorance, social morality was in disorder with the result that sons took their deceased fathers' concubines, younger brothers married their deceased elder brothers' wives, and elder brothers took possession of their deceased younger brothers' wives. This is a most unhappy situation that has changed China completely. When in obedience to the Heavenly Mandate, I began to rule both the Chinese and the barbarians, I went back to the teachings of the ancient kings with the purpose of bringing order in social relations and making everybody keep his proper place. Thus, a law was made and promulgated in a solemn declaration to enlighten the universe. But recently I have learned that there are some who obstinately refuse to observe my instructions and continue to follow the barbarian customs, thereby jeopardizing the government. [Instructions] must be issued to forbid [such practices] and those who disobey them shall be punished according to the law.71

By the time Emperor T'ai-tsu made this address it was already twenty-seven years since the ending of Mongol rule. However, fragmentary references show that these barbarian traditions did not die out rapidly. Memorials by court officials and imperial prohibitions directed to barbarian customs are still to be found in the later decades of the Ming dynasty.72 This phenomena aroused considerable response from Chinese scholars with strong nationalistic sentiments. Fang Hsiao-ju's discussion of legitimate succession was probably another instance of such a reaction. In the "Hou cheng-t'ung lun", Fang also pointed out, with regret, the fact that barbarian customs were commonly practised by Chinese who were not aware of their impropriety.73 In an article entitled "Cheng-sü" (On the rectification of Customs), Fang expended much ink in exposing the harm of barbarian customs in China and condemning their continued practice by Chinese in his times.74 However, such practices
lasted even into the mid-Ming period. Ho Ch'iao-hsin, a contemporary and close friend of Ch'iu Chün, presented a long memorial to the throne in the fourth year of Hung-chih (1491), later incorporated in Ho's collected works under the title "T'i-wei chin-chih i-fu i-yen shih" 請為禁止異服異言事 , requesting the emperor to forbid "the wearing of barbarian clothes and speaking of the barbarian languages." In his memorial Ho complained that both soldiers and commoners, men and women living inside and outside the capital city, used to wear barbarian hats during cold winter. Men wore tall skin hats with a peak called "hu-mao" 胡帽 . Women all wore pointed sable hats with a shawl called "chao-chün mao" 超羈帽 . Moreover, he found that boys and girls playing in the streets and teasing each other, did not pronounce Chinese sounds, but made sounds resembling birds and animals, which were indistinct and difficult to guess the meaning of, known as "ta-kou hsin-chuan" 嘟口幻言 . All these, Ho said, were customs of the barbarians. Besides, he pointed out that this phenomenon was not sectional, for he had heard that people in the provinces of the Northern Metropolitan area, Shantung, Shansi, Honan, and Shensi also followed such practices. He considered that such practices were absolutely preposterous and utterly absurd; although they were mostly prevalent among the rabble, a cardinal principle was at stake — the principle of separation between Chinese and barbarian. Ho requested the emperor to order the Embroidered-uniform Guard, Investigating Censors, and local officials to enforce its prohibition and suggested that offenders should be punished severely. Emperor Hsiao-tsung accepted Ho's request and an announcement was made
throughout the empire on the twenty-seventh day in the first month of that year for this purpose.

Ho Ch'iao-hsin's memorial revealed the persistence of Mongol customs even in the Hung-chih era although it was already more than one hundred and twenty years since the collapse of the Mongol Yuan. The *Shih-shih cheng-kang* was written in 1481, ten years before Ho Ch'iao-hsin presented this memorial. By that time Ch'iu Chun had already expressed much concern over the practice of barbarian customs by the Chinese people. Perhaps Ch'iu's desire to strengthen the distinction between Chinese and barbarian was also a response to this phenomenon. But one thing is certain, Ch'iu expended no less ink on the problem of Mongol customs in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. On many occasions, Ch'iu made use of the subject under discussion to express his comments on barbarian customs. On the one hand, he criticised the Mongols for the incorrigible obstinacy they displayed in sticking to their barbarian customs even though they had settled in China. On the other hand, he condemned the Chinese who followed barbarian customs and in particular those people of his own times. For example, in the entry of the seventh year of T'ai-ho (484) of Northern Wei, the outline in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* records the court's prohibition of marriage between people of the same surname. In the remarks Ch'iu compared this practice to the Mongol custom, which allowed a son to take his father's wives, or an elder brother to marry his brother's wives after their death. Judging from the continuation of such old customs even after the fall of the Yuan it was evident that people had no intention of mending their ways, and Ch'iu
concluded that the Mongols were even more savage than the barbarians of the Northern Wei. In the entry of the ninetieth year of T'ai-ho (496), the Outline records Emperor Hsiao-wen's (Toba Hung, r.471-489) prohibition of barbarian languages. In the remarks Ch'iu commented that the Mongol Yuan should feel abashed. In the entry of the fourth year of Chien-yen 建炎 (1130) of Southern Sung, Ch'iu reported the Jurchen's prohibition of marriage to one's own step-father or step-mother, and in the remarks he addressed his censure directly to the Chinese of his times. It reads: "Before the Jurchen had been in China for long, however, they immediately took Chinese customs to reform their old customs. The Mongols were indeed far more inferior to them. Why are there people in China who still follow barbarian customs nowadays?" Obviously, in Ch'iu eyes, Chinese were Chinese and barbarians were barbarians, and Chinese culture and barbarian culture were irreconcilable. Two articles incorporated in his collected works, the *Ch'iung-tai lei-ka* in 70 chüan, namely: "Ch'ung-cheng pien hsü" 華正辨序 and "Pu-shih sha-jen lun" 朴嗜善人論, also promotes this argument. However, his resistance to barbarian culture should not be generally related to anti-foreignism. Contemporary scholars regarded Emperor T'ai-tsu's prohibition of Mongol customs and imitation of T'ang institutes as part of his effort to restore Chinese culture after its destruction by the Mongols. In the cases of Fang Hsiao-ju and Ch'iu Chün, their motives were quite similar to those of Emperor T'ai-tsu. To a large extent, their concept of the difference between Chinese and barbarians was based on culture, though geographical and racial factors also played a
fundamental role in their thinking.

When analysing the attitudes of traditional Chinese intellectual towards barbarians, modern scholars tend to see only their cultural and racial components and neglect to consider the possibility of nationalist elements. James Harrison in his *Modern Chinese Nationalism* suggests that "traditional Chinese attitudes tended to be more cultural than national", because the Chinese image of themselves as a superior, indeed the only, civilization was unchallenged. The existence of non-Chinese peoples or barbarians was recognized but only to the extent that they proved a military threat, they could not be considered as truly rival states, because of their backwardness. They could not be competitors for China's place in the world, and they could not rule China except in a Chinese way. There was no need for nationalism in this world devoid of cultural and inter-state competition.82 Edwin O. Reischauer states that nationalism seems to be typical of a group which vehemently asserts its own distinctiveness and superiority because it has reason to fear not only political but also cultural inundation by some other group. The Chinese attitude, he said, by contrast, showed no sign of a feeling of cultural inferiority. Political subjugation may have been feared, but cultural conquest of the huge Chinese unit by the thin nomadic populations of the north was unimaginable, and such a complete confidence in one's own cultural superiority, should exclude any development of nationalistic feelings.83 However, it would not be accurate to describe Ch'iu Chün's attitudes in this respect as either culturalist or racist. Certainly Ch'iu always stressed cultural
differences in his discussion of Chinese and barbarian. Culturalism, however, implied that there was otherwise no need for racial barriers and even that alien rule could eventually be accepted — and this is exactly what Ch'iu radically opposed. Besides, culturalism was often invoked by Chinese scholars as an excuse to justify their acceptance of an appointment in barbarian government, a practice which Ch'iu strongly condemned. But to lump Ch'iu's ideas under the labels of racism, or ethnocentrism, would be definitely misleading, as his rejection of barbarian rule and barbarization did not exactly originate in parochial or irrational dogmas of racial discrimination.

Nevertheless, taking into account the nature of the political and cultural threats generated by the Mongols in Ch'iu's times, and in order to distinguish Ch'iu's attitudes from modern nationalism which implies both a strong identification of the individual with the state and a clear and definite sense of nation, I would prefer to describe Ch'iu's attitude as a form of proto-nationalism, and avoid the emotionally-loaded term "racism." As we already pointed out, the use of modern concepts and value-judgements could dangerously colour and distort our understanding of Ch'iu's ideas. Ch'iu's discussion of the problem of Chinese and barbarian relations objectively reflected the mentality of his times and, simultaneously, endeavoured to shed emotional biases. As an historical work, the Shih-shih cheng-kang constituted an amalgamation of proto-nationalistic ideas with the "praise and blame" approach. However, since Ch'iu remained quite aware of the importance of historical truth, his enterprise did not preclude the possibility of achieving a fair degree of objectivity.
The question of the rightfulness of imperial succession takes up much space in Ch'iu's application of "praise and blame". In this context, two of the great principles of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* - to establish righteousness between sovereign and minister and to restore the proper relationship between father and son, played an important role in his justification.

Regarding the adjudication of sovereigns in history, Ch'iu stressed the "properness of morality and righteousness" (*tao-i chih cheng* 道義之文). On this point he elaborated in the preface that Heaven's intention in establishing a sovereign was to designate a head who would build up a peaceful and happy living place for mankind, so that people would not suffer from invasion and attacks by beasts and barbarians. In discussing imperial legitimacy, Chinese political thinkers liked to employ the concept of "receiving the Mandate of Heaven" (*shou-ming yu-t'ien* 收命於天). Basically, this concept was also employed by Ch'iu Chun to justify the Chinese emperors in his *Shih-shih cheng-kang*; however, Ch'iu's interpretation of "receiving Mandate from Heaven" tended to be more realistic and pragmatic than that of former scholars. He considered that one who "can undertake the will of Heaven, then, can receive the Mandate of Heaven". What Ch'iu referred to as "undertake the will of Heaven" was a connotative term which meant showing "benevolence and kindheartedness to the people". Thus, from the above implication, he derived the following
relations: "To serve the people, so as to undertake the [will of] Heaven; to undertake the [will of] Heaven, so as to secure his position."

In other words, to undertake the will of Heaven, Ch'iu elaborated, indeed meant to undertake the will of the people. Likewise, the Mandate of Heaven in fact meant the mandate of the people. These explanations reveal Ch'iu's understanding of the implication of "Mandate of Heaven". He placed equal significance upon both Heaven and the people, and this was not necessary a traditional or common view.

In fact, in Ch'iu's ideal conception, the duty of the sovereign was to hold himself responsible to the people. However, since the Shih-shih cheng-kang was not focused on discussing the merits and demerits of imperial sovereigns, but on the relations between sovereign and minister, especially in periods of historical change, Ch'iu's evaluation of imperial virtue as related to the rise and fall of dynasties was not made sufficiently clear. Perhaps, since the Shih-shih cheng-kang confined most of its attention to the rightfulness in imperial succession and in particular censured usurpatory activities, it could have created a wrong impression that the author was placing the sovereign in a supreme position with absolute power and forbade any punitive action from his subjects. To prevent such a misunderstanding, Ch'iu gave a brief account of his theory of the "Mandate of Heaven" in the preface, at the very beginning of his work, so as to make his position perfectly clear.

With reference to the right and proper relations between sovereign and minister, Ch'iu paid relatively more attention to the
obligations of the minister and his application of praise and blame was mostly centred around this aspect. In all fairness, this should give no cause for much criticism. Imperial succession in traditional China was determined by the hereditary system. Granted that the successor was a sovereign of limited ability, if only he was not a tyrant, still there was no reason for his replacement. Very often, challenge to the relations between sovereign and minister came from the ministers, upon whom the governmental functions largely relied. Hence, from a historical point of view, the ministerial function was of greater consequence than the imperial function. Certainly, Ch'iu did not ignore the possibility of legitimate upraisal (this was discussed in the preceding section regarding the principles of the Shih-shih cheng-kang), however, Ch'iu adopted a cautious attitude.

Ch'iu disclosed the intention of treacherous ministers in history who carried out usurpatory schemes and intrigues under the guise of high-sounding words, and condemned those influential ministers who took imperial succession casually. Among the many cases, Ch'iu's criticism of Huo Kuang (d. 68 B.C.) in the Shih-shih cheng-kang unequivocally revealed his idea of the righteousness which a minister should have. Huo Kuang was a notable minister at the court of Emperor Chao 昭帝 (Liu Fu-ling 刘弗陵, r.86-74 B.C.) of Han. He was appointed by the late emperor, Emperor Wu, together with Sang Hung-yang (152-80 B.C.) to assist the young emperor in governing the empire. During Huo Kuang's twenty years in power, he was praised for his talent and leniency, and especially for his policy of "light corvée and small taxes". However, his dethronement
of Liu Ho left a black spot on his political career. In the sixth month of the first year of Yuan-p'ing (74 B.C.), Huo Kuang supported Liu Ho, then Prince of Ch'ang-yi as successor to the deceased Emperor Chao. And in the seventh month of the year, twenty-six days after Liu Ho's succession, he deposed Liu Ho and put Ho's brother Liu Hsün (r.73-49 B.C.), posthumously Emperor Hsüan on the throne.

In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, Ch'iu Chun pointed out that this was "the beginning of the dethronement and enthronement [of sovereigns] by ministers in later generations." In the remarks, he said: "Alas, in the affairs of a country, what is more important than the enthronement of a sovereign? Of all the possible crimes of a minister, which is more serious than the dethronement of a sovereign?" Ch'iu likened the lofty position of a sovereign, to the sky above all things on earth, and to the head on the top of the human body, and considered that the sky could not be lowered down to earth, nor the head down to the foot. Likewise, since the sovereign was put on the throne, surely there was no reason that he should be deposed. Ch'iu quoted the saying of Confucius -- "to serve your Majesty in accordance with [the principle of] loyal service (chung) and deferential submission (shun)" and used these two criteria, loyal service and deferential submission, to measure the actions of Huo Kuang. He said that, judging from the motives behind the dethronement, Huo Kuang could be said to be loyal, but he displayed no sign of deferential submission. If we judge him from the merits and demerits of that particular situation, Huo Kuang's reappointment of a more
capable man to the throne could be said to be an act of loyalty to the Han imperial house; however, judging from the cardinal principles of all ages, Huo Kuang indeed gave offence to the Confucian ethical code (ming-chiao 咎教). Ch'iu also considered that Huo Kuang's fault lay "not at that time when he deposed [Liu Ho], but in the beginning, when he put [Liu Ho] on the throne."\(^{91}\) Liu Ho was rashly enthroned without adequate examination, and was rashly deposed without tactful admonishment. Hence, Ch'iu blamed Huo Kuang for setting a bad example to later generations, so that wicked ministers could find an excuse for their conspiracies. The case of Huo Kuang reflects the standard of judgement adopted in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. Obviously, it was written from a broad perspective and attached more importance to the future and permanent consequences of historical events than to their immediate impact upon a particular situation.

Another example in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, which merits attention, is the case of the usurpation of Wang Mang.\(^{92}\) This Ch'iu regarded as "the first instance of a usurpation of the state by a treacherous minister after the Ch'in dynasty".\(^{93}\) In the twelfth month of the first year of Shih-yüan 324 (8 A.D.), Wang Mang usurped the Han royal house and established the Hsin dynasty. The remarks in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* under the entry of this year read:

Alas, to have the sovereign and then the ministers, is [a matter] fundamental to the Heavenly Principles, natural to the people's customs and certain to the Human Ways. Confucius said: "The sovereign is sovereign and the minister is minister. The sovereign must be a sovereign, only then can the minister be a minister." If the sovereign is not up to the task of being a sovereign, the minister then gives him assistance and helps him. If the sovereign is not suitable to be a sovereign, the minister can go against him and corrects him. If his incompetence and mistakes are not such
that he cannot be assisted nor corrected, and if he is not acting in opposition to the Heavenly Principles, or corrupting the people's customs, or breaching Human Ways, [the minister] cannot put the blame on [the sovereign] and say: the sovereign is not a sovereign and the minister therefore cannot be a minister.94

The duty of the minister at the court, as reflected in the above passage, was to make up for the insufficiencies of the sovereign and to rectify his mistakes. Ch'iu condemned the pretext of "the sovereign is not a sovereign and the minister therefore cannot be a minister". Nevertheless, Ch'iu did not reject the possibility of popular uprising, but he considered it to be an initiative of the last resort, when there were no alternatives. Only if a minister had fulfilled his duties, and, Ch'iu insisted, "the wickedness of the sovereign was as bad as that of [Hsia] Chieh and [Shang] Chou, and the virtue of the minister was as eminent as that of [Shang] T'ang and [Chou] Wu, then the minister could comply with the [will of] Heaven and conform to [the request of] the people and deprive the sovereign of his mandate."95 But he also warned that: if the sovereign had no serious faults, and was merely young and immature, with feeble authority, then if the minister bullied him and employed his shrewdness to usurp the throne, such a minister was only "a mutinous minister and bandit" (luan-ch'en tsei-tzu). A special characteristic in Ch'iu's historical work is his constant warning that usurpatory activities would be condemned by history: Mutinous ministers and usurpers, although they could deceive the people of their own age, could not escape from the sentence and curse pronounced by the people and historians of later times. Their conspiracy would certainly go down in history as a byword of infamy. Such remarks can be easily found throughout the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Needless to
say, these remarks had a didactic purpose. Such were the remarks on the case of Wang Mang:

Now it has been one thousand four hundred and seventy-one years from the time of [Wang] Mang. People who study history still gnash their teeth in anger and revile him again and again. Having checked the span of his reign, we find it was of only eighteen years, half of which were occupied by anxiety and worries. Alas, in a man’s life in this world, is it worth while to pursue pleasure for some ten odd years and leave a stinking reputation for ten million generations?96

Meanwhile, due to the peculiar conditions of Wang Mang’s usurpation, which lasted for only a short period of time, special arrangement was made in the Shih-shih cheng-kang to record its dynastic title and reign title. In this case, the dynastic title of "Han" was still marked in the "circle" instead of the "Hsin", but the circle was surrounded by a black ring (see illustration IV), so as to differentiate it from the other cases. The reign title of Wang Mang on the other hand was marked on one side by small characters under the circle. The motive of this arrangement is explicable. At that time, Wang Mang had already been enthroned as emperor and had supplanted the Han dynasty with the Hsin. The Shih-shih cheng-kang, however, retained the "Han" dynastic title and recorded the events that happened in this era under the column of the "History of the Han era", so as to show that the Hsin dynasty was not accepted as a legitimate dynasty. Besides, this arrangement solved the dilemma of whether history should expunge the title of usurpers or simply make a record according to historical facts. During Eastern Han, Chang Heng 張衡 (78-139), an eminent astronomer and man of letters, submitted a memorial suggesting that the usurpation of Wang Mang should be recorded in his biography in the official history, and the annalistic
records and propitious omens etc. of this period should be recorded under the "Annals of Empress Yuan" 97 Of course, the aim of this proposal was to expunge the regime of Wang Mang from history. However, such practice could not avoid distorting the facts. In order to give a plain account of what had happened, the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien by Ssu-ma Kuang recorded the history of the Hsin dynasty under the "Annals of Wang Mang" following the annals of the Han emperors without applying any historical rearrangement.98 Certainly, each method could only follow either historical censure or historical fact, and neither could reconcile both demands. The Shih-shih cheng-kang mentioned the reign title of Wang Mang in recording the events of Wang Mang's regime, but at the same time retained the overall dynastic title and the cheng-shuo of Han, implying that even though Wang Mang had seized the throne, however, the Mandate of Heaven and the will of the people were still attached to the Han royal house. Besides, since the reign titles of the Hsin regime was marked on one side in small characters, it also indicated that Wang Mang was not a legitimate successor to the throne. This arrangement ingeniously solved the dilemma facing the historians and, at the same time, it achieved two effects: firstly, it showed that the legitimacy and the Mandate of Han did not cease nor was it interrupted; secondly, it censured the usurper and showed disapproval to any usurpatory activities.

The writing method applied to Wang Mang was also employed in handling the case of Wu Tse-t'ien. In this case, Ch'iu's censure was directed to the confusion brought to the proper order between man and woman. The problem of the proper arrangement of the Chou regime
established by Empress Wu in the history of the T'ang dynasty was a Gordian knot to traditional historians. In the twelfth month of 683, Emperor Kao-tsung (Li Chih 倫, r.650-683) died and Li Hsien 雷 (655-710), the Heir Apparent, posthumously Emperor Chung-tsung 帝 (r.684, 705-710), succeeded to the throne. In the next year, 684, the reign title Hung-tao 弘道 of the deceased Emperor Kao-tsung was changed to Ssu-sheng 遜 . In the second month of this year Emperor Chung-tsung was deposed by Empress Wu as Prince of Lu-ling 鄴, and Li Tan 惠 (662-712), then Prince of 愍, was put on the throne, later being posthumously known as Emperor Jui-tsung 傑 (r.685-689). At the same time, the reign title, Ssu-sheng, of Emperor Chung-tsung was changed to Wen-ming 文明 . In the ninth month of the same year, Empress Wu gave audience and the reign title was further changed to Kuang-chai 観 . Five years later, in 690, Emperor Jui-tsung was deposed by Empress Wu, who put herself on the throne and styled herself "Sheng-shen huang-ti" 聖神皇帝 . Meanwhile, the dynastic title "T'ang" was also abandoned and supplanted by "Chou" 周 .

The position of the Chou regime in history was problematical to the historians of later decades. Traditional historians, especially in the T'ang and Sung, were generally unwilling to accept "Chou" as a new dynasty because by doing so it would imply that the T'ang dynasty had been overthrown and was exterminated. But how were they going to interpret this complex and delicate situation?

Shen Chi-chi 沈儀 (a.750- a.800), man of letters and official historiographer of the T'ang dynasty, in treating the history of Chou said that: "Although the sovereign lost his throne, I dare not depose him." Thus, the events of Chou were recorded under
the reign title of Emperor Chung-tsung, that is Ssu-sheng, and the living place of Emperor Chung-tsung was noted at the beginning of every year. This implied that Emperor Chung-tsung was still regarded as the legitimate emperor. Later, Fan Tsu-yü (1041-1098) in his T'ang-chien, opposed the treatment employed by the standard history, the T'ang-shu, which put Wu Tse-t'ien in the imperial annals (pen-chi). He abrogated the title of Wu Tse-t'ien and recorded the events which happened during Wu Tse-t'ien's rule, that is from 684 to 705, under the reign title Ssu-sheng, which had been established by Emperor Chung-tsung in 684 and abrogated by Empress Wu in the same year. The above treatment was imitated by Chu Hsi in the Southern Sung period. In his T'ung-chien kang-mu, Chu Hsi employed, and prolonged, the reign title of the deposed Emperor Chung-tsung, the reign title of Wu Tse-t'ien being appended in small characters. And the policies and utterances of Wu Tse-t'ien during the era of Chou were recorded under the title "Empress Dowager" instead of "Sheng-shen huang-ti". Needless to say, the treatments of Shen Chi-chi, Fan Tsu-yü and Chu Hsi were aimed at censuring the usurpation of Wu Tse-t'ien and showing disapproval of the regime she established. However, these views were not readily subscribed to by all historians. Since the founding of the Chou was an undeniable fact of history, to expel it from history because of moralistic motives was a clear case of distortion. Besides, the reign title of Emperor Chung-tsung, Ssu-sheng, had lasted for only one month in history, while the practice of Chu Hsi and others in prolonging the reign Ssu-sheng to twenty-one years, covering
the rule of Wu Tse-t'ien, did not accord with historical truth. In fact, before Chu Hsi, in his Tzu-chih t'ung-chien, in order to be faithful to the historical facts, Ssu-ma Kuang employed the reign titles of Wu Tse-t'ien, though he addressed her as "Empress Dowager" in the text.\textsuperscript{104}

Although didactic function is a main feature of Ch'iu's historiography, in handling this case, we find that he did not ignore the importance of objectivity. Ch'iu did not agree with the method employed by Chu Hsi and his predecessors. He thought that their prolongation of the Ssu-sheng reign was not at all appropriate or sound, and asked: "There is the saying that 'the sky cannot have two suns and the people cannot have two rulers', it is impossible to have two dynastic titles in one state. Since née Wu had already got rid of the T'ang and replaced it with the Chou, with the Chou there should be no T'ang, and, without the T'ang there should be no emperor. Within the same territory, in the same generation and time, if the title of the T'ang emperor is marked together with that of the Chou, how could there be no discrepancy and contradiction?"\textsuperscript{105} Ch'iu pointed out that it was unreasonable to employ two reign titles at the same time in a unified empire; besides, to prolong the reign title of Emperor Chung-tsung was indeed "using falsehood to establish righteousness and not recording the truth".\textsuperscript{106} To deal with this case, the Shih-shih cheng-kang employed the same treatment as it had in dealing with Wang Mang. The dynastic title "T'ang" was marked in the circle, which was surrounded by a black ring, and the reign titles of Wu Tse-t'ien were marked by small characters under the circle. Ch'iu explained:
The Shih-shih cheng-kang marked the dynastic title "T'ang" in the circle and recorded the reign titles of née Wu in small characters on one side under it, so as to indicate that although the world was under the tyrannical rule of née Wu, it was indeed a world of the T'ang royal house. Although it is said to be the world of the T'ang royal house, however, the one ruling it was indeed née Wu.... Thus, proper righteousness can be obtained and the truth of historical events will not be shaded, the crime of the traitorous empress can be exposed to the world and the righteousness of sovereign and subjects can also be luminously manifested to the later generations.107

The treatment of the Wu Tse-t'ien case showed the harmonization of objectivity with "praise and blame" in the Shih-shih cheng-kang. Historical works such as the T'ang-chien and the T'ung-chien kangkan-mu etc. are didactic in function. However, in censuring usurpation and applying the theory of legitimacy, the method of writing which they employed cannot avoid contradicting the historical facts. Ch'iu's well-conceived system for marking the dynastic and reign titles reconciled the contradictory demands of historical objectivity and moral censure and indeed constituted an important step in didactic historiography.

Since the Shih-shih cheng-kang was a historical work the aim of which was to clarify the legitimacy of succession, and to rectify the relations of mankind, very often Ch'iu's judgement would differ from the views of traditional historians. His standards in matters of human relations were more strict and his application of praise and blame was more rigorous. A similar case concerning righteousness in the relations between sovereign and minister, an issue to which Ch'iu attached great importance, was the usurpation of the Ssu-ma family. Surely, Ch'iu was not speaking for the Ts'ao Wei regime (220-265); indeed he considered that the Wei's usurpation by Ssu-ma Yen
司馬炎 (236-290), posthumously Emperor Wu (r.265-290), was a just retribution for the Ts'ao's usurpation of the Han throne, and he condemned it merely for the general principle that was at stake. He condemned the Ssu-ma family, namely Ssu-ma I 司馬穎 (179-251), Ssu-ma Shih 司馬師 (208-255), Ssu-ma Chao 司馬超 (211-265), and Ssu-ma Yen, for their deliberate plan to usurp the throne of the Wei royal house and their unawareness that there were such things as Heavenly Principles and human relations in this world. They murdered one emperor, one empress, deposed one emperor, and killed countless royal clansmen and officials. Unfortunately, Ch'iu said, historians of later times fell into their plot and thought that their regime was established by rightful means. On this subject, Ch'iu criticized Chinese historians generally for dealing with issues purely in terms of success or failure. Thus, usurpers whose intrigues were successful escaped from the sentence of history. Ch'iu stated: "Scholars of later generations who write history usually deal with an event in terms of success or failure, and are not aware of [their obligation to] castigate the usurpers' motivations, and to expose their treacherous schemes and denounce their unjust actions. When Heavenly Principles and human relations are destroyed, on what can Earthly Ways rely for their existence? And what is the use of having Confucians in this world?" In conscious reaction against this common practice, Ch'iu said that in applying praise and blame in his Shih-shih cheng-kang, he paid "particular attention to the rights and wrongs in historical events and gave no thought to success or failure." In handling the regime of Chin 司馬炎 founded by Ssu-ma
Yen, Ch'iu marked the dynastic title "Chin" with ink in the circle, and the reign titles of Chin emperors were indicated by small characters on one side under the dynastic title. This arrangement, Ch'iu said, was "to show that although they obtained the empire, what they obtained they indeed ought not to have obtained. Although they obtained it, it is the same as if they had not obtained it."^111

When Ssu-ma Yen, that is, Emperor Wu, died in 290, the Outline in the Shih-shih cheng-kang reads: "Chin ruler Ssu-ma Yen died"^112, without granting him the writing style a legitimate ruler would be given. The remarks by Ch'iu under this entry say that the relations between sovereign and minister were the principal concept of the Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues (san-kang wu-ch'ang^113 which should not be ignored for even one day. This treatment of Ssu-ma Yen was to give warning to ten thousand generations, for although an influential minister may acquire the actual power, he was not allowed to supplant his sovereign, and although he may obtain the empire, he was not allowed to establish a new legitimacy.^114

Considerable importance was also attached to the proper relations between father and son in the Shih-shih cheng-kang. In this respect, Ch'iu stuck to the guiding principles -- to restore the proper relationships between father and son, in his application of praise and blame. In judging these relations, Ch'iu keep in his mind the thought that the imperial throne must be received from the father. He criticized the historians of former times who merely knew that there were ministers who went against the orders of their sovereigns,
but were not aware that there were also sons who went against the orders of their father. In a remark attached to the history of the Ch'in era, he elaborates:

A sovereign receives the order from heaven, a minister receives the order from his sovereign, a son receives the order from his father. A son who succeeds to the throne of his father but not [as a result of] the order of his father is just the same as a minister succeeding to the throne of his sovereign but not [as a result of] the order of his sovereign.¹¹⁵

Revolt against the order of the father by the son was not easy to identify simply because the dead could not bear witness. In handling these cases, Ch'iu suggested restoring the original will of the dead so as to justify the rights and wrongs of those alive. One of the examples in the Shih-shih cheng-kang that falls into this category was his censure of Hu-hai 胡亥 (230-207 B.C.), Emperor Erh-shih huang-ti 二世皇帝 (r. 209-208 B.C.) of Ch'in.¹¹⁶ At the enthronement of Hu-hai in 209 B.C., the Outline reads: "Hu-hai killed his brother Fu-su 服櫟 and had himself put on the throne."¹¹⁷ Ch'iu marked the reign year of Hu-hai in small characters and explained that this was to show that the legitimacy of the Ch'in had not yet been exterminated, and that the one who succeeded to the throne was not the one who should succeed. He pointed out that the enthronement of Hu-hai was not the will of Emperor Shih-huang, and historians should not give thought only to success or failure, otherwise, Hu-hai's revolt against his father's will and his crime of killing his brother would be concealed.¹¹⁸ Similar treatment is also applied in the case of Li Heng 李亨 (710-762), posthumously Emperor Su-tsung 蘇王 (r.756-762).¹¹⁹ In the fifteenth year of T'ien-pao 天寶 (756), because of
the rebellion of An Lu-shan 安祄山 (d. 757) Emperor Hsüan-tsung 上遷 (Li Lung-chi 李隆基, 685-762, r. 713-755) fled the capital, Chang-an 長安, and moved to Shu 蜀, Szechuan. In the seventh month of the same year, Li Heng, then the Heir Apparent, placed himself on the throne in Ling-wu 嶽武, the present Ning-hsia 宁夏, and changed the reign title to Chih-te 嗣德. In this case, since the one year had two different reign titles, a special solution was adopted. Although the dynastic title of T'ang was still marked in vermilion, the reign title of Su-tsung was marked in small characters following the reign title of Emperor Hsüan-tsung, T'ien-pao, which was marked in block characters. The enthronement of Li Heng had been caused by an exceptional situation. Ch'iu however did not grant the slightest excuse. Since he did not follow an order of his father, as a matter of principle, Ch'iu considered that Li Heng's enthronement should not be regarded as legitimate succession.

Objectivity should undoubtedly be the highest goal in historical writing. However, since Chinese historians were too concerned about didactic function and "praise and blame", very often their writings could not avoid being moralistic and subjective. Besides, their censure was not necessarily founded on solid ground. Sometimes, it was based on hearsay or emotional reasons. And perhaps, their judgement was accepted only because it conformed to prevalent views. Although the Shih-shih cheng-kang constantly emphasized the didactic function, there is every reason to believe that objectivity was still the primary consideration in Ch'iu's historiography. Ch'iu assumed that "praise and blame" should not merely rely upon hearsay; detailed
investigation and research should be made before any conclusions could be drawn. His judgement in a disputed case in history — whether Emperor T'ai-tsung of Sung was the murderer of his brother, Emperor T'ai-tsu — proves that he faithfully abided by this rule.

