To the Memory of My Father
CH'IU CHÜN (1421-1495)

AND

HIS VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT AND HISTORY

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This dissertation is based entirely on my own research.

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Needless to say, I am solely responsible for the errors and shortcomings which may appear in this thesis.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
Introduction

The biographical approach to the study of Chinese history is a particularly rewarding and attractive one, especially in the field of history of thought, where the distinctive characteristics of individual thinkers, no matter how important they may be, are all too easily lost under hasty classifications and generalizations. The usefulness of the biographical approach in the study of Confucianism and the Chinese intellectual tradition was acknowledged by Professor Arthur F. Wright more than two decades ago. In his article "Values, Rules, and Personalities", he made the following observations: "What one says in abstractions about 'a tradition' finds its ultimate proof or disproof in the lives of men; the study of men's lives guards against the idolization of abstractions and at the same time calls attention to the rich texture of a life in time, the multiple forces that bear in upon it, and the vagaries of chance and choice that give it its final pattern."1 Certainly biographical study is an effective means of tracing the political and intellectual developments of certain periods, and the unfolding of facets of Chinese history which were often impelled by official-scholars of vision. It is also an economical means, as Professor Denis Twitchett points out, of exploring periods which at this stage of writing Chinese history provide little more than a chronological skeleton.2 On the one hand, a rounded portrait of a personality and his thought in the context of his time and milieu may add new dimensions for understanding the subject and his times, and, on the other hand, a single biographical study may bring into focus the critical problems and the
atmosphere of an age, and thus help to close the gaps in our understanding of the Chinese tradition. Nevertheless, although many impressive historical studies have appeared, attention has tended to remain focused only on the most familiar figures whereas numerous significant personalities remained relatively neglected. This is certainly the case in the study of Ming history.

In spite of the fact that Ming (1368-1644) studies have been forging rapidly ahead in recent years, the study of the history of the mid Ming period in general has been neglected. Thorough research on a particular aspect of the period, such as historiography, or biographical study of celebrated figures of that time are particularly scarce. The reason for this is not hard to understand. For one thing, the mid Ming period was a time of peace. (Although the T'u-mu incident of 1449 created great frustrations for the Ming government at the beginning of the middle period, and posed some threat to the continuance of the Ming, the dynasty recovered quickly and subsequently enjoyed several decades of stability and prosperity.) Most historians have concentrated on the early and late Ming periods, which witnessed the founding and the downfall of the dynasty, and it is not surprising that a transitional period generally regarded as having done no more than maintaining the achievements of the preceding period has received far less attention. However, historical change does not occur in fits and starts; its continuity is such that even apparently stable periods contain within them the seeds of transformation, and to ignore them would inevitably lead to failure to understand the real nature of changes. Hence, this thesis will attempt to bring into
focus the critical problems and the atmosphere of the mid Ming period, in particular the Ch'eng-hua 成化 (1465-1487) and Hung-chih 弘治 (1488-1505) reigns, through a biographical study of an eminent scholar-official, Ch'iu Chun 沈 淵 (1421-1495).

(Ch'iu Chun, a native of Ch'ung-shan 香山 county (in modern Hainan Island), Kwangtung, was a high-ranking official of the Ch'eng-hua reign and a Grand Secretary and Chief Minister early in the Hung-chih era. His ability in government was recognized both by his contemporaries and historians of later times.) In Ling Ti-chih's 涙迪知 (cs. 1556) Kuo-ch'ao ming-shih lei-yüan 證朝名世類苑, a biographical work on eminent officials from the beginning of the dynasty to the Ch'ia-ching 嘉靖 (1522-1566) period, he was being classified as "a virtuous minister of the resurgent era" (chung-hsing hsien-fu 中興賢輔). Likewise, his scholarship was praised highly by scholars of both the past and present. In his Lieh-ch'ao shih-chi hsiao-chuan 利朝詩集小傳, short biographical sketches of eminent poets of the Ming reigns, Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 (1582-1664) described Ch'iu as "erudite and well-read" -- a view which was shared by many other commentators. The Kuo-ch'ao nei-ko ming-ch'ên shih-lüeh 國朝內閣名臣事略 by Wu Po-yü 吳伯興 (cs. 1613) goes so far as to praise him as "an universal scholar of the present age" (tang-tai t'ung-ju 唐代通儒). Further, modern biographers also acknowledge his great literary efforts. They note that he is "one of the most prolific writers of Ming times; his treatises and essays on a variety of subjects, especially those dealing with governmental institutions, established him as a leading political thinker as well as a writer of stature." However, although
he was an important figure in the history of China, especially in mid-Ming period, Ch'iu Chün has not been the subject of a thorough investigation. His life, career, thought, and works are therefore imperfectly known. This is probably due partly to the voluminous nature of his works, which add up to more than three hundred chüan, and the vast range of subjects he covered in his discussions. A full study of them would necessarily be a lengthy—but not endless—undertaking.

Nevertheless, a few short studies of Ch'iu Chün by modern scholars, focusing on one or two aspects of his thought have been published in the past few decades. They are in Chinese and Japanese as well as western languages. In fact, Chinese work on Ch'iu Chün appeared as early as 1898, when Wang Kuo-hsien 王國憲, a school instructor in Ch'üan-shan 環山 county, compiled a chronicle of Ch'iu's life. This is by far the most important secondary source on Ch'iu's life. In 1936, a field-work report by Ch'en Yuan 陳淵 entitled Ch'iu-Hai li-mu chi 丘海里墓記 also provided a general outline of the life and works of Ch'iu Chün. In the 1960's and 1970's, at least seven short essays, by Ch'en Heng-sheng 陳恒昇, Wang Wan-fu 王萬福, Lin Kuang-hao 林光浩, Hsien Yu-ch'ing 謝玉清, and others, dealing with Ch'iu's life, poems, thought, or works, were published. The establishment of the Chinese Association of Ch'iu-Hai in Taipei, Taiwan, in 1978, and their publication of periodicals on Ch'iu Chün and Hai Jui 海瑞 (1513-1587), another native of Ch'üan-shan and an outspoken official of the Ch'iao-ching 嘉靖 (1522-1566) and Lung-ch'ing 隆慶 (1567-1572) reigns, led to the appearance of more articles on Ch'iu Chün.
These included two studies by Chou Ch'ang-yao and Chan Tsun-p'an on Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, a manual on matters crucial for good government, and some short essays by Ch'iu Shih-ju and others. However, few of these articles were either based on reliable sources or involved rigorous academic research. Only three of them have been of some use to the present study of Ch'iu Chun: two articles by Wu Chi-hua, both published in 1967, which solved the problem of Ch'iu's year of birth and supplemented Ch'iu's biography in the Ming-shih with historical records; and a brief but serious study by Su Yün-feng, published in 1982, which provides a vivid portrait of Ch'iu's life and career.

It is interesting to note that in recent years Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu has attracted the attention of historians in mainland China. As far as I know, at least six articles, by Fan Chi-min, Chao Ching, Li P'u-kuo, Hu Shen-yüan, Wen Ch'ien-fu, and Huang Kuo-ch'iang were published between 1980 and 1983. However, not surprisingly, they focused their attention mainly on Ch'iu's economic thought, which is currently a popular subject in historical studies in mainland China. The titles of Chao Ching and Wen Ch'ien-fu's articles -- "Ch'iu Chun: Chung-kuo shih-wu shih-chi ching-chi ssu-hsiang te cho-yüeh tai-piao jen-wu" and "P'i i-wang te ching-chi hsüeh-chia Ch'iu Chun" indicate the themes of this type of study. Although they bring to light the economic aspects
of Ch'iu's thought, these studies are far from being careful and objective historical researches. Their evaluations are strongly influenced by their fixed standpoint. A further defect is the frequent discrepancies in wording between their citations and the original works of Ch'iu Chün. Meanwhile, like his economic ideas, which have become a standard item in modern works such as selected writings on, or general history of, Chinese economic thought, Ch'iu's views on law and punishment have also begun to receive attention from modern scholars. His discussions on this subject, as found in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, have been selected and annotated as teaching materials for the study of law. A newly published history of Chinese legal thought by Li Ching and Kung Ch'ing-ming, devotes a whole section to him as a representative thinker of the Ming dynasty. With the growing trend towards strengthening laws and punishments currently in evidence in mainland China, it is likely that Ch'iu's legal ideas likewise will become an even more popular subject of study in the coming years.

Although very few Japanese scholars have taken interest in Ch'iu Chün, the study of him in Japan has yielded some positive results. Monographs on Ch'iu Chün appeared as early as 1944, when Nishida Taichirō published an article on Ch'iu's financial thought. Subsequently, two studies by Imanaga Seiji and Araki Kengo were published in 1959 and 1966 respectively. They both focused on Chiu's intellectual inclination and outlined the general characteristic of his thought. Araki Kengo's study, in particular, relates Ch'iu's thought to the intellectual environment of his time and provided inspiration for the present study. Apart from
In this article the author attempts to study the historical value of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu by focusing his attention on two sections of the book, namely "Consolidating the root of the state" (ku pang-pen 國本根) and "Administration of public expenditure" (chih kuo-yung 副閣用). However, by far the most important works in Japanese are the two penetrating papers by Manö Senryū 深尾善雄. In a paper published in 1963, entitled "Daigakuengiho no seiritsu ni tsuite" 大學経義禮成立について, Professor Manö traces the relation between Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and Chen Te-hsiu's 真德秀 (1178-1235) Ta-hsüeh yen-i 大學經義 and shows the popularity of the latter work in Yuan and Ming times, which, he believes, partly explains the writing of the former. The other paper by the same author, published in 1977, is a detailed study of the first section — "Rectifying the imperial court" (cheng ch'ao-t'ing 王朝庭) — of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. It provides thorough and detailed discussion of Ch'iu's ideas on the proper management of the imperial court as well as his view of the importance of the emperor as an example to officialdom. Both papers by Professor Manö Senryū are the product of substantial research and they demonstrate the achievement of Japanese scholars, though still at a preliminary stage, in the study of Ch'iu Chün. Unfortunately, following the death of Professor Manö Senryū in 1981, there is no sign that anyone will carry on his work.

Ch'iu Chün is certainly unfamiliar to the western world. Works on him and his works in western languages are very few and rather
poor. The first was published as late as 1976, when the Dictionary of Ming Biography 1368-1644 was put out by the Columbia University. It included a short biography of Ch'iu Chün written jointly by Ray Huang and Wu Chi-hua. The only other work appeared eight years later. Early this year, 1984, a student at Princeton University, Mr Chu Hung-lam, completed a Ph.D. on Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. Unfortunately I only gained access to Mr Chu's dissertation when this thesis was already in its final form, hence I have not been able to make use of such findings as Mr Chu was able to reach. It should be pointed out that Mr Chu's study, entitled "Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) and the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu: Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-Century China", while very lengthy, is also very limited in scope. Of its limitations its author was well aware, as he makes clear in his Introduction: "The main task of this study, limited as it must be in scope, is to understand and explain the coming into being of the book. Attention is focused more on the book than on its author because the book was ultimately responsible for the lasting fame of the man, not vice versa ... Specifically, we seek to examine the relevant factors which perhaps caused Ch'iu Chün, not another person, first to start writing the Yen-i pu, and then to have written it as it is. That is, instead of giving an extensive analysis of the book's contents (though inevitably they will have to be dealt with), or making an intensive elaboration of the book's ideas, we are looking directly at and concentrating on the background of the book. This has been done not because the contents and the ideas of the Yen-i pu are not intrinsically important or attractive, but because of the conviction that unless we understand why it was written and what its
author intended it to be, it would be difficult to grasp its import adequately, to assess its value correctly, or to explain its impact appropriately. Therefore, the writer devotes a large portion of his discussion to Ch'en Te-hsiu's Ta-hsiieh yen-i, the work which inspired Ch'iu to undertake the compilation of a supplement, and the political climate of Ch'iu's time. Ch'iu's response to the problems current in his time, and his ideas on statecraft as reflected in the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu, are ignored. Ch'iu Chün and his works, therefore, still require further study if this important figure is to be fully understood. A new scholarly effort with an appropriately wide perspective is very much in order.

In the present volume I shall examine in detail Ch'iu Chün's life and career, and the important features of his thought. In addition to analysing the historical events which exerted a major influence on him and the development of his thought, I will pay particular attention also to two of his most important works, namely the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and the Shih-shih cheng-kang 世史正綱 . These two works demonstrate Ch'iu's efforts to bring forward his ideal of good government and to strengthen national and social consciousness, which he considered crucial factors in the establishment of stable government, through the study of history. The ideas contained in these two works, which exerted considerable influence on the development of Chinese political philosophy and historiography, represent the core of Ch'iu's thought.

The main body of this study is in four parts. My discussion will proceed as follows: the next chapter, essentially biographical in nature, will trace Ch'iu Chün's early life, upbringing, and political
career. Special attention will be paid to his last years at court, when he was at the peak of his political career. Treatises and poems written during his youth, in which he expressed his political aspirations, and memorials presented to the throne when he served at court, will be examined in conjunction with the historical events behind these writings. In this way it is hoped that a fuller and deeper understanding will be gained of both the man and his time. Anecdotes about Ch'iu Chün by Ming and Ch'ing scholars are certainly numerous. However, many of them are mere hearsay and cannot be taken as historically reliable. So as not to clutter this study with too much detail, anecdotal material will be kept to a minimum. In that way the tortuous discussions required to show whether or not it tallies with the facts can be avoided.

In the third chapter, I shall examine the intellectual trends of the early and mid Ming periods, and, drawing on this background, evaluate the factors that shaped Ch'iu's thought. Ch'iu's intellectual inclinations and the characteristics of his thought will be studied in detail in the second part of this chapter. One of Ch'iu's compilations, the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti, will be examined as a way of demonstrating his connection with the Ch'eng-Chu tradition and his efforts to save the Ch'eng-Chu school of learning from decline. Through this investigation, it is hoped that we may come to see why Ch'iu was inclined towards practical learning, a tendency which in every way ran counter to the fashion of his time.

The fourth chapter will deal with Ch'iu's political views and his idea of good government. The chapter is divided into two parts. In the first part I shall inquire into the inspiration behind the Ta-
hsüeh yen-i pu. The conceptual framework of Chen's Ta-hsüeh yen-i and Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu will be compared, and their understanding and definition of the t'ı-yung paradigm, an important Confucian concept which underlies both works and constitutes their guiding ideology, will also be discussed. The second part will be an investigation of Ch'iu's political views as found in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu is a work which has received wide praise in the past as well as the present. It is an encyclopedic work which covers nearly every aspect of government activity, and a general study of each item it discusses is scarcely possible, let alone a detailed discussion. In this part of the chapter, therefore, I shall focus mainly on Ch'iu's basic principles of good government, and deal only here and there with such subjects which appear to merit further discussion.

In the fifth chapter I turn to examine Ch'iu's historical thought as reflected in the Shih-shih cheng-kang, a work which has received surprisingly little attention but is important both for an understanding of Ch'iu's thought and the development of Ming historiography. In fact, in the history of Chinese historiography, the historiography of the Ming dynasty has generally received very unfavourable comments. Ming historical writings, both those compiled by private historians and those compiled under government auspices, are criticized by modern scholars as being without a single redeeming feature. To be sure, no historical works of the Ming dynasty are comparable to the great historical works such as the Shih-chi by Ssu-ma Ch'ien (145-86? B.C.) of the Former Han 漢 (206 B.C. - 8 A.D.) or the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien 資治通鑑 by Ssu-ma
Kuang 翁 （1019-1086）of the Northern Sung 宋 (960-1127)。 Nevertheless, there are still many historical works by Ming scholars which should be given a place in the history of Chinese historiography. It cannot be denied that the historiography of the Ming dynasty has been insufficiently studied, with the result that it has been poorly understood and its contribution to and significance for the development of Chinese historiography were badly underestimated. It is only recently that the historiography of outstanding Ming scholars such as Li Chih 李贄 (1527-1602), Chu Yun-ming 顧炎武 (1461-1527), and Chiao Hung 袁袠 (1540-1620) has been brought to our attention by modern scholars, and that our understanding of the historiography of this period has broadened.

These studies clearly show that no fair judgement can be made of Ming historiography without a more comprehensive and thorough study of the historical writings of Ming scholars. It is beyond the scope of this study to provide such a detailed investigation or give an overall evaluation of the Ming historiography. Nevertheless, the discussion in this chapter, which examines the underlying motives, principles, and characteristics of Ch'iu's Shih-shih cheng-kang, attempts to shed light not only on Ch'iu's historical thought and the historiography of the mid Ming period, but also to add new dimensions to our knowledge of the historiography of the Ming dynasty generally.

These four main parts are followed by a conclusion, which will evaluate the significance of Ch'iu's thought in the history of Ming dynasty and the impact of his works on the scholars of later times.

Throughout this study, the romanization systems employed are Wade-Giles for Chinese (certain diacritical marks excepted), and
Rōmaji for Japanese. Characters are generally supplied for lesser-known place names, but widely known names of islands, rivers, lakes, mountains, cities, as well as the thirteen provinces of Ming times are simply given according to conventional English spellings.

Translations of official titles and governmental terms generally follow those given in "Governmental Organization of the Ming Dynasty" by Charles O. Hucker.
CHAPTER TWO

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

a. Childhood and Education
b. Political Career
c. Last Years at Court
a. Childhood and Education

The development of personality has been described as the successive deposits left by time on a central kernel constituted by heredity, environment and childhood. However, of the three constituents, childhood is the most crucial because it both modifies heredity and profoundly affects personal development in later years. In studying Ch'iu Chün, an understanding of his childhood is certainly indispensable, since his family background and upbringing were profoundly affected his personal growth.

Ch'iu Chün's courtesy name was Chung-shen, and his hao was Shen-an. He was also known to his contemporaries as Ch'iung-tai hsien-sheng or Ch'iung-shan hsien-sheng. He was born on the tenth day of the eleventh month of the nineteenth year of Yung-lo (1421), in Hsia-t'ien village, Ch'iung-shan, Kwangtung. Very little is known about his ancestors before their move from Chin-kiang, Fukien, to Ch'iung-shan. According to the accounts by Ch'iu Chün, his great grandfather Chün-lu, who worked in the military commission during the Yuan dynasty, had been posted to Ch'iung-shan. As a result of the chaos of the late Yuan period, he settled there. His grandfather P'u, the only son of Chün-lu, was an assistant medical instructor in Lin-kao. Ch'iu Chün's father, Ch'uan, who was also an only son, died when he was seven. Ch'iu Chün and his only brother, Yuan, who was two years older than Chün, were brought up by their grandfather and their young mother, who
was only twenty-eight sui when her husband died. No information is  
offered in any of the historical records or accounts by Ch'iu Chün  
about his father, with the result that our knowledge of Ch'iu Chün's  
impressions of his father and the influence of Ch'iu's father on his  
son remains blank. Ch'iu Chün's elementary education was probably gained  
under the supervision of his grandfather and mother.  

At the age of two, Ch'iu Chün began to be taught by his  
grandfather to read characters and practice etiquette. Ch'iu P'u was  
a man who took delight in doing charitable deeds and giving alms. In an  
account by Ho Ch'iao-hsin (1427-1502) entitled "Ch'iung-tai ts'ung-  
chung chi", which records the charitable work of P'u, it  
is said that during the chaos of the late Yüan period, Ch'iung-shan was  
severely disordered. The city was surrounded and besieged for nearly  
half a year by a gang of tribesmen and bandits led by Ch'en Hu.  
More than half of the population was killed or starved to death. On the  
western side of the city, a few li from P'u's house, there were  
unmarked burial-mounds littered with corpses. P'u was so concerned, he  
made a contribution to employ workers to collect the bodies and bury  
them properly. As well as summoning Buddhist monks and Taoist priests to  
offer services for the release of their souls from purgatory, sacrifices  
for the dead were offered every year during the Ch'ing-ming festival.  
Another account by Chiao Ying-han records Ch'iu P'u doing similar charitable deeds in the ninth year of Hsüan-te  
(1434), when the city was suffering from a famine which caused many  
deaths. People of later times said that Ch'iu Chün's subsequent good  
fate in being able to serve as an important official at court, was an  
example of "reward for good deeds".
was due to his family's history of charitable works is of course impossible to determine. However, the actions of the grandfather did set a good example for his two grandsons, and it may have some effect on the development of their character. 

Ch'iu Chün's father died at the age of thirty-three when Ch'iu P'u was already fifty-seven sui. From this time P'u's hopes centred on his two grandsons. When fellow villagers extended their condolences to P'u after his son died, P'u wrote a couplet and hung on the lintel of his bedroom door. The couplet read:

Sorrowful to have no son to provide for my old age,
Happy to have two grandsons able to continue the ancestral line. ¹¹

On one occasion, P'u talked to his two grandsons about the expectations he had of them. In "K'o-ch'i t'ang chi" 可穀堂記 Ch'iu Chün recalled:

One day, grandfather was taking a rest in the hall, and my brother and I were standing in attendance at his side. Grandfather said to my brother: "You will be responsible for ancestral worship and must carry on my affairs. Be a good physician and live in seclusion to aid [the people] of our home village." He said to me: "You establish the family's good name and develop further the heritage of our ancestors. Be a good minister to serve the lord and to rescue [the people] from their sufferings." At that time we both were young and childish, too foolish to understand what grandfather was talking about. However, henceforth, we learned to take it to heart and apply ourselves to his instructions very carefully and piously, not daring to let him down. ¹²

According to the account Ch'iu later gave, his grandfather's expectations may not have had much influence in determining the road he was to take in the future, since he was only seven at the time. Nevertheless, he and his brother were urged to work hard, and it may be that their grandfather's urging had a stronger effect than Ch'iu Chün later believed, coming as it did when he was still a child, and distressed by
the death of his father. In the event, both brothers did what their
grandfather hoped they would.

The second person directly to affect Ch'iu Chun's early childhood
was his mother née Li. Ch'iu Chun's mother came from a rich family in
Ch'eng-mai 漢縣 county, Ch'ung-chou. Her father Li I-chou 李亮周 (also
written 李亮周) was a Tribute Student of the National University.13
She herself was a learned woman, brought up in a scholarly family,
educated and trained in Confucian ethics, especially in the virtues
appropriate to a woman. Perhaps because of her upbringing, she made up
her mind not to remarry after the death of her husband, when she was
only twenty-eight.14 Records of later scholars say that she was both
a good wife and a good mother. When her husband was ill, she allegedly
remained at his bed-side and did not get a wink of sleep for eight
months. After her husband died, she raised her sons in the manner of
Mencius's mother.15 In 1457, on the recommendation of Huang Tsan 黃震，
Magistrate of Ch'ung-chou prefecture, and Ch'en Yung-i 陳用已，
Magistrate of Ch'ung-shan county, she was praised officially by the
government as an exemplary widow.16 In 1467, two years before her
death, her integrity was lauded in a long epitaph, entitled "Ching-piao
Ch'ung-shan hsien Li chieh-fu pei-ming" 漢縣季節婦碑誌, by
P'eng Shi 彭時 (1416-1475), then Grand Secretary, at the request of
Ch'iu Chun.17 In 1471, imperial sacrifice was granted through Wu Ch'en
吳震, Magistrate of Ch'ung-chou prefecture.18 When Ch'iu's mother
died in 1469 Ch'iu was already forty-nine sui, and had risen to the
post of Expositor-in-Waiting in the Hanlin Academy. Mother of an
Expositor-in-Waiting in the Hanlin Academy, not a very distinguished
position, were seldom granted an imperial sacrifice in Ming times. This
The virtue of Ch'iu's mother was a living example for her son of traditional Confucian virtue. His family background was perhaps an important influence in of Ch'iu Chün's tendency toward orthodox Confucianism in his later career.

The early education of Ch'iu Chün was mostly directed by his grandfather and mother. Since his mother came from a learned family, it is probable that his mother's private tutoring was formal and substantial. As a child, Ch'iu Chün was extraordinarily bright and had an exceptional memory. He was allegedly able to recite any text after reading it over once. His poetic talents were demonstrated when at the age of six he wrote a series of poems describing the scenery of Wu-chih shan (Five-finger Mountain) near his home town. His poems were so vigorous and well-written that those who knew about poetry could foresee that he would make an impact. Ch'iu's poems not only showed his talent but also expressed his lofty aspirations and great ideals. In Ch'iu Chün's collected work, Ch'üng-tai shih-wen hui-kao ch'üng-pien, there is one poem entitled "Wu-chih ts'an-t'ien" [The five-finger rising up to the sky] together with Ch'iu's remarks: "When I was young I wrote a series of poems to describe the eight scenic spots in Ch'üng-tai. The Magistrate, Master Ch'eng, had them engraved on blocks and printed. Now it is no longer extant. I can remember only the first one, which I take the liberty to record here." This poem is believed to be the one he wrote at the age of six and which was highly praised by his contemporaries. The poem reads:

The five finger-like summits greenly linked together,
Proping up half the sky of the southern land;
Washing in the Milky Way and plucking the stars at night,
Visiting the rosy clouds and trifling with the foggy mist in the morning.
Jade bamboo-shoots appear in the sky after the rain,
It's a brilliant pearl hanging on the palm when the moon comes out;
Could it not be the out-stretching arm of a gigantic God,
Reckoning the Central Plain from the distant overseas?

The last line of the poem: "Reckoning the Central Plain from the distant overseas", apart from giving an impression of the mountain, also had an implicit meaning. It alludes to the author's aspiration to develop his career in the government. Ch'iu's aspiration may not seem anything out of the ordinary, but if we reflect on the general situation of the time, for a student like Ch'iu, born and educated in the rather backward regions of the country to win a place in the central government was not an easy task. The young Ch'iu Chün was also a boy full of self-confidence, perhaps even conceit. On another occasion, when he was seven or eight sui, he passed through a local school in his village. The school teacher was asking his pupils to write a poem about mynahs. When the school teacher invited him to do so, Ch'iu immediately wrote one.

The last two lines of his poem read:

I ought to attend closely with the phoenix;
Dare to content in intelligence with the parrot.

The phoenix is a symbol of nobility and eminence. The parrot is a symbol of cleverness and sagacity. The poem alludes to his high ambition to stand along side with the nobles and ministers at court, and to compare his intelligence with learned men. "Ought to", "dare to", show his confidence in himself. It is little wonder that this little boy astonished the school teacher.

When Ch'iu Chün had grown a little older, the instruction he had been receiving from his mother and grandfather was no longer adequate. Ch'iu began his formal studies in 1427 at the age of seven. In the ninth month of that year his father died. His grandfather had to
rush back from Peking, where he had been undergoing "service evaluation" - a system of regular service-rating in the Ming government, to take care of the two grandsons. Financially, the Ch'iu family cannot be said to have been wealthy, though their ancestors had left them some cultivated land. In one account, Ch'iu Chün mentions that they received financial aid from his maternal grandmother née Ch'en, the wife of Li I-chou. Ch'iu Chün's primary school life was evidently satisfying for him for he was very interested in learning and reading books. At the age of thirteen, he had already finished reading the Five Classics, and had extended his interest to various other topics. In a preface written for his disciple Chiang Mien (1463-1533), Ch'iu records:

From childhood I had the ambition to learn. Whatever my body could reach, my eyes could see, my mind could think, if it was beneficial to my body and mind, fruitful for my learning and knowledge, and applicable to this world and this people, without exception I would examine it in my heart.

This probably formed the foundation for his subsequent wide knowledge and scholarship. Ch'iu's extensive reading was not confined to Confucian texts. A biography by Chiao Ying-han says that he went through even the "writings of the three teachings and the hundred schools." Another account, the Hsi-yüan wen-chien lu praises his fondness for study and records that Ch'iu "always borrowed books from the book stores in the market place, though they were Buddhist texts, Taoist writings or books on mystic teachings, he would not throw them aside." There is an account by Ch'iu himself of his youthful enthusiasm for learning and the hardship he experienced. In "Ts'ang-shu shih-shih chi", he records that when he was orphaned at the age of seven, there were still many hundred chüan of books kept in his house. Later, most of these were
taken away by someone else. When he was a bit older and his scholarly interests had developed, he took out the books which remained, and found that most of them were ragged and incomplete. Because there were no other volumes to replace or supplement those which were worn out, he simply concentrated on what he had. Sometimes he borrowed books from the book stores in the marketplace, but those books were mostly vulgar and full of errors, and there was not much to be gained from them. So he searched among his relatives and friends, and if they had a collection of books of any kind he borrowed them and took them home. He took good care of them and returned them promptly even if he had them only for a very short time and he could not make a copy of his own, hoping that this prompt action would gain sympathy from their owners who could lend them to him again. When he heard of a great collector, he would do his best to become acquainted with the man. Afraid of making others discontented, he was prepared to act obsequiously in this respect. Sometimes he had to travel hundreds of 里, or to make inquiry with many people in order to borrow one book. Sometimes he had to wait for three or five years before he could get the book he wanted. Even if he was rejected with harsh words, he was still willing to accept this and not become angry, in the hope that the man in question might change his mind. Sometimes people dismissed him as a madman and showed him no consideration. On many occasions, Ch'iu regreted his bad luck for being born to an impoverished family in a backward region so that he could not afford to go to school in north China, where cultural opportunities were relatively more common. Often when he had queries concerning study, he could not find a good teacher or a learned friend to consult. When he had no alternative, he consulted books. But begging
for books was a difficult task. As Ch'iu himself remarked, there were no notable scholars teaching in the rather backward region of Ch'iung-shan. But Ch'iu was a brilliant child and eager to learn. He studied hard and was essentially self-taught.

In 1436, Ch'iu P'u died, at the age of sixty-eight, leaving a daughter-in-law and two grandsons. At that time, Ch'iu Chün was already sixteen. Perhaps at the behest of his grandfather, Ch'iu started to prepare for the civil service examination. His mastery in letters became more refined. Wang Kuo-hsien 王國謙 in the Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung nien-p'u 州文昌公年譜 describes his vigour in letters: "A flourish of his pen and an essay of thousands words was done."

In 1439, at the age of nineteen, Ch'iu obtained the position of student of a public school (hsiang-sheng 旅行 ) in his province. Three years later, in 1442, having attended a public examination held by the Provincial Surveillance Office, with Wang Ch'ung-yu 王秉隅, the Surveillance Vice-Commissioner, as the chief examiner, Ch'iu Chün and two other students were selected as outstanding students to receive "grain allowance" (ling-hsi 粮饟 ) from the government. They were the only ones among the scores of participants in that examination selected to receive the allowance. From all indications, Ch'iu was a brilliant student, and several anecdotes regarding his remarkable performance at school have been preserved. For example, one afternoon, in the eight month of 1442, Ch'iu's classmates reported to him that a flock of birds with grey-white plumage had gathered in the pond of their school. Ch'iu found out that they were wild geese (yen 勝 ). He told his classmates that wild geese were migratory birds which usually flew from the north to spend the winter in the south. But how was it that
they flew to this remote place in the extreme south? Why then was it that they did not fly to the lake which was separated from the small pond in the school by only one wall? Could it not be said that this was an intentional occurrence? When his classmates asked for a reason, Ch'iu replied that this was an omen since the migratory birds could feel meteorological changes before others. He concluded that: "Formerly, the vital force of the earth (ti-ch'i) flowed from the south to the north. In accordance with this, a man from the south agitating the world by means of letters. At present, when the vital force of the earth flows from the north to the south, how do you know there is no man from the south to put the world in order by means of letters? It came true in the past; it will come true again in the present." When his classmates joked: "How do you know it is not you?" Ch'iu just laughed and modestly demurred. Although Ch'iu did not explain who he meant by the "man from the south agitating the world by means of letters", he was probably referring to Wang An-shih (1021-1086), a Confucian reformer of the eleventh century. Wang was a native of Lin-ch'uan (现代 province of Kiangsi). In Ch'iu Chün's Shih-shih cheng-kang, a chronicle aiming to strengthen dynastic legitimacy and orthodox virtues, he condemned Wang An-shih severely for his abrogation of the Confucian Classics and his agitation of the world order with his reforms. At one point, he even criticised Wang An-shih as "renegade of the eternal Confucian ethical code". However, whether or not we can find out who Ch'iu was referring to as the "man from the south" is of no importance for our understanding of Ch'iu's aims. We have every reason to believe that to "put the world in order by means of letters" is what Ch'iu was dreaming.
of at that time. Though he declined to accept the role his classmates jokingly attributed to him, he was certainly willing to be that "man from the south". In the same year, 1442, Ch'iu wrote a long treatise discussing the historical status of Hsü Heng (1209-1281) entitled "Hsü Wen-cheng kung lun" (A discussion on Hsü Heng, the Lord Wen-cheng kung). In the article he criticised Hsü Heng for serving the barbarian Yuan government, and for having shown no intention to retire from public life when he found his service was impotent for changing the barbarian customs. Ch'iu comments: "Judging from the eternal [Confucian] principles, I am afraid Hsü Heng was not without faults." However, in the early Ming Hsü Heng had been regarded as a transmitter of orthodox Confucianism and was chosen by Emperor T'ai-tsu (r.1368-1399), the founder of the dynasty, to be worshipped alongside Confucius and others in the Confucian temple. Thus, for Ch'iu to criticise Hsü Heng in this way regardless of common opinion was very courageous and exceptional. People were astonished and surprised when they heard of it.

In 1444, as was expected, Ch'iu came first in the provincial examination held at Kwangtung. That year, among the fifty successful candidates who passed the examination and received their chü-jen degree, Ch'iu was the most outstanding. The five problem-solving essays (ts'e) he wrote for the examination were constantly on everybody's lips. Wang Lai, one of the examiners, was so impressed that he wrote a poem to commend Ch'iu and encouraged him to work hard for the coming metropolitan examination. The poem reads:

First man among the fifty,
Only you have the literary talent that surpasses all others.
Vigorous in writing when elucidating rites and music,
Sincere in the search for reason when deducing from the texts.
I hope your genius will be victorious,
at the examination in spring.
Do not forget to burn your mid-night oil by the window [of your study].
Being illustrious has always come from investigation of the past,
A glorious career is [foreseen] at this very moment.

Needless to say, Ch'iu could not have been satisfied with this first achievement, since the chü-jen degree was only the first step in his “glorious career”. During the following years, from 1444 to 1447, he probably shut himself up and worked hard to prepare for the metropolitan examination which was going to be held in 1448 at Peking. In 1445, before he left for Peking, in accordance with his mother's wish, he married the daughter of Chin Kuei, a Company Commander (po-hu) of the local army in Yai-chou, Kwangtung. In 1447, Ch'iu left for Peking, accompanied by Feng Yuan-chi and Hsing Yu of the same district. He was unsuccessful in winning the chin-shih degree the following year, obtaining a place only in the supplementary list (i-pang). In Ming times, chü-jen who failed in the metropolitan examination but were placed in the supplementary list were usually appointed as local education officials. However, Ch'iu declined the offer of the position of instructor (chiao-yü) in a county school and planned his second attempt.

Between 1448 and 1451, he stayed in Peking and was admitted to the National University (kuo-tzu chien) preparing for the next examination. In the National University he was praised and encouraged by Hsiao Tzu (d.1464), then Chancellor of the National University, when the latter read his composition. However, in 1451 he again failed in the metropolitan examination. He was very depressed and felt he had no scope to exercise his ability. He wrote three poems under the
title "I— hsiao" (A smile) with the subtitle "Hsin-wei hsia-ti tso" (Written after having failed in the examination in the cyclical year of hsin-wei). In the last two lines of the first poem, he exclaims: "Although full of the knowledge of modern and ancient affairs, with whom can I discuss it in detail?" In the third poem, he mourned:

Great aspirations [are now] as cold as ashes,
A home-sick heart that speeds on as if it is flying;
White clouds are constantly in sight,
Clear tears are about to fall and dampen my clothes.

This poem gives a good indication of Ch'iu's state of mind at this time. He evidently wished to shrug off his unhappiness with a smile, but he could not conceal feelings of frustration and disappointment. Shortly after his examination result was announced, Ch'iu went home to see his mother, perhaps hoping that this would help to heal his wounds. But more misfortune was to come. Later that year, his wife and his brother-in-law Chin Ting died. Both were very dear to him. Their deaths one after another further deepened his sorrow and made him feel helpless. Ch'iu stayed at home for about two years and in 1453 he returned to the capital for another period of intensive study. In 1454, he attended the metropolitan examination for the third time. This time he was successful. He was highly praised by the chief examiners Shang Lu (1414-1486) and Li Shao (1407-1471) for his outstanding performance and was placed first in the examination. In the palace examination, which was held on the fifth day of the third month of the same year, Ch'iu did not do quite so well, ranking in the first place of the second class (erh-chia list) for the problem-solving essays he presented criticized the policies of the government. However, his success in winning the chin-shih degree was a milestone in Ch'iu's life. He was selected to enter the Hanlin Academy and started his political career.
b. Political Career

Among the three hundred and forty-nine successful candidates of the metropolitan examination in 1454, eighteen were selected to enter the Hanlin Academy as Hanlin Bachelors (shu-chi-shih 府吉士). Ch'iu Chün was one of them. The position of Hanlin Bachelor was normally assigned to top-ranking chin-shih with literary talents and skill in calligraphy. Selecting chin-shih as Hanlin Bachelors during the Ming dynasty was a way of nurturing senior civil servants for the central government. The newly selected Hanlin Bachelors would further their studies in the Hanlin Academy. The advantage this brought them personally was that they could read the rare collections in the libraries of the central government. Ch'iu Chün made the most of this opportunity, and during his years in the Hanlin Academy laid a firm foundation for his extensive knowledge. Later that year, Ch'iu was appointed to participate in the compilation of the Huan-yü t'ung-chih 萬里通志, an official geography of the Ming empire and adjacent regions. The compilation has first been ordered during the Hung-wu period (1368-1398), but little had been accomplished. Another command was issued in the early Ching-t'ai period (1450-1456), with the appointment of Ch'en Hsün 陳壽 (1385-1461), then Grand Secretary of the Wen-yuan Hall 文淵閣, and Kao Ku 高榖 (d.1460), then Grand Secretary of Tung Hall 榮閣, as Supervisors of Compilation. In 1455, Ch'iu was promoted to the post of Historiographer (shih-kuan 史官), devoting all his energies to the compilation work. The Huan-yü t'ung-chih was completed in 1456. As was usual, all the participants received gifts of bestowal or promotion. Ch'iu was promoted to Compiler (pien-hsiu 該修, rank 7a) in the Hanlin Academy. In
the same year, 1456, Ch’iu married a woman surnamed Wu 王, a native of his home county, who later bore him three sons and two daughters. In the year which followed, Ch’iu was mainly involved with compilation and literary works. In the second year of T’ien-shun (1458), shortly after the restoration of Chu Ch’i-chen 朱希鎮, the former emperor, who lost his throne due to his capture by the Mongols in the T’u-mu incident of 1449 and was replaced by his brother at the demand of the courtiers, the compilation of a new official geography was ordered. This new work, which entitled Ta-Ming i-t’ung chih 大明一統志, was aimed to replace the old one with the political purpose of rebuilding Chu Ch’i-chen’s reputation and condemning what had done by his brother, Chu Ch’i-yü 楚希煬 (r. 1450–1457). Li Hsien 李賢 (1408–1466), Minister of Personnel, was appointed as Ex-officio Supervisor of Compilation, while P’eng Shi 彭時, the Grand Secretary, and Lü Yuan 陸原 (1418–1462), then Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy, were appointed as Vice-Supervisors of Compilation. Ch’iu Chun was enlisted as Compiler. The compilation of the Ta-Ming i-t’ung chih lasted four years. It was completed and published in 1461 in 90 chüan. During the years from 1461 to 1465, no special literary work was assigned to him. He probably spent most of his time reading the imperial collection. He was allotted accommodation which occupied more than sixty square chang 方 , in the east side of the Imperial palace. Here Ch’iu built up his library and study, which he called "Huai-yin shu-wu 拟陰書屋 (Locust-shadow Study), and immersed himself in books. Everything concerning “the things to which the ancient sages and wise men gave their attention and were put into writings; the ways in which the ancient emperors and kings ruled their states and appeared in the Classics and histories; the ways in which the scholars
and poets discussed and described reason, principle, and beautiful scenery, and was included in their collected works, "Ch'iu would study in order to gain a deeper spiritual understanding of them. His scholarly attainments certainly improved considerably during these years of hard work. The Ming Standard History, Ming-shih, says that: "Once Chun had been appointed as a Hanlin official, the scope of his knowledge widened. [He] was particularly familiar with documents and history of this country, and considered himself statecraft." Ch'iu was not satisfied with his present post as a Compiler, despite his good fortune in having received unusually rapid promotion. In Ming times, Hanlin Bachelors were normally appointed as Compilers or to comparable posts after three years' training in the Hanlin Academy. Ch'iu held the post of Hanlin Bachelor for only two years before being promoted to Compiler after the completion of the Huan-yü t'ung-chi. He was, in fact, rather disappointed when he was appointed Compiler. What he had hoped for was a post in which he could practice his statecraft and put it to full use. In an article expressing his disappointment, Ch'iu remarks that he had the desire to serve his county when he was young. All matters concerning the empire's population, frontiers, military and financial affairs, he would examine in his heart. It was his idea that, should he take up a government post and devote himself to it, he would be able to make use of what he learned at a future time, and so fulfil his ambitions. Following his involvement in the compilation of the Huan-yü t'ung-chi, he had the chance to examine in detail the situation and different problems of the empire. Elsewhere, he wrote: "At that time I was young and vigorous, believing that there was nothing in the world that cannot be done, only that there
may not be in the position to do it. If I were recruited to the officialdom, [no matter] morning or evening, I could advanced my aspiration. Till the book (Huan-yü t'ung-chi) was completed and presented to the throne, all my colllegues who participated in the compilation were appointed as Supervising Secretaries (chi-shih-chung 給事中) or Censors (yü-shih 御史), only four remained as Compilers. I am one of them." Ch’iu was not content with these literary tasks, for what he wanted was an administrative post, as censor or department head, in which he could put his learning into practice. Perhaps he believed these literary tasks was only a misuse of his genius. However, since it was the order of the emperor, there was nothing he could do but wait for a different opportunity to arise. In an article written during this period, entitled "Shuo-chou" (On boats), which he dedicated to his friend Lin Tsung-ching 林宗敬, Ch’iu expressed his ideas on learning and opportunity. Lin Tsung-ching was a native of Kwangtung, who had sat for the metropolitan examination together with Ch’iu Chun in 1454 but failed. He tried again in 1457 but only gained a position in the supplementary list. He was offered an instructorship in the local school but declined. He bought a boat and was preparing to go home. On Lin’s departure, Ch’iu draw an analogy between learning and the making of a boat, aiming at easing Lin’s disappointment and rousing his fighting spirit. Ch’iu argued that making a boat was not an easy task. A boat could not be made if wood was not felled from the wooded hills, iron was not forged, or putty was not refined; even with these materials, but without the instructions of the engineer, the allocation of a certain period of time, and without heeding the rules of construction, it would still not be possible to build a boat. And when
the boat was constructed, if it had no bridge or helm, or lacked essential rigging like thick ropes or a mast, it still could not be said to be a complete boat. But if all preparations were completed, and the boat was not launched in the proper way, still it would not be able to reach the river and enter the sea. Even if it was built from the proper materials, by a good engineer, according to the appropriate rules, and was fully equipped, and was moored and launched at the right place, if there was no favourable wind, still the boat would not move. Ch'iu argued that the learning of a scholar was not very different from sailing a boat. When he was at school, of course he would study the Classics comprehensively, and discussed lucidly the changes of the past and present, verifying what he learned from distinguished teachers and ever extend his knowledge. When he wrote he only feared that it would not satisfy the requirement of the examiner. Since what he followed was the right way and what he concentrated on was appropriate to the times, he should achieve his ambition. However, when it came to the civil examination, his success depended on whether the circumstances was favourable or unfavourable. A scholar having favourable circumstances was just like a boat having favourable wind: with it, to travel a thousand li a day was an easy task. A scholar in unfavourable circumstances is no different to a boat trying to sail against the wind: he makes no headway. Whether the boat moves or not depends on the wind. It is not the fault of the boat itself. For a scholar, whether one's circumstances are favourable or not is a matter of fate, and the problem does not lie with one's learning. Of course, it is only when one has the perfect boat that one could blame the wind; lacking that, though the wind is favourable one's boat may still not move. Ch'iu concluded:
The boat may be compared with learning, the wind may be compared with circumstances. Having had the boat but no favourable wind, of course the boat cannot move. Having a favourable wind but not a perfect boat, how will you be able to move?