On the question of the death of Emperor T'ai-tsu (Chao K'uang-yin 趙匡胤, 927-976) on the day kuei-ch'ou 穀止 in the tenth month of the ninth year of K'ai-pao 達寳 (976), Ch'iu cited accounts from different sources in his Shih-shih cheng-kang. Generally speaking, there were two different opinions: Firstly, the account in the standard history, the Sung-shih, records that when Emperor T'ai-tsu's death was discovered on that night, the eunuch Wang Chi-en 王齊恩 was sent to notify Chao K'uang-i 趙匡義 (939-997), then Prince of Chin, who later arrived at the palace. Secondly, both the Shih-tsuan t'ung-yao 史纂通要 by Hu I-kuei 胡一桂, and the T'ung-chien hsü-pien 通鑑續編 by Ch'en Ching 陳橙 bring forward the version that on that night, before Emperor T'ai-tsu's death, the Prince of Chin was summoned to the palace, and the two brothers had secret conversation regarding the affairs of the succession. The eunuchs and chamber maids were all sent away, but from afar under the light of a candle they saw the Prince of Chin leave the table in anger, then the emperor seized an axe and struck the ground, shouting in a loud voice to the Prince of Chin, "take good care of it." That evening the Prince of Chin stayed overnight in the palace, and at the fifth watch, the emperor died. The first version presented by the Sung-shih recorded that Chao K'uang-i arrived at the palace after Emperor T'ai-tsu's death although it makes no clear reference to
whether the enthronement of Emperor T'ai-tsung was the will of his deceased brother. The second version records an argument between the two brothers on the night before Emperor T'ai-tsu's death and consequently suggests that Emperor T'ai-tsung murdered his brother and usurped the throne. Ch'iu pointed out that from different sources scattered in the annals and biographies of the Sung-shih, the views of which happen to coincide, the version of the Sung-shih should be more reliable than that presented by Hu I-kuei and Ch'en Ching. Ch'iu traced the source of Hu's and Ch'en's record, and pointed out that their argument originated in Li T'ao's (1115-1184) Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien 續資治通鑑表編, which, in turn, was based upon both the Kuo-shih fu-jui chi 國史粹編 and the Hsiang-shan yeh-lu 湘山野錄, a monk of Wu, in Kiangsu. Besides remarking that both the Kuo-shih fu-jui chi and the Hsiang-shan yeh-lu were fanciful and weird books, Ch'iu cited the full text of the Hsiang-shan yeh-lu and the Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien and, after a detailed textual comparison, pointed out that even the conversation between the two brothers as described in the Hsiang-shan yeh-lu, upon which Li T'ao based his version, was presented somewhat differently in Li's work. He raised a rhetorical question, "History means true record. Is it possible to place trust in someone else's words readily without investigating the truth?" He condemned Hu I-kuei and Ch'en Ching for arousing suspicions for ten thousand generations and Li T'ao for having failed to go into the matter thoroughly and readily believing hearsay. Ch'iu considered that murder and usurpation of one's sovereign was no
petty charge which could be casually asserted, "If Emperor T'ai-tsung really had done this, of course even death could not atone for the offence, however, if by any chance there was no such deed, would not he suffer eternal grievance?" Thereupon, Ch'iu suggested the adoption of the following attitude in dealing with disputes cases in history:

The [Tso-]chuan says: "Transmit the believable as believable and the doubtful as doubtful." It is permissible to believe that which is believable and to doubt that which is doubtful.\(^{129}\)

The case of Emperor T'ai-tsung sufficiently illustrates Ch'iu's concern for objectivity in the application of praise and blame. Besides, this is not the only case in the Shih-shih cheng-kang that shows Ch'iu's prudence and carefulness in his judgement. In many cases Ch'iu exerted his historical insight and reminded historians to look at historical events from the angle of the ancients, or, in other words, by means of empathetic understanding, and to be considerate to situation of those times.\(^{130}\) In the case of Emperor T'ai-tsung of Sung, certain historians of the Ming dynasty were convinced that T'ai-tsung murdered his brother, and among them were two of Ch'iu's contemporaries, Liu Ting-chih 劉廷芝 (1409-1469) and Ho Ch'iao-hsin. However, they could not supply further concrete evidence, apart from the sources included in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, to support their argument apart from their subjective conjecture.\(^{131}\) Needless to say, their evaluation was not drawn from historical research but was merely of a moralistic nature. A junior of Ch'iu Chün, Chu Yun-ming 車雲明 (1461-1527), in his Chu-tzu tsui-chih lu 車子罪知錄 (Master Chu's Record of Errors Understood), credits Liu Ting-chih
with "solid opinion, outstanding discernment and strict righteousness", and argues that "using the mind to judge the law is the way of Heaven and man."^2 Compared with the attitude of Ch'iu, who charged Liu with "guessing among shadowy rumours" and suggested that it was necessary to wait until the evidence was complete and proved reliable before drawing conclusions, it is obvious that the judgement of the Shih-shih cheng-kang indeed showed no sign of being coloured by the author's moralistic sentiments although a didactic function played an important role in the compilation of this work. There should be no concern that rigorous enforcement of "praise and blame" in the Shih-shih cheng-kang would have affected the objectivity of this work. The most detailed and comprehensive study of the suspicions against Emperor T'ai-tsung by a modern scholar is that of Professor Miyazaki Ichisada who concluded that the murder remains possible, but unproven and unprovable. In retrospect, Ch'iu's idea that accusations of regicide and usurpation should not be lightly made, proves once again the prudence and objectivity of Ch'iu's historiography.
Illustration IV : Examples of marking the dynastic and reign titles
in the regime of Wang Mang
CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION
Following Ch'iu's death in 1495, in the twelfth day of the third month of the same year Emperor Hsiao-tsung bestowed on him the posthumous name "Wen-chuang". In the edict which announced the bestowal, the emperor commended Ch'iu for his scholarship and achievements as follows: "A rare talent from the maritime region and a celebrity in the Hanlin Academy, accomplished in the learning of the Classics and attentive in the multitude of government affairs. For a long time he held important posts, and in his later years was an imperial assistant in policy making. [After entering into service,] he was promoted and elevated in official rank eight times until reaching the greatest distinction as one of the Three Solitaries (san-ku "^3\nu"), which is most honourable in the present time."¹

This edict eloquently testifies to Ch'iu's accomplishments in civil office, especially in his later years. Certainly, Emperor Hsiao-tsung thought highly of his talent and appointed him to an important position. However, as is apparent from subsequent events, only a small portion of Ch'iu's proposals in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu were accepted by the emperor and put into practice, while the malpractices of the government and the problems of the state Ch'iu had identified persisted until the end of the dynasty. Nor was this because Emperor Hsiao-tsung lacked the manpower and resources to implement Ch'iu's suggestions. However, Ch'iu's time in the Grand Secretariat, from 1491 to 1495, was really too short for him to expound his numerous proposals to the throne and strive for the realization of his lofty goals. Moreover, his ill health, especially in the last two years when he in fact spent most of his time in a sick-bed, also affected his ability to concentrate on political reform. At the same time,
conformity to tradition, which seems to be the common characteristic of all Ming emperors after Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, was definitely an obstruction to change or reform. Although a conscientious and reasonable ruler, Emperor Hsiao-tsung tended to avoid drastic changes unless the situation was so desperate that remedial measures had to be taken. On the other hand, many of Ch'iu's proposals were aimed to prevent possible dangers in the future, such as the revival of sea transportation and the strengthening of frontier defence, so it is not surprising that they received far less attention from the emperor. But, whether or not Ch'iu's proposals were put into effect should not affect our appraisal of his ideas and his significance in the history of Ming thought.

The Hung-chih era is commonly acknowledged by historians, both past and present, as a time of peace and prosperity. This is because Emperor Hsiao-tsung conducted himself with restraint. He ruled wisely and his reign came to be characterized as harmonious and generally uneventful. A biography by a modern scholar describes him as follows: "He (Emperor Hsiao-tsung) was monogamous; he also abstained from meat on certain days of the month. He attended audiences regularly, and only infrequently was he late at the early morning assembly. He seldom showed his temper and, even when offended by an official, never humiliated him by a beating in the public courtyard, nor by any other inhuman and cruel punishment. He apparently accepted most of the Confucian ethical principles he was taught, and practiced them during his life. His reign, especially the first five years, has been compared by some historians to the golden age of a Confucian sage-king. Perhaps that was why among Ming
emperors he was the only one who showed no martial spirit nor a desire to match the military achievements of the two ancestors (Chu Yüan-chang and Chu Ti) ... He himself, however, aspired only to be a ruler of the Confucian ideal: to conquer with virtue rather than by force." 3 The description is by no means an overstatement. Emperor Hsiao-tsung certainly was a sovereign who listened to his ministers' criticisms with an open mind and who had a keen insight into their characters and capabilities. It was his sagacious leadership and the competent and upright men assisting him that brought about a stable and benevolent government. The Grand Secretaries or Ministers appointed by Emperor Hsiao-tsung, such as Liu Chien 刘健 (1433-1526, cs.1460), Hsü P'u 胥溥 (1428-1499, cs.1454), Li Tung-yang 李東陽 (1447-1516, cs.1463), Hsieh Ch'ien 許遷 (1450-1531, cs.1475), Ma Wen-sheng 馬文升 (1426-1510, cs. 1451), Liu Ta-hsia 劉夏 (1437-1516, cs.1464), Tai Shan 戴珊 (1437-1506, cs.1464), and, of course, Ch'iu Chün, have all been recognized by historians as men of integrity and ability. The harmony and prosperity of his court was so remarkable that in the Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo 明史紀事本末 (Topical History of the Ming Dynasty), Ku Ying-t'ai 谷潁泰 (cs.1647) used the heading "Hung-chih chün-ch'en" 弘治君臣 for his chapter on the reign. Likewise, Ch'en Hung-mu 陳洪/pub (1474-1555, cs.1496), a historian living around the Hung-chih and Cheng-te 正德 (1506-1521) periods, gave his work which records the historical and political events of the Hung-chih era the title Chih-shih yü-wen 治世餘聞 (Lingering Anecdotes of Times of Peace and Prosperity). 4

The biography of Emperor Hsiao-tsung cited above, in which the reign is considered comparable to the golden age of a Confucian sage-
king, is certainly not fantasy but based on the observations by earlier historians. The late Ming and early Ch'ing eminent scholar Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664, cs.1610) indeed wrote that Emperor Hsiao-tsung was comparable to Ch'eng-wang (r.1024-1005 B.C.) of Chou and Emperor Wen (r.179-157 B.C.) of Han. A similar view was expressed by Ku Ying-t'ai in his topical history of the Ming dynasty. Yet, what merits special attention is that the above biography points out that the first five years of Hsiao-tsung's reign were particularly remarkable. For this, Ch'iu Chün should receive much of the credit. Ch'iu was the Grand Secretary and Chief Minister in the early years of the Hung-chih reign. His constant advice and exhortions to Emperor Hsiao-tsung to refrain from indulgence and idleness must have had considerable influence on the character of the modest emperor. In fact, this influence has already been pointed out by Ch'en Chien 陳建 (1497-1567) in his Huang-Ming chi-yao (A Record on the Important Events of Imperial Ming): "It is due to the guidance of [Ch'iu] Chün that the emperor develops his sagacity with each passing day, avoids the bad habits of the time and puts his trust in the Grand Secretariat." Although it is hard to determine exactly the influence Ch'iu and his ideas had on Emperor Hsiao-tsung, it is possible to see vestiges of Ch'iu's conception of the ideal ruler, as seen from his ideas of good government, in Emperor Hsiao-tsung, who in the words of one modern scholar "aspired only to be a ruler of the Confucian ideal: to conquer with virtue rather than by force." Certainly, as far as fostering the sage-king character of Emperor Hsiao-tsung is concerned, we should attribute some success to Ch'iu Chün and his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu.
The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu demonstrates a commitment to continuity -- a general characteristic of the Chinese intellectual tradition. It is part of a line of development of Confucian political philosophy from the Sung dynasty to the Ming. A major vehicle of this line of development was the *Great Learning*, a work which received particular attention from the Sung Neo-Confucianists and was generally recognized as containing the essence of the Confucian political ideal. Inspired by the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, a work which extended the meaning of the *Great Learning*, Ch'iu saw the significance of the *Great Learning* in relation to the governing of the state and the ordering of the world, and sought to enlarge on its message. He imitated the style of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, presenting his work in the form of a supplement, and traced its origin to the *Great Learning*. The writing of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was neither for academic interest nor the preservation of historical records. It was political in nature. Like Chen Te-hsiu, it is to the sovereign that Ch'iu addressed his book, not to the scholars or common people. Obviously his hope of achieving good government rested with the ruler. Therefore, appearing as an "imperial textbook", the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu witnessed Ch'iu's attempt to carry forward the tradition of the Sung Neo-Confucianists and reaffirm the political message of the *Great Learning* which had been expounded by Chen Te-hsiu. Nevertheless, Ch'iu did not totally base his ideas upon those of Chen Te-hsiu, instead he revised the former's interpretations in accordance with his own intellectual inclination and the needs of his time, and brought to the fore a new trend of Confucian political philosophy.

Ch'iu diagnosed the cause of the decline in the contemporary
intellectual and political climate as fundamentally residing in the fact that learning was divorced from practice. Moreover, he believed that the self-cultivation of the ruler, which was the principal means identified by Chen Te-hsiu and other Neo-Confucianists of attaining order and peace, was insufficient to bring about a good government and an ordered state. Because of Ch'iu's belief that the political and economic well-being of the state was not merely dependent on the moral well-being of the ruler but also on his knowledge and understanding of national affairs, in addition to self-cultivation he advocated practical learning and practical politics. Frequently he demonstrated the most practical of concerns, such as when he opposed the current practice of service-evaluation, or when he proposed the revival of grain transportation by sea. This pragmatic tendency was fully and systematically displayed in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, in which he reiterated the importance of both "substance" and "function" and concentrated on the "functioning" aspect of government. His purpose of educating the emperor in practical politics was made clear at the very beginning of this book where in the Table of Contents Ch'iu grouped all the twelve sections under a major heading "Essentials for Ordering the State and Pacifying the World", the last two of the eight items of the Great Learning which Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i did not cover. And after nearly every proposal Ch'iu puts forward in his book, we find the following postscript: "I am not sure whether this scheme will work or not; but I wish to propose it to Your Majesty, and hope Your Majesty will consider it and give it to the Ministers to discuss and determine whether such a scheme can eventually be adopted." Obviously, as a reference book or manual for good
government, what the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu offered the emperor was Ch'iu's prescriptions for the problems of his time.

As has been pointed out by Professor Wm. Theodore de Bary, Ch'iu's particular stress on the empirical aspect of learning must be understood against the background of the rising preoccupation with self-cultivation in Ming times. Yet, it would certainly be wrong to think that Ch'iu believed that the moral cultivation of the ruler could be ignored. From his discussions in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu we see that the moral cultivation and moral example of the ruler, especially in relation to rites and education, was a matter of considerable importance in Ch'iu's ideas of good government. But what concerned above all was the threatened distortion of the Confucian conception — the government was at bottom an ethical or moral problem — by Ch'en Hsien-chang's new teaching with its undue exaltation of the inner self. Likewise, from his personal experiences as an official in the Ming court, he was aware that Chen Te-hsiu's conception of ideal government in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i — which was developed in isolation from the affairs of the outer court, the actual exercise of power, and the practical affairs — contained dangers for the mind of a ruler. Therefore, by means of his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, he attempted to redress this unbalanced concentration and to establish a general reorientation in which the moral cultivation of the ruler was to be built on a foundation of good knowledge and understanding of government affairs. This intention is evident from the arrangement of the contents of his work. He placed the section on "Achievement of Moral Perfection" at the very end, after the other eleven sections which were concerned with government and institutional matters. This last
section, which consists of only one item entitled "The utmost in moral perfection of the sages", demonstrates Ch'iu's idea that moral perfection was not separate from, and indeed was revealed in, government affairs and practical politics. Furthermore, Ch'iu's explanation of moral perfection in this context merits special attention. In this section he cites two passages from the Classics which he believes express the ultimate achievement and the utmost in moral perfection of the sages. The first one comes from The Canon of Yao of the Book of Documents:

[Emperor Yao] was able to make his lofty virtue illustrious, and hence proceeded to the love of the nine classes of his kindred, who all became harmonious. He also regulated and polished the people [of his domain], who all became brightly virtuous. Finally, he united and harmonized the myriad states [of the empire] and, therefore, the multitude were transformed. The result was [universal] concord.10

The second one is a passage from the chapter "Li-yü" in the Book of Rites:

When the four limbs are all well proportioned, and the skin is smooth and full, the individual is in good condition. When there is generous affection between father and son, harmony between brothers, and happy union between husband and wife, the family is in good condition. When the high officials are observant of laws, the low officials pure, officers and their duties kept in their regular relations and the ruler and his ministers are correctly helpful to one another, the state is in good condition. When the Son of Heaven moves in his virtue as a chariot, with music as his driver, while all the princes conduct their mutual intercourse according to the rules of propriety, the officials maintain the order between them according to the laws, the scholars complete one another by their good faith, and the common people guard one another with a spirit of harmony, all under the Heaven is in good condition. All these produces what we call [the state of] great mutual consideration and harmony.11

In his remarks on the first citation, Ch'iu says that when the lofty virtue of the ruler is extended to the multitude and results in "[universal] concord" (yung 禎 ), then the goal of ordering and
transformation is considered to be accomplished, and this is also what
is called "the utmost in moral perfection of the sages". In this
sense, what Ch'iu meant by "moral perfection" of the ruler was in fact
the accomplishment of universal concord in government. Moreover, it
is interesting to note that the same passage, from the Canon of Yao,
was also cited by Chen Te-hsiu as the opening quotation of the first
section, "The Emperors and Kings' Priorities in Governing", of his
Ta-hsüeh yen-i. However, Chen takes this passage as confirming the
section, "The Emperors and Kings' Priorities in Governing", of his
essential message of the Great Learning that self-cultivation is the
basis of government and can be universalized so as to achieve world
peace. His comment on this passage reads:

Natural virtue is what all men possess in common. Originally
there is no differentiation of wise and foolish among them,
but in conjunction with the physical endowment, they may
become obscured by selfish desires and their virtue cannot
manifest itself. They must then follow a ruler of divine
sageliness whose manifestation of virtue is an example to all
the world. Only then can they be returned to their original
state ... Thus the governance of the sage-emperors was never
more flourishing than it was with Yao, and it all started
with his self-conquest and the clarifying of his own inner
virtue.

From the differences in Chen and Chiu's interpretation of this
passage, it is clear that while Chen's principle of government was
basically a matter of, and began with, the moral cultivation of the
ruler, Ch'iu, on the other hand, placed moral cultivation at the very
end and argued that it was only when government affairs were managed
and the state was in order that moral cultivation was accomplished and
perfected. In other words, according to Ch'iu's principle of
government, the moral perfection of the ruler is not separate from the
accomplishment of universal concord and peace, the manifestation of
moral perfection is none other than the attainment of universal concord, and the one cannot have priority over the other. This conception is also shown in Ch'iu's remarks on the second quotation from the *Book of Rites*. Here Ch'iu says that the accomplishment of "great mutual consideration and harmony" (ta-shun 休) is the utmost perfection of the learning of the sages. Further, he asserts that this accomplishment, which combines the achievements of self and affairs, within and without, is also what the *Great Learning* refers to as the sublime state in which the persons are cultivated, families are regulated, states are well governed, and the world is at peace. Elsewhere Ch'iu also relates the Three Leading Principles of the *Great Learning* to the accomplishment of universal concord and great harmony. He stresses that it is only when both "manifesting illustrious virtue" and "renovating the people" are grounded in the "highest excellence" (chih-shan) that the Way of the *Great Learning*, the teaching of "complete substance and full function", and the utmost in moral perfection are attained. Since Ch'iu states earlier that universal concord and great harmony represent the utmost perfection of the learning of the sages, it is obvious that he considers "resting in highest excellence" as a state in which universal concord and great harmony could be realized. The conception behind their respective interpretations is worth noting, since it relates to the fundamental difference between Ch'iu and Chen Te-hsiu's political philosophy. Chen Te-hsiu's philosophy is basically a matter of self-cultivation. It can be summed up by a key sentence in the *Great Learning*: "From the emperor down to the common people, all without exception, must consider cultivation of the person the root
[of government]." Hence he attached importance to the moral example of the emperor, the manifestation of illustrious virtue, and believed that good government could be attained when this "root" was firm. In contrast, Ch'iu showed more concern for the practical aspects of government, the achievement of the highest excellence, and maintained that only when good government and universal concord were attained, through actual political participation, would moral perfection and illustrious virtue be recognized. This was also the reason why Ch'iu tended to concentrate on practical learning and statecraft. To some extent Ch'iu's ideas departed from the conventional Confucian political concepts of his time. Nevertheless, since Ch'iu did not fail to prove that his ideas were based on the Confucian Classics, later scholars generally accepted that he was a Confucian orientated scholar-official.

There is no doubt that Ch'iu Chün's concern with statecraft can be understood as a response to the political and social problems of his time. His writings demonstrate a strong intent to admonish the emperor to be mindful of possible dangers and to take precautionary measures before it was too late. Nevertheless, the study of Ch'iu Chün's thought also leads to the conclusion that his interest in writing about government was in part a response to imperial autocracy, which under the Ming dynasty was more extreme than in other periods of Chinese history. This is evident from both of his two major works, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and the Shih-shih cheng-kang.

The Ming dynasty has been widely characterized by modern historians as a period marked by the growth of despotism. Professor Charles O. Hucker, in his thorough study of the Ming governmental
system, concludes that its most noteworthy feature was the extent to which it exalted the emperor's position and guarded -- at least in theory-- against the accumulation of power by any single official. The modern historian Ch'ien Mu , while not specifically examining the Ming dynasty but rather the history of China as a whole, discusses the Ming dynasty under the heading "Dictatorial rule under the restoration of traditional government". And in his penetrating study of the growth of Chinese despotism, Professor Frederick W. Mote gives an even more explicit heading to his section on Ming: "Despotism at its height -- the Ming dynasty." The growth of despotism in the Ming was largely the result of the tyrannical rule of Emperor T'ai-tsu, the founding emperor of the dynasty. When the Mongol reign of terror and oppression was ended by Chu Yuan-chang, posthumously Emperor T'ai-tsu, in 1368, it might have been expected that the leader of this nationalist revolution would establish a benevolent regime in view of the fact that he was first of all a Chinese and secondly an opponent of the Mongol tyranny. However, the truth was just the reverse. In order to secure his imperial position and also due to his fear that the warriors and men of letters who had assisted his conquest might themselves covet the throne, Emperor T'ai-tsu instituted a regime that was no less terroristic and oppressive than that of his Mongol predecessors. His means of exercising tyranny and terror, as Professor Mote has pointed out, included: institutions for deepening the gulf between the ruler and his bureaucracy, and further exalting the position of the ruler; consciously applied terror for the purpose of intimidating the unreliable but indispensable scholar-official class; unspeakably cruel
punishments and institutionalized humiliation of officials intended to keep them conscious of their insecurity; secret-service agencies answerable only to the throne and beyond the reaches of the not overly harsh laws; a literary inquisition through which unsuspecting persons were made the subject of the emperor's unpredictable wrath.¹⁹

In spite of his ruthless execution of the empire-building generals and ministers on a series of trumped-up charges, which earned him the title "the number one killer among all the monarchs in world history",²⁰ how Emperor T'ai-tsu affected the politics of Ming most was through his policies of concentrating all power in the throne and relegating government officials to the position of mere house-keepers. In the 13th year of his reign (1380), Emperor T'ai-tsu abolished the prime-ministership, the head of officialdom which is considered by historians to have been a check upon imperial power,²¹ and made the six Ministries at the highest level of administration responsible directly to him. He also did away with the Supreme Military Commission (ta tu-tu fu 大都督府 ) and established five Chief Military Commissions (tu-tu fu 都督府 ), so that no general would be powerful enough to pose a serious threat. Meanwhile the new regulations for the conduct of court, which required the officials to perform repeated prostrations and kow-tows and observe other strict rituals when they presented themselves, widened the gap between sovereign and ministers and resulted in a decline of ministerial status. Further, the beating of officials with heavy clubs in the presence of the court was introduced by Emperor T'ai-tsu and became a most notorious feature of Ming government.²² This practice of punishing and humiliating officials, which could happen whenever the
emperor's anger was aroused, created an atmosphere of terror in the officialdom and firmly consolidated the emperor's authoritarian position. The emperor now was the government who proposed and disposed, and he became a god-like master towering over his court officials. The court officials were merely the emperor's personal servants; they only worked for him, not with him. They were no longer the representatives of opinion which should be listened to or powers which should be coordinated with those of the throne. Such opinions and powers now had less compelling force because the emperor had the power to ignore or suppress both. There was no practical manifestation of the Mencian emphasis on the people as the end of government. Imperial administration became instead its own justification and the empire was viewed as the exclusive domain of the emperor and his family.

In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, we find Ch'iu's strong response to autocracy and his attempt to counter its growth. On many occasions, as we saw in the last chapter, he asserts that the state is not the private property of the ruler but is entrusted to him by Heaven. The ruler is the servant of Heaven and he acts on behalf of Heaven in ruling the people. Therefore the ruler should manage the government and rule the people in accordance with Heavenly Order and Heavenly Punishment rather than his personal pleasure or displeasure, his private likes or dislikes. Elsewhere Ch'iu also maintains that Heaven does not establish a man as sovereign merely for the sake of that one man, but for the sake of the people. Although Ch'iu constantly stresses the will of Heaven and Heavenly order, with which the sovereign should accord, this is by no means empty talk, for he makes
clear that the Way of Heaven lies with the people. At this point, it is evident that Ch'iu attempts to employ the concept of the Mandate of Heaven, which he believed was reflected in the will of the people, as a check on the emperor.

Moreover, in keeping with this argument in his ideas of good government, Ch'iu attaches primary importance to the welfare of the people. He reaffirms the Confucian principle that the people are the root of the state and thus defines the position of the ruler in terms of his obligation and responsibilities to his people. In a good government, as according to Ch'iu, the welfare of the people is unambiguously placed ahead of the personal interests of the ruler. Likewise, he argues that by taking care of the welfare of the people a sovereign wins the people, and by winning the people he secures his position. Ch'iu warns: A sovereign without people cannot form a state. How can a sovereign form his state with only one man? In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, the concept of taking the people as the root of the state and government is to be found in all parts of the text and unquestionably is one of its main themes. This is not a new concept in the Confucian tradition. Mencius had said: "The people are the most important element in the nation; the spirits of the land and grain are next; the sovereign is the last." Hsün Tzu also emphasized that the legitimacy and survival of the ruler rest ultimately upon the support of his people: "When the people are satisfied with his government, then only is a sovereign secure in his position. This is what the old text means when it says: The sovereign is the boat and the common people are the water. It is the water that bears the boat up, and the water that capsizes it."
Ch'iu is undoubtedly the most eloquent and systematic exponent of this concept, and it is a major characteristic of his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu that it draws this concept together with practical politics. This had not been achieved by earlier scholars for whom it remained nothing more than a theoretical concept.

Ch'iu's opposition to despotism is also reflected in his Shih-shih cheng-kang. As was mentioned previously, using Ch'in's unification of China as the beginning of this work made much of his purpose quite explicit. It was made even more explicit when he lamented for the fact that after imperial authoritarianism had been introduced by Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang, monarchical power grew day by day and ministerial status declined day by day, the distance between the sovereign at the top and the ministers below became greater and greater, and the courtesy of treating the ministers as teachers was never heard of again. Moreover, the criterion of good government in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu -- a government for the people -- was also employed in the Shih-shih cheng-kang as his measure of dynastic legitimacy. In this respect, whether the legitimacy of a regime was complete or partial was not determined by the area a regime controlled but rather by the method through which it acquired its power and won the hearts of the people. Furthermore, when discussing the legitimacy of emperors, Ch'iu stressed the necessity of "receiving the Mandate of Heaven". Although the "Mandate of Heaven" was a concept widely employed in Chinese historical writings, Ch'iu's treatment of it tended to be more feasible and practicable and revealed his intent to check despotic government by means of this Confucian concept. On the one hand, Ch'iu asserted that he who can carry out the will of Heaven
can receive the Mandate of Heaven; on the other hand he explained that to carry out the will of Heaven meant having benevolence and kind heartedness for the people. Hence we found the following statement in his work: "To take care of the people and thereby carry out the will of Heaven; to carry out the will of Heaven and thereby secure one's position." It is evident that resistance against imperial autocracy is one of the underlying themes of this historical work. The above assertions by Ch'iu imply that no claim of hereditary right or iron discipline can hold out forever in the face of popular indifference of discontent; no ruling house can long survive when it has ceased to fulfil the functions for which it was called to office. Judging from the importance which Ch'iu attached to this type of legitimacy, it is probable that he was determined to impress his warning upon the minds of rulers, to awaken them to the full moral responsibilities of government. Certainly it represents an assertion of the people's welfare against despotic rulers and oppressive government.

Although it is a historical work which shows considerable differences in approach and presentation to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, the Shih-shih cheng-kang is closely related to it in many respects. Ultimately, both works cherish the hope to bring forth a good government and a peaceful world. This is because Ch'iu's historical judgements are influenced by his general philosophy and are inseparable from his social and ethical principles. As a book of practical lessons in history, the significance of the Shih-shih cheng-kang is two-fold. On the one hand, through its full utilization of the method "review the past to understand the present", the Shih-shih cheng-kang offered the sovereign lessons in statecraft
and the proper way of governance, and to the ministers guidelines for their roles and the duties they should perform as advisors of the sovereign and administrators of the government. On the other hand, the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* had a wider aim of educating the people of the world. Through the application of "praise and blame", it provided all its readers with moral teachings and instruction in the proper order of human relations. By means of this history, Ch'iu attempted to set up a standard of moral values and to define the ideal relations between Chinese and barbarian, sovereign and minister, and father and son. He also attempted to strengthen the demarcation between Chinese and barbarian so as to uphold Chinese culture, which he believed was in danger of being submerged by foreign culture, and to arouse public consciousness against the possible danger of barbarian invasion. In short, all these worked towards Ch'iu Chün's ideal of good government and a moral world.

Ch'iu's views on government and history did not vanish after his death, but continued to exert considerable influence on scholars of the later decades. Judging from the response of Ming and Ch'ing scholars to his works, there can be little doubt that many of them shared his outlook. Apart from being reprinted by Emperor Shen-tsung 神宗 (Chu I-chün 朱翊鈞, 1563-1620, r. 1573-1620) in 1606, as well as by other scholars and private publishers, the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* was re-edited and abridged by Ming and Ch'ing scholars—an attempt to make this voluminous work more concise and accessible. At least seven of these abridged editions of the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* are recorded in bibliographical works and most of them can still be found today. They include the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu hui-yao* 大學問義編會要...
by Ch'eng Kao 楚訥 (cs.1499), the *Yen-i pu ying-hua* 外翼補英華 by Ling Yü-chih 靈謷之, the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chai-sui* 大學衍義補輯 by Hsu Kuo 稱國 (1527-1596, cs. 1565), the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chieh-lüeh* 大學衍義補輯略 by Wang Cheng 天靜 (cs.1550), the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu tsuan-yao* 大學衍義補輯要 by Hsü Shih 孝栻 (1519-1581), the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chi-yao* 大學衍義補輯要 by Ch'en Hung-mou 陳弘謨 (1696-1771), and the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu shan* 大學衍義補輯 by Chang Neng-lin 張鸞麟 of the Ch'ing dynasty. At the same time, Ch'iu's *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* also helped awaken Ming scholars to the perils facing the nation and inspired them to devote themselves to working out solutions. They took the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* as their model and compiled works on statecraft which could be applied to the situation of their time. Among them were Chan Jo-shui 漣若水 (1466-1560, cs.1505), who compiled a compendium in 100 chüan on sovereign and statecraft entitled *Sheng-hsüeh ko-wu t'ung* 圣學格物通, and Ch'en Jen-hsi 陳之錫 (1579-1634, cs. 1622), who compiled a political encyclopaedia of the Ming dynasty, in 92 chüan, entitled *Huang-Ming shih-fo Lu* 明世法錄. They both made clear that they drew their inspiration from Ch'iu's *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu*. Moreover, in late Ming and early Ch'ing, when the study of statecraft and "substantive learning" had become of primary importance for scholars who were attempting to cope with the many problems confronting the nation, the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* was a work they seldom failed to consult. A compilation by Ch'en Jen-hsi entitled *Ching-shih pa-pien lei-tsuan* 續世八編類纂, which is a collection of eight practical works by Ming scholars on government and current affairs, included Ch'iu's *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* as important
reference work on statecraft. The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu also influenced the eminent scholar Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), who often cited the former work in his T'ien-hsia chün-kuo li-ping shu, an outstanding geographical study which gave special consideration to the effect of geographical conditions on political and economic development. Furthermore, in a list of reference books compiled by the celebrated early Ch'ing scholar Li Yung (1627-1705) for his pupils, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was also included and catalogued under the entry "Learning of complete substance and function". The remarks by Li Yung may be cited here to conclude this summary of the attitudes of later scholars to this work:

[In this work] Master Ch'iu Wen-chuang compiled the essentials of statecraft from past and contemporary writings and appended his own comments. His views on government are clear and his warnings of peril are accurate. Every statement and proposal in this work is worth following and can be put into practice. His ideas should be studied carefully and employed according to the needs of the time. Those who have the ambition to aid the nation can simply take this work as their guide.

Because of its strong criticisms of barbarian rule, the Shih-shih cheng-kang was banned in the Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911), a "barbarian" regime established by the Manchus. However, its popularity in the late Ming was by no means inferior to that of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. During the late Ming period the study of history was very widespread and there was a flood of historical works, compiled by both celebrated scholars and local editors, which were published and circulated throughout the society. The promotion of the study of the past during this period was certainly inspired by the belief that a knowledge of history would stimulate national unity, and so increase resistance to barbarian invasion -- a pressing problem
confronting the nation. It is worth noting that Ch'iu's comments on history, especially on the Yüan dynasty, were extensively quoted in most of these historical works. Examples are the Yüan-Wang kang-chien ho-pien 裏王闓韓合編 by Yuan Huang 裏黃 (cs. 1586) and Wang Shih-chen 王士貞 (1526-1590, cs. 1547); the Chien-yao kang-mu 錯要 續目, said to have been compiled by Ch'en Jen-hsi; the Kang-chien shih-shih lei-pien 率循史釋類編, said to have been compiled by Li Shun-ch'ing 李錫卿 and Hsieh Ch'ien 謝遷 (1449-1531, cs. 1475); the Kang-chien cheng-shih ta-ch'üan 率循正史大全, said to have been compiled by Wang Shih-chen and Chung Hsing 鍾惺 (1574-1624); the Li-shih ta-fang kang-chien 史史方燭, said to have been compiled by Li T'ing-chi 李廷機 (cs. 1583), and the Kang-chien lun-ts'e t'i-chih chi-yao 續燭論策題旨紀要, said to have been compiled by Su Chun 苏濬 (1541-1599, cs. 1577). The authenticity of these works is very much in doubt. Nevertheless, they were all published during the late Ming period and are still extant. The compilers of these works unanimously supported Ch'iu's condemnation of barbarian invasion and they seldom failed to cite Ch'iu's comments, which were unprecedented in the Ming dynasty, on the Mongol Yüan regime. In the Yüan-Wang kang-chien ho-pien in particular, citations from the Shih-shih cheng-kang are to be found throughout the work. These works on the general history of China demonstrate the influence of Ch'iu's thought, especially his moralistic and nationalistic sentiments, on the historical writing of late Ming period. In his Shih-hsüeh chan-pi 史學佔署, Hu Ying-lin 胡應麟 (1551-1602), an eminent scholar and book-collector of the late Ming period, expressed the opinion that "after the Ch'un-
ch'iu, there was [the sequel by] Master Chu [Hsi]; after the Kang-mu, there was [the sequel by] Master Ch'iu [Chün].“38 Obviously, Hu considered that the Shih-shih cheng-kang was comparable to the T'ung-chien kang-mu, and a fitting successor in the tradition of the Ch'un-ch'iu. At this point in time, we can say that this certainly was not an overstatement.
APPENDIX

A. The Works of Ch'iu Chún: A Bibliographical Study

B. Chart on the Legitimacy of Succession of Chinese Dynasties
   compiled from the Shih-shih cheng-kang
A. The Works of Ch'iu Chun: A Bibliographical Study

As a scholar, Ch'iu Chun was a prolific writer. His ideas on political reconstruction and his vigorous upholding of Confucian morality are the main themes in his works. Throughout the Ming, Ch'iu's writings were widely respected. Some of his writings were re-edited and reprinted many times by the government and by private publishers. The re-editing of his writings by later scholars made Ch'iu's works particularly concise and succinct, while their variety encouraged numerous studies of Ch'iu Chun.

This bibliographical study aims at giving a general account of all the works by Ch'iu Chun, including both those originally published during Ch'iu's time and those edited by Ch'iu's descendants or scholars of later decades, as well as the different editions of these works. The works listed here include those believed no longer extant but are recorded in indices and bibliographical sources of Ming, Ch'ing and modern scholars, as well as those still preserved in various libraries but to which I have not had access.

During Ch'iu's career at the court, that is from 1454 to 1495, he participated in the compilation of several important works under imperial auspices, these works will be listed after his own works.

(1) Ch'iu Chung-tai hsien-sheng wen-chi 琼瑤先生文集

According to Wang Chia-huai 王家瑞, this work was co-edited by Ch'iu Chun's youngest son Ch'iu I-ch'eng 普行 and Ch'iu's disciple
Chiang Mien 蔣冕, printed in the second year of Hung-chih (1489), with a preface by Ch'eng Min-chêng. However, Ch'iu's youngest son, Ching 俊 (T. Chün-chêng 俊成), was only a few years old at this time. Probably Wang has confusion here. Ch'iu I-chêng was perhaps mistook for Ch'iu's eldest son Tun 敦 or his nephew Ch'iu Ts'ai-chêng 塞成. This is believed to be the earliest collected works of Ch'iu Chün. But whether this work is still extant is open to doubt.

(2) Ch'iung-tai lei-kao 嵐臺類稿 70 chüan

Collected writings of Ch'iu Chün. It appears that Ch'iung-tai lei-kao is the most comprehensive collection of Ch'iu's memorials, records, letters, epitaphs, biographies, discussions, poems, etc. The Peking Library in China has the Min Kuei 見刻 (1430-1511) edition, with the prefaces by Ch'eng Min-chêng and Ho Ch'iao-hsin dated the fifth year of Hung-chih (1492), in 20 volumes. The Library Catologue of the Peking Library states that this work was printed in 1492. However, having examined the content of this edition myself in Peking, memorials by Ch'iu presented to the throne during 1493 and 1494 were also included. Moreover, the honorific title and posthumous name granted to Ch'iu by the court after his death, in 1495, were also listed alongside with the author's name at the beginning of chüan 1. From the above evidence, this edition must be printed after 1495 instead of in 1492. Apart from this, the Min Kuei edition found in the Peking Library is not a good edition. Printing errors and blank pages are often found throughout the work, and some of the titles which appeared in the Table of Contents cannot be found inside. The Ch'iung-tai lei-kao was reprinted during the Wan-li period by Wang Hung-hui 望宏惠, then
Minister of Rites of Nanking, and Ch'iu Tsung 丘詗, great grandson of Ch'iu Chün, with the added title: Ch'ung-k'o Ch'iuung-tai lei-kao 重刻 瑞臺類稿. However, I have not been able to locate a copy of this edition. According to the Naikaku Bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku 内閣 文書漢籍分類目録, the Naikaku Bunko preserves a Ch'iuung-tai lei-kao in 49 chüan, printed in 1492, that is, printed in the same year and inscribed with the same title as the 70 chüan edition located in the Peking Library. After a comparative study of the two works, I discovered that the 49 chüan version held by the Naikaku Bunko has the same content and arrangement of articles as the first forty-nine chüan of the 70 chüan edition. It is believed that the “different” Ch'iuung-tai lei-kao in Peking Library and Naikaku Bunko are actually belong to the same edition, Min Kuei edition, only that the later parts of the one held by the Naikaku Bunko, that is chüan 50-70, is missing. Recently, microfilm of the 49 chüan version is acquired by the National Central Library of Taiwan from the Naikako Bunko. The Ming-shih i-wen-chih 明史文獻 and the Ch'iuung-shan hsien-chih 瑞山縣志 record a Ch'iuung-tai lei-kao of 52 chüan, edited by Ho Chiao-hsin during the Hung-chih period. I have not been able to locate a copy of this edition.