Ch'iù's point was that even for a learned scholar it will not always be plain sailing if he is in unfavourable circumstance. Ultimate success is a matter of fate. Although Ch'iù was aim to comfort Lin Tsung-ching by telling him not to abandon himself to despair and to patiently wait for a favourable chance, Ch'iù also reveals what was in his own mind. He too was waiting for favourable circumstances, a time when his learning would be respected, when he would be able to put his knowledge into practice.

In 1463, Ch'iù completed his first work: the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti (The Target for Master Chu's Learning) in 2 chüan. This work was in fact the study notes on Chu Hsi's writings he had compiled in these years. Of course, the compilation of the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti had special aims and meaning. This will be discussed in later chapters. Nevertheless, the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti revealed the inclination of Ch'iù's thought towards the school of Ch'eng-Chu, the orthodox teaching in Ming times. Later that year, on the second day of the eighth month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun, seven months after Chu Chien-ju (1447-1487), posthumously known as Emperor Hsien-tsung, succeeded to the throne, the new emperor convened the first Imperial Classic-study Meeting (ching-yen) in the Wen-hua Hall, and Ch'iù had the chance to play the part of Appointed Lecturer (chiang-kuan). The position of Appointed Lecturer was only temporary. In the Ch'eng-hua period, Imperial Classic-study Meetings were held three times a month on the every "second" day, i.e., the
second day, the twelfth day and the twenty-second day of the month.

Appointed Lecturers were normally selected from the Hanlin Academy and they gave lectures in rotation. Of course, it was out of the question that Ch'iu would express his political ideas on such an occasion. But the enthronement of the new sovereign offered him a glimmer of hope. Usually a new sovereign would welcome, and sometimes request, counsel from the officials. This was a chance for Ch'iu to advertise himself. Accordingly, in the first month of the first year of Ch'eng-hua (1465), he wrote a long letter to the Grand Secretary Li Hsien proposing measures for dealing with the tribes people and the bandit disorders in the Lingnan area.

From the beginning of the Ming dynasty, the government had had no fixed policy towards the problem of the tribesmen of the Kwangsi area. Small-scale disturbances arose periodically and the government's attitude was merely to "suppress them when they come". There was no serious attempt to solve the problem. In 1449, aboriginal troops of Kwangsi were conscripted to help suppress the rebellion of Huang Hsien-yang. As a result, the vast territory, rich resources and the inadequate defences of Kwangtung were thoroughly familiar to the tribesmen. From that time on, plundering occurred frequently over a wide area and the number of outbreaks increased from several tens in the past to several hundreds. During the late T'ien-shun period, the rebellious Yao tribesmen of Kwangsi, under the leadership of their chieftain Hou Ta-kou, who exploited the vacillations of the government, ravaged Kwangtung and carried their depredations over into Kiangsi and Hukuang. According to the records of the Ming shih-lu, the local army failed to stop their progress and even fled when they heard of
their coming, though they had many times more men than the bandits. For example, on the thirteen day of the eleven month of the seventh year of T'ien-shun (1463), the rebellious tribesmen from Ta-t'eng hsia (Grand Rattan Gorge), the headquarters of the rebellious Yao tribesmen, broke into the city of Wu-chou at night when the guards were not on the alert. They sacked the government treasury, released prisoners from the jail, and killed many soldiers and common people. Several hundred people were captured, including the Surveillance Vice Commissioner (an-ch'a fu-shih) Chou Shou. The Regional Commander (tsung-ping kuan) Ch'en Ching did not dare to counter-attack but held the army to defend his won position. He let the rebellious tribesmen go free when they had the spoils they wanted in return for the release of Chou Shou. It was said that in this confrontation, Ch'en Ching had an army of several thousand soldiers while the tribesmen numbered only seven hundred. In a very short while, the turmoil had increased and had spread to six of the ten prefectures in Kwangtung because local armies were in complete disarray and unwilling to work together, even though others are faced an emergency. During this period, the bandits consisted of the Yao tribal people, the T'ung tribal people and the local Chinese. Several suggestions were made by the officials at court, and relief troops had been sent to the two provinces, but there was no evidence of successful pacification.

In the first month of 1465, shortly after Chu Chien-ju ascended the throne, the court adopted a hard-line policy proposing to dispatch an expeditionary army to Kwangsi to suppress the rebels. Upon the recommendation of the Minister of War, Wang Hung (1413-1488), the
emperor appointed Chao Fu (d. 1486) as Commander of the expeditionary army, with Han Yung (1422-1478), Left Assistant Censor-in-Chief (tso chien-tu yü-shih 左副都御史) and concurrent associate in military affairs, and the senior eunuchs, Lu Yung (d. 1475), as Supervisors. It was at this time that Ch'iu Chün proposed his measures and military tactics against the rebels.

Ch'iu's proposal was sent to Li Hsien some time early in the first month of the first year of Ch'eng-hua (1456). Li was so impressed that he brought the long and detailed proposal to the attention of the emperor on the twenty-sixth day of the same month. The memorial of Li Hsien reads:

Junior Guardian concurrent Minister of Personnel and Grand Secretary of Hua-kai Pavilion [Your] servant Li Hsien, Left Vice Minister of Personnel concurrent Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy [Your] servant Ch'en Wen and Right Vice Minister of Personnel and concurrent Chancellor of the Hanlin Academy [Your] servant P'eng Shi 彭時, sincerely presented the affairs concerning the suppression of bandits in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. We have received a memorial from Ch'iu Chiin, the Expositor-in-Waiting of this Academy, a native of Kwangtung, who thoroughly understands the strengths and weaknesses of the bandit situation and the condition of the people in that area. He regards the court's appointment of a commander and sending troops to suppress the rebellion with both delight and dread, and has set out in writing matters concerning the art of war in that area and has presented it to us. We, [Your] servants in view of the accuracy and detail in assessing advantages and disadvantages contained in Ch'iu's proposals, which will certainly be successful if employed, do not dare to withhold his memorial. [We] therefore sincerely present to Your Majesty a copy [of the proposal], begging that Your Majesty will give it your serious attention and issue a directive notifying the Chief Commanders. This may help to suppress the bandits.

Emperor Hsien-tsung commended the proposal and accepted the advice of his ministers. He ordered the proposal be copied and distributed among the regional commanders and regional inspectors so that recommendations could be put into effect. What were the main tactics in Ch'iu's
proposal for the suppression of bandits? Ch'iu said briefly: In general terms, the strategies for manoeuvring troops in Kwangtung and Kwangsi at present are two, namely, to pursue (chu 追) and to besiege (k'un 困); more precisely, to pursue the bandits in Kwangtung and besiege those in Kwangsi. To pursue is to force the bandits to return to their den. To besiege is to impede the bandits' comings and goings. In this manner, the bandits can only await for their doom. This is because most of the bandits in Kwangtung, a province which originally did not have bandits, came from Kwangsi, after which the bandits in Kwangtung intimidated those who had no means of support to join their troops. If the Yao tribesmen from Kwangsi were forced to return to their den, the bandits in Kwangtung would be isolated and would collapse of their own accord. It is not a case of being unwilling to crush the bandits in Kwangsi in one vigorous effort; rather, because Kwangsi is so hilly and rocky even a government force of one million soldiers would still be unable to succeed. That is why the besieging strategy should be employed.24 Ch'iu elaborated his tactics as follow: (i) The strategy of pursuit meant sending four divisions to Kwangtung: one from the San-kiang-k'ou 三江口 of Kuang-chou to Chao-ch'ing 超慶 , passing through the county of K'ai-chien 閾建 , Feng-chou 厲州 , to arrive at Hsün-chou 漢州; one from Hsin-hsing 新興 of Chao-ch'ing, crossing Yang-kiang 阳江 to reach Kao-chou 高州 , by way of Tien-p'ai 聞白 , Hsin-i 信宜 , Ts'en-ch'i 咸邑 and assembling in Hsin-chou; one from T'eng-hsien 深縣 crossing the river, passing through Yii-lin 禹林 , Po-pai 博白 , Lu-ch'uan 劉川 , Shih-ch'eng 石城 to Lei-chou 雷州 , turning back to Ling-shan 蓮山 of Lien-chou 梁州 , down to Heng-chou 橫州 and assembling in Hsin-chou; one from Lien-chou 梁州 of Kuang-chou, passing
through Ho-hsien 習縣, P'ing-lo 陟溪 and assembling in Hsin-chou. At 
this time, Ch'iu said, six of the ten prefectures of Kwangtung had 
been ravaged by the bandits, and they were from one or two hundred li 
to six or seven hundred li, or even one thousand li apart. When 
government troops went here, the bandits went there, when government 
troops went there, the bandits went here again, always keeping away from 
government troops. A single unit was certainly bound to fail, Ch'iu 
believed. If four units or more, were put in the field to meet all 
eventualities, government troops would encounter the bandits in all 
places. The bandits would have to return to their base, because they 
would not dare to meet a head-on assault. Then, the strategy of pursuit 
would be accomplished. (ii) The strategy of siege meant blockading the 
areas of the bandits' base. Although bandits were found everywhere in 
places like Liu-ch'ìng 鬆卿, Hsiu-jen 聖仁 and Li-p'ü 蓋浦, their 
headquarters, Ch'iu explained, were in Ta-t'eng hsia, Hsin-chou. If the 
headquarters were besieged, the small divisions would not have to be 
suppressed. Ta-t'eng hsia faced the river with Liu-ch'ìng to its rear, 
Chao-wu 昭梧 on its left flank and Yung-kuei 榮桂 on its right. At its 
centre consists 魏 high hills and lofty ranges, which were unsuitable 
for cultivation. Ch'iu argued that The bandits' storage was limited, and 
that they relied on plunder for their living. Their only cultivated 
fields were located outside the gorge. If government troops completely 
encircled the bandits on all sides and occupied all the strategic 
points, they would not be able to find their way out to plunder, and 
would find it impossible to farm; within one or two years, they would 
have annihilated themselves, while the other bandits in Lung-shan 卢山 
and Su-shan 瑣山 could be easily exterminated one after the other.25
Generally speaking, to pursue and to besiege were the two main tactics recommended in Ch'iu's proposal to suppress the bandits in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. There were other important points which can be summarized as follows:

(1) The earlier punitive expeditions, which took place after the frosty season of the year, were unsuccessful because of their bad timing. For by that time, the bandits had already reaped their crops and stored their provisions and fodder for long-term defence. Therefore the punitive expedition should be carried out in the seventh month of the year before the harvest. Then the strategy of siege would be more effective.

(2) For stationing troops on a long-term basis, it would be appropriate to recruit the militiamen of Wu-chou, T'eng-hsien, Hsin-chou, and Kuei-p'ing, exempt them from taxes and labour service, and let them cultivate the fields of the bandits outside the gorge to supply the government troops.

(3) The bandits' growth in numbers was due to the indiscriminate massacre of the innocent by our Commanders. The common people captured by the bandits were forced to join in their activities. They would be willing to reform, but were not accepted by the Commanders. The present Commanders of the region should regard their past mistakes as a warning and offer an amnesty to the victims of their harsh policies.

(4) In the past, government troops had not been welcomed by the people of Kwangtung and Kwangsi because the damage caused by government troops had been more severe than that caused by the bandits. The Signal Officers (ch'i-kuan) and Warrant
Officers (p'ai-kuan catid }, who accompany Commanders or eunuchs to the battle front should be carefully selected and limited in number. Those officers, who were usually relatives or friends of the Commanders or eunuchs, were fond of claiming credit for other people's achievements. They relied on their protectors and oppressed the soldiers and local people.

(5) So orders would not be ignored, one or two strict and severe Censors or Supervising Secretaries should be appointed to maintain order and impose punishments.

(6) To use barbarians to control barbarians was the best strategy. There were several tens of aboriginal offices on both sides of the river in Kwangsi. A capable Supervising Secretary should be sent to invite them to contribute an army to the expedition and promise gifts of bestowal and honours in the event of victory.

(7) All aboriginal officers recruited from various districts, should be allowed to receive handsome rewards from the government, and in addition should be allowed to regard the properties and captives they win as their rightful possession. Because of this, everyone would muster his courage because he was fighting for himself.

(8) Kwangsi was a place which produces no salt. But because of smuggling activities, the price of salt was not high. The imperial salt monopoly should be vigorously enforced and the aboriginal offices be strictly forbidden to deal in salt privately. The price of salt would rise and the aboriginals would regard it as precious. Then it could be used to reward the aboriginal soldiers.

(9) Village elders, retired officials, and chu-jen should be invited to investigate the bandits' circumstances and location when the
regional commanders arrive in each place.

(10) Officials, soldiers and common people whose parents or wives had been killed by the bandits and wanted to take revenge should be allowed to accompany the troops and be organized as a "Voluntary Army" (i-chün 官民軍).

(11) What the government soldiers most feared was the bandits' poisoned arrows. Orders should be issued to search for an antidote and to distribute this among the squads.

(12) To avoid shortage of provisions, requisitioning should be strongly prohibited when the army arrived in places which had merchants or dealers in food supplies. The measures Ch'iu suggested were thoughtful and farsighted. His measures were carefully worked out, taking into account the special geographical features of the area and the will of the people in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. Certain measures were directed towards the discipline and management of the government troops. In short, most of his recommendations derived from the example of past failures.

Ch'iu's proposal was tabled when the Commanders convened at Nanking to deliberate on strategy later that year. By this time, some officials, referring to Ch'iu's suggestions, proposed that two separate units be sent south, one to Kwangtung to pursue the insurgents, and another to Kwangsi to blockade the rebel stronghold in Ta-t'eng hsia. However, Han Yung disagreed. Han argued that to suppress the rebellious tribesmen, it would be necessary to strike at the source of trouble in Ta-t'eng hsia; once the rebels' headquarters in Kwangsi was destroyed, it would not be difficult to deal with the enemy in Kwangtung. If the government forces were divided to pursue the bandits, the bandits would
flee in all directions. This would be like trying to extinguish a fire
by blowing on it.\(^\text{27}\) In view of Han's talent in the art of war, Chao
Fu, the Chief Commander, adopted his plan and granted permission for Han
to deploy troops in the way he suggested. Ch'iu's proposal was not
adopted. About the same time, Ch'iu submitted two more proposals, which
dealt with the resistance of Yao tribesmen in Kwangtung. These proposals
were entitled "Kuang-tung pei-yü Yao-k'ou shih-i" 廣東併粵扼要事宜
(Concerning the suppression of Yao bandits in Kwangtung) and "Kuang-tung
ch'un-Yao li-ping" 廣東均維利柄 (The merits and demerits of pacifying
the Yao in Kwangtung).\(^\text{28}\) Although Ch'iu's major proposal was not
adopted by the authorities, the biography of Ch'iu Chun in the Ming-
shih remarks that: "Though Han Yung did not adopt all his strategies
to defeat the bandits, Chun gained considerable fame among his
contemporaries because of them."\(^\text{29}\)

Later that year, in autumn, Ch'iu was promoted Expositor-in-
Waiting (shih-chiang 使賀, rank 6a) of the Hanlin Academy, after he
had completed his nine years' service as compiler (rank 7a).\(^\text{30}\)
Previous to this, in the eighth month of the eighth year of T'ien-shun
(1464), Emperor Hsien-tsung had ordered the compilation of the veritable
record of his father, Ying-tsung Jui-huang-ti shih-lu 英宗睿皇帝實錄,
under the supervision of Li Hsien, Ch'en Wen and P'eng Shih. Ch'iu also
participated as a Compiler.\(^\text{31}\) He is said to have been instrumental in
putting Yü Ch'ien's position in proper historical perspective. In Chiao
Hung's 楊烱 Yü-t'ang ts'ung-yü 孟頼書語, it is recorded that during
the compilation, it was intended that the death of Yü Ch'ien 子諫 (1398-
1457), who was sentenced to death on the order of Chu Ch'i-chen after
the palace coup d'état of 1457, was to be declared as due to his
conspiratorial activities. Yü Ch'ien was an eminent statesman of the Ching-t'ai era who contributed the most effort to the enthronement of Chu Ch'i-yu, posthumously Emperor Tai-tsung, when his brother Ch'i-chen, Emperor Ying-tsung, was being captured by the Mongols at the T'u-mu catastrophe. Ch'iu argued that: "In the incident of the yēâr chi-su (1449), without Master Yü, the empire would have been in danger. If people make false charges because of private hatred, would it be trustworthy?" Ch'iu's argument was accepted by his colleagues. Later, Ch'iu's defense of Yü Ch'ien proved farseeing and accurate. In 1466, as the result of a petition by Yü Ch'ien's eldest son Yü Mien (1422-1500), the court cleared Yü's name of all charges and restored him posthumously to all his former offices. In 1489, an imperial edict ordered the erection of a memorial shrine at his grave near Hang-chou and the bestowal of the noble title "Grand Tutor" (t'ai-fu 太傅) with the posthumous name "chung-min" 忠敏 (loyal and sympathetic), which was later changed to "chung-su" 忠肃 (loyal and reverend) early in 1590. In 1467, Ch'iu was elevated to the rank of Senior Expositor-in-Waiting (shih-chiang hsüeh-shih 學士 , rank 5b) of the Hanlin Academy when the compilation of the veritable record of Emperor Ying-tsung was completed and presented to the throne.

In the third month of the fifth year of Ch'eng-hua (1469), Ch'iu was appointed Examiner (tu-chüan kuan 諏諫官) of the palace examination. Five months later, Ch'iu received news that his mother had died. As was customary, Ch'iu was permitted to return home for mourning. At Ch'iu's request, an imperial sacrifice was granted. Ch'iu stayed at home for about four years, from 1470 to 1473. During his stay, he finished the compilation of the Chia-li i-chieh, in 8
chüan, based on the Chia-li of Chu Hsi (1130-1200). He also engaged in the reconstruction of his former residence. Because it was difficult to find books to read in his native place, a difficulty with which he was personally acquainted, he built a library in his village for local students. To commemorate the completion of the library, he wrote an article entitled "Ts'ang-shu shih-shih chi". In the article he stresses the importance of books:

The utility of books is enormous. To embrace the spaciousness of heaven and earth from the minuteness of one principle, to reach back into remote antiquity within the span of one day, to attain the expanses of the four seas from the confines of one place, to unite the multiplicity of all things on earth in the brevity of one affair, only books can achieve this ... Gathering of the thoughts of ten million generations, bringing together the governance of ten million generations, the transmission of the words of ten million generations, the deduction of the principles of ten million generations, all this depends on books.

Although this article was written simply to explain the purpose of building the library and to encourage local students to read, it certainly shows Ch'iu's infatuation with books.

In the sixth month of the tenth year of Ch'eng-hua (1474), Ch'iu returned to Peking and resumed service. Shortly after he arrived, at the recommendation of the Grand Secretary P'eng Shi he was assigned to take part in the compilation of a sequel to the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien kang-mu by Chu Hsi. The compilation took almost three years and was completed in the fourth month of 1477. Ch'iu was appointed to be Chancellor (hsüeh-shih, rank 5a) of the Hanlin Academy for his contribution in the compilation. Meanwhile, it happened that the post of the head of the National University (kuo-tzu chien) was also vacant. In the eighth month of the same year, four months after he was promoted to be Chancellor of the Hanlin
Academy, Ch'iu was appointed Chancellor (chi-chiu 聿酒, rank 4b) of the National University. Three years later, in 1480, still as Chancellor of the National University, Ch'iu raised in rank to Right Vice Minister of Rites (yu li-pu shih-lang 右禮部侍郎, rank 3a).

During Ch'iu's term as Chancellor of the National University, from 1477 to 1487, he devoted himself to the rectification of the contemporary style of writing. In fact, Ch'iu's intention to rectify the contemporary style of writing began early in his career. He post as the Chancellor of the National University merely provided a better opportunity for him to achieve his aim. Though the National University was only part of the literary circles of the capital, Ch'iu's effort were by no means directed only towards the University's students. In the biography of Ch'iu Chun in the Ming-shih, it is remarked that:

At that time students of Classics admired contorted (hsien 顯) and grotesque (kuai 奸) styles of writing. When Chun was in charge of the provincial examination of the Southern Metropolitan area and the metropolitan examination, he severely restrained both [tendencies]. From then on, he earnestly admonished the University students to write correctly particularly in his lectures. He brought the literary style back to what was correct.

Ch'iu exerted an influence on the style of writing when he was in charge of the public examinations, and also as Chancellor of the National University. During the forty years of Ch'iu's service in the government, from 1454 to 1495, he took part in the following public examinations, either as examiner or marker:

1464: Evaluation examination for University students
1465: Provincial examination of Ying-t'ien 廣文 (Nanking)
1468: Provincial examination of Shun-t'ien 舜文 (Peking)
1475: Metropolitan examination
1490: Palace examination

1493: Palace examination

However, it may be asked just what was Ch'iu's ideal style of writing; what did Ch'iu believe good style should be? What Ch'iu was concerned with was not phrasing or diction but the themes and function of writing. In a postface by Ch'eng Min-cheng 樹敏政 (1445-1499) appended to a collection of poems by Ch'iu, there is this remark: "[Ch'iu] always said: Compositions must be guided by the Classics, learning must be put into practice, investigation of the past must be demonstrated in relation to the present." The type of writing Ch'iu sought to promote was both relevant to his own time and drew on enduring principles derived from the Classics. Of course this was not a matter of doing something unconventional or unorthodox in order to be different, or trying to please the public with entertaining but impractical nonsense. On one hand, he attributed the evil trends to the undesirable influence of public examinations, which provided students with inappropriate concerns and priorities. He criticized the examiners of the public examinations of his time. Ch'iu argued that during the early Ming period, only the great principles of the Classics, concerning human relations and statecraft were set as questions in public examinations. Thus, the students concentrated their attention on central, important concerns, and their studies were regular and systematic. Moreover, they had enough energy left to take an interest in other Classics, philosophical works and histories. The examiners also made clear the standards according to which they graded candidates. No student who did not perform equally well in all three sessions would be selected. That was how it was, he said, in former times. He accused the
questioners and examiners of recent years of "deliberately wanting to harass the candidates." They examined on what the candidates did not know, in order to emphasize their own learning. Questions set for the first session, which tested on the interpretation of Classics, were usually "obscure, arbitrarily punctuated, and quoted out of context." They joined sentences which should not be joined and divided sentences which should not be divided. Hence, students were at a loss how to proceed. They worked hard at what they should not have worked at. On the other hand, they neglected guiding principles and important matters. Because students had to use every ounce of energy and every minute of their time to prepare for the first session, they had no energy or time to spare to prepare for the third session, which focused on discussion of ancient institutions, the administration of former dynasties, and current problems. Ch'iu lamented that among the students who ranked top in public examinations there were some who did not know the names of the dynastic histories, the number of strokes and the radical of characters, and failed to enumerate the former dynasties in order.

During the Ming dynasty, at both the provincial and the metropolitan level, examinations were divided into three sessions with three days between each session. The first session tested interpretation and memorisation of annotations of the Classics and the Four Books. The second session examined the candidate's ability in drafting decrees and memorials. The third session required the candidates to evaluate events and institutions of the former dynasties, and express their ideas on current affairs. Ch'iu considered the third session most important, since only the third session could reveal the candidate's abilities in administration. In the absence of this, the
new officials recruited by civil examinations might be no more than ineffectual bookworms. The lack of erudite scholars in recent years, Ch'iu felt, could be attributable to the degeneration of the civil examinations. To remedy this, Ch'iu placed more stress on the third session. When he was in charge of public examinations, five questions were asked in the third session. In a metropolitan examination supervised by Ch'iu, probably the one in 1475, three questions of the five were related to current affairs. Of these three questions, one question concerned reasons for the lack of talented men and sources of revenue in recent years compared with those of the past. Another question, discussed at length later in Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, related to a series of problems concerning the maintenance of the army, military defence and canal transport. The other question was directed against the literary style of his time. Ch'iu required the candidates to explain the differences in morality and customs between the past and present with special reference to the teaching of Confucius. Furthermore, he asked:

Our dynasty venerates Confucian teaching and values the Way. Emperor T'ai-tsu vigorously promoted Confucian learning and only Confucian Classics were used in teaching people and selecting officials. Emperor T'ai-tsung again exalted the Classics and interpretations of the sages and wise men. He standardized them, and brought them back to unity, so that scholars of the world could follow them, not confused by heretical beliefs and heterodox opinions. Morality can be said to have been unified. However, up to the present, differences in customs still remain. Why is this? In the past, most of the works of literary men were substantial and composed. Recently, perhaps despising what is simple and easy, [literary men] have wilfully created exaggerated and abstruse expressions. Are the writings of Han 韓 [Yu 羿] and Ou 欧 [yang Hsiu 陽秀] really like that? [In the past], most of the petitions of policy-making officials were [aimed at] statecraft and aiding the world. Recently, perhaps despising precedents and regularity, officials have presented excessively sweeping and extremely
radical arguments. Are the ideas of Lu Chih and Fan Chung-yen really like that? As for giving lectures and illustrating right principles, these are the duties of a scholar. Recently, perhaps with a view to making themselves uniquely different to others of their generation, scholars have spoken grandiosely and presented soundless views. Is the learning of the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi really like that? If you want someone who uses the brush and writes mainly to clarify principles and does not concentrate on extravagant expression; someone who submits memorials and petitions aiming at aiding the world and not to establish a reputation; someone who gives lectures and illustrates the right principles with practical results and is not engaged in sectarian squabbles, does not despise regularity and takes delight only in what is novel, so that all deviations are brought back to what is correct, customs and morality can be unified, and the splendour of antiquity be restored; how can this be achieved? Ch'iu took Han Yü, Ou-yang Hsiu, Lu Chih, Fan Chung-yen, Ch'eng I, Ch'eng Hao, and Chu Hsi as examples of eminent writers, statesmen and Confucian scholars of the past. It is clear from the above passage that Ch'iu, in drawing on eminent figures as models for the students of his time left no room for the candidates to argue. Ch'iu's question is straightforwardly dogmatic. Candidates holding different opinions about writing style and argument would be left without any way of responding. Only those who could propose measures to set right the "contorted and grotesque style of writing" and the "heretical beliefs and heterodox opinions" would have a chance of obtaining a government post. Perhaps this is one of the methods by which Ch'iu brought the literary style back to what was correct.

During the period of Ch'iu's chancellorship of the National University, from 1477 to 1487, he never slackened his efforts to correct the literary style of his time. The Ch'iuung-tai hui-kao includes three questions on current problems which Ch'iu set for the internal examination of the National University entitled "Ta-hsüeh shih-shih
The questions show something of Ch'iu's efforts to put right the literary style. In one of the questions, Ch'iu sets forth his view that: "[The style of] writing has a bearing on rise and fall of the empire's fortunes." He asserts that someone who was able to observe the ways of the world did not necessarily need to observe its administrative rules but to watch its literature closely. This can be proved, he argues, by reference to the writings of the past. To support his argument, he quoted the views of Chu Hsi, who divided writing into three types according to the circumstances in which they were written: writings of times of peace and prosperity, writings of times of decline and fall, and writings of times of chaos and disorder. Ch'iu's intention was to establish that the emergence of the grotesque style of writing and of heterodox opinions was a sign that the dynasty was approaching decline and disorder. This was a warning to the emperor and government officials. Ch'iu asked his students:

In recent years, for no reason, the book-stores have printed such books as *Lun-fan* of the late Sung period. Scholars follow the fashion. For this reason the [style of] writing in the civil service examination (*k'o-chii*) has changed. Commentators have said that because the Sung had no writings [of note] after the move to the south, its strength could not be braced up. Are they referring to this kind of writing? Suppose someone wanted to set right public feeling and boost popular morale, thereby restoring the past of our ancestors so that those who seek to understand Classics could devote themselves to right principles without [falling into] the fault of farfetched and empty [interpretations], and so that those who learned the literary style could be rational and successfully convey their ideas without weird and grotesque composition, and so that those who set questions could select passages in their proper context without [commiting] the mistake of partiality and eccentricity. What would be the key to this transformation? [Would you] students attempt to discuss it.

We have no information about the *Lun-fan*. Probably it is no longer extant. The title suggests that it dealt with standards of literary
composition or provided literary models for students to follow. Ch'iu believed that this kind of work was related to the decline of the Sung dynasty, and he was afraid that what happened to the Sung could happen again. He asked his students to suggest measures to prevent this and improve the situation. The questions he set for the university examination were not different from those of the metropolitan examination. Both were directed against the style of writing of his time. Although we cannot determine what effect Ch'iu's efforts had in changing writing styles of his time, he did influence the selection of government officials through both the civil examinations and the National University.

In 1483, due to the benefit of "extended favour" (t'ui-en 推恩), a common practice in the Ming dynasty among high ranking officials, Ch'iu's father was posthumously honoured with the prestige title of t'ung-i ta-fu 通議大夫 and the customary title of Vice Minister of Rites. Before this, around 1478, Ch'iu had started on his monumental work Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu. In 1486, he wrote a short account of the military campaigns of the Ming in Annam from 1406 to 1416, entitled "P'ing-ting Chiao-nan lu" 平定交阯錄 (An account of the pacification of Chiao-chi and Annam), at the request of Chang Mao 楚(1441-1515), then the Duke of Ying (Ying-kuo kung 烏公). This is by far the most detailed historical record of that event.

On the twenty-second day of the ninth month of the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua (1478), Chu Yu-t'ang 車裕棠 (1470-1505), posthumously known as Emperor Hsiao-tsung 孝宗, whose reign title was Hung-chih 昇治 (r. 1488-1506), succeeded to the throne. Two months later, in the eleventh month, Ch'iu was promoted to be Minister of Rites (rank 2a), in
charge of affairs of the Chan-shih fu (Supervisorate of Imperial Instruction). In the same month, Ch'iu dedicated his voluminous work Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu to the new emperor, hoping that the emperor would appreciate his effort and put into practice what was suggested in the book. Emperor Hsiao-tsung was duly impressed. An imperial edict concerning this work reads:

 Having examined the book you have compiled, [and finding it] precise and detailed in the collation, accurate and comprehensive in discussion, and helpful on questions of government, I appreciate it very much. As you have already been promoted to the post of minister, and shall further be granted twenty-taels of silver, and two bolts of linen (chu) and silk. The work shall be copied and sent to a printing house in Fukien for publishing.61

Although Ch'iu had been promoted to the rank of minister and his book was praised by the emperor, he was not pleased. The honour accorded to him was titular only, and there was no sign that the emperor would put his suggestions into practice. Ch'iu's new post as Minister of Rites did not provide any opportunity for him to take part in the administrative work or policy-making of the government. His job as Minister of Rites put him in charge of the affairs of the Chan-shi fu. In Ming times, the Chan-shi fu was a unit of the inner court responsible for the daily affairs and education of the Heir Apparent.62 In other words, Ch'iu's new post was again of a literary nature. Though he was qualified for the post, but he took little interest in it. He begged to be allowed to resign, but this was not permitted.63 It is miserable for one to do a job which cannot help to realize one's ambitions; nevertheless, Ch'iu put his shoulder to the wheel.

It is worth mentioning that there are included in the collected works of Ch'iu Chun, the Ch'ing-tai hui-kao ch'ung-pien, several series of poems by Ch'iu entitled "Ch'ing-kung mien-hsüeh" 靑宮教授
(Encouraging the Heir Apparent to Learn). "Ch'ing-kung" (The Green Palace) is also known as "tung-kung" (The Eastern Palace), the palace of the Heir Apparent. By association it also referred to the Heir Apparent. However these poems were not written during the time that Ch'iu served as Minister in charge of affairs of the Chan-shi fu.

The eldest son of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, Chu Hou-chao, later his successor and the tenth emperor of the Ming dynasty, was born in 1491 and was named Heir Apparent in 1492. Thus, when Ch'iu was promoted to be Minister of Rites in charge of the affairs of the Chan-shi fu, from 1488 to 1491, his position was only titular and entailed no actual duties. Those poems were probably written before Chu Yu-t'ang's accession, when Ch'iu had the opportunity to tutor the Heir Apparent.

On the cyclical day wu-ch'en of the intercalary first month of the first year of Hung-chih (1488), Emperor Hsiao-tsung ordered the compilation of the veritable record of his father, the late Emperor Hsien-tsung. Chang Mao was appointed as Inspector of Compilation and Liu Chi, Liu Chien (1433-1526) and Hsu P'u (1428-1499) were appointed as Ex-officio Supervisors of Compilation. Ch'iu was also made a Vice Supervisor of Compilation. During the next three years the compilation of the veritable record occupied most of Ch'iu's time. During this period he twice asked to be allowed to resign using the excuse of illness and old age, but again this was not permitted. In the ninth month of the third year of Hung-chih (1490), he was bestowed with gifts and food on fulfilling three year's service. In addition, on the recommendation of the Ministry of Personnel, Ch'iu's father and grandfather were posthumously honoured the prestige title of tzu-cheng ta-fu and Minister of Rites. His
mother and grandmother were posthumously honoured as *erh-p'ìn fu-jen*
二品夫人 (Lady of the Second Rank), and his late wife, née Chin, was
honoured posthumously as *fu-jen 夫人*. In the fourth month of the
fourth year of Hung-chih (1491), Ch'iu was ordered temporarily to take
charge of the affairs of Ministry of Rites because Keng Yü 取裕 (1430-
1496), then the Minister of Rites in charge of the ministry affairs, was
involved in an impeachment case. Four months later, in the eighth
month, the compilation of the *Hsien-tsung ch'un-huang-ti shih-lu* 廉
縣忠肅皇帝實錄, in 293 chüan, was completed and presented to the throne.
As was customary, all the participants were honoured or received gifts
of bestowal. Ch'iu was granted twenty taels of silver and two bolts of
variegated silk. On the following day, he was further honoured with
the title "Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent". In the tenth month,
of the same year, Ch'iu was appointed Grand Secretary (ta hsüeh-shih 大
學士, rank 5a) of the Wen-yüan Hall participating in the decision-
making process of state affairs, concurrently with his title of Minister
of Rites. It is only after he became Grand Secretary that his
active participation in government affairs began. However, his active
participation did not continue for long: for he died in 1495, only four
years after being appointed.
c. Last Years at Court

When Ch'iu Chun was appointed to the Grand Secretariat (nei-ko, a top-level coordinating agency responsible for the functioning of the whole governmental structure, he was already seventy-one sui, an age at which it may be difficult to retain much ambition and enthusiasm for politics. Before he was promoted to be Grand Secretary in the tenth month of 1491, on the twenty-ninth day of the eighth month of that year, Ch'iu again asked for permission to retire. In the memorial, included in the Ch'ung-tai lei-kao under the title "Hsin-hai ch'i hsiu-chih ti-i tsou" (The first memorial begging for permission to retire in the cyclical year hsin-hai), he states with sorrow:

My family lives in Lingnan, across the sea ten thousand li away from the capital. The journey home takes half a year. Now I am already seventy-one sui, the years remaining are few and the time of my death is approaching. It was long ago that I left my native place, and there is no one by my side on whom I can rely. My eldest son has passed away before me, leaving my orphaned grandsons. [They are] both mere infants, the eldest only six sui and the youngest four sui. My wife is not with me and there is no one who can bring them up. In my old age, should I die before the morning dew, [the question of who could handle] affairs after my death is extremely worrying.

However, his request was not approved. In the ninth month of the same year, he presented his second and the third memorials to the throne begging again for permission to retire. In one of these memorials he expressed grief at having no one to take charge of his mourning and no one to carry his coffin back to his native place if he were to die in the capital. But the response was still disappointing. The emperor replied: "You are virtuous and steady, and since you have been promoted to an important post, you should exert yourself in that post. [You are]
not permitted to retire. On the twenty-fifth day of the tenth month of 1491, the day following the announcement of his promotion to be Grand Secretary, he presented a memorial to the throne declining the offer with the excuse that he was too old to take up this important post. His refusal was disregarded. At the end of that year, he presented two more memorials to the throne begging for permission to decline the new appointment. In the third memorial he suggests the alternative that if the emperor had the intention to appoint him to a position of trust, it would serve the same effect if the emperor consulted his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. The memorial reads: "All my life's spirit and energy are wholly in this book. Any further opinions I have would not be beyond those in this book. If by any chance it were employed by your sacred and brilliant mind, the items relevant to each matter examined, and one or two of the scores of suggestions put into practice, then, although only my ideas were employed without my physical body, this must be superior to the act of granting me a high position and a handsome salary of a thousand million." But he still was not allowed to decline the new appointment. Ch'iu had no choice but to accept the offer. He stayed in the Grand Secretariat about a year and made many valuable suggestions on current affairs.

Next year, in 1492, he brought up the matter again. In that year he submitted two memorials to the throne begging for the emperor's permission to retire. This time he focused on the problem of his health. In one of the memorials he said that he was old and infirm, and had a weak constitution. Because the death of his eldest son, he had wept so frequently that his eyesight was declining. In his left eye there was a cataract and he had completely lost the use of it. The
right eye was able to see objects at a short distance, but tended to
turn blood-red and could not tolerate sun light and brightness. He was
hoping to retire so as to allow his vision to recuperate before it was
too late.¹¹ At the end of the memorial he said that he would be
most grateful and bound in gratitude to the emperor's heavenly kindness
if he were allowed to retire and so be able to live without being blind
and disabled, and to die complete in body, without becoming an eyeless
ghost in the nether regions.¹² Although the memorials were touching
and beseeching, Emperor Hsiao-tsung did not change his mind. The
imperial reply says: "I promoted you to an important post, you should
exert yourself to fulfil your duties. How can you ask for retirement
because of eye-disease?"¹³ Emperor Hsiao-tsung urged him to take
medical treatment and sent his personal physician to care for him. To
ease the burden of his duties, Emperor Hsiao-tsung granted him the
privilege of exemption from morning audiences whenever there was a
strong wind, heavy rain or snow.¹⁴

Although Ch'iu Chün repeatedly asked for permission to retire,
each time Emperor Hsiao-tsung refused and urged him to stay. Ch'iu
should have been very content with his present situation since he had
been promoted to a decision-making post, which he had been seeking for
some years, and he was in his master's favour. But why did he still re­
peatedly ask to be allowed to retire? The reasons are understandable.
His age and his health had diminished his enthusiasm and ambition in
politics. Moreover, he felt lonely and home-sick, especially the death
of his beloved eldest son Tun in 1490, at the age of thirty-one, made
him feel very depressed. Earlier, his third son Lun had died in 1475
and his second son K'un in 1478 from childhood sicknesses.¹⁵
His only brother had died in 1476, at the age of fifty-eight. The only surviving close members of his family were his two grandsons, who were staying with him in Peking, and his wife and youngest son Ching, who lived in his native place Ch'iu-ch'ang. His youngest son, born by his concubine née T'ang, was only a few years old. During these years, Ch'iu was always thinking of the joys of family life in his native place. He longed for the day that he could retire and spend his remaining years at leisure. He also had the idea of building an academy in his native place so that local youngsters could have a better place to study. The Ch'iu-ch'ing-tai lei-kao, the earliest collected works of Ch'iu Chün, included a memorial by Ch'iu, written shortly before he was promoted to be Grand Secretary, entitled "Ni chih-shih hou ch'ing-chieh ch'i-tien shu-yüan tsou" (A submission to request the permission to establish a Ch'i-tien Academy after retirement). In the memorial he expressed his willingness to be a teacher in his native academy after retirement. He proposed to establish a Ch'i-tien Academy in Ch'iu-ch'ang and he donated a foundation and two hundred mou of cultivated land as the academy's estate. Likewise, he requested the emperor to grant an inscription for the academy and decree that local officials take charge of the administration.

However, this memorial was never presented because he did not get the opportunity to retire from office. In these years, because of his age and health, he had very strong feelings of homesickness. He wrote quite a few poems at this time which gave vent to his innermost feelings. In a poem entitled "Ch'un-hsing", he says:
One hundred schemes, longing to return home,
Still I can not return.
Every night in my dreams,
My soul visits [my home's] courtyard and innerapartments.
My sad heart is as bitter as pills mixed with gall.
The traces of tears [on my face]
Are as many as threads in clothing.\(^\text{18}\)

Further, in another poem entitled "Sui-mu ou-hsiang", he laments:

More than half of my companions
have been entered to the Record of ghosts,
My life's achievements are reduced to empty talk;
Unwilling to die in old age,
I eagerly long to return home.
From time to time,
I visit Hainan in my dreams.\(^\text{19}\)

These poems eloquently express Ch'iu's homesickness. He often expressed how much he missed his family in Hainan. The last two lines of another poems read: "[Thinking of my] old wife at the present moment causes heartbreak; In front of the light, I restrain my tears, thinking of my lonely son."\(^\text{20}\) As well as feeling homesick, Ch'iu was anxious to retire from office because he believed that it was due to retire in old age. In his poems he says: "[In this] woeful old age, I certainly should get away from office and retire."\(^\text{21}\); "At the end of my days, I know I should beg to be allowed to retire."\(^\text{22}\) The deterioration of his health was an additional obstacle to his remaining in office. In a poem written after a morning court audience entitled "Ch'ao-t'ui ou-shu" (Improvised after court audience), he says:

Forcing along my sickly body,
I walk leaning on the wall.
In this old age,
I cannot restore my former spirits.\(^\text{23}\)

In another poem he even says, "How can my feeble shoulder bear up the heavy weight of my official garments?"\(^\text{24}\)
Filial piety and loyalty frequently made conflicting demands on the individual in traditional society. A government official's loyalty and love for the state, or more precisely, for the sovereign, ideally supersede all other duties and concerns. Once he joined the government and served in a slightly important rank, he lost his right to autonomy, and the choice of serving or resigning. All resignations from senior posts had to obtain the approval of the emperor. Many cases can be found in the Ming shih-lu in which officials' requests for resignation or retirement were rejected by the emperor although they gave important family or personal reasons. The point frequently made in the emperor's refusal was: "When you pledge your heart to assist the government is just the same as filial piety." Very often, it was the emperor's appreciation of his subject's ability that made him hesitant to let them go. But there was also often the subject's regret at having lost his enthusiasm for politics. In Ch'iu Chün's case his feelings were rather confused. On the one hand, he hoped that he could retire and join his family in Ch'üang-shan; on the other hand, he was always thinking of devoting himself to his country. In a poem entitled "Jen-tzu erh-yüeh ou-ch'eng" (Improvised in the second month of the cyclical year Jen-tzu [1492]), he says:

Time and time again,
My heart longs to repay my country.
Night after night,
My soul dreams of retiring from public life.

These two lines precisely reflect the contradicting impulses of his mind at this time. It is without question that Ch'iu loved his country and was loyal to the sovereign. He was always willing to devote himself to
his country. If he were asked to rate the importance of the state and his family, it was definitely the state which came first. However, he believed he was too old and weak to hold important posts, or even to stay in the government. Ch'iu had mentioned in one of his memorials that according to the ancient rites, a minister should retire at the age of seventy. It was a basic virtue in a government official to retire in old age or when a health condition affected his daily work; if he did otherwise he merely coveting a high position and a handsome salary. During Ch'iu's last years at court, he successively presented altogether thirteen memorials to the throne to beg for permission to retire. However, in his heart he felt sorry for the fact that he could not repay, by devoted service, the emperor's kindness in promoting him to a position of trust. The last two lines of a poem written after he was promoted to be Grand Secretary read:

His Majesty's kindness is deep and great,  
But I have no way to repay it.  
Facing upward and looking at the sky,  
There are only my tears running down.

In fact Ch'iu's mind was very confused when he asked repeatedly for retirement. He believed he should retire because of age and health, and wanted to retire because he missed his family. But at the same time he hoped that he could repay the kindness of the emperor. When all his requests were turned down he had no alternative but to wholeheartedly devote himself to the government. In a poem he wrote: "This body already belongs to the royal house."

As we know, only in the last years of his life did Ch'iu reach the summit of his career, as a councillor in charge of state affairs. Although he was not allowed to retire, he did not abandon himself to
despair. He tried instead to do his best to attain perfection in the
performance of his duties. Contemporary scholars have said that Ch'iu's
performance in the Grand Secretariat was lack luster, but this is
not fair comment. Regretfully, his time in the Grand Secretariat was not
very long; nevertheless, he made many valuable suggestions concerning
current problems and in other matters regarded as important.

In the twelfth month of 1491, Ch'iu presented a memorial to the
throne entitled "Yü-tse Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu yao-wu shang-hsien tsou" (Desiring to select important matters from the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and present them to the throne). In this memorial he said that although his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu drew mostly on examples from former dynasties, the focus of the book was on the most important current problems. He hoped that the emperor would pick out those relevant to the day and send them to the Grand Secretariat for detailed discussion. Likewise, he proposed that the suggestions in the book be implemented if they were believed to be beneficial after investigation by the Ministers and Grand Secretaries. Ch'iu Chün's first memorial from the Grand Secretariat is not very impressive. The request was too abstract and vague. The problem was that Emperor Hsiao-tsung could not know where to begin, since the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu consists of one hundred and sixty chüan and the topics it covered were very numerous, let alone the many suggestions on particular issues. Emperor Hsiao-tsung gave an explicit reply. He told Ch'iu to present further details if he had any specific suggestions in his mind. Thus in the third month of 1492 Ch'iu presented a memorial discussing the restriction of self-castration.

Ch'iu's memorial, the "Ch'i yen-chin tsu-kung jen-fan tsou" (A memorial to beg for the strict prohibition of employment
of self-castrated criminals), was a repercussion of an incident which
happened on the twenty-third day of that month. On that day one thousand
odd self-castrated individuals, including a person named K'ang and
others, all armed with cudgels or bricks, burst in from the left side of
the Chang-an Gate and gathered at the back door of the Ministry of
Rites. They blocked the passage way and surrounded the Minister of
Rites, Keng Yü, and other officials. On the order of Emperor
Hsiao-tsung, the ring-leaders were arrested by the Embroidered-uniform
Guard (chü-i wei 襟衣衛) and awaited the emperor's judgement.33
Ch'iu took it very seriously and responded to the incident immediately.
He urged Emperor Hsiao-tsung to punish the ring-leaders severely and
take all measures to prevent such incidents from happening again. Ch'iu
brought Emperor Hsiao-tsung's attention to the seriousness of this
incident: Self-castrated individuals gathered in large numbers and
dared to pursue government officials, it constituted no trifling matter.

The disturbance by these people was due to their discontent at
failing to find job in the imperial household or palace treasury. In
Ming times, as in other Chinese imperial dynasties, the staff of the
imperial household consisted entirely of women and eunuchs. The eunuchs
in the imperial household were "castrates" or "yen-jer" 藝人, a term
referring to persons who had been castrated. However not all castrates
served as eunuchs. Generally speaking, eunuchs were selected only from
among young children, who underwent castration and training in the
palace or from those who were born without sexual and breeding ability.
But self-castrated individuals also provided one of the other sources,
though not formally, especially for the princely palace. 34 Since
Eunuchs in Ming times had various privileges and usually had significant influence in the government, the position attracted a considerable number of people prepared to give up their sexual function in exchange for rendering their service in the luxurious palace. Some parents even castrated their children in the hope that their boy would become an eunuch and bring them a comfortable existence. But the government had neither the obligation nor the capacity to arrange jobs for all of them. Thus, self-castrated individuals pressing for jobs caused disturbances from time to time in the Ming dynasty.

During the period of Emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1425-1426) and Emperor Hsüan-tsung (r. 1426-1436), the court had already become concerned about this phenomenon. An imperial decree was issued throughout the empire announcing the prohibition of self-castration and those who violated the decree were to be banished to border areas. But this seemed to have little effect on the practice. In the Ch'eng-hua period (1465-1488) the situation became even worse. Self-castrated individuals gathered in the capital and agitated for appointments, their numbers varying from several hundred to about a thousand. Disturbances were reported frequently. Although an imperial decree was issued in the twelfth month of the eleventh year of Ch'eng-hua (1475) announcing that self-castration would be punished by death, it was never put into effect. Thus, the incident of 1492 was only a continuation of an old problem. Ch'iu Chün held that the government should not negotiate with people who behaved so outrageously. He strongly opposed the idea that the government should show them any sympathy or consider accepting their demands. He gave three reasons for this: Firstly, apart from the thousand odd who gathered at the Ministry of Rites and came from the
Metropolitan Area, there were still some several hundreds or thousands of these people in other localities. If these people were accepted, they would be followed by others making the same demands, and those who had not yet been castrated would immediately respond to this apparent relaxation of the prohibition, thus aggravating the problem. Secondly, once an individual was accepted to the palace treasury, his family enjoyed the privilege of exemption from taxes and corvée. This also extended to his relatives. Therefore the problem was not merely a case of losing one person's labour but tens and even hundreds. How could the common people bear the increasing burden of taxes and corvée if more and more people were freed from it. Thirdly, of the five chief forms of punishment, i.e. tattooing the face, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration and decapitation, castration was the most merciless and inhuman. In his Huang-Ming tsu-hsun (Ancestral Instruction of Imperial Ming) Emperor T'ai-tsu had instructed that castration and other inhuman punishments be abolished. And proposal for their restoration by officials was to be punished with "Death by slicing" (ling-ch'ih), and members of their families were also to be put to death. Thus, even the emperor and his officials dared not to employ them again. The actions of these common people who had performed self-castration was an act of contempt for these instructions. To prevent future aggravation of the problem, Ch'iu urged prohibition of it with heavy penalties. He suggested in the memorial:

From now on, if self-castration of children occurs, the parents or the head of the family should be punished. Their whole family should be banished to the frontier. Their neighbours and the headman (pao) of the village who knew the real
facts [but failed to report to the District Office] should also receive heavy penalties.....Those who actually carry out the deed, should be beheaded and hanged as a warning to all. If the victim is under fifteen [sui] and without knowledge, consideration should be given to allowing him to remain for employment. Those over fifteen should be sent to the frontier provinces. Those who disobey these orders and flee back of their own accord should be punished. People who entice [them to escape] and harboured [them] should also be sentenced to punishment.39

Ch'iu's suggestion was accepted by Emperor Hsiao-tsung -- although we do not know whether the penalties he proposed were in fact implemented. While the memorial seems to have been written in response to the incident, its contents focused mainly on the general questions of the reasons and methods for restricting self-castration, and its effects were thus not limited to this one incident. To prohibit self-castration indeed, amounted indirectly, to restrict the increasing number of eunuchs in the palace -- a situation which was worrying many courtiers.

As councillor at the court, Ch'iu never lost sight of his duty to advise the emperor of deceptions and heterodox views. On the tenth day in the fourth month of the same year, Ch'iu submitted another memorial to the throne known as "Lun li-ke shi-cheng tsou" (A memorial discussing the adjustment and reformation of current government policies) This long memorial, which consisted of some six thousand and eight hundred words and was highly praised by later scholars, reflected Ch'iu's attitude towards the current political situation.40 The content of this memorial is precise and explicit. Ch'iu did not use the veiled meanings or the allusive styles which Confucian scholars generally employed, but concentrated on specific current matters. To begin with, Ch'iu referred to a recently observed portent which made a strong impression on Emperor Hsiao-tsung. He
said that according to the *Huang-chi ching-shih* (Cosmological Chronology) by Shao Yung (1011-1077), a noted Neo-Confucianist of the Sung dynasty (960-1279), the timespan for one dynastic cycle (*yuan zì*) should be nine thousand six hundred years. But then how was it that no former dynasties ever reached their full span? Ch'iu said that it was because the policies, customs and statutes of most of the dynasties, such as Han, T'ang and Sung, tended to decline after one hundred and fifty or sixty years. The reason for this, Ch'iu considered, was simply because the previous sovereigns of the mid-dynastic periods when enjoying time of peace, became complacent and resigned themselves to circumstances. They were born and lived in a comfortable palace, without experiencing dangers and difficulties. They neither gave charity when people lost their homes nor showed concern when their ministers presented counsel. They were not even afraid when Heaven-sent portents appeared. Had their sovereigns closely observed the phenomenon of decline and been anxious to rectify shortcomings and reform abuses, Ch'iu added, the dynasties would not have been so short.

Although Ch'iu was talking about the idleness of the succeeding sovereigns of former dynasties causing their dynasties to end prematurely, he was at the same time warning the present sovereign. He said that most dynasties declined one hundred and fifty or sixty years after their establishment. The founding of the Ming dynasty took place in 1368, and when Ch'iu submitted this memorial, in 1492, it was already one hundred and twenty-four years since its establishment, and therefore, according to Ch'iu, the Ming was on the watershed between peace and dissolution. To make his point clear, Ch'iu considered
current portents. He said that during the Ch'eng-hua period of Emperor Hsien-tsung, many portents were reported. Comets appeared three times in the San-yüan region, earthquakes had been reported by the thirteen provincial offices at least five to six hundred times, and all had occurred with loud noises and caused much damage. Its unusual intensity and frequency was seldom to be observed in previous historical records. At the beginning of the Hung-chih era of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, there was still no sign of ceasing. A comet appeared in T'ien-chin region, and earthquakes and cries from heaven occurred as they had in the former era. Strange birds cried in the palace compound and were reported three times. According to the Classics and histories of the past, Ch'iu said, the appearance of comets was the most stern of Heavenly warnings, especially when they invaded the San-yüan region; earthquakes were the most serious of Earthly changes, especially when they occurred in the metropolitan and border areas. Birds and animals could first feel the transformation of vital forces, hence changes in their behaviour were particularly serious. Moreover, Ch'iu said that in ancient times, in the two hundred and forty-two years of the Ch'un-ch'iu period (722 B.C.-481 B.C.), the appearance of comets had been recorded only three times, earthquakes only five times, and portents involving birds were only recorded two times. Now, within this twenty-six years portents had appeared continuously and events would soon verify what they implied. Here Ch'iu's warning demonstrates how memorialising of portents to the throne was an important means of direct criticism against imperial policy. As a matter of fact, it had been a common practice in Chinese history, especially in Han times, that scholar-
officials employed portents of nature as a check on the ruler, and, in some cases, used unusual phenomena to warn the ruler in advance of a coming danger. Ch'iu's case was indeed one among the many examples.

After elaborating the actual facts, Ch'iu warned that now was the crucial moment for determining the fate of the country: whether it could continue in peace or fall into danger; maintain its stability or decline into disorder. And all this depended on the attitude of Emperor Hsiao-tsung. He exhorted the emperor to seize the moment before it was too late. He advised the emperor that whenever he wanted to do anything, whenever his subjects made any proposal for construction, or those in attendance made any entreaty, he should very carefully ask himself: Would it be conform to Heavenly principles? Would it comply with the will of the people? Would it be appropriate to the occasion? Was it in accordance with the Classics and histories of the sages and worthies? Would it violate the posthumous instructions of his ancestors? Would it benefit the military and the people? After considering all these questions, if it still seemed the right thing to do, then he should do it as a matter of importance and urgency. From the content of Ch'iu's memorial, one can easily deduce that his exhortation was directed to the current happenings. Emperor Hsiao-tsung succeeded to the throne at the age of seventeen. At the time when Ch'iu presented this memorial, Emperor Hsiao-tsung was still only twenty-three years old. Of course, quite a lot of his servants and those close to power wished to seize this opportunity to take advantage of the young emperor. Besides, graciousness and magnanimity were the general features of a new reign. Ch'iu urged
Emperor Hsiao-tsung to carefully consider before he made any decisions were closely connected with all those entreaties in the early Hung-chih period. He spoke frankly of the existence of the opportunists in the government:

The ruler of men has one mind, but those who want to take advantage of him are many. A myriad of state affairs come everyday, but Your Majesty are not able to attend to them all. All men have their own view and desire to put into effect their views. All men have their talent and desire to sell their talent. All men have their demands and desire to achieve them. They try to fathom and ferret out the inclination of your mind; try to entice and rouse the favour of your will by toadyng to your desire; try to make you congenital, in longing for the chance to take advantage of you. If Your Majesty takes them into your confidence however slightly, they will take that as a fortunate chance to carry out their plots and present their plans. They introduce their men, build up the members of their clique, get rid of dissidents, ask for assignments, beg for bounties bestowal and peerage reward, and search for property in land and estates. They have nothing but desire to line their pockets by snatching bribes, making firm their conferred favour by joining the emperor's influence circle, and benefiting their posterity by falsely claiming for nobility and emolument. All these people are working for themselves, their families, relatives and for their close friends. How can they have a minute intention to work for the nation?^9

In handling all these opportunists' entreaties, Ch'iu advised Emperor Hsiao-tsung to make the opportunists know that "Your taste lies in benevolence and righteousness and not material gain; lies in Confucianism and not Buddhism or Taoism; your fortune lies in thrift and not luxury; lies in saving and not wastage; your appointments are make to virtuous and able and not to minions, to upright and honest men and not to flatterers."50 By doing so, he said, the wicked people would shrink back from such a task and would not dare to make their entreaties again. Likewise, if this were done, the noble men at the court would not be kept in the shade, politics and education would be more effective, customs would be purified, the prospect of the country
would be prosperous and the span of the country would be ever lasting.

Ch'iu's memorial can be divided into two parts. In the first part he brought out the significance of the portents of nature to warn the ruler of the future fate of the country. He also warned Emperor Hsiao-tsung of the attitudes and measures he should have in this critical moment, especially to be aware of the opportunists and the covetous men at court, who were usually responsible for the decline of the empire. In the second part he forwarned of the entreaties that the opportunists and covetous men would make and suggested the answers Emperor Hsiao-tsung could use in response. Ch'iu altogether made twenty-two forewarnings in his memorial on various topics, which were in fact the common practice in Ming times and were never criticised before in full detail. Out of these twenty-two warnings, nine were directed against religious entreaties. The following is a résumé of statements Ch'iu made:

1. From now on, when any of your servants say that Buddhism and Taoism can ensure happiness and longevity, I urge Your Majesty to refute him by saying: There were emperors and kings of the past who were infatuated with Buddhism such as Emperor Wu of Liang 呉帝 (r.502-549), and also some who were infatuated with Taoism, such as Emperor Hui-tsung of Sung 徽宗 (r.1101-1125). But looking over history, we see Emperor Wu suffered from hunger at Tai-ch'eng 太城, and intermassacre was among his descendants until the country was subjugated. Emperor Hui-tsung was captured by the Jurchen and died in Wu-kuo-ch'eng 萬國城. Princes and princesses of the Sung taken in captivity to the north and killed by barbarians numbered forty odd persons. How was it that they
practised Buddhism or Taoism so piously but came to this end?

2. When someone says that longevity can be achieved by practising Taoist alchemy, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: Wei Po-yang of Later Han wrote the *Ts’an-t’ung ch’i* and Chang P’ing-shu (Po-tuan, ca. 1076-1155) of Sung wrote the *Wu-chen p’ien* to teach people about the alchemical practice for longevity. They were supposed to receive the secret formula handed down from the past and enjoyed long life themselves. But where are they now? Were they still living in this world? If not that means their tricks did not work. Those who advocated alchemical practice for longevity, they themselves could not avoid death, not to mention those who read their books and followed their practice.

3. When someone says that building of Buddhist temples and Taoist monasteries can bring happiness, I urge Your Majesty to instruct him by saying: In this dynasty, Buddhist temples such as the T’ien-chieh, Ta Pao-en, Ta Hsing-lung, and Taoist monasteries such as the Ch’ao-t’ien, Ta-te, and Ling-chi, were built in the two capitals. Also there were buildings of the former dynasties. Our respect to the two religions is indeed amply sufficient. Why should we construct more? Besides, in this critical moment, large-scale construction would only increase the poverty of the country and the burden of the people. If the Buddhist Shih-tsun (Tathagata) really existed, he certainly would not forbear this.

4. When someone suggests the printing of Buddhist sūtra and Taoist canons for good fortune, I urge Your Majesty to instruct him by
saying: Our dynasty has twelve copies of the Buddhist Sūtras (Tripitaka) each consisting of five thousand and forty-eight chūan, seven copies of the Taoist canons each has four thousand four hundred and thirty-one chūan. Besides, there are the Imperial Printing Bureau (ching-ch'ang 淸揚) editions and editions printed by local book stores. Why should we print any new edition? The cost of printing one copy of Buddhist sutra equal to the property of ten middle-class families and much hard work. If the Buddhist Shih-ts'un is really has any feeling, he would not be happy about this. Otherwise, what is the use of worshipping him if he only wants people to believe in his words and has no sympathy with the poor and suffering?

5. When someone says that sacrificial offerings should be sumptuous, I urge Your Majesty to refute him by saying: The ancients offered sacrifices to Heaven and God with gourds and earthenware as the sacrificial utensils and clear water as the drink. They were concerned with the substance and not the trimmings of offerings. Besides, the two religions advocate gentleness and mercy. If the Buddhist Shih-ts'un did not care about the destitution of the people and seizes the people's money for offerings to indulge his appetites, he would not be a Buddhist Shih-ts'un.

6. When someone says that chanting the scriptures and incantation can get rid of calamities, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: The ancients bequeath their teachings in writings, so that people could study and make use of them for the benefit of themselves, their family and their country. They did not suggest that the recitation of chants could increase one's merits. Even
the writings of Buddha and Lao Tzu 老子 do not have such teachings. It was the deceivers of later times who composed the scriptures and advocated the chanting of the scriptures under Shih-tsun's name — and since you could hire others to chant for you, they were able to earn their living. But do you believe we could really get rid of our calamities just by this lip service?

7. When someone suggests we honour the monks from the west for learning their mystic teachings, I urge your Majesty to instruct him by saying: From the T'ang and Sung dynasty onward, the western barbarians (refer to those from Tibetan) were always a serious evil on our border. The Yuan people honoured the barbarian monks and used them to settle the border's dispute. Our dynasty followed the Yuan custom and honoured their head as Prince. This is for the sake of the border areas, but not for the belief in their mystic teachings. To honour a monk with peerage is to waste food and money. Since we have honoured their head, it is enough if we were to supply them as before, there is no need to have additional member of Tibetan monks to be honoured in this respect.

8. When someone suggests making offerings to the Gods for felicity and protection, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying:

One of the Eight Principles of the Ch'ou-li 周禮 reads: "Rule ghosts and Gods through sacrifices." Perhaps the setting up of a means of abolition, establishment, punishment and reward by the ancient kings was not only to rule the courtiers and people of the luminous world, but also the ghosts and Gods of the nether world as well. The sovereign is the master of Gods and mankind.
There is no such principle as to beg for felicity from his subjects. Not only the sovereign should not do this; the Gods would also not dare to receive such entreaties.

9. When someone says that the things in the sacrificial feast should be luxurious, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: The ancients made sacrificial feasts to show charity and to induce frugality. Their sacrificial animals and offerings were fixed in number and there was no need that feast should be appetizing or have a fine appearance. People of later times were extremely extravagant and luxurious. One of their sacrificial feast was equal to common people's expenditure for ten years. To do this would not only recklessly misuse the victuals, but would also increase the burden of the people and drain the imperial treasury.52

These nine suggestions revealed Ch'iu's attitude towards the two religions: Buddhism and Taoism. The main themes unfolded in these nine suggestions were: Firstly, Buddhism and Taoism were not worth beliefs; secondly, the government's expenses on these two religions should be, to the fullest extent, economical and not luxurious. Needless to say, Ch'iu strongly opposed the teachings of Buddhism and Taoism. However, throughout the Ming dynasty, Buddhism and Taoism were both devoutly believed by Ming emperors.53 Their beliefs in the two religions were, of course, little more than expressions of superstition. Although there were constant requests from the ministers at the court to urge the emperor to desist from such practice, there was no sign that they could shake the popularity of the two religions. Buddhism and Taoism had a firm foundation in Ming times since the beginning of the dynasty. It was not at all easy to
shake their status and Ch'iu understood this thoroughly. Yet, what he could only do was to attempt to lessen the scope of the emperor's interest in them. During the Ch'eng-hua period, when Ch'iu was serving in the government, Emperor Hsien-tsung was a keen believer of both Buddhism and Taoism. At that time, Buddhist monks and Taoist priests were often appointed to government posts. These rising officials, the so-called "ch'uan-feng kuan" (Imperial-summoned Official), were appointed by Emperor Hsien-tsung privately without passing through the formal procedures. According to the biography of Li Chün (c. 1469) in the Ming-shih, one thousand priests and monks were appointed to government posts within one year. And counting up the records in the Ming shih-lu, throughout the Ch'eng-hua reign, decrees appointing ch'uan-feng kuan were issued more than three hundred times. These appointments, apart from priests and monks, also included those who had performed well in scripture copying and those who presented writings on Taoist alchemy to the throne. In a memorial by Chou Hung-mu (1419-1491), then Minister of Rites, he wrote: "Before the seventeenth year of Ch'eng-hua (1481), temples and monasteries established inside and outside the capital under imperial order numbered six hundred and thirty-nine. Afterwards there were further constructions, so that [temples and monasteries] in the areas west of the palace were stretched as far as the eye could see. There has never been such a huge number since the ancient times." It is thus obvious that Buddhism and Taoism were popular at that time. Ch'iu was also very distressed about not being in a position to influence Emperor Hsien-tsung's will. It was not until Emperor Hsiao-tsung ascended the
throne, due to the general belief that his father, Emperor Hsien-tsung, had most probably died from an over-dose of aphrodisiac drugs constantly supplied to him by the Taoist Minister Li Tzu-hsing 李孜省 (d.1488), Buddhist Monk Chi Hsiao 蕭谷 (d.1488) and others, that it was possible to secure the banishment of most of the notorious courtriers from the court and the dismissal of most of the ch'uan-feng kuan. But, a few years later, Emperor Hsiao-tsung likewise showed interest in Taoistic services, especially the Taoist sacrifices. It was at this time that Ch'iu elaborated these ideas, which on the one hand admonished Emperor Hsiao-tsung to keep away from heretical beliefs and on the other reproved the opportunists who were ready to start wriggling.

Five of the submissions in Ch'iu's memorial were concerned with the cutting down of excessive government expenses. The following is a résumé of the main points:

1. When someone says that grants and rewards should follow the old custom, I urge Your Majesty to inform him by saying: The ancients gave rewards to recompense meritorious deed and to show kindness. Their rank and amount were fixed. Their aim was to inspire people's will, not to encourage selfishness or to cater to personal needs. Contemporaries often speak of old custom but they are unaware of the fact that the imperial treasury in the past were much more well-to-do than it was today. Moreover, government staffs were less numerous in the past. The government expense is presently many times more than it was in the past. Both public and private resources are deficient. It is not only for the sovereign but also the courtiers that they should
2. When someone says that the palace chamber needs reconstruction, I urge Your Majesty to instruct him by saying: The constructions left behind by the ancients are exceedingly unadorned and solid. Later generations carried out much reconstructions but, very often, they did little better than before. If it is not in danger of collapse, please leave it as formerly by maintaining the present structure and merely repair the damages. If someone considers that the palace is too small and needs extension, then how can the ancients have lived there until now? The government should not impose more burden on the people and the militia unless it is compelled to do so.

3. When someone suggests to sell the provisions stored in the government for buying pigments, I urge Your Majesty to instruct him by saying: The revenue of the Ministry of Revenue has a fixed amount. The revenue they receive each year is just enough for the expenses of that year. If there is surplus, it will be reserved for relief purposes and the military expenses. Pigments used by Ministry of Works are merely for the embellishment of palace and furnitures etc. A man without food would die of want and a country without provisions would lose its people; whereas the old palace and furnitures may still be lived in and used. How can you waste the revenue of the Ministry of Revenue in construction works? How can you cope if there were unexpected calamities?

4. When someone says that precious stones can be used for adornment and appreciation, I urge Your Majesty to refute him by saying:
At the end of the Ch'eng-hua period, the government purchased precious stones from the people. All that the public has have already gone to the palace treasury. Why should we seek for more? Since ancient times, what the Chinese have valued are gold, silver, pearl and jade. They are all useful things. Until the Chin and Yuan period, precious stones began to spread through China. Their colour was not as glossy as jade and they lacked the versatile qualities of gold. They were only tiny sand and broken stones with a slight sheen. They were not what the ancients regarded as treasure. If the government used them, their value would rise a hundred times. If the government have no interest in them, they would have no value at all. These things are most wasteful to the imperial treasury. The petty men wanted to follow the past example and take by deception the property of the state to line their own pockets. Should we follow the same old disastrous way?

5. When someone presents curious vessels hoping for reward, I urge Your Majesty to refute him by saying: Vessels should be regarded as vessels, nothing more, and one only requires a useful sufficiency thereof. If the making of one vessel is at the cost of one hundred other useful instruments, and the employment of one craftsman is at the cost of one hundred other craftsmen, why should we waste our money and labour on superficial things? Those who store up curious things do nothing but flaunt their wealth to others. A sovereign has the most incomparable honour and wealth, and since the palace chamber strictly forbid outsiders, what is the use for such flaunting?
Needless to say, these five submissions were directed against the rapacious courtiers. Ch'iu urged Emperor Hsiao-tsung to cut down the amount of grants and rewards as a means of minimizing government expenses. He also dissuaded Emperor Hsiao-tsung from indulging in luxury and extravagance — like reconstruction of the palace chamber and the purchase of precious stones. We have every evidence to believe that there were notorious courtiers on the emperor's side enticing him to spend money freely and to develop a desire for trivia and curious things. Of course, what they were aiming at was to profit from it. In the *Ming Hsiao-tsung shih-lu*, under the entry of the intercalary first month, of the first year of Hung-chih (1488), it reads:

At first, Liang Fang 梁芳, Wei Hsing 曾興, Chang Hsüan 張 현실, Mo Ying 莫英, and Ch'en Hsi 陳喜, the eunuchs, presented pearls to the throne and each found favour one after the other. From that time onward, it became a fashion to use valuables as palace vessels. [People] in the capital city, both high and low, also followed this fashion. Fang and others increasingly searched among the public for them. Their value shot up tremendously, and one pearl came to cost several ten [taels] of gold. All the sellers seized their good opportunity to make a pile.61

This is a very appropriate footnote for Ch'iu's memorial. The fashion brought into being by Liang Fang and others was, most probably, still regarded as a novel affectation in the Hung-chih period. In the *Ming shih-lu* there was a record in the first year of Hung-chih of Chang Chi 張紀, a Guard Commander, Jen I 任義, an Assistant Commander, and others being impeached by the censors at the court for collusion with the palace attendants to make possible the presentation of precious trinkets to the throne and the obtaining by fraud large amounts of money and property from the palace treasure.62 Although they were punished by banishment, it was only one of the many cases that were dealt with by the censors. There were many such opportu—
ists at the emperor's side making colossal profits.

According to another record, during the late Ch'eng-hua period, those who presented precious stones to the throne were rewarded with ten times their original price, and even as much as myriad taels of silver coin. After Emperor Hsiao-tsung ascended the throne, he immediately pursued a policy of reform, in which the abolition of extravagance was one of the major items. However, the memorial of Ch'iu proved that this corrupt habit was still existing.

In Ch'iu's memorial there was considerable emphasis on prudence in the making of appointments and designations. Five of the submissions in his memorial were directed against the notorious courtiers' desires for appointment and the sycophants' request for designation. A résumé of Ch'iu's main points are as follows:

1. When someone says that the workmen are toiling diligently and suggests they be granted promotion and reward, I urge Your Majesty to instruct him by saying: As regards the artisans and craftsmen of all grades, those with official title receive stipend from the government. Those without official title also receive provisions. The service they offer is entirely their duty and responsibility. Promotion and reward are granted after the fulfillment of their term of service, not every time they finish a job. How could the government ever bestow sufficient titles and gifts to satisfy them?

2. When someone says that his office lacks workers and wishes to add extra posts, I urge Your Majesty to refute him by saying: Whenever there is such an office, there will be such affairs; and whenever there are such affairs, there will be an appropriate
number of men taking responsibility. Now the name and native place of these workers can still be examined. The officers concerned should be instructed to look for the missing workers. Only those who have died should have their vacancy filled up. In this critical moment, we should do everything to avoid heavy expenses. Because the number of foremen has increased in recent years, they only wish to employ their own attendants for their own benefit.

3. When someone wishes to recommend a skilled craftsman and requests for official title, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: The *Book of Rites* says: "A minister should not practise a licentious ingenuity which would dissipate the mind of his sovereign." The mind of the sovereign is the origin of all changes. The welfare of the realm and the livelihood of the people are both derived from his mind. If his mind is always constrained within the rules of propriety, he will be obliged to wastage and devote himself to the benefit of the people. If in his mind he recklessly ignored the rules of propriety, he will not care about his people and will indulge in curious and luxurious things. The existing of such craftsman should be strenuously forbidden, so that they may not bewitch the mind of the sovereign with their tricks. How can we possibly grant them official titles and thus give them the liberty to stay in the sovereign's company?

4. When there are craftsmen and various classes of people asking for civil or military posts, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: Official titles are being respected simply because
they are not easy to obtain. From the ancient times, nobility and emolument were granted by the ruler to encourage the wise and the talented. It was given not only as a title, but also to distinguish their class. Thus, those who obtained it regarded it as an honour and those who did not have it would not nourish wild and unfounded hopes. The craftsmen have their working tiles and their appointments should be appropriate to that position.

5. When someone without qualification requests to add to the regular number of civil and military officials, I urge Your Majesty to correct him by saying: The number of government staff are fixed and the amount of government expense is regulated. Each post requires one stipend. Now if you, without reason, wish to add more staff to the regular number, that means there will be a need for more stipends. Since the revenue is fixed, if we increased the expenditure many times, we will severely strain our national resources. Besides if the request is granted, official titles will come to have only marginal value and the qualifications for selection will be confused. 64

During the late Ch'eng-hua period, lavish appointment was a common feature of the government. In a memorial presented in the eleventh month of the nineteenth year of Ch'eng-hua (1438), Chang Chi, an Investigating Censor, complained that in these years people of different classes were blended in the officials' procession. Within one day alone, tens of people were appointed, and within one department there were tens of stipendiary members. 65 Although the situation was ameliorated when Emperor Hsiao-tsung ascended the throne, there was a resurgent trend when Emperor Hsiao-tsung's rule was
consolidated. Thus, Ch'iu's memorial was, in other words, warning Emperor Hsiao-tsung to be aware in his ruling and to give no chance to the opportunists to take advantage of him.

In the other three suggestions, Ch'iu stressed on the need to prevent the embezzlement of public or private properties. He urged Emperor Hsiao-tsung not to approve any request for "vacant fields" (hsien-tien 隱田), any suggestion to carry out official marketing (kuan-shih 欽市), or any proposal to send officials to the public in dealing with the weaving business. All these, as according to Ch'iu, would only lead to the people suffering and provide opportunities to the notorious courtiers working for their selfish ends.

Having elaborated his twenty-two prescriptions, Ch'iu hoped that Emperor Hsiao-tsung would keep in mind and analyze with his heart what he had prescribed. He said: "If by any chance the suggestions and requests by your servants accidentally match with [what I have] written, I beg Your Majesty immediately to exercise your mind to utilise them (ie. the twenty-two prescriptions), use your descretion to revise them and your own calculations to expand them. Express your exact decision and by your decree to correct, refute and instruct the petty men. Thus, those who had wished to achieve their treacherous purpose with eloquence will be dejected and lose their advantage. Those who had showed off their selfish motives to beg for their own desires will be genuinely convinced by your correctness and will acknowledge their wrongs." If this were done, Ch'iu said, people inside and outside, from the palace chamber and the court to the principality and the border areas, all would be terrified by the news they heard and would reform themselves thoroughly. To end with, Ch'iu
warned Emperor Hsiao-tsung to never disregard slight matters, since all matters in the world have their origins in slight and simple beginnings. If the emperor regarded certain things as slight and simple, as being not worth fearing or to be avoid; or the emperor thought that the expense was not much and accepted it tentatively, thus, in the course of time, Ch'iu said, it would become a custom and become regarded as a matter of course. Ch'iu drew an analogy to this, he said:

One piece of cloud is shading the sun, and the world is obscured by it; One ant hole collapses the dyke, and lake and sea can dry up because of it.68

In other words, according to Ch'iu, a slight matter, taken lightly, would lead to the decline of the empire. A very minor request by the notorious courtiers could, in the course of time, empty the treasure of the state, lose the support of the people and endanger the rule of the royal house.

In short, this memorial showed Ch'iu's efforts in guiding the politics of the early Hung-chih period. The twenty-two memoranda he made, which covered entreaties for reward, suggestions on religious worship, requests for appointment and proposals for using curious things etc., had a dual effect on the political situation. On the one hand, he dissuaded Emperor Hsiao-tsung from superstition and extravagance, and wanted him to be on the alert for the intrigues of the opportunists. On the other hand, he condemned the opportunists and the covetous courtiers for misleading the sovereign and intimidated these petty men from putting forward their tricks. A characteristic of this memorial, one which makes it different from the memorials his
contemporaries presented, was that it did not remonstrate against what had happened, but forewarned of what was going to happen. From the prescriptions he listed, the alleged opportunists and covetous courtiers were vividly portrayed and seemed to be easily within his naming. And when he said at the end of his memorial: "If by any chance the suggestions and requests by your servants accidentally match with what I have prescribed......", we have a more concrete hint to prove that the "someone" in his memorial was not an imaginative one but a real character. However, who was that "someone"? Or who was the leading man Ch'iu insinuated about? The suspicions were cleared up by Wang Kuo-hsien in his Ch'iu Wen-chuang kung nien-p'u. Under this memorial, Wang remarks:

On the tenth day in the fourth month (1492), because of the eunuch Li Kuang gradually presenting heterodoxy [to entice the emperor] and manipulating power for personal ends by his close relation [with the emperor], Master [Ch'iu] presented the "Lun li-ke shi-cheng tsou"..... Probably Master [Ch'iu] wanted to forestall what Kuang desired to entreat from the throne.69

Li Kuang (d.1498) was the most notorious of the eunuchs at the court of Emperor Hsiao-tsung who won the emperor's favour by promoting Taoist services. We were told that Li, together with his supporters and fellow eunuchs, was able to monopolize the salt trade, to confiscate private lands, and to build a grand mansion for his own use.70 Although Emperor Hsiao-tsung highly praised Ch'iu's memorial, the actual effect Ch'iu's memorial had was rather difficult to verify since Li Kuang was still active in the scramble for power and profit before he committed suicide in 1498. Judging from the policies and administration during that period, however, this memorial would have had some effect in retarding Li Kuang's advance towards more power.
About a month later, on the twelfth day in the fifth month of
the same year, Ch'iu presented another memorial to the throne known
as "Ch'ing fang-ch'iU i-shu tsou" (A memorial to
request the search for missing books). This memorial, being ex-
tended from one item of his Ta-hsūeh yen-i pu, was in answer to
the emperor's reply to his last memorial, the "Yü-tse Ta-hsūeh yen-i
pu yao-wu shang-hsien tsou", presented in 1491. In this memorial
Ch'iu says that to search for missing books was the most important of
all affairs of the present day. He gave the argument: "A sovereign's
way of ruling is not of only one type; however, all are matters
[concerning] one generation and one period. Whereas what we called
Classics and books are matters [affecting] myriad years and hundreds
of generations." Ch'iu also mentioned the necessity to preserve
Classics and books since they were the essence of the experience of
ancient sage kings and wise men. Besides, books were what the present
generation relied upon to know the past and what later generations
would rely upon to know the present. He then warned: Classics
and books existed for several thousand years before they reached
present time; if the government did not regulate and restore them it
would lead to abandonment and loss in their own time, and people of
the later generations would lay the blame on them. In order to
maintain the Classics and books of the sages and worthies, and to
perform the historical mission of their generation, Ch'iu suggested
the following devices:

Firstly, to appoint Chancellors of the Hanlin Academy and other
officials, together with librarians and printers, to check the
imperial collection in the Grand Secretariat. To ascertain as to
whether any were missing, and there should be a detailed checking made with the collection catalogue and the results marked down. A precise catalogue of the extant volumes and editions should be made and reported to the court.

Secondly, the writings of Emperor T'ai-tsu had been published only to the extent of about one-tenth. Most of his writings, which should be the unfading guide line for the later emperors and ministers, were neglected and have been relegated to oblivion. Ch'iu suggested that a Grand Secretary should be appointed to direct the staff of the Hanlin Academy to collate all his writings carefully and have them printed. If it was too voluminous, Ch'iu suggested, an abridged edition imitating the style of the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* (Essentials of Government of the Cheng-kuan Reign), could be compiled.

Thirdly, since at that time all books were kept in the palace treasury of the two capitals, the National University of the two capitals would always be faced with shortages of books. Ch'iu proposed that the collection of the palace treasury should be checked to see if there were spare copies. If so, the spare copies could be sent to the University as their collection. Meanwhile, the government should appoint ministers of the two capitals together with officials of the Directorate of Ceremonial (*ssu-li chien*), Ministry of Rites and Hanlin Academy of Nanking, to check the imperial collection in Nanking and report the exact holding. Spare copies should be sent to the National University, and those with a single copy should also be sent for duplication. Thus, Ch'iu said, one book would have different copies and store in different places, and there should not
be any worry of damage or loss by natural or man-made calamities.

Fourthly, Ch'iu regarded that the government should collect written records on a wide scale, a practice which was adopted by former dynasties. He advised the emperor to decree the Grand Secretariat to prepare a detailed catalogue of the imperial collection and distribute it among the two metropolitan and thirteen provincial administrative offices. Announcement should also be made to the local offices, schools, monasteries, book stores and local families to request for submission of written records of any type and of any edition that had not appeared in the imperial catalogue. The local offices, Ch'iu reminded, should return the original work to the owner without damage after it had been copied by the local students and carefully proofread by school instructors. The duplication would be sent to the capital.

Fifthly, for the purpose of safe-keeping, and to follow the examples of the ancient emperors using "gold cases and stone house" to keep important government documents and records, Ch'iu suggested that an entirely brick and stone building should be built near the Wen-yüan Hall for this purpose. An order should also be issued to the drafters at the court to prepare another copy of the Veritable Records of former reigns, of which the court had presently got only two copies, and for it to be kept on the upper floor of the building inside bronze cases. All governmental documents should also be duplicated and kept on the ground floor inside iron cases. And all writings that would benefit the compilation of state history, Ch'iu added, should also be included.

Sixthly, and lastly, Ch'iu advised that all books should be kept
in three different places, two in the capital city and one in Nanking. This means each book will have three copies and will be kept separately. If through misfortune one place had an accident, Ch'iu said, there were still two other places to depend on. Besides, Ch'iu suggested that all books in the National University of the two capitals should be locked and the keys kept in the Grand Secretariat and the Hanlin Academy of Nanking respectively. All investigators and borrowers should have to apply for permission beforehand. Besides, all books should be taken out to sun during the san-fu period every year with the assistance of the officials from the Hanlin Academy.

From the suggestions drawn up in Ch'iu's memorials, it is not difficult to deduce his main theme: the necessity to properly preserve the former dynasties' and present day's documents and written records. The importance which Ch'iu attached to the preservation of written records proves that he was a man of broad vision and foresight. Ch'iu's memorandum was the first time, as far as it is known, that a court official had proposed the making of a new copy of the Veritable Records and safeguarding it in a building to be specially constructed for this purpose. This is what he has additionally said: All things in the world, even if they were rare treasures, could still be lost and found again. Whereas written records, being the vital essence of human beings and the link between the past and present, present and future, could not be done without for one day. Otherwise, human beings would live stupidly like walking in the dark. The appeal to preserve properly the written records and search for missing books by Ch'iu was not only aimed at advancing the ancients' cause but also to verify the situation at that time. Ch'iu said in the
memorial that the former dynasties had collections of up to three hundred seventy thousand chüan, whereas the Grand Secretariat's collection at this time was not even one-tenth of it, and in recent years the government had never tried to regulate the old collection and search for the missing books. Having compared with other records, we know that he was not making an overstatement. In a postface entitled "Shu kuo-hsueh ch'un-shu ts'an-pien hou" 朱國學群書詳目後, Ho Ch'iao-hsin, a contemporary of Ch'iu, expresses with regret:

The Yüan occupied the world for nearly a hundred years and adored Confucian learning. Printing-blocks of classical writings that were stored in the National University were very numerous. When the army of heaven captured Yen (ie. the Yüan capital), all offices protected the classical writings, and they were kept properly as before without any damage or lose. Since the Hsüan-te reign, those responsible for their keeping have taken little care of it. After being spoilt by insects and rats, and used by palace cooks and attendants to make fire, [they are] now fragmented and dilapidated; only about one or two out of hundred are left.\textsuperscript{79}

This was an accurate portrayal of conditions in Ming times. Thus, the appeal by Ch'iu was not a distant concern but a most pressing task requiring attention. The response of Emperor Hsiao-tsung was inspiring -- although he did not accept all the advice Ch'iu offered. The writings of Emperor T'ai-tsu and the collection in Nanking were to be checked and regulated. An imperial decree was sent, through the Ministry of Rites, to the two Metropolitan Areas and thirteen provincial administrative offices announcing the search for missing books.\textsuperscript{80}

Ch'iu's contribution to the preservation of written records was recognized and highly praised by later scholars. His memorial brought the attention of the court to the importance of collecting written records by a government, and, most important of all, led to the
emperor's practical action. It was said that he also contributed to the finding and publishing of many works by former scholars which were believed to be no longer extant. Among them, the *Chang Ch'ü-chiang chi* 張如江集 by Chang Chiu-ling 張如龄 (678-747), a native of Kwangtung and an eminent minister of the T'ang dynasty, received the greatest esteem.81

In 1493, Ch'iu presented a memorial to the throne proposing the selection of fresh chin-shih as Hanlin Bachelors for further training. In this memorial, which was later incorporated in Ch'iu's collected work as "Ch'i ch'u-yang hsien-ts'ai tsou" 乞豫養賢才奏 (A memorial requesting the acquiring and nurture of talented men), he suggested a detailed plan to train successors for the high ranking posts. It was a common practice in Ming times that outstanding chin-shih were selected as Hanlin Bachelors for further studies in the Hanlin Academy; but the selection was not regular and the number was very limited. Ch'iu proposed the plan of evaluating the daily works of the fresh chin-shih after they were assigned to different offices and the selection of up to twenty persons every year for further training.82

In the same year, by exercising his influence on Emperor Hsiao-tsung, Ch'iu rectified the long-standing corruption of the government's service-evaluation (k'ao-ch'a 考察) system and retained some able officials who had been originally listed for dismissal. It was the policy of the Ming government that once appointed to offices, officials were subject to continual surveillance by their superiors. Normal maximum tenure in a post was nine years. Every third year each official was rated by his superiors as
being "competent", "average" or "imcompetent" according to their performance and through them the provincial authorities submitted consolidated evaluation reports to the central government. After nine years, according to these reports, the Ministry of Personnel would decide whether an official should be promoted, retained, demoted, or, at the extreme, dismissed from the service or otherwise punished. During the Hung-wu and Yung-lo reigns, officials who were dismissed at each review numbered about several tens. Afterwards, officials of the Ministry of Personnel being afraid of criticisms and impeachments from the courtiers, followed a harsh policy and dismissed as many as possible. Although this was malpractice, no one then dared to make a comment on it. Ch'iu understood its corruption thoroughly. In the Ta-hsin yen-i pu he criticized at length the viciousness of this attitude and practice. It then happened early that year that the Minister of Personnel submitted the service-evaluation results to the throne and asked for imperial approval to dismiss one thousand four hundred local officials and one thousand one hundred and thirty-five miscellaneous staffs. Ch'iu brought his opinions to the attention of the throne, and said:

During the T'ang and Yu times, all officials were evaluated after three years of service and a decision was made whether an official should be dismissed or promoted after being evaluated three times. Recently, some officials have been appointed less than half a year and have been dismissed. The Ministry of Personnel merely trusts the other's words, but it has not always been true. This is not the method of the T'ang and Yu times and also not the method of our ancestors.