(3) Ch'iuung-tai yin-kao 瑞臺吟稿 10 chüan
A collection of poems of Ch'iu Chün, compiled by his disciple Chiang Mien during the Hung-chih period. The Peking Library and the Shanghai Provincial Library in China have the “Chiang Yün-han 蔣雲漢 edition” in two volumes, dated the fifth year of Hung-chih (1492). The Chiang Yün-han edition, which contains 705 pieces of poems of Ch'iu,
is perhaps a reprint of the 1489 edition since at the end of the book it inscribed: "Edited by [Ch'iu's] son Tun in the third month of the third year of Hung-chih (1489), copied and printed by [Ch'iu's] disciple Fu Tso.

(4) Ch' iung-tai hui-kao 璧壇會稿 12 chüan

Compiled by Cheng T'ing-ku (d.1563, cs.1538), the Assistant Education Intendent of the Kiangsi, in the thirty-second year of Chia-ching (1553), based on the writings and poems collected in the Ch'iung-tai lei-kao and Ch'iung-tai yin-kao. Both the Peking Library and the National Central Library of Taiwan have this edition in 10 volumes. The Ch'iung-tai hui-kao was reprinted in 1609. The Sonkeikako Bunko and the Hosa Bunko have the 1609 reprinted edition in 6 volumes. A reprinted edition of 1613 is also found in the Peking Library with two prefaces by Huang Tso and Ch'iu Erh-ku.

(5) Ch'ung-pien Ch'iung-tai hui-kao 璧壇詩文會稿 24 chüan

Also known as Ch'iung-tai shih-wen hui-kao ch'ung-pien 璧壇詩文會稿. Collected work of memorials, treatises, essays, poems etc. of Ch'iu Chün. Co-edited by two brothers: Ch'iu Erh-ku, County Magistrate of Kuai-hsien, and Ch'iu Erh-i, County Magistrate of Feng-yang, both were the fourth generation grandsons of Ch'iu Chün. The work was compiled in the first year T'ien-chi (1621), based on an edition compiled by Ch'iu Tun in 1490. The Imperial Catalogue includes a notice on this work which says that the work was compiled by selecting one-fifth of the essays in the Lei-kao,
drawing on three-tenth of the contents of the *Hui-kao*, and including the poems collected in the *Yin-kao*. The *Imperial Catalogue* regards this edition very favourable, saying that although the work is not as comprehensive as *Lei-kao* and *Hui-kao*, the selection is strict and concise and preserves the essence of the writings of Ch'iu Chün.\(^{11}\) The original edition of the *Ch'üng-tai hui-kao ch'ung-pien* contains four new prefaces by Yeh Hsiang-kao (1559-1627), Chou Yen-ju (1588-1644), Ch'en Hsi-ch'ang (1597-1661), and the compiler Ch'iu Erh-ku, together with seven prefaces of the previous collected works of Ch'iu Chün. As well as the original edition, which printed in 1621, the *Kuang-tung wen-hsien shu-mu chih-chien lu* shows that there was a revised and supplementary edition by Tung Hsiang-nien in 1621 which is still preserved in the National Central Library of Taiwan, Naikaku Bunko, Seikadō Bunko, and the Sonkeikaku Bunko in twelve volumes.\(^{12}\) The *Chüng-tai hui-kao ch'ung-pien* was reprinted during the Ch'ing dynasty. The library catalogue of the Tohoku University of Japan records to have a Ch'ing reprint edition of 1638 in 24 chüan with the appendix of Ch'iu's *Shih-hua* in 2 chüan.\(^{13}\) In 1879, the *Hui-kao ch'üng-pien* was reprinted by the Yen-feng shu-yüan with the added title *Chüng-tai hui-kao shih-wen chi*. It was later incorporated into the Ssu-ku Manuscript Library and was also included as part of the *Ssu-ku chüan-shu ch'en-pen* Series 4 of the Commercial Press, Taiwan, in 1973. It was also reprinted by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Kyoto, Japan, in 1973 with an added caption title *Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung chi*.\(^{14}\)
(6) Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung chi 丘文莊公集 10 chüan

This is part of the Ch'iu-Hai erh-kung ho-chi 丘海公合集 in 16 chüan, compiled by Chiao Ying-han 燕漢, printed in 1708 and reprinted in 1781. It contains two prefaces, by Chiao Ying-han and Chia T'ang 臧棠, both dated 1708. In this edition, chüan 1 contains eleven memorials and other official writings by Ch'iu, and chüan 10 contains two hundred and nine pieces of Ch'iu's poems. The Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung chi was later reprinted as a separate edition by Wu Wei-ho 武和 of the Ch'ing dynasty. The Naikaku Bunko and the Canton Provincial Library preserve the 1753 printed edition in fourteen volumes and six volumes respectively.15 A reprinted edition during the Ch'ien-lung reign (1736-1795) by Ch'iu Ming-pang 郇彤邦 can be found in the Peking Library in six volumes.16 It was also reprinted in 1753 by K'o-chi T'ang 可繼堂 of the Ch'iu family together with the collected work of Hai Jui 濟瑞 (1514-1587) entitled Ch'iu-Hai erh-kung wen-chi ho-pien 禄海公合編.17 In 1935, a lead-type edition was published by the Hai-nan shu-chü 海南書局 in Hai-k'ou海口, Hainan.

(7) Ch'iuang-tai chi 璧堂集

Edited by Lo Hsieh-p'eng 洛賢鶉 in 1864 as part of the Kuang-tung wen-hsien ch'u-chi 廣東文献初集, in 70 chüan, printed by the Ch'un-hui T'ang 春輝堂 of the Lo family of Shun-te順德, Kwangtung. The reprinted edition of the Kuang-tung wen-hsien printed it under the new title Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung ch'iuang-tai chi 丘文莊公璧堂集.18

(8) Ch'iuang-tai hui-kao 璧堂會稿 10 chüan

Selected work of Ch'iu's writings, incorporated in volume one of
the *Hai-nan ts'ung-shu* 海南叢書, which was compiled and printed by
the *Hai-nan shu-chü* 海南書局 in 1935.19

(9) **Ch'iu Chung-shen chi** 卜伸深集 1 chüan

Selected works of Ch'iu, incorporated in *Kuang li-hsüeh pei-kào* 考節學備, in 48 chüan, compiled by Fan Kao-ting 弗煦庭 of the Ch'ing dynasty. It was re-edited and supplemented by Chang Hui 鄭煥 in 1825. Copies of the 1825 edition are kept in the Canton Provincial Library and the Peking Library in forty-eight volumes. Ch'iu's work was incorporated in Vol.47 of this edition.

(10) **Shih-shih cheng-kang** 世史正綱 32 chüan

This was written in imitation of Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu* 通經總目, and Lü Tsu-ch'ien's *Ta-shih chi* 大史記. It takes the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* as a model for the technique of praise and blame, supposedly going back to the hidden counsels of the *Ch'ü-ch'un* 夏秋. The style of the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* follows the *Ta-shih chi*, which includes annotations and comments. Its contents cover the period from 221 B.C., the unification of the feudal states by Ch'in 秦, to the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. It was first printed in 1488, with a preface by Ch'iu Chün himself, dated 1482, and a postface by Fei Yin, Ch'iu's disciple, who printed the book. In the preface, Ch'iu remarks that the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* is different from the earlier writings of Chu Hsi and Lü Tsu-ch'ien, and is written in a clear, direct and explicit style, aiming to edify the students and youngsters of his time. Regarding the themes of his writing, Ch'iu says that he "narrates the changes of the world, records the origin of historical events, and
clarifies the legitimacy of succession." There are three main principles in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*: (i) to rigorously differentiate between Chinese and barbarian; (ii) to establish righteousness between sovereign and minister; (iii) to restore the proper relationship between father and son. The *Imperial Catalogue* in its notice on this book makes damning comments concerning the method Ch'iu employed in dealing with dynastic legitimacy and demarcation between Chinese and barbarian monarchism. It dismisses his idea as "supposititious, absurd, erroneous and fantastic, what he established were anomalous rules that never have been used by historians." The *Shih-shih cheng-kang* was reprinted a number of times during the Ming dynasty, including 1563 and 1568. The original edition of 1488 can be found in the National Central Library of Taiwan in ten volumes, in the Sonkeikaku Bunko in thirty volumes, and in the Sun Yat-sen Library, Canton, in sixteen volumes. In the Naikaku Bunko they have a Japanese manuscript-copy of the Edo period (1603-1867) in ten volumes. The 1563 edition *Shih-shih cheng-kang*, which was printed by Sun Ying-ao 孫應養 (c.1553) in Ch'in-chung 聲 (Shensi), can also be found in the National Central Library in twenty-four volumes. There is also a 1936 edition, in ten volumes, located in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, the Asia Library of the University of Michigan and the East Asiatic Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

(11) *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* pu 大學衍義補 160+1 introductory chüan

An encyclopaedia of important matters relating to good government, compiled on the model of the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* by Chen Te-hsiu
Ch‘iu quotes precedents from Chinese history that might be followed by the Ming emperors, adding his own remarks which give much information on political, social and economic conditions in the first hundred years of the Ming period, as well as on the Confucian political thought of Ch‘iu’s time. The work is arranged in twelve sections as follows: (i) Rectifying the imperial court; (ii) Rectifying the officialdom; (iii) Consolidating the root of the state; (iv) Administration of public expenditure; (v) Elucidation of rites and music; (vi) Proper arrangement of offerings; (vii) Exaltation of education; (viii) Provision of regulations and standards; (ix) Care in laws and punishments; (x) Strictness in military preparations; (xi) Management of barbarian peoples; (xii) Achievement of moral perfection.

The work was completed and presented to the throne in 1487, two months after Emperor Hsiao-tsung’s succession. The emperor was impressed by its comprehensiveness and accuracy that he ordered that the work be published by the printing house in Fukien. The Imperial Catalogue includes a very favourable notice on this book saying that what Ch‘iu quotes is "primary and fundamental, and links together the ancient and the modern", and shows the wide knowledge and solid foundation of Ch‘iu’s scholarship. The Imperial Catalogue also remarks that the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu can "assist and co-exist" with Chen Te-hsiu’s Ta-hsüeh yen-i.28 Besides a manuscript-copy dated 1487 located in the University of British Columbia Library in forty volumes,29 and the first printed edition of 1488 in the Chien-ning prefecture, Fukien, there are also reprints of 1506, 1535, 1559, 1605, and a official printed edition with a preface by Emperor Shen-tsung 神宗 (r.1573-1620), dated 1606. A new edition with comments and proofread by Ch‘en Jen-hsi 蔣時……
(1579-1634) was printed in 1632. It was also reprinted many times during the Ch'ing dynasty, but the chapter on barbarian management was usually expurgated. Extant copies dated from 1837 and 1895. It was later incorporated into the Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu. In 1971, it was included as part of the second series of the Ssu-ku ch'üan-shu chen-ten of the Commercial Press of Taiwan. The influence of this book spread also to places outside China. According to our knowledge, there are Japanese print edition of 1792 and a Korean edition printed around 1487.

The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was highly praised by Ming and Ch'ing scholars. Apart from the reprints by the later scholars and publishers, it was also re-edited and abridged by Ming and Ch'ing scholars, who aimed to make the voluminous work more concise and handful. The extant abridged editions of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu are as follows:

(I) Yen-i pu ying-hua 衍義補更華 18 chüan

Compiled by Ming scholar Ling Yu-chih 凌玉芝, who abridged the 180 chüan into 18 chüan by excerpting the most important remarks of Ch'iu Chün on governmental administration. It was first printed in the Wan-li reign. A copy of the original edition can be found in the Nanking Provincial Library in four volumes. A bibliographical work by modern scholar Shao I-ch'en 蕭一仁 records a Yen-i pu ching-hua 衍義補精華, in 17 chüan by Ling Ti-chih 凌迪知, I have not been able to locate a copy of this work. The name of the author and the title of the work recorded may be erroneous. I wonder whether it is the same work by Ling Yu-chih.

(II) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chai-sui 大學衍義補輯粹 12 chüan

A selection of the main points in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu,
compiled by Hsü Kuo 許國 (1527-1596, cs.1565) of the Ming dynasty. It was proofread by Cha To 贊和 printed by Cha T'se 贊東 in 1567. An original printed edition can be found in the Library of the Research Institute of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo University in four volumes, with a preface by Cha To dated 1567.

(III) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu shan 大學經義補遺 30+1 chüan

Compiled by Chang Neng-lin 張能林, Assistant Education Intendant of the Chiang-nan area of the Ch'ing dynasty, who abridged the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu into 30 chüan by expurgating the improper parts in the book especially the chapter on the management of the barbarian people. It was printed in 1656 and presented to the throne by Chang. A 1656 printed edition finds in the Library of the Research Institute of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo University, in thirty-two volumes, consists of three prefaces by Yang T'ing-chien 楊廷鑑, Lü Kung 吕宮 and Chang Neng-lin.

(IV) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chieh-lüeh 大學經義講略 21 chüan

Compiled by Wang Cheng 王靜 (cs.1550) and printed in the forty-first year of Chia-ching (1562). It was incorporated in Wang's Ta-hsüeh yen-i t'ung-lüeh 大學經義通略, in 31 chüan, which consists of two parts: Ta-hsüeh yen-i t'ung-lüeh, in 10 chüan, and Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu t'ung-lüeh, in 21 chüan. The work retained most of the remarks of Chen Te-hsiu and Ch'iu Chün. The compiler gives no remarks of his own.

(V) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu tsuan-yao 大學經義補要 6 chüan

Exerpts of comments from Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, compiled and printed by Hsü Shih 許材 (1519-1581, cs.1547) in 1558 in Chien-
ning. It was reprinted by Huang Hsüeh-hai, Prefect of Kan-chou, in 1572 in Kan-chou, Kiangsi. In this work, the materials were rearranged under the entries of the six ministries: Personnel, Revenue, Rites, Works, Wars and Punishment. A 1572 edition, printed and proofread by Huang Hsüeh-hai, is found in the Library of Congress in twelve volumes. The Library of the Research Institute of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo University preserves two Ming printed editions: A Yüan-chou provincial school printed edition, which contains two prefaces by Yu Lieh and Hsü Shih, dated 1558, and Hsü Shih, dated 1572, and proofread by Ch'eng Wen-chu, Prefect of the Yüan-chou prefecture; and a Shih-ch'ü Ko edition with comments by Nieh Ming-pi. Edition of the Lung-ch' ing reign can also be found in the Nanking Provincial Library and the Peking Library in sixteen volumes.

(VI) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu chi-yao 12 chüan

Compiled by Ch'en Hung-mou (1696-1771, cs.1723) of the Ch'ing dynasty. It was first published in Yunnan in 1737, later included into Ch'en's P'ei-yüan t'ang chüan-chi and printed by Ch'en's P'ei-yüan T'ang in 1763. It was also reprinted in 1842 by the Pao-shu T' ang together with Ch'en's Ta-hsüeh yen-i chi-yao. Both editions can be found in the Research Institute of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo University. Edition of 1842 and a reprinted edition by Lai-lu T' ang in 1847 are also preserved by the Peking Library of China. There is also a reprinted edition of 1866, published by Chao P'ei-kuei, kept in the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University.
This was written by Ch'iu Chun, based on the Chia-li in 5 chüan, by Chu Hsi. The work was done with some expansion and deletion of sections of the Chia-li so as to make it more appropriate to the customs of his time. At the end of each item, Ch'iu added footnotes and criticisms, quoting sayings from the Shu-i of Ssu-ma Kuang (1019-1086), and those of Ch'eng brothers and Chang Tsai (1020-1077). In the preface, Ch'iu notes that Chu Hsi's book was a timeless classic, but unfortunately that the work was too difficult for the common people to understand, and so it was not very popular. Ch'iu stresses that rites could not be neglected in the world for even a day, China is different from the barbarians, human beings are different from the animals, simply because they observe rites. The Imperial Catalogue includes a notice on this book but questions its authenticity. It also points out six doubtful passages in the Chia-li i-chieh that did not originate from the Chia-li, and states that the Chia-li does not include any diagrams in the text, whereas the Chia-li i-chieh contains a lot of diagrams. The Imperial Catalogue concludes that the ceremonies demonstrated in Chia-li i-chieh do not fit with Ch'iu's ideas, since some of the ceremonies can be shown to have Buddhist origins, of which Ch'iu disapproved. It may have been altered and falsified by its publishers and printers. Nevertheless, the Chia-li i-chi was popular in Ming and Ch'ing society. It was first printed in the Ch'eng-hua period, and was reprinted many times during the later decades. Editions of 1474, 1490, 1518, 1538, 1608, 1618 and 1855 can still be found today.
This was compiled by Ch'iu Chün by selecting discussions and sayings by Chu Hsi on the Classics and learning. The book takes its name from the saying of Yang Shi (1053-1135): "Take the sage as the target for study". The text was divided into two parts, each subdivided into ten books. In the preface by Ts'ai Yen-huang, dated the forty-eighth year of Kang-hsi (1709), it reads: "The first part begins with "Hsia-hsüeh" till "T'ien-te", from discussion of affairs to principles, and ends with "Wai Chai", which records the life and utterances of Chu Hsi and resembles "Hsiang-tang", the last book of the 1st part of the Confucian Analects. The second part begins with "Shang-ta" till "Ssu-wen", from discussion of principles to miscellaneous matters, and ends with "Tao-t'ung", which records the origin of the school of Lien, Luo, Kuan, Min and resembles "Yao yueh", the last book of the 2nd part of the Confucian Analects. In a postface dated the seventh year of T'ien-shun (1468), Ch'iu comments that: "The first part deals with reverence, the second part deals with benevolence and righteousness, the last part traces Confucian orthodoxy." The Imperial Catalogue contains a notice on this work which makes the criticism that if Ch'iu's intention was to compile the sayings of Chu Hsi to teach his students, it would have been sufficient to follow the model of the Chin-ssu lu instead of imitating the Confucian Analects and treating Chu Hsi as a sage. Moreover, Chu Hsi strongly derided Yang Hsiung (53-18 B.C.) and Wang T'ung (584-618) of counterfeiting the Confucian Classics. Ch'iu repeated these faults would Chu Hsi to be content with that? The work may have been reprinted once or twice during the late Ming.
period but was not popular in the Ming dynasty because of the rise of the Wang Yang-ming (1472-1528) School of Mind after the mid Ming period. It was reprinted in the Ch'ing dynasty in 1709, 1820 and 1866, and there is also a Japanese reprint of 1653. The 1709 edition, printed by Cheng-i T'ang, carries three prefaces: by Chang Po-hsing (1651-1725), dated 1709, Chu Wu-pi (cs.1589), dated 1606, Ts'ai Yen-huang, dated 1709, and two postfaces by Ch'iu Chün, dated 1463, and Kuo Lien, dated 1508. In 1866, it was incorporated as part of the Cheng-i t'ang ch'üan-shu, in one hundred and sixty volumes, compiled by Chang Po-hsing, and printed by the Cheng-i shu-yüan of Fu-chou.

(14) P'ing-ting Chiao-nan lu 1 chüan

This is an account of the military campaign in Annam of 1406 to 1407, and the pacification by Chang Fu (1375-1449) of Annam during 1407 to 1416. The work is also known as Ting-hsing chung-lieh wang p'ing-ting Chiao-nan lu. The campaign began in the sixth month of the fifth year of Yung-lo (1406) when Emperor Ch'eng-tsu decided to send an expeditionary army to invade Annam (it was known as Chiao-chih at that time, the northern parts of Annam in modern Vietnam) with Chu Neng (1370-1406), the Duke of Ch'eng, as the Commander-in-Chief and Chang Fu as the Deputy Commander, to support the fallen Tr'an dynasty against the usurper Le Qui-ly. Unfortunately, Chu Neng died unexpectedly on his way, in Kwangsi. Chang Fu was appointed as commander-in-chief and was later rewarded with the dukedom of Ying after the victory in 1408. During the period from 1408 to 1416, Chang was recalled to lead an army
to pacify the remaining rebels in Annam. After his death in 1449 at the disastrous battle of T'u-mu, he was posthumously enfeoffed as the Prince of Ting-hsing 定興王. The account by Ch’iu Chün based on the Chiao-chih chun-chih 大節略, P'ing An-nan pei 玉簡編, memorial tablets and the documents supplied by the Chang family, narrates the events and the military contribution of Chang Fu. Ch’iu wrote the account at the age of sixty-six, by which time the Ming government had given up Annam as a vassal state. The account, of about five thousand words, by far the most detailed historical record on the event, was popular in the Ming and Ch'ing society. Though incorporated into the collected works of Ch’iu, it was reprinted by the publishers as a separate work. More than twenty versions can still be found today, as it was also included in various ts'ung-shu.40

(15) Yen-fa k'ao-lüeh 燕法考略 1 chüan

It is not mentioned in the library catalogue or in the bibliographical indices of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties that Ch’iu wrote such a work. It was in fact excerpted by Ts'ao Yung 章（1613-1865）from the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, and included in his Hsüeh-hai lei-pien 學海錄，in 827 chüan, compiled in the early Ch'ing period. Ts'ao Yung gave it the new title Yen-fa k'ao-lüeh. Apart from the Hsüeh-Hai lei-pien edition, there is also a reprint edition by the Han-fen Lou 涵芬樓 in 1920 based on the 1831 edition, which printed by the Chao family.41

(16) Ch'ien-fa tsuan-yao 錄法草案 1 chüan

Excerpted by Ts'ao Yung from Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, and included in
his Hsüeh-hai lei-pien as a separate work under the new title Ch'ien-fa tsuan-yao together with Yen-fa k'ai-lüeh. The Imperial Catalogue condemns this work with the observation that the compiler "put together excerpts from a text as one piece, and gave it a new title, which is the same as making a forgery."  

(17) Yüan hai-yün chih 1 chüan

Included in Ts'ao Yung's Hsüeh-hai lei-pien, compiled in early Ch'ing with the name of author given as Wei Su (1303-1372). The Imperial Catalogue in its notice on the work states that the work was excerpted from Ch'iu's Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. Furthermore, it remarks that the compiler was "not adept in making forgeries."  

(18) Ch'ün-shu ch'ao-fang 1 chüan

A selection of prescriptions from thirty-six kinds of writings of the former scholars. A Ming edition is located in the Peking Library with the appendix Ch'ün-fang hsü-ch'ao, compiled by Ho Meng-ch'un (1474-1536, cs.1493), in 1 chüan, with a preface dated 1504. The compilation of this work is perhaps closely connected with Ch'iu's family background. Ch'iu's grandfather, Ch'iu P'u, was a medical officer in Lin-kao, Ch'iung-chou. In 1499, when Ch'iu's grandfather died, his brother Yüan succeeded the post as a medical officer by inheritance. Owing to this family background, it is possible that Ch'iu also had an interest in and knowledge of medicine. The Ming edition contains a preface by Ch'iu dated 1474. In the preface Ch'iu says that this work is a collection of the prescriptions that he came across and marked down during his study in these years. There is
also a Japanese manuscript-copy edition of 1840.\textsuperscript{46}

(19) \textit{Pen-t'sao ke-shih} 孔子草序

A medical work compiled by Ch'iu on the nature of medicinal herbs. However, whether this work is still extant is an open doubt. The preface of this work was incorporated into Ch'iu's collected work \textit{Ch'iung-tai hui-kao ch'ung-pien}. In the preface Ch'iu says that the understanding of the nature of the medicinal herbs was as important as understanding the meaning of characters in learning. He also mentions that the purpose of this work was to supplement the defects of the former writings.\textsuperscript{47}

(20) \textit{Ch'eng-yü k'ao 成語考} 2 chüan

Compiled by Ch'iu Chün to impart elementary knowledge to junior students and the general public. The work imitates the style of the \textit{Ch'ien-tzu wen} 詩文 of the Liang 梁 dynasty (502-557). It is divided according to topics. In the first part it is divided into: astronomy, geography, the seasons, the imperial court, civil servants, military posts, grandfather, father and son, brothers, husband and wife, uncle and cousin, teacher and pupils, friend, guest and host, marriage, women, emperor's relatives by marriage, old and young, the body, palace chambers, implements and utensils. The second part covers: flowers and trees, birds and animals, clothing, food and drink, jewellery and treasures, manufacture, literary affairs, examination, Buddhism and Taoism, skill, litigation and punishment, rich and poor, human affairs, and sickness and death. Under each topic, Ch'iu collected terms, phrases and idioms related to the topic, and gave his own explanations and usages for the terms. There was a Japanese reprint edition
during the Tenwa period (1681-1683), with supplement and annotations by Lu Yuan-ch'ang, entitled *Hsin-chien hsiang-chieh*.

Ch'iu Ch'ung-shan *ku-shih pi-tu ch'eng-yü k'ao* and with an additional title inside as *Yü-hsüeh hsü-chih pi-tu ch'eng-yü k'ao*.

In the early twentieth century the work was reprinted by the Min-chih shu-chii with the cover title as *Shih-k'o ta-tzu ch'eng-yü k'ao*.

Ch'iu's *Ch'eng-yü k'ao* was reprinted many times during the Ch'ing dynasty by private publishers. Sometimes new title was added which makes later scholars confuse as different work if not having been examined its content. A Ch'ing reprint edition based on the Pao-hua Ko edition, in 10 chüan, printed in Fukien, Kwangtung, which beared the same content as the *Ch'eng-yü k'ao*, is to be found in the Far Eastern Library of the University of Chicago in five volumes with annotations by Yang Ying-hsiang of the Ch'ing dynasty entitled *Yü-hsüeh ku-shih hsün-yüan*.

There is also a Japanese reprint edition of 1726 entitled *Hsin-k'o Ch'iu Ch'ung-shan ku-shih tiao-lung*.

(21) *Shih-lüeh* 2 chüan

*Shih-lüeh* is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical indices of the Ming and Ch'ing period. It was compiled by Wang Kuo-hsien, a school tutor of the Lo-chang district, Ch'ung-shan, during the late Kuang-hsü period. Wang Kuo-hsien selected all the comments of Ch'iu on historical events from the *Shih-chien* 史典, alleged to be compiled by Yuan Huang 余黃 (1533-1606), and Wang Shih-chen 王世貞
(1526-1509) of the late Ming period. It is believed that the work is not intended for publication. It is uncertain whether the original manuscript-copy is still extant.53

(22) *Ch'iu-ting-tai shih-hua* 琦玉詩話  2 chüan

Compiled by Ch'iu's disciple Chiang Mien, Grand Secretary during the Chia-ching reign. The work was compiled in such a form that it also recorded the anecdotes and motives behind Ch'iu's in poetic composition. The *Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung ts'ung-shu* 文莊公著書 incorporated a manuscript-copy of *Ch'iu-ting-tai shih-hua*, proofread by Hsü Tzu-ch'ang 虢曾, emended by Chang Ts'ui 章瑞, and copied by Ch'iu's descendants Ch'iu Chao-ch'ang and Ch'i-ch'ang. A reprinted edition of the Wan-li reign, in 1 chüan, can be found in the Library of Congress which contains fifty-two entries of Ch'iu's discussions on poetry as well as his poems.54 The date of the original edition of this work is unknown. According to the *Ch'iu-ting-shan hsien-chih*, compiled by Li Hsi and others, the original edition was printed in Peking in the Hung-chih reign, and there was at least five reprinted versions of the Ming and Ch'ing dynasty.55 It was also reprinted by the Student Book Company of Taiwan in 1972.56

(23) *Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung ts'ung-shu* 文莊公著書

Compiled by the Editorial and Printing Committee of this work of Taiwan in 1972. The compilation and printing of this work was under the auspices of The Association of Ch'iu-Hai of Taiwan. It consists of a photolithographic reproduction of the following works of Ch'iu Chün:
(i) Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu  160 chüan  1606 Imperial reprint edition
(ii) Shih-shih cheng-kang  32 chüan  1488 Fei Yin edition
(iii) Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti  2 chüan  1820 Cheng-i T'ang edition
(iv) Chia-li i-chieh  8 chüan  1770 edition
(v) Ch'ung-pien Ch'iung-tai hui-kao  24 chüan  1621 edition
(vi) T'ou-pi chi  4 chüan  1954 edition
(vii) Ch'eng-yü k'ao  2 chüan  Ch'ing edition
(viii) Ch'iung-tai shih-hua  2 chüan  Ch'ing manuscript-copy

An appendix was included at the back of this work, which collects the epitaphs, memorial tablets and obituaries on Ch'iu Chün.

(24) Wu-lun ch'üan-pei  4 chüan

According to the records of the Ming and Ch'ing literary critics, it was believed that Ch'iu Chün wrote four pieces of ch'uan-ch'i, namely: Wu-lun ch'üan-pei, T'ou-pi chi, Chü-ting chi, and Lo-nang chi. Wu-lun ch'üan-pei is the most popular ch'uan-ch'i of Ch'iu Chün, if not the best, as is shown by the attention the later scholars have devoted to it. The contents of Wu-lun ch'üan-pei, as the title suggested, are intended to emphasize the importance of the five human-relations: between sovereign and minister, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, individual and friends. The story deals with the life of the two brothers, Wu Lun-ch'üan  and Wu Lun-pei, and their family. It demonstrates how the two brothers and their wives, their mother, and their friends observe the five human-relations and are finally rewarded because of their loyalty, filial piety and benevolence. In the epilogue of the story, members of the Wu's family
are praised by the Lord on the High for their conduct and they became immortals after their deaths. However, because the author is too anxious to imbue moralistic ideas, the work's literary value is limited. Wang Shih-cheng's *I-yüan chi-yen* criticizes the *Wu-lun ch'üan-pei* as follows: "With its over strong moral consciousness, it is inevitably pedantic and putrid."58

(25) *T'ou-pi chi*  

Written in the literary style of *ch'uan-ch'i*, the *T'ou-pi chi* is divided into thirty-nine acts (*ch'ü*). It narrates the story of Pan Ch'ao (33-103), a poor literati of the Later Han, who is very eager to devote himself to the nation. However, he works as a copyist and has no chance to show his talent. Finally, he throws away the brush and joins the army. After spending twenty years in the north, he successfully unites the northern tribes to counter-balance the forces of Hsiung-nu, while his old mother and wife remain at home. The story brings out the dilemma of loyalty and filial piety, and concludes that: "Without loyalty there can be no filiality." It shows the relative importance of loyalty in relation to filial piety. The *T'ou-pi chi* was reprinted many times during the Ming dynasty, including the *Fu-ch'un T'ang* and the *Shih-te T'ang* reprint editions. As well as these, there is an annotated version by Lo Mao-teng, the author of the *San-pao t'ai-chien hsi-yang chi* and a version with commentary by Wei Chung-hsueh. The Lo Mao-teng edition was reprinted in 1936 by the *Shih-chieh shu-chi*, Shanghai, which was later included into the *Shih-chieh wen-hsüeh ta-hsi* edited by the *Ch'i-ming shu-chü* of Taiwan.60
(26) Chü-ting chi 2 chüan

The extant version of Chü-ting chi is a manuscript-copy of the Ming dynasty preserved by the Cheng family, Chang-lo. It was later included in the Ku-pen hsi-chü ts'ung-k'ān of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in 1954. However, it is believed that the extant version is not complete since the story has no end and concluding authorial comments. The story set in the Spring and Autumn Era, portrays the courage and talent of Wu Yün, who with the help of T'ai-shang lao-chün, crushes the conspiracy of the Ch'in to murder the other feudal lords and urusps the kingdom of the Chou royal house.

(27) Lo-nang chi

It is believed that the text of the Lo-nang chi is no longer extant. Modern bibliographical sources recorded that in the Ch'ūn-yrn lei-hsüan, edited by Hu Wen-huan, preserved a few acts of the Lo-nang chi. A photolithographic reproduction of a Ming printed Ch'un-yrn lei-hsüan by the Chung-hua shu-chü, Peking, in 1980 consists of four acts of the Lo-nang chi, in chüan 15, but fails to mention the author of the play.

(28) Chung-ch'ing li-chi 2 chüan

According to some of the literary notes, pi-chi, of the Ming and Ch'ing scholars that Chung-ch'ing li-chi, an obscene love story, was written by Chi'iu Chün during his youth. The name of the author was not given in this work but it was inscribed with the pseudonym "Yü-feng chu-jen". Commentators believes that Yü-
feng chu-jen was the alias or sobriquet of Ch'iu Chün. However, to establish that Ch'iu is the author of Chung-ch'ing li-chi, would require further investigation. The extant version of Chung-ch'ing li-chi was incorporated in the Hs'iu-ku ch'un-jung 經籍善本, compiled by Ch'ih-hsin Tzu 習性子 during the Wan-li period, in chüan 11 to 12, entitled Ku-sheng chung-ch'ing li-chi 禮式禮儀儀表.

(29) Huang-Ming erh-tsu shih-ssu-tsung tseng-pu p'ing-tuan shih-chi 明年三十一四京師善本標題詩序跋輯. 27 chüan
A general history of Ming dynasty, also known as Huang-Ming t'ung-chi chi-lu 黃明通鑑輯録, compiled by Ch'en Lung-k'o 陳龍可 (cs. 1622) of the late Ming period. In this work, chüan 1 to 15 are a new edition of Ch'en Chien's (1497-1567) Huang-Ming t'ung-chi with commentary and marginal notes alleged to be by Ch'iu Chün, covering the time from the beginning of the dynasty to the end of Cheng-te 程德 reign (1521). Chüan 16 by Ch'en Lung-k'o, edited and appraised by Ch'en Tzu-chuang 陳子極 (1596-1647), covers the first twenty-two years of the Chia-ching reign, that is from 1522 to 1543. Chüan 17 to 24 by Ch'en Lung-k'o, edited and appraised by Ch'iu Erh-ku, cover the period from the twenty-third year of Chia-ching (1544) to the second year of T'ien-ch'i 天啟 (1622). Chüan 25 to 27, without given the name of author or editor, cover the period from the third year of T'ien-ch'i (1623) to the seventh year of T'ien-ch'i (1627). A late Ming edition contains a preface by Ch'en Jen-hsi. The Catalogue of the National Central Library of Taiwan remarks that the book was edited by Ch'en Jen-hsi. In his Introduction to the Sources of Ming History, Professor Wolfgang Franke states that the authors and editors of this work seems to be rather
questionable. Since Ch'iu Chün died as early as 1495, he could not have been the editor of a historical work going down to 1521.64

(30) _Huan-yü t'ung-chih_ 萬野通志 119 chüan

An official geography of the Ming empire and adjacent regions. In the fifth year of Ching-t'ai (1454), shortly after Ch'iu obtained the _chin-shih_ degree and was appointed to be Becholar in the Hanlin Academy, the emperor ordered the compilation of the _Huan-yü t'ung-chih_ and appointed Ch'en Hsün 陳循 (1385-1461), Grand Secretary of the Wenyuan Hall, and Kao Ku 高拱 (1391-1460), Grand Secretary of the Tung Hall, as Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu Chiin was also appointed as one of the compilers. The work was completed in 1456, and Ch'iu was promoted to Compiler in the Hanlin Academy because of his contribution to the compilation of this work.65

(31) _Ta-Ming i-t'ung chih_ 太明互統志 90 chüan

In the second year of T'ien-shun 天順 (1458), shortly after the restoration of Chu Ch'i-chen, Emperor Ying-tsung, he ordered the compilation of the _Ta-Ming i-t'ung chih_, and appointed Li Hsien, then Minister of Personnel, as Ex-Officio Supervisor of Compilation, with P'eng Shih and Lü Yüan 魯原 (1418-1462), both Chancellors of the Hanlin Academy, as Vice Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu was enlisted as Compiler. The work was more or less similar to the _Huan-yü t'ung-chih_ which was compiled in 1456, and in some areas overlapping with the former. The compilation of the _Ta-Ming i-t'ung chih_ lay particular stress on political motives rather than on practical application. The _Huan-yü t'ung-chih_ was compiled during the Ching-
t'ai reign of Chu Chi-yü, Emperor Tai-tsung, who had been endorsed by officials at court to replace Chu Chi-chen as emperor when the latter was captured by the Oirat chieftan Esen during the T'u-mu incident in 1449. After the restoration, by means of a palace coup in 1457, Chu Chi-chen wanted to rebuild his reputation and condemned what had been done by his brother, saying that the Huan-yü t'ung-chih "made inappropriate decisions concerning when to go into detail and when to be brief, and was inapt in its rejection and inclusion of materials", and ordered the compilation of a new text. The work was completed in 1461, and was presented to the throne by Li Hsien. The Chin ta-Ming i-t'ung chih piao 錢文明皇明會要 of Li Hsien was in fact written by Ch'iu Chün on Li's behalf. It can be found in any of the collected works of Ch'iu Chün. The work was reprinted in 1505, 1559 and 1599. There are also a Korean reprint of 1564 and a Japanese reprint of 1713.66

(32) Ying-tsung Jui-huang-ti shih-lu 宣宗睿皇帝實錄 361 chüan

In the eighth month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun (1464), shortly after Chu Chien-ju, posthumously Emperor Hsien-tsung, was enthroned, he ordered the compilation of the Veritable Record of his father, Emperor Ying-tsung. Sun Chi-tsong 孫性宗 (1395-1479) was appointed as Inspector of Compilation, Li Hsien, then Minister of Personnel, and Ch'en Wen 陳文 (1405-1468) and P'eng Shih, both Chancellors of the Hanlin Academy, were appointed as Ex-Officio Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu Chün, who was Reader-in-Waiting of the Hanlin Academy at this time, was also appointed as Compiler. The Ying-tsung shih-lu covers the period from the first month of the tenth year of Hsüan-te (1435) to the first month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun (1464). Chüan 1 to 186
cover the first reign of Emperor Ying-tsung to the end of the fourteenth year of Cheng-t'ung (1450). Chüan 187 to 273, covering the reign of Emperor Tai-tsung (1451-1456), have the sub-title Fei-ti Ch'eng-li-wang fu-lu (御帝頒皇后附錄). Chüan 274 to 361 cover the second reign of Emperor Ying-tsung beginning in 1457. The work was completed in 1467, and Ch'iu was promoted to Expositor-in-Waiting of the Hanlin Academy for his contribution to the compilation of this work.

(33) Hsien-tsung Shun-huang-ti shih-lu (熹宗神皇帝實錄) 293 chüan

The compilation was decreed in the first month of the first year of Hung-chih (1488). Chang Mao (1441-1515), the Duke of Ying, was appointed as Inspector of Compilation, Liu Chi (1427-1493), Minister of Personnel, Hsü P'ú (1428-1499), Minister of Rites, and Liu Chien (1433-1526), Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, were appointed as Ex-Officio Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu Chun, Minister of Rites at this time, was appointed as Vice Supervisor of Compilation. The work was completed in the eighth month of the fourth year of Hung-chih (1491), covering the period from the first month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun (1464), to the eighth month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua (1487). Ch'iu was elevated to be Grand Secretary of the Wen-yüan Hall concurrently with the title Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent upon the completion of this work.

(34) Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu (僖賞詔遺勅勑) 27 chüan

In the second month of the ninth year of Ch'eng-hua (1470), Emperor Hsien-tsung ordered the Chancellors of the Hanlin Academy to
examine and amend the *T'ung-chien kang-mu* of Chu Hsi, as well as compiling a history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties as a sequel to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, following the principles laid down in the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*. P'eng Shih, then Grand Secretary, Shang Lu, then Minister of Personnel, and Wan An (d. 1489), Minister of Revenue, were appointed as Ex-Officio Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu Chün was also appointed as Compiler. In fact, the work on this project started as early as the sixth year of Ching-t'ai (1455), when Emperor Tai-tsung appointed Ch'en Hsün, Shang Lu and others to compile a history of the Sung and Yuan dynasties with the suggested title *Sung-Yüan t'ung-chien kang-mu*. However, after the restoration of Chu Ch'i-chen, Emperor Ying-tsung, in 1457, the work was shelved and never finished.
B. Chart on the Legitimacy of Succession of Chinese Dynasties compiled from the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*

This chart is not a chronology of the reigns of all Chinese emperors but is intended mainly to show the legitimacy or illegitimacy of succession, both external and internal, as reflected in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. Therefore, only periods which involve changes in Ch'iu's marking of reign or dynastic titles are recorded, while other periods are omitted.

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<th>Western Year</th>
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<tr>
<td>秦</td>
<td>二世皇帝元年</td>
<td>(209 B.C.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漢世</td>
<td>汉</td>
<td>楚義帝元年</td>
</tr>
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<td>漢</td>
<td>太祖高皇帝五年</td>
<td>(202 B.C.)</td>
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<td>(187 B.C.)</td>
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<td>(179 B.C.)</td>
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<td>世祖光武皇帝建武元年</td>
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<td>中平六年</td>
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宋世史

太宗皇帝太平興國四年 (979)

政和五年 (1115)

宣和五年、金宗釐吳乞買天會元年 (1123)

理宗皇帝寶慶元年 (1225)

景定元年、蒙古忽必烈中統元年 (1260)

度宗皇帝咸淳元年 (1265)

元世史

元主忽必烈至元十七年 (1280)

元至正十五年、宋主韓林兒龍鳳元年 (1355)

明世史

大明皇帝洪武元年 (1368)
NOTES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following sources and collectanea (ts'ung-shu) have been abbreviated in the notes. The collectanea are also abbreviated in the bibliography.

CTHKCP Ch'ung-tai shih-wen hui-kao ch'ung-pien 碎玉縵文 集稿通編 . 1621 edition.


THYIP Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu 大學衍義補 . 1606 edition.


4. Willard Peterson classifies the Ming dynasty into Early Ming (1368-1449) Middle Ming (1449-1582), and Late Ming (1582-1644) periods according to the signal events which happened in these periods. For details, see his "Ming Periodization: An Immodest Proposal", in Ming Studies, No. 3 (Fall, 1976), pp.7-8. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis, the mid Ming period refers to the Ching-t'ai 景泰 (1450-1456), T'ien-shun 天順 (1457-1464), Ch'eng-hua 成化 (1465-1487), Hung-chih 明世宗 (1488-1505), Cheng-te 張袞 (1506-1521), and Chia-ching 景泰 (1522-1566) eras when the Ming dynasty was in a stage of transition and change.

5. See Ling Ti-chih 涙迪知, Kuo-ch'ao ming-shih lei-yuen 国朝老賴錄 (Ming Wan-li period edition) 2/18b.


7. For examples, see Chiao Hung 虚宏, Huang-Ming jen-wu k'ao 黃明僭妄考 (Ming Wan-li period edition), 3/4b-5a; Ho Liang-chün 何良俊, Ssu-yu-chai ts'ung-shuo 四友言行錄. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), p.60; T'u Shan 湯臣, Ming-ch'eng t'ung-tsung 明成通叢 (1615 edition), 17/2a-3a; Lu Shen 陸深, Ch'un-yü-t'ang sui-pi 春雲随筆, in Chin-hsien hui-yen 今獻會言 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937), Vol.5, pp.5a-6a.


9. See the biography of Ch'iu Chün by Wu Chi-hua and Ray Huang, in DMB, p.249.

10. For details, see Wang kuo-hsien 王國憲, Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung nien-p'u 丘文樺公年谱 (Ch'iung-shan: Yen-ching shu-yüan 学經書院, 1898).

11. The Ch'iu-Hai li-mu chi, 4 chüan was included in Series 4 of the Yün-k'ai-lou ts'ung-shu 雲海樓叢書, which can be found in the Research Institute of Oriental Culture of the Tokyo University, Japan. It was also included in Kuang-chou hsüeh-
pao 廣州學報, 1:2 (April 1937), pp.1-21. Before this, in 1933, an article on Ch'iu's works by Huang Yu-chü 黃有瑜 entitled "Kuan-yü Ch'iu Wen-chuang hsien-sheng chu-shu te ch'uan-shuo" 《管 Büyük Ch'iu Wen-chuang 朝鮮史研究》 was published in the Min-su 民族, No.112 (Mar. 1933), pp.20-22.


13. For the biography of Hai Jui 海瑞, see MS, 226/5927-33; DMB, 474-479.

14. Periodicals published by the Chinese Association of Ch'iu-Hai, Taipei, are three, namely Chung-kuo Ch'iu-hai hsüeh-hui hui-k'an 中國焦海學會會刊, Ch'iu-hai hsüeh-shu yen-chiu hui-pien 焦海學術研究會, and Ch'iu-Hai chi-k'an 焦海雜誌. However, although supposedly periodic, these journals are published very irregularly.


29. The Shih-shih cheng-kang 世史正編 has never been seriously studied before. Not even a short essay on this book has been published in recent decades. A very brief discussion can be found in Liu I-cheng 呂一程, Kuo-shih yao-i 国史要紀 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1976), pp.63-66; and Jao Tsung-i 高談基, Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shang chih cheng-t'ung lun 中國史學上之政論 (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien 景門書店, 1977), p.43. For a detailed study of the historiography of the Shih-shih cheng-kang, see my article, "Ch'iu Chün chih shih-hsüeh" 仇כRetVal入, in Ming-shih yen-chiu chuan-k'an 明史研究季刊, No.7 (1984).


2. Ch'iu Chun's hao, Shen-an, was not commonly known by later scholars. Most scholars mistook Ch'iu-t'ai for Ch'iu's hao. However, in Chiang Mien's collected works, Hsiang-kao chi 湘巖集, it is recorded that "Master Ch'iu T'ai-ch'eng 書之恬, the second son of Master Shen-an, the Minister of Rites." (See "Chin-tai pieh-i t'u shih hsü 金之恬履德死恤"). As Chiang Mien was a close disciple of Ch'iu Chun, his record should be most reliable. On this evidence, Shen-an must be the hao of Ch'iu Chun.

3. The preface to Ch'iu-t'ai shih-kao 習泰詩稿 by Chiang Mien reads: "Master Ch'iu ranked as high as Vice Minister of Rites in charge of the affairs of the National University. Instead of honouring him with his official title, contemporary scholars called him Master Ch'iu-t'ai." See Wang Kuo-hsien 王國莘 (ed.), Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung nien-p'u 邱文樞君年譜 (1898 edition), p.1a.

4. Ch'iu Chun's year of birth is problematical, being given variously as 1418, 1420 and 1421. This is due to confusion in historical documents about the age to which he lived. It is precisely recorded in Ming Hsiao-tsung shih-lu 明孝宗實錄 (Li Tung-yang 劉東陽, Chiao Fang 蕭方, ed., Taipei: Academia Sinica, photolithographic edition, 1965, 97/1a), and other historical documents such as the "Tseng t'ie-chin tso-chu-kuo t'ai-fu shih Wen-chuang kung mu-chih-ming" 聖德遠存傳國佐輔孚定公墓誌銘 by Ho Ch'iao-hsin 何喬新 (in Ho's Chiao-ch'iu wen-chi 交邱文集, 1522 edition, 30/1a-b), that Ch'iu Chun died on the cyclical day of wu-wu 戌五 (fourth day) in the second month of the eighth year of Hung-chih 汴治 (1495). This date is not disputed. However, Ch'iu's age at that time when he died is still problematical. Most of the historical records mention only the year he died and the age to which he lived, rather than the year of his birth. In the Ming-shih 明史 by Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉 and others, the Ming-shih-kao 明史稿 by Wang Hung-hsü 王鴻錫, the Ming-ta-cheng tsuan-yao 明太政要 by T'an Hsing-ssu 賴景思, the Ming-cheng t'ung-tsun 明成通鑑 by T'u Shan 蘇珊, the Ming-chi 明紀 by Ch'en Ho 陳鴻, the Hung-Ming t'ung-chi 明通紀 by Ch'en Chien 陳建, and the Ming-shu 明書 by Fu Wei-lin 許維麟 etc., it is recorded that: "In the second month of the eighth year of Hung-chih, Junior Guardian and Grand Secretary Ch'iu Chun died, at the age of seventy-six." If Ch'iu died at the age of seventy-six, the year of his birth would have been the eighteenth year of Yung-lo 宣德 (1420). However, in the biography of Ch'iu Chun in the Ming-shih there is a passage which reads: "In the fourth year of Hung-chih, the compilation [of the Hsien-tsung shih-lu 號信實錄] was completed, Ch'iu was promoted to be Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent. Shortly after, he was ordered to take concurrently the post of Grand Secretary of the Wen-yüan Hall 文淵閣 and
participate in policy-making. Ch'iu Chün was the first already holding military rank to enter the Grand Secretariat. At that time he was already seventy-one. (MS, 181/4809) If Ch'iu Chün was seventy-one sui in the fourth year of Hung-chih, his year of birth would have been the nineteenth year of Yung-lo (1421), and when he died in 1495, his age would have been seventy-five rather than seventy-six. However, in Ch'iu's own writings there is evidence regarding his age:

1. On the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of the fourth year of Hung-chih (1491), Ch'iu presented a memorial to the throne which was later included in Ch'iu's Ch'iung-tai lei-kao as "Hsin-hai ch'i hsiu-chih ti-i tsou" in which he said that he was already seventy-one sui. (42/7a)

2. In the tenth month of the same year, 1491, Ch'iu presented another memorial to the throne entitled "Ju-ko tz'u-juen ti-eh tsou". In this memorial he also said that he was seventy-one sui, which was too old to take up such an important post. (CTHCP, 7/5b)

3. In one of Ch'iu's tsu, entitled "Kuei-su chu-t'ao" reads: "This morning I am fifty-three [sui], every year and every age passed so ordinarily." (Ibid., 6/22b) Kuei-su was the year 1473.

4. A poem by Ch'iu entitled "Shou-wei yin", has an introductory note which says: "In the beginning of the cyclical year Jen-yin, after enjoying the sacrificial feast at the imperial ancestral temple, I could not fall asleep. Recalling of the past, I composed [this poem] with one hundred rhymes and threaded it together from the beginning to the end. At this time I am sixty-two years old." (Ibid., 6/la-b) Jen-yin was the year 1482.

5. In one of Ch'iu's poems entitled "Chi-yu chiu-su", there are two lines which read: "Old and feeble like this, I should leave and resign. Besides, next year I shall be approaching seventy." (Ibid., 5/47a) Chi-yu was the year 1489.

6. A poem entitled "Chia-yin chu-tu" reads: "It is very uncommon in life for one to become seventy years of age. I am four years passed the uncommon year of age." (Ibid., 5/59a) Chia-yin was the year 1494.

Ch'iu's own writings indicate that in 1491 he was seventy-one sui, in 1473 he was fifty-three, in 1482 he was sixty-two, in 1489 he was sixty-nine, and in 1494 he was seventy-four. All this proves that Ch'iu Chün was born in 1421 and when he died in 1495 his age would have been seventy-five. This evidence is more reliable and precise than the records of later scholars. Apart from this, there is an epitaph of honour by the emperor entitled "T'e tseng-shih t'ae-wen pei" which reads: "[Ch'iu Chün] died at the age of seventy plus five, which is an age more rare than the uncommon age [of seventy]." (in Chang Yüeh-sung, ed., Ch'ing-chou fu-chih, Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, photolithographic reproduction of the 1890 edition, 1967, 43/33b). This is a more direct evidence that Ch'iu died at the age of


7. Chiao-ch'iu wen-chi, 14/11a-12b.


10. See the biography of Ch'iu Ching 契靜 in Ch'iu-ch'ung-chou fu-chih 契中洲府志, 33/32a-b.

11. CTHKCP, 19/34b.

12. Ibid., pp.34b-35a.


17. See Ch'iu-chung-chou fu-chih, 40/36a-37a.

18. The imperial sacrifice was granted on the seventh day of the second month of the seventh year of Ch'eng-hua (1471). For details, see "Ch'iu-mu Li t'ai-fu-jen yü-chi pei" 契母太夫人御祭碑, in Li Hsi 莊熙 and others (eds.), Ch'iu-chung-shan hsien-chih 橋山縣志 (1911 edition), 14/45b.

19. See the remarks by the editor, Ch'iu-chung-shan hsien-chih, 14/45b.


22. CTHKCP, 5/2b. This poem is still well known among the people in Ch'iung-shan nowadays. See Tsao Ssu-pin 薔紹林, *Hai-nan tao sui-pi 海南島隨筆* (Kwagtung: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1957), p.13.

23. CTHKCP, 5/2b. See also Chiang Mien (ed.), *Ch'ung-tai shih-hua 中台詩話* (in Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung ts'ung-shu 衆文閎公詩話, Taipei: Photolithographic reproduction of Ch'ing manuscript copy, 1972), 1/5b-6a.

24. This poem is not included in the collected works of Ch'iu Chun. In Chiang Mien's *Ch'ung-tai shih-hua*, only the last two lines are recorded. See Chiang Mien, *ibid.*, 1/2b-3a.


26. See the "Yüan-feng hsien-chi" 順豐縣記 by Ch'iu Chun, in CTHKCP, 19/21b.

27. See "K'o-chi t'ang chi" 古池堂記, in CTHKCP, 19/34a; "Ts'ang-shu shih-shih chi" 塗山水史記, in CTHKCP, 19/23a.

28. Ch'iu Chun had an account of his family background included in CTHKCP, entitled "Hsüeh-shih chuang chi" 學世畫記. It reads: "My ancestors were inhabitants of Min (Fukien). It was long ago that they moved to Ch'iung. From my ancestor of the seventh generation Master Hsiieh-cheng onward, members of every generation have held official positions. Though my father died early without serving the government, he also received honorific title from the court. For generations we have been scholars. However, we have not given up farming. It would seem that serving in office is something temporary, while farming is the basic occupation. We lived near the city and my ancestors had a lot of cultivated land near the city wall, which was about one li from where we lived." See CTHKCP, 19/26b.

29. See "Chi wai tsu-mu Ch'en-shih mu-wen" 趙外祖母墓碑文, in CTLK, 53/13a-b.


31. CTHKCP, 15/22a.

32. Chiao Ying-han, "Chuan", p.25.
33. See Chang Hsüan (ed.), Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu (Peking: Harvard Yenching Institute, 1940), 8/14b.


35. CTHKCP, 19/23b-24a.


37. Ibid.

38. See CTHKCP, "K'o-chi t'ang chi", 19/35a; "Ts'ang-shu shih-shih chi", 19/24a.

39. CTHKCP, "Cheng Ch'ung-te mu-piao" (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975). Wang kuo-hsien, Nien-p'u, p.5a. The other two students receiving the "grain allowance" in that year were Cheng Ch'ung-te and Lin T'ing-pin. They were both from Ch'ung-shan. Later, Cheng Ch'ung-te and Ch'iu became close friend. They took the metropolitan examination in the same year, 1454, and both passed the examination and received their chin-shih degree.

40. CTHKCP, "Yen chi Ch'iuung-hsiang chi" (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975).

41. Ibid, pp.18b-19b.


43. SSCX, 25/6a. For Ch'iu's comments on Wang An-shih, see also 25/3b-4a, 25/5b-6a, 25/15a-b.

44. Ch'iu's article on Hsü Heng, "Hsü Wen-cheng kung lun" (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1975).


46. See CTHKCP, 19/24a, 35a.
47. Cf. "Chia-tzu k'o hsiang-shih t'i-ming lu" 甲子科鄉試題目錄, see Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p'ü, p.6a.

48. For that year's provincial examination, Shu Tsung-ch'ên and Wang Lai were the examiners. Shu was the chief examiner. The questions set for this examination are recorded in Huang Ch'ung-lan 明曾蘭 (ed.), Ming kung-chü k'ao-lüeh 明崇禎科試錄, under the entry for the cyclical year chia-tzu (1444). For the biography of Wang Lai, see MS, 172/4583-85.

49. This poem is preserved in an introductory note to a poem attributed to the son of Wang Lai, entitled "Sung Wang shih-yü fu Chiang-hsi chien-hsien" 送王時與附江思齋. See CTHKCP, 5/28b-29a.

50. According to Wang Kuo-hsien's Nien-p'ü, Ch'iu was married in 1446 at the age of twenty-six sui (p.6a), while Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'ü" states that Ch'iu was married in 1443 at the age of twenty-three sui (p.42). As it turns out both are mistaken. Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'ü" does not provide any evidence for the date he gives. Wang Kuo-hsien's Nien-p'ü relied on the poems entitled "Tao-wang" 潮วางแผน (Lament for the departed) written by Ch'iu after the death of his wife née Chin. "Tao-wang" consists of a group of ten poems. What Wang Kuo-hsien cited are the first two lines of the eighth poem, quoting them as: "Married for six years, happily together for just half a year." (p.6b. The original lines read: 與汝六年婚, 愉同半年別). But cross-checking different editions of Ch'iu's works reveals that the last two characters of the second line should be "壹年" (a year and a half) instead of "半載" (half a year). See CTHKCP, 1/6b. Moreover, the first four lines of the third poem read: "I was away for more than four years, and this woman suffered from loneliness and emptiness. She attended my old mother in the hall, engaged in silk weaving under the light." (Ibid., 1/5b) The "Tao-wang" poems were written in 1451 when Ch'iu went home to see his mother from Peking after he failed in his second attempt at the metropolitan examination. We know that he left home for Peking in 1447, thus, according to the eighth poem, Ch'iu was married and stayed together with his wife for a year and a half before leaving for Peking in 1445 at the age of twenty-five.

51. Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'ü" indicates that Ch'iu left for Peking in 1448. However, Ch'iu wrote a poem in memory of Li Po 李白, the outstanding T'ang poet, on his way to Peking at Ts'ai-shih chi 塞上池, An-hui 安徽, the place where Li Po was alleged to have drowned when he tried to catch the moon in the water when drunk. The poem was entitled "Sui ting-mao kuo ts'ai-shih tiao Li Po" 水際toggle水池眺李, see CTHKCP, 2/11b-12a. Ting-mao was the year 1447. This proves that Ch'iu left for Peking in 1447 rather than 1448. Ch'iu's companion Hsing Yu passed the metropolitan examination and received the chin-shih degree. For the biography of Hsing Yu, see MS, 159/4341. Feng Yuan-chi failed in the examination. He stayed in Peking and studied at the National
University together with Ch’iu. Feng took the examination again in 1451 but failed once more. However, he managed to get a place on the supplementary list and was appointed as school instructor in Ts'en-ch’i county, Kwangsi. For details, see Ch’iu’s “Sung hsiang-yü Feng Yuan-chi chiao-yü hsü” in CTHKCP, 14/13b–14b.


53. See CTHKCP, “Shang-yüeh hsien-sheng chi hsü” , 9/8b. Hsiao Tzu 懷鎬 (H. Shang-yueh chü-shí, 1464) was a native of Hsí-ch’ang, Kiangsi. His last appointment was Junior Preceptor of the Heir Apparent and Minister of Revenue concurrently with the title Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy. For his biography, see MS, 168/4515.

54. CTHKCP, 3/16b. The two lines of the poem read: “.....”

55. Ibid.

56. Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p’u, pp.8a–b. Ch’iu wrote many poems on his way home. These poems can also reflect Ch’iu's state of mind after he failed the examination. Two such poems are “Hsien-wei sui kuo Yang-chou huai-ku” and “Hsin-wei hsia-ti huan chi Chin-ling” in CTHKCP, 5/7a–b and 5/8a.

57. Wang Wan-fu’s “Nien-p’u” places the death of his wife in the year 1450. (p.42) But according to the circumstances recorded in the “Tao-wang” poems the death of his wife took place shortly after his returns rather than one year earlier, in 1450. The last six lines of the fourth poem read: “Suddenly I came back from ten thousand li [far away], we looked at each other as if dreaming in our sleep. Repeatedly I moved the lamp towards her bed, sorrow and gladness came together. She tirelessly used sweet words, to soothe my disappointment.” (CTHKCP, 1/6a) From this poem we know that his wife was still alive when Ch’iu was back from Peking in 1451. They met again in sorrow and gladness, and his wife even used sweet words to soothe her husband’s disappointment. Also, the fifth poem reads: “Virtuously meeting again after our long separation, our joy and fortune were as if we had been reborn ....... She even agreed our plan for the coming year, to take her to the holy capital. Before what we said could be fulfilled, she fell ill and never recovered again.” (Ibid.) The first two lines of this poem again establishes that they were able to meet again before his wife died. In the sixth poem, Ch’iu wrote: “Nearing her death, she bit my finger and made her last words. Her pair of eyes were filled with tears but she restrained their flow. Unwilling and reluctant to part. Choking for breath, she spoke haltingly and breathed feebly on the verge of death. She encouraged me to proceed for official position and urged me to establish a reputation.” (Ibid.) From the above evidence it is clear that the death of his wife née
Chin occurred after Ch'iu's return rather than one year earlier as claimed in Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'u". The death of his wife's younger brother Ting occurred just a month later. This is clearly recorded in the ninth poem of "Tao-wang". (*Ibid.*, p.6b) Ch'iu also wrote a funeral address entitled "Chi ch'i-ti Chin Ting wen" 謝其弟沈廷文, included in *CTHKCP*, 24/42b-43b.

58. *CTHKCP*, 1/7a.

59. Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'u" states that Ch'iu returned to Peking in 1452 and continued his study at the National University. (p.42) However, *CTHKCP* includes a poem entitled "Sui kuei-yu fu-ching chih yang-ch'eng yu-kan" 隋奇遇赴清城與案. (5/9b), which was written on his way to Peking. Kuei-yu was the year 1453, and Yang-ch'eng is an appellation for Kuang-chou city. This proves that Ch'iu returned to Peking sometime later that year. Moreover, it is doubtful that Ch'iu continued his study in the National University. We find no further evidence in his writings that he did join the university again in 1453.

60. Chiao Ying-han, "Chuan", p.25.

61. See *CTHKCP*, 19/24a, 35a. For the questions set in this examination see *Ming kung-chü k'ao-lüeh* in the entry for the cyclical year chia-shū 戊申 of Ching-t'ai. The successful candidates in the palace examination of that year numbered three hundred and forty-nine. Apart from the first three who were placed in the first class, there were one hundred and twenty-nine in the second class and two hundred and seventeen in the third class. Ch'iu was placed first in the second class list. See Yu Hsien 胡 , *Huang-Ming chin-shih teng-k'o k'ao* 黃明進士登科 (Ming Chia-ching period edition), 6/8b.

62. Chiao Ying-han, "Chuan", p.25; Wang Kuo-hsien, *Nien-p'u*, p.9a. Ho Chiao-yüan's "Chuan" says that the reason why Ch'iu was placed in the second class rather than the first was due to his unattractive looks. (Ho Chiao-yüan, *op.cit.*, p.9). Ho's assertion, however, is not convincing.
1. See Lei Li, Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi 清朝列朝紀, Ming edition, 11/59b-67a.


3. CTHKCP, "Ch'u tu-shu chung-pì yü-hsiu t'ien-hsia chih-shu chien Ch'en Hsüan-chih" 夏著書中編後學天下私書載記, 5/10a-b.


5. CTHKCP, "Shang-yüeh hsien-sheng ch'i hsü" 尚術顯聲崔, 9/9a.


9. CTHKCP, 19/20a.

10. MS, 181/4808.

11. CTHKCP, "Yuán-feng hsien ch'i", 19/21a.

12. Ibid, 21/17a-b.

13. Scholars have generally mistaken that Chien-shen 欲深 was the given name of Emperor Hsien-tsung. In fact, the exact given name of Emperor Hsien-tsung was Chien-ju 欲具 rather than Chien-shen. Chien-shen was though his original given name; however, after the restoration of Chu Ch'i-chen 趙時臣, Emperor Ying-tsung, Chu Chien-shen was reappointed as Heir Apparent. At that time that his given name was changed from Chien-shen to Chien-ju. At the beginning of Hsien-tsung ch'un-huang-ti shih-lu 襄誠皇帝史錄, completed in 1491 under the supervision of Liu Chi, Hsü P'u, Liu Chien and Ch'iu Chun, it is recorded: "In the cyclical year ting-ch'ou (1457), Ying-tsung Jui-huang-ti 永樂皇帝 received the support of the populace and restored the throne. Ching-t'ai-ti 穀帝 (r. 1450-1457) was reduced to his former position of Prince of Ch'eng 宗 . His Majesty (Emperor Hsien-tsung) was reappointed as Heir Apparent. His Majesty was originally named Chien-shen, and now his name was changed to Chien-ju. The imperial decree did not mention the reason. When it was promulgated throughout the empire, people were astonished and asked each other: "Is he not the Heir Apparent appointed previous; how is it that his name is not the
same?" Perhaps the inclination of the hearts of the people in the world have long cherished the expectation of His Majesty. (MSL, Hsien-tsung, 1/1b).

14. See the introductory note to the fourth poem of "Hsüeh-shih ssu-jung", subtitled "Ching-yen chin-chiang", in CTHKP, 5/32b-33b. See also MSL, Hsien-tsung, 8/1a.

15. MSL, Hsien-tsung, 11/3b.

16. See the biography of Han Yung by Chan Hok-lam in DMB, p.499.

17. MSL, Hsien-tsung, 1/14a-b.

18. Ibid., pp.15b-16a.

19. See MSL, Hsien-tsung, 3/16a, 4/6a, 11/3a-4b and 13/3a. See also the biography of Yen Sheng, in MS, 177/4721-24.


21. The date given for Ch'iu Chün's presentation of his proposal to Li Hsien and the date when it was brought to the attention of the throne varies. The biography of Ch'iu Chün in the Ming-shih says that Ch'iu wrote to Li Hsien in the first year of Ch'eng-hua (1465), but did not give the exact day and month. (MS, 181/4808) Wu Chi-hua in "Ming-shih Ch'iu Chün chuan pu-cheng" (in Ta-lu ts'a-chih, 35:9, 1967) cites the evidence from Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi by Lei Li and Pen-ch'ao fen-sheng jen-wu k'ao by Kuo T'ing-hsin, arguing that the proposal must have been presented in the seventh year of Tien-shun (1463). Other sources, such as Li Chih's Hsü ts'ang-shu also give the date as 1463. (Hsü ts'ang-shu, 11/207) One argument in favour of 1463 is that in 1465 Ch'iu was appointed Expositor-in-Waiting. Since most of the historical records mention that at the time Ch'iu's proposal brought to the attention of the throne he was a "Compiler", this must have been at the time before 1465. Wang Kuo-hsien's Nien-p'u follows the Ming-shih, Ming t'ung-chien (by Hsia Hsieh), Ming-chi (by Ch'en Ho) version of 1465. He gives the more precise date of "the sixth month of the first year of Ch'eng-hua", but did not supply any evidence to support this. In the entry for that year, Wang quotes Ch'iu's "Ying-t'ien hsin-shih lu-hšu", written in 1465, to prove that Ch'iu had already been promoted to Expositor-in-Waiting by the time he wrote to Li Hsien, in 1465, and points out the mistake of the Ming-shih, Ming t'ung-chien and Ming-chi which record Ch'iu's position as a Compiler. (See Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p'u, pp.17a-18a) There is also the date of 1457 given in Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'u", but for this he also did not provide any supporting evidence. Looking into the matter more closely, it is not difficult for us to find out the truth. Most of the documents which record these events
say: "Ch'iu Chun, an Expositor-in-Waiting of the Hanlin Academy submitted to Grand Secretary Li Hsien..." (For example, see MS, 178/4733) Thus at the time when Ch'iu write to Li Hsien, Li had already been promoted to Grand Secretary. Checking from the Ming Ying-tsung shih-lu, when Emperor Ying-tsung died in the first month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun (1464), Li Hsien's rank was still "Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent and Minister of Personnel concurrently Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy".

(MSL, Ying-tsung, 361/2b) In the second month of the same year, shortly after the enthronement of Chu Chien-ju, Emperor Hsien-tsung, Li was promoted to "Junior Guardian and Minister of Personnel concurrently Grand Secretary of the Hua-kai Pavilion" (MSL, Hsien-tsung, 2/10b) Thus, Ch'iu's submission to "Grand Secretary Li Hsien" must have been after the second month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun (1464) and the conjecture of the date of the seventh year of T'ien-shun (1463) should be rejected. Wang Kuo-hsien's argument in his Nien-p'u, that the date was the sixth month of 1465 and that the Ming-shih's record of Ch'iu's position as "Compiler" is thus erroneous, fails however, to understand the case thoroughly. The case that Ch'iu make his submission to Li when he was in the position of a "Compiler" during the first year of Ch'eng-hua (1465) is perfectly plausible since he was promoted to an Expositor-in-Waiting in autumn of that year. Therefore the account given in the Ming-shih, Ming t'ung-chien and Ming-chi is acceptable. Moreover, the case is clearly recorded in the Ming Hsien-tsung shih-lu under "the cyclical day of chia-shii (26th day) of the first month of the first year of Ch'eng-hua" (MSL, Hsien-tsung, 13/10b). At that time, Li Hsien had already been promoted to the rank of Grand Secretary and Ch'iu was still a Compiler.

25. Ibid., pp.40a-41a.
26. Ibid., pp.41b-45b.
27. MS, 178/4733; DMB, p.500.
28. Both articles can be found in Ch'iung-tai lei-kao, chüan 70. "Kuang-tung pei-yü yao-k'ou shih-i" was also included in CTHKCP, 21/45b-51b.
29. MS, 181/4808.
30. Ibid.; MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 97/1775. This promotion had no connection
with Ch'iu's proposals to suppress the Yao tribesmen and bandits in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. It was the tradition of the Ming government that all government officials after nine years service, known as "chih-man" (fulfillment of service), were to be evaluated and either promoted or demoted accordingly.


34. *MS*, 170/4551; Yü's biography by Wolfgang Franke in *DMB*, p.1611. According to *Ming-shih*, Yü's posthumous name granted by the court in 1489 was "Su-min" 蘇敏 (reverend and sympathetic), but according to the record in *Ming shih-lu*, it was "Chung-min" 忠敏 (loyal and sympathetic). See *MS*, Hsiao-tung, 33/1b-2a. For a detailed study of Yü Ch'ien, see Lai Chia-tu 羅家謨 and Li Kuang-pi 李光碧, *Yü Ch'ien ho Pei-ching ch'u-pan she* (Peking: Pei-ching ch'u-pan she, 1961); Wolfgang Franke, "Yü Ch'ien, Staatsmann und Kriegsminister, 1398-1457", *Monumenta Serica*, No.11 (1946), p.87.


37. *MS*, Hsien-tsung, 70/1a.


42. *MS*, Hsien-tsung, 169/7b; Lei Li, *op.cit.*, 11/60a-b; Kuo T'ing-hsun, *op.cit.*, 112/39b-40a.

43. *MS*, Hsien-tsung, 206/1a; Lei Li, *op.cit*.

44. *MS*, 181/4808.