Emperor Hsiao-tsung totally agreed with what Ch'iu said. In his reply to the Ministry of Personnel, Hsiao-tsung admonished his courtiers to treasure competent men. He decreed that those officials who had
been in their post for less than three years should all resume their offices. Those who had fulfilled their service but without substantial proof of dereliction of duty should also be restored. From then onward, Emperor Hsiao-tsung insisted, all reports were to be checked by the Provincial Surveillance Office and the Provincial Administrative Office before the Ministry of Personnel made any decisions. Those who considered the evaluation unfair, would be allowed to appeal. The main idea in the edict was evidently the same as that expressed in Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. Although Ch'iu's participation was not clearly stated in official records, all evidence indicated that he had played an important role in obliterating this long-standing malpractice in service-evaluation and for this should be given the highest credit.

However, because of this incident, he had further conflict with Wang Shu 蒋 (1416-1508), a native of San-yuan 三原, Shensi, then Minister of Personnel, and this consequently affected his reputation. The conflict became white-hot three months later, on the fourth month of the same year, when Liu Wen-t'ai 劉文泰, head of the Imperial Academy of Medicine, accused Wang Shu of showing disrespect to the previous emperor by printing a biography in which he revealed the deceased emperor's mistakes. In his defence Wang accused Liu of holding a personal grudge against him for having been denied a request for promotion. Wang also named Ch'iu as the prime mover of Liu's act of revenge. After examination of the report from the Judicial Office (chen-fu ssu 鎭府司) of the Embroidered-uniform Guard, and of the defences from both Ch'iu and Wang, the emperor refused to regard Ch'iu as being involved and reduced Liu's position
to that of Physician in the Academy of Medicine. The emperor, however, showed his disapproval of Wang Shu by ordering the destruction of the printing-blocks of Wang’s biography. When Wang protested by asking for retirement, he was permitted to leave. However, because Wang was a minister who had been famous for years, people in general blamed Ch’iu. This left a spot on his reputation. Ch’iu asked for retirement, but was not accepted.

The feud between Ch’iu and Wang Shu has usually been attributed to trivial matters, such as precedence in the line-up at court functions. Actually it seems that the conflict between the two reflected the institutional frictions between the Grand Secretariat and the Ministry of Personnel. Before, when the Grand Secretariat was still an advisory body without any involvement in executive work, the six ministries were the top-level organs of the administrative hierarchy. And it had always been understood that the Minister of Personnel took precedence over his counterparts in the other ministries. But the rise in importance of the Grand Secretariatship in the Hung-chih reign created confusion to the traditional pattern. Never before Ch’iu had an official who already held ministerial rank entered the Grand Secretariat. Although Ch’iu was the Minister of Rites, his double title, theoretically, enabled him to take precedence at court assemblies over the other functioning heads of the ministries. However, since it was never officially recognized, conflict between Ch’iu and Wang Shu — Minister of Personnel was bound to break out. Besides, their conflict perhaps had the flavour of mutual distrust between northerners and southerners which was a long-standing problem at the court.
In the seventh year of Hung-chih (1494), Ch'iu presented the last memorial in his life to the throne which exhorted the emperor to refrain from idleness. In this memorial, which is known as "Ch'ing mei-shuang shih-ch'ao tsou" 諫曉東朝朝 (A memorial to request [the emperor] to attend court assemblies in the gray light of the morning), Ch'iu pointed out that in the recent three months, Emperor Hsiao-tsung had showed indolence in government affairs and had usually attended court assemblies toward the end of mao 早 (5 to 7 a.m.). He cited the saying of Chu Hsi and the example of Emperor T'ai-tsung of Ming to prove that the morning court assemblies, which were important functions for policy-making, should not be neglected. Finally, he requested Hsiao-tsung to attend court assemblies in the gray light of the morning, most suitable during the period of yin 深 (3 to 5 a.m.), when the vital forces of night had already diminished and the vital forces of morning were becoming clear. At that time one's mind would not be disturbed by materialistic desires and one's heart was humble and pure; it was the best time for receiving subjects and settling current affairs. As the leading courtier at court, Ch'iu never forgot his duty to restrain the emperor from misbehaviour. The compilers of the Ming-shih wrote that Ch'iu always aroused the conscience of the emperor when he was at the court. This memorial, could perhaps be regarded as further evidence for this opinion.

Later that year, in the eighth month, because of fulfillment of the three years' service, Ch'iu was granted the nominal rank of "Junior Guardian" (shao-pao 少保 , rank 1b) concurrently with his regular title "Grand Guardian of the Heir Apparent". His functional rank was also changed to Minister of Revenue (hu-pu 貢部 ) and
Grand Secretary of the Wu-ying Pavilion 武英殿. And due to the benefit of "extended favour", his father, grandfather and his great-grandfather were honoured posthumously with honorific titles. Ch'iu wrote a series of poems under the title "Shou i-p'in feng" (Receiving first-rank honour) during this time to express his gratitude. In the poems he thanks the emperor's kindness for giving him such honour and feels sorry for not having the chance to reciprocate the emperor's kindness because of his ill health.

Ch'iu was probably not standing on ceremony because his health was really getting worse during this time. From the tenth month onward he had to stay in bed and could not go to office. He submitted his resignation but was not accepted. Although the emperor had sent his physician to take care of him, it seems there was no improvement with all the medical treatments. In the first month of the eighth year of Hung-chih (1495), Ch'iu begged the emperor to suspend his stipend since he had been away from office for three months. Hsiao-tsung did not agree to this and told him to feel at ease while recuperating at home. On the fourth day of the second month, Ch'iu passed away. To show his grief over Ch'iu's death, Emperor Hsiao-tsung ordered the suspension of court functions for one day and granted funeral gifts and imperial sacrifice. Ch'iu was also bestowed posthumously with the honorific title "Left Pillar of the State" (tso chu-kuo 左柱國) and "Grand Guardian" (t'ai-fu 太傅), and the posthumous name "Wen-chuang" 文莊. Ni Yueh 岱 (1444-1501), then Minister of Rites, and Hsü Ch'iung 挺 (1425-1505), then Vice Minister of Rites, were sent to represent the emperor at Ch'iu's funeral ceremonies and presented the emperor's funeral address.
Sung Kai 朱謙, a Dispatch-officer (hsing-jen 行人), was also sent to escort Ch'iu's corpse back to Ch'iuang-shan for burial. 103 To commend Ch'iu's service at the court, his grandson Hsün 恒 was appointed to be Director of the Seal Office (shang-pao ssu-ch'eng 南營司正, rank 5a). 104

In praising Ch'iu's honesty, Chang Hsüan noted that all Ch'iu had left behind in assets were the gifts from the emperor and his collection of books. 105 However, although Ch'iu had died, his contribution to the government never ceased. The writings he left behind, which preserved most of his ideas, were still affecting the scholars of the Ming dynasty and making a contribution to the politics of the later decades. His Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, a voluminous manual on important matters for good government, was constantly quoted by statesmen of the late Ming period as well as the Ch'ing dynasty. Ch'iu's Shih-shih cheng-kang, a general history of China, played an important role in Ming historiography and deeply affected the writings of the Ming historians.
CHAPTER THREE

INTELLECTUAL AFFINITIES AND ENVIRONMENT

a. Intellectual Trends of the Early and Mid Ming Periods

b. The Restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Tradition by Ch'iu Chün
a. Intellectual Trends of the Early and Mid Ming Periods

At the time of the condemnation of Chu Hsi, the dominant figure of Neo-Confucian thought, by the Sung court as a heretic and propagator of false teachings five years before his death in 1200, and the ban on "false learning" (Wei-hsüeh) from 1195 to 1202, no one could have expected that this "false learning" would become the state orthodoxy of the Sung and later dynasties. As a matter of fact, the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, commonly referred to as Tao-hsüeh, the Learning of the Way, never dominated intellectual circles in Sung times, despite the fact that the Sung court formally proclaimed the Tao-hsüeh interpretations to be the state orthodoxy in 1238. Neither were the Tao-hsüeh theories applied to statecraft, nor were any concrete actions taken to enforce this learning in the National University and the local schools. As Professor James T.C. Liu said, the Sung redefinitions of state orthodoxy was little more than a political gesture. Nevertheless, the elevation of Tao-hsüeh as state orthodoxy was to have tremendous effects on the intellectual trends of later times.

The popularity of the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought rose in the Yuan times. Perhaps because the Chinese empire was under the rule of the Mongols, Chinese scholars turned to Neo-Confucianism for their cultural identity, at a time when conquest had deprived them of their political identity. Thanks to this search for cultural identity, and perhaps also as an attempt to preserve Chinese culture, the learning of Chu Hsi -- the state orthodoxy -- was further promoted and it became the common ideology of the whole of Chinese society. Its
influence was no longer restricted to intellectual circles, but affected all walks of life; its penetration was deep and substantial, and was far more significant than it had been in Sung times when the "state orthodoxy" was proclaimed. The attention given to the learning of Chu Hsi and the honour it gained in Yuan times were due to the efforts of several Neo-Confucian scholars. Among them, Chao Fu 趙傅 (c.1206-c.1299) was the forerunner who spread the teaching of Ch'eng-Chu in the Northern China. The *Hsin Yuan-shih* (New History of the Yuan Dynasty) by K'o Shao-min 柯劭忞 (1850-1933) in its account of the transmission of Chu Hsi's learning during the Yuan says:

After Chao Fu arrived at the Central Plain, scholars in the North began to read books by Chu Hsi. Hsü Heng and Hsiao K'u 章惠, teachers and great scholars, both religiously followed Master Chu as their standard. Chin Lü-hsiang 金履祥 was an indirect pupil of Master Chu's pupil, and Hsü Ch'ien 許謙 studied with Chin. Through them, the learning of Chu Hsi became even more honoured. When the North and the South were united, Hsü Heng became Chancellor of the National University. Although Hsü Ch'ien repeatedly refused invitations to serve in the government, he was highly respected by the court. Under the influence of these men, scholars eager to learn were aroused and came forward. Master Chu's commentaries on the *Four Books*, the *Chin-ssu Lu* 辰星錄, and the *Hsiao-hsüeh* 小學 prevailed throughout the country. Subsequently, in the Yen-yu 延祐 period (1314-1320), Chu Hsi's books became the official texts for the civil service examinations. The system remained unchanged throughout the Yuan.

Chao Fu was brought to the north by Yao Shu 姚枢 (1023-1280), a noted Confucian scholar at the Mongol court, in 1238. Together with Yao, he established the T'ai-chi Academy 太極書院 in Yen-ching 燕京, and began to preach the learning of Ch'eng-Chu. More than a hundred scholars were gathered or attracted to study with Chao, including such eminent scholars as Yang Wei-chung 楊維中 (1205-1259), Hsü Heng, Hao Ching 郝經 (1223-1275) and Liu Yin 劉因 (1249-1293), all influential
figures of Neo-Confucian learning in Yuan times. Meanwhile, they also engaged in the printing of the works of Chu Hsi and other Neo-Confucianists, and subsequently the teaching of Ch'eng-Chu spread throughout the country. In the south, the teachings of Chu Hsi were promulgated by Chin Lü-hsiang (1232-1303) and Hsü Ch'ien (1270-1337), who were direct followers of Chu Hsi in a successive line of learning that went through Huang Kan (1152-1221), Ho Chi (1188-1268) and Wang Po (1197-1274). Thanks to the efforts of Hsü Ch'ien, the learning of Chu Hsi was highly honoured, and as the standard history of the Yuan dynasty, the Yuan-shih, says:

"Scholars tracing the source and the heritage through the ages, have considered this period as the time of Chu Hsi." Up to this point in time, Ch'eng-Chu school of thought can be said to have dominated Yuan thought and society. Yao Sui (1239-1314), a nephew of Yao Shu and a disciple of Hsü Heng, in his Mu-an chi makes the following observation:

Today even those who teach children in village schools all over China realize the importance of the Hsiao-hsüeh and Four Books which they used for elementary courses, and even those in faraway lands with tattooed skins, those who serve as clerks and retainers, and even hawkers and people of non-Chinese origin, often have them in their hands and learn to recite their words.

Besides providing a picture of the popularity of Chu Hsi's teachings, the above passage also reveals the prominent position of the Hsiao-hsüeh (Elementary Learning) and of the Four Books: the former was written by Chu Hsi and the latter carried his commentaries.

The popularity of Chu Hsi's ideas in Yuan times is closely connected to the support it received from the Yuan court, especially the use of Chu Hsi's and other Neo-Confucian commentaries for civil
examination purposes. Early in the Shih-tsu reign (1260-1294), proposals were frequently made by courtiers and scholars to reintroduce the civil examinations, in the belief that only such a selection method could attract talented and ambitious men into government service. However, Khubilai was uncertain whether the benefits would be worth the political costs; moreover, the Neo-Confucianists themselves were ambivalent about examinations; as a result, the proposals for the restoration of the civil examinations were bogged down in endless debate. It was not until 1314, in the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗, Ayurbarwada 爰貞柴板迦八達 (r. 1312-1320), that the civil examinations were finally reintroduced. The content of the new examinations held both at the metropolitan and provincial levels show that careful consideration had been given to the matter and reveal the compromise measures taken by the Yuan court. Aiming to lessen the difficulties faced by the Mongols when competing with the Chinese on the latter's own cultural ground — especially as far as the niceties of literary composition were concerned — separate syllabi were arranged for the Mongol and Central Asian candidates on the one hand, and the Han Chinese on the other. The syllabus especially prepared for the Mongol and Central Asian candidates consisted of two parts: questions on Chu Hsi's commentaries on the Four Books, and an essay of 500 characters on contemporary issues. The Chinese syllabus was composed of three parts. In addition to questions on the Four Books and an essay on contemporary issues (for which a length of 1000 characters was required), Chinese candidates had to answer an additional section which dealt intensively with one or other of the Book of Odes, Book of Documents, Book of Changes,
Ch'un-ch'iu, and the Book of Rites. What merits attention is
that for the above Classics, only the approved commentaries by Chu
Hsi, Ch'eng I, and other Sung scholars were used, except in the case
of the Ch'un-ch'iu and the Book of Rites where the earlier
commentaries were permitted. The three traditional commentaries and
the commentary of Hu An-kuo (1074-1138) on the Ch'un-
ch'iu, and the old commentaries on the Book of Rites, were used.
Never before had the Neo-Confucian texts enjoyed such high
consideration and prestige in the civil examinations. In Sung
times the commentaries of Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi had not succeeded
in infiltrating the official syllabus for civil examinations.
Undoubtedly, its promotion by the Yuan government created favourable
conditions for the spread of the Ch'eng-Chu teaching. Subsequently,
students throughout the country, no matter whether they really had a
strong admiration for the teachings of Ch'eng-Chu or not, could not
but follow the trend if they wanted to contend for scholarly honours
or strive to qualify for government service.

As a matter of fact, it was in Yuan times that the Ch'eng-Chu
learning really enjoyed to the full its prestigious status as state
orthodoxy, and came to occupy a privileged position, singled out from
all the other Confucian schools of learning. The standard history of
the Sung dynasty, the Sung-shih, compiled in the Yuan dynasty under
the supervision of T'o-t'o 薛溉 (1314-1355), devoted an entirely new
section, the "Biographies of Scholars of the School of the Way" (Tao-
hsüeh chuan ), to the transmission and orthodoxy of
the masters of the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, separating them from
the "Biographies of Confucianists" (Ju-lin chuan ), which
former standard histories established for the biographies of Confucian scholars. The "Biographies of Scholars of the School of the Way" included twenty-four Neo-Confucian scholars; they are: Chou Tun-i 周敦頑 (1017-1073), Ch'eng I, Ch'eng Hao 業薰 (1032-1085), Chang Ts'ai 張載 (1020-1077), Shao Yung 邵雍 (1011-1077), Chu Hsi, Chang Shih 章楨 (1133-1180) and seventeen disciples of the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi, including Yang Shih 楊時 (1053-1135), Lo Ts'ung-yen 羅從彦 (1072-1135), Li T'ung 劉聞 (1093-1163) and Huang Kan 黃榦 (1152-1221). The compilers of the Sung-shih, in their introductory note to the "Biographies of Scholars of the School of the Way", give the following account of the origin of the "School of the Way" (tao-hsüeh 道學):

The term "School of the Way" (tao-hsüeh) did not occur in ancient times. In the flourishing age of the Three Dynasties, the Son of Heaven took this Way (tao) as [his guide in] politics and education, the chief ministers, officials, and clerks took this Way as [the principles of] their profession; the Imperial College, local schools and private academies took this Way as [the focus of] their lectures; people throughout the country employed this Way in their daily pursuit without being aware of it. Thus, within the span of Heaven and earth, there was not even a single person or thing that did not benefit from this Way and attain their nature. During this time, how could the name "School of the Way" appear as an independent establishment by itself? The compilers of the Sung-shih claim that originally the "Way" was the common practice of the Son of Heaven, the ministers, officials and common people in the legendary Three Dynasties, although at that time it was not treated as a subject of learning. Moreover, they trace the transmission of the "Way" from antiquity, through King Wen 文王, Duke Chou 周公, to Confucius (K'ung Ch'iu 孔丘, 551-479 B.C.), to his disciple Tseng Tzu 曾子 (Tseng Shen 曾參, 505-436 B.C.), to Tzu-ssu 子游 (K'ung Chi 孔伋, 483-402 B.C.), and to the latter's
disciple Mencius (Meng K'o, 372-289 B.C.). Due to the lack of prominent scholars and the rise of heretical doctrines, the compilers note that this was followed by a long break in which there was no worthy successor at all. It was only in the middle of the Sung dynasty, a thousand odd years after the interruption in the transmission of the Way, that Chou Tun-i and other forerunners in the Northern Sung rediscovered the orthodox teachings and reconnected the line of transmission. It was carried forward by Chu Hsi in the Southern Sung, in whose work the lost teachings of the sages and wise men was once again brought into full flower. From the remarks by the compilers of the Sung-shih, a brief genealogy of the Way may be portrayed as follows:

King Wen — Duke Chou — Confucius — Tseng Tzu — Tzu-ssu — Mencius —— Chou Tun-i — Chang Tsai — Ch'eng brothers — Chu Hsi

In fact, a similar view had first been propounded by Han Yu (768-824) in the T'ang dynasty, but was not generally accepted until Southern Sung times. Later, the Ch'eng-Chu School placed particular stress on this concept of tao-t'ung (The Genealogy for the Transmission of the Way), which aimed to define the line of legitimate transmission of their learning.

The attitude of the compilers of the Sung-shih towards the Ch'eng-Chu School represented the official view of the Yuan court. In Sung times there was in fact another prominent school of learning, led by Lu Chiu-yüan (Hsiang-shan, 1139-1192), which had the same popularity and influence as the Chu Hsi School. However, we find that scholars of the Lu Chiu-yüan School, such as
Lu Chiu-yüan, Yang Chien (1140-1225) and others, do not appear in the "Biographies of Scholars of the School of the Way", which includes only scholars who revived "the teachings which had remained untransmitted since the sage and worthies"; they are "relegated" instead to the "Biographies of Confucianists". Although the Lu Chiu-yüan School continued to be regarded as a chief rival to the Chu Hsi School in the decades which followed, by Yuan times, as reflected in the officially compiled history of the Sung dynasty, its popularity and status no longer compared with that of the Chu Hsi School. Undoubtedly, by the time of the establishment of the "Biographies of Scholars of the School of the Way" in the Sung-shih, the Ch'eng-Chu school of learning had come to be officially regarded as the true and orthodox learning of the state. In this sense, the learning of the Ch'eng-Chu School could be said to have scored a landslide victory in Yuan times, and its dominance continued down to the middle of the Ming dynasty. No wonder then that it exerted a tremendous impact on the intellectual trends of the Ming.

The intellectual trends of the early Ming, generally speaking, followed the conventions of the Yuan; there is no evidence of any radically new departures. To find a scholar with original ideas in this period is difficult. After the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368, the restoration of Chinese culture was one of the pressing needs of the Ming court. And for the Hung-wu reign the learning of Sung Lien (1310-1381) and Wang Wei (1321-1373), who were acknowledged the most learned men and leading Confucianists of the time, exemplify the transition of Confucian learning from the Yuan dynasty to the early Ming. Both Sung Lien and Wang Wei were disciples
of Liu Kuan (1270-1342) and Huang Ch'ien (1277-1357), and were faithful followers of the Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy. They were coeditors of the official history of the Yuan dynasty, the Yuan-shih. The contribution of both men -- especially that of Sung Lien -- to the restoration of cultural institutions in early Ming, was highly praised by scholars of Ming and later times. The Ming-shih records: "Most cultural institutions of the new age were established by the hands of Sung Lien"; and further: "He was the leader of the scholar-officials who had contributed to the founding of the new dynasty."24 Sung Lien and Wang Wei were practical scholars of the Ch'eng-Chu School, their intellectual inclination tended towards "extensive study" (po-hsüeh ) and the "extension of knowledge" (chih-chih ), which was indeed a main theme in Chu Hsi's learning.25 Perhaps due to the free atmosphere of the times and the lack of strict control of the Yuan government over intellectual activities, and the absence of cultural policies like those of the early Ming, the thought of Sung Lien and Wang Wei left room for both independent thinking and self-realization. The great Ch'ing historian Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng (1738-1801)26 in his Wen-shih t'ung-i (General Principles of Literature and History), makes he following comments on the transmission of Chu Hsi's learning in relation to Sung Lien and Wang Wei:

The teachings of Nature and Life (hsing-ming ) could easily turn to emptiness and non-being (hsü-wu ). Master Chu [Hsi] strove for consistency in extensive study for knowledge, and espoused [the keeping of oneself under] the restraints of the rules of propriety in wide learning. His method is complicated but well-conceived, its efforts are practical but not easy [to achieve]. Yet even what Master Chu strove for, we may still dare to speak of as definitely not being free from error. Nevertheless, those
who followed his learning — beginning with the transmission
[of the Way] to Mien-chai 留 (Huang Kan) and Chiu-feng 靈峰
(Ts'ai Ch'en 談池 , 1167-1230); then on to Hsi-shan 西山 (Chen
Te-hsiu), Ho-shan 蛤山 (Wei Liao-weng 梁陳, 1178-1237),
Tung-fa 楚 (Huang Chen 黃, 1213-1280) and Hou-chai 首載
(Wang Ying-lin 王應麟, 1223-1296); third, on to Jen-shan
賈山 (Chin Lü-hsien), Pai-yü 賈 (Hsii Ch'ien); and fourth,
to Chien-ch'i 晉溪 (Sung Lien) and I-wu 畏島 (Wang Wei).......
were all faithful to the past and versed in Classics, and
studied in quest of what was right. They were not the kind
who concentrated on the self and cherished what was outworn,
or discussed the Nature and Life in empty words. 27

These comments by Chang Hsüeh-ch'eng give a brief outline of the
scholarship of Sung Lien and Wang Wei. Although they were scholars
who devoted themselves to the study of Nature and Life, they did not
abandon extensive study and were versed in Classics. They did not
fall into the bad practice of "cherishing the outworn" or "discussing
the Nature and Life in empty words". The intellectuals of this period
were indeed solid and unadorned. However, after Sung Lien and Wang
Wei, the Chu Hsi school of learning and intellectual trends generally
tended to degeneration and ossification. This phenomenon was closely
related with the cultural policies of the Ming government.

It is obvious that the government promotion of the Ch'eng-Chu
learning was a major factor behind its domination of Chinese thought
at the beginning of the Ming. In 1384, sixteen years after the
founding of the Ming, when the civil examinations were revived, the
commentaries of the Ch'eng-Chu School were again prescribed as the
authoritative text-books for the examinations. Just as in the Yuan
system, questions were set from the Four Books and the Five
Classics. However, a rather peculiar answer format was introduced,
probably through the planning of Liu Chi 劉基 (1311-1375), a thinker
of note and a gifted organizer at the court of Emperor T'ai-tsu 28:
this was known as the "eight-legged essay" (pa-ku wen 八股文) .
Under this format, candidates were required to answer the questions in a special type of parallel prose and imitate the expression of the ancients. As a result, candidates did not bother to study any of the other commentaries on the Classics, and since the essay form was so stereotyped, the opportunities to develop independent thinking were limited. In fact, the intention of their policy was to bring the intellectuals under control. Closely integrated with the examination system was the government school system, whose expansion was made a pressing matter in the Hung-wu reign. In 1369, prefectures and districts throughout the empire were all ordered to establish government schools. Each was to be under an instructor and a few assistant instructors. The function of the government schools was to educate and control the government-salaried students, who were locally selected by examination. The establishment of the government school system made it easier to attain two goals in particular: On the one hand, with the gathering of local students within an organized government school under the control of teachers who were themselves officials, it was less likely that the students would develop heterodox ideas or become a source of opposition to the regime. On the other hand, by establishing a network of state schools all through the empire, and giving them control over the preparation of civil examination candidates, the Ming emperor demonstrated his intention of turning the Chinese intellectual world into a branch of the government. The net result was the existence of very favourable conditions indeed for the Ch'eng-Chu learning. Ch'en Ting (b. 1651) in his Tung-lin lieh-chuan (Biographies of Scholars of the Tung-lin School) considers the contribution of the
early Ming emperors to the supremacy of the Ch'eng-Chu school of learning in Ming; he observes:

At the very beginning when our Emperor T'ai-tsu ascended the throne, he established the National University and appointed Hsü Ts'un-jen 作为 Chancellor. [The teachings in the University] completely followed the writings of Master Chu [Hsi], so that the students would not read anything other than the works of Confucius and Mencius and the Five Classics, would not expound anything other than the teachings of the Lien 濟 , Lo 洛 , Kuan 源 , and Min 阮 . Emperor Ch'eng-tsu further expanded and promoted this line. He ordered the Confucian officials to compile [commentaries to] the Five Classics and Four Books, and the Hsing-li ta-ch'üan 理之全 , and to promulgate them throughout the empire [as text-book models for study].

Lien, Lo, Kuan and Min refer to the four leading schools of Neo-Confucianism of the Sung. These names were derived from the geographical location of the four schools. "Lien" refers to Chou Tun-i of Lien-hsi 濟 在 Ch'ang-chou , "Lo" refers to the Ch'eng brothers of Loyang 洛陽 , "Kuan" refers to Chang Tsai of Shensi, and "Min" refers to Chu Hsi of Fukien. The Ming government's promotion of the learning of Chu Hsi and other Sung Neo-Confucianists of the same line, together with the appointment of Hsü Ts'un-jen 作为 Chancellor of the National University, clearly demonstrated its preference for the Ch'eng-Chu School and its determination to retain, and strengthen, the Ch'eng-Chu philosophy as the state ideology. The official canonization of the Ch'eng-Chu philosophy was in concrete practice when in 1415 Hu Kuang 胡凱 (1370-1418) and others compiled the Hsing-li ta-ch'üan (Comprehensive Collection of Discussions on Nature and Principle), in 70 chüan, by imperial decree. Earlier, Hu Kuang and others had already edited two books, namely the Wu-ching ta-ch'üan 武經大全 (Comprehensive Collection
of Commentaries on the Five Classics) and *Ssu-shu ta-ch'üan* 四書大全 (Comprehensive Collection of Commentaries on the *Four Books*). These two works, which collect commentaries by Sung and Yuan scholars on the *Four Books* and the Five Classics, were in fact compiled for examination purposes. However, their value for the study of the Classics cannot compare with that of the *Wu-ching cheng-i* 正義 (Correct Meaning of the Five Classics), in 180 chüan, compiled by K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 (574–648) and others in the T'ang dynasty.33 Nevertheless, since they were designated by the government as textbooks for civil examinations no one would dare to openly query their academic value. Meanwhile, the compilation of the *Hsing-li ta-ch'üan*, represented a consolidation and enshrinement of the new ideology. This monumental anthology contains the major works of the Ch'eng-Chu School and sayings of one hundred and twenty Sung and Yuan Neo-Confucianists. It was designed not so much for the elucidation of Neo-Confucian doctrines as to establish their official authority.34 The case of Chu Chi-yu 朱季友 (b.1334) which happened in the second year of Yung-lo (1404), later recorded in the *Tung-lin lieh-chuan* and many other sources, reflects the existence of what amounted to an ideological inquisition. The *Tung-lin lieh-chuan* states:

Chu Chi-yu, a Confucian scholar of Jao-chou 郓州, traveled to the capital and presented his book to the throne, especially written to refute the teachings of Chou [Tun-i], Ch'eng [brothers], Chang [Tsai] and Chu [Hsi]. His Majesty (Emperor Ch'eng-tsu) burst into anger when he read it, and said: "He is a betrayer of Confucian virtue". [The Emperor] ordered the office concerned to denounce his crimes and send him back to his native place to be publicly flogged, and to burn all the works he had written. [Then, the Emperor] said: "People of later generations will not be misled." Thereupon, heterodox ideas declined.35
This showed that the Ming government not only promoted the Ch'eng-Chu school of thought, but also suppressed opposition, or heterodoxy as it was called. Undoubtedly, literary censorship was used as a means to establish uniformity of thinking. The prohibition of the works of Chu Chi-yu was probably intended as a warning to others that those who went beyond the limits set by the government would be punished. Thus the authority of the orthodox school was solidly established. The Ch'eng-Chu philosophy had became a state ideology, the unquestionable prescription for scholarship and truth, and the slightest deviation from this line became inconceivable. The introductory remarks in the "Biographies of Confucianists" in the Ming-shih, which give a thumbnail sketch of the intellectual trends in Ming times, afford us a useful basis for the study of the intellectual environment before and during Ch'iu Chün's time:

In the beginning, the Confucian scholars of the early part of the Ming dynasty all belonged to various groups stemming from the various disciples of Master Chu [Hsi]. The transmission of doctrines from their teachers could be clearly traced and their patterns were in perfect order. Ts'ao Tuan and Hu Chü-jen toed the line respectfully and followed carefully earlier prescriptions. They held on to the true teachings handed down to them by earlier Confucianists and dared not make any changes. The division of learning began with Ch'en Hsien-chang and Wang Shou-jen. The school which sprang from Hsien-chang was called the Chiang-men teaching. It was a solitary and isolated movement, so that its transmission did not continue for long. The school which sprang from Shou-jen was called the Yao-chiang teaching. They established principles of their own and turned their backs on Master Chu. Its followers filled the world, and it continued to be transmitted for over a century. But as its teachings spread, its abuses ever became more extreme. From Chia-ching (1522-1566) and Lung-ch'ing (1567-1572) times, those who still ardently believed in the Ch'eng-Chu tradition and were not detracted by heretical doctrines were few in number.
Although the above passage manifests to some extent perhaps the bias of the compilers of the Ming-shih towards the Ch'eng-Chu School, it brings out the fact that the intellectual world of the early Ming was dominated by Ch'eng-Chu learning, whereas in the late Ming, it was dominated by the teachings of Wang Yang-ming 王陽明 (Shou-ji, 1472-1529), the remote but illustrious follower of Lu Chiu-yüan who brought the "Study of the Mind" (hsin-hsüeh 心學) to its culmination. However, in between these two eras, which were dominated by two different schools of thought, the mid Ming period appears to have been a transitional period that merits special attention.

Ts'ao Tuan (Yüeh-ch'uan 餘卷, 1376-1434) and Hu Chü-jen (Ching-chai 晉齋, 1434-1484) were disciples of Hsüeh Hsüan 許巋, (Ching-hsien 晉軒, 1392-1464) and Wu Yu-pi 吳與弼 (K'ang-chai 欽齋, 1391-1469) respectively, the two leading masters of Ch'eng-Chu learning in the early Ming. Their teachings should be considered together since separation would hamper our understanding of the Neo-Confucian movement in the early Ming. Ts'ao Tuan and Hsüeh Hsüan had their base in the north; their teachings were commonly called by scholars the Ho-tung 河東 School because Hsüeh came from the Ho-tung region in Shansi. The teachings of Wu Yu-pi and Hu Chü-jen in the south were commonly known as the Ch'ung-jen 沣陰 School, for Wu was a native of Ch'ung-jen, a county in Kiangsi province. Hsüeh Hsüan and Wu Yu-pi both grew up after the standardization of learning by the Ming government. Although they were the most outstanding scholars of the Yung-lo reign, they were indeed faithful followers of the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine imposed by the government, and did not dare to make the slightest changes. Hsüeh Hsüan always said: "Since K'ao-t'ing's
(i.e. Chu Hsi) time, the Way has been greatly illuminated. We do not have to bother about writing any more. What we need now is merely to practise [what he preached]." He criticized the idea of expounding in writing what the former Confucianists had not said. He considered that if the learning of the Way would entail establishing new ideas instead of reproducing the sayings of the sages and worthies, it would only stray away from the Way. He said that Chuang Tzu (Chuang Chou, b.369 B.C.) was to be considered as heterodox simply because he did not recount the sayings of sages and worthies, and started something new in order to be different. This attitude of Hsüeh Hsüan towards study can be regarded as typical of the Ch'eng-Chu followers in this period. Of course, the emphasis on extensive study for knowledge in Sung Lien and Wang Wei is not to be found in them. In a letter to a friend, Wu Yü-pi says: "Generally speaking, the gist of the transmission of [the teachings of] the sages and worthies lies in one word -- reverence (ch'ing &C ). If one can be neat in his attire and serious in one's utterances and actions, and control oneself with rules of propriety, one's mind will naturally be under control. Even if one does not study, one will improve much, though if one cultivates one's mind through study and understanding of the principle, it will be even better." Perhaps due to this, the modern scholar Jung Chao-tsu criticized Wu as an empty and pedantic Confucian who could only passively devote himself to fastidiousness of body and mind, dream of the sages and worthies now and again, but could not make even a slight contribution himself. Judging from Wu's attitude towards learning and the external world, Jung's criticisms are by no means groundless.
From the foregoing, it is obvious that the Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists of the early Ming tended to move away from the tradition of extensive study for knowledge and improvement. The whole intellectual movement, as Professor Jung Chao-tsu argues, tended to become crude and lifeless; scholars merely devoted themselves to "regaining one's nature" (fu-hsing) and "personal conduct" (kung-hsing), and did not engage in writing or study. By and large, the Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists of this period did not develop any characteristics of their own, nor did they contribute to the development of Ch'eng-Chu philosophy. In the realm of Ch'eng-Chu school of learning, they were strict followers and provided only commentaries to the writings of Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi.

However, in a provocative paper "The Ch'eng-Chu School of Early Ming", Professor Chan Wing-tsit concludes that early Ming Neo-Confucianism became less and less interested in such intellectual concerns as metaphysical speculation and the doctrine of the investigation of things, but more and more concerned with the mind, its cultivation and preservation, and seriousness as the means of achieving this goal. He considers that they steered Ch'eng-Chu philosophy in a new direction, and in doing so prepared an intellectual atmosphere that was conducive to the eventual growth of the philosophies of Ch'en Hsien-chang and Wang Yang-ming. Further, this general trend towards a "philosophy of the mind" (hsin-hsüeh) in the early Ming, he suggests, did not owe anything at all to Lu Chiu-yuan, the great master of the School of the Mind in Sung, but were "the results of forces at work within the school itself and in history." Nevertheless, Professor Chan's conclusion is not
beyond dispute. It is hard to find any evidence for the influence of Hsüeh Hsüan, Wu Yü-pi and other early Ming Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists on Wang Yang-ming and the School of the Mind in the second half of the Ming dynasty. The view that the Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists of early Ming were more concerned with the retrieval of nature and the cultivation of the mind than other subjects, was already expressed in 1941 by Professor Jung Chao-tsu in his Ming-tai ssu-hsiang shih (History of Ming Thought). But he regarded this development as a sign of degeneration of the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine rather than of movement in a new direction or "probing for new avenues of meaningful development within a conservative philosophy" as Professors Chan Wing-tsit and Hellmut Wilhelm later suggested.

The forces behind these changes were many. Basically, with the standardization of Confucianism and the official canonization of the Ch'eng-Chu philosophy, the spirit of rational inquiry and genuine search for fundamental principles were reduced to trivia, concerned with no more than "fragmentary and isolated details and broken pieces." What was worse, the examinations no longer functioned as an avenue for serving the people and bringing peace to the world, but only for personal advancement and profit. This led those Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists who had a broad vision to try to think out an effective remedy to rectify the abuses. At the same time, those who had a "revolutionary inclination" found it difficult to display their talents within the narrow confines of a rigid orthodoxy, and began to feel impatient with the parrot-like imitation that was demanded of them. It was these desires for change which were to lead to a
flourishing of creative thought in the mid-Ming period.

When discussing the different stages of intellectual development of the Ming dynasty, the compilers of the Catalogue of the Imperial Manuscript Library made the following observation:

The separation of [the learning of] Chu [Hsi] and Lu [Chiu-yüan] into two schools had taken place early in the [Southern] Sung dynasty. In the Ming dynasty, before the Hung-chih reign (1488-1505), the Chu [Hsi School] dominated over that of Lu. After a period of time, [scholars] became concerned over the limitations of Chu Hsi's learning. After the Cheng-te 繇德 reign (1506-1521), the Chu and Lu schools engaged in struggle and dispute. After the Lung-ch'ing 龍成 reign (1567-1572), however, the Lu [Chiu-yüan School] dominated over that of Chu. Still later, [scholars] grew weary of the indulgence of the Lu [Chiu-yüan School], and they therefore again promoted Chu [Hsi's learning] and relegated Lu [Ch'in-yüan's learning].

The above remarks indicate something of the competition between the Chu Hsi School and the Lu Chiu-yüan School in the Ming dynasty, and their domination of the Ming intellectual world at different times. It is stated, moreover, that the period of the rise and fall of the two schools occurred in the Hung-chih and Cheng-te reigns, which were indeed a transitional period and an era of great change in Ming thought. The rise of the Wang Yang-ming School of the Mind undoubtedly marked a new epoch in the history of Ming thought and monopolized the intellectual circles of the later half of the Ming dynasty. However, intellectual developments often are well underway long before they become readily discernible. What is more, the treatment of the development of Ming intellectual thought solely in terms of the competition between the two schools, grossly oversimplifies the situation, and fails to do justice to the complexity of intellectual trends of the Ch'eng-hua and Hung-chih eras.
The intellectual trends of the Ch'eng-hua and Hung-chih periods were intricate and manifold. Several distinguished Confucianists, who were contemporaries and whose activities were related, created new forces in the intellectual world. In a nutshell, three different lines of intellectual development appeared during this period:

Firstly, there was revision within the Ch'eng-Chu School, manifested in the thought of Hu Chü-jen and Ch'iu Chün. Secondly, the emergence of Ch'en Hsien-chang's philosophy sparked off a new interest in the learning of the mind. Thirdly, an attempt to reconcile the two schools was made by Ch'eng Min-cheng, thus providing a middle way between the two extremes.

Ch'eng Min-cheng was a native of Hsiu-ning 宏/亭, Anhwei. A child-prodigy well-known for his literary talent, Ch'eng was specially summoned by the emperor to pursue his studies at the Hanlin Academy. He received his chin-shih degree in the second year of Ch'eng-hua (1466), at the age of twenty-two, and his last appointment was Vice Minister of Rites. Ch'eng Min-cheng's attempt to reconcile the learning of Lu Chiu-yüan and Chu Hsi was manifested in his famous treatise named Tao-i pien (An Account of the Oneness of the Way), in 6 chüan, which was written especially for this purpose. In a preface to this work dated the second year of Hung-chih (1489), Ch'eng Min-cheng, in his own terms, explains Chu Hsi's attitude towards Lu Chiu-yüan's learning:

The learning of Master Chu [Hsi] and that of Master Lu [Chiu-yüan] were different though in the beginning, were identical in the end. This may be found from their writings and can still be verified. [But] those who do not understand this often honour Chu [Hsi] and reprove Lu [Chiu-yüan]...

To examine this now: comments showing that [they] cherished the same ideals and followed the same path are recorded in
[Lu Chiu-ling's 魯而立 (1132-1180)] funeral address [by Chu Hsi]; sayings that he turned back to seek for the virtuous [nature] are to be found in [Chu Hsi's] postface [to the Pai-lu tung shu-t'ang chiang-i 斐洛洞書堂觧義]. Besides, [Chu] now and then rebuked himself for the error of fragmentation, and highly praised Lu [Chiu-yüan] for the contribution he made to his (i.e. Chu Hsi) own learning...
Opening widely his selfless and impartial heart, and not bearing grudges or dislikes over differences, that was Chu Tzu. Isn't this what the later scholars fail to observe and understand ?

Ch'eng points out that Chu Hsi certainly admired Lu Chiu-yüan's learning, and that in his last years Chu Hsi wrote that their learnings shared the same direction and goal. Moreover, Ch'eng expresses his views of the different stages of understanding between the two scholars. In his preface he says: "In the early days [the two schools] were indeed like ice and charcoal, diametrically opposed to each other. In the middle period, there existed the feeling of half-belief and half-doubt [with regard to their differences]. Ultimately they were like the cheek-bone (fu 髱) and jawbone (chü 齜), complementing each other." He criticizes those scholars who regard Lu Chiu-yüan's learning as being heretical; he says that they failed to examine carefully Lu's ideas, and that they neither understand Lu Chiu-yüan, nor Chu Hsi.

The Tao-i pien is divided into four parts. In chüan 1 and 2 Ch'eng collected the early correspondence and poems of the two masters to show their opposition in the early stage. Chüan 3 exposes the doubts which the two masters' writings reflected in their middle-age concerning their intellectual differences. In chüan 4 and 5, Ch'eng compiled the late writings of the two masters to elucidate their final reconciliation. Chüan 6 consists of the discussions by Yuan scholars on this problem. The Tao-i pien focus on the problem of the relative importance of "the pursuit of scholarship", or
"intellectual inquiry" (tao wen-hsüeh 道問學), and "preserving one's moral nature", or "moral cultivation" (tsun te-hsing 尊德性), which Ch'eng regarded as the main concerns of both schools but which were widely misunderstood by later scholars. In his remarks to the Table of Contents of the Tao-i pien, Ch'eng Min-cheng says:

Master Chu and Master Lu both came from the Lo School after its decline, and at the same time expounded their teachings on the east and west sides of the [Yangtze] River. However, in their early years the two masters were bound to express differences, but ultimately, in their later years they were the same. It is only because scholars have not examined [their ideas carefully] that they have gone so far as to say that Master Chu laid particular stress on intellectual inquiry while Master Lu laid particular stress on moral cultivation. Alas! Is this what a virtuous scholar would do? Master Chu's intellectual inquiry, of course, took moral cultivation as its foundation; in what way was he similar to those of later times who analyze and compile [his teachings] and merely devote their energies to stereotyped speech? Master Lu's moral cultivation, of course, took intellectual inquiry as its complement; in what way was he similar to those of later times who neglect writings and ignore external things, and merely focus their attention on meditation (ching-tso 靜坐)?

Ch'eng thought that neither "intellectual inquiry" nor "moral cultivation" was neglected by Chu Hsi and Lu Chiu-yüan, and in the two masters' learning, moral cultivation and intellectual inquiry indeed complemented each other. Thus, in a preface to a parting friend, Ch'eng wrote: "The preserving of the moral nature centres around the matter of reverence (ching), while the pursuit of scholarship results in the exhausting of principle. The two are mutually nourished and arise together. Neither can be dispensed with."56

Although Ch'eng Min-cheng's Tao-i pien foreshadowed Wang Yang-ming's Chu-tzu wan-nien ting-lun 杜陸遺年定論 (Master Chu's Final Conclusions) an authoritative work on the reconciliation of the
two schools in late Ming, and to a certain extent influenced this latter work, he was unable to popularize his views or gain any influence in his time. This is perhaps partly due to his early death in 1499, when he was merely fifty-five, shortly after having been released from jail following an impeachment, as well as to the negligence and carelessness that marred the standard of this work. More important, however, is the fact that for what he was trying to do, the time was not yet ripe. While Chu Hsi's orthodox learning still had wide influence in the intellectual world and the learning of the mind was just beginning to prosper, an attempt to reconcile the two schools was inevitably too premature to be popular.

It is undeniable that Ch'en Hsien-chang prepared the way for the rise of Wang Yang-ming's learning of the mind in the Ming dynasty. Ch'en Hsien-chang (Pai-sha, 1428-1500) was a native of Hsin-hui, in Kwangtung. He was an anti-scholastic individualist who delighted in the natural and idyllic in his pursuit of what he considered "true learning". His dissatisfaction with the poverty of contemporary philosophical practice was perhaps triggered by his lack of success in the civil examinations. He had strong political ambitions when he was young. In 1447, at the age of twenty, he succeeded in passing the provincial examination and received his chü-jen degree. But he was twice unsuccessful in the metropolitan examination for the chin-shih degree, in 1448 and 1451. In 1454, Ch'en travelled to Lin-ch'uan, in Kiangsi, to study under Wu Yü-pi, a faithful follower of Chu Hsi School, hoping to find enlightenment through his learning. After staying with Wu for several months
and being much stimulated, he returned to his native place and earnestly applied himself to extensive reading of the Confucian as well as Buddhist and Taoist texts. However, after a few years of intensive effort he still did not see any sign of his desired goal of sagehood. This disappointment made him realize that learning had to be self-acquired. Until then, he had spent all his time practising meditation (ching-tso) and had led an solitary life for ten years. This resulted in his discovery of the "gate of entry" to truth and the real nature of human mind. In a letter to a friend Ch'en described his experience as follows:

My ability is not as great as that of the others. It was not until the age of twenty-seven that I started to devote my full energies to study under Master Wu [Yü-pi], who had overlooked none of the books and instructions of the ancient sages and worthies. However, I still did not know the gate of entry [to the pursuit of truth]. After my return to Pai-sha, I stayed indoors without ever going out, devoting myself solely to search for the proper method of employing one's efforts. Without the guidance of teacher or friend, I relied entirely on books to search for the Way, day after day, and forgot food and sleep. I went on this way for many years and still did not acquire anything. What I mean by "did not acquire anything" is that this mind of mine and this principle [of the universe] did not dovetail into a harmonious unity. Thereupon, I cast aside the complexities of his (Wu Yü-pi) method and sought instead for a simple one of my own; entirely through the practice of meditation. After some time, I finally came to perceive the substance of my mind which revealed itself mysteriously as if it were a concrete object. Henceforth, in the daily round of social intercourse, everything followed my heart's desire, just like a horse guided by bit and bridle. Moreover, in the investigation and realization of the principles of things and in the examination of the teachings of the sages, I found there was a clue and source in them, just as a stream has a source. Thereupon, my doubts all vanished and I gained great self-confidence and said: "Does not the effort of being a sage consist in this?"  

Because of his own experience, Ch'en Hsien-chang generally considered books as stumbling blocks on the road to the realization of the Way and sagehood. The Classics of the sages were repeatedly described
by him as "dregs and remnants", "husks and chaff". One of his poems reads:

Tens of thousands of books,
But their merit entirely depends on me;
If I can acquire [learning] within my mind,
They become dregs; what use do they have?63

Thus, Ch'en advocated meditation in preference to the study of books. And this is also what he taught his disciples. He once said: "Being wearied and confused by too much book learning, one has no means to comprehend the Way. Therefore, studying books to broaden your knowledge is not as good as meditation."64 Ch'en's learning was based on the "natural" (tzu-jan 自然), which is indeed the keynote of his philosophy.65 Other concepts closely related to this and often mentioned by Ch'en, namely, emptiness (hsü 虚, vacuity), quiescence (ching 靜, tranquillity) and self-acquisition (tzu-te 自得), were also regarded by him as fundamental principles for the cultivation of the mind.66 As Ch'en stated: "Avoiding things and cutting off troubles, I lead a quiet life, fostering quiescence and emptiness."67 Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲 (1610-1695) in his Ming-ju hsūeh-an 明儒學案 (An Anthology of Ming Neo-Confucianists) also observes: "The teaching of Master [Ch'en Hsien-chang] is to regard emptiness as the foundation and quiescence as the doorway."68 Obviously, this is not the learning method of the orthodox Ch'eng-Chu School, but rather it is close to the learning of Lu Chiu-yüan. If we compare Ch'en's ideas with Lu's attitude towards study and the search for mind, it becomes clear that to describe the emergence of Ch'en Hsien-chang's philosophy as "the revival of the Lu School" is certainly not an overstatement.69 The influence of some of the principal ideas of Lu Chiu-yüan, such as "If in study we know what is
fundamental, the Six Classics will all serve as commentaries [on my mind]" , and "The universe is my mind and my mind is the universe", can be traced in Ch'en's writings. The common concern Ch'en shared with Lu's philosophy -- to seek within one's own mind -- reminded Ming thinkers of that almost forgotten learning, and subsequently opened the way for the rise of Wang Yang-ming School in the Ming dynasty.

The cultivation of the mind was the integral part in Ch'en Hsien-chang's philosophy. Not surprisingly, the word "mind" (hsin 心) is mentioned more frequently in his writings than any other philosophical term. His learning began with the Chu philosophy, but finally turned, through his own efforts, to that of the Lu School. Nevertheless, it was his inclination towards Ch'an Buddhism that brought him close to the learning of Lu. Although he did not necessarily totally follow Lu Chiu-yüan's philosophy, nor had direct influence upon the philosophy of Wang Yang-ming, he expounded the Learning of the Mind of the Lu School and created a favourable atmosphere for Wang Yang-ming's learning. At the time Ch'en had a wide reputation in intellectual and political circles, celebrated scholars and influential officials befriended him and some even formally became his students. He was greatly admired, and it was said that "Even Yang Shih 楊 sigu (kuei-shan 楊世貞, 1053-1135) was not his equal". He was clearly a remarkable figure who altered the intellectual trends of the Ming dynasty.

While Ch'en Hsien-chang sought independence and freedom in moral cultivation, and revolted against the sterility and rigidity of the orthodox schools, attempts to amend these failings also occurred within the orthodox school itself. This is illustrated by the learning of Hu
Chü-jen. Hu Chü-jen, a native of Yü-kan, Kiangsi, came from a family which had been poor farmers for generations. About 1445 his family moved to a neighbouring district, An-jen, where in 1452 Hu received instructions from Yü Chun, a disciple of Wu Yü-pi. In 1454, on Yü's recommendation, Hu went to study under the direction of Wu Yü-pi at the latter's home in Ch'ung-jen. Like Wu Yü-pi, Hu did not take the civil examinations but was content with a life of poverty and teaching. He manifested a strong attachment to Wu and a deep appreciation of his teaching, and hoped to attain sagehood by living according to the Confucian code of conduct. Most probably influenced by Wu Yü-pi, Hu also placed strong emphasis on the importance of reverence. He said:

With reverence, the mind becomes concentrated. When it is concentrated, it will be absolutely clear and therefore it will become intelligent. With reverence, one's internal life becomes straightened. As one's internal life becomes straightened, there will be no selfishness and one can therefore master oneself.

In another occasion he said:

Reverence can remove becloudedness and laziness, correct evil and depravity, remove impurity and confusion, and establish one's great foundation.

And he regarded the practice of reverence to one's inner self as so important that he named his study Ching-chai (Study of Reverence). It was perhaps due to this that Huang Tsung-hsi observed that: "His whole life was built on the strength of reverence and consequently his practice of moral principles achieved excellent results." Although both Hu Chü-jen and Ch'en Hsien-chang were disciples of Wu Yü-pi, Hu criticized Ch'en for his Ch'an Buddhist sympathies and abstraction. He also considered Ch'en's doctrine too lofty, empty, and directionless — defects which he regarded as
harmful to the orthodox teaching. In a letter to his friend Chang T'ing-hsiang 璋廷祥, Hu launched an attack on Ch'en:

Since Ch'en Pai-sha's talents are too lofty, he becomes unrealistic and unsteady. Because of his view of transcendence and freedom from external things he deems daily affairs unworthy of study. Therefore he has unwittingly fallen into [the teachings of] Huang-Lao 黃老. As he regarded the rules of propriety of sages and worthies as too rigid, and the doctrines of former Confucianists as too cumbersome, he tries to seek the true Way through the void. Although he says, "In the realm of complete nothingness there is the utmost activity", this is just like grasping the wind with one's hands -- one neither holds nor receives anything.

Obviously Hu Chü-jen did not subscribe to Ch'en Hsien-chang's Way of "breaking through". Although they were both disciples of Wu Yü-pi, they did not share any common interest. In terms of the inclination of their learning, the editors of the Catalogue of the Imperial Manuscript Library give the following remarks: "Ch'en Hsien-chang learned [from Wu Yü-pi] quiet observation and self-cultivation, while Hu Chü-jen learned from him earnest resolution and vigorous practice." Of course, what Wu Yü-pi enlightened Ch'en Hsien-chang about was the goal of self-cultivation, but not the means. Annoyed with the way orthodox Confucianists cultivated their minds, and most probably with their emphasis on reverence, Ch'en Hsien-chang had turned away from the Ch'eng-Chu School and drew closer to the Lu Chiu-yüan School. On the other hand, Hu Chü-jen ardently followed the doctrines of the Ch'eng-Chu School. But unlike the Ch'eng-Chu Neo-Confucianists of his time, Hu Chü-jen gave equal emphasis to the inner cultivation of the mind and the outer investigation of things. In this context, he quoted the saying of Ch'eng I, "Self-cultivation requires reverence; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge", and he regarded "preserving one's mind" (ts' un-hsin 秉
and the "exhaustive exploration of principle (ch'iung-li 理) the two main avenues of learning. He criticized the scholars of his time for merely exerting their efforts in the cultivation of the mind, which meant they could not avoid falling into emptiness. Likewise, he condemned his contemporaries for paying no attention to the exhaustive exploration of principle and the extension of knowledge, but only to empty words, which resulted only in barreness and superficiality. In discussing the exhaustive exploration of principle, Hu said that there was not only one way of achieving this goal; it could be done by studying books, lecturing and discussing, rigorous thinking, or through action. He considered the knowledge gained from action the most practical and thus placed considerable emphasis on the investigation of daily matters. He revealed this concern in his personal study of government, society, and education, as well as the calendar and methods of irrigation. In a letter to a local official, he maintained that education should stress the importance of the exploration of principle and the extension of knowledge, and the criterion for the exploration of principle should be relevance to the affairs of the state. What a student learns, Hu said, should be the way to cultivate his person and put the state in order. He also criticized the civil examinations of his time for not being of the slightest benefit, and suggested the restoration of the "Special Recommendation System" (chien-chü fa 藥學法) of ancient times.

Hu Chü-jen's discussions of government institutions and daily affairs which are to be found in his writings show the emergence of practical learning in the Ch'eng-Chu School. On many occasions he
expressed the view that learning should be concerned with society and the livelihood of the people. Perhaps this is the reason why he has been treated by modern scholars as a "pragmatist".88

In a preface contributed to the I-ching ta-chih 理經大記, Lü Nan 魯南 (Ching-yeh 理野, 1479-1542), an eminent Neo-
Confucianist of the Hung-chih and Cheng-te 進梯 (1506-1522) eras,89 makes the observation that during his time there were only two kinds of learning: the "Learning of Nature and Life" (hsing-ming chih-
hsüeh 性明學) and the "Learning for civil examinations" (chü-
tzu chih-hsüeh 劍茲學). The learning for civil examinations reduced the study of the Classics to degenerate fragmentation; the learning of Nature and Life led the study of the Classics into emptiness. Both learnings were harmful to the Way of governing (chih-tao 治道).90 Yet even before Lü Nan, Hu Chü-jen and Ch'iu Chun had already been aware of these tendencies and worried about the possible consequences. Hu Chü-jen's learning, and also that of Ch'iu Chun, demonstrate the resistance to this phenomenon by sensible and honest Ch'eng-Chu scholars. At the same time, they were necessarily working out their own salvation, finding, through their own effort, a way to save the Ch'eng-Chu School, as well as the intellectual world, from this grave threat.
b. The Restoration of Ch'eng-Chu Tradition by Ch'iu Chün

Recognition of Ch'eng-Chu philosophy as state orthodoxy by the Ming government and their promotion of Ch'eng-Chu ideals resulted in Ch'eng-Chu monopoly over intellectual thought. Yet, this recognition, which was essentially a political means to establish a national ideology, also brought about the undesirable effects of ossified intellectual thinking. Thus, when most of the scholars were accordingly bound by these rigid standards, some sought independence and freedom in moral cultivation and were naturally attracted to the Learning of the Mind, which was a constant rival of the Learning of the Way -- the orthodox doctrine since the Sung dynasty. The domination of Ming thought by Ch'eng-Chu philosophy ended in the mid Ming period when Ch'en Hsien-chang and Wang Yang-ming successfully challenged its superior status and consequently deprived it of its commanding position. During the mid Ming period when Ch'eng-Chu thought was gradually fading, renovation of Ch'eng-Chu's orthodoxy -- a change from pedantic imitation to practical learning -- appeared in the thought of Ch'iu Chün. However, Ch'iu's single-handed effort to prevent the Ch'eng-Chu School from declining was bound to fail since the intellectual climate favoured new ideas and the trend towards the Learning of the Mind was already predominant. Nevertheless, in the realm of Ming political and historical thought, Ch'iu Chün undoubtedly played an important role and deserves special attention. A general account of his intellectual affinities and his restoration of the Ch'eng-Chu tradition is necessary for understanding his political and historical views.
In the last chapter, we learnt that Ch'iu lived in the remote part of Ch'iuang-shan; therefore he did not have the opportunity of being instructed by a great master of his time. His knowledge of the Classics and teachings of the worthies was probably acquired painstakingly; through extensive readings.\(^1\) He spent three years at the National University and studied under Hsiao Tzu, who was then the Chancellor. But Hsiao Tzu was a man of letters rather than a philosopher. Due to this reason, perhaps, Ch'iu did not develop an interest in metaphysical exploration and subsequently devoted himself to practical learning.

Throughout Ch'iu Chün's works, we seldom find specific discussions on philosophical topics, but he occasionally express his views on the Confucian tradition and intellectual environment. On many occasions Ch'iu showed his inclination towards Ch'eng-Chu teachings and his admiration for Chu Hsi. In his preface to the complete works of the Ch'eng brothers, the *Ch'eng-tzu ch'üan-shu*  Çã , Ch'iu praised the Ch'eng brothers for carrying forward the teachings of Confucius and Mencius which had been lost for hundreds of years. He also commended them for their efforts in elucidating the true Way in their times.\(^2\) He spoke highly of Chu Hsi for spreading the teachings of Chou Tun-i and the Ch'eng brothers. Chu Hsi was also credited for elaborating on the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, in particular through his commentaries on the Classics.\(^3\) In a preface written in 1475 for the metropolitan examination records, Ch'iu praised Chu Hsi in the following way:

The Way (*tao*) of the Six Classics began with the divinatory symbols (*kua* 繫, diagrams) drawn by Fu-hsi 禹. It
passed through the generations of Two Emperors and Three Kings and after thousands of years it was not until Confucius that these books were finally completed. After Confucius' death, his sublime words and their profound meanings almost vanished. It was not until Master Chu [Hsi], after the Han, T'ang and [Northern] Sung dynasties, several hundred years later, that the meanings of the Six Classics were clarified.4

It is obvious that Ch'iu considered the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi to be the true successors to Confucius and Mencius because they made illuminating interpretations of the Classics and devoted no less effort to the elucidation of the Way. Ch'iu had accepted the fact that the teachings of Confucius and Mencius had been lost for several hundred years, until the Sung Confucianists, especially scholars like Chu Hsi, finally revived and reinstated them. In his account on the Tao-nan Academy 道南書院，written in 1493 he says: "Master Chu was responsible for the reestablishment of the True Way and these teachings spread throughout Ou (Wen-chou, Chekiang) and Min. He enabled people of the world and future generations to understand that there are the most substantial and functional (ch'üan-t'i ta-yung, complete substance and full function) learnings of the sages and worthies, as well as the most exact and rightful (ta-chung chih-cheng) Ways of the emperors and kings. This faultless system had been in effect for thousand generations. His contributions, thus, are great indeed.5 The preceding quote not only reveals Ch'iu's admiration for Chu Hsi, but also shows Ch'iu's particular concern for the learning of substance (t'i) and function (yung). The concepts of t'i and yung occupy an important place in Ch'iu's thought. It is probable that Ch'iu's inclination towards practical learning was acquired through his understanding of t'i and yung.
Chu Hsi often refers to t'i and yung when he discusses philosophical questions. For instance, in 1193, Chu Hsi said:

"Substance (t'i) is the principle and function (yung) the situation in which it is applied; as by nature the ear can hear and the eye can see, this is principle. When one opens one's eyes to view things or atunes one's ears to hear sounds, this is function." 7

However, in his writings, Ch'iu explained substance and function in more concrete terms. He did not elaborate on the terminological implications of the two words, but very often he gave equal stress to the importance of the two terms. In a passage discussing the Six Classics, there are these lines:

There are two great Ways in the world: principle (i-li 理 ) and politics (cheng-chih 行 ). The Book of Changes is a leading work on principle. The Book of Documents is an important statements on politics. Therefore, they represent the major works among the Six Classics. Scholars study the Classics to become Confucians, to understand the principles; they cultivate themselves, and practise politics so as to rule the people. The utmost purpose of learning is then accomplished, the [learning] of complete substance and full function for a Confucian is then attained. Therefore, the Book of Changes is the substance, and the Book of Documents, the function. 8

Basically, Ch'iu's understanding of substance and function is not different from Chu Hsi's — substance is the principle and function the situation to which it is applied. But Ch'iu related substance and function to a more practical realm. According to Ch'iu, substance is the principle by which scholars learn to cultivate themselves, and function is the application of this principle to politics. In other words, function is practising politics and engaging in government affairs. This idea closely related to the traditional twofold obligation of a Confucian — cultivating oneself in the beginning, followed by serving the state. Ch'iu also maintained that substance
and function should not be separated. In his preface to the
ta-hsüeh yen-i pu Ch'iu remarked that both substance and function
existed in Confucian teachings. He explained that although substance
was based on a single principle, function covered an extensive range
of affairs. To him, the idea of function should not only be described
fully but also stated concisely so that substance and function can be
combined and used effectively, otherwise, neither function nor
substance would be in their utmost perfection. Ch'iu made full
use of the t'i-yung dichotomy in his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, a work
which used the principles of the Ta-hsüeh 大學, or the Great
Learning, for evaluating the past, as well as current political
events.

The fact that Ch'iu was a faithful follower of Chu Hsi cannot
be disputed. Ch'iu was determined to spread Chu Hsi's ideals and
teachings a duty which he responsibly and happily accepted. Ch'iu's
veneration for Chu Hsi is further shown in a collection of Chu's
selected sayings, the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti 子學的 (The Target of
Master Chu's Learning), which Ch'iu compiled in his youth days. The
Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti, in 2 chüan, compiled in 1463, was one of Ch'iu's
first works. Ch'iu claims that the title of this book was inspired by
the sayings of Yang Shih, who was a disciple of the Ch'eng brothers,
"Take the sage as the target for study." Ch'iu compiled his book
by selecting Chu Hsi's commentaries and discussions on the Classics,
self-cultivation, learning, and related topics. The text is divided
into two parts which are sub-divided into twenty books aimed at
summarising the essence of Chu Hsi's teachings and providing a short-
cut for the Ch'eng-Chu learners of his time. A four-volume Ming
printed edition under the cover title of Hsiieh-ti (preserved by the National Library of China in Peking), contains two illustrations which are useful for our understanding of this work. The first illustration is a portrait of Chu Hsi. On top of the portrait are inscribed the following words: "A teaching [which embodies the learning] of complete substance and full function. A scholar who inherited the past and ushered in the future. [This teaching is] very precise and systematic when [the two parts are] separated, extremely comprehensive and conclusive when [they are] combined." On both sides of the portrait, there is a couplet with these two lines: "When the Chou [regime] moved to the east K'ung Tzu (Confucius) came [into the world]. When the Sung [regime] moved to the south Wen-kung 文公 (Chu Hsi) was born." The second illustration is titled "The Diagram of the Transmission of the Orthodox Way", which gives the lineage of legitimate transmission of the orthodoxy as follows:

Fu-hsi 伏羲 —— Sheng-nung 神農 —— Huang-ti 黄帝 ——
Yao 嘉 —— Shun 顓 —— T'ang 涛 —— King Wen 文王 , King-Wu 武王 —— Chou-kung 周公 —— K'ung Tzu 孔子 —— Yen Tzu 孟子 ,
Tseng Tzu 曾子 —— Tzu-ssu 子思 —— Meng Tzu 孟子 ——
Chou Tzu 周子 (Chou Tun-i) —— Ch'eng Tzu (Ch'eng I and Ch'eng Hao), Chang Tzu 张子 (Chang Tsai) —— Chu Tzu.12

The two illustrations confirm the concepts of tao-t'ung, the linear transmission of the Way, as well as affirm Chu Hsi's position in the line of transmission of the Confucian teachings. Furthermore, the fact that the compiler regarded Chu Hsi of Southern Sung to be the equal of Confucius of Eastern Chou shows his great esteem for Chu Hsi.
Some attention should also be paid to the inscription on top of Chu Hsi's portrait. The learning of "complete substance and full function" was mentioned here explicitly in praise of Chu Hsi's scholarship. Ch'iu remarked that Chu's understanding of substance and function, t'i-yung, was extremely precise and systematic when substance and function were separated and extended to current affairs, extremely comprehensive and conclusive when substance and function were combined as a whole. Ch'iu made similar comments on the effectiveness of the learning of "complete substance and full function" in his preface to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, in which he praised the Confucian learning in the same manner as he commended Chu Hsi's teachings. Ch'iu's particular stress on the learning of "complete substance and great function" must be understood against the background of increasing interest for the study of the mind in Ming times. The Ch'eng-Chu Confucianists' tendency towards self-cultivation and the rise of Ch'en Hsien-chang's learning of the Mind probably caused great anxiety amongst the sensible orthodox Confucianists. Ch'iu was extremely alarmed by this development and immediately attempted to rectify the situation. Consequently he thought of a solution based on the concepts of substance and function, t'i-yung, to bridge the gap between the principle of the mind and the principle of things; an attempt to affirm that the cultivation of the mind and practical learning through exertion are inseparable. To a certain extent, this was also an attempt to prevent the decline in Ch'eng-Chu learning by advocating more appropriate and positive attitude towards learning. Support for this argument is evident in the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti by the arrangement of the books in this work. The Chu-tzu hsüeh-
This is divided into two parts: chüan shang 传上 and chüan hsia 传下, each part contains ten books according to topics. The titles of each book and the number of chapters they contain are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Number of Chapters</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part A:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Studies lying low 下学 (hsia-hsüeh)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sustained reverence 持敬 (ch'ih-ching)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Exhaustive exploration of principle</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Quintessence 涵贯 (ching-yün)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Reading is necessary 順著 (hsü-k'an)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. To spur on 推發 (pien-t'se)</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. To advance one's virtue 進德 (chin-te)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. The location of the Way 進在 (tao-ts'ai)</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Heavenly virtue 天德 (t'ien-te)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Wei-chai 世費 13</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Part B:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Penetration rising high 上達 (shang-ta)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. The ancient times 古往 (ku-che)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. This learning 洋学 (t'zu-hsüeh)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Benevolence and propriety 仁遺 (jen-li)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. On Government 為治 (wei-chih)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Statutes and laws 法頤 (chi-kang)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Sages 僧人 (shen-jen)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. The predecessors 前賢 (ch'ien-pei)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. This culture 斯文 (ssu-wen)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The line of transmission of the Way</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The titles of these twenty books were not necessarily specifically
designed. Ch'iu would sometimes adopt key phrases from the first few lines in a chapter for its title. Whatever method Ch'iu used it is evident that all the chapters grouped under one book are related in nature. Furthermore, the titles indicate the contents of each book as well as giving some systematic arrangement of the writer's sources. In a preface to the Ch'ing reprinted edition by Ts'ai Yen-huang 草衍, dated the forty-eighth year of K'ang-hsi 嚴熙 (1709), Ts'ai makes the following observation: "The division [of the work] into chüan shang and hsia is an imitation of [Chu Hsi's] Hsiao-hsüeh 小學. The classification [of the sources] into twenty books is an imitation of the Confucian Analects. [In this work], the first part consists of the titles from 'Studies lying low' to 'Heavenly virtue', in which discussions range from [day to day] affairs to principles, and ended with the title 'Wei Chai'. The last book records the life and utterances of Chu Hsi and the format resemble the [book of] 'The village' ("hsiang-tang" 鄉薦 ) of the Confucian Analects. The second part consists of the titles from 'Penetration rising high' to 'This cause of truth', in which discussions range from principles to miscellaneous matters, and ended with 'The line of transmission of the Way'. The last book records the origins of the School of Lien, Lo, Kuan, and Min, and the format resembles the [book of] 'Yao said' ("Yao-yüeh" 耀 曰 ) of the Confucian Analects. When Ts'ai Yen-huang made the observation that the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti and the Confucian Analects were similar in format and arrangement he uncovered a special feature of this work. It is evident that the compiler intended the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti to be modelled on the Confucian Analects. Further evidence can be found in a postscript
to this work, dated the seventh year of T'ien-shun (1468), where Ch'iu clearly states this intention. However, Ch'iu insisted that he had no designs to follow the example of Wang T'ung (584-617), an eminent Confucian of the late Sui period (589-618) who wished to become the "new Confucius" by writing sequels to the Confucian Classics. Ch'iu added that he drew his inspiration from Tseng Tzu and the other Confucian disciples who compiled their master's work in order to promote his ideas. These observations show that although Ch'iu admired Confucius he did not attempt to emulate him at all. On the contrary he extolled Chu Hsi as a scholar whose wisdom is comparable to Confucius.

Another important feature of this work — the order (tz'u-ti) of the books — generally neglected by later scholars also deserves attention. In the arrangement of the books in the Confucian Analects there is no systematic order. Whereas in the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti, the arrangement of the books clearly indicates meticulous planning. Unlike the arrangement of previous works on similar topics, such as the Hsing-li ta-ch'üan and others, which begins with a discussion on Supreme Ultimate (t'ai-chi), a chapter about metaphysics, the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti is divided into two parts with the book of "Studies lying low" (hsia-hsüeh) as the beginning of the first part and the book of "Penetration rising high" (shang-ta) as the beginning of the second part. There is a special reason for arranging the books in this sequence. The terms "Studies lying low" and "Penetration rising high" first appeared in Book XIV, Chapter 37 of the Confucian Analects, where Confucius asserted: "My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high." This sentence refers
to Confucius' conception of study and to his understanding of the principles. In his translation of this chapter in the *Confucian Analects*, Professor James Legge (1815-1897) noted: "The meaning appears to be that he contented himself with the study of men and things, common matters as more ambitious spirits would deem them, but from those he rose to understand the high principles involved in them." What it all amounts to is that there is a corelation between study and the understanding of principles. In the *Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti* Ch'iu divided this concept into two sections to show that learning had order and sequence. He maintained that in the process of learning, "studies lying low" should always precede "penetration rising high". He contended that if there was no progress in "studies lying low", then there would not be any "penetration rising high". The arrangement of the books in the *Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti* reflects this logic. Ch'iu clarifies the significance of this arrangement in the postface to this work. He says:

Men's learning should begin with the study of human affairs that lie low. From studies lying low, then one proceeds to penetration rising high. This is thus the stage of learning for Confucians. After all, the learning for Confucians is learning the Way of sagehood. The most important point of this learning is to distinguish between benefiting oneself and benefiting others. The *Great Learning* is a work of learning for the self. In order to practice learning for the self, it is necessary to follow the example of previous scholars and employ one's efforts. The art of employing one's efforts is elaborated by Ch'eng Tzu (i.e. Ch'eng I) who says: "Self-cultivation requires reverence; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge." One should make this a target to exert oneself, and accumulate one's knowledge according to this direction. If this occurs, then, knowledge (*chih*) and conduct (*hsing*) will develop together, and mind (*hsin*) and principle (*li*) will be in harmony. [The final outcome will be that] the inside and outside, the fundamental and the incidental, the obscure and the distinct, the refined and the crude, will be considered one after the other. This is what is described as
the learning of the Confucians. Scholars of ancient times started their training as literati and finally became sages. The principle behind this remarkable transformation is [the elevation of] "studies lying low" to "penetration rising high".\(^{19}\)

It is obvious that Ch'iu regarded theoretical study and the practice of human affairs as an important process in learning. As he was convinced that only through "studies lying low" would there be "penetration rising high", he therefore paid due attention to the sequence (tz'u-ti) of learning. He maintained that this order of priority in learning must be followed for scholars to achieve the ultimate in study -- the Way of sagehood. This will then result in harmony between knowledge and conduct, and between mind and principle. Ch'iu also laid equal stress on mind. He did not neglect the importance of cultivating the mind but he emphasized that the learning to benefit oneself should begin with drawing experiences from others; that is, book-learning and the extension of knowledge.

Ch'iu's preoccupation with the sequence of learning as reflected in his Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti showed his intention to influence the direction of Ch'eng-Chu learning during his time. In a discussion regarding the order and content of the twenty books, Ch'iu explained that the first book on "studies lying low" served to introduce the purpose of learning. Having examined the contents of the first book, we find that Ch'iu elucidated the main theme from the very beginning. The first chapter of Book One reads: "Master Chu said: Studies lying low refers to affairs, penetration rising high refers to principles; principle exists only in affairs."\(^{20}\) Ch'iu placed this quotation at the beginning of Book One, not only to stress its importance, but also to assert that understanding principles could only be achieved by relating them to affairs. Moreover, Ch'iu pointed
out that Books Two and Three, which are given the headings, "Sustained reverence" and "Exhaustive exploration of principle", dealt with the necessity of exerting one's efforts. These two sections, Ch'iu contended, were an elaboration of Ch'eng I's two sayings: Self-cultivation requires reverence, the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge. He maintained that it was necessary to maintain reverence because people in his times did not pay attention to elementary studies (hsiao-hsueh). Thus, carrying forward the Ch'eng-Chu tradition of early Ming, Ch'iu stressed the practice of sustained reverence. But he considered that the practice of sustained reverence should not be separated from the exploration of principle. This remark was probably aimed at the Ch'eng-Chu followers of the Ming period who either advocated preserving one's reverence or cultivating one's mind and disregarded external affairs and the exploration of principle.

In the postface to the Chu-tzu hsueh-ti, Ch'iu explained that his discussion on sustained reverence was contrary to the idea of former scholars, who usually work from the inside (nei) to the outside (wai). Ch'iu advocated a reverse thought process by working from the outside to the inside. According to him, this sequence enabled scholars to familiarize themselves with the beginning of the process. What Ch'iu referred to as "inside" and "outside" probably meant internal cultivation and external learning. Here, he contends that the practice of preserving one's reverence should begin with external learning, wai, and then progress to internal cultivation, nei. This idea is derived from his concept that "penetration rising high" originated in studies "lying low", and
should therefore begin with the latter. There is no doubt that Ch'iu placed "studies lying low" before "penetration rising high", and insisted that the order of importance in exerting one's effort should not be reversed. The deliberate quotation placed at the beginning of Book Two, "Penetration rising high", confirms this. The first chapter in Book Two reads:

Master Chu said: "The sages need only be concerned with studies lying low so that they will [in the end] naturally [attain] penetration rising high."

In this study Ch'iu revealed Ch'u Hsi's message which had been neglected by later scholars and affirmed the importance of "studies lying low" in order to establish a new direction in Ch'eng-Chu learning for his period. His intention was also to rectify the abuses of the contemporary Ch'eng-Chu followers -- this can be regarded as a means to amend the shortcomings of Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy.

In connection with Ch'iu's emphasis on "studies lying low", his interpretation of "exhaustive exploration of principle" also deserves attention. The ideas of "sustained reverence" and "exploration of principle" are two important topics in Ch'iu's Chu-tzu hsüeh ti, in which two books are specially established to elaborate these two concepts. As was mentioned in the previous discussion, these two books are an extension of Ch'eng I's two sentences: "Self-cultivation requires reverence; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge". In Book Two, Ch'iu added the sub-title: "Self-cultivation requires reverence" under the heading "Sustained reverence", and in Book Three he inserted the sub-title "The pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge" under the heading "Exhaustive exploration of principle". Ch'iu's discussion of reverence,
where he suggested that the process of self-cultivation unfolded from the outside to the inside, has already been explained. Of particular importance is his discussion on principle. As was discussed previously, Ch'iü stated that the practice of sustained reverence should not be separated from the exploration of principle. Obviously, it is closely related to the idea that the practice of sustained reverence should begin from the outside. A closer look at Ch'iü's interpretation of exhaustive exploration of principle will provide a better picture. As suggested by the title, Ch'iü interpreted "exhaustive exploration of principle" as an extension of knowledge. Thus, in his discussions on the art of devoting oneself to the exhaustive exploration of principle, Ch'iü recommended studying the Four Books, the Five Classics, and advised to take the writings of contemporary Confucians as the ideal tools (chü 具) for this purpose. From this discussion we can see that Ch'iü regarded the study of the Classics and extensive reading as the most effective means of exploring principle. Ch'iü differed also from earlier Neo-Confucianists, such as Ch'eng I, who correlated the exhaustive exploration of principle with the investigation of things (ko-wu 考物). The correlation aimed at gaining true knowledge about the principles of things. In the postface, Ch'iü explicitly says:

How could [the practice of] exhaustive exploration of principle give brief investigations of things but undertake detailed studies of books? Studying books is not different from investigating things. Today's scholars, without any formal instructions from teachers, wish to abandon the study of books for the exhaustive exploration of principle, I believe that their [learning] in this way would consist of nothing but sketchy generalizations.

This shows that Ch'iü valued highly the study of books. Indeed he considered the study of books the best approach to explore principle.
He further pointed out that his suggestion was directed to the malpractice of his time. The scholars to whom Ch'iu was alluding were probably people like Ch'en Hsien-chang and his followers who abandoned the study of books and advocated inner cultivation. To a certain extent, Ch'iu linked the study of books, which he considered as fundamental and essential to the Way of sagehood, to the exhaustive exploration of principle. Thus, the understanding of "exhaustive exploration of principle" in this context should not be separated from extensive studies. Ch'iu extended this conceptual framework by adding that "only after exhaustive exploration of principle can one cultivate one's mind, and subsequently, rectify human relations, and be successful in governing others. It is only through this process that the practical use of learning can be completed and the ultimate goal of intellectual inquiry can be achieved."27

In his concluding remarks on the order of the books in this work, Ch'iu observed: "Scholars study first human affairs that lie low and subsequently come to penetrate the Heavenly Principles that rise high; is this not the learning of the complete substance and great function of the Confucian Way?"28 This shows that Ch'iu's attention to "studies lying low" and "penetration rising high" was also an integral part of his understanding of "complete substance and great function". The study of human affairs and the understanding of Heavenly Principles in this respect also serve to clarify the concept of t'i-yung. The above context implies that understanding Heavenly Principles, or, "penetration rising high", as it is referred to, could not be achieved by self-cultivation alone, without going through the practice of human affairs and extensive studies, or
"studies lying low". This shows that the idea of "studies lying low" and "penetration rising high" are closely linked. This concept is reflected in the t'i-yung theory as: Scholars should not concentrate on the pursuit of substance and neglect the practice of function. In other words, substance and function cannot be separated and treated as two unrelated ends.

It becomes evident from the foregoing, therefore, that the study of books and the extension of knowledge occupied a very important position in Ch'iu's theory of the intellect. In fact it formed the base for Ch'iu's philosophical framework. He was consistent in applying this framework to whatever theory he was formulating. Due to this, he did not encourage mechanical study but favoured practical learning. This is perhaps the reason why he stressed the importance of function.

Ch'iu Chün's intellectual connections with Chu Hsi and admiration for his teachings are reflected in the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti. Although it was only a compilation, Ch'iu approached this task with painstaking care. The thoughtful selection of material and their logical arrangements served as a perfect guide for scholars. Moreover, it provided a substantial and practical approach to the learning of the Ch'eng-Chu doctrine. This is why Wang Tzu 卞詗, a Prefect in Kwangtung in Ch'ing times and publisher of a reprint of the Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti, praised Ch'iu as the meritorious servant (kung-ch'en 功臣) of Chu Hsi. He stated: "[Scholars who] study the writings of Confucius and Mencius but who do not read the [Chu-tzu] hsüeh-ti, will neither understand the profundity and distinctiveness of learning, nor realize the fact that every one can enter into the Way."

29
The fact that Ch'iu Chün made efforts at redirecting the orientation of Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy prevalent in his time did not imply that he was critical of this philosophy. On the contrary, he was an ardent follower of the Ch'eng-Chu School and put ideals of Ch'eng-Chu above all others. This attitude is revealed in his criticisms of Lu Chiu-yüan. Ch'iu's comments on Lu's scholarship are recorded in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang*. Under the entry of the second year of Pao-ch'ing 貞觀 (1226) of Emperor Li-tsung 理宗 (Chao Yün 趙昚, r.1225-1264) of Sung, Ch'iu records the court's decision to give employment to the descendants of eminent scholars including Chang Shih 羅拭 (Ching-fu 敦州, 1133-1180), Lü Tsu-ch'ien 司祖謙 (Tung-lai 東萊, 1137-1181) and Lu Chiu-yüan. Here Ch'iu remarks:

The learning of [Lu] Chiu-yüan differed from that of Chu Hsi. [Chu] Hsi once said: "Scholars of recent time have speciously used Buddhist teachings to confuse the true learning of Confucius and Mencius. Their way was to treat the study of books and exhaustive exploration of principle as taboos." [Chu Hsi's] remark was probably aimed at [Lu] Chiu-yüan. Later, Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (misprint for 王澄), a Yuan Confucian, further added that [Chu] Hsi concentrated his effort on maintaining constant inquiry and study (tao wen-hsüeh 道聞學) whereas [Lu] Chiu-yüan concentrated his effort to honouring the virtuous nature (tsun te-hsing 肇性). Yet, how can [Chu] Hsi be partial towards one way and neglect the other? His attitude to learning is aptly described by Ch'eng I: "Self-cultivation requires reverence; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge". This is probably the orthodoxy transmitted from Confucius and Mencius and is faultless even when it is taught for ten thousand generations. [Lu] Chiu-yüan, on the other hand, regarded the study of books and exhaustive exploration of principle as obstacles [to the understanding of the Way] and, single-heartedly, devoted himself to something which was obscure and difficult to grasp, so that he could claim to pursue what he called "self-awakening" (tzu-wu 自悟). If what Lu says is valid, then, we can abandon all the wisdom of the sages: Confucius' "extensively study all learning", Yen Tzu's "enlarge my mind through learning", Tzu-ssu's "learn extensively and follow by inquiry, thinking, and discrimination", and Mencius' "learn extensively and discuss minutely what is learnt", but simply confine ourselves to "the
restraint of propriety" and to the practice of sincerity in action. But can we accept this as [the practice of] learning? [Lu] Chiu-yüan's learning is influenced by Ch'an Buddhism without being aware of it. .... This abuse continues to the present and there are yet no signs of it coming to an end. How lamentable! 30

Ch'iü's comments reflects his understanding of Lu's strong Buddhist influence and partiality towards self-cultivation. He criticized Lu for devoting his time to the specious ideas of Buddhism and for emphasizing self-cultivation, or self-awakening, therefore neglecting the importance of extensive study. He cited the sayings of Confucius, Yen Tzu (Yen Hui, 521-490 B.C.), Tzu-ssu (K'ung Chi, 483-402 B.C., Confusius' grandson and teacher of Mencius) and Mencius to show that they all advocated "extensive study" (po-hsüeh). These quotations as well as Ch'eng I's two statements, which Ch'iü frequently quoted, reflect Ch'iü's belief in the equal importance of moral cultivation and intellectual inquiry. This point of view is evident when Ch'iü quoted Confucius' "extensively study all learning" and remarked that if scholars acted according to Lu's philosophy, then they would only be required to learn within the constraints of the rules of propriety. The preceding discussion distinguishes between two complementary approaches to the Way expounded by Confucius in the Confucian Analects. The original text in the Analects reads: "By extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself within the restraints of the rules of propriety, one may thus likewise not err from what is right." 31 By drawing a distinction between the two approaches Ch'iü did not suggest that he was partial to extensive learning, but he wanted to point out Lu's preoccupation with moral cultivation and his neglect of extensive study. This quote from the Confucian Analects presents the same implication as Ch'eng I's
celebrated dictum — Self-cultivation requires reverence; the pursuit of learning depends on the extension of knowledge. It is obvious here that he is comparing the honouring of virtuous nature with Ch'eng I's self-cultivation, and the maintaining of constant inquiry with the pursuit of learning. Of course, Ch'iu's ultimate goal was to enunciate the idea that moral cultivation and search for knowledge should be equally stressed. And his discussions on "the honouring of the virtuous nature" (tsun te-hsing) and "the maintaining of constant inquiry and study" (tao wen-hsüeh), a popular topic dealing with the relative importance between intellectual inquiry and self-cultivation, are closely related to the previous discussion.