46. These comments are included in Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, 44/5a-b.
47. Ibid., p.5b.
48. Ibid. For a general discussion on the influence of educational system to the politics of the Ming dynasty, see Albert Chan, The Glory and Fall of the Ming Dynasty (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), pp.155-157.
49. MS, 70/1694.
50. See Ming hui-yao, 77/9b-18b, under the title "K'o-chu tung-li" 乞遊論例.
51. CTHKCP, "Hui-shih t'se-wen" 應是說論, 8/16b-17b.
52. Ibid., 8/19a-21a.
53. Ibid., 8/17b-19a.
54. Ibid., 8/21a-24a.
55. Ibid., 8/21b-22a.
56. Ibid., p.22a.
57. See Ming hui-yao, 6/8a-12a, under the title "Wen-kuan feng-tseng" 文軒奉承.
58. CTHKCP, 19/35a-b; Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p'ü, p.34a.
60. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 7/10b.
61. Ibid., p.11a. Most of the scholars have regarded Ch'iu's promotion to Minister of Rites as a result of his dedication of Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu to the throne. (eg. Wang Wan-fu, "Nien-p'ü", p.44; Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p'ü, p.37a; Su Yün-feng, "Ch'iu Chün: i-wei yao-ts'ung hai-wai shu chung-yüan te pu-i ch'ing-hsiang", p.13; Chiao Ying-han, "Chuan", p.26; Ho Chiao-hsin, "Chuan", p.12; Chiao Hung, Huang-Ming jen-wu kao, 3/4b) However, this is because of their misunderstanding. The description in the Ming-shih about Ch'iu's promotion to Minister of Rites is also confusing. The biography of Ch'iu Chün in the Ming-shih reads: "[When] Emperor Hsiao-tsung succeeded to the throne, [Ch'iu] presented his book (Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu) with a memorial. The Emperor spoke highly of it and bestowed him with silver. [Moreover, he] ordered [the book] to be published by the office concerned and [Ch'iu] to be specially promoted to Minister of Rites in charge of the Chan-shih fu" (MS, 181/4808-9) According to this, Ch'iu was promoted after he
presented the book to the throne. The case is so confused because the two events happened in the same month of the year 1487 and most of the historical records did not present a clear picture of either event. Thus, scholars have misinterpreted Ch'iu's promotion as part of the honour granted by the Emperor due to his Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. In the Ming Hsiao-tsung shih-lu, two events are recorded under the same column for the cyclical day of ping-ch'en (21st day) of the eleventh month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua. However, the promotion to Minister of Rites is recorded before the dedication of the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. (MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 7/10b-lia). The decree concerning Ch'iu's promotion is recorded together with the promotion of other officials and reads: "Promoted Ch'iu Chün, the Right Vice Minister of Rites in charge of the affairs of the National University, to Minister of that Ministry in charge of Chan-shih fu," without mentioning the reason for his promotion. After recorded the decree of the promotion of Liu Hsüan 莊, the Shih-lu describes briefly Ch'iu's motives in compiling the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu, and states that it was "then presented to the throne with a memorial." A check of the collected work of Ch'iu reveals that at the end of the "Chin Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu piao" the date is given as "the 18th day of the eleventh month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua", which was three days before the decree of promotion was issued. This supports the belief that Ch'iu's promotion was due to Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. However, in the Ming shih-lu, still under the same column Emperor Hsiao-tsung's imperial response to the book reads: "[You have] already been promoted [recently] to the post of minister and shall further be granted twenty taels of silver..." (MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 7/11a) This proves that the decree of promotion was issued before the imperial response was made and that the two events were independent even though they happened on the same day. Thus, Ch'iu's promotion can not be connected with the dedication of the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. Ch'iu's promotion was probably due to his "fulfillment of service" as the Chancellor of the National University, since he had been stayed in that post for nearly ten years. Moreover, it is standard practice that on the accession of a new emperor, many officials were honoured or promoted. On the other hand, for an official to be promoted due to the dedication of a book was not at all common in the early and mid Ming period. Furthermore, there is no evidence in the official documents, Ch'iu's writings, or the writings of his contemporaries that Ch'iu was promoted because of the dedication of the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. But in a memorial to the throne Ch'iu recalled: "It was less than two months after Your Majesty had succeeded to the throne, I, Your humble servant, was promoted to be Minister of Rites in charge of Chan-shih fu. [When] I, Your servant, presented my compiled work the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu, Your Majesty graciously condescended to inspect it and bestowed gifts to me very generously, and moreover, Your Majesty praised the work as being 'precise and detail in collation, accurate and comprehensive in discussion, and is helpful to government,' and ordered that it be sent to the printing house for publishing and distribution through
out the empire." (CTHKCP, 7/7b-8a) Thus even Ch'iu himself considered the two events are two separate happenings. This being the case, we can not say that Ch'iu's promotion was due to the dedication of the Ta-hsueh yen-i pu, unless more substantial evidence is provided.


63. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 7/13a. See also CTHKCP, "Tzu-sheng li-pu shang-shu chang chan-shih fu shih tsou" 探隐理部詫掌善府事書, 42/4a.

64. See CTHKCP, 3/1b-3a, 3/1a-b, 4/6a-b, 5/1a-2a.

65. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 10/2a. For the compilation of the Hsien-tsung shih-lu, see Wolfgang Franke, Introduction to the Sources of Ming History, p.31; Li Chin-hua, Ming-tai ch'ih-tsu shu k'ao, p.51; Senryû Manô 呉文鶴, "Min jitsu-roku no kenkyû" みんじつろっくの研究, in Jitsuzo Tamura 四條達雄, ed., Mindai Man-Mö shih kenkyû 決新时期 (Kyoto: The Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University, 1963), pp.1-72.

66. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 40/6a.


68. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 50/2a.

69. Ibid., 54/7a.

70. Ibid., p.8a.

71. Ibid., 56/5b.

2. CTLK, 42/6b-7a.

3. See CTLK, "Hsin-hai ch'i hsiu-chih ti-erh tsou" 許渾非之休朔之二, and "Hsin-hai ch'i hsiu-chih ti-san tsou" 許渾非之休朔之三, 42/9a-10a, 10a-11a.

4. Ibid., p.10b.

5. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 55/1a.

6. CTHKCP, "Ju-ko tz'u-jen ti-i tsou" 入臥見宴之一, 7/3b-4b.

7. See CTHKCP, "Ju-ko tz'u-jen ti-erh tsou" 入臥見宴之二 and "Ju-ko tz'u-jen ti-san tsou" 入臥見宴之三, 7/4b-7a, 7a-10a.

8. Ibid., pp.9a-b.

9. For the imperial reply to Ch'iu's three memorials, see MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 56/5b-6a, 57/1a-2a, 58/3b-4a.

10. See CTLK, "Jen-tzu ch'i hsin-chih tsou" 聚日休假之, 44/1a-2b; "Jen-tzu t'sai ch'i hsiu-chih tsou" 聚日休假之, 44/2b-3b.

11. Ibid., pp.1a-b.

12. Ibid., p.2b.

13. Ibid., pp.4b-5a.

14. Ibid., p.5a. See also "T'iao-li mu-chi tsou" 調理目疾之, in Ch'iuang-tai lei-kao, 44/5a-b.


16. According to Wang Wan-fu's "Nien-p'u", Ch'iu's youngest son Ching 維 was born in 1479. But according to Wang Kuo-hsien's Nien-p'u, Ching was born in 1488. (See p.42a) This version can be proved by Ch'iu's poem, the "Wu-shen sui t'zu-yün" 武神睡之頌, written in 1488. In the poem he says: "Who would have thought that I still have a baby in this old age." This verse reads: "誰知白頭復添丁." See CTHKCP, 5/46b.

17. CTLK, 45/20b-24b.
18. CTHKCP, 5/25a.
19. Ibid., p.42b.
20. Ibid., "Ch'ü-yeh kan-huai" 楊誼 軒懷 , p.50a.
22. Ibid., "Nei-ko wan-kuei k'ou-hao" p.50b.
23. Ibid., p.54a.
24. Ibid., "Ou-shu" 惠書 , p.52b.

25. For examples, see the case of Yü Tzu-chün 鄭重振 in MSL, Hsien-tsung, 131/1a; and the case of Liu Chi 留志 in MSL, Hsien-tsung, 223/3b-4a, 4b-5a.

26. CTHKCP, 5/50b. In this poem, kuei-t'ien 慷田 is an extended meaning. Literally, it refers to the feature of the land system in traditional China, especially in Chou dynasty, that a man at the age of sixty returned the public fields, which he had received at the age of twenty, to the government. Later, the meaning is extended to retirement from public life or resignation from office.

27. CTLK, 44/6a. Ch'iu's idea that a minister should retire at the age of seventy originated from the Book of Rites. In the Book of Rites, Book I, Chu Li 此例, it reads: "A great officer, when he is seventy, should resign [his charge of] affairs." See Li-chi chi-shuo 梭詩說 (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1969), 1/3.

29. CTHKCP, 5/50b.
30. Ibid., p.49a.
31. See the biography of Ch'iu Chün by Wu Chi-hua and Ray Huang in DMB, p.250.
32. CTHKCP, 7/16b-17a.
33. Ibid., 7/50b.

34. On eunuchs of the Ming dynasty, see MÊ 74/1819-1827, 304,305/7765-7832; Ming hui-yao, 39/697-701; Liu Jo-yü 劉若愚, Cho-chung chi 趙仲姬 (Hai-shan hsien-kuan ts'ung-shu 溫臣 數書版 edition), passim; Ting I 聲 I, Ming-tai t'e-wu cheng-chih 朝政 記 (Peking, 1950); Chiu Ling-yeong 趙令
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36. MSL, Jen-tsung, 2C/3a, 8A/7b; MSL, Hsüan-tsung, 29/9a.

37. See MSL, Haien-tsung, 76/4b, 135/4b, 138/2b, 148/5a, 164/2b, 205/6a, 272/6a-b.

38. CTHKCP, 7/50b-53a.

39. Ibid., 7/53a-b.

40. This memorial is incorporated in CTHKCP, 7/17a-36a. It is also incorporated in many of the collections of distinguished memorials edited by Ming and Ch'ing scholars. Such as the Chao-tai ching-chi yen 長泰鏡史編 edited by Ch'en Tzu-chuang 趙子壯 (1596-1647), who abridged the content under a new title "Hsien-yen t'u-pao su-lieh" 明延圖報拾殖 (See Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'i-pien edition, 4/57), and the Ming ching-shih wen-pien 明鏡史編 edited by Ch'en Tzu-lung 趙子龍 and others in the late Ming period. (See Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, photolithographic reproduction of late Ming edition, 1962, 71/594-596).

41. For the biography of Shao Yung, see T'o-t'o 司馬溫 and others, eds., Sung-shih 晉書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977), 427/12726-28; Shao's biography by Gabriele Sattler in Herbert Franke, ed., Sung Biographies (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), pp.848-855.

42. Shao Yung's Hung-chi ching-shih consists of a chronological table illustrative of the resulting cycle through which the world must pass. The span of one cycle of a dynasty or a man was also discussed. For details, see Huang-chi ching-shih (Tao-tsang 道藏 edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1923-26, Vol.705-718), Part 1. Later scholar's discussion on this, see Fung Yu-lan 冯友蘭, Derk Bodde tr., A History of Chinese Philosophy (Princeton University Press, 1953), Vol.2, pp.467-474.

43. CTHKCP, 7/17b-18a.

44. Traditional Chinese astronomers divided the sky into three yuan 圓 (enclosure), twenty-eight hsien 顯示 (lunar-mansion) and thirty-one t'ien-chü 天區 (celestial district). Each t'ien-chü was governed by one yuan or one hsien, and included varied number of stars, or hsing-kuan 星官 (celestial
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45. T'ien-chin 天禁, name of "celestial official", also known as t'ien-han 天漢 and t'ien-huang 天潢, belonged to the Nü-hsiu 女紡 (10th lunar mansion), its position in modern constellation is Cygnus.

46. CTHKCP, 7/18b-19b.

47. For a detailed study of the use of portents of nature as a check on the ruler especially in the Han dynasty, see Hans Bielenstein, "An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'in-Han-shu", in Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, No.22 (1950), pp.127-43; Wolfram Eberhard, "The Political Function of Astronomy and Astronomers in Han China", in J.K. Fairbank, ed., Chinese Thought and Institutions, pp.33-70; Rafe de Crespigny, Portents of Protest in the Later Han Dynasty (Canberra: Australian National University, 1976), pp.1-46.

48. Ibid., pp.21b-22a.

49. Ibid., pp.22a-b.

50. Ibid., pp.23a-b.

51. In Ch'i u's text, Buddhist Shih-tsun 神遁 was mistaken as "Buddhist T'ien-tsun" 天遁. T'ien-tsun 天遁 is the designation of the highest Taoist God, the Celestial-honoured Primordial. Shih-tsun (Tathagata) is the honoured title of Sakyamuni 舍報牟尼, the founder of Buddhism, employed by the Buddhist.

52. Ibid., 7/24a-27b.

54. *MS*, 180/4779.
57. See Liu Ts'un-yan, "The Penetration of Taoism into the Ming Neo-Confucianist elite", p.77. For the biography of Li Tzu-hsing and Monk Chi Hsiao, see *MS*, 307/7881-5.
58. Emperor Hsiao-tsung ascended the throne in the ninth month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua (1487), later that month, Li Tzu-hsing, Liang Fang 梁方, Wan Hsi 万喜 and others were punished due to an impeachment by Han Chung 韓忠, a Supervising Secretary of the Office of Scrutiny for Rites. In the eleventh month of the same year, Chi Hsiao was sentenced to death. See *MSL*, Hsiao-tsung, 2/9b-lla, 7/12b-13a. On Emperor Hsiao-tsung's dismissal of priests, monks and *ch'uan-feng kuan*, see *MSL*, Hsiao-tsung, 4/la-2a.
59. As shown in the *Ming shih-lu*, in the third, fourth and fifth year of Hung-chih, there were no less than six petitions presented to the throne protesting the extravagance and senseless of Taoist sacrifices. For a more detailed discussion, see Yang Ch'i-ch'iao, *op.cit.*, pp.244-248.
60. See *CTHKCP*, 7/27b-28b, 29b-30b.
61. *MSL*, Hsiao-tsung, 10/1b.
62. Ibid., pp.1b-2a.
63. See the memorial presented by Chang Ying 張英, then Minister of Punishment, in the first month of the twenty-first year of Ch'eng-hua (1485) included in *MSL*, Hsiao-tsung, 260/5a-b.
64. *CTHKCP*, 7/30b-32b.
67. Ibid., p.34a.
68. Ibid., p.33b.
70. For the biography of Li Kuang, see MS, 304/7784; the biography of Li Kuang by Chiu Ling-yeong in DMB, pp.837-838. See also Chiu Ling-yeong, "Lun Ming-tai chih Huan-huo", pp.8-13. For Li Kuang’s activities at the court of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, see MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 103/7a-b, 124/4b-6a, 131/5a, 142/6b-7a, 142/9b-10a, 143/9a-10b, 143/12a-b, 145/3a.

71. See MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 63/2a-7b. This memorial was later included in CTHKCP, 7/36a-47a.

72. See THYIP, 94/22a-26a.

73. CTHKCP, 7/36b.

74. The Chen-kuan cheng-yao 紫綄政要, in 10 chiian, was compiled by Wu Ching 呉詢 (670-749) of the T'ang dynasty. It recorded the political achievement of Emperor T'ai-tsung in the Chen-kuan period (627-649) through dialogue between T'ai-tsung and his ministers Fang Hsuan-ling 方誼, Tu Ju-hui 杜佑 and Wei Cheng 魏徵 etc. It was divided into 40 chapters according to topics. For studies of the Chen-kuan cheng-yao and the politics of the Chen-kuan reign, see Harada Tanashige 原田成二, "Jōkan seiyō no seiritsu" 東京政治の成立, Shibun 斯文, No.22 (1958), pp.18-30; Ma Ch'i-hua 馬超華, "Chen-kuan cheng-lun" 紫綄論, in Kuo-li cheng-chih ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao 國史稿大學學報, No.1 (1960), pp.243-293; No.2 (1960), pp.359-399; No.3 (1961), pp.373-400; Ch'en Ch'eng-ch'en 陳成彥, "Wei Cheng yú chen-kuan chih chih" 魏徵與陳綄之治, Unpublished M.A. dissertation, College of Chinese Culture, Taiwan, 1967; Howard J. Wechsler, Mirror to the Son of Heaven: Wei Cheng at the Court of T'ang T'ai-tsung, Yale University Press, 1974; She-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she 槊世考古學出版社, ed., T'ang T'ai-tsung yü chen-kuan chih chih lun-chi 唐太宗與陳綄之治論集, Peking: She-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1982.

75. San-fu 紫伏 is the hottest period in the summer season of a year. It is divided into ch'u-fu 始伏 and mo-fu 盤伏. For details, see Hsu Chien 許贇 et al., eds., Ch'ü-hsüeh chi 初學記 (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu kuan 惠文書院, photolithographic reproduction of Sung edition, 1976), 4/7b-8a.

76. CTHKCP, 7/36b-46b. Ch'iu's memorial was quoted by Ch'ing scholars and some of the points Ch'iu made were annotated. See Emperor K'ang-hsi 嘉慶, Yü-p'i tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu 童銘堂書法題跋 (Shanghai: Tung-wen shu-chü 傳文書局, 1887), 16/21a-b.


78. THYIP, 94/16b-17a; CTHKCP, 7/36b.
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79. Ho Chiao-hsin, Chiao-ch'iu wen-chih, 18/10a-b.

80. For the imperial reply to Ch'iu's memorial, see CTHKCP, 7/46b-47a.


82. CTHKCP, 7/12a-14a.

83. For the "service-evaluation" system of the Ming dynasty, see MS, 71/1721-24; Ming hui-yao, 18/846-67; Ta-Ming hui-tien, 12/1a-45b. See also Charles O. Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming dynasty", pp.15-16; T'ao Hsi-sheng 陶希聖 & Ch'en Jen-yüan 陳簡遠, Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu 明清都城圖薈 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1967), pp.202-206.

84. See Li Chih, Hsü ts'ang-shu, 11/207; Chang Hsüan, Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, 31/14b-15a.

85. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 71/4a.

86. Li Chih, op. cit.

87. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 71/4a-b. Emperor Hsiao-tsung's reply to the Ministry of Personnel was also included in the Ming Hsiao-tsung pao-hsun 明孝宗聖諭 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, 1967) under the entry of "Hsi jen-t'sai" 國家將統, 2/15a-b.

88. For the biography of Wang Shu, see M$, 182/4831-38; the biography of Wang Shu by Fang Chaoying in DNB, pp.1416-1420. Because of this incident, Wang Shu submitted his resignation, but was not accepted. He suspected that it was Ch'iu who pulled the strings behind the scenes. This deepened their conflict. See MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 72/8a-b.
89. Cf. DMB, pp.1418-19. For details of this case, see MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 75/2b-3a; 18a-19a, 21b-22b; Li Chih, Hsü ts'ang-shu, the biography of Wang Shu, 15/313-4; MS, 181/4836-37; T'an Ch'ien, Kuo-ch'üeh, 42/2644-45.

90. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 76/14a.

91. See MS, 182/4837, 181/4809; Ku Ying-t'ai 谷應泰, Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo 明史筆名考 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1977), 42/614. Because of this case, Ch'iu was later impeached by Mao Ch'eng, a Supervising Secretary of the Ministry of Works of Nanking, and others. But Emperor Hsiao-tsung took no response to it. See MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 78/4a-b. For modern scholars' discussions on this case, see Wang Kuo-hsien, Nien-p'u, pp.48a-50b; Su Yün-feng, op. cit., pp.14-15.

92. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 78/5b, 7a; 79/3a-b.

93. See Wu Chi-hua, "Ming-shih Ch'iu Chün chuan pu-cheng", p.8; the biography of Ch'iu Chun in DMB, p.250. For the institutional frictions between the Grand Secretariat and the Ministries, see Charles O. Hucker, "The Tung-lin Movement of the Late Ming Period", in John K. Fairbank, ed., Chinese Thought and Institutions (The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp.136-139; Tu Nai-chi, Ming-tai nei-ko chih-tuy 唐太內科治, pp.145-149.

94. See the biography of Wang Shu in DMB, pp.1416-19. For the long-standing conflicts between the northerners and southerners at the court, see Ch'en Lun-hsü 陳倫恕, "Chi Ming T'ien-shun Ch'eng-hua chien ta-ch'en nan-pei chih-cheng" 艄明天順成化賢臣南北彼治, included in Pao Tsun-p'eng, ed., Ming-tai cheng-chih 唐太治, (Taipei: Hsueh-sheng shu-chü, 1968), pp.249-278. According to Huang Tso 黃紹, when Ch'iu was appointed as Chancellor of the National University, the northerners at the court insulted him by saying: "The southern barbarian can only be an educational officer." For details see Huang Tso, ed., Kuang-tung t'ung-chih 貢通志, chüan 61.

95. CTHKCP, 7/47a-48b.

96. MS, 181/4809.

97. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 91/2b-3a.

98. CTHKCP, 4/35a.

99. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 96/4a.

100. Ibid., 96/8a.
101. Ibid., 97/1a-2b.

102. For details, see Chang Yüeh-sung, Ch’iung-chou fu-chih, 43/33a-34a; Ch’iung-shan hsien-chih, 14/468-496.

103. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 97/1a; Ho Chiao-hsin, "Tseng t’ei-chin tso-chu-kuo t’ai-fu shih wen-chuang kung mu-chih-ming" 蘇賀遠承任所治府修編工作職明, p.19b.

104. MSL, Hsiao-tsung, 98/11a.

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3. For the transformation of Chu Hsi's philosophy into state orthodoxy, see the penetrating study by James T.C. Liu, "How did a Neo-Confucian school become the state orthodoxy?", in Philosophy East and West, 23:4 (Oct. 1973), pp.483-505.

4. Ibid., p.503.


7. See K'o Shao-min 諸經明, Hsin Yuan-shih 新元史 (1919 edition), Introductory note to the "Ju-lin chuan", 234/1a-b.

8. For the biographies of Yang Wei-chung, Ho Ching and Liu Yin, see Yuan-shih, 146/3467-71, 157/3698-3710, 171/4007-4010.


10. See Yuan-shih, 189/4316-4320. See also Sung-Yuan hsüeh-an, 82/1-83. The doctrines of Chu Hsi was transmitted by Huang Kan to Ho Chi 胡适, Wang Po 王波, Chin Lü-hsiang 陳魯祥 and Hsu Ch'ien 許謙 as a line of succession. Because both the latter four came from Chin-hua 岐華 area, modern Chekiang, they were called by historians as the "Four Masters of Chin-hua". For studies on this, see John D. Langlois, Jr., "Chin-hua Confucianism Under the Mongols (1279-1368)", Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1973; "The Chin-hua Tradition and the Mongol Conquest", in China Under Mongol Rule (Princeton University Press, 1981), pp.137-185.

11. Yuan-shih, 189/4320. Huang Kan was the master of Ch'eng-Chu 教書 teaching in late Sung, both the Chekiang line and Kiangsi line of Ch'eng-Chu school of thought in Yuan times originated with him. For his biography, see Sung-shih, 430/12777-82; Sung-Yuan hsüeh-an, 63/4-22. For a general discussion of Huang Kan, see Chan Wing-itsit, "Chu Hsi and Yuan Neo-Confucianism", pp.201-3.


16. Ibid., 186/12709.
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17. Ibid., pp.12709-12710.

18. For details of Han Yu's discussion of the transmission of the Way, see his collected work, the Han Ch'ang-li ch'üan-chi (SPPY edition) "Yüan-tao" 献道, 11/1a-5a.

19. The concept of tao-t'ung was probably derived from the theory of legitimate succession in Chinese historiography, and at the same time coloured by the Buddhist practice of transmitting their teaching from one patriarch to the next. For a general discussion on this, see James T.C. Liu, "How did a Neo-Confucian school become the state orthodoxy?", pp.490-491, p.490 n.15; Julia Ching, "Truth and Ideology: the Confucian Way (Tao) and its Transmission (Tao-t'ung)", in Journal of the History of Ideas, 35:3 (July-Sept. 1974), pp.371-388; Liu Shu-hsien, op.cit., pp.395-484.


21. For a general understanding of this arrangement, see the "Biographies of Confucianists" in the Sung-shih, chüan 431-438, pp.12793-12995. For a brief discussion, see Fung Yu-lan, op.cit., Vol.2, pp.592-593.


24. MS, 128/3787-3788.

25. For details, see Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-t'ai ssu-hsiang shih, pp.7-10.


28. For Liu Chi, see MS, 128/3777-82; Wang Hsing-i, Liu Chi yen-chiu (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936); Liu's biography by Chan Hok-lam in DMB, pp.932-8.

29. See MS, 70/1693-94.


32. For the biography of Hsu Ts'un-jen, see MS, 137/3953-54; Ming-shih kao, 20/10b-11a.


35. Ch'en Ting, op.cit., 2/14b.

37. MS, 282/7222.

38. Ibid., the biography of Hsüeh Hsüan 許遠, 282/7229. K'ao-t'ing 孝亭, a place's name, was located in the Chien-yang 靜陽 county of Fukien where Chu Hsi once lived and established the Ts'ang-chou ching-she 茲州精舍. The name was commonly used by later scholars as referred to Chu Hsi, and Chu's learning was also known as the "School of K'ao-t'ing" 孝亭學派.


41. Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih, p.23. Different views on Wu Yü-pi was given by Hellmut Wilhelm who considered that Wu and others had done more than just select and emphasize the orthodox tradition, they had submitted them to a development which was original and which had to be understood as such as an indispensable precursor of Ch'ing orthodoxy. For details, see Hellmut Wilhelm, "On Ming Orthodoxy", Monimenta Serica, Vol.29 (1970-71), pp.1-26.

42. Jung Chao-tsu, ibid., p.13.

43. Chan Wing-tsit, "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p.42.

44. Ibid., pp.32-33.

45. Ibid., p.44.

46. For details, see Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih, pp.13-33. The Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih was originally published in 1941 by the K'ai-ming Bookstore in Shanghai.

47. See Chan Wing-tsit, "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", p.32; Hellmut Wilhelm, "On Ming Orthodoxy", p.25.


50. For studies on the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming and its impact on Ming thought, see among others, Ch'ien Mu, Yang-ming hsüeh shu-yao 西江學説 (Shanghai, 1930); Hsieh Wu-liang 謝石泉, Yang-ming hsüeh-p'ai 西江派 (Shanghai, 1930); Wang Tun-han 黃敦packet, Yang-ming hsüeh-shuo t'ı-hsi 西江學說. 69
51. For the biography of Ch'eng Min-cheng 鄭敏成 , see MS, 286/7343-44; Chiao Hung, Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 35/43a-44a. For a detailed study of Ch'eng Min-cheng's thought, see Ch'ien Mu, "Tu Ch'eng Huang-tun wen-ch' i" 楊論文集 , in Tung-wu hsüeh-pao 學術月報 , Nos.46-5, also included in Chung-kuo hsüeh-shu ssu-hsiang shih lun-ts'ung, Vol.6, pp.34-44; Ishida Kazuo 石田和雄 , "Tei Binsei ni tsuite -- Shu-Ryo ido ni tsuite no ichikosatsu" 程敏成について--朱柳二度についての一考察 , in Chügoku tetsuyaku ronshu 中国哲学术論集 (Fukuoka: Kyushu Daigaku), Special Issue (Mar. 1981), pp.23-40.

52. Ch'eng Min-cheng, Tao-i pien 湯一編 (Ming Hung-chih period edition), Preface, pp.1a-2a. The "funeral address" and the "postface" mentioned in this preface by Ch'eng are referred to the "Chu-tzu pa Pai-lu tung shu-t'ang chung-i" 諸子派白鹿唐書 會議 and "Chu-tzu chi Lu Tzu-shou chiao-shou wen" 諸子集諸子校書論文 , both included in Tao-i pien, 4/20b-21b, 23a-25a.
53. Ibid., pp.2b-3a. In this passage, the usage of *fu* and *chii* to denote complementing each other is originated from the *Tso-chuan* 戰國策. For details, see *Tso-chuan*, the fifth year of Duke Hsi 恢公, *Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan chi-chieh* 春秋左傳集解 (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1977) edition, Vol.1, 5/254.

54. The writings of the Yuan scholars incorporated in this section included Yu Chi 楊起, Cheng Ch'ien-ling 鄭德齡 (Chen-po 趙坡, 1265-1331), Cheng Yu 楊正 (Shih-shan 施山, 1298-1356), and Chao Fang 趙芳 (Tung-shan 通山, 1319-1369).

55. *Tao-i pien*, Table of Contents, pp.9b-10a.

56. See Ch'eng Min-cheng, *Huang-tun Ch'eng hsien-sheng wen-chi* 黃濱澄 素registrars (Ming Cheng-te period edition), "Sung Wang Ch'eng-chih hsü" 宋王澄之序, 29/16a-b. It is obvious that Ch'eng Min-cheng's discussions of moral cultivation and intellectual inquiry, which were his focus to reconcile the two schools, was inspired by Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249-1333), a scholar of national reputation in Yuan times. It is seen from one of Ch'eng's articles entitled "Shu Chu-tzu ta Hsiang P'ing-fu shu" 王丘子他相平富書, in *Huang-tun Ch'eng hsien-sheng wen-chi*, 38/8a. For discussions on this point, see Ch'ien Mu, "Tu Ch'eng Huang-tun wen-chi", pp.37-39. On Wu Ch'eng, see the following studies by David Gedalecia, "Wu Ch'eng: A Neo-Confucian of the Yuan", Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1971, especially pp.279-280; "Wu Ch'eng and the Perpetuation of the Classical-Heritage in the Yuan", in *China Under Mongol Rule*, pp.186-211; "Wu Ch'eng's Approach to Internal Self-cultivation and External Knowledge-seeking", in *Yuan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion under the Mongols*, pp.279-326.


58. Ch'eng Min-cheng was involved in the cheating case of Hsü Ching 胡澄 and T'ang Yin 唐寅 in the 1499's metropolitan examination in which he was one of the examiners. He and the others were arrested during the time when the matter was under investigation. Although he did not received any charges due to the lack of evidence and was released in the same year, probably because of this shock and depression, he died shortly afterwards. For a
brief account, see MS, 286/7343-44. Refer also to Ishida Kazuo, op.cit., pp.25-26. For a thorough study of this case, see Fang Chi-ling "T'ang Yin yü Chiang-yin Hsü Ching" 蠶桑繭事, " Chung-liu 纺織志, 31:9 (June 1965), pp.9-10; Nakayama Hachiro 萬作男, "To En to koshi 唐敏之女詩", in Egami Namio kyōju koki kinen ronshii: rekishi hen 東海道遊集: 聖史篇, Yama- kawa shuppansha 山川出版社, 1977, pp.355-374; "Kōshi juninen eshi no sakudai daisan ni tsuite -- To En to eshi teibyo" 弘治十二年詩の裏面について -- 通房と寄遊, in Mindai shi kenkyū 近代史研究, No.5 (Dec. 1977), pp.1-18.

59. See Ch'ien Mu, "Tu Ch'eng Huang-tun wen-chi", pp.36-42.


65. For discussions of Ch'en hsien-chang's concept of the "natural", see Jen Yu-wen, "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", pp.64-69.

66. For details, see Jen Yu-wen, Ibid., pp.75-78; Y.M. Jiang, The Search For Mind, pp.72-85.


68. Ming-ju hsüeh-an, 5/49.
69. In his Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih Professor Jung Chao-tsu entitled the chapter "The Revival of Lu's Learning and the Ch'en Hsien-chang School" to introduce the philosophy of Ch'en hsien-chang. For details, see Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih, Chapter 3, pp.34-70.

70. See Lu Chiu-yüan 路求遠, Hsiang-shan hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 享山賢僧傳記 (SPTX edition), 34/1b, 36/5b. Apart from sharing a similar attitude towards the Classics, Ch'en Hsien-chang also said that "The universe is in me". For a general discussion on this point, see Jung Chao-tsu, ibid., pp.36-40.

71. A survey by Jiang Yun-ming shows that Ch'en Hsien-chang mentioned the word "mind" (hsin) 272 times in the Pai-sha tsu ch'üan-chi, more frequently than other philosophical terms such as tao 道, li 理, jen 仁 or i 义 etc. For details, see The Search for Mind: Ch'en Pai-sha, Philosopher-Poet, p.87.

72. For the influence of Ch'an Buddhism on Ch'en Hsien-chang's thought, see Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih, pp.40-44; Jiang Yun-ming, The Search for Mind, pp.52-53, 66-69, 131-133.

73. In "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", Professor Jen Yu-wen brings out the point that Ch'en could not endorse Lu Hsiang-shan's view of "Mind is principle", which denied the existence of principle in Nature as an objective reality. For details, see pp.70-72. As regard to Ch'en's influence upon Wang Yang-ming, although their ideas have something in common, nevertheless, Wang Yang-ming's recorded dialogues and writings make no mention of Ch'en Hsien-chang. For a general discussion on the relations between early Ming intellectual thought, in particular that of Ch'en Hsien-chang, with the emergence of Wang Yang-ming school of thought, see Iwama Kazuo, op.cit., pp.68-78.


75. For the biography of Hu Chü-jen 胡敷仁, see MS, 282/7232-33; Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 114/26a-28b; Hsü ts'ang-shu 許家三書 21/417-419; Ming-ju hsüeh-an, 2/12-22; Hu's biography by Julia Ching in DMB, pp.625-627, For a general study of Hu's learning, see Jung Chao-tsu, Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih, pp.23-33; Chan Wing-tsit, "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", pp.38-42.

76. Cf. DMB, p.626.

77. See Hu Chü-jen, Chü-yeh lu 胡敷仁 胡敷仁語錄 (Cheng-i t'ang ch'üan-shu 樸堂文集 edition), 2/12a.

78. Ibid., 2/1a.

79. Ming-ju hsüeh-an, 2/12.


82. *Imperial Catalogue*, 33/3634.

83. *Hu Ching-chai chi*, 1/40a-b. The quotation from Ch'eng-I can be found in the *I-shu* (included in the *Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu* (SPPY edition), 18/5b.

84. *Hu Ching-chai chi*, 2/38b-40a; *Chü-yeh lu*, 2/11a.


87. *Chü-yeh lu*, 5/5b-7a.

88. For instance, see *Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih*, p.30.

89. Lü Nan was a native of Kao-ling, Shensi. He was a disciple of Hsüeh Ching-chih (1435-1508) and a devoted adherent of the learning of Ch'eng-Chu. The compilers of the *Ming-shih* made the comment that, at the time when scholars had become followers either of Wang Shou-jen or of Chan Jo-shui (1466-1560), only Lü Nan and Lo ch'in-shun (1465-1547) remained faithful to the teachings of Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi. For his biography, see *MS*, 282/7243-44; *Ming-ju hsueh-an*, 8/20-32; Lü's biography by Julia Ching in *DMB*, pp.1010-13; *Cf. Sano Koji, "Mindai zempanki no shisō dōkō", p.122. 
1. A general account of his learning experience is given in a series of poems by Ch'iu entitled "Tzu-tsan" 趙端 , in particular the second and the fourth poems. See CTHKCP, Preface, pp.48b-49b.

2. Ibid., "Ch'eng-tzu ch'üan-shu hsü" 趙端集類 , 9/4a-5b.

3. Ibid., "Yü-ch'ü shih-ch'üan lu hsü" 以法師輯類 , 10/21b-22a.


5. The Tao-nan Academy was located in Yen-p'ing 濟州 , Fukien. It was established in the eighth month of the sixth year of Hung-chih (1493) at the request of local officials in honour of Chu Hsi's teaching at the Academy. For more details regarding its establishment and the origin of its name, see CTHKCP, "Tao-nan shu-yüan chi" 述面書院記 , 16/21b-25a.

6. Ibid., p.22a.


8. THYIP, 73/13b.


12. Ibid., p.1b.

13. Wei-chai 貢粲 was the hao of Chu Ts'ung 朱松 (1097-1143), the father of Chu Hsi. For information on Chu Ts'ung, see Okada Takehiko, "Shushi no chichi to shi" 諸儒の愛と死 (first published in Bunri ronshū 本理論叢, 14:2, Mar. 1974), included in Chūgoku shisō ni okeru risō 中國思想における理想 (Tokyo: Mokujisha 模記社 , 1983), pp.331-415.