Ch'iu also took the defence of Chu Hsi when contemporary scholars misunderstood Chu by insisting that the master was in favour of maintaining constant inquiry and study. Ch'iu believed that it would be mistaken to consider self-cultivation and intellectual inquiry as two different endeavours. He argued that Chu Hsi paid equal attention to both of them. This in fact is a central theme which Ch'iu wanted to advocate in his intellectual system. In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu Ch'iu makes further remarks on "the honouring of the virtuous nature" and "the maintaining of constant inquiry and study":

The honouring of the virtuous nature and the maintaining of constant inquiry and study, are the two main courses of learning for Confucians. Neither should be overemphasized at the expense of the other. Seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness, to raise it to its greatest height and brilliance, to cherish old knowledge, and to exert an honest, generous earnestness, are the four rules of honouring the virtuous nature; to omit none of the exquisite and minute points which it embraces, to pursue the course of the Mean, to acquire new [knowledge], and to esteem and practice propriety, are the four rules of maintaining constant inquiry.
and study. Master Chu [Hsi] said that they complement each other and concert with each other. The way to penetrate virtue as demonstrated by the sages and worthies is elaborated nowhere in more detail than here. It is possible for these two courses to exist together but not separately. To be partial to one and not the other is not the way of the sages or the teachings of the Confucians. Nevertheless, Lu Chiu-yüan chose to concentrate on only one of them. How can such a principle be true?32

Ch'iu Chün's elaboration of the eight rules, or items, in honouring virtuous nature and maintaining constant inquiry and study originated from Chu Hsi, who on the other hand derived them from the Doctrine of the Mean (Chung-yung 中庸). The Doctrine of the Mean reads: "The superior man honours his virtuous nature, and maintains constant inquiry and study, seeking to carry it out to its breadth and greatness (chih kuang-ta 改養大), so as to omit none of the more exquisite and minute points which it embraces (chin ching-wei 細精微), and to raise it to its greatest height and brilliancy (chi kao-ming 程高明), so as to pursue the course of the Mean (tao chung-yung 道中庸). He cherishes his old knowledge (wen-ku 溫故), and is continually acquiring new (chih-hsin 知新). He exerts an honest, generous earnestness (tun-hou 愫厚), in the esteem and practice of all propriety (ch'ung-li 修禮)."33 These eight items, or segments of learning, enumerated in the Doctrine of the Mean were classified by Chu Hsi into two categories under two polarities: the honouring of virtuous nature and the maintaining of constant inquiry and study. In spite of the separate categories, Chu Hsi spoke of the interrelatedness between them:

When asked about the section concerning the honouring of the virtuous nature and the maintaining of constant inquiry and study [in the Doctrine of the Mean, Chu Hsi said]: "To begin with there are two things. If we subdivide them, we will have ten components. Yet, in reality there are only two and the two are indeed only one. In concrete terms there is
only the honouring of the virtuous nature. Yet one must employ the honouring of the virtuous nature in order to maintain constant inquiry and study. This is why we speak of honouring virtuous nature and then maintaining constant inquiry and study.\textsuperscript{35} Apparently Chu Hsi took "honouring of the virtuous nature" as the origin for the ten items. He also remarked that "if one is able to honour the virtuous nature, then one will be able to maintain constant inquiry and study and this means that once the root is established, the branch will naturally follow."	extsuperscript{36} Yet in practice, he intended to value the other way round. This is revealed in his re-ordering of the chapters in the Great Learning and placing ko-wu chih-chih (the extension of knowledge through the investigation of things) before ch'eng-i (making the will sincere).\textsuperscript{37} In his discussions on the "honouring of virtuous nature" and "maintaining constant inquiry and study", Ch'iu pointed out that neither could be neglected in the course of learning. He criticized Lu Chiu-yüan for favouring "honouring the virtuous nature" alone. As a matter of fact, the issue of whether Lu totally renounced study in favour of cultivation or whether Chu showed a preference for the reverse has been a controversy in the history of Chinese philosophy for some time. Yet later thinkers considered the issue seriously. The polarity was often used to distinguish Chu Hsi's ideas from Lu Chiu-yüan even during their time, not to say the Yüan and Ming periods. In his Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an (An Anthology of the Sung and Yüan Neo-Confucianists), a classical work on the history of Sung and Yüan Neo-Confucianism, the late Ming scholar Huang Tsung-hsi has also noted that these two ways were the respective foundations of Lu Chiu-yüan and Chu Hsi.\textsuperscript{38} We can clearly deduce that Chu Hsi's methodological approach did tip the scale towards the pole of seeking
knowledge externally, a direction especially favoured by Chu to teach
his followers, while Lu sought to minimize such endeavours. Besides,
the differences does not reside in methodological approach alone but
is closely related to their philosophical backgrounds. As Fung Yu-lan
has noted:

A popular way of contrasting Chu Hsi with Lu Chiu-yüan is
to say the former emphasizes the importance of study, whereas
the latter emphasizes the "prizing of one's virtuous nature". Such a
distinction, in fact, was already drawn between them
in their own time. What it overlooks, however, is that the
final goal of Chu Hsi, no less than of all the other Neo-
Confucianists, is to explain the nature and functioning of
our inner self. Hence, while we may no doubt accurately say
that Lu does not greatly emphasize study as such, it does
not equally follow that Chu fails to emphasize the "prizing
of one's virtuous nature". Such a differentiation, moreover,
relates merely to their respective methodologies, and hence
leaves unanswered the question of whether, in the final
analysis, the differences between them are more than
methodological.39

Fung concludes that the difference between Chu and Lu is more than
just methodology; it was a difference that went back to the Ch'eng
brothers, whereby Ch'eng I started one trend which Chu Hsi modified
and developed. The other trend started by Ch'eng Hao was developed
by Lu Chiu-yüan and Yang Chien, and finally improved by Wang Yang-
ming. Summing-up their differences, Fung Yu-lan points out that Chu's
school tended to emphasize the Learning of Principle or rationalism,
whereas Lu emphasized the Learning of the Mind or idealism.40

It is the differences in philosophical inclinations that lead
to the differences in Chu and Lu's methodological approaches. Their
respective preference for "honouring the virtuous nature" or
"maintaining constant inquiry and study" was, in fact, an integral
part of their philosophical inclination. Consequently, they formed
the two factions of Neo-Confucianism: the School of Principle and
the School of Mind, schools of thought which flourished for many centuries. The ideals of the two schools were kept separate by the followers and over time the polarity between the two increased. Ch'iu had to take the defence of Chu Hsi and declared that Chu Hsi laid equal stress on study and virtuous nature. He had no intention of reconciling this philosophical debate since Ch'iu's discussions on this question are still at the methodological level. Seldom do we find further elaborations on the philosophical or metaphysical differences between the two masters. Suffice it to say that Ch'iu was not a philosopher in the real sense of the word because he was not interested in metaphysical approach. Perhaps it is the result of traditional influences since the beginning of the dynasty, that the Ch'eng-Chu scholars lacked concern for some of the philosophical topics, such as the Great Ultimate, yin and yang, and the relation between principle (li 理 ) and material force (ch'i 氣 ), which are all important topics in Chu Hsi's system and in the philosophical debate between the two masters.

Ch'iu's comments and criticisms of Lu Chiu-yüan have one common goal — equal attention should be paid to virtuous nature and study, a point which he used in his defence of Chu Hsi. Probably what he was most concerned with was not the actual practices of the two masters, but the intellectual tendency of the Confucianists of his time. The revival of the School of Mind and its rapid expansion during the Ch'eng-hua era must have worried Ch'iu. These feelings were clearly reflected in the passage just mentioned. The exact words are: "This abuse (referring to Lu Chiu-yüan's learning) continues to the present and there are no signs of it coming to an end. How lamentable!" Thus, Ch'iu attempted to arrest this
tendency by reaffirming Chu Hsi's teachings and by stressing that consideration should be given to both the "honouring of virtuous nature" and "maintaining constant inquiry and study". Although Ch'iu stressed the importance of both ideals, he advocated extensive study for the initial stage. This was one of Chu Hsi's methods which was aimed at refuting the teachings of Lu Chiu-yüan who disapproved of verbosity and was more interested in developing the original mind. Ch'iu arranged a process of study, as seen from the *Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti*, in an order different from the one employed by former scholars, to conform with his ideals. For instance, the topic on "studies lying low" was placed before "penetration rising high". This shows the relative importance of external endeavour over internal cultivation. Ch'iu was highly critical of contemporary scholars. In one of the three questions on current problems set for the National University examination, he says:

Our ancestor (i.e. the founding emperor of Ming) followed the way of the ancient institutions and established the *chin-shih* examination. Scholars are selected on [their performance in] the Five Classics and Four Books, where only the commentaries of Ch'eng-Chu are employed. The type of examination which scholars nowadays study for is what former Confucianists called "Learning of the Way" (*tao- hsüeh*). The scholars who are trained by this method may say that they have achieved very little [in the cultivating of] their mind and person. However, if someone should mention that there is a way of learning superior to formal training which scholars must take before their learning can be described as the Learning of the Way, I would not understand what he was talking about. Since the Hung-wu and Yung-lo eras, none of the scholars who receive training at the school, or engage in civil examinations, or are being appointed to central and local posts, has any objections to the system. However, in recent times, there are scholars who have gone beyond their examination training, established a different sect which they called the Learning of the Way. It is still acceptable for them to flatter each other on the grassy marsh, but how can our scholars-officials who are appointed to central and local positions after taking formal
training and passing examinations follow their ideals and publicize their teachings? Can it be that after they have seen what happened in Sung times when those who attacked the Learning of the Way were immediately labelled as the "heretical clique", they also wish to pursue such a tactic? Alas, if one wants to learn from others one should find the right group! How can they be of the right group?

Ch'iu also stated that those who claimed that Chu Hsi was more conscientious in maintaining constant inquiry and study and Lu Chiu-yüan had spent more time in honouring virtuous nature were most likely Lu Chiu-yüan's followers. He condemned such sayings in strong terms and regarded that they have an axe to grind. At the end of the passage Ch'iu asked his students to express their opinion on the causes of this improper practice and to suggest a proper way of exerting one's effort. There should not have been any difficulty in answering these straightforward questions as the answer he wanted had already been clearly stated in the main text of Ch'iu's Chu-tzu hsüeh-ti, as well as in his postface to this work. What Ch'iu expected of his students was to devote themselves to the practice of extensive study and search for knowledge, which he considered as the fundamental and primary approach to learning.

Ch'iu Chün's renovating of the Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy broadly focussed on two aspects: The first was a tendency of the Ch'eng-Chu School at this time to move towards stultified and conventional ideals, and to gradually avoid political and practical involvement. The revival of the Learning of the Mind, especially under the influence of Ch'en Hsien-chang during the Ch'eng-hua era was the second aspect. The greatest motivation probably came from the latter since the Learning of the Mind was clearly influencing quite a few of the Ch'eng-Chu scholars, including some officials at court, as Ch'iu
has pointed out. This trend posed a threat to the declining Ch'eng-Chu orthodoxy. And as Ch'iu was a dedicated follower of Ch'eng-Chu learning, he sought to rectify the situation. On some occasions, he launched his attack directly at the Learning of the Mind. Ch'iu describes the situation in his discussion on how Sung scholars complimented one another in the Shih-shih cheng-kang.

One extreme example of this trend is the emergence of superficial scholars who know that they cannot make further progress with their learning and therefore identify themselves with the Learning of the Way. They wear garments and belts [in the ancient style]. They pretend to sit properly, prance along the streets showering one another with flattery, carry an air of arrogance to show they are above all others of their generation. They even dare to knit their brows and close their eyes and call it meditation. They take the study of books and exhaustive exploration of principle as unnecessary and say: "I simply acquire it [i.e. the Way] from the mind." Sometimes they express these ideas in maxims, which are indeed far from being original. Some of them recorded their sayings quickly and show them to everyone, and then utter words of praise and admiration. They ensure that people from far and near will hear or know of these words. At one stage, those who quoted those maxims even made endless praise of them in letters to each other. They often assumed a compassionate tone of speech to suit the situation and audience, as if they had acquired the Way of the sages and worthies. But if we observe their conduct in their daily life, they are just ordinary people. Sometimes they will even go as far as do something vulgar and unexpected. They are not ashamed of their behaviour but think that they are marvellous. 

The description in the above passage may seem far-fetched but it is not. Of course, whether one agrees with his criticisms or not is another matter. The cynical tone in Ch'iu's criticism shows that he had a definite purpose in mind. Although Ch'iu did not name the person he criticized, we have every reason to believe that his criticisms were aimed at Ch'en Hsien-chang. We can match this description with the historical record. Ch'en Hsien-chang failed the metropolitan examination three times before he decided to abandon the
examinations and devote his energies to acquiring the true Way. As early as 1464 when Ch'en was teaching in Pai-sha, Kwangtung, his scholarship was highly regarded. In 1466, at the age of thirty-nine, Ch'en travelled to Peking and re-entered the National University. He was praised by Hsing Jang (1427-1471), then Chancellor of the National University, who claimed that "Even Yang Shih was not his equal." Hsin made his remarks known to the court by saying that: "Now a genuine Confucianist has reappeared." Thus, the profundity of Ch'en's learning was recognized overnight and his reputation quickly spread amongst intellectual and political circles. As a result, interest in his learning was activated among the scholars in the capital. At that time, renowned scholars such as Lo Lun (1431-1478), the candidate who had topped the list in the palace examination of that year, Chang Mao (1436-1521), and Chuang Yung (1437-1499), all sought his company. Ho Ch'in (1437-1510), a Supervising Secretary of the Ministry of Revenue, even gave up his career to become one of his disciples. In 1482, at the recommendation of local officials, Ch'en returned to the capital and there he was acclaimed as a living sage by many admirers in official and scholarly circles, as well as by the common people. Ch'en was not interested in public life and a few months later, returned to the south with the excuse that he was not in good health and had to return home to take care of his aged mother. Even though Ch'en and Ch'iu never met in the capital, the latter would never approve of Ch'en's learning because he refused to participate in government affairs -- a position which contradicted with Ch'iu idea that a true Confucianist should apply his learning to the affairs of the state. Adverse
comments about Ch'en Hsien-chang, similar to those made by Ch'iu Chün, are also found in the *Ming Hsien-tsung shih-lu* which states that although Ch'en Hsien-chang was capable of writing verses and essays he "did not carefully study the Learning of the Principle (*li-hsüeh*)."

The compilers also implied that Ch'en was seeking fame and praise. Ch'en's popularity arose due to people who unduly admired him and regarded his learning as the Learning of the Way. Although Ch'iu Chün was Vice Supervisor of Compilation of the *Hsien-tsung shih-lu*, the above comments were certainly not written by him, as can be seen by the immediate comments which follow:

... Even a senior from his home town [at the court] who prided himself on his moral integrity and literary work sceptically said: "[Ch'en] Hsien-chang is just an ordinary man but why do so many people admire him? They are probably people who praise him without knowing what he is like in reality." It is probable that the reference to "a senior from his home town" mentioned above, refers to Ch'iu Chün. However, the unfavourable comments about Ch'en should not be attributed to Ch'iu Chün alone. Yet, scholars of later time continued to criticize Ch'iu for vilifying Ch'en in the *Hsien-tsung shih-lu* without substantial evidence. Ch'iu and Ch'en did not know each other and it does not seem that they had any personal conflict. Nevertheless, due to their intellectual differences, it is difficult to imagine that Ch'iu, a defender of the School of the Principle, and an advocate of practical learning as well, would ignore or remain indifferent to the situation.

The following remarks recorded in the *Shih-shih cheng-kang* could sum up Ch'iu's intellectual positions:
Now, if one wished to penetrate the Way of the sages and worthies and the learning of the Confucianists, what should one do? The answer is: Hold fast reverence (chu-ching) and explore principles exhaustively, so as to cultivate yourself; study the books and give lectures, so as to instruct your disciples. If you are employed, then you should apply what you have learned to save [the people] of your time; if you are not employed, then, you should engage in writing to expound your theory, so that you can wait for an opportunity to educate [the people of] later generations. In this way, you will neither attract extraordinary reactions nor provoke dissent.

The method Ch'iu suggested appears to be straightforward and uncomplicated, but, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, Ch'iu's single effort was totally inadequate for preventing the progress made by the school of Learning of the Mind which spread rapidly and forcefully over the country.
CHAPTER FOUR

POLITICAL VIEWS AND IDEAS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT

a. The Inspiration behind the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu

b. Basic Principles of Good Government
   1. The imperial court and officialdom
   2. The root of the state
   3. Education, rites and music, and punishment
   4. Economic policy and financial administration
   5. Military defence and management of barbarian peoples
a. The Inspiration behind the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu

Ch'iu Chun was not primarily a philosopher, but a statesman and a pragmatically oriented Confucian. As such, he was interested more in social systems and government codes than in the abstruse subjects of "nature" and "principle". In this respect he was a fairly typical Confucian scholar-official. Perhaps this is the reason why he did not find a place in the Ming-ju hsüeh-an, the anthology of Ming Neo-Confucianists compiled by the great late Ming scholar Huang Tsung-hsi.

Ch'iu's original contributions to Confucian political thought are found chiefly in his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. The compilation of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu began in 1478 and was finished in 1487. According to Ch'iu, a primary motive for this compilation, apart from making good the deficiencies of the former scholars, was to put together his views on government, so that his political ideas could be passed on to later generations. At the time when Ch'iu decided to undertake this compilation, in 1478, he was already fifty-eight sui, and Chancellor of the National University, but still had not had the chance to participate in governmental administration. He was worried that his ideas would sink into oblivion if he did not put them down in writing before he died.1 Thus he devoted his efforts to the compilation of this work, and it does indeed present a full picture of Ch'iu's political ideas. As Ch'iu said in a memorial presented to the throne in 1491 declining the offer of the post of Grand Secretary, "All my life's spirit and energy are wholly in this book. Any further opinions I might have would not go beyond those in this book", it is
obvious that the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu is the most complete source for
the study of Ch'iu's political thought. As a matter of fact, all the
suggestions Ch'iu offered to Emperor Hsiao-tsung during his last years
at court were based on the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu and their origin can
still be traced. And, therefore, I believe, a general study of the
inspiration behind the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu should throw some light on
the nature of Ch'iu's political thought.

On a superficial level, the compilation of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i
pu was meant to elaborate on the last two points stated in the
Great Learning -- the "ordering of the state" and "pacification of
the world". However, it would be more accurate to say that Ch'iu's
work drew inspiration from the Ta-hsüeh yen-i 大學釋義 (Extended
Meaning of the Great Learning), an important work by the late
Southern Sung scholar Chen Te-hsiu. Of course, there is no doubt that
Ch'iu attached great importance to the Great Learning. Indeed he
regarded the Great Learning the most important work among the Five
Classics and the Four Books. In a discussion of the process of
study, he says:

Students should first study the Four Books and then they
may proceed to the Six Classics. And those who study the
Four Books, again, should begin with the Great Learning.
Master Ch'eng [I] said that it (i.e. the teachings of the
Great Learning) was the gate through which the beginner
enter into the realm of virtue; Master Chu [Hsi] said that
it was the way by which the advanced education (ta-hsüeh)
of the ancients could be communicated to the people; Master
Chen [Te-hsiu] said that it was the origin of the Learning of the
Sage, the foundation on which order, and the laws and
rules for governing the world could be established. It is
thus evident that among the books of the Confucianists, there
is not one that has the same importance as the Great
Learning. Elementary education begins with it for entering
[the gate of] virtue; advanced education is based on it for
learning. Neither the Way of the sages nor the order of
emperors and kings could depart from its teachings.
Therefore, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Odes*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and the *Book of Rites*, the *Confucian Analects*, the *Works of Mencius* and the *Doctrine of the Mean*, all aim at amplifying the *Great Learning*. Today [students] study at school as a means for achieving the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge. At another time, when they become officials, they employ it as a means for ordering the state and pacifying the world.²

In the eyes of Ch'iu Chun, the teachings of the *Great Learning* were beneficial both for the cultivation of the self and for the governing of the state, and embraced the Way followed by the sages and the ancient kings for maintaining order. He even hold the idea that the *Confucian Analects*, the *Work of Mencius*, the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the Five Classics were not comparable to the *Great Learning*, and were merely a development of the latter. On another occasion, he also stated that the learning of the Confucianists did not go beyond the teachings of the *Great Learning*, saying: "All that we refer to as the Six Classics, the Nineteen Histories, [the writings of] various philosophers of the hundred schools, and all the classical works in the world, would not go beyond [the teachings] of this work. It was with this book that the Learning of the Confucianists reached its peak and [scholars] do not have to seek [the truth] elsewhere."³ Moreover, he maintained that all the principles in the world did not go beyond the Three Leading Principles (*san kang-ling* 三靣領) — that is, manifesting the illustrious virtue (*ming ming-te* 明明德), renovating the people (*hsin-min* 新民), and resting in the highest excellence (*chih-yü chih-shan* 止於至善) — and the Eight Items (*pa t'iao-mu* 八條目) — that is, investigation of things (*ke-wu* 棟物), extension of knowledge (*chih-chih* 致知), making the will sincere (*ch'eng-i* 修身), rectifying the mind (*cheng-hsin* 修身),
cultivating one's self (hsiu-shen 修身), regulating the family (ch'i-chia 親家), bringing the state to order (chih-kuo 治國), and pacifying the world (p'ing t'ien-hsia 平天下) — of the Great Learning. This demonstrates Ch'iū's high regard for this work. Nevertheless, although it is obvious that the conceptual framework in the Great Learning had a strong influence on the formation of Ch'iū's political ideas, the political ideas of Ch'iū Chūn were not necessarily inspired directly by the Great Learning. The application of the theories of the Great Learning to statecraft was not initiated by Ch'iū himself but by the Sung scholar Chen Te-hsiu, whose illustrious work on the Great Learning, the Ta-hsūeh yen-i, as I have already pointed out, was a direct inspiration for Ch'iū's political ideas. As the title of Ch'iū's work on good government, the Ta-hsūeh yen-i pu (Supplement to the Extended Meaning of the Great Learning), indicates, his views on government are indeed merely supplementing those introduced by Chen Te-hsiu. Thus, a brief look at Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsūeh yen-i is necessary for our understanding of Ch'iū's political ideas and his Ta-hsūeh yen-i pu.

Chen Te-hsiu was born in P'u-ch'eng 漳州, Fukien. As a man whose talent was discovered early in his youth, Chen obtained his chin-shih degree in 1199, at the age of twenty-one, and received his first official appointment as Sub-Prefectural Registrar in Nan Chien-chou 南劍州, Fukien. Later he passed the examination of po-hsūeh hung-tz'u 广博鴻詞 (Extensive learning and literary versatility), which certified him as a man of exceptional scholarly attainments and led to his appointment as an Erudite (po-shih 博士) to the National University in 1208, and then to other literary posts. He was made
Vice Minister of Rites in 1211, and later Assistant Director of Military Supplies and Compiler of Imperial Archives. However, his conflict over government policies with Shih Mi-yüan 史瑀 (1164-1233), then Prime Minister, led to Ch'en's reassignment in 1215 for service in the provinces. From 1215 to 1225, he served successively as Assistant Fiscal Intendant of Chiang-tung 江東, Prefect of Ch'uan-chou 舊州 (Fukien), Lung-hsing, and T'an-chou 湘州 (both in Hunan), and did outstanding work in improving the economic situation and administration of these places. In 1225, he was summoned by Emperor Li-tsung 理宗 (Chao Yun 楚雲, 1205-1264, r.1225-1279), the successor to Emperor Ning-tsung 宁宗 (r.1195-1224), to the capital, where he served in the Secretarial Council (Chung-shu sheng 中書省) and later as Vice Minister of Rites. Meanwhile he also gave lecture at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings (ching-yen), in which he urged the emperor "to take the ancient sage-kings as his models and mentors" and to "rule in the interest of all, not just of one man and his family", by taking the Great Learning as his basic text. Unfortunately, because of the continuing hostility of Shih Mi-yüan, who still dominated the court, Chen was relieved of his office and went back to his native place. However, following his appointment as Prefect of Ch'uan-chou and then Fu-chou 福州 (Fukien) in 1233 he was recalled to the capital as Minister of Revenue and Hanlin Academician after Shih's death in the same year. The following year, 1234, one year before his death, Chen presented to the throne his monumental work, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, which was an extension of his lectures at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings and sought to provide a guide and model for the emperor. Although Chen's Ta-hsüeh
yen-i did not effectively influence the emperor nor prevent the ultimate destruction of the Sung dynasty, it affirmed the importance of the Great Learning in Confucian political philosophy and subsequently established a new tradition in the education of the emperors, which was to exert a profound influence on Confucian scholars of later ages — especially Ch'iu Chün.

The conceptual framework of Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsiieh yen-i was undoubtedly based on the eight points, or steps, of the Great Learning, although emphasis was only on the first six, omitting the last two items (ordering of the state and pacification of the world). The Great Learning had in fact been receiving close attention from Confucianists well before Chen Te-hsiu. The Great Learning is a brief essay of some 1,750 words, but the importance of this short Classic is far greater than what its size would suggest. Originally it was the 42nd Chapter of the Book of Rites. Not much attention was paid to it before the time of Ssu-ma Kuang 郭象 (1019-1086), who wrote a commentary on it, entitled Ta-hsüeh kuei-i 太學衆義, treating it for the first time as a separate work. Later, the status of the Great Learning in Confucian teaching was further enhanced when Ch'eng Hao and his younger brother Ch'eng I both rearranged the text to emphasize its importance. Ch'eng I said, "The Great Learning is a surviving work of the Confucian school and is the gate through which the beginners may enter into the realm of virtue. It is only due to the preservation of this book that the order in which the ancients pursued their learning may now be seen. The Confucian Analects and the Works of Mencius stand next to it. A student should by all means include this work in his course of study, and
then he will probably be free from mistakes."^ Nevertheless, it was not until Chu Hsi combined the text of the Great Learning together with the Confucian Analects, the Works of Mencius and the Doctrine of the Mean to form the so-called Four Books that the Great Learning was elevated to a position of prime importance in Confucian literature. Chu also wrote commentaries on these works, known as the Ssu-shu chi-chu (Collected Annotations on the Four Books).10 Among the Four Books, Chu gave priority to the Great Learning. In his Ta-hsieh huo-wen (Questions on the Great Learning), Chu asserted that this text was essential for interpreting the Confucian Analects and the Works of Mencius, and similarly, that the Doctrine of the Mean could not be fully understood without it. He also said, "Hence, those who discuss learning cannot but start with the Four Books, and of the Four Books, they cannot but place the Great Learning first."^ Thus, both Ch'eng I and Chu Hsi spoke highly of the Great Learning and attached the greatest importance to it. The reasons behind this were perhaps the simplicity and systematic arrangement of this text, as well as its highly ideological condensation of the Confucian teaching, which made it an ideal introduction enabling beginners to "enter into [the realm of] virtue". Also, the rise of the Great Learning was closely related to the Sung Confucianists' search for canons of learning, for which they thought the "old" Classics were either insufficient or unsuitable. It should be mentioned here that the canons of learning which the Sung Confucianists sought were not only basic textbooks for common students, but also for emperors. Of course, bearing in mind that the officials at the court were also
Confucian scholars, there can be no doubt that Confucianism had long been employed by scholar-officials to influence the emperor in establishing a good government. The promotion of the *Great Learning* by the Sung Confucianists, to a large extent, pursued the same aim — application of the orthodox tradition to the art of government. As a matter of fact, it was recently pointed out by scholars that the *Great Learning* was a particularly suitable text for the education of emperor. Therefore, we should not ignore the possibility it was for this very reason that Chu Hsi spoke so highly of the *Great Learning*, which he regarded as the essence of Confucian political philosophy. Furthermore, we know that Chu Hsi, during his time at the court, frequently made use of quotations from the *Great Learning* to lecture the emperor. Lecture notes which recorded the content of Chu's addresses at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings were later incorporated into his collected works, the *Hui-an hsien-sheng Chu Wen-kung wen-chi*. From these, we learn that thirteen passages selected from the *Great Learning* were used as topics for such lectures, to the exclusion of all other sources. At the same time, the *Great Learning* was also frequently quoted in Chu's memorials as the moral authority for exhorting the emperor to abstain from extravagant desires and for correcting the mistakes of his government.

The *Ta-hsiieh yen-i*, in 43 chüan, was originally a part of Chen Te-hsiu's *Tu-shu chi* (Reading Notes). As the title suggests, the compilation of this work was aimed at illustrating and elaborating the central theme of the *Great Learning*, i.e. the Three Leading Principles and the Eight Items — but especially the
Eight Items — by means of examples from the Classics and histories. However, this work is not just a lengthy commentary on the *Great Learning*. Because of Chen's additional comments and his thoughtful presentation, it is an intensely personal statement, deserving full consideration as an independent contribution to Neo-Confucian thought. As Professor Wm. Theodore de Bary has observed, "He drew on all the resources of his learning and personal experience and put them at the service of this one Classic (the *Great Learning*), though one could say equally well that he used the *Great Learning* as the vehicle for his own most trenchant thinking." There can be no doubt that this work provides valuable information for the study of Chen's thought, as it contains some of his most original ideas.

The *Ta-hsiieh yen-i* was completed in 1229, the second year of Shao-ting of Emperor Li-tsung. In the preface, Chen says:

When I first read the *Great Learning*, I found that [the steps it suggests:] from the investigation of things, the extension of knowledge, making the will sincere, rectifying the mind, cultivation of the self, regulating the family, ordering the state, to the pacification of the world, there is surely an order of importance and sequence of priorities among them. As I fondly perused its contents I exclaimed to myself: He who would be a ruler among men must not fail to understand the *Great Learning*. He who would be a minister among men must not fail to understand the *Great Learning*. The ruler who fails to understand the *Great Learning* lacks the means to arrive at a clear understanding of the source of governance. The minister who fails to understand the *Great Learning* lacks the means to fulfill his duty of correcting the ruler. Later, when I inquired into the governance of the emperors and kings of antiquity and found that they invariably took the self as its basis and extended it to the world, only then did I realize that this book is indeed an essential text, as it transmits the mind of the hundred sages, and is not just the personal utterance of Confucius alone.

Chen also points out that after the Three Dynasties, this learning of the emperors and kings was lost, and although this text survived
people generally regarded it as a general account, and neither the rulers nor ministers bothered to examine it and draw guidance from it. According to Chen, even Han Yu and Li Ao (772-841), the only scholars after Ch'in and Han dynasties who showed some respect for this work and occasionally mentioned it in their essays such as "Yüan-tao" (The Origin of the Way) and "Fu-hsing" (Returning to One's True Nature), remained nevertheless unaware of its significance as the true source of sagely learning and the origin of the Way of governance. He continues:

It has long been my humble view that this one book, the Great Learning, could serve as a model and standard for a ruler's governance of the world. If this were taken as the basis, the establishment of order would be assured; if it were flouted, disorder would be the certain consequence.

Judging from Chen's preface, there is not the slightest doubt that his Ta-hsüeh yen-i was compiled not for the purpose of academic achievement but for the edification of the emperor. Chen's Ta-hsüeh yen-i, on the one hand, manifests the Neo-Confucianist's application of Confucian tradition to the problem of government; on the other hand, it reveals the actual value and importance which the Sung Neo-Confucianists attached to the Great Learning, and the ultimate purpose for which those scholars took it out from the Record of the Rites. Moreover, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i built on Chu Hsi's views of the Great Learning and brought them to full development. In his preface, Chen makes clear that he drew his inspiration from Chu Hsi. He says: "The great scholar of recent times, Chu Hsi, wrote the [Ta-hsüeh] chang-chü (On the Chapters and Phrases in the Great Learning) and the [Ta-hsüeh] huo-wen in order to analyze its meaning. At
the beginning of the reign of Emperor Ning-tsung, he was summoned to serve at the court. Often he presented this text for discussion [at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings] and said that the ruler who wished to govern well, if he examined this work and carefully pondered its meaning, would have a thorough grasp of all the matters that concerned emperors and kings in ordering priorities in the tasks of government; simultaneously he would also find in it a basis for acquiring learning." 21 Obviously Chen Te-hsiu, by publishing his 'Ta-hsiieh yen-i, intended to carry forward Chu Hsi's mission. As a matter of fact, Chen was a faithful follower of Chu Hsi's school of learning. He had studied under one of Chu Hsi's disciple, Chan T'i-jen 錢體仁 (1143-1206), 22 and became an ardent champion of Chu Hsi at court. We know that after Chu Hsi and his school had been subjected to fierce repression by his enemies at court and the Ch'eng-Chu texts had been proscribed by the government for alleged "false learning", Chen made an eloquent defense of Chu Hsi, and, according to modern findings, almost single-handedly reversed this situation, launching the trend which led to the adoption of Ch'eng-Chu's learning by the government as the official doctrine in 1238, four years after he presented the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* to the throne. 23

The *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* was presented to the throne in the first year of Tuan-p'ing 禪 (1234) of Emperor Li-tsung together with a memorial entitled "Shang Ta-hsüeh yen-i piao ping cha-tzu" 上大學何義表并劄子, in which Chen further elaborated the importance of the Great Learning in Confucian tradition and its relation to the art of governing. He says:
Your minister has heard that in the Way of the sages there is substance (t'i) and function (yung). To base it in the self is substance; to extend it to the world is function. Yao, Shun, and the Three Kings' conduct of government, the Six Classics and Confucius' and Mencius' conduct of teaching did not go beyond this. And [the teaching of] the Great Learning, which proceeds from the "substance" to the "function", is most clear and complete in its presentation of their order of importance and sequence of priorities. Therefore, former scholars (i.e. the Ch'eng brothers and Chu Hsi) have said that: "It is merely due to the preservation of this work that the ancients' order of priority in learning can be perceived today. And the Analects and Mencius are inferior to it. What the Great Learning refers to as the "investigation of things", the "extension of knowledge", "making the will sincere", "rectifying the mind", and the "cultivation of the self", are the substance. What the Great Learning refers to as "regulating the family", "ordering the state", and "pacifying the world", are the function. The learning of the ruler must be based on these if he is to understand the fullness of substance and function."

Here Chen Te-hsiu relates the eight items of the Great Learning to the doctrine of substance and function in Confucian philosophy, and interprets the first five items as aspects of "substance" and the last three as aspects of "function". This separation of the eight items of the Great Learning into substance and function implies that the Great Learning embraces the necessary processes or steps for acquiring the fullness of substance and function. The above passage also reaffirms the importance of the doctrine of substance and function in the Way of the sages and, going even further, relates this concept to the question of rulership for the achievement of a humane world order. Thus, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i demonstrates how Confucian philosophy was applied to political thinking and how the Great Learning was related to the art of governing. In fact, from the Great Learning Chen borrows only the general concepts for the framework of his book. An investigation of its contents shows how these general concepts are distributed. The book is divided into six
leading subjects each subdivided into various items, they are:

(A) The Emperors and Kings' Priorities in Governing

(B) The Emperors and Kings' Basis for Learning

1. The learning of Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, and Wu.

2. The learning of Kao-tsung of Shang and King Ch'eng of Chou.

3. The learning of Emperors Kao-tsu, Wen, Wu and Hsüan of the Former Han.

4. The learning of Emperors Kuang-wu, Ming, and Chang of the Later Han, and Emperors T'ai-tsung, Kao-tsung and Chung-tsung of T'ang.

5. The learning of various rulers of Han, Wei, Ch'en, Sui and T'ang.

(C) The Essentials in the Investigation of Things and the Extension of Knowledge

1. Clarifying the practice of the Way:
   a. The goodness of the heavenly nature and human mind.
   b. The correctness of the heavenly principles and human relations.
      (i) The five great human relations
      (ii) The filiality of the Son of Heaven
      (iii) The filiality of a son
      (iv) The filiality of emperors and kings in serving their parents
      (v) The order of precedence among elders and the young
      (vi) The distinction between husband and wife
      (vii) The titles and duties of the sovereign and minister
      (viii) The rites following which a sovereign employs his ministers
      (xi) The loyalty of a minister in serving his sovereign
      (x) The relationship between friends
   c. The correctness of the origin of our Way.
d. The errors of heretical doctrines.
e. The difference between the kingly Way and the despotic techniques.

2. Judging human talents:
   a. The sages and worthies' method of observing men.
   b. How emperors and kings are able to know men.
   c. The techniques by which treacherous ministers usurp the state.
   d. The passions exploited by those who would ensnare the ruler.
      (i) Treacherous officials
      (ii) Slanderous officials
      (iii) Sycophantic officials
      (iv) Covetous officials

3. Consideration of the forms of rule:
   a. Distinguishing the order of priorities in the exercise of virtue and the application of punishments.
   b. Assessing the relative weight of righteousness and profit.

4. Ascertaining the feelings of the people:
   a. Heeding the people's sensibilities.
   b. Learning the realities of rural life.

(D) The Essentials of Making the Will Sincere and Rectifying the Mind

1. Exalting reverence and awe:
   a. Reverence in cultivating the self.
   b. Reverence in serving Heaven.
   c. Reverence in facing calamity.
   d. Reverence in ruling the people.
   e. Reverence in transacting affairs.
   f. The effort of preserving the mind and engaging in self-examination.
g. The benefit of admonition and warning [from others].

2. Abstaining from extravagant desires:
   a. Abstaining from drunkenness.
   b. Abstaining from licentious desires.
   c. Abstaining from wasteful amusements.
   d. Abstaining from extravagance.

(E) The Essentials of the Cultivation of the Self

1. Be careful in word and deed.
2. Maintain proper demeanor and bearing.

(F) The Essentials of Regulating the Family

1. Taking the matter of wives seriously:
   a. Care in the selection and installation of wives.
   b. Value the benefits of listening to sound advice.
   c. Making clear the distinction between legal wife and concubines.
   d. Avoid the error of deposing legal consorts.

2. Strictness in dealing with the inner court:
   a. The separation of inner and outer courts.
   b. Restraining the inner court's interference in affairs of state.
   c. The blessing of eunuchs being loyal and conscientious.
   d. The misfortune of eunuchs interfering in state affairs.

3. Settling the imperial succession:
   a. Planning for the installation [of heir apparent] should be done in advance.
   b. The procedure of giving instruction should be planned beforehand.
   c. The status of the legal wife and concubines should be differentiated.
4. Providing proper education for conjugal relatives:
   a. Modest and prudent conjugal relatives are a blessing.
   b. Arrogant and ambitious conjugal relatives are a curse.

The above table of contents gives a general idea of the structure of Chen's book. For each topic, or item, Chen provides quotations or examples from the Classics and histories as illustrations. And in most cases, following these citations, Chen appends his own remarks and the relevant comments of the Ch'eng brothers, Chu Hsi, or other Confucian scholars. The late Ming scholar Ting Hsin observed that the writer of the *Great Learning* intended to develop the meaning of the Six Classics by means of the *Great Learning*, whereas Chen intended to develop the meaning of the *Great Learning* by means of the Six Classics. Certainly, the main body of Chen's work is aiming at elaborating the message of the *Great Learning*, in particular the eight steps for acquiring utmost perfection; for this purpose, he quotes from the Five Classics and draws examples from history. However, the most important part of this work, which deals with the application of the *Great Learning* to the problems of government, consists not of a quantity of quotations from the Five Classics but of remarks and suggestions made by Chen himself for the education of the emperor.

Generally speaking, the contents of this work are divided into six parts in accordance with the main headings. Commenting on the contents of this work, Chen says: "The guidelines for this book are all in the *Great Learning*, the first two parts (i.e. The Emperors and Kings' Priorities in Governing, and The Emperors and Kings' Basis
for Learning) setting forth the Leading Principles (kang 五) and the last four parts providing the Items (mu 木), so as to bring out the extended meaning and significance of the Great Learning. Therefore I have entitled it the Ta-hsüeh yen-i (The Extended Meaning of the Great Learning)."^28 In the first two parts, which he regarded as the "Leading Principles" (kang), Chen sets out the fundamental teachings for governing and the instructions followed by the emperors and kings of antiquity. In the last four parts, that is the "Items" (mu), Chen provides a general discussion of various aspects of the art of governing in accordance with the steps presented in the Great Learning.

Judging from the contents of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, there can be no doubt that this work was a discussion of the various problems of government rather than a textual elaboration of the Great Learning. In fact, Chen borrowed only the general concepts from the Great Learning; their elaboration and application to the problems of government is largely Chen's own contribution. This may be seen from the titles of the first two parts, which made clear Chen's purpose and the main theme from the very beginning. The first part, under the heading "The Emperors and Kings' Priorities in Governing" is the only portion that could be construed as an interpretation of the Great Learning itself. In this section Chen cites the whole first paragraph on the "Three Guiding Principles and Eight Items", which Chu Hsi regarded as "The text of Confucius"^29, from the Great Learning, prefacing it with passages from the Canon of Yao (Yao-tien 尧典), the Counsels of Kao-yao (Kao-yao mo 敎誨), and the Instructions of I Yin (I hsin 禹貢) in the Book of Documents,
as well as passages from the poem "Ssu-ch'i" 亓亻 of the Book of Odes and the "Chia-jen" 亻 hexagram of the Book of Changes, in order to show that the precepts of the sages contained in the Classics do not differ from those in the Great Learning, a work which Chen likewise regarded as recording the sayings of Confucius but later preserved in the Book of Rites. Following these he cites the views of later scholars such as Tzu-ssu, Mencius, Hsün Tzu (Hsün K'uang 韓倉 1231-238 B.C.), Tung Chung-shu 董仲舒 (180-115 B.C.), Yang Hsiung 揚雄 (53 B.C.-18 A.D.), and Chou Tun-i, to prove that the theories of later worthies too are in accord with them. But what did Chen want to establish in this part? This can be deduced from the last few lines of the passage he cites from the Great Learning—

"From the emperor down to the common people, all, without exception, must consider cultivation of the individual character as the root. If the root is in disorder, it is impossible for the branches to be in good order." Obviously this view represents the main theme of this section, and the sayings he cites and the comments he makes are, without exception, in harmony with this theme. For example, Chen's citation from Tung Chung-shu reads: "The ruler rectifies his mind in order to rectify the court; he rectifies the court in order to rectify the hundred officials; he rectifies the hundred officials in order to rectify the myriad people; he rectifies the myriad people in order to rectify [people of] the four directions."

Since Mencius no one has expressed it so well as [Tung] Chung-shu. The court is the basis of the empire, the ruler the basis of the court, and the mind (hsin) the basis of the ruler. If the ruler can rectify his mind, his mind will be clear and bright and not affected by outside things, thus, none of the commands he makes is not right, and hence the
court is rectified. The court being rectified, the worthies and the unworthies [at court] will be differentiated, the position of the noble men and petty men will not be transposed, and hence the hundred officials are rectified. The basis of everything goes back to this one mind of the ruler. Alas! Can the ruler be not careful about his mind?  

The above comment illustrates how Chen develop his argument from the quotation. This order of priorities in governing -- beginning with the rectification of the mind and ending with the rectification of the world -- became the central theme in this work. In the second part, Chen affirms these teachings of the Great Learning by citing examples of the worthy rulers such as Yao, Shun, Yü, T'ang, Wen, and Wu, whose government, he says, was the purest reflection of the principles expressed in the Great Learning. He also cites examples from the Han and T'ang dynasties to show how the government of worthy rulers corresponded with the teaching of the Great Learning and how the unworthy rulers whose government ran counter to the teaching of the Great Learning could not but fall into serious error.

The first two parts of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i served as an introduction. They established the views that the teachings of the Great Learning, especially the order of priorities and steps it outlined, should serve as rules and regulations for anyone seeking to govern. The following parts, in turn, are an extension of this line of argument. Obviously, the way Chen wanted to extend the meaning of the Great Learning was to apply it to the education of the emperor. Thus, the steps outlined in the Great Learning were taken as the main focus of Chen's idea in this context. The steps drawn on in the last four parts of Chen's work, in which he aims at showing what is most essential if one is to know where to apply one's effort, are not necessarily derived directly from the Great Learning,
since some of the steps are so heterogeneous that one might question whether the Great Learning's rubric provide a coherent rationale for them. Nevertheless, Chen shows how the steps in the Great Learning are related to various aspects — such as the ruler's personal comportment, the selection of consorts and the appointment of an heir apparent, the judgement of talent at court, and the formulating of government policies — of the art of government.

Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i displays two significant features of the development of Confucian learning: Firstly, the important position of the Great Learning in the teaching of the Ch'eng-Chu School and particularly its function in the education of the emperors; Secondly, the cultivation of the mind, the essential message of the Great Learning, was viewed as the essence of the orthodox tradition handed down from the sages and the basis of the art of governing. Later, this trend was also carried forward by Ch'iu Chün with some modifications.

As we have seen from the contents of Chen's work, his attention was focussed only on the first six items of the Great Learning, omitting the last two, the ordering of the state and the pacification of the world. Ch'iu shared the prevalent respect for this work, but saw no justification for ignoring the last two items, hence he compiled another massive work to rectify his predecessor's omission. Yet Ch'iu Chün's work, the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, should not be regarded as merely a sequel of or supplement to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i; it represents quite a different application of the teachings of the Great Learning to the task of the rulers. A detailed comparison between the two works will reveal their differences.
The compilation of the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu*, according to Ch'iu, also took ten years, although its size of 120 chüan greatly exceeds Chen's work, which has only 43 chüan. Ch'iu's compilation of the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu*, as a supplement to Chen Te-hsiu's *Ta-hsüeh yen-i*, was a result of the considerable influence which the latter work had enjoyed during the Yuan and Ming dynasties. In Yuan times, at least during the reigns of Emperor Shih-tsu (Khubilai 蒙哥, r.1260-1294), Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 (Haishan 海山, r.1308-1311), Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (Ayurbarwada 奥Stubarwada, r.1312-1320), Emperor Ying-tsung 英宗 (Shidebala 石烈八剌, r.1321-1323), Emperor T'ai-ting 泰定 (Yesun Temür 遼悊木, r.1324-1328), and Emperor Shun 懿宗 (Toghon Temür 安懐帖木兒, r.1333-1368), the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* was specially honoured by Yuan emperors and served as a basic text in the Imperial Classic-study Meetings. Besides, on the order of the Yuan emperors, it was translated into Mongol and distributed to court officials. In Ming times the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* was no less highly regarded than in the Yuan dynasty, and was perhaps the most popular text of Confucian instruction at court. In Emperor T'ai-tsu's era, the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* was the basic text for lecturing the Heir Apparent and other princes. Besides, Emperor T'ai-tsu was so impressed by it that he even had passages inscribed on the walls of his palace so that he and his ministers might have the teachings of the sages and the lessons of history before them as a constant reminder. With the succeeding Ming emperors, the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* continues to play an important role in the education of the emperors. Besides being chosen by the emperors for lectures at the Imperial
Classic-study Meetings, it is also recorded that during the reign of Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (Chu Kao-chih 朱高熾, r.1424-1425), it was ordered to be reprinted and distributed to princes and ministers. And in Emperor Hsien-tsung and Emperor Hsiao-tsung's time, when Ch'iu Chün was serving at court, there were constantly lectures on this work at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings. In the first year of Hung-chih (1488), shortly after Emperor Hsiao-tsung ascended to the throne, Ch'eng Min-cheng was invited to give lectures at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings, and the texts he lectured were the Book of Documents, the Mencius, and the Ta-hsüeh yen-i. The above evidence shows that the Ta-hsüeh yen-i was a popular text of Confucian instruction at court and that it also served as a major text in the Ming emperors's learning. This no doubt was also a major factor in leading Ch'iu Chün to express his political views in the form of a supplement to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i.

Ch'iu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was presented to the throne in 1487, when Hsiao-tsung became emperor, together with a memorial entitled "Chin Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu tsou" 進大學衍義補遺. In this memorial Ch'iu noted the fact that Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i only covered six of the eight items of the Great Learning, omitting the last two items on the "ordering of the state" and "pacification of the world". It was his intention, Ch'iu declared, to remedy this omission and supply material on these latter subjects. Thus he imitated the style of Chen's book, and gathered material from the Five Classics, former histories, and the writings of the hundred schools. In the process he dealt with a wide range of administrative and institutional questions. This work provided also a detailed record of Ch'iu's
views on government and it has been aptly characterized by a modern scholar as "a comprehensive handbook on public administration, dealing with every aspect of governmental function including military defense, public finance, personnel management, transportation, water control etc." A further investigation of the contents of this book will prove that this description is not empty praise. The work is arranged in twelve sections, each dealing with a number of topics. They are as follows:

1. Rectifying the Imperial Court

   a. A general discussion of the administration of the imperial court.
   b. Maintaining the principle of the ethical code.
   c. Fixing the ranks of titles and positions.
   d. Impartiality in meting out rewards and punishments.
   e. Care in the issuing of commands.
   f. Providing more channels for airing views.

2. Rectifying Officialdom

   a. A general discussion of the Way of appointing officials.
   b. Fixing the duties of official posts.
   c. The criteria for granting titles and emoluments.
   d. Etiquette for honouring high officials.
   e. Reducing the number of palace attendants.
   f. Taking seriously the appointment of official censors.
   g. Clearing the avenues for entering official service.
   h. Impartiality in the method of civil appointment.
   i. Strictness in the method of evaluating service.
   j. Exaltation of the Way of recommendation.
   k. Avoiding the error of lavish appointments.
3. Consolidating the Root of the State (固邦本)

a. A general discussion of the Way of consolidating the root.
b. Promoting population growth.
c. Regulating of the people's land holdings.
d. Devoting attention to the people's agriculture.
e. Reducing the people's corvée.
f. Compassion for people who are in poverty.
g. Providing relief for people suffering from calamities.
h. Ridding the people of evils.
i. Selecting administrators for the people.
j. Dividing the people into administrative districts.
k. Concern for the hardships of the people.

4. Administration of Public Expenditure (制國用)

a. A general discussion of the Way of conducting financial transactions.
b. The rule for tribute and taxes.
c. The principle of financial administration.
d. Regulations for government participation in trade.
e. Defects in coinage and paper currency.
f. The yield from hills and lakes.
g. Levying business duties.
h. Registration of enlisted labour.
i. The error of selling official titles.
j. Proper regulation of gain transportation.
k. The cultivated fields of garrison troops.

5. Elucidation of Rites and Music (明禮樂)

a. A general discussion of the Way of rites and music.
b. The rule for rites and etiquette.
c. The regulation of ceremonial music.
d. The rites of the imperial court.
e. The rites of the local government.
f. The rites of the family and localities.

6. Proper Arrangement of Offerings ( 授樂記 )
   a. A general discussion of the principle of offering sacrifices.
   b. The rites of offering sacrifices to heaven and earth.
   c. The rites of offering sacrifices to ancestors.
   d. The rites of the regular sacrifices of the state.
   e. The rites of offering sacrifices to former worthies.
   f. The rites of offering sacrificial address and prayer.
   g. The rites of making offerings to Confucius and the Confucian masters.

7. Exaltation of Education ( 尊教必 )
   b. The foundation of schools to establish education.
   c. Promoting the Learning of the Way to accomplish the educational task.
   d. Making the Classics the root of education.
   e. Unifying morality and virtue to transform customs.
   f. Practising filial piety to promote morals.
   g. Honouring Confucian masters to esteem the Way.
   h. Cautious against fanciful ideas to be an example for the people.
   i. Popularisation of education to reform customs.
   j. Rigorously differentiating good and evil to point out meritorious deeds.
   k. Granting posthumous titles to encourage loyalty.

8. Provision of Regulations and Standards ( 價理制 )
   a. On the founding of the capital.
b. On the defence of the cities.
c. On the building of the palaces.
d. On the establishment of recreation parks.
e. On the regulation of official caps and vestments.
f. On the regulation of seals and tallies.
g. On the style of the imperial carriage and entourage.
h. On the enactment of the calendar.
i. On the preservation of written documents.
j. On the standard of weights and measures.
k. On the value of precious stones.
l. On the use of implements.
m. On the differentiation of official vestments.
n. On the corvee of laborers and criminals.
o. On the establishment of the communication system.
p. On the construction of roads and waterways.

9. Care in Laws and Punishments (治狱)
b. Fixing the system of laws and statutes.
c. Regulating the implementation of punishments.
d. Clarifying the meaning of banishment and redemption.
e. Examining the procedure of settling litigation.
f. Revoking the inhuman and unnecessary punishments.
g. Conforming to the seasons in the application of punishments.
h. Care in the determination of crime.
i. Redressing unjust charges or verdicts.
j. Care in granting amnesty.
k. Clarifying the meaning of vengeance.
1. Reducing the number of judicial officials.

m. Retaining a compassionate heart in punishment.

n. Avoiding the error of abuse and connivance.

10. **Strictness in Military Preparations** (嚴武備)


b. The organization of army troops.

c. Guarding the palace chambers.

d. The defence of the metropolitan areas.

e. The fortification of prefectural cities.

f. The command of the armed forces.

g. The effectiveness of weapons.

h. The administration of government horses.

i. The regulations for parade and drills.

j. The appointment of chief commanders.

k. The principles for military expeditions.

l. The planning of military tactics.

m. Understanding the feelings of the soldiers.

n. Preventing the opportunity for local disturbance.

o. The standard of rewarding merits.

p. The essentials of using force.

11. **Management of Barbarian Peoples** (驭夷狄)

a. The boundary between the Chinese within and barbarians without.

b. The Way of conciliation and ruling by virtue.


d. The principles of punitive expeditions and appeasement.

e. The strategy of resistance and suppression.

f. The strategy of defending and strengthening the frontier.
The system of permanent stationing and garrison by turns.

The situation of the four directions and barbarian tribes.

The error of oppression and military aggression.

12. Achievement of Moral Perfection

The utmost in moral perfection of the sages.

The above table of contents provides a general picture of the topics discussed in this book. Anyone who has glanced at the contents of Ch'iu's work could not but marvel at the comprehensiveness and depth of the author's knowledge. As it was said before, the contents of the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu are divided into twelve sections, which are further sub-divided into one hundred and nineteen items. Under each item, Ch'iu quotes the relevant precepts from the Classics and the writings of former Confucian scholars. The historical background of the items referred to and the precedents from Chinese history that might be followed by the Ming emperor are also presented. Following the quotations from Classics, former scholars, and histories, Ch'iu adds his own remarks, which are the most important of all, prefaced by the phrase "It is the view of Your minister" (ch'en-an 按按).

In his remarks, Ch'iu enunciates his opinion on the topic in question, discusses different approaches to the problem, and, whenever possible, appends numerical data. What must be kept in mind is that this book was compiled not as an intellectual exercise, but to provide solutions to current problems. The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu not only preserves valuable material from the former dynasties, it also provides much information on the 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 own time.
The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu is an important source for understanding the philosophical background of Ch'iu's political thought. It reveals a line of development of Confucian political philosophy from the Southern Sung to the Ming. At the same time, a comparison of Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i and Ch'iu Chun's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu shows that the latter offers a new interpretation of the message of the Great Learning in relation to the problems of government in Ming times. These points are raised in Ch'iu's discussion of the relation of his work to that of Chen.

Yet despite the fact that the title of Ch'iu's book suggests that it is a "supplement" to Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i, how much did Chen's work really influence Ch'iu? It is a question that needs further consideration. In a preface to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, Ch'iu describes the connection of his work to the teachings of the Great Learning and Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i:

This one book, the Great Learning, [consists of] the learning of complete substance and full function of the Confucians. [This learning], originates from the heart of one man (i.e. the ruler), embodies the principles of the myriad matters, and is of vital importance to the livelihood of countless people. Its root lies in the self, its standard lies in the family, and its function reaches to all parts of the world. The sages establish it for the purpose of educating the rulers. The rulers of men take it as their base for the purpose of governance. The scholars engage in it for the purpose of learning, and employ it to assist their sovereign. This book could be said to be the collected essentials of the Six Classics, the great canon by all ages, and the living tradition of governance handed down from mind to mind since the Two Emperors and Three Kings...... Coming to the Sung dynasty, Ch'eng Hao and his brother of Honan spoke favourably of it. Chu Hsi of Hsin-an wrote the [Ta-hsüeh] chang-chü and [Ta-hsüeh] huo-wen to elaborate its meaning. Chen Te-hsiu of Chien-an again gathered the sayings from the Classics, the works of earlier philosophers, and the histories to substantiate and extend its meaning in accordance with the text. Chen entitled his book Ta-hsüeh yen-i and presented it to his sovereign so
as to point out the root of governance, and establish the rules of ordering government. His book should be bequeathed to posterity and serve as model and standard for those who govern the world. However, what Chen has discussed is limited to the meaning of the "investigation of things", "extension of knowledge", "making the will sincere", "rectifying the mind", "cultivation of the self", and "regulating the family". It appears that Chen focussed on what is near to the ruler, and expects the ruler to follow this guidance and apply it to the state and the world.\textsuperscript{41}

In the above passage Ch'iu explicitly expresses his understanding of the value of the \textit{Great Learning}. He relates the teachings of the \textit{Great Learning} to the Confucian concept of "complete substance and full function", and maintains that this learning relates not only to one person or one family, but to the livelihood of countless people. Likewise, the above passage reveals that the traditional importance given to the \textit{Great Learning} originated with the Ch'eng brothers, Chu Hsi, and Chen Te-hsiu, and that Ch'iu Chün deemed it his duty to carry it forward. Ch'iu praises Chen's work in setting up standards of government which should be bequeathed to posterity; however, he also notes the absence of two items - the ordering of the state and pacification of the world - in the latter's work. Apparently, Chen's omission prompted Ch'iu's work. Nevertheless, the compilation of a supplement to the \textit{Ta-hsüeh yen-i} proceeded from a different understanding and interpretation of "substance" and "function", the basic concept in the political thought of Chen and Ch'iu. In his preface Ch'iu states his reasons for compiling a supplement to Chen's work as follows:

\textit{It is your minister's humble view that in the learning of the Confucianists there is substance (ti) and function (yung). Although substance is based on one principle, function is scattered throughout a myriad matters. [Function] should be elaborated in full detail without confusion, then [substance and function] can be combined to the utmost effect without deficiency. Therefore the teaching of the \textit{Great Learning}, as well as giving the main outlines, also enumerates the}
items in detail. And these items, too, all have their own order and sections. The order of these items should not be confused and the effort employed to these items should not be deficient. One effort too few would, then, mean the omission of one matter and the absence of one item, and make it impossible to accomplish the fullness of function. And substance being substance, would also be incomplete. However the way that the function is fulfilled is not by the synthesis of numerous small items. How can it be accomplished then? It is thus obvious that the great is the accumulation of the small. It may be compared to a net, for although a net has more than one knot, if one knot is untied, then the net cannot be spread. It may be compared to a house, for although a house has more than one beam, if one beam of the house is omitted, then the house cannot stand. This is the reason why your minister disregarded his ignorance and humbly imitated the style of Master Chen's work to supplement the essentials for the ordering of the state and pacification of the world following the regulation of the family.42

Obviously Ch'iu thought that the Ta-hsüeh yen-i's elaboration of the "function" of the Great Learning was incomplete. He maintained that a failure to implement even one item would make it impossible to fulfil "function". Thus, Ch'iu's compilation was intended to make good the deficiency of Chen's work so that the "function" of the Great Learning might be activated to the full. In fact, there is a basic difference in their understanding of the "substance and function" concept, and especially the application of this concept to Confucian political philosophy as reflected in the Great Learning.

In his preface Ch'iu also makes clear that, in contrast with Chen's work, which deals with principle (li 理), his work deals with things (shih 理). The particular purpose of Chen's work was to enlighten the sovereign of his time and bequeath to posterity instructions for the rulers of mankind; while Ch'iu's book, aimed at providing general information and advice which was applicable especially to his time.43 Here we should pay closer attention to the distinction between "principle" and "things" drawn in the above
passage. From the point of view of Confucian terminology, "principle" is equivalent to "substance" (t'i), i.e. the essence, inner body, or latent nature of a thing. The external operations or applied activities of this "substance" are called its "function" (yung), or application, and the phenomenal manifestations resulting from this function are termed shih, i.e. things and affairs. In other words, principle is substance while concrete things that actualize principle are function. Thus, it is evident that Ch'iu's definition of the differences between the two works in terms of "principle" and "things" again relates to the concept of substance and function. In fact, this is also evident from the memorial accompanying his presentation of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu to the throne. In this memorial he says: "The former book (Ta-hsüeh yen-i) deals with 'principle' and does not go beyond the self and family, therefore its extension of meaning is general and brief. This book by your minister deals with 'things' and is intended to embrace all that is in the world, therefore its extension of meaning is minute and detailed. Whether detailed or brief, each depends on what is appropriate. Considering the two books together, in general, the former book deals with substance, and this book with function." From this passage it is clear that Ch'iu distinguished the two book in terms of "substance" and "function". Whether it is appropriate for Ch'iu to characterize Chen's work as "substance", or to accept that Chen focused his attention on "substance" and neglected "function" in compiling the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, these are the fundamental questions which must be solved. Besides, what is the central theme of the Great Learning? This is again a question of primary importance since the answer to
this question will help us to determine which work, either Chen's or Ch'iu's, represents the full and true extension of the meaning of the Great Learning.

Actually there is no reason for us to accept Ch'iu's contention that Chen exclusively focused on "substance" and neglected "function" in his Ta-hsüeh yen-i, nor that he intended to deal with "principle" and paid no attention to "things". Chen was fully aware that Confucian learning, especially the teaching of the Great Learning, consists of both "substance" and "function". In fact, in the memorial presented to the throne together with his work, Chen stresses the importance of substance and function in Confucian learning. He says: "In the Way of the sages there is substance and function. To take the self as the root is substance; to extend it to the world is function. Yao, Shun, and the Three Kings' conduct of government, the Six Classics, and Confucius and Mencius' practice in teaching did not go beyond this. And [the teaching of] the Great Learning, which proceeds from 'substance' to 'function', is most clear and complete in its presentation of their order of importance and sequence of priorities."

Thus, it is evident that Chen was aware of the inseparability of substance and function in this context, and he could not have neglected the importance of function. Ch'iu considered Chen's work incomplete because it only covered six of the eight items of the Great Learning, while overlooking the last two items -- "ordering the state" and "pacifying the world". The crux of the matter is that Ch'iu regarded the six items Chen elaborated in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i as "principle", or "substance", and the last two items, which Chen
omitted and on which he placed particular emphasis in his work, as "things", or "function". However, Chen Te-hsiu's explanation of the eight items, in terms of substance and function, is quite different from that of Ch'iu's. In the memorial mentioned above, Chen says: "What the Great Learning refers to as the 'investigation of things', the 'extension of knowledge', 'making the will sincere', 'rectifying the mind', and the 'cultivation of the self', are the substance. What the Great Learning refers to as 'regulating the family', 'ordering the state', and 'pacifying the world', are the function."  

Obviously Chen took the first five items as substance and the last three items as function. He also maintained that the learning of the ruler must be based on these items if he is to understand the fullness of substance and function. But why is it then that Chen did not elaborate on all eight items, stopping with the "regulating the family" and entirely omitting the last two items? In fact, there is no reason to believe that Chen felt his work had been left unfinished. In his preface to the Ta-hsüeh yen-i he had already said that nothing more was needed for ordering the state and pacifying the world beyond the steps already outlined for the ruler's cultivation of the self. He also said that if the ruler could grasp the essentials of the six items he elaborated, then the Way of ordering the state and pacifying the world would not go beyond them. In other words, Chen thought that the ordering of the state and the pacification of the world would be realized through the achievement of the first six items. This means that Chen based his approach on the self and the family and then extended it to the state and world at large.

In all fairness, the approach Chen employed should give little
cause for criticism. In his emphasis, he remained true to central theme of the *Great Learning*. For the *Great Learning* does not place emphasis on the state and the world; it places emphasis on the individual's, or the ruler's, cultivation of his own spiritual and intellectual self, in order to make his personality the instrument which brings tranquility to the family, the state, and the world. Its central purpose is to tell how the individual can deal with social and political matters. In this process, the family, the state, and the world are put into perspective as elements which in the ideal social order must respond to the suasive influence of the cultivated individual personality. The central theme of the *Great Learning* is self-cultivation. In other words, before a ruler can regulate and discipline others, or bring order to the state and peace to the world, he must learn to regulate and discipline himself. To accomplish this, the *Great Learning* outlines a system or program which became famous for its "eight items", or "eight steps", the first five pertaining to personal cultivation and the last three to social functions. In conjunction with this program, the *Great Learning* develops another doctrine, according to which the internal and the external, the fundamental and the secondary, and the first and the last, must be clearly distinguished. On this doctrine, Chu Hsi, Chen Te-hsiu and Ch'iu Chun all agreed. As mentioned before, in connection with the program and steps set out in the *Great Learning*, Chen spoke highly of the "order of importance and sequence of priorities" it presented; and Ch'iu also stressed that the order of the eight steps should not be confused. This idea had been made clear earlier by Chu Hsi. In a memorial presented to Emperor Hsiao-tsung (Chao Shen
Your minister heard that according to the Way of the Great Learning, from the Son of Heaven down to the common people, all must regard the cultivation of the self as the root or foundation. That the family is regulated, the state is in order, and the world is in peace, none but derive from this. Indeed, self-cultivation (hsiu-shen) leading to personal self-realization, and the ordering of the state and harmonizing the world have always formed one of the characteristic polarities in Confucian thought. In both the Analects and the Great Learning these two aims form two parts of an indivisible whole. As Confucius says, "[The noble man] cultivates himself in order to give peace to the people." And in the Great Learning we find a logical progression from one to another. Conversely, therefore, society is only in harmony to the extent that government is in the hands of men who have realized their goals of self-cultivation. This concept, which has been characterized by one modern scholar as "the extravagantly 'idealistic' view of government so peculiar to Confucianism", presents a view which sees government primarily as an agency for bringing to bear on society as a whole the moral influence of noble men through the power of moral example and education. Consequently this view also serves as the central theme of Confucian political philosophy, in which emphasis is strongly on the moral integrity of the ruler. Perhaps due to the intellectual environment and political instability of their time, this tradition was further emphasized by the Neo-Confucianists of the Sung dynasty. Needless to say, their promotion of the Great Learning cannot be separated from this purpose. In this respect the program of the Great Learning was employed by the Sung
Neo-Confucianists as the standard of Confucian political philosophy and the basis for educating rulers. This emphasis on the self-cultivation of the ruler, especially the rectification of his mind, in Confucian political philosophy is well demonstrated by Chu Hsi's writings. For example, in a memorial presented to the throne in 1189, Chu Hsi says:

The roots of all affairs in this world lie in one man (i.e., the ruler); and the root of the self of this one man lies in his mind (hsin). Thus, if the mind of the ruler is rectified, all the affairs of the world, without exception, are rectified; if the mind of the ruler is wicked, all the affairs of the world, without exception, are wicked.54

Here the mind of the ruler is identified as the basis of all affairs in the world; in other words, the order of the state and the peace of the world all depend on the self-cultivation of the ruler. This emphasis on the moral integrity of the ruler was an integral part of Confucian political philosophy. It confirmed the logical relationship between the moral cultivation of the ruler and the well-being of the world, and, likewise, it reaffirmed the tradition of "moral politics" in Confucian thought.55 In terms of the ideal of "moral politics" and the emphasis on the self-cultivation of the ruler, they are related to the Confucian concept of "Sageliness within and Kingliness without" (nei-sheng wai-wang 内聖外王),56 which explicitly states the relationship between moral integrity and political function. In these terms, a ruler is expected to be a sage on the one hand and a worthy king on the other. Of course, this concept of a sage-king concentrates much on the question of "within" and "without". In other words, it is a matter of the fundamental and the incidental, the mind of the ruler and the external application of this mind in political affairs.
Therefore, it is indeed obvious that Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i faithfully continued this Confucian tradition reaffirmed by Chu Hsi; at the same time it provided a more detailed and systematic elaboration which illustrated the application of the classical essence in different historical settings. As the Catalogue of the Imperial Manuscript Library observes: "The overall gist of it (Ta-hsüeh yen-i) is to rectify the ruler's mind, to be stern in the inner palace, and to reprove imperial favourites who abuse authority." 57

Furthermore, if we care to examine the Sung Confucianists' account of "substance" and "function", there appears to be no justification for classifying Chen's work as merely dealing with "substance" and, as Ch'iu Chün did, for distinguishing Chen's work from Ch'iu's on the basis of its neglect of "function". On the one hand, the dichotomy of substance and function was employed to describe the relationship between the transcendent and the immanent. Ch'eng I considered substance and function as a continuity in two modes: "Substance and function come from the same source and there is no gap between the manifest and the hidden." 58 Ch'eng Hao defines the dichotomy as follows: "Principle and righteousness are substance and function respectively." 59 Quite similar ideas are to be found in the writings of Chu Hsi. For example, when he discusses Chang Tsai's idea of the mind governing nature and feelings, in respect to substance and function, he says:

"The mind governs the nature (hsing 賢) and the feelings (ch'ing 種)." The nature and the feelings both follow the mind and subsequently make it manifest; when the substance is manifested externally, it is called function. Mencius said, "Humanity (jen 贛) is the mind of man", and also spoke of "the mind of compassion"... "Humanity is the
mind of man”, explains substance; “the mind of compassion” explains function. There must be substance and subsequently function so that the significance of “the mind governing the nature and feelings” will become apparent.60

Here Chu Hsi considers nature as substance and the feelings as function and states that there must be substance and subsequently function. These examples show that the term "function" was employed to describe the external manifestations of the mind.61 On the other hand, as indicated earlier, the concept of substance and function was employed to describe the relationship between the noumenal and the phenomenal. In this sense, substance is equivalent to principle, while the concrete things that actualize principle are function, or, generally, what penetrates things is function.

From the foregoing, we may conclude that Chen's elaboration of substance and function in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i is perfectly correct. His identification of "investigation of things", "extension of knowledge", "making the will sincere", "rectifying the mind", and the "cultivation of the self" as substance, and "regulating the family", "ordering the state" and "pacifying the world" as function, is surely justifiable and appropriate. As an instruction text for the emperor, his description of the cultivation of the ruler's person as substance and the application of this "substance" to external affairs as function, can give no cause for criticism. "Function" must not necessarily refer only to the "ordering of the state" and to the "pacification of the world". Besides, Chen's view, that once the person of the emperor is cultivated the state and the world will be ordered, is indeed derived from the Great Learning, which regards cultivation of the self as the root of all things and maintains that
there has never been a case when the root was in disorder and yet the branches were in order. In keeping with this concept, therefore, Chen confined his imperial text on matters closely relating to the ruler, and held that institutional problems would take care of themselves if the primary problem of the emperor's personal attitude towards government had been dealt with.

Ch'iu Chün's view that Chen's work was exclusively concentrating on substance and that his own supplement was emphasizing on function was therefore not in accordance with earlier Confucianists' understanding of substance and function, not to mention the view of Chen Te-hsiu himself. Here Ch'iu's "supplement" may be described as an independent contribution, riding on the prestige of Chen's work just as the latter had exploited the extraordinarily high standing of the *Great Learning* during the Southern Sung. Actually the theme of his book and the message he wanted to deliver were certainly different from those of Chen's work. In opposition to Chen Te-hsiu and other Neo-Confucianists who adopted a philosophical view of "function", Ch'iu thought that only the affairs or concrete events of the state and the world could be regarded as belonging to the realm of function. In other words, all that concerned the person of the ruler and the imperial family were substance, and all that concerned the imperial court, the state, and the world were function. This interpretation could more easily translate the Confucian concept into political philosophy, and also provide it with a more practical standpoint. Likewise, his emphasis on assessing the conditions for ordering the state and pacifying the world, reveals his uneasiness concerning taking the moral integrity of the ruler as the base of good government.
-- a central theme of the *Great Learning*. Judging from his intention to correct the balance of substance and function in favour of objective realities and the facts of institutional life which condition the ruler's or the ruling class's exercise of authority, it would appear that Ch'iu held a less optimistic view than Chen Te-hsiu's of the ruler's ability to rectify and control government affairs simply by the exercise of his moral will. It was not that the facts as cited in the *Ta-hsūh yen-i* were wrong or inapplicable to government but only that they were insufficient in the light of recent experience.

As a matter of fact, however, in spite of its importance in Confucian thought, the *Great Learning* gave impetus to a dangerous form of oversimplification and idealism among Confucianists: the belief that self-cultivation alone, especially on the part of the ruler, could solve all political problems and usher in the perfect society and orderly state. Experienced statesmen certainly recognized the yawning abyss between the ideal and the reality. They soon came to wonder whether it was in fact possible to pursue the goals of self-cultivation and of setting the world in order with equal hopes of success. Furthermore, as the bureaucratic machinery of the imperial state became more elaborate and complex, there soon emerged, at the practical level, the problem of whether the self-cultivation of the ruler, which was based primarily on his conscientious adherence to the prescribed forms of proper behaviour, would be sufficient to control the myriad problems of the state. Did not the governing of the state require some sort of professional skills of administration? As a practical statesman, Ch'iu will certainly have pondered
deeply over this fundamental problem of the Confucian political philosophy. As one who had preached Chen's text at the Imperial Classic-study Meetings, and was well aware of the widespread lip-service which had been paid to it since the early Ming, he could no longer naively believe that this text alone was "sufficient for ruling the world", as so many emperors had professed earlier. For there was no doubt that its message had proved inadequate to cope with the growing problems of the Ming dynasty, which already, in Ch'iu's lifetime, included the emperor taken captive by the Mongols at T'u-mu and the ruinous neglect of basic institutions.

Certainly Ch'iu had no intention to abrogate or displace Chen's work. In his memorial regarding current problems presented to the throne in 1492, Ch'iu had already pointed out that what his work dealt with was the affairs of the state and not the root; for prescriptions relating to the "root", the emperor would have to refer to Chen's work.65 True to Chu Hsi's dictum of the "investigation of things and the extension of knowledge", Ch'iu sought to inform his ruler of the current facts without which his self-cultivation would be groundless. Thus, he maintained that his work provided the methods for the investigation of things and the extension of knowledge at the beginning, while at the end, when this learning was put into practice, it provided the essentials for the ordering of the state and pacifying the world.66 Nevertheless, there is every reason to believe that Ch'iu regarded knowledge of governmental practice as essential to the ruler, and, generally speaking, that this knowledge of government was at least as important as self-cultivation. Besides, Ch'iu's particular stress on the empirical aspects of learning is an integral part
of his intellectual thought. Just as he gave priority to "studies lying low" rather than to "penetration rising high", his emphasis on "function" is further proof of the pragmatic orientation of Ch'iū's thought.

The Ta-hsūeh yen-i pu reflects the transformation of Confucian political ideals into practical statecraft. Ch'iū choose to put his emphasis on the practical administration of the imperial court and the state rather than on the ruler's moral self-cultivation. From the topics he dealt with and the arrangement of the contents of his work, which places "Consolidating the root of the state" and "Administration of public expenditure" immediately after the items on rectifying the imperial court and officialdom, and before matters relating to rites, education, offerings, punishments and so on, it is evident that Ch'iū did not readily subscribe to the common view that good government depends on the person of the emperor alone; rather, he believed it depended on the improvement of the well-being of the people.
b. Basic Principles of Good Government

Even compared with its flourishing situation of the earlier dynasties, Chinese political thought in the Sung period presented a remarkable diversity, a diversity which expressed itself primarily in two distinct trends. The most energetic and assertive of these trends, which was brought to a culmination by Wang An-shih, consisted of utilitarian (kung-li 處治 ) political theories. Its foremost concern was with the pressing tasks of statecraft: the administrative system, fiscal policies, economic measures, national defense and other practical matters. In opposition to this, the other trend, promoted by Neo-Confucianists and referred to by Professor Hsiao Kung-ch'üan 內平 樂 être 成 the "Learning of the Principle" (li- hsüeh), placed a fundamental emphasis upon personal morality and the value of self-realization. Apart from criticizing utilitarian considerations, it maintained that moral principles must remain paramount and serve as the root or foundation of all affairs. It did not deny the existence of urgent problems, but held that these "branches" would be ordered if the root was consolidated. The most essential element in statecraft, in this view, was the moral leadership and influence of upright officials. Only this would in the long run lead to the careful formulation of proper policies and their faithful execution. With the failure of Wang An-shih's reforms, utilitarian political theories suffered a major set-back, and this helped bring about the dominant position of the "moralistic" political
theories, which continued to exert tremendous influence in the decades which followed.

Politically, the Ming dynasty marked a new era in Chinese history. Yet in the realm of political thought the first hundred years of the Ming dynasty saw no developments which had not been foreshadowed by the orthodox doctrine of the Ch'eng-Chu School. Ch'iu Chün's Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu represented a new trend in Chinese political thought, a major advance from the moralistic and idealistic political concepts of the Sung towards a realistic, practical application of the ideals they contained. While Ch'iu did not neglect the importance of theoretical foundation, obviously, his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu dealt with applied statecraft rather than political philosophy. In keeping with his intellectual inclination towards practical learning, Ch'iu's political thought laid stress on the question of "practical statesmanship" (ching-shih chih-yung 經世致用). However, it would be certainly misleading to classify Ch'iu's ideas as utilitarian, since he had no intention of ignoring the necessity of moral cultivation but sought rather to give equal attention on both principle and practicality. Of course, this must be understood as an attempt to remedy what he saw as the deficiency of Confucian political theories. As has been mentioned before, Ch'iu thought that the previous "imperial textbook", that is the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, was inadequate when it came to providing prescriptions for the governance of the world, hence he focused on the management of government affairs so as to create a balance of concern between moral cultivation and practical function. A modern scholar has observed that "Chen's work set a standard for righteous living, the scope of the book applying only to
individuals and households, while Ch'iu's book, imitating Chen's plan, extends the coverage to public affairs. In reality, however, the two works bear no resemblance to each other except in form. Whereas Chen concentrates on philosophy and ethics, Ch'iu's compilation is by and large a comprehensive handbook on public administration, dealing with every aspect of government function. In fact, both works were compiled in the form of "imperial textbook" which aimed to provide strategies that would lead to the ordering of the state and the pacification of the world. Nevertheless, the two works do reveal two different approaches, with Chen's work centring on the essentials of a virtuous emperor, and Ch'iu's work dealing with the essentials of a competent government.

In terms of Ch'iu's ideal of good government, one thing is indisputable: the classical writings, as employed by all other Confucianists, were still to serve as idealized guidelines for the achievement of good government. This idea of seeking wisdom from the ancients was based on the common feeling that the "Classics were to be studied as deposits of eternal truth rather than as antiquarian repositories, and the true aim of classical studies was to apply these enduring principles, valid for any place or time, both to the conduct of life and to the solution of contemporary problems." Of course, this deep belief in the wisdom of ancient institutions and this religious faith in the value of ancient principles of government and society would not affect the intellectuals' formulation of their own views since the "tradition" was so vast and so open to interpretation that often two widely divergent positions could be developed from the same body of literature. And it was this openness, therefore, that
permitted a skillful and intelligent man to make use of the tradition to his own ends. It was in this manner that Ch'iu combed through the wisdom of the Classics and drew on the experience of history. Nevertheless, his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu also provided a wealth of corroborative material from the Classics and histories which gave the classical message its contemporary application in different historical settings. It revealed how the classical message was employed to serve as the ideological foundation of his views on good government.

A glance at the table of contents of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu makes it obvious that Ch'iu's discussion of good government was systematic and comprehensive. The twelve sections of this work covered the roles and functions of the six ministries — the main functioning bodies of the government. Leaving aside the first section on "Rectifying the Imperial Court" and the last section on "Achievement of moral perfection", which give an overall discussion of the administration of the imperial court and a conclusive discussion of the achievement of perfection respectively, the second section on "Rectifying officialdom" is concerned with the Ministry of Personnel (li-pu 任部), the third section on "Consolidating the root of the state" and the fourth section on "Administration of public expenditure" are concerned with the Ministry of Revenue (hu-pu 賞部), the fifth section on "Elucidation of rites and music", the sixth section on "Proper arrangement of offerings" and the seventh section on "Exaltation of education" all are concerned with the Ministry of Rites (li-pu 禮部), the eighth section on "Provision of regulations and standards" is concerned with the Ministry of Works (kung-pu 建部), the ninth section on "Care in laws and punishments" is concerned
with the Ministry of Justice (hsing-pu 亨部), and, finally, the
tenth section on "Strictness in military preparations" and the
eleventh section on "Management of barbarian peoples" is concerned
with the Ministry of War (ping-pu 乒部). Further, the ten
sections which deal with the roles of the six ministries were arranged
in accordance with the order of priority of those ministries, with the
Ministry of Personnel, followed by the Ministry of Revenue and
Ministry of Rites, taking clear precedence over the other three. In
other words, achievement of perfection in good government begins with
the proper administration of the imperial court, which was centred
upon the emperor, and the proper functioning of the six ministries.
In this respect, Ch'iu expounds his personal experiences as an
official at the Ming court, and, combining his knowledge of the
Classics and histories with his direct experience of the
institutional and administrative defects of the Ming government, he
formulated his ideas on good government.

One thing which merits attention is that Ch'iu's main discussion
of the principles of good government is prefaced by a small section
known as "Observing the symptoms of potential development" (shen chi-
wei 神徵), which was compiled particularly to supplement the
deficiency of the section on "Essentials of making the will sincere and
rectifying the mind" in Chen Te-hsiu's book. This supplementary
section of one chüan, though short, is of considerable importance
for Ch'iu's programme for the achievement of a good government. The
section is subdivided into four items. They are:

(1) Care in the differentiation between Heavenly Principle and
human desire;
(ii) Observing the signs of potential development;
(iii) Preventing the rise of treachery;
(iv) Grasping the symptoms of order and disorder.

These four items focus on the need of awareness by the emperor to incipient tendencies to disorder and decline. In a brief introductory note to this section, Ch'iu expressed the view that the essentials Chen listed in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i in relation to making the will sincere and rectifying the mind -- "Exalting reverent awe" and "Abstaining from extravagant desire" -- were insufficient to extend the meaning of "making the will sincere" and "rectifying the mind". Ch'iu says that there are two principles in this world: good and evil. Good is the nature of Heavenly Principle; evil is the dross of human desire. What Chen Te-hsiu referred to as "Exalting reverent awe", Ch'iu says, was intended to preserve the Heavenly Principle, while "Abstaining from extravagant desire", had the purpose of repressing human desires. However, Ch'iu believed that it was easier to take steps at the time observing the symptoms of potential development than when the matter had taken shape. Here Ch'iu's idea was derived from the commentary on the sincerity of the will by Chu Hsi, who brought out the point that the superior man must always be "watchful over himself when alone" (shen-tu 眷獨) so as to observe the incipient tendencies to motion.5

In the Great Learning the chapter explaining the sincerity of the will reads:

What is meant by "making the will sincere" is allowing no self-deception, as when we hate a bad smell or love a beautiful colour. This is called satisfying oneself. Therefore, the superior man must always be watchful over himself when alone. When the inferior man is alone and
leisurely, there is no limit to what he does not go in his evil deeds. Only when he sees a superior man does he then try to disguise himself, concealing the evil and showing off the good in him. But what is the use? For other people see him as if they see his very heart. This is what is meant by saying that what truly is within will be manifested without. Therefore, the superior man must always be watchful over himself when he is alone.

From the above passage it is clear that the *Great Learning* does not put forward the idea of observing the incipient tendencies to motion, that the concern of this passage lies in being "watchful over oneself when alone". Yet in the *Ta-hsüeh chang-chü* (Punctuation and Redivision of the *Great Learning*), Chu Hsi explains the meaning of "alone" (tu) as matters of which only the superior man is aware of, and not others, and extends the meaning of this "awareness" to the importance of "observing the incipient indications of evil". Ch'iu Chün spoke highly of Chu Hsi's explanation. He said that the *Great Learning* pointed out the importance of being "watchful over oneself when alone" in order to clarify for later scholars the meaning of the sincerity of the will; the *Ta-hsüeh chang-chü* pointed out the importance of observing incipient indications, in order to clarify for later scholars the essential of being "watchful over oneself when alone". Of course, Ch'iu attached importance to "observing the incipient indications" because it served his own ends. Ch'iu said that from the past to the present in the rise of evils and disturbances there were none which did not develop from minor indications to great disasters. If rulers could observe the incipient indications of evils and the tendencies to disorder, and take preventive measures to rectify the situation before it deteriorated, evils and disturbances could be avoided. Under the item of
"Observing the signs of potential development", Ch'iu cites the Great Appendix of the *Book of Changes*:

> The [operations of the] I are the method by which the sages searched exhaustively into what was deep, and investigated the minutest springs [of things]. Those operations searched into what was deep, therefore, they could penetrate to the views of all under Heaven. They made apparent the minutest springs [of things], therefore, they could bring to completion all undertakings under the Heaven.¹⁰

Ch'iu says that although these remarks were made in relation to the concept of change, they also apply in a fundamental way to the ruler's Way of seeking order. Ch'iu believed that the minutest symptoms of things were evident at all times and in all places. In the case of a ruler, this happened particularly frequently: in one or two days, the minutest symptoms of things might be discernible countless times.¹¹

Obviously the point here lies in whether the ruler actually observes the minutest symptoms of things. From Ch'iu's remarks it is evident that Ch'iu regarded the ability to observe incipient indications most essential to the ruler's Way of ruling. In this respect, incipient indications or tendencies to motion should be understood as the springs of affairs related to the order of the state. In other words, in handling myriad affairs everyday, if a ruler is able to observe the minutest symptoms of things, and differentiate between what is due to Heavenly principle and what is due to human desire, between good or evil, then, Ch'iu says, it is not at all difficult to handle the affairs of the state properly. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this section on "Observing the symptoms of potential development" aimed at exhorting the ruler to beware of minutest symptoms of evil and disorder. He makes this motive clear under the item "Grasping the symptoms of order and disorder" when he remarks:
Your minister takes "observing the symptoms" as the topic of discussion, because it is [your minister's] humble view that if the ruler of men can observe the springs of things at their beginning before disorder and danger develop, and prevent them from going into complete development, then the misfortune of danger and disorder will never happen. This is surely important to the Way of ordering and protecting the country. I hope that Your holy brightness will consider it.  

This passage briefly explains the main theme of the section. Observing the symptoms of things was undoubtedly a warning to the emperor to beware of the incipient indications of evils and disorder, which would subsequently led to the ruin of the country. Moreover, to conclude this section on "Observing the symptoms of potential development", Ch'iu cited the Symbolism (hsiang 象) of the Chi-chi 炘 Hexagram of the Book of Changes, it reads:

[The trigram representing] fire and that for water above it form the symbol of what is already past (chi-chi). The superior man, in accordance with this, thinks of evil [that may come], and guards against it beforehand.

The textual meaning of this hexagram is explicit enough to clarify Ch'iu's motive. Obviously Ch'iu was warning the ruler of men that when resting in safety he should not forget that danger might come; when in a state of security he should not forget the possibility of ruin. Likewise, a ruler should always be alert to the minutest symptoms of things which might appear to be very trivial initially but represent a great danger in the end. After this citation, Ch'iu cited the examples of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 孝宗 (Li Lung-chi 李隆基, r. 713-755), Emperor Te-tsung 德宗 (Li Kua 李 ngược, r. 780-804) of T'ang, and Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 (Chao Chi 章佶, r. 1102-1126) of Sung, all of whom were forced to leave their capital because of local disturbance or barbarian invasion, to demonstrate that those who
risked the danger of disorder were those who rested in safety on their throne and did not look out for the minutest symptoms of evil.

The importance of this supplementary section of Chen Te-hsiu's Ta-hsüeh yen-i must not be overlooked. As discussed earlier, the compilation of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was intended to remedy the deficiency of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i, which Ch'iu regarded as focusing on "substance" but paying no attention to "function". Thus, the whole of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu could be regarded as filling this gap in the former work in relation to "function". Yet this section on "Observing the incipient tendencies to motion" should not be subsumed under this purpose. It was kept separate from the main text as an independent chapter and classified as "a supplement to the former book in one chüan". Obviously this section was compiled to supplement Ch'en's work dealing with "substance". Indeed it serves as a way of establishing a link between the self-cultivation of the ruler and the affairs of the state. By observing the minutest symptoms of things, especially of evils and disorder, and treating this as one of the essentials of making one's will sincere, attention to external things also becomes an integral part of self-cultivation. In this way, the emperor's self-cultivation cannot be divorced from the affairs of state. This section shows Ch'iu's painstaking efforts to co-ordinate "substance" and "function", and it provided Ch'iu with the opportunity to develop ideas on good government which he thought the emperor should heed.

Ch'iu's views on good government in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu cover a wide range of practical and institutional questions.
Certainly it deals with every aspect of government operations, and characteristically he usually relates his discussion to the problems current in his time. The following part of this chapter will give a detailed study of Ch'iu's basic principles of good government. His suggestions on particular issues will also be discussed if they merit special attention.

1. The Imperial Court and Officialdom

At the very beginning of his discussion of the administration of the imperial court, Ch'iu cites the Great Appendix of the Book of Changes concerning the basic principles. It reads:

The great attribute of Heaven and earth is giving and maintaining life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the [highest] place - [in which he can be the human representative of heaven and earth]. What will guard this position for him? Men. How shall he collect a large population round him? [By the power of] wealth. The [right] administration of that wealth, correct instructions to the people, and prohibitions against wrong-doing; -- these constitute his righteousness.\textsuperscript{15}

The above passage provides a general statement of some of the basic Confucian principles of government. In his translation of this paragraph, James Legge remarks that what is said in this paragraph is "striking and important, and in harmony with the general strain of Confucian teaching; -- as in the Great Learning."\textsuperscript{16} The passage identifies three elements as contributing to the formation of stable government: life, position, and wealth. Life is what people value; position is what people honour; and wealth is what people desire. At the same time they are interrelated: "Life" is the origin of the
people, but without "wealth" it is impossible to maintain life, and without "position" it is impossible to preserve life and manage wealth. In his remarks, Ch'iu elaborates further on the subtle connections between life, position, and wealth, and the significance of this passage. Ch'iu says that the position of a ruler is most lofty and honourable. The ruler of men who holds this precious position should give consideration to the great attribute of Heaven and Earth and in return protect the livelihood of the people born of Heaven and earth, so that they can maintain their life and remain together, for only then will the ruler be able to safeguard his position. However, Ch'iu continues, providing for the people so that the ruler will be able to gather a large population around him depends on whether the ruler is able to administrate wealth properly. What Ch'iu refers to here as "wealth" is definitely not the ruler's wealth but the wealth of the country. For in Ch'iu's eyes, wealth did not belong to, and should not be appropriated by the ruler. This becomes clear when he further explains the meaning of proper administration of wealth. He says that a good government should manage land policy properly and teach the people farming and grazing, so that the people may possess what they should possess without snatching, spend what they should have to spend without shortage. Only then can wealth be said to be rightly administrated and the ruler in no danger of losing the people.17

Ch'iu also stressed "correct instruction". What he meant by "correct instruction" related to differentiation between name (ming 非) and reality (shih 真), and the elucidation of ranks (wei 爲)
He said that if right and wrong were distinguished, high and low would not be confused, and then the ruler's instruction could be said reasonable and correct. Ch'iu further elaborated this point in his work under the items "Care in the issuing of commands", "Maintaining the principle of the ethical code" and "Fixing grades of title and position". He regarded the rectifying of the imperial court the root of promoting the ethical code (kang-chi 矫治) in the world. In this context Ch'iu put forward the view that wise men should be differentiated from ordinary talents so as to fix the relative positions of high and low; similarly merits and faults should be examined so as to be fair in meting out rewards and punishments. At the same time, he maintained that the greatest failure of the management of the imperial court was the presence of "obstruction and blockage" (yung-pi 遲蔽) between the ruler and his subjects. "Obstruction and blockage" in this context, according to Ch'iu, entailed two aspects: (i) people of talent had no avenue by which to offer their services to the government; (ii) the opinions and situations at the lower levels could not be made known to the higher levels. Ch'iu said that the court had to handle myriad affairs everyday, yet a ruler has only one body, and what he can do is limited. What he hears and what he sees is limited. Therefore a ruler has to employ knowledgeable and talented men to participate in government and provide good channels for his subjects to make known their opinions.

To ensure that the situation at the lower levels would be known at the higher levels, or at the imperial court, Ch'iu stresses the
importance of "providing more channels for airing views" and respecting remonstrating officials. He argues that a ruler should readily accept criticism so that all advice could be expressed freely and without hesitation. He cites the saying of Mencius: "If it were possible to talk with those who so violate benevolence, how could we have such destruction of kingdoms and ruin of families?"\(^{21}\) and notes that even those who so violate benevolence would be able to avoid destruction and ruin if they could subject themselves to remonstrances let alone those who did not necessarily violate benevolence.\(^{22}\) Hence he concluded that if a ruler can provide good channels for airing views and readily accept advice, which Ch'iu regarded as "the origin of order and the foundation of peace", then there need not be any fear of peril and calamity.\(^{23}\)

Ch'iu attached particular importance to the question of employing talents to serve the government. According to him, although the order and disorder of the state depend on whether there is "obstruction and blockage" at the imperial court, the cause of "obstruction and blockage" lies in the appointment of the wrong people.\(^{24}\) In a general discussion of the administration of the imperial court, Ch'iu insists that the ways of ordering the imperial court are many, but the most important is "choosing men who are good; employing men who have ability". Therefore, he remarks: "At the imperial court, if what is acted upon, consists of nothing but felicitous and good advice, and if those who are placed in the official positions all are wise and distinguished scholars, how can the world not rest in peace?"\(^{25}\) In his discussion of "position", Ch'iu maintains that enfeoffment must
have some legitimate basis. Under the item "Impartiality in meting out rewards and punishments", he puts forward the ideas of "Heavenly Order" (t'ien-ming 天命) and "Heavenly Punishment" (t'ien-t'ao 天罰). The meaning of these notions is revealed in Ch'iu's comment that rewards and punishments should not be determined by the ruler's personal pleasure and displeasure, but by the common wishes of the people.26 He also cites the Book of Rites, "It was in the court that rank was conferred, the [already existing] officials being thus associated in the act. It was in the market-place that punishment was inflicted; the multitudes being thus associated in casting the criminals off."27 Hence, the ruler's bestowal of official titles and application of rewards and punishments should be in accordance with the common will, or, in other words, based upon the will of Heaven, rather than on his own selfish motives and personal considerations. Ch'iu comments further:

The rulers of men of later generations do not understand this rule. Very often they follow the pleasure and displeasure of their own mind, the likes and dislikes of their selfish ideas, in giving out rewards and punishments, and thus neglect the meaning of Heavenly Order and Heavenly Punishment.28

Apparently, these comments were directed against the rulers of later generations in general. However, it is possible that the ultimate target was the Ming emperors, for the comments can be linked to the practice of the rulers of Ming times. When we consider especially the widespread appointment of Buddhist monks and Taoist priests to government posts -- the so-called "Ch'uan-feng kuan" (Imperially-summoned official) -- during the Ch'eng-hua period,29 Ch'iu's motive is quite clear.
In his discussion on the means of preventing the people from wrong-doing, Ch'iu cites a passage from the Book of Rites to demonstrate how the imperial court can achieve this end:

The ancient kings were watchful upon the things by which the mind was affected. And so they instituted rites to give a correct aim to men; music to give harmony to their voices; laws to unify their conduct; and punishments to guard against their tendencies to evil. The end to which rites, music, punishments, and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is produced.\(^3^0\)

Ch'iu regards rites and music as the root (pen 本) of punishments and laws, while punishments and laws are the complement (fu 節) of rites and music. These four elements, Ch'iu says, were what the ancient emperors and kings relied on to transform the minds of the people and to achieve good order in government. Moreover, the application of these four elements—rites, music, punishments and laws— he adds, were what people called the Way of the King, and the great principle and great rule for ordering the world.\(^3^1\) In this respect, it is obvious that Ch'iu attaches greater importance to rites and music, yet he did not neglect the necessity of using punishments and laws. He says that laws are needed to enforce the practice of rites and music; punishments were needed to prevent deviation from rites and music. Therefore, rites and music, punishments and laws, are all indispensable to the achievement of good government. In his remarks, Ch'iu says:

At the beginning, the Way of ordering derived from these [four elements]. At the end, the Kingly Way was achieved through these [four elements]. Rites and music, punishments and laws, their function is in the world, their root is at the imperial court.\(^3^2\)

From his discussion of rites, music, punishments and laws, it is
evident that Ch'iu drew his inspiration from the *Book of Rites*. In the *Book of Rites*, it is said: "Rites afforded the defined expression for the [affections of the] people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; laws were designed to promote the performance [of the rites and music]; and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When rites, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of kingly rule was complete." Hence Ch'iu maintains that rites, music, punishments and laws should be formulated and performed at the imperial court and extended to the world at large. Thus he regards the "roots" of the four elements as being located at the imperial court. Of course, if the imperial court is rectified, by means of these four elements, then the ruler's aim to maintain his "position" and to achieve good government should not be difficult to achieve. This probably came from the idea that: "Through the perceptions of right produced by ceremony, came the degrees of the noble and the mean; through the union of culture arising from music, harmony between high and low. By the exhibition of what was to be liked and what was to be disliked, a distinction was made between the worthy and unworthy. When violence was prevented by punishments, and the worthy were promoted, the operation of government was made impartial. Then came benevolence in the love of the people, and righteousness in the correction of their errors; and in this way good government held its course."34

In a nutshell, in his discussion of the imperial court, Ch'iu's attention is still on the part play by the ruler as the head of the court. He elaborates on the subtle relations of life, position, and
wealth, and maintains that a ruler can keep his position only if he can provide for the people and manage wealth properly. As to the essentials of promoting the livelihood of the people so that a ruler could gather a large population around him, and properly administrating the wealth so that people could maintain themselves, Ch'iu gives detailed explanations in the section on "Consolidating the root of the state" and "Administration of public expenditure", which will be discussed later in this chapter. Regarding the administration of the imperial court and how it can be rectified, on the one hand, Ch'iu stresses care in the issuing of commands and the avoidance of "obstruction and blockage" between the ruler and his subjects; on the other hand, he attaches importance to the enforcement of rites, music, punishments and laws as the means of setting an example of good government and prohibiting the people from wrong-doing. This section of his work briefly explains the essentials of rectifying the imperial court. Analogous to the position of the imperial court in the government, it provides a foundation for all government policies and sets out the fundamental principles for the achievement of good government, which according to Ch'iu can only begin at the imperial court.

Closely related to the question of the rectification of the imperial court is that of the principles of the selection and management of civil officials, both at the imperial court and in local government. Ch'iu gives detailed elaboration on this in the section "Rectifying the Officialdom".

At the very beginning of his discussion of officialdom, Ch'iu cites the Book of Yu 舜曰："Let him (the Son of Heaven) not have
his various officials cumberers of their places. The work is Heaven's; men must act for it!"35 He remarks that it is necessary for the ruler to appoint officials for the administration of the government because even though the ruler can observe the symptoms of things with his own mind it is impossible for him to manage all the affairs of state on his own. In the appointment of civil officials Ch'iu attaches importance to whether the right person was appointed to the right post. He says that all affairs in the world are indeed the affairs of Heaven, which does not act in its own capacity but entrusts its affairs to the Son of Heaven. If the Son of Heaven, i.e. the ruler of men, understands that the affairs his ministers handle are the affairs which Heaven has entrusted to him, he will not wantonly assign anybody to a post; for fear that it would miscarry the affairs of Heaven and offend God.36 We should not allow the above passage and Ch'iu's reference to "the affairs of Heaven" to lead us into thinking that he means anything other than caring for the people of the world:

Ultimately Heaven appoints the sovereign to be his Son and the sovereign appoints officials to be his ministers, for the sake of the people and nothing else. For Heaven gives life to the people but finds it impossible to govern them personally, and thus entrusts [this responsibility] to the sovereign. The sovereign takes up the Mandate of Heaven but finds it impossible to administer it on his own, and thus entrusts it to his ministers. Therefore, what the ministers manage is the affairs of their sovereign; what the sovereign manages is the affairs of Heaven.37

Obviously, Ch'iu's motive in reiterating the relationships between Heaven and the Son of Heaven, the sovereign and his ministers, was nothing other than to admonish the ruler to entrust the task of governing the people to the right people so that he would not neglect
the task that Heaven entrusted to him. He quotes the saying of I Yin 伊尹, a chief minister of T'ai Chia 夆 of Shang 商 (a. 1766-1122 B.C.) from the Book of Shang 商書:

Let the officials whom you employ be men of virtue and ability, and let the ministers about you be the right men. The minister, in relation to [his sovereign] above him, has to promote his virtue, and, in relation to [the people] beneath him, has to seek their good. How hard must it be [to find the proper man]? What careful attention must be required! [Thereafter] there must be harmony [cultivated with him], and a oneness [of confidence placed in him].

Ch'iu goes on to specify the importance of "virtue" and "ability" in the ministers who are to perform the tasks necessary for good government. "The Way of governance depends on the employment of men; the Way of the employment of men depends on the selection of officials," Ch'iu comments in his remarks. As to the selection of officials, he adds that a sovereign should employ only those who were "wise and possess virtue, talented and have ability." Particularly in the appointment of chief ministers who work near the sovereign and gave assistance to him, selection must be from among the wise and talented. Meanwhile, Ch'iu outlines the duties of the "minister of men" (jen-ch' en 少臣) and from this derives the requirements for appointing ministers. He says:

The duties of the minister of men lie in assisting his sovereign and benefiting the people. In relation to [his sovereign] above, [a minister] should promote the good and [urge his sovereign] to desist from evil, so as to maintain the virtue of his sovereign. In relation to [the people] below, [a minister] should issue policies and apply benevolence [to the people], so as to protect the livelihood of the people.

Probably Ch'iu drew his inspiration from the Book of Shang when formulating these ideas. He believed that only a person with
qualities that would assist his sovereign and relieve the people should be appointed as minister. Hence, he stresses that in employing ministers and lower officials also, a sovereign should employ those who are worthy and have ability, for only then will the ordering of the state be achieved. If, on the contrary, a sovereign abandons the worthy and talented, and employs merely those he likes and are close to him, then, Ch'iu argues, it is very unlikely that the world will be in order. 41

Further, Ch'iu also insists that the ministers at court should be treated with respect and trust, so that they will be able to devote themselves to their work. In this respect Ch'iu is especially concerned with the malicious comments and intrigues of petty men which might drive a wedge between the sovereign and his ministers. Ch'iu lists three circumstances which he believes can result in "great harm" in the appointing of officials: (i) when a low official (hsiao-ch'en 小臣 ) is employed to plan matters which are the responsibility of a high official (ta-ch'en 太臣 ); (ii) when a distant official (yüan-ch'en 遠臣 ) is employed to discuss matters which are the responsibility of a close official (chin-ch'en 近臣 ); (iii) when an official of the inner court (nei-ch'en 內臣 ) is employed to devise matters which are the responsibility of an official of the outer court (wai-ch'en 外臣 ). He points out that circumstances in which a "distant official" is employed to discuss matters appropriate to a "close official" occurs in one or two cases our of hundred; a low official being employed to plan matters appropriate to a high official occurs in three or four cases out of ten; and an official of the
inner court being employed to devise matters appropriate to an
official of the outer court occurs in eight or nine cases out of
ten. From the "great harms" Ch'iu describes and the "data" he
provides, it is obvious that he regards officials of the inner court
being allowed to interfere the affairs of the outer court most harmful
to the Way of appointing officials. Needless to say, by "officials
of the inner court" he meant the eunuchs in particular. It was a
common malpractice in throughout Chinese history, but during the Ming
period especially, that officials of the inner court, by dint of the
emperor's favour, controlled the politics of the outer court. A major
example close to Ch'iu in time, comes from the reign of Emperor Hsien-
tsung. When Li Kuang, a chief eunuch, was at the peak of his power,
imperial relatives and prince consorts had to treat him as their
father, governors and regional commanders had to honour him as duke
of the court. Thus Ch'iu's insistence that in appointing
officials a sovereign should not connive at the ultra vires acts,
and that the functions and powers of the various ranks of officials
should be differentiated and respected, reveals his concern with
current abuses.

On the subject of the rectification of the officialdom, many
of Ch'iu's ideas in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu were expressed in his
memorials presented to the throne during his last years at court, and,
in some cases, in the questions he set for the civil or university
examinations. For example, the discussion under the item "Clearing
the avenues for joining the government", which comments on the
literary style of the civil examination papers, was probably the
source of the questions on current problems which Ch'iu set for the internal examination of the National University mentioned in the previous chapter. The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu says:

[The style of] writing has bearing on the rise and fall of the fortune [of a country], especially in the case of compositions in the civil examinations. This is because compositions in the civil examinations are what [the people of] the world esteem. He above (i.e. the emperor) relies on them to select men and uses them as tools for assisting in the government; those below (i.e. the students) take them as their task and regard them as a step for joining the government. Selection should not merely be made according to literacy ability, but it seems that from a composition [the capacity of] the writer can be deduced: the innermost thoughts of his mind, the extent of his talent, and the comprehensiveness of his knowledge. In this way, those employed could be depended on to assist the sovereign and relieve the people, regulate politics and establish affairs. This should not be taken lightly.\(^4\)

Likewise, Ch'iu criticizes the students of his time, to the effect that although what they learn is the teachings of the Five Classics and the Ch'eng-Chu orthodox learning, what they are concerned with is only the excellence in language and how to cope with the requirements of the examiner. Ch'iu believed that students' learning should relate to concrete matters of practical application, and their compositions should be based on righteous principles.\(^5\) Therefore, he comments on the method of teaching and selection of his time, and insists that teaching should be properly directed and selection should be rigorously conducted. Only then, he says, will the scholars selected through the civil examinations "have a good knowledge of the Classics and the past, and their learning be relevant to practical application."\(^6\) From the above passage, it is evident that his suggestions in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu are not very different from the
views he expressed at the time when he was in charge of the public examinations and acted as Chancellor of the National University. It is hard to tell which comes first, since the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu was under compilation in roughly the same period, the time when Ch'iu was openly airing his views on the learning of his time. The discussions in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, which provide more detailed historical background and explanation, are best regarded as supplementing his independent writings on this subject.

In terms of the contemporary system of appointing civil officials, Ch'iu elaborated on what he considered "the evils of [appointing] civil officials" which could not be over-looked. In Ming times, civil officials were drawn from many sources. Nevertheless, the main sources were three: chin-shih, university students (chien-sheng) and minor clerks (li-yüan). These were also regarded as the ways by which a scholar could join officialdom; that is, a scholar could either take the civil examination to obtain the chin-shih degree, enter the National University for the necessary training, or work as a minor clerk and wait for a chance for promotion. Apart from the above "ways" or "paths" (t'u) of entrance into the civil service, in early Ming there was also appointment by recommendation. In this case, educated men were sought through repeated imperial requests that officials recommend the capable and virtuous persons known to them. But after the reign of Emperor T'ai-tsu, probably due to the establishment of civil examinations, the system of recruitment through recommendations was gradually superseded.  

Recruitment through examination, or k'o-
which came to be the supreme system of recruitment, was undoubtedly recognized as the best path of entrance into civil service since scholars who passed the civil examinations with a chin-shih degree were usually assigned to posts in the central government, and many rose to very high positions. As far as the existing method of appointing the chin-shih to civil service is concerned, Ch'iu makes no criticism of the system. But he is severely critical of the method of appointing minor clerks and university students to civil posts.

Minor clerks (li-yüan) were the subordinate personnel of the government, at both the central and local levels, who did not hold a civil service rank, that is, were not included in the nine grades of civil service and were thus said "not yet to have entered the current" (wei ju liu 未入選). These minor clerks were indispensable for the executive staffs who performed clerical and technical tasks in government agencies. The exact number of these minor clerks in the Ming government is rather difficult to determine. However, according to historical records, minor clerks such as yen-shih 稽史, tien-li 題吏, tu-li 都吏, ling-shih 雲史, etc., in the central government agencies including the six Ministries, the Five Chief Military Commissions (wu-chün tu-tu fu 五軍都督府), the Chief Surveillance Office (tu ch'a-yuan 都察院), the Office of Transmission (t'ung-cheng ssu 通政司), and the Grand Court of Revision (ta-li ssu 大理寺) numbered about 900. If we add to this number those in local offices, it would seem likely that the minor clerks in Ming government may very well have numbered more than 100,000. Minor clerks were subject to periodic merit evaluations,
and after nine years of regular service with good performance they could "enter the current" in one of the low civil service ranks, though they had virtually no hope of ever rising high in officialdom. However, with the increasing importance attached to the civil examinations and the stress on "qualification", promotion for minor clerks ceased to exist except in name. Although he does not make any concrete suggestions, Ch'iu criticizes this contemporary malpractice. He points out that in recent years there had been minor clerks who remained in the same position without promotion all their lives. This phenomenon, which means that men of talent were blocked from civil appointments, Ch'iu said, was unheard of before the founding of the dynasty. Hence, he urged the emperor to appoint officials to investigate its causes and work out remedial measures so that minor clerks with talent and a good record would have a chance of joining officialdom.

Regarding the current abuse of arranging official posts for university students, Ch'iu gave a thorough analysis and valuable suggestions which merit special attention. As a matter of fact, a special memorial on this subject entitled "Ch'ing Ch'ü-pieh na-su chien-sheng tsou" (A memorial to request the differentiation of university students who contribute rice to the state), which was later incorporated into his Ch'iung-tai lei-kao, was presented by Ch'iu to the throne in 1486. Ch'iu's views in this memorial should be considered together with his discussions in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu.

Generally speaking, students of the National University were
candidates for official posts, yet their appointments depended largely upon the status which enabled them to enter the National University. In fact, students in the National University could be generally classified into four types according to their status: (i) Degree Licentiates (chü-chien); (ii) Tribute Licentiates (kung-chien); (iii) Hereditary Licentiates (yin-chien); (iv) Special Licentiates (li-chien). Degree Licentiates were those who had passed the provincial examinations with a chü-jen degree but had failed in the metropolitan examination. Chü-jen were sometimes appointed directly as instructors in local schools, and sometimes they entered the National University for further study. Hence, university students who already had a chü-jen degree were generally known as Degree Licentiates. Tribute Licentiates were the Tribute Students (kung-sheng) studying in the National University. In Ming times, the state-supported local schools in every prefecture, subprefecture and county were regularly called upon to send up Tribute Students, who were examined by officials of the Hanlin Academy and then enrolled in the National University. The number of Tribute Students the local offices were permitted to send up varied from time to time. Generally speaking, quotas were distributed in accordance with population: a prefecture could send two students every year; a subprefecture could send two students every two years, and a county could send one student every year. Hereditary Licentiates were the sons of distinguished officials who were admitted to the National University because of their fathers' meritorious service. This system was extensively employed particularly in the early Ming period, when
every civil official ranking from grade 1 down to grade 7 was able to request a civil appointment for one of his sons for what was known as "protection of sons" (yin-tzu 子荫). In most cases these "protected" sons had to be sent to the National University as "official students" (kuan-sheng 官生) for a period of study before they took up their posts. But this privilege of "protection of sons" was subsequently restricted only to officials of grade 3 and above. Nevertheless, when officials of any grade served the state with extraordinary merit, it was still possible for their sons to receive special entry to the national University as "students of grace" (en-sheng 恩生) and subsequently be accepted into service. The emergence of Special Licentiates was a phenomenon of the mid Ming period. It was from the first year of Ching-t'ai (1450) of Emperor Tai-tsung that ordinary subjects could be admitted to the National University and subsequently recruited into the civil service through payment. This practice was utilized periodically thereafter, and especially when the government encountered a financial or military crisis, a proclamation would be issued that persons who contributed rice or horses to the state might be admitted as Special Licentiates (li-chien) to the National University and ultimately into the civil service. Actually, unlike the situation in early Ming when university graduates were frequently appointed to important posts and went on to highly successful careers, by the latter half of the Ming dynasty the prestige of university students had seriously declined and they were almost completely overshadowed by men holding the chin-shih degree. Except for minor posts, university graduates had to
wait for a long period of time before they were assigned to a position. In the case of the Special Licentiates, the situation was even worse. Special Licentiates enjoyed lower status than their counterparts, and by the Ch'eng-hua era the number of Special Licentiates awaiting civil appointments had increased rapidly and subsequently became major headache for the government. It was against this background that Ch'iu's comments on the current method of recruiting university students to civil service have to be understood.

Since the beginning of the dynasty, Ch'iu says, scholars were recruited through civil examinations in fixed quotas, students were sent up to the National University in regular numbers, and their numbers balanced the requirements of the Ministry of Personnel. It was unheard of that the government might lack scholars for appointments or that there might be a backlog of students awaiting appointments. Recently, however, Ch'iu adds, there have been students who have had to wait for ten years without being assigned to an official post. The situation was so bad that there were nearly ten thousand university graduates listed in the Ministry of Personnel as waiting for appointments, and the number, which worried Ch'iu severely, was steadily on the increase. Ch'iu attributed the cause of this phenomenon to two current practices: on the one hand, the government commisserated with the plight of aged students from local schools and thus made the exception that students from local schools aged over forty-five were to be granted permission to enter the National University; on the other hand, during times of financial need the
government made exceptions for those who contributed rice or horses to the state to be admitted to the National University. Since the avenues for joining the government, via the National University, were now more numerous than before, yet the number of official posts available was fixed, the number of qualified candidates waiting for appointments increased steadily over the years.

Ch'iu also related this abuse to the system of recruiting university students to the civil service. It was the practice of the Ming government that before being actually appointed to office, students of the National University were normally assigned to various departments of the government as a form of apprenticeship, known as $li$-shih $\equiv 5^7$ commonly for periods of one year. However, because of a huge number of Special Licentiates entering the university, this system of apprenticeship appointments was bound to change. Ch'iu points out that previously, university students after having completed their apprenticeship and being evaluated by the Ministry of Personnel for their competence, usually stayed in the same department for two or three years until they were assigned civil posts. However, in recent years, because of the irregular increases in the number of university students, the government was forced to shorten the period of apprenticeship. Moreover, after they registered with the Ministry of Personnel, students were granted leave to go back to their native place to await appointment, and it was not at all unusual for this process to take ten years.

Ch'iu was deeply concerned at the consequences of this. He noted with regret: "The government nurses the talents but fails to
employ them. When the government employs them, they are already old and feeble and incapable of managing state affairs. This is not only harmful to the talents, its implications for the state are also very great.\textsuperscript{58} Ch'iu considered that measures had to be taken to ensure that those who had ability would be recruited at the right time. He identifies as the kernel of the problem a major aspect of the system of recruitment in his time - consideration of seniority (tzu-ke \textsuperscript{59}). Because the number of university students was much more than the government could accommodate, and, more importantly, appointments were made according to the student's seniority, it was very likely that students of talent and ability would have to wait for a long period before their turn came up. It is obvious that Ch'iu considered that the recruitment of university students should be according to ability instead of seniority. Yet it was to be expected that this would arouse considerable opposition and resentment. However, Ch'iu urged the emperor to decide promptly and take stern measures regardless of any opposition from the students. He argued his point in this way: "How can the resentment of one man be comparable to the resentment of ten million men? Compare the resentment of a fixed period of time with endless resentment, and which is greater?\textsuperscript{60} Obviously Ch'iu believed that the effects of this malpractice in recruitment was profound and lasting: they not only affected the government and, consequently, the people of one time, but also had dire consequences for later generations. To further elaborate his argument, Ch'iu said:
If [the government] fails to take measures now, it is like having a seven years' sickness and not looking for three years' old mugwort to cure it. Thus, those available for employment in days to come will all be feeble old men. If the government is full of feeble old men, wishing state affairs to be managed and the people to live in peace is hardly realistic. State affairs not being managed and the people not living in peace are omens of disorder and ruin. Besides, what is the purpose of the state nursing the scholars? It is solely for the sake of the people. Is it the people of the world who are most numerous, or is it the scholars? How is it that there are some who fear the anger of the scholars but disregard the anger of the people?61

In the above passage, Ch'iu used an analogy from the Works of Mencius: "The present prince wishing to become emperor, is like the having to seek mugwort of three years old, to cure a seven years' sickness. If it has not been kept in store, the patient may all his life not get it."62 Mugwort is the herb with the scientific name Artemisia argyi. The down of the mugwort, burnt on the skin, was used in early Chinese medicines in cautery. It was said that the older the plant, the better the effect. Later scholars interpreted the implication of the above sayings by Mencius as follows: "If now, realising the need, you begin to collect it, it may be available for the cure. You can retain till it is required. If you do not set about it at once, your case is hopeless."63 From this, it is obvious that Ch'iu was urging the emperor to take prompt remedial measures before it was too late. Although opposition and resentment from some students was bound to arise, Ch'iu held that if the emperor could weigh matters according to their relative importance -- whether the policy of the government was to be determined by the welfare of the people or by the interests of a handful of students -- there should be no fears that remedial measures would go against the will of the general public.
As a solution, Ch'iu suggested that the emperor start with two things: on the one hand, the Ministry of Personnel should be ordered to calculate the total number of university students they would require for recruitment every year. On the basis of these data, the Ministry should also calculate how long it would take to clear backlog of university students, both in the Ministry of Personnel and in locally, awaiting appointments; on the other hand, the Provincial and Prefectural Administration Offices should be ordered to investigate the number of university students staying at home waiting for appointment and present a detailed record of their age, educational background, and relevant information to the government. Following this general investigation, Ch'iu recommended that the emperor send Regional Inspectors together with the Provincial Administration Commissioners to hold examinations, similar to the civil examinations, to determine the standard of these students. With regard to the examination Ch'iu suggested that the students be required to answer three questions: the first question, in the form of discussion, would be set from the Classics; the second question would be a dissertation involving current problems; the third question would involve the drafting of an official despatch. The result of the examination would be used as basis for making appointments: students who failed in the examination, being incapable of answering any of the three questions, would lose their chance of being appointed and would subsequently remain in their original position as "commoner". Students who passed the examination either placed themselves in the upper class by passing in all three questions, in the middle class by passing in two
questions, or in the lower class by passing in only one question. Their names were to be sent to the Ministry of Personnel for appointment in accordance with their ability. Those who passed the examination but had no aspiration to serve the government would receive honorific status or be granted a cap and belt. Moreover, like other government officials, they would also enjoy the privilege of being exempted from corvée. In the case of those placed in the upper class, three other members of their families would also be exempted from corvée, whereas in the case of those placed in the middle or lower class, two other members or one other member of their families would also be exempted from corvée respectively. Moreover, Ch'iu suggested, students should be able to ask for exemption if they were not willing to, or, more precisely, lacked confidence, to sit for the examination. They would be ascribed the same status as those placed in the lower class, to whom the government would grant a cap and belt and the privilege of exemption from corvée for one member of their family.64

In short, the above suggestions by Ch'iu reveal his deep concern over the long-standing abuses in recruitment. Nevertheless, he maintained that what he put forward were only "expedient measures", not the proper way of educating and nursing men of talent by the government. From the suggestions he made, especially regarding the use of examinations to weed out incapable students, it is obvious that Ch'iu's target was the Special Licentiates who enrolled in the National University without any educational qualifications yet constituted the majority in the waiting list for appointments.
It should be noted that in this context a comment from Wang Fu-chih (1619-1692), a loyalist of the Ming royal house and an independent thinker of the late Ming and early Ch'ing period, on Ch'iu Chüan needs clarification. In the *E-meng* (Strange Dream), one of the important works by Wang Fu-chih on political matters, Wang condemns in strong terms the policy of selling official titles and admitting contributors of rice and horses to the National University. At the same time he says that the latter policy was recommended by Ch'iu Chüan during the Ch'eng-hua era, and states that even death would not atone for the crime Ch'iu committed. However, Wang Fu-chih's criticism of Ch'iu Chüan is utterly groundless. Ch'iu did not recommend that the government "sell" university admittance in exchange for rice and horses, nor did he support this policy. On the contrary, it was to this policy that he ascribed the abuses in recruiting university students. The admittance of contributors of rice or horses to the National University increased the number of university students to many times what it had been before. Certainly regulating the huge number of students waiting for appointments and eliminating those without ability were stop gap measures designed to alleviate the symptoms of an illness. Ch'iu was not unaware of this. Following his suggestion of an examination for the Special Licentiate awaiting appointment, Ch'iu said:

> There is no alternative but to adopt this remedial measure, nevertheless it should not be taken as a model. Henceforth, civil examinations and apprenticeship should be carried out in accordance with the established rules of the [Ming] ancestors. Apart from the two regular ways [of entering into civil service], there should not be exceptional avenues of admittance to the National University, so that the prosperity of the Hung-wu and Yung-lo eras might be restored. Thus, men of talent will not be detained [from appointment] and the
worthy and the unworthy will not be confused. At the present time, among the business of seeking worthies and establishing order, there is nothing more urgent than this.67

This evidence shows that it is very unlikely that Ch'iu would have recommended or supported the policy of granting the contributors of rice or horses admittance to the National University. Besides, this policy did not begin in the Ch'eng-hua era but in the first year of Ching-t'ai (1450) when the government was faced with a frontier crisis.68 In the fourth year of Ching-t'ai (1453), following floods in Honan and Fen-yang 阮陽, this policy was reinstated under the recommendation of Tsou Kan 鄭堪, then Vice Minister of Rites.69 At that time the number of contributors was restricted to one thousand. But when this policy was utilized from time to time thereafter, this quota seems to have been ignored. According to Ch'iu's memorial mentioned above, contributors admitted to the National University between the tenth month of the twentieth year of Ch'eng-hua (1484) and the fifth month of the twenty-second year (1486) numbered nearly seven thousand.70 Moreover, since the government had limited vacancies to accommodate all these contributors, their numbers gradually accumulated to a huge figure. A memorial by the Minister of Personnel Ma Wen-sheng 马文升 (1426-1510), presented in the fifteenth year of Hung-chih (1502), criticized the admittance of contributors to the University as a source of great damage to the selection system, and pointed out that the number of Special Licentiates waiting for assignment at that time amounted to tens of thousands.71 Obviously by Ch'iu's time this policy had already been employed for quite a while, and had become a malady which undermined the regular system of recruiting officials.72
As well as suggesting that the incapable students either be eliminated or granted honorific titles and gifts so as to minimize the numbers waiting for appointments, Ch'iu recommended that the government provide special training to these students, or contributors, in the National University so that they would be able to cope with the daily functioning of government affairs in future. In his memorial requesting the government to differentiate between special and ordinary students, Ch'iu says that although some of the contributors admitted to the university had sufficient education, most of them were below standard and know little about learning. There were also some who were totally illiterate. If they were to be treated like ordinary students, who had undergone formal training in provincial and district schools and had scholarly attainments, and were granted permission to go home on leave to await for appointment after a short period of one or even half a year's study in the university, Ch'iu believed that not only could they not benefit from it, but furthermore they would be an encumbrance to the government. Thus, in his capacity as the Chancellor of the National University, Ch'iu proposed a classification of the Special Licentiates into three grades according to their educational background and qualifications, so that special programmes could be arranged for these students in accordance with their aptitude. Further, he also suggested that preference in appointment be given to those students who had spent a considerable period studying in the local schools. Finally, he recommended that Fei An, then Director of Studies (ssu-yeh) in the National University, be appointed to take charge of the teaching of Special Licentiates in the university.
Unfortunately, the available evidence does not indicate whether Ch'iu's memorial was accepted by the throne or if his suggestions were put into practice. However, according to historical records and memorials by the courtiers, the policy of admitting contributors of rice and horses to the National University was still employed every now and then in the latter half of the Ming dynasty. Nor did the number of students in the waiting list for assignment show any sign of decreasing.\(^7^4\) It is very likely that Ch'iu's admonishment and suggestions failed to prompt the government to attack the problem.

Nevertheless a discussion in this section, under the item "Strictness in the method of service evaluation", which comments on the current system of official service evaluation proves that Ch'iu's concern was far from groundless. Although there is no evidence that Ch'iu submitted any memorials on this subject, historians have generally believed that Emperor Hsiao-tsung's steps to regenerate the service-evaluation system in 1493, which was discussed in Chapter Two above, were influenced by Ch'iu's ideas expressed in the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* In this item Ch'iu gives a brief account of the service-evaluation systems of the Han, T'ang and Sung dynasties, and, reflecting on these examples from the past, he comments on the situation of his times. He praises a practice handed down from ancient times: every three years an examination of merit is being held, and after three examinations the undeserving are degraded and the deserving promoted.\(^7^6\) He also criticized the practice of his time; evaluation was no longer in accordance with the ancient custom, which had been observed in earlier reigns of the Ming period. Of course, Ch'iu was not suggesting that this ancient institution be blindly adopted; he drew on his own observation
that the current practice caused more harm than good. He pointed out that in recent years the office concerned, that is, the Ministry of Personnel, did not observe the nine-year course of evaluation and dismissed those judged to be "incompetent" after the first examination. Ch'iu thoroughly understood the intention behind this policy — a shorter course of evaluation and a large number of dismissals would provide more employment opportunities to those awaiting appointment. However, Ch'iu himself was more concerned about the serious functions of service-evaluation and the principles underlying it. He criticized this practice in two respects: first, apart from violating the principle of a just evaluation system, which should entail more than one examination, the current practice gave the "incompetent" officials no chance to correct their errors; and second, evaluation was based merely on the reports of the Regional Inspectors and Censors without detailed follow-up investigations, hence it was very likely that the system was not free of injustice and partiality. For these reasons he called upon the government to restore the nine-year course of evaluation and examine carefully the basis for evaluations.

Also in regard to service-evaluation, Ch'iu expressed his concern over the duties of the Ministry of Personnel. He considered the selection and evaluation of officials the two main tasks of the Ministry of Personnel. Since the power of promotion, demotion, or dismissal of officials was under the control of the Ministry of Personnel, it was extremely important that the officials in this Ministry should be carefully selected. Ch'iu said that it was only when its officials were fair-minded and without partiality that "the country enjoys the
benefits of obtaining men [of talent], the affairs [of the state] are well-managed and the people can live in peace, so that the fundamental requirements of order and safety of the state are established." If we consider the incident of 1493, when the Ministry of Personnel indiscreetly submitted an evaluation report requesting the dismissal of the one thousand four hundred local officials and one thousand one hundred and thirty-five minor clerks, it is obvious that Ch'iu's concern over the way in which the Ministry of Personnel performed its duties was not without foundation.

In the concluding part of his discussion of the rectification of officialdom, Ch'iu introduces "Avoiding the error of lavish appointment" as the penultimate item for consideration. Here Ch'iu's citation from the fourth line of the Ting 第 Hexagram of the Book of Changes sets the theme and directions of his approach to the problem: "The tripod with its feet broken, and its contents, designed for the ruler's use, overturned and spilt. Its subject will be made to blush for shame. There will be evil." Following this, he cites the saying of Confucius from the Great Appendix: "The Master said: Virtue small and office high; wisdom small and plans great; strength small and burden heavy: where such conditions exist, it is seldom that they do not end [in evil]. As is said in the I Ching, 'The tripod's feet are upset, and the ruler's food is overturned. The body of him [who is thus indicated] is wet [with shame]: there will be evil.' It tells us [the consequence of] being unequal to the task." This passage from Confucius is sufficient to reveal Ch'iu's anxieties concerning the question of competence in appointment.

As far as professional competence was concerned, Ch'iu thought that
the responsibility was a dual one: on the one hand, the ruler should consider his subject's ability and virtue before granting him official title; on the other hand, a minister should consider his own ability and virtue before accepting a post. If a minister does not know his own limitations, it is inevitable that he may go as far as to lose his life and put his master in danger. However, if the ruler is not aware of the importance of his selections, Ch'iu warned, the subsequent harm would affect not only one person or one family, but the enterprise of an empire of ten million years and the lives of ten million people. Furthermore, Ch'iu relates his argument to the concept of the Mandate of Heaven. He says that official titles are gifts of Heaven granted to the virtuous and talented men so that they can act on Heaven's behalf in governing the people. If the ruler of men give a title to someone who does not deserve it, this is a profanation against the Mandate of Heaven; if a minister accepts a title he should not accept, this is an act of disrespect towards the Mandate of Heaven. Hence it is obvious that Ch'iu considered that the responsibility for selecting men of talent lay not only with the emperor, but also with the ministers themselves. Of course, Ch'iu's concern here was almost exclusively confined to the selection of high officials for decision making posts, which he believed should be occupied by noble men (chün-tzu).

Ch'iu paid a good deal of attention to the problem of "lavish appointment", a common practice in the Ch'eng-hua era, because it had tremendous implications for the ordering of the state. In one of his remarks, Ch'iu says:

Whether the world is in order or disorder depends on the
selection of officials. If men are chosen solely according to talent and ability, then the affairs [of the state] will be well-managed and the men [selected] will be qualified for the posts. Thereupon, the state will be rightly governed. If officials are not chosen according to ability and those who practise favouritism are also appointed to office, if noble titles [are granted] without consideration of virtue and those who are wicked