15. Wang T'ung had written sequels to the Six Classics known as the Wang-shih lu-ching 王氏論集. Scholars of the past and present have commented generally that Wang "imitated Confucius" and that he intended to be a "new Confucius". For studies on Wang T'ung's life and thought, see Wang Ying-lun 汪英論, Wen-chung-tzu K'ao-hsin lu 文中諸考心録, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934;


18. Ibid., p.211.


20. Ibid., Book 1, Chapter 1, 1/1a.

21. Ibid., 2/77a.

22. Ibid., pp.78a-b.

23. Ibid., Book 11, Chapter 1, 2/1a.

24. Ibid., 2/77b.

25. For further details, see the discussion in Fung Yu-lan, A History of Chinese Philosophy, pp.529-532.


27. Ibid., pp.77b-78a.

28. Ibid., p.78a.

29. See the preface by Wang Tzu P'i, which is found in a Ch'ing edition Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti printed by the local office of the Kao-hsing prefecture, pp.1b-2a. A copy of this edition is preserved in the National Library of China, Peking.

30. SSKK, 29/2a-b.

31. Confucian Analects, Book XII, Chapter 15, p.257. A similar statement can be found in Book VI, Chapter 25, p.193.
32. THYIP, 72/5b-6a.

33. For details, see Yu-tsuan Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu (1713 edition), 25/36a-b; Chu-tzu yü-lei (1473 edition), 64/23b.


35. Yu-tsuan Chu-tzu ch'üan-shu, 25/36b. See also Chu-tzu yü-lei, 64/24b.

36. Chu-tzu yü-lei, 64/24a.

37. For a general discussion on Chu Hsi's re-ordering of the chapters in the Great Learning, see Chao Tse-hou, Ta-hsiieh yen-chiu (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chii, 1972), pp.84-88; 208-233; 249-253.

38. Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an, 58/6.


42. Yu Ying-shih points out that the confrontation between Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan at Goose Lake in 1175 was on the method of learning they advocated: Lu wanted to first develop the original mind (pen-hsin ), while Chu wanted extensive investigation and learning at the initial stage. For details, see Yu Ying-shih, "Ts'ung Sung-Ming ju-hsüeh te fa-chan lun Ch'ing-tai ssu-hsiang shih" Chung-kuo hsüeh-jen (1970), pp.19-41.

43. CTHKCP, 8/22b-23a.

44. Ibid., pp.23a-24a.

45. SSCK, 28/16b.

46. See Jen Yu-wen, Pai-sha tzu yen-chiu p.32; "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", p.58.

48. Pai-sha hsieng-sheng hsing-chuang, p.8b. Lo Lun was a follower of the Ch'eng-Chu School, however, like many Ming scholars, he emphasized the importance of tranquillity in the quest for perfection. For his biography, see MS 179/4747-53; Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 21/29a-35b; Ming-ju hsüeh-an, 45/9-10; Lo's biography by Huang P'ei and Julia Ching in DMB, pp.984-5. For the biography of Ho Ch'in, see MS 283/7264-65; Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu, 94/38a-39b; Ming-ju hsüeh-an, 6/65-67; as well as Ho's biography by Huang P'ei and Julia Ching in DMB, pp.509-510. Some Ming historical sources record that Ch'iu often expressed his dissatisfaction with Chuang Yung. For examples, see Chiao Hung, Yu-t'ang ts'ung-yü, 6/189-190, 8/279.


50. MSL, Hsien-tsung, 244/1b-2a.

51. Ibid., p.2b.

52. Some scholars have commented that Ch'iu had made personal remarks about Ch'en hsien-chang when he supervised the compilation of the Hsien-tsung shih-lu. The point in question was that Ch'iu had used a poem, written by Ch'en, to vilify Ch'en. For examples of such views, see Li Mo, Ku-shu p'ou-t'an, in So-chiu lu, 8/36a-b; Hsia Hsieh, Guiding Principles, p.12. However, after checking the Hsien-tsung shih-lu, the writer cannot locate the alleged poem. It is believed that these comments might have depended merely on hearsay. For further discussion, see Wang Shih-chen, Erh-shih k'ao-i, cited in Li Chin-hua, "Kuan-yü Ming shih-lu wen-ti ts'ai-lui hui-ch'i" in Ta-lu ts'ao-chih, 43: 3 (1971), p.52. There is also reports which state that Ch'en did not remain in the civil service because Ch'iü Lu bore a grudge against Ch'en, instead of Ch'iu Chü. For more details, see Jen Yu-wen, "Ch'en Hsien-chang's Philosophy of the Natural", pp.60-62; Pai-sha tzu yen-chiü, pp.40-41.
53. After Ch'iu's death Ch'en dedicated an elegy to Ch'iu entitled "Tien Ch'iu ko-lao wen" 錦衣刺aroo文. In this elegy Ch'en remarked that he had neither visited Ch'iu nor read his books. It was only after acquiring a copy of the Ch'uing-tai yin-kao that he knew something about him. This article can be found in Ch'en's collected work, Pai-sha tzu ch'üan-chi, 5/20b-21a. The article is also incorporated in Ch'en Yuan 錦衣元, Ch'iu- Hai li-mu chi 沛海里墓志 (Yün-ku lou ts'ung-shu 聖武陵藏書 edition), 3/5a, and Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung ts'ung-shu Vol.2, Appendix, p.11.

54. SSCK, 28/16b.

2. *THYIP*, 77/11b-12a. The Six Classics mentioned here referred to the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the *Book of Music*. But the latter is believed not extant after the Ch'in dynasty, or not exist in the Confucian texts. Therefore, the later scholars usually speak of Five Classics instead of six.

3. Ibid., 71/16a-b.

4. Ibid., p.16a.


6. See *Sung-shih*, 414/12415. For a general study of Shih Mi-yüan's policies at this time and Chen's criticism of the government and his proposals, see Charles A. Peterson, "First Sung Evaluation of the Mongol Invasion of the North 1211-1217", in *Crisis and Prosperity in Sung China*, pp.215-251.


8. Twenty-three texts of his lectures on the *Great Learning*, delivered on sixteen different occasions, have been preserved in Chen's collected works, see *Chen Wen-chung kung ch' uan-chi*, 18/1b-30b.

9. This was cited by Chu Hsi at the beginning of his Commentary to
the Great Learning. See James Legge, Chinese Classics, Vol.I, p.355; Chan Wing-tsit, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, pp.85-86. For the original, see Ch'eng I, I-shu, 2A/4a, 22A/1a

10. For a critical discussion of the Ssu-shu chi-chu, see Ch'iu Han-sheng 趙漢生, Ssu-shu chi-chu chien-lun 四書章句辨論 (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsiieh ch'u-pan-she, 1980).


13. For example, see Chao Tse-hou 趙澤厚, Ta-hsüeh yen-chiu 大學硏究 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chih, 1972), Conclusion, pp.389-392.


15. For examples, see Chu Hsi, ibid., "Chi-yu ni-shang feng-shih" 夏禹秘書政事 , 12/1a-9b; "Kuei-wei ch'ui-kung tsou-cha" 古未為著考者 , 13/1a-2a.


19. For the texts of Han Yü's "Yüan-tao" 疑道 and Li Ao's "Fu-hsin" 呉深, and a brief discussion of their significance for the development of Confucianism, see A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, pp.450-459.


21. Ibid., pp.2b-3a.
22. For Chan T'ie-jen's biography, see Sung-shih, 393/12019-22; Sung-Yuan hsüeh-an, 69/30.


25. In this entry there is some discrepancy between the outline of the contents given in Chen's preface and the content of the book itself. The Preface reads: "Clarifying the practice of the Way consists of four items: the goodness of the heavenly nature and the human mind; the correctness of heavenly principles and human relations; the distinction between our Way and heresy; and the distinction between the Kingly Way and the Way of the hegemon." (See, Ta-hsueh yen-i, Preface, p.4b.) But according to the Table of Contents, this entry was sub-divided into five items. The difference is due to the item "The distinction between our Way and heresy", which in the Table of Contents, is divided into "The correctness of the origin of our Way" and "The erroneousness of heretical learning".

26. The outlines of the contents given in Chen's preface does not include the item "Reverence in facing calamity" which is found in the Table of Contents.

27. For details, see Ting Hsin's preface to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, pp.1b-3b.

28. Ta-hsüeh yen-i, Chen's preface, pp.6a-b.

29. Chu Hsi in his rearrangement of the Great Learning divided the work into one "text" and ten "chapters of commentary", and contended that the former consisted of Confucius' own words handed down by his disciples. This idea is expressed in Chu Hsi's comments on the "text", which run from "The Way of the Great Learning..." to "... What is treated with slight importance becomes a matter of great importance." For details, see the Great Learning, in The Four Books, pp.307-308, 314-315. For a brief discussion of the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi's rearrangement of the Great Learning, see Ta-hsueh yen-chiu, pp.75-106.

30. Ta-hsüeh yen-i, 1/13a. For the original text, see Tung Chung-shu, Tung-tzu wen-chi (Chi-fu ts'ung-shu edition), 1/5b.

31. Ta-hsüeh yen-i, 1/13a-b.

33. See Yuan-shih, 24/536, 557, 24/586, 27/608, 29/644, 159/3747. For further details of the great attention this work attracted in Yuan times, see Mano Senryu, Mindai Bunkaishi kenkyu, pp.143-146; W.T. de Bary, ibid., pp.124-126.

34. See Ming T'ai-tsu pao-hsun, 2/7b; Ta-Ming hui-tian, 216/2b, under the entry for Chan-shih fu.

35. See Hsieh Chin, T'ien-huang yu-tieh, in Chi-lu hui-pien (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1938), 12/12a-b; MSL, 128/3786, the biography of Sung Lien.


37. MSL, Hsien-tsung, 7/6a-b, 8/1a.


39. CTHKCP, "Chin Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu tsou", 7/1a.

40. See the biography of Ch'i'iu Chün in DMB, p.250.

41. THYIP, Preface, pp.1a-b.

42. Ibid., pp.2a-3a.

43. Ibid., p.4b.

44. T'i and yung, or "substance" and "function", are sometimes rendered as "essence" and "application". The initial appearance of the term was in the Neo-Taoist Wang Pi's commentary on Lao Tzu, Chapter 38. They are important concepts not only in Chinese philosophy, but in Chinese Buddhism as well. For a detailed discussion of the development of this dichotomy in Chinese philosophy, especially in the Sung and Ming periods, see Kusumoto Masatsugu, "Zentai taiyō no shiso" (originally published in Nihon Chugoku gakkai hōki, No.4, 1953), incorporated in Kusumoto Masatsugu, Chugoku tetsugaku kenkyū (Tokyo: Gokushikan dai-gaku toshokan, 1975), pp.353-391; David Gedalecia, "Excursion into substance and function: The development of the t'i-yung paradigm in Chu Hsi", pp.443-451.
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45. CTHKCP, "Chin Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu tsou", 7/1b.


47. Ibid., p.8a.


49. See Chan Wing-tsit, ibid., p.85.


52. Confucian Analects, XIV, Chapter 45, pp.216-217.


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58. See I-chuan, in Erh-Ch'eng ch'üan-shu, Preface, p.3a. A passage from Ch'eng Hao reflects a similar opinion: "United and prevalent are substance and function; there is no precedence between them." See I-shu, 11/2b. That substance and function come from the same source is a persistent theme in both Chinese Buddhism and Neo-Confucianism. For example, in the writings of Seng-chao (384-414), a disciple of Kumārajīva (344-413) and a forerunner of Chinese Buddhist philosophy, we find the view that substance and function are identical, and activity and tranquillity are the same. For details, see Chan Wing-.tsit, A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, pp.343-356.

59. Ch'eng Hao, I-shu, 11/12a.

60. Chu-tzu yü-lei, 98/6b-7a. For the original text of Chang Tsai's saying, see his Chang-tzu ch'üan-shu 蠡崖 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935), p.290. There is a translation of this passage in David Gedalecia, "Excursion into substance and function", p.448.

61. There is another example which reveals Chu Hsi's concept of substance and function in respect to mind. In his remarks to Chapter 5 of the Great Learning, Chu Hsi says: "The meaning of the expression 'The perfection of knowledge depends on the investigation of things' is this: If we wish to extend our knowledge to the utmost, we must investigate the principles of all things we come into contact with, for the intelligent mind of man is certainly formed to know, and there is not a single thing in which its principles do not inhere to. But so long as all principles are not investigated, man's knowledge is incomplete. For this reason, the first step in the education of the adult is to instruct the learner, in regard to all things in the world, to proceed from what knowledge he has of their principles, and investigate further until he reaches the limit. After exerting himself in this way for a long time, he will one day achieve a wide and far-reaching penetration. The qualities of all things, whether internal or external, refined or coarse, will all be apprehended, and the mind, in its complete
substance and full function, will be perfectly intelligent. This is called the investigation of things. This is called the perfection of knowledge.” See Chu Hsi, Ta-hsüeh chang-chü, Chapter 5, in Ssu-shu chi-chu (SPPY edition), pp.4b-5a.


63. Cf. Sources of Chinese Tradition, p.128.

64. Cf. Benjamin Schwartz, op.cit., p.53.

65. CTHKCP, 7/35a.

66. THYIP, Preface, p.4a.

2. James T.C. Liu, Reform in Sung China, pp.22-24. Following Hsiao Kung-ch’üan, who divided the political thought of the Northern Sung into two camps, kung-li and li-hsiieh, Professor Liu sub-divided the second camp, the Learning of Principle, into two trends. One placed fundamental emphasis upon personal morality, while the other, which he classified as the third stream, had the same emphasis but went one step further. Its distinctiveness lay in developing a metaphysical basis for morality which greatly strengthened the belief that moral values were of more fundamental importance than utilitarian values. These last two trends, he says, were affiliated with one another and finally converged during the Southern Sung period to form the orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism. Here I keep to the classification by Professor Hsiao Kung-ch’üan. I assume that the situation in Southern Sung was the result of forces at work within this trend and its intellectual environment rather than of the affiliation of two trends.

3. DMB, p.250.


7. Ta-hsüeh chang-chü, p.5b. For further details of Chu Hsi’s discussions and comments on the chapter “Making the Will Sincere” of the Great Learning, see Yu-tsu-an Chu-tzu ch’üan-shu, 8/11a-27a. For a general study of the meaning of “Making the Will Sincere”, see Chao Tse-hou, Ta-hsüeh yen-chiu, pp.288-335.

8. THYIP, Supplementary Section, pp.2b-3a.

9. Ibid., pp.32b-33a.

11. *THYIP*, Supplementary Section, p.9a.

12. Ibid., p.30a.


14. *THYIP*, Supplementary Section, pp.30b-33a.

15. *THYIP*, 1/lb. This passage originally appeared in the *Book of Changes*, the Great Appendix, Section II, Chapter 1. In the *THYIP*, "men" (jen A, ) in the line "What will guard his position for him? Men" is read as "benevolence" (jen ^. Here I keep to the original version in the *Book of Changes*. For translation, see James Legge, *Sacred Books*, Vol.16, p.381.


17. *THYIP*, 1/2b-3a.

18. Ibid., p.3a.

19. Ibid., 2/6a-b.

20. Ibid., 1/4a-b.

21. Ibid., 4/10b. This passage is cited from *Mencius*, Book IV, Li-lou ※, Part I, Chapter VIII. The full text reads: "How is it possible to speak with those princes who are not benevolent? Their perils they count safety, their calamities they count profitable, and they have pleasure in the things by which they perish. If it were possible to talk with them who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of kingdoms and ruin of families?" Cf. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol.II, p.298.

22. *THYIP*, 4/10a-b.

23. Ibid., 4/25a-b.

24. Ibid., 1/4b.

25. Ibid., pp.8a-b.


28. THYIP, 3/1b.

29. See the discussion in Chapter Two, Part C. For a study of the common practice of extravagant appointment during the Ch'eng-hua period, see also Chao I, *Nien-erh shih châ-chi*, 34/490-492; Tani Mitsutaka 吉田道雄, "Seikajidai no denpôkan ni tsuite" 江戸時代の文庫について, in *Shirin* 芝林, 38:3 (1955).


31. THYIP, 1/15a.

32. Ibid.


34. Ibid., p.98.


36. THYIP, 5/1a-b.

37. Ibid., 5/8a.


39. THYIP, 5/2a.

40. Ibid., pp.2a-b.

41. Ibid., 5/3a-b.

42. Ibid., pp.6a-7a.

43. See Li Kuang's biography by Chiu Ling-yeong, in *DMB*, p.837.

44. THYIP., 9/10b.

45. Ibid., pp.12a-b.

46. For details of Ch'iu's comments on the method of teaching and selection in his time, see THYIP, 9/16a-18b.

47. For details, refer to Chapter Two, Part B.

48. The compilation of the *Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu* began in 1478 and was completed in 1487. During this time, from 1477 to 1487, Ch'iu was the Chancellor of the National University.
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50. Cf. Charles O. Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty", p.12. For details, see MS, 71/1711-1713; Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu, pp.179-183.

51. See Ta-Ming hui-tien, 7/1a-17a; Ku-chin tu-shu chi-ch'eng 乞 贛 (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1934 edition) Vol.666, 125/5b-11a.


53. Cf. Charles O. Hucker, ibid., For further details, see Ta-Ming hui-tien, 8/1a-9a; Ming-shu, 64/1287; Hsü wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 綜 興 通 賀 (Shih-t'ung 諸 通 世 經 edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935-37), 44/3194-95. See also Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu, pp.176-179.

54. THYIP, 10/22b.

55. The date of the presentation of this memorial, the "Ching ch'ü-pieh na-su chien-sheng tsou" 題 呈 副 匿 聲 諮 勤 , is not mentioned in Ch'iu's works or other historical records. At the beginning of the memorial Ch'iu says that he is presenting this memorial in his capacity as Vice Minister of Rites in charge of the affairs of the National University. Thus this memorial must have been presented to the throne between the sixteenth year of Ch'eng-hua (1480) to the first year of Hung-chih (1488) when he held that post. Further, in the memorial Ch'iu cites data from as late as the fifth month of the twenty-second year of Ch'eng-hua (1486) and makes estimation up to the twenty-eighth year of Ch'eng-hua. The reign "Ch'eng-hua" lasted for only twenty-three years, from 1465 to 1487, when Emperor Hsien-tsung died in the eighth month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua. This proves that this memorial must have been presented to the throne at the time when Emperor Hsien-tsung was still alive, that is, before the eighth month of 1487, but not earlier than the fifth month of 1486.

56. Cf. MS, 69/1676-83; Ming-shu, 64/1271-75; Ku-chin tu-shu chi-ch'eng, Vol. 664, 101, 102/1a-8a. See also Charles O.Hucker, "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty", pp.11-17; Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu, pp.157-159.

57. See MS, 69/1683-85.

58. THYIP, 10/17b.

59. Ibid., p.18a. On the problems of considering "seniority" in civil appointments, Ch'iu has more to say in the concluding remarks of this section. See THYIP, 10/22b-25b. HIs ideas were later included in the Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, 30/20a-b.
60. THYIP, 10/18a.

61. Ibid.


63. Ibid., see the notes by James Legge in p. 300.

64. THYIP, 10/18a-b.


67. THYIP, 10/19a. Further evidence on Ch'iu's opposition to this policy can be found in the item "The error of selling official titles", under the section "Administration of Public Expenditure", where he condemned such practice in strong terms. For details, see THYIP, 32/1a-5b.

68. MS, 69/1682.


70. CTLK, "Ching chü-pieh na-su chien-sheng tsou" 訳題別辨象 數文, 45/2a.

71. Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo, 42/620. For a general account of the development of this policy in Ming times, see Ku-chin tu-shu chi-ch'eng, Vol. 664, 102/5a-8a; Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu, pp. 187-191.

72. In fact, before Ch'iu's time, there had been complaints about the policy of granting admittance to the contributors of rice or horses to the National University. As early as in the Ching-t'ai
reign, memorials had been presented by Huang Luan, then Instructor (chiao-shou) of Kaifeng Prefecture, and Hu Ying (1375-1463), then Minister of Rites, in protest against the government's decision. In the second year of Hung-chih, following the government's intention to reinstitute this policy, a memorial was presented by Minister of Rites Yao Kuei (1414-1473) pointing out the damage that policy would cause to the literati and officialdom. For details, see MS, 177/4715; Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, 45/2b. See also the discussion in Ming-Ch'ing cheng-chih chih-tu, p.189-190.

73. For details, see CTLK, 45/4a-10a.
74. Cf. Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo, 42/620; Ku-chin tu-shu chi-ch'eng, 102/6a-8a.
75. See Kuo T'ing-hsün, Pen-ch'ao fen-sheng jen-wu k'ao (1622 edition), 112/4a-b; Lei Li, Kuo-ch'ao lieh-ch'ing chi (Ming edition), 11/62b.
76. This system of service-evaluation, a course of nine years with evaluation every three years, was first introduced in the Canon of Shun of the Book of Documents. For details, see James Legge, The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, p.50.
77. THYIP, 11/8a-9a.
78. Ibid., pp.13a-14b.
80. Ibid., The Great Appendix, Section II, Chapter 5, p.392.
81. THYIP, 12/2b-3a.
82. Ibid., pp.16b-17a.
83. Ibid., pp.18-2a.
84. Ibid., pp.3a-b.
85. Ibid., 1/9a-10a.
86. Ibid., 5/9b-10a. For another example, see also p.8a.
87. Ibid., 13a, 2b. For the original text, see the Book of Changes, Section I, Hexagram XI and Hexagram XXIII, in Legge, Sacred Books, Vol.16, pp.281, 296.
88. THYIP, 13/1a-2a.
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89. Ibid., pp.2b-3a.

90. Ibid., p.4a. The "Wu-tzu chih ko" (Songs of the Five Sons) comprised of five songs, what Ch'iu cited was only the first one. For the full text, see Legge, The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, p.158-161.

91. For more details on the historical background of these five songs, see the Introductory notes to the "Wu-tzu chih ko", in ibid., p.156.

92. THYIP, 13/4b.

93. Ibid., pp.9a-b.

94. See The Works of Mencius, Book IV, Part I, Chapter 9, in The Chinese Classics, Vol.II, pp.299-300. The full text reads: "Mencius said: Chieh and Chou's losing the empire, arose from their losing the people and to lose the people means to lose their hearts. There is a way to get the empire: - get the people, and the empire is got. There is a way to get the people: - get their hearts, and the people are got. There is a way to get their hearts: - it is simply to collect for them what they like, and not to lay on them what they dislike."


96. THYIP, 13/6a-b. The sayings cited here comes from a long dialogue between Ch'en Feng-hua and Duke Huai of Ch'en. For the full text and translation, see Tso-chuan (tr. James Legge, The Chinese Classics edition), Book XII, the first year of Duke A'i, p.795.

97. THYIP, 13/6b.

98. Ibid., p.11a.

99. Certainly suggestions made for the purpose of securing the imperial throne and governance differ from one thinker to another according to philosophical persuasion. In contrast to Ch'iu's strong emphasis on promoting the welfare of the people and his suggestion of strengthening law and punishment, some political thinkers stressed the importance of propriety (li), while others may advocated the Taoist concept of non-action (wu-wei). For studies relating to this point, see Roger T. Ames, The Art of Rulership: A Study in Ancient Chinese Political Thought (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), pp.28-165; Liu Ts'yun-yan, On the Art of Ruling a Big Country: Views of Three Chinese Emperors (Canberra: Australan National University Press, 1974, the 34th George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology), passim.
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100. THYIP, 15/1a. For the original text, see the Book of Documents, Part II, the Book of Yu, Book I, The Canon of Shun, Chapter V, in The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, p.42.

101. THYIP, 15/1a-b.


103. THYIP, 15/1b. For the original text and translation, see The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, pp.464-465.

104. The "five lessons of duty" refers to the observation of duties appropriate to the five relationships or "five ranks" of parent and child, sovereign and subject, husband and wife, brothers, and friends according to which society is arranged. The "five punishments" are branding, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death. On the imposition of the "five lessons of duty" and "five punishments" by Emperor Shun, see the Canon of Shun, in James Legge, ibid., pp.44-45.

105. THYIP, 15/16b-2a.

106. Ibid., p.12a.


108. THYIP, 15/14a-b.


110. THYIP, 15/15a.

111. For details, see THYIP, 15/17b-18a, 20a. This idea came from the Book of Rites, which he quotes: "Only three days' labour was required [by the state] from the people in the course of a year." See the Book of Rites, Book III, the Royal Instruction, Section III, in Legge, Sacred Books, Vol.27, p.227.

112. THYIP, 15/17b-18a.

113. Ibid.

115. Mencius' discussion of the Well-field System is found in "T'eng Wen-kung" 諸文公, Part 1, it records: "[The Duke] sent Pi Chan 管戸 to ask about the nine-squares system of dividing the land. Mencius said: Now, the first thing towards a benevolent government is to lay down the boundaries. If the boundaries are not defined correctly, the division of the land into squares will not be equal, and the grain for amoluments will not be evenly distributed. For this reason, oppressive rulers and corrupt ministers are sure to neglect their defining of the boundaries. When the boundaries have been defined clearly, the division of the fields and the regulation of allowances may be determined by you, sitting at your ease.... I would ask you, in the remote districts, observing the nine-squares division, to serve one division to be cultivation on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce ... A square li covers nine squares of land, [that is, a square li makes on well-field, or ch'ing 領], which nine squares contain nine hundred mou. The central square is the public field, and eight families, each having its private hundred mou, cultivate in common the public field. And not till public work is finished, may they presume to attend to their private affairs." Cf. James Legge, The Chinese Classics, Vol.II, pp.243-244.

116. For details, see Su Hsün 苏軾, Chia-yu chi 舊識 (SPTK edition), 5/8b. For Su Hsün's biography, see Sung-shih, 443/13093-13097; Sung-Yüan hsueh-an, 99/1851-2.

117. The features of the ancient land system Su Hsün mentions come from the Chou-li ies. For details, see Chou-li (in Sung-pen shih-san ching chu-su 直筆十事卷緦疏, Mai-wang hsien-kuan 牒碑卷 公元 edition, 1887), 15/16b.

118. On Tung Chung-shu's views on the limitation of private land ownership, see Han-shu, 24A/1137.

119. For Hu Han's discussions of this point, See Hu Chung-tzu chi 胡沖之集, (TSCC edition), 1/7-11.

120. For details, see Hsun-chi chai ch'üan-chi 見和齋文集, (1846 edition), 11/13a-15b. For a general discussion of Fang Hsiao-ju's views on the Well-field System, see Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih pp.530-531.

121. THYIP, 14/9a-b.

122. A ch'ing 領 equals an area of one hundred mou 担. A ch'ing of this period was approximately 4.6 hectares (11.4 acres).


125. Recent years, Ch'iu's idea of distribution of land according to the number of adults has brought to the attention of scholars in mainland China where the study of Chinese economic history is currently a popular subject. Some articles, which directly comment on this idea, have been published though they are not necessary careful and objective historical researches. See, for example, Chao Ching 趙令, "Ch'iu Chun:Chung-kuo shih-wu shih-chi ching-chi ssu-hsiang te cho-yüeh tai-piao jen-wu" 新七七七中國士大夫經濟思想的專題代表人物, *Pei-ching ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao 北京大學學報*, No.2 (1981), pp.49-51; Li P'u-kuo 李平國, "Lun Ch'iu Chun te ching-chi ssu-hsiang" 論七七七經濟思想, in *Chiang-huai lun-t'an 江淮論壇*, No.3 (1981), pp.71-72; Huang kuo-ch'iang 黃國強, "Lüeh-lun Ch'iu Chun te ching-chi ssu-hsiang 輸七七七經濟思想", in *Hua-nan shih-fan ta-hsüeh hsüeh-pao 华南師範大學學報*, No.3 (1983), pp.84-86. Ch'iu's discussions on the Well-field System and his proposal of land distribution in the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu* are also annotated and incorporated into Ch'en Shao-wen 陳紹聞, ed., *Chung-kuo ku-tai ching-chi wen-hsuan 中國古代經濟文選* (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp.184-188.


127. The system of establishing Relief and Support Houses 資助院, to care for the aged and orphans was first found in the second year of Shao-hsing (1132) of Southern Sung. A similar system was established early in the Ming in the fifth year of Hung-wu (1372). With the title Orphans and Aged Houses (ku-lao yuan 保老院). Later they were re-named Relief and Support Houses.

128 *THYIP*, 15/28b-30a.


131. *THYIP*, 1b/4a-b.

133. The term *li* is translated here as "rites" in its broadest sense. It has the meaning of ceremonies and propriety; as well as "institution". In the discussion in this section, "rites" will sometimes be used in its narrow sense of "ceremonies" only, and in some cases, where necessary, *li* will be translated as "rules of proper conduct" or "rules of propriety".

134. *THYIP*, 67/23a-b.


137. Detailed discussions of the rites of the imperial court, local offices, rural areas and families can be found in the *THYIP*, 45/la-53/20b.

138. In their discussion on the Confucian views of *li*, Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris distinguish three different meanings of the term, they write: "In its narrowest (and probably original) sense, it denotes the correct performance of all kinds of religious ritual: sacrificing to the ancestors at the right time and place and with the proper deportment and attitude is *li*; so is the proper performance of divination. In this sense *li* is often translated as ritual or rites. In a broader sense, however, *li* covers the entire gamut of ceremonial or polite behaviour, secular as well as religious. There are numerous rules of *li* for all customary situations involving social relationships, such as receiving guest, acquiring a wife, going into battle, and the many other varied duties and activities of polite society. In this sense, *li* is often translated as ceremonial, politeness, etiquette, or rules of proper conduct. Finally, *li* in its broadest sense is a designation for all the institutions and relationships, both political and social, which make for harmonious living in a Confucian society." See Derk Bodde and Clarence Morris, *Law in Imperial China* (Harvard University Press, 1967), p.19. On the other hand, in his paper entitled "The Role of the Family in the Chinese Legal System", S.Y. Teng refers *li* to "a well-cultivated, self-imposed, gentlemanly, courteous code of conduct, the observance of decorum on all occasions toward others, especially toward elders and superiors, living or dead." (See *Journal of Asian History*, Vol. 11, 1977, p.128). As well as these definitions of the nature of *li*, Hu Shih's view merits noting. He outlined the meaning of *li* in terms of its evolution in time: 1) religious ceremonies; 2) rules established by custom and habit; and 3) norms of conduct in accordance with a moral sense or righteousness. For details, see Hu Shih, *Chung-kuo che-hsüeh shih ta-kang* (Shanghai, 1925), pp.137-38.
139. Ideas that the function of rites (li) is to achieve social differentiation can be found in the Classics. The Book of Rites states: "Music aims at homogeneity; rites aim at differentiation" (Sacred Books, Vol.28, p.98); and also: "Music embraces what is equal; rites distinguish between what is different." (ibid., p.114.) In the works of Hsün Tzu 許 , we find a similar view: "Music unites the homogenous; rites draw distinctions" See Hsün-tzu (SPTK edition), 14/5a.


141. See K'ung Ying-ta 顧應祥 , Li-chi chu-su 步, 13a.


143. THYIP, 53/19b.

144. Ibid., p.20a.


146. THYIP, 53/20a-b.

147. THYIP, 39/2a. This passage comes from Chapter IX, Lì Yùn 賽的 of the Book of Rites. This translation is based on James Legge, Sacred Books, Vol.28, pp.375-376.

148. THYIP, 39/2a-3a.

149. Ibid., 39/3a-b.

150. Ibid., 40/14b.

151. Ibid., pp.14b-15a.

152. A list of the books cited in the Chia-li i-chieh 釋禮儀節 was included in a 1618 edition, printed by Ho Shih-chin 程守信 and preserved in the Peking Library. For details, see this edition, "Yin-yung shu-mu" 軍, shum , pp.1a-2a.

153. See Ch'iu Chun, Chia-li i-chieh (1770 edition), Preface, 1a-3a.

154. Ibid., pp.3a-5a.
155. See the preface under Ho Shih-chin's name to Chia-li i-chieh (1618 edition) pp.1a-b. It is believed that this preface was written by Yu Shun-hsi on behalf of Ho Shih-chin. A similar preface can be found in Yu's collected works, the Yu Te-yuan hsien-sheng chi (1623, Yu-shih Kuan-wu shan-kuan edition), 3/16a-18a, with the remark "written on behalf of someone" under the title.

156. A preface by Fang Ta-chen 鄧台楨 explicitly indicates this hidden motive of Ch'iu's work. See Fang's preface in Chia-li i-chieh (1608 edition, printed by Ch'ien Shih ), pp.4a-b.


159. THYIP, 37/1a-2a.


161. For details, see Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih, Vol.1, p.62.

162. THYIP, 67/17b-18a. The rendering of this passage is based on Sources of Chinese Tradition, p.116.

163. THYIP, 67/18a-b.

164. Ibid., pp.18b-19b.


166. THYIP, 79/5a-b.

167. Ibid., 81/7a-b. This passage is from the Book of Rites, Chapter XXXIII, "Tse I" (Passage). Cf. James Legge Sacred Books, Vol.28, p.353.

168. Two items were included by Ch'iu in the Section on "Exaltation of Education" to elaborate these two practices in particular. For details, see THYIP, 79/1a-15a, 81/1a-17b.

169. For a general discussion of the relations between the state and the family in the Confucian system, refer to Lin Mousheng, Men and Ideas: An Informal History of Chinese Political Thought (New York: The John Day Company, 1942), pp.32-34. For further details of Ch'iu's discussion of this point, see THYIP, 67/10b-11a, 79/5b-6b, 79/1b-3a, 79/15a, 81/7a-b.


173. THYIP, 67/7a-b.

174. In some of the later editions, the title of this work is given as Wu-lun chüan-pei chung-hsiao chi or Wu-lun chüan-pei kang-chang chi.

175. For details of this play, see the reprint in the Ku-pen hsi-chü ts'ung-kan ch'u-chü, published by the Commercial Press, Shanghai, in 1954, with the caption: Hsin-k'an ch'üan-ting fu-shih wù-lun chüan-pei chung-hsiao chi.


180. THYIP, 68/4b-5a.

181. Ibid., 69/4a.

182. Ch'iu's discussions of the school system, including both local schools and the National University, are scattered throughout Chapter 68-70 of the Ta-hsueh yen-i pu. Frequently, his comments relate to the current practices of the Ming. For examples, see THYIP, 69/5a-7a, 69/9b-12b, 70/3a-13a.

183. Li-chi chi-shuo, 3/70, 3/74. These translations are adapted from Legge, Sacred Books, Vol. 27, pp.218, 231.

184. THYIP, 78/2a-b.

185. See THYIP, 78/1b-2a, 3b-4b, 10b-11a.
186. For details of Ch'iu's condemnation of Buddhism and Taoism, see 
THYIP, 78/6b-8a, 12a-b, 13b-15a, 82/18a-b, 19b-20a. Similar 
views can also be found in the articles later included in his 
collected works. For examples, refer to CTHKCP, 4/31b, 7/49a-
50a, 17/16a-b, 18a-19a, 23a-24a.

187. See John K. Fairbank, "Varieties of the Chinese Military 
Experience", in Frank A. Kierman, Jr. and J.K. Fairbank, eds., 

188. For the views of the Confucian School and the Legal School on 
rites (li) and law (fa), refer to Ch'ü T'ung-tsu, Law and 
Society in Traditional China, pp.226-247; Derk Bodde and 
Clarence Morris, Law in Imperial China (Harvard University 

189. Cf. Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, A History of Chinese Political Thought, 


191. Li-chi chi-shuo, 7/204, 206. Cf. Legge, Sacred Books, 
Vol.28, pp.93, 97.

192. THYIP, 67/23a-b. Similar views are also found in 101/1a-b, 
53/19a-20b.

193. Ibid., 100/3b.

194. Ibid., 103/3a-4a.

195. The Ming codes, published under the title Ta-Ming lü 太明律 or 
Ming Code, was first compiled in 1373 under the supervision of 
Liu Wei-ch'ien 劉維善, then Minister of Justice. Based on the 
T'ang Code, which consists of 501 articles, the first Ming 
Code of 1373, in 13 chüan, consists of 606 articles. In 1397, 
a revised version of the Ming Code was compiled with the number 
of articles drastically reduced to 460. These articles are 
listed in 30 books or parts, which are in turn grouped under 
seven larger divisions. These consist of the prolegomenon, 
etitled "Terms and General Principles", followed by six 
divisions corresponding in name and subject to the six ministries 
under which the central government operated. A general account 
of the Ming Codes, with comments, is given by Ch'i Yu in THYIP, 
103/11b-15b. For a brief discussion of the origin and 
development of Ming code, see Derk Bodde, Law in Imperial China, 
pp.53-63.

196. THYIP, 103/3a-4a.

197. THYIP, 100/15a-b. Cf. The Book of Yü, Book II, The Counsel of 
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198. THYIP, 100/16a-b.


200. THYIP, 101/16a-b.


202. THYIP, 100/18a-19a.


204. On the origin of the Three Virtues, see the Book of Chou, in Legge, op. cit., p.333. Refer also to the explanation of the Three Virtues by Legge, op. cit., p.333, n.17.

205. See James Legge, op. cit.

206. This passage is quoted in James Legge, op. cit., p.601.

207. THYIP, 101/6a.

208. Ibid., 101/7a-b.


210. THYIP, 101/18b-19a. It is worth noting here that Ch'iu's views on laws and punishments in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu have been selected by modern scholars as representative of traditional Chinese legal thought. For details, see Fa-hsüeh chiao-ts'ai pien-chi pu 法經公私立法評 , Ch'iu's views on laws and punishments in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu (Fa-lü ssu-hsiang shih chih-liang hsiuan-pien 法律思想史常思想 (Fa-lü ch'u-pan-she, 1983), pp.659-673. Some of Ch'iu's suggestions were also incorporated in the Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, 85/la-b, with the additional title "Chih yu-chü su" 許與州詣 .

211. See THYIP, chüan 20-35

212. See the Table of Contents of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu in Part A of this chapter.

213. This view is reflected in the Mencius which states: "As for the Way of the people, those who have a stable source of income have a stable mind, those who do not have a stable source of income do not have a stable mind. If they do not have a stable mind then
there is nothing which they will not do in the way of self-
abandonment, of moral deflection, of depravity, and of wild
license." Adapted from the Works of Mencius, Book III, Part I,

214. See the Book of Changes, The Great Appendix III, Section II,

215. THYIP, 20/1b.

216. The eight objects of government (pa-cheng) as recorded
in the Great Plan, Book IV, of the Book of Documents are as
follows: "The first is called food; the second commodities; the
third, sacrifices; the fourth, the Minister of Works; the fifth,
the Minister of Instruction; the sixth, the Minister of Crime;
the seventh, the entertainment of guests; the eighth, the army." See The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, p.327.

217. See the Book of Documents, Part II, Book of Yü, Book IV, in
ibid., Vol. III, pp.77-78.

218. THYIP, 20/1b-2a.

219. Ibid., p.2a.

220. See the Confucian Analects, Book XII, Ch.9, in The Chinese
Classics, Vol.I, p.255. This idea was expressed by Yu Jiu (魯有),
a disciple of Confucius commonly known as Yu Tzu (魯之), in
conversation with Duke Ai.

221. THYIP, 22/5b.

222. For further discussion on this point refer to Nishida Taichirō (西田幾上), "Jukyō teki zaisei shisō no ichi ruikei" (特に思想の一つ理型), in Tōa Jim bun Gakuhō (東亞人文學報), 3:4 (1943), pp.96-97; Huang Kuo-ch'iang, op. cit., pp.86-87; Li P'u-kuo, op. cit., pp.74-75.

223. THYIP, 20/9b. This passage is cited from Chapter X of the
Great Learning. For a translation, see Legge, The Chinese

224. THYIP, 21/9b-10a.

225. Ibid., 21/1a. This quotation is from the Analects, Book I,

226. See The Works of Mencius, Book VII, Part II, Chapter 12, in

227. THYIP, 21/1b.
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228. Ibid., 24/4b-5b.

229. For details of Ch'iu's suggestions concerning the calculation of estimated revenue and expenditures and the preparation of a detailed government budget at the beginning of each year, see THYIP, 20/3a-6a, 21/7a-9b.


231. This passage was cited separately in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, see 20/7b and 20/8a. For the original text, see the Great Learning, Chapter X, in The Chinese Classics, Vol. I, p.375-376.

232. THYIP, 20/11b. This passage was cited from the Great Learning Chapter X, ibid., pp. 379-380. Mang Hsien was the honorary epithet of Chung-sun Mieh, a worthy minister of Lu under the two dukes, who ruled before the birth of Confucius. It is believed that his sayings, quoted here, were either preserved in folk tradition or else recorded in some work which is now lost. Cf. James Legge, ibid., p.380.

233. For details, see THYIP, 20/8b-9b, 13b-15a. On "the regulating principle of the measuring square" (ch'ieh-chü chih-tao), the Great Learning gives the following definition: "What a man dislikes in his superiors let him not display in his treatment of his inferiors; what he dislikes in his inferiors let him not display in his service to his superiors; what he dislikes in those before him let him not set before those who are behind him; what he dislikes in those behind him let him not therewith follow those who are before him; what he dislikes from those on his right let him not bestow upon those on his left; what he dislikes from those on his left let him not bestow upon those on his right. This is called the regulating principle of the measuring square." (The original text is found in the Great Learning, Chapter X. This translation is taken from Sources of Chinese Tradition, p.117) However, Ch'iu's explanation of the regulating Principle of the measuring square differs somewhat. He says, "To share with the people their likes and dislikes, and to take the will of the people as one's own will is called the regulating principle of the measuring square." (See THYIP, 20/9a) Here Ch'iu takes wealth and profit to be what both the people and the sovereign like, and holds that the government should not seize that part which properly belongs to the people, but take only what it rightly should have.

234. THYIP, 22/6b,9b.

235. Ibid., 25/6a-b, 11b-12a, 14a-b.


238. *THYIP*, 25/12b-14b.


246. *MS*, 81/1961

247. The *Ming-shih* records that before paper money was introduced, "government officials demanded copper from the people, who had to destroy their utensils and vessels to meet these demands. The people resented this." It also says that the merchants normally used paper money, finding coins inconvenient. See *MS*, 81/1962.
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249. See Yang Lien-sheng, ibid., p.67.


251. For details, See Wu Han 吳晗, in "Chi ta-Ming t'ung-hsing pao-ch'ao 明朝通經包ao shih 中國貨幣史" (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1961), pp.313-316.

252. THYIP 26/8b-10a.

253. The extent of illegal minting in Ch'iu's time is revealed by a memorial presented to the throne by the officials of the Ministry of Revenue in the second month of the seventeenth year of Cheng-hua (1481). For details, see MSL, Hsien-tsung, 212/3a-b.

254. Ibid., 27/12a-14b.

255. Cf. DMB, p.251; Li Chien-nung, "Price Control and Paper Currency in Ming", p.293. Refer also to the comments in Li P'u-kuo, op. cit., pp.73-74; Chiao Ching, op. cit., pp.52-53; Nishida Taichirō, pp.123-127; Ho Lien-cheng (何廉成), Ming-Ch'ing ssu-hsiang chia te chia-ke li-lun p'ing-chieh" 明清社會學的價值評論 一評 (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1961), pp.313-316.

256. For a general discussion of grain transport by sea in Yuan times, see Yüan-shih, 93/2363-69; Ta-Yüan hai-yün chi 大元海運志 (Hsüeh-t'ang ts'ung-k'o 薛氏通考 edition), edited by Hu Ching 霍經 in 1805; and the Yüan hai-yün chih 大元海志 (Hsüeh-hai lei-pien 薛氏海篇 edition), said to have been compiled by Wei Su 薛素 . Refer also to the following studies by modern scholars: Lo Jung-pang, "The Controversy over Grain Conveyance during the Reign of Qubilai Qaqaq. 1260-94", in Far Eastern
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257. The inland route began from the Yangtze River, going up the Shan-yang-tu 山陽渡 (the Yang-chou 餘州 Canal) and continuing further upstream along the Hual 河 and Sha 湘 Rivers until Pai-liu-shu 八裡所 (in Huain-hsiang 淮陰 county, Honan province) on the Yellow River. From there an overland journey of about 170 lǐ (1 lǐ in the Ming period equalled for approximately 570 meters) led to the Wei 魏 River, which was then followed down to Chih-ku 孝午.

258. One picul (shih 什) in the Ming period was approximately 60 kilograms.

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ts'ao-yün" 詩 論明代的運道 in Ming-Ch'ing shih kuo-chi hsüeh-

260. Leaving aside earlier reigns, records from the Ch'eng-hua reign
concerning the repair of the canals occur widely in the Ming
Shih-lu. For examples, see MSL, Hsien-tsung, 56/4b, 87/2b,
97/4a-5a, 7b-9b, 101/1a, 112/2b, 154/3a-b, 259/1b-2a, 287/3b.

261. Matthew Ricci, tr. L.J. Gallagher, China in the Sixteenth Century
The Journals of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610 (New York, 1953),
p.306.

262. Cf. Ray Huang, "The Grand Canal During the Ming Dynasty", p.15.

263. Cf. Shen Ping, 薄 坡, "Huang-ho yüan-lü chi li-tai ho-huan k'ao" 黃河源流 及近代河道變遷 in Hsüeh-shu chi-k'an 學術專刊,
5:1 (Sept., 1956), pp.89-90; Ts'en Chung-mien, 蔡中民, Huang-
ho pien-ch'i'en shih 黃河遷徙史 (Peking: Jen-min ch'u-pan-
she, 1947), pp.10-27; Wu Chi-hua, "Huang-ho ts'ai Ming-tai k'ai-tao
ch'ien-hsi ho-chüeh chang-ch'iu te nien-tai" 衛西華 黃河近代
河道變遷的研究 , and "Ming-tai Liu Ta-hsia te
chih-ho yü Huang-ho kai-tao" 明代臨川的治河與運河改道 , both

264. Ts'en Chung-mien, ibid, pp.468-487.

265. Much attention has been devoted to the regulation of the Yellow
River by the Ming court in order to keep the canals operational.
For a general study, see Ts'en Chung-mien, op. cit, pp.462-
553; Fang Chi 方穀, "Ming-tai chih-ho ho t'ung-ts'ai te
kuan-hsi" 明代河岸護岸及運河, in Li-shih chiao-hsin 黎史學
研究動第, No.9 (1957), pp.17-24; MS, 59/2013-60/2075; Chu
Ling-ling 趙玲玲, "Ming-tai t'u-ta-yün-ho te chih-11" 明代臨川

266. Rev. D. Gandar, Le Canal Imperial (Shanghai: Varietes
Sinologiques, No.4, 1894), p.25. This source is cited from Ray
Huang, "The Grand Canal During the Ming Dynasty", p.6.

267. This memorial is not to be found in Ch'iu's collected works but
was incorporated in the Yü-hsüan Ming-ch'en tsou-i 禹貢 明
經疏 , compiled by Emperor Ch'ien-lung 秦隆, in 1781. See
Yü-hsüan Ming-ch'en tsou-i (Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, facsimile
reproduction of 1781 edition ), 5/11b-16b. It is also cited in
Ming hui-yao, 56/1070. A very similar passage appears earlier
in the Ts-hsüeh yen-i pu, 34/7b-9a.

268. Ibid. This translation is adapted from Hoshi Ayao, The Ming
Tribute Grain System p.75.
269. THYIP, 34/10a-12a. For further discussion of Ch'iu's proposal, see Wu Chi-hua., Ming-tai hai-yün chi yün-ho te yen-chiü, pp.140-145.

270. THYIP, 34/16a.

271. Mark Elvin comments that Ch'iu was too pessimistic. He argues that apart from 1571 and 1572, when there were floods in the Yellow River valley and sea transport had to be partially assumed, the Grand Canal was not cut until the end of the dynasty. See Mark Elvin, The Pattern of the Chinese Past (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973), p.105.

272. Memorials submitted by officials after Ch'iu's time proposing the reintroduction of sea transportation, and quoting Ch'iu to support their argument, were later incorporated in the Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu, see 38/19b,21b-22a, 39/1b-2a,6a-7a, 13a, 14a-16b. Refer also to Hoshi Ayao, The Ming Tribute Grain System, pp.75-86; Wu Chi-hua, Ming-tai hai-yün chi yün-ho te yen-chiü, pp.205-220, 274-282.

273. See Ray Huang, "The Grand Canal During the Ming Dynasty", pp.247-254.

274. THYIP, 114/2a-b.


276. Ibid., p.90.

277. THYIP, 114/4a.

278. Ibid., 132/1b-2a.

279. Ibid., 114/4b-5a, Refer also to 141/3a.

280. Ibid., 116/7a. For the original text, see The Works of Mencius, Book 11, Part II, Chapter I, in The Chinese Classics, Vol.II, p.208. Heaven, Earth and Man are the "Three Powers of Nature" (san-ts'ai ? ) of Chinese cosmogony. This idea was expressed in The Great Appendix of the Book of Changes which reads: "The Yi is a book of wide comprehension and great scope, embracing everything. There are in it the way of heaven, the way of man, and the way of earth. It then takes [the lines representing] those three Powers, and doubles them till they amount to six. What these six lines show is simply the way of the Three Powers." See The Great Appendix, Section II, Chapter 10, in Legge, Sacred Books, Vol.16, p.402.
281. This translation is adapted from Lionel Giles, *The Book of Mencius* (London: Bulter & Tanner Ltd., 1942), pp.52-53.

282. THYIP, 116/8a-b.

283. Ibid., p.8b.

284. Ibid., p.9a. For the original text, see *The Works of Mencius*, Book VII, Part II, Chapter 3, in *The Chinese Classics*, Vol.II, p.479. Both James Legge and Lionel Giles (see op. cit., p.119) translate *wu-ti* 無敵 as "no enemy", which I believe is incorrect. Here *wu-ti* should be rendered as "unmatched" or "matchless".

285. THYIP, 116/2a-b.

286. Ibid., 116/10a. The original text can be found in Book One, Chapter XXXI of the *Tao-te ching*. This translation is adapted from D.C. Lau, tr., *Lao Tzu: Tao Te Ching* (Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), p.88.

287. THYIP, 116/10b-11b.


289. THYIP, 116/11b-12a.

290. Ibid., 117/14a.

291. Ibid., 128/5a.

292. Ibid., 130/19b-20a.

293. Ibid., 129/3a-b.

294. Ibid., 130/21a-b.

295. Ibid., 14b-15b.

296. Ibid., 16a-17a.

297. Ibid., pp.7a-8b.

298. Ibid., pp.7a-8b.

299. For details of Ch'iu's proposal for establishing a militia force in the Northern Metropolitan areas, see THYIP, 117/17a-21b.


301. *THYIP*, 121/1a-2b. See also 127/10b-11a.

302. Ibid., 121/96-16b.

303. For details, see *THYIP*, 121/9b-11b, 17a-19a, 122/4a-6b, 8a-b.

304. For Ch'iu's discussion of battle carts, see *THYIP*, 133/8a-12a. Comments by Ming courtiers of later times can be found in Hsi-yüan wen-chien 1u, 69/12a-17b.


308. *THYIP*, 122/10a-11a.

309. Cf. *Huang-Ming shih-fa 1u*, 31/1a-2a; *Ming hui-yao*, 62/1197-98.


312. During the Yung-lo reign, for example, in Kiang-nan every ten households were obliged to keep one horse for the government. An edict issued in 1414 shows that in the Northern Metropolitan area, horses were distributed according to the number of adult males; a group of families with less than fifteen male adults was allotted one horse. For details, see *Ming hui-yao*, 62/1198.

313. For the studies of the horse trade on the northeastern frontier during the Ming, see the article by Hou Jen-chih 侯仁之, "Ming-tai Hsian Ta Shan-hsi san-chen ma-shih k'ao" 明代燕山監三鎮馬市考, in *Yen-ching hsüeh-pao* 燕京學報 (1938), pp. 183-237; trans. as "Frontier Horse Markets in the Ming Dynasty", in *Chinese Social History*, pp. 309-332. Refer also to the thorough study by


315. During the Yung-lo era the number of horses in the empire increased steadily. By the Hsüan-te period the number of horses is said to have been twice what it was in the Hung-wu period. One study by modern scholar states that the number of horses kept by the Ming government was the highest ever recorded in Chinese history. Cf. *Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu* 70/7b, 8a; Ch'en Wen-shih, *op. cit.* (2:3), pp.39-40.

316. Cf. Ch'en Wen-shih, *op. cit.*, (2:4), pp.10-11. See also *MSL* 華僑, 64/5b, 7b-8a, 135/6b, 181/4b, 262/6b, 230/2a-b.

317. For details, see Morris Rossabi, *op. cit.*, pp.149-150.

318. See *Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu*, 71/6a.

319. For further discussion of the decline of the non-government horse-breeding system, see Ch'en Wen-shih, *op. cit.* (2:4), pp.7-11; Liu Ch'ung-jih, *op. cit.*, pp.174-178.

320. THYIP, 125/5a-6b.


326. For details, see *ibid.*, 117/21a-b, 125/9b-12a.
327. Ibid., 125/13b.
328. Ibid., pp.15a-b.
329. Ibid., 147/7a.
330. Ibid., 148/12a-13a, 156/3a-4a.
331. Ibid., 156/6a-7b.
332. Ibid., pp.22b-23a, 31a-32b.
333. Ibid., pp.23b-24a.
334. Ibid., 144/7a. The original text can be found in Pan Ku 蘭, Han-shu 漢書 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1970), 94b/3838.
335. THYIP, 144/7b.
336. Ibid., pp.8a-9a, 16a-b.
337. Ibid., 148/2a-b.
338. Ibid., 147/15a-16b.
339. Ibid., pp.16a-b, 150/1b.
341. For general study of Emperor T'ai-tsu's policy towards the barbarians, see Wu Chi-hua, "Basic Foreign-policy Attitudes of the Early Ming Dynasty", in Ming Studies, No.12 (Spring 1981), pp.65-80.
342. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 68/4b-5a.
344. Ch'iu cited memorials by Chao Tso 趙過 (200-154 B.C.) of the Han, Lu Chih 魯俱 (754-805) of the T'ang, Fan Chung-yan 芬中嚴 (989-1052) of the Northern Sung, and others, and suggested that their strategies be considered for Ming times. For details, see THYIP, 148/2a-4b, 13a-20b, 149/3a-8b.
345. THYIP, 149/7a-8a.


348. *THYIR*, 151/6a-7b. Ch'iu's discussions on this point can also be found in *Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu*, 601/10b-11a; *Kuo-chüeh*, 40/2517-18.

349. *THYIR*, 151/11a-12b.


2. Li Tsung-t'ung, Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih, p.129.

3. Biographical writing and intellectual history are two forms of historiography that sprung up vigorously in the Ming dynasty, directly affecting the historiography of the Ch'ing dynasty. Biographical works such as the Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu compiled by Chiao Hung, and intellectual history such as the Ming-ju hsüeh-an compiled by Huang Tsung-hsi, are important works in Ming historiography as well as in the history of Chinese historiography. For discussion on this, see Wei Ying-ch'i, Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1941), pp.231-236. Apart from this, due to the intellectual environment of the late Ming period, historical writing showing revolt against the Confucian orthodoxy emerged. Historical writings such as the Chu-tzu tsui-chih lu by Chu Yun-ming and the Ts'ang-shu by Li chih are examples of this type. For a general discussion on this trend, see Yang Shih, "Wan-Ming chih fan wei-tao shih-hsüeh", in Ta-kung Pao: Shih-ti chou-k'an: June 5 & August 7, 1936; Chiu Ling-yung, "Li Chih chih shih-hsüeh", in Journal of Oriental Studies, Vol.11, No.1 (1973), pp.120-139; Manö Senryü, "Shuku In-mei no shigaku", in Shirin, 51:1 (1968), pp.25-43.


5. See C.S. Gardner, Chinese Traditional Historiography, p.13. For discussions of this point, see also Wei Ying-ch'i, Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih, pp.12-13; Etienne Balazs, "History as a guide to Bureaucratic Practice", in Arthur F. Wright, ed., Chinese Civilization and Bureaucracy, p.132.


8. For general treatment of China's traditional world view and foreign relations, see Alfred Forke, The World-Conception of the Chinese (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1925); W.E. Soothill, China and the West (London: Oxford University Press, 1925); Abe Takeo, Chūgokujin no tenka kannen (Kyoto: Doshisha University, 1956); John K. Fairbank, ed., The

10. Contemporary historians in China are trying their best to reinterpret the relations between the Han and non-Han people, and the nature of their conflict in the past. Their motive, as is stated clearly, is to strengthen the unity of the Chinese and the minorities at the present day. For an example of research on this line, see among others, Wu T'ai 王, "Shih-lun Sung Liao Chin tui-chih shih-ch'i min-tsu kuan-hsi te chi-ke wen-t'1" 試論遼時契丹族的中國附屬 , in Pei-fang lun- ts'un'g 面論集 , No.3 (May 1982), pp.86-92.


12. See John K. Fairbank, ibid., p.9.

13. Ho Hsiu 何秀, Ch'un-ch'iu kung-yang chuan 春秋公羊傳 (Shanghai, 1934), p.44.

14. For a detailed study of Ho Hsiu and his concept of Chinese and barbarian relations, see Tanaka Masami 田中正明, "Ka Kyu no iteki kan ni tsuite" 何秀の系譜について , in Niippo Chūgoku gakkai hō 日本中國學會紀 , Vol.34 (1982), pp.70-82.

15. For a general account of China's policies in dealing with barbarians in the frontiers, see Yang Lien-sheng 楊廉生, "Historical Notes on the Chinese World Order", in The Chinese World Order, pp.20-33; Shen Ch'ing-ch'ên 沈清臣, Chung-kuo kuo-fang shih-lüeh 中國釘紡史 (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien 資料叢書 , 1969), passim.

Notes to Chapter 5 (a)

pp.16-28; "Sung Liao Chin shih te t'uan-hsiu yu cheng-t'ung chih-cheng" 宋遼金的統治世系論 Gathered at the "History of China" seminar, Shih-huo yueh-k'an, 2:8 (Nov. 1972), pp.10-23; Nishi Junzo 西precio, "Hoku-So sonota no seito ron" 北宋史の世系論, in Hitotsubashi ronsō 東京堂帝國學術院, 30:5 (1953), pp.48-70; Rolf Trauzettel, "A Discussion on the Legitimate Line of Succession in Northern Sung Time", in Cina, No.8 (1964), pp.56-58; Chiu Ling-yeong, Kuan-yü li-t'ai cheng-t'ung wen-t'i chih cheng-lun 蒡護氏的世系論, (Hong Kong: Hsüeh-ching ch'u-pan-she 清華大學出版社, 1976), pp.447; Jao Tsung-i 高宗瑞, Chung-kuo shih-hsiēh shang chih cheng-t'ung lun 中國史上的正統論 (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1977), pp.1-59. See also Professor Chan Hok-lam's forthcoming detailed study: Theories of Legitimacy in Imperial China: Discussions on "Legitimate Succession" under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty, 1115-1234 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, in the press), "Introduction" and "Epilogue". I am indebted to Professor Chan for giving me the opportunity to peruse parts of his final draft.


18. For the criticism of the later scholar of Wang T'ung's attitude towards the Toba Wei dynasty in the Yüan-ching, see Ou-yang Hsiu 欧陽修, Ou-yang Wen-chung kung chi 欧陽文忠公集 (SPTK edition, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935-36), 59/10a.

20. The first historical writing of the Ming dynasty that disavowed the legitimacy of Liao and Chin and placed their histories as appendix to the history of Sung is the T'ung-chien po-lun 通鑑 供論, in 3 chüan, by Chu Ch'üan 趙撰. Later, this attitude was reaffirmed in the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu 修通鑑補日, edited by Shang Lu 王轍 and others under imperial auspices during the Ch'eng-hua period. This was also the general view point of the private histories of mid and late Ming period. Examples of this are the Shih-shih cheng-kang by Ch'iu Ch'üan, the Sung-shih chih 昭元秘 by Wang Chu 王遼, the Sung-shih hsin-pien 昭元秘 by K'o Wei-ch'ü 巧維疏, and the Sung-shih chih 昭元秘 by Wang Wei-chien 王維健 etc.


23. MSL, Hung-wu, 37/la-b.

24. For the names of the sixteen Yuan scholars invited to take part in the compilation of the Yuan official history, see MSL, Hung-wu, 39/1a.


26. For comment upon the Yuan-shih, see Chao I 章, Nien-erh shih cha-chi 版世史察記 (Taipei: Hung-shih ch'u-pan-shè 恆初版社, 1974), 29/405-8, 418-9; Wei Yuan 王漣, "Chin Yuan-shih hsin-pien piao" 進入新補篇, incorporated in the Yuan-shih hsin-pien 昭元秘補 (Shen-wei T'ang 神畿, edition, 1905); Na itō Torajirō, Shina shigaku shi, pp.338-340; Chin Yü-fu, Chung-kuo shih-hsüeh shih, pp.113, 144-150.


28. For a detailed study of Wang Chu and his Sung-shih chih, see Liu I-cheng 劉一成, "Shu Sung-shih chih", in Shih-hsüeh tsa-chih 史學雜誌 (Nanking), No.1 (1929), pp.1-4; Wang Te-i 王德義, "Yu Sung-shih chih t'an-tao Ming-ch'ao jen te Sung-shih kuan" 由宋史補明人的考見, in Kuo-li T'ai-wan tshi-hsüeh li-shih hsüeh-pao 國立台灣大學學術期刊, No.4 (1977), pp.221-234. Both articles were later appended to a
photolithographic reproduction of the *Sung-shih chih* reprinted by the Ta-hua shu-chü 端化書軀, Taipei, in 1977.


30. Some anti-barbarian elements are found in the pronouncements of the late Yuan rebels and warlords. For details, see Vincent Y.C. Shih, ibid., pp.188-201.


34. See Wang Gungwu, "Early Ming Relations with Southeast Asia: A Background Essay", in *Chinese World Order*, p.35.

35. For details, see Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, *Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih, Vol.4*, pp.534-5; Chiu Ling-yeong, *Kuan-yü li-tai cheng-t'ung wen-ti chih cheng-lun, pp.55-56*.

36. For details, see Mi Chu Wiens, op.cit., pp.1-24.


38. For a discussion of the policy of racial stratification of the Mongols in China, see Meng Sau-ming 梁思明, *Yüan-tai she-hui chieh-chi chih-tu 宰制社會界誇土* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1980), Ch.2, pp.25-68.

39. In the uprisings at the end of the Yuan, the ethnic issue was generally employed by the warlords as one of the disguises of their rebellion. Apart from Chu Yuan-chang, Ming Yü-chen is also a solid example to illustrate this. In 1360 when Ming Yü-chen assumed the title of emperor after the death of Hsü Shou-hui, he declared that the fate of barbarian Yuan had come to an end and he would act for heaven to punish the guilty ones. In his proclamation of enthronement, it says: "The Yuan are northern
barbarians and have disgraced our country. Because of them, our human relations have become confused, our people have been destroyed. This is indeed Heavenly fate and cannot be attributed to the plan of man. Now their descendants have lost the principle and the dynasty is declining. Heaven has decreed to show its disgust with them... Now my family and my dynasty originated in Hupei, and it is my desire to eliminate the despotic and save the people. So I am building up a dynasty and extending territory... Alas! May I respectfully execute the Heavenly punishment to wipe out the stains of the barbarian rule, so as to reveal the great achievement and accomplish the regime of our culture." See Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, Kuo-ch'u ch'üan-hsiung shih-lüeh, 5/8b.

40. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 29/1a-b.


42. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 25/7a-b. The same view was repeated in a decree to Hsü Ta, the then generalissimo, in the seventh month of 1368. See Ming T'ai-tsu pao-hsun (Taipei: Academia Sinica, photolithographic reproduction of Ming edition, 1967), 4/35b-36a.

43. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 25/7b-8a.

44. Ming T'ai-tsu pao-hsun, 6/10a. For similar views, see also MSL, T'ai-tsu, 15/9a.

45. For details, see Chu Yüan-chang, Ta kao, 3rd series, art.12, in Ming-ch'ao k'ai-kuo wen-hsiien (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, photolithographic reproduction of Ming edition, 1966), Vol.1.

46. For details, see Ming T'ai-tsu pao-hsun, 1/4b, 6/9b-10a; MSL, T'ai-tsu, 14/1b-2a, 15/9a, 26/10a-11b, 28/17a-b.


49. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 87/4a-b.


52. In his article "Chinese Culturalism and the Yüan Analogy: Seventeenth-Century Perspectives", John D. Langlois, Jr. notes that the Mongols were generally regarded as the legitimate rulers of the Middle Kingdom by the man who drove them out and founded the Ming because, he says: "Just as the founder of the Ming had to claim the legitimacy of his regime in terms of culturalism, so he could not deny legitimacy to the Mongols on paltry ethnic or racial grounds. Chinese who had lived under Mongol rule were able to justify participation or nonparticipation in the Yüan government by reference to culturalistic values." See *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 40:2 (Dec. 1980), pp.357-8. It is true that the founder of the Ming in general did not deny legitimacy to his Mongol predecessors, however, T'ai-tsu's recognition of the legitimacy of Yüan might not be a matter of cultural judgement. We have no strong evidence to prove that T'ai-tsu claimed the legitimacy of his regime in terms of culturalism. Likewise, one could not deny that T'ai-tsu did raise ethnic issues as reason for his uprising.


55. According to a Mongolian record completed in 1662 by Sayang-sechen, it reads: "Out of the forty tiïmen Mongols only six tiïmen came out [of China], and thirty-four tiïmen were cut off and left behind." One tiïmen is ten-thousand men. For details, see Henry Serruys, *Ibid.*, pp.47-50.


57. For details, see Henry Serruys, "Were the Ming against the Mongols' settling in North China?", in *Oriens Extremus*, Jahrgang 6 (1959), pp.148-9.

59. MSL, Hung-wu, 21/13b. For further study of this policy, see Henry Serruys, "The Mongols in China during the Hung-wu Period", pp.55-62.

60. MSL, Hung-wu, 30/11a.

61. A petition presented by Yao Lai during the Chia-ching period protested against the worship of Yuan Shih-tsu alongside previous great Chinese rulers, and maintained that in his treatment of the Mongol Yuan, T'ai-tsu had been deceived by ministers at court who still had deep feelings for the Yuan. The editors of the Ming ching-shih wen-pien incorporated this petition in their work and noted that: "Though his condemnation is too harsh, it was also based on fact." See Ch'en Tzu-lung and others, eds., Ming ching-shih wen-pien, 241/5a-7b.

62. Chu Ch'üan was a man with many sides to his character. He was made a prince at Ta-ning, a strategic point with a garrison of reportedly eighty thousand soldiers, and he was a voluminous author and a man of letters. Altogether some fifty titles of works ascribed to him are known. The subject matter ranges from the Classics and history to phonetics and literary criticism. For his biography, see MSL, 102/2727-28, 117/3591-98; Chu's biography by D.R. Jonker in DMB, pp.305-307.


64. Ibid., pp.116b-119b. This view can also be found in his T'ung-chien po-lun, see T'ung-chien po-lun (Ming Imperial Printing Office edition), 2/66a.

65. See the "Table of Contents" and the "Guiding Rules" in T'ung-chien po-lun, pp.2b-3a.

66. T'ung-chien po-lun, 2/82b, 86a.

67. Ibid., 3/66a-b.

68. Ibid., Biography of Emperor Shih-tsu, 2/91b-92a.

69. Ibid., Biography of Emperor Ch'eng-tsung, 2/92b.

70. Ibid., Biography of Emperor Jen-tsung, 2/93a.

71. Ibid., 2/97a-98a.

72. Ibid., 3/35a, 49a.
1. For the biography of Wang Chen 王恒, see MS, 304/7772-4; Wang's biography by Wolfgang Franke in DMA pp.1347-48.


Notes to Chapter 5 (b)


11. SSCK, Preface by Ch'iu, pp.1a-b.

12. The term cheng-t'ung originated with two separate words, cheng and t'ung, in the Kung-yang commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu, its original expression in the Ch'un-ch'iu kung-yang chuan 春秋公羊傳 were "ta ch'ü-cheng" and "ta i-t'ung", which have slightly different meanings than that which later scholars implied. For details, see the entries under the first and third year of Duke Yin 王, in Ch'un-ch'iu kung-yang chuan chu-su 春秋公羊傳, (Ming Chi-ku Ko 慕初珂 edition), 1/12a, 2/16b. Cf. Jao Tsung-i, Chung-kuo shih-hsieh shang chih cheng-t'ung lun, pp.3-12; Chan Hok-lam, Theories of Legitimacy in Imperial China, "Patterns of Legitimation in Imperial China", passim.


14. Ibid., pp.2a-b.

15. Ibid., p.1a.

16. Ibid., 1/1a.

17. Ibid., Preface, pp.9a-b.

18. Ibid., 1/2a-b.

19. Ibid., 1/4a-b.

20. Ibid., 1/4b.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid., 1/5b-6a.

23. Ibid., 1/6b.

24. For studies on Emperor Ch'in Shih-huang and his new policies,


30. For details, see Ch'ien Mu, ibid., pp.146-149.

31. SSCK, 28/5b-6a.

32. Another example to show that the Ming court paid great attention to Chu Hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu was the re-editing of the T'ung-chien kang-mu under imperial auspices. In the eighth year of Hsien-tsung (1472), in order to provide a unitary and accurate version, Emperor Hsien-tsung ordered the re-editing of the T'ung-chien kang-mu by expurgating the K'ao-i and the K'ao-cheng 考異 and the later scholars which made the work clumsy and full of confusion. The re-edited edition was finished and printed in the second month of the next year. An imperial
preface was also granted by the emperor on the front page of this edition. For details, see MSL, Hsien-tsung, 113/6a-7a, 119/2b-3a.

33. See Li Chin-hua, Ming-tai ch’ih-chuan shu-k’ao, p.45, pp.49-50; MSL, Ying-tsung, 256/1b-2a.

34. For details, see Yin Chih 禹, Chien-chai so-chui lu 前後紀, (Li-tai hsiao-shih 類集史 edition, Changsha: Commercial Press, 1940), Vol.29, 93/1lb.

35. MSL, Hsien-tsung, 122/5a.

36. See Hsu tzu-chih t’ung-chien k’ang-mu (Yu-p’i t’ung-chien k’ang-mu edition), "Preface", p.1a. This preface was also recorded in MSL, Hsien-tsung, 159/4a-5a.

37. See Li Mo 立, Ku-shu pou-tan 軍部論 (Ming edition), 8/18b-19a.

38. CTHKCP, 19/21a-b.


42. For the biography of Liu Chen, see Yüan-shih, 161/3785-88.
Notes to Chapter 5 (c)

1. SSCK, "Guiding Principles", pp.10a-b.
3. Ibid., p.2b.
4. Ibid., pp.2b-3a.
5. For the writings by former historians on legitimate succession, see the articles incorporated in: Chiu Ling-yeong, Kuan-yü li-tai cheng-t'ung wen-t'i chih cheng-lun Appendix, pp.75-139; Jao Tsung-i, Chung-kwo shih-hsüeh shang chih cheng-t'ung lun, Appendix, pp.61-150.
6. For details, see the postscript by Fei Yin in SSCK, pp.2a-b.
8. Ibid., pp.6a-b.
10. For the biography of Chu Yün-wen, Emperor Hui, see MS, 4/59-66, and his biography by F.W. Mote in DMB, pp.397-404. For a detailed study of Emperor Hui and the politics of the Chien-wen era, see T'u Shu-fang 胡秀芳, Chien-wen ch'ao-yeh hui-pien 建文朝野秘記 (Ming Wan-li period edition), passim; MSL, T'ai-tsung, chüan 1-9, "Feng-t'ien ching-nan shih-chi" 廣天承乾紀; Cheng Hsiao 鄭曉, Chien-wen hsün-kuo chi 建文遼圖記; and Hsün-kuo ch'en-chi 遼圖紀略, incorporated in Wu hsüeh-pien 胡曆-{ 律, (Chia-yeh T'ang 傳業堂 edition, 1567), chüan 11, 52-59; Chu Lu 萬里, Chien-wen shu-la ni 建文七錄 (Late Ming period edition), passim; Chu Mu-ch'ieh 楚牧傑, Ko-ch'ù i-shih 基初集, in Chih-hai 許海 (Printed during 1821-1850), chüan 5; Huang Tso 黃宗, Ko-ch'ù i-shih 基初集 in Chieh-yüeh shan-fang hui-ch'ao 御筆集 (Shanghai, 1920), chüan 5; Chang Ch'in 政勤, Chien-wen chung-chieh lu 建文忠烈錄, in Hsiieh-hai lei-pien 胡海列傳 (Shanghai, 1920), Vol.4; Ta-yü shan-jen 太僑山人, Chien-wen huang-ti shih-chi pei-i lu 建文皇帝事蹟備要錄 (Taipei: Hsiüeh-sheng shu-chü, photolithographic reproduction of Ming manuscript copy, 1969), pp.1-53. The year of Emperor Hui's death, 1402, is problematical. Many scholars believe that he had survived the tragic events of 1402, and some writings recorded his escape to and activities in Yunnan, Kwangsi, under the guise of a monk. For details, see Chao Shih-che 趙士禮, Chien-wen nien-p'u 建文年譜 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935, reprint of Ch'ing edition), passim; Ch'en Wan-nai 陳萬耐, Ming Hui-ti ch'u-wang k'ao-cheng 明惠帝殉葬考證 (Kao-hsiang 高雄: Pai-ch'eng

12. For the biography of Fang Hsiao-ju, see MSL, 141/4017-21; Chiao Hung, Kuo-ch'ao hsien-cheng lu 國朝顯經錄 (Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chu, 1965, facsimile reproduction of 1616 edition), 20/53a-56b; Fu Wei-lin, Ming-shu (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng edition), 102/2045-49; Li Chih, Hsü ts'ang-shu, 5/85-87; Huang Tsung-hsi, Ming-ju hsüeh-an, Vol.8, 43/96-97; Fang's biography by F.W. Mote in DMB, pp.426-433.

13. It was recorded that Fang's relatives sentenced to death in relation to this case numbered to eight hundred and seventy-three. For details, see Li Chih, Hsü ts'ang-shu, 5/86. And it was not until 1585, a hundred and eighty-four years later, one thousand and three hundred odd persons, who were descendants of those who had been banished to the border areas because of Fang's case, were pardoned. See MSL 141/4020.

14. For the disguise given by Chu Ti for his uprising, see Yen-wang ling-chih (Ming Chu Ssu-lan manuscript copy), pp.1b-22b.

15. Throughout the Yung-lo reign, elaborate effort were made by Emperor Ch'eng-tsu to expurge all unfavourable facts in official writings that impeded his claim for legitimacy. Most of the sources concerning the Chien-wen reign were destroyed. A notable example of this was the twice rewritten Veritable Record of the
Hung-wu reign. For details, see DMB, p.356; Wang Ch'ung-wu, *Ming ching-nan shih-shih k'ao-cheng kao*, pp.103-123; Senryú Mano, "Min jitsu-roku no kenkyū", pp.11-12.


21. For details, see *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 致治通典 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1956), ch'uan 203-207, pp.6418-6578. For an example of comments on the treatment by Ssu-ma Kuang of Empress Wu, see Yin Ch'i-hsin 閔慈信, *T'ung-chien kang-mu fa-ming* 通典攬轂法名, appended to the *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, 41/16a-b.

22. For details, see *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, 41/16a-42/10a.

23. *SSCK*, 1/1b-2a.

24. In Chu Hsi's *T'ung-chien kang-mu*, although vermilion was used to mark the dynastic title, name and posthumous title of the sovereign, and the reign title at the first year of a legitimate regime, its function was not perspicuous, since the dynastic title of illegitimate regimes or usurpers were also marked in vermilion. Sometimes it created confusion. It's "praise and blame" was shown when block characters were used to record the posthumous title of the sovereign, and the reign title of a legitimate regime, and small characters were for a legitimate
regime. For details of Chu Hsi's system in this context, see the preface by Chu Hsi in the T'ung-chien kang-mu, p.1a, and the "Guiding Principles", pp.8b-9a, under the entry of "sui-nien" 親親.

25. For examples of "complete legitimacy", see SSCK, 2/8a, 7/1a, 16/5a, 17/29a, 23/16b.

26. For examples of "partial legitimacy", see SSCK, 1/1b, 6/15b, 11/1a, 15/17a, 16/1a, 23/1a.

27. For details, see SSCK, 2/1a-2a, 16/1a, 23/1b-2a, 23/16b-17a.

28. See SSCK, 9/10b-12a, 17/33b, 21/4b-6b.

29. For examples, see SSCK, 10/16a, 13/1a, 31/1b-4a.

30. See SSCK, 11/1a-2b. For the biography of Ssu-ma Yen 司馬殷, see Chin-shu 申書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 3/49-88.

31. See SSCK, 18/23b-26a. For the biography of Emperor Su-tsung of T'ang, see Chiu T'ang-shu 俘唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 10/239-266; Hsin T'ang-shu 新唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 16/155-165.

32. See SSCK, 3/5a-6a. For the biography of Lu Chih 李氏, see the annal of Empress Kao in Han-shu 漢書 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1970), 3/95-104.
Notes to Chapter 5 (d)


2. For the biography of Emperor Wu of Han, see Ssu-ma Ch'ien 史記 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), 12/451-486; Pan Ku 潘勖, Han-shu 漢書 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1970), 5/155-216.

3. For the Prince Hun-hsieh of Hsiung-nu, see Shih-chi, 110/2909.

4. SSCX, 4/10b.

5. Ibid., 7/10a.

6. Most of the historians called the period from 907 to 960, that is from the founding of the Liao 朝 by Chu Wen 錢 (852-912) in 907 until the establishment of the Sung dynasty by Chao Kuang-yin 諸葛亮 (927-976) in 960, the "Five Dynasties" (wu-tai 五代). Ch'iu Chun did not subscribe to this view. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, he records the events of this period under the heading: "History of the Five Degenerate Reigns Era" (wu-chi shih shih 五帝五緯). With regard to the reasons for calling this period "Five Degenerate Reigns" instead of "Five Dynasties", a term which former historians had generally accepted, Ch'iu explained that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, five royal families, namely the Liao, T'ang, Chin, Han, and Chou, arouse one after another, until the Sung historians compiled the Wu-tai shih 五代史 (History of the Five Dynasties), thus, people of later times generally called this period the Five Dynasties. Ch'iu, however, considered that "dynasty" usually referred to period of ten or more succeeding generations, but the five families were only transient regimes, if they were to compare with the Chou royal house which had lasted for eight hundred years. Obviously, therefore, to call them "dynasty" was an expedient treatment. Thus, Ch'iu titled this period the "Five Degenerate Reigns" which, he explained, was a term inspired by the preface of the Ta-hsüeh chang-chü 太史籀文 by Chu Hsi. For details, see SSCX, 22/1a.

7. Yeh-lü A-pao-chi 鄭祐, posthumously known as Emperor T'ai-tsu (r.907-926), was treated by his descendants as the first emperor of the Liao dynasty, although the Liao dynasty was founded in the year 947. For his biography, see T'o-t'o 聶託若 and others ed., Liao-shih 遼史 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 1/1-26.
8. *SSCK*, 22/5a. Liu Yüan was a descendant of the Hsiung-nu. In the year 304, he styled himself Ta shan-yü 大山樞, a title of the supreme leader of the Hsiung-nu, in Li-shih 李氏, Shansi. Ch'iu remarked that Liu Yüan's designation of a barbarian title within Chinese territory and rule over the Chinese people, had not been seen in China since the Three Dynasties period. When Liu Yüan founded the Han 漢 dynasty in P'u-tzu 塘子, Shansi, in the tenth month of 308, and was enthroned as emperor, Ch'iu pointed out that this was the first case of a barbarian being styled "emperor", and Ch'iu condemned Liu's action in strong terms. For details of Ch'iu's comments on Liu Yüan, see *SSCK*, 11/13a-17a.


10. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, the reign title of Emperor Shih-tsung of Liao was recorded as "T'ien-shou" 天壽, however, the reign title of Emperor Shih-tsung was "T'ien-lu" 天禄 instead of T'ien-shou, and it is believed that "lu" was mistaken as "shou". See *SSCK*, 22/33a. For the biography of Emperor Shih-tsung of Liao, see *Liao-shih*, 1/63-68.


12. *SSCK*, 26/8a. An-chu-hu-shui 安州虎水, the cradle-place of the Jurchen tribe, was the present River A-shih 阿什河, southeast of Harbin 哈爾濱, Hei-lung-chiang 黑龍江. According to the definition given in the T'zu-hai 《諸海》, An-chu-hu is a Jurchen word which means "gold" (chin 金). It is believed that the Jurchen took "Chin" as their dynastic title as being derived from this meaning. See *T'zu-hai* (Shanghai: Shang-hai tz'u-shu ch'u-pan-she 上海 地圖出版社, 1980), p.694. For an account of the origin of the Jurchen and the rise of the Chin dynasty, see Tao Jin-shen 道金慎, *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976), pp.3-24. For the biography of Emperor T'ai-tsu of Chin, Wan-yen A-ku-ta, see T'o-t'o et al, eds., *Chin-shih 夏史* (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chú, 1975), 2/19-46.


17. The term "conferred" was employed in the Chin-shih, compiled by the Yuan minister T'o-t'o and others. In the Chin-shih, it reads: "[In the eighth month of the sixth year of T'ien-hui], the two commoners (shu-jen 香人, i.e., Emperor Hui-tsung and Ch'in-tsung) of Sung visited the temple of Emperor T'ai-tsu in white clothes, then, they were granted an audience in the Ch'ien-yuan Hall, [Emperor T'ai-tsung] conferred the father as Duke of Hun-te and the son as Marquis of Chung-hun." For details, see Chin-shih, 3/59. The term "deposed" was employed in the Hsü t'ung-chien kang-mu, see 12/5a.

18. SSCK, 27/2a.
19. Ibid, 27/2a-b.
22. Ibid.
23. For details, see SSCK, 22/1a-50a.
24. For the biography of Liu Pei 呂雉 萱, see Ch'en Shou 孫燮, San-kuo chi 三國志 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 32/871-892.
25. In the Shih-shih cheng-kang, the regime founded by Liu Pei in Shu was not named "Shu" as the San-kuo chi (Records of the Three Kingdoms) by Ch'en Shou advocated, but regarded as a continuation of the Han royal house. Ch'iu condemned Ch'en Shou for distorting historical facts for private motives. Hence, in the front part of his History of the Three Kingdoms Era, from 221 to 263 when the regime of Liu Pei was in existence, Ch'iu marked the dynastic title "Han" in the circle, although by ink, and the reign titles of Liu Pei and his son Liu Ch'an by block characters. The reign titles of Wei 萬 and Wu 吳 were only marked by small characters below that of Han. This implied that the Han, or Shu-Han, regime was the legitimate one, both externally and internally, despite the fact that her external legitimacy was only a partial one. It was after the fall of the Shu-Han that Ch'iu treated the remaining period as one of "no legitimacy". For details, see SSCK, 10/1a-22a.
26. SSCK, 31/2b-3a.
27. Ibid, pp.4a-b.
28. Some historians treated 1271, the founding of the Yüan dynasty, as the beginning of the era of Mongol rule in the Chinese political tradition, and, therefore, when it ended in 1368, Mongol rule in China had been for ninety-eight years. An extreme case about the "span" of Mongol rule in China was in 1367 in an address of consecration to heaven by Emperor T'ai-tsu, most
probably written by his courtiers on his behalf, when he regarded the Yuan destiny to have been for "hundred odd years" (See Ming T'ai-tsu yü-chih wen-chi, 19/1a) On another occasion, Emperor T'ai-tsu said to his ministers: "The Yuan ruled China for a hundred years." (See MS, 1/16) However, in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, Ch'i'en regarded the rule of Yuan over China as beginning in 1280, after the remnant force of the Southern Sung was completely destroyed in 1279. Hence, the destiny of the Yuan regime in Chinese history is from 1280 to 1368, a period of eighty-nine years only.


30. SSCK, 22/35b-36a.

31. Such views can be found in the writings of Sung Lien and Liu Chi, etc. For a discussion of this point, see Ch'en Mu, "Tu Ming-ch'u k'ai-kuo chu-ch'en shih-wen-chi", pp.10-12.

32. SSCK, 30/14a-b.

33. Ibid., p.15b.

34. For the biography of Bayan, see Yüan-shih, 127/3099-3116.

35. See Hsü t'ung-chien k'ang-mu, 22/8b-9a.

36. For example, see Meng Ssu-ming, Yüan-tai she-hui chieh-chi chih-tu, Preface, pp.7-10. The Hsü wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao 19/la provided the data that in 1190 the population of Sung was 27,000,000, it dropped to 19,720,000 after the fall of Sung in 1279.

37. See Yüan-shih, 127/3107.

38. Ibid., p.3100.

39. For the biography of Ts'ao Pin, see Sung-shih, 258/8977-8990.

40. The alleged ten grades (shih-teng 19/la) in sequence are: official 九 , clerk 九 , monk 九 , taoist 九 , physican 九 , huntsman 九 , craftsman 九 , prostitute 九 , Confucian 九 , and beggar 九 . This is also mentioned in Cheng Ssu-hsiao, T'ien-han hsin-shih 19/la (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), B/77b. For a further discussion, see Huang Ch'ing-lien, Yüan-tai hu-chi chih-tu yen-chiu 19/la (Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1977), pp.79-80; Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, "Yüan-tai te ju-hu -- ju-shih ti-wei yen-chin shih"
Notes to Chapter 5 (d)

For examples of research on the household system of the Yüan dynasty, see Meng Ssu-ming, "Yüan-tai she-hui chieh-chi chih-tu", pp.25-215; Huang Ch'ing-lien, ibid.


See the preface by Chang Po-hsing in Hsieh Tien-shan chih, Changsha: Commercial Press, 1941, p.1.

Ibid., pp.20-22.

For example of modern historian's treatment of Chinese and barbarian relations, see ChingChih-zen, "Shih-lun li-shih shang te min-tsu ying-hsiung wen-ti", in Pei-fang lun-tsun, No.3 (1983), pp.103-106.

This is the case of Feng Tao (882-954) of the Five Dynasties who served as Chief Minister to five dynasties and eight royal families. Feng was highly praised among many of his contemporaries as a conscientious Confucian, a temperate man and even a model chief minister. However, with the changes in social, political, and philosophical values and the development of a higher Confucianism, Feng was condemned by Sung historians as "the worst of treacherous officials", and for having "confounded the great relationships and not known shame". For a detailed discussion of Feng Tao, see Wang Gungwu, "Feng Tao: An Essay on Confucian Loyalty", in Confucianism and Chinese Civilization, pp.188-210.

Sun Ying-ao in his preface to the Shih-shih cheng-kang pointed out that Ch'iu's theory of dynastic legitimacy was influenced by Fang Hsiao-ju. (See SCK, Preface, p.4b) The compilers of the Imperial Catalogue also noted that the Shih-shih cheng-kang was "based on the idea of Fang Hsiao-ju on dynastic legitimacy." (See Imperial Catalogue, 48/1058-59) Although the writings of Fang Hsiao-ju were banned during the Yung-lo period, Fang's collection of writings, the Hsün-chih chái-chí was fortunately preserved by his disciple and engraved in 1463. A printed edition appeared in the Cheng-hua period in 30 chüan, plus shi-i 詩逸, in 10 chüan.

It is obvious that the writings of Fang Hsiao-ju were available in Ch'iu's times. Ch'iu did not mention Fang Hsiao-ju in his
Shih-shih cheng-kang, nevertheless, the continuous line between the two men's ideas on legitimate succession can be traced.

48. Some scholars consider that Fang Hsiao-ju divided "succession" into three categories: "legitimate succession", "abnormal succession", and "accessory succession" (fu-t'ung 輯統). For examples of this treatment, see Hsiao Kung-ch'üan, Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsien shih p.535; Chu Mi Wiens, "Anti-Manchu Thought during the Early Ch'ing", p.4. However, Fang Hsiao-ju did not suggest such category as "accessory succession". He said that "In the world there is one kind of legitimate succession and three kinds of abnormal succession." In this context Fang considered that the Han, T'ang and Sung dynasties could be "attached" (fu 附) to the category of "legitimate succession", which originally referred only to the Three Dynasties, Hsia, Shang, and Chou, instead of placing Han, T'ang and Sung in a category called "accessory succession" as later scholars argued. Besides, Fang concluded that: "When the two successions (erh-t'ung 二統, i.e., legitimate succession and abnormal succession) are established, the principles of admonition can be clarified." (For details, see Hsüan-chih chai ch'i-an-chi, 2/3a) This proves that "accessory succession" did not came from the idea of Fang Hsiao-ju, but from the misunderstanding and misinterpretation of late scholars.

49. See Hsüan-chih chai ch'i-an-chi, 2/2b-3a.
50. Ibid., pp.3a-4b.
51. Ibid., "Hou cheng-t'ung lun", 2/9b-10a.


54. See the bibliographical note on the Shih-shih cheng-kang in the Imperial Catalogue, 48/1058.

55. For limitations of Fang Hsiao-ju's theory of legitimate succession, see Hsiao Kung-ch'iian, Chung-kuo cheng-chih ssu-hsiang shih, pp.535-6; Chu Mi Wiens, "Anti-Manchu Thought During the Early Ch'ing", pp.4-5.


60. Cf. Herbert Franke, "Could the Mongol emperors read and write
61. See Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 許次官, Hsi-yü jen yü Yuan-ch'u cheng-chi 西域人與元初政治 (History and Chinese Literature Series No.19, Taipei: National Taiwan University, 1966), Conclusion, pp.113-117.

62. Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period", p.143. See also the discussion by John D. Langlois, Jr. in the introduction contributed to the China Under Mongol Rule, pp.12-21.

63. Henry Serruys in his "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period" put forward six aspects, namely: government institutions, dress, language, manner of greeting, marriage customs, and cremation to prove that the impact of Mongol customs remained in the Ming dynasty. For details, see pp.143-190.

64. See MSL, T'ai-tsu, 30/10a. For a general discussion to this decree, see Wu Han 吳漢, "Yüan ti-kuo chih peng-k'uei yü Ming chih chien-kuo" 元代蒙古政制與明代國家, in Ch'ing-hua hsüeh-pao, 11:2 (April, 1936), pp.359-423.

65. MSL, T'ai-tsu, 30/10a. For a brief discussion of what the dress of the Mongols was like as related to the styles mentioned in this passage, see Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period", pp.151-155. This policy of Emperor T'ai-tsu is regarded by later scholars as his means to restore Chinese culture, see Wu Han, Ibid., pp.359-423; Miyazaki Ichisada, "Kobu kara Eiraku e -- Shoki Minchö seiken no seikaku", pp.1-15.

66. As Mongol was the official language during the Yuan era, it was believed that Chinese who knew Mongol would have considerable benefit and advantage. Because of the increase in numbers of Chinese learning Mongol, a decree was issued by Emperor Shun in the Chih-yüan 昭元 era to forbid Chinese from learning Mongol. In relation to this, Chinese adoption of Mongol names was an natural side effect. For discussion of this situation, see Chao I, Nien-erh shih cha-chi, pp.442-3, under the entry "Yüan Han-jen to-tso Meng-ku ming" 元漢人為蒙古名; Ch'en Teng-yüan, op.cit., pp.41-43.


70. This imperial declaration of 1385 on barbarian customs is not recorded in the *Ming shih-lu*. For details, see Hsiung Ming-ch'i, *Chao-tai wang-chang* 趙岱王章 (Taipei: Cheng-chung shu-chü, 兆忠書局, photographic reproduction of *Hsüan-lan t'ang ts'ung-shu* 映像説, edition, 1981), pp.11b-12a.


72. For details, see *ML*, Ying-tsung, 99/1b-2a, 175/7b, 184/24b; Wu-tsung, 165/8b. See also *Ming Hsüan-tsung pao-hsun* 明獻胤增 (Taipei: Academia Sinica, photographic reproduction of Ming edition, 1967), 2/15b-16a; Ch'en Teng-yüan, *op. cit.*, pp.47-48, under the entry "Ming chin hu-fu" 明itin.fufu.


76. *Ibid.* Ho's biography in the *Ming-shih* did not mention this memorial. However, it was recorded in Ho's biography in the *Hsü ts'ang-shu*, 16/338-339, and also in the *Huang-Ming pei-lu ch'ao* 黃明配録 (Kuo-hsiieh wen-k'u edition, 1937), Vol.45, p.48.

77. *SSCK*, 13/27b-28a. For a general discussion of the Mongol's marriage customs, see Henry Serruys, "Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period", pp.171-190.

78. *SSCK*, 13/32b.


80. For details, see *CTLK*, 12/4a-5b, 40/8a-11a.


85. A distinctive example of this was Ch’iu’s discussion of Hsü Heng and Liu Yin 皓靈, see *SSCK*, 31/5b-7a, 15b-16b, 26b-27b. Ch’iu also had a lengthy essay particularly directed to the appraisal of Hsü Heng entitled "Hsü Wen-cheng kung lun", 謝文程論, written in 1442, incorporated in *CTHKCP*, 8/26a-33a.

86. *SSCK*, Preface, pp.3b-4a.


88. For the biography of Huo Kuang 許光, see *Han-shu*, 68/2931-58.

89. *SSCK*, 5/4b.

90. *Ibid.*, p.5a. This quotation is not found in the *Analects*.

91. *SSCK*, 5/5a-b.

92. For the biography of Wang Mang 王莽, see *Han-shu*, 99/4039-4196.


97. For details, see Fan Yeh 范嶽, *Hou Han-shu 後漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chūi, 1973), 59/1940.*

98. See *Tzu-chih t’ung-chien*, 周繩 36-38, pp.1158-1238.
99. *Cheng* is the beginning of a year, and *shuo* is the beginning of a month. *Cheng-shuo* refers to the first day of the beginning of a year. Wang Mang changed the *cheng-shuo* of Han and regarded the twelve month of Ch’u-shih of Han as the first month (cheng-yüeh) of his reign Shih-chien-kuo of his new dynasty. The Shih-shih cheng-kang retained the *cheng-shuo* of Han, and recorded "spring, the first month" at the beginning of each year according to the *cheng-shuo* of Han, and indeed it should be the second month in the system of Wang Mang.

100. Shen Chi-chi was a native of Wu, present Soochow. He was appointed official historiographer and then Vice Minister of Rites at the court of Emperor Te-tsung, and was praised by later scholars for his talent in historiography and novel writing. Among his works, relatively outstanding were the Chien-chung shih-lu, a veritable record of the Chien-chung reign, in 10 chiian, and a ch’uan-ch’i novel entitled Chen-chung chi. For his biography, see Ou-yang Hsiu, Hsin T’ang-shu (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 132/4538-39.

101. See *SSCK*, 17/16a.

102. For details, see Fan Tsu-yü, T’ang-chien (Teipei: Commercial Press, 1973), 7/11a-17a.

103. See T’ung-chien kang-mu, 41/17a-42/10b.

104. For details, see Tzu-chih t’ung-chien, 203/6417-204/6578. For a brief discussion of the former historians’ treatment to the regime of Wu Tse-t’ien, see Ch’ien Mu, Chung-kuo shih- hsüeh ming-chu, Vol.2, pp.232-233.

105. *SSCK*, 17/16a-b.


108. For the biography of Ssu-ma I, Ssu-ma Shih, Ssu-ma Chao and Ssu-ma Yen, see Fang Yuan-ling and others, Chin-shu (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), chiian 1-3, pp.1-88.


113. The Three Cardinal Guides and the Five Constant Virtues were fundamental concepts in the Confucian ethical code. The Three Cardinal Guides are: ruler guides subjects, father guides sons, and husband guides wife. The Five Constant Virtues are: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity.


117. *SSCK*, 1/19a.


121. For the biography of Li Lung-chi, Emperor Hsuan-tsung, see *Chiu T'ang-shu*, 8-9/165-238; *Hsin T'ang-shu*, 5/121-154.

122. For the biography of Emperor T'ai-tsu of Sung, see *T'o-t'o* and others, *Sung-shih*, 1/1-52.

123. Chao K'uang-i  was the original name of Emperor T'ai-tsu of Sung. His given name was later changed to Kuang-i . After he succeeded to the throne, his given name was further changed to Chiung . For his biography, see *Sung-shih*, 1/53-102.

124. *SSCK*, 23/10a-11a. For the original text, see *Sung-shih*, the biography of Wang Chi-en, 466-13604.

125. *SSCK*, 23/11a-12a. Hu I-kuei was a scholar from Wu-yüan, An-hui, who received a chü-jen degree in 1264 and served in the early years of the Yuan as a local teacher. For his biography, see *Imperial Catalogue*, 4/110.


128. Ibid., pp.13a-b.

129. Ibid., p.10a. The text cited here came from the Ku-liang commentary to the Ch'un-ch'iu. See Fan Ning 范宁, Ch'un-ch'iu ku-liang chuan chu-su (1635 edition), 3/13a, under the entry of the fifth year of Duke Huan 湯公.

130. For examples, see the cases of the confrontation of Li Shih-min 李世民, posthumously Emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang, with his brothers, in SSCK, 16/6b-8b; and the alleged murder of Emperor Ming-tsung 明宗 of Yuan, Kushala 小施塔, by his brother Emperor Wen-tsung 文宗, Tugh Temur 图呼帖木兒, in SSCK, 32/1b-2a.

131. The comments of Liu Ting-chih and Ho Ch'iao-hsin were incorporated in Chu Yun-ming's Chu-tzu tsui-chih lu 楚祖追志錄 (Ming Wan-li period edition), 2/21b-30a.


1. See Ch'iung-shan hsien-chih, 14/48b-49a. The Three Solitaries (san-ku 三公) were the Junior Preceptor (shao-shih 少師), the Junior Tutor (shao-fu 少傅), and the Junior Guardian (shao-pao 少保), all of lb rank. In Ming times, civil officials were seldom rewarded with noble titles. For them, the greatest distinction normally came from status as one of the Three Dukes (san-kung 三公, i.e. the Grand Perceptor, the Grand Tutor, and the Grand Guardian, all of la rank) or the Three Solitaries.


3. See the biography of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, Chu Yu-t'ang 車余桃, in DMB, pp.375-380.

4. Cf. DMB, p.378; Ku Ying-t'ai, Ming-shih chi-shih pen-mo, 42/607-627. Ch'en Hung-mu's Chih-shih yü-wen 治史論, 8 chüan, together with his Chih-shih chi-wen 治史論, 6 chüan was first printed in the first part of the sixteenth century. Both were later included in the Chi-lu hui-pien 漢書詳, chüan 83-90 and 91-96 respectively, compiled and edited by Shen Chieh-fu 沈鈞岳 (1533-1601, cs. 1559). Many favourable comments on Emperor Hsiao-tsung are to be found in this work. For details, see Chih-shih yü-wen (Changsha: Commercial Press, photographic reprint of Chi-lu hui-pien edition, 1937), Part A, 2/25, 2/27, 2/38-39, 2/42-43, 3/47-48, 3/57-58, 3/65.


10. THYIP, 158/1b-2b. For the original text, see Legge, The Chinese Classics, Vol.III, p.17.

11. THYIP, 158/1a-b. Translation of this passage adapted from Legge, Sacred Books, Vol. 27, pp.390-391.

12. THYIP, 158/2a-b.

14. THYIP, 159/5a-b.


21. Ever since Huang Tsung-hsi, a Confucian scholar of the late Ming and Early Ch'ing, scholars and historians who have pondered over the source of Ming governmental problems that led to its fall have given primary blame to the abolition of the prime-ministership. In his Ming-i tai-fang lu 明季的政, Huang Tsung-hsi noted that: "The origin of misrule under the Ming lay in the abolition of the prime-ministership by Emperor T'ai-tsu." (see Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1955 edition, p.7) The modern historian Ch'ien Mu has also said "The Ming dynasty represents the restoration of China's traditional government, but also its degeneration. The chief reason for this was the abolition of the office of prime minister." (See Kuo-shih ta-kang, p.476). Other studies by modern scholars of government institutions generally have come to the conclusion that the office of prime minister was essential, and that the abolition of that office meant the loss of a check upon imperial autocracy. For examples, see Chin Yao-chi 建聰, Chung-kuo min-pen ssu-hsiang chih shih-ti fa-chan 中國民本思想之歷史發展 (Taipei: Chia-hsin shu-li kung-ssu 華新文化公司, 1964), pp.122-127; W.T. de Bary, "Chinese Despotism and the Confucian Ideal: A Seventeenth-century View", pp.175-176.


23. See F.W. Mote, ibid., p.20.


26. For a bibliographical study of these works, see Appendix A of this thesis, under the entry Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu.

27. For the biography of Chan Jo-shui 漢疏水, see MS, 283/7266-68; DMB, pp.36-41.

28. For the biography of Ch'en Jen-hsi, see MS, 288/7394-95; DMB, pp.161-163.

29. See the Preface by Chan Jo-shui in Sheng-hsüeh ko-wu t'ung 學科書目 (Ming Chia-ching period edition), pp.12a-b; Preface by Ch'en Jen-hsi in Huang-Ming shih-fa 禧明史法, pp.6b-17a.

30. The Chung-shih pa-pien lei-nsuan 三史編纂 was printed in 1624, in 285 chüan. Besides the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, the other Seven works included are the Li-tai shih-tsuan tso-pien 理代七史全說, Yu-pien 右編 and Pa-i-pien 左编, all by T'ang Shun-chih 汪申池; the T'u-shu pien 圖書같, by Chang Huang 張潢; the Han-shih pien 漢史輯, by Teng Yuan-hsi 湯原喜; the Huang-Ming ching-shih shih-yung pien 明信史, by Feng Ying-ching 冯英誠; and the Chung-chi lei-pien 中計錄 by Feng Chi 汪稽 and Feng Yuan 汪遠. For a general account of these works, see Wolfgang Franke, An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History, pp.195-196.

31. For a detailed study, see Mano Senryu, Mindai bunka shi kenkyū, pp.158-161.

32. See Li Yung 孫錐, Li Erh-ch'u hsien-sheng ch'üan-chi 孫若中全集 (Shanghai: Sao-yeh shan-fang 桑業書房, 1918), 7/4a.


34. Except for the Chien-yao kang-mu 續集庫目 and the Kang-chien lun-ts'e t'i-chih chi-yao 續集論集題目紀要, which are preserved in the Naikaku Bunko 国家文庫, Tokoyo, all these works are to be found in the National Library of China (commonly known as the Peking Library) in Peking.

35. For examples, see Chien-yao kang-mu (Late Ming edition), 20/40b; Kang-chien shih-shih lei-pien 續集史史錄 (Late Ming Yu Chang-te 禧彭德 edition), 44/1a.
36. See Yuan-Wang Kang-chien ho-pien 夏天網編合編 (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1904), 4/8-11, 6/11, 6/24, 6/27, 6/34, 7/7, 8/20, 9/12, 10/32, 11/5, 11/36, 11/40, 13/31, 14/9, 16/9, 16/39, 17/4, 19/8, 19/10, 19/20, 20/1, 20/31, 21/22, 24/2, 24/14, 24/26, 26/13, 26/23, 27/40, 28/30, 29/11, 29/26, 30/7, 30/8, 30/13, 30/15-16, 30/19, 31/11, 31/13, 31/16, 31/45, 32/1, 34/8, 34/10, 34/20, 34/32, 34/42, 34/46-47, 34/52, 35/6, 36/8-9, 36/16, 36/20, 36/28, 37/11-12, 37/15, 37/20, 38/34, 38/10, 38/13-14, 38/20, 38/27, 39/12.

37. For the biography of Hu Ying-lin 胡英麟, see MS 287/7382; DMB, 645-647.


5. See National Central Library, Taiwan, ed., Han-hsueh yen-chiu t'ung-hsüeh, 1:1 (1982), p.34.

6. See MS, 99/2470; Ch'ung-shan hsien-chih, 20/6a.


11. Chi Yun et al, comps., Imperial Catalogue, 170/3630.


15. Ibid.


17. See Chih-chien lu, p.226; Imperial Catalogue, 194/4337.

18. Chih-chien lu, p.397.

19. Ibid.


24. Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu, p.146.


29. Chih-chien lu, p.85.

30. Ibid., pp.85-86.

31. See Naikaku bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku, pp.171-172; Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝史錄 (Seoul, 1955-58), Vol.12, 286/462; Wolfgang Franke, An Introduction to the Sources of Ming History, p.312.


33. Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu, 4/14a.


37. Chih-chien lu, p.5.

38. Imperial Catalogue, 95/1967-68.

39. Chih-chien lu, p.86.
41. Chih-chien lu, p.76.
42. Ibid.
43. Imperial Catalogue, 48/1759.
44. Ibid., 48/1758.
45. Chih-chien lu, p.91.
46. Ibid.
47. See CTHKCP, 9/33b-35b.
49. See Library Catalog of the East Asiatic Library, University of California at Berkeley, Supplementary Catalog, Vol.1, p.193.
52. See Naikaku bunkô kanseki bunrui mokuroku, p.298.
54. See A Descriptive Catalog of Rare Chinese Books in the Library of Congress, p.114.
55. Li Hsi, Ch'iung-shan hsìn-chih, 20/27b.
57. The writings of the Ming scholars recorded that Ch'iu Chün was the author of Wu-lun ch'üan-p'ei and T'ou-pi chi, whereas the author of Chu-ting chi and Lo-nang chi is seldom mentioned. However, most of the Ch'ing and modern scholars believed that Ch'iu Chün wrote the above four works. The table below shows the author of Wu-lun ch'üan-p'ei, T'ou-pi chi, Chu-ting chi and Lo-nang chi as recorded in the bibliographical works of the Ming, Ch'ing and modern scholars, namely the Ch'ü-p'in 章品 by Lai T'ien-ch'eng 来天澄, the Ming ch'ü-p'ìn 明品 by Ch'i Piao-chia 仇兆雅, the Anonymous Ch'üan-ch'i hui-k'ao piao-mu 章案考稿類目, the
Chü-mu hsin pien (purple ink) by Chih Feng-i, the Li-ko p' i- ping chiu hsi-ch'ü (purple ink on black ink) by Li-ko yu-weng 李洛, the Chü-hai tsung-mu 舊聞 (unpublished) by Huang Wen-yang 黃文揚, the Chü-hua 舊話 by Liang T'ing-nan 梁廷楠, the Hsin ch' uan-ch'i p'in 詳聞品 by Kao I 高, the Chin-yue k'ao-cheng 今噱考成 by Yao Haich 雲海, the Ch'u-lu 由録 by Wang Kuo-wei 王國維, and the Ming-tai ch' uan-ch'i ch' uan-mu 明代傳奇纂目 by Fu Hsi-hua 劉。Those listed under Ch'iu Chun will be marked with asterisk, and those that is not mentioned will be leave blank. It may warrant attention that in Ch'i Piao-chia's Ming ch' u-p'in the author of T'ou-pi chi 藝術 목록 and the author of Chü-t'ing chi is given as Hua-shan chü-shi 華山, and the author of Chü-t'ing chi is recorded Anonymous.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chü-p' in</th>
<th>Wu-lun</th>
<th>T'ou-pi</th>
<th>Chü-ting</th>
<th>Lo-nang</th>
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<tr>
<td>Chü-p' in</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ming chü-p' in</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>HSCS</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
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<td>Ch' uan-ch'i hui-k'ao</td>
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<td>Chü-mu hsin-pien</td>
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<td>Li-ko p' i- ping hsi-chü</td>
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<td>Chü-hua</td>
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<td>Hsin ch' uan-ch'i p'in</td>
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<td>Chin-yue k'ao-cheng</td>
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<td>Chü-lu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ming-tai ch' uan-ch'i mu</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


59. See Chih-chien lu, p.248. A Lo Mao-teng annotated T'ou-pi chi, in 4 chüan, which incorporated in the Hs'iu-k'o yen-chi, in 135 chüan, edited and printed by Fu-ch'un T'ang 劉 during the Wan-li period, is still found in the National Central Library, Taiwan. This edition contains comments at the margin of the page and illustrations, and with the caption title “Chüan-hsiang chu-shih t'ou-pi chi ssu-chüan” 享傳繽紛賦詩曲。;


61. Ibid., p.17.

63. See Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu-kuan shan-pen shu-mu, p.153.

64. Wolfgang Franke, *op.cit.*, p.35.


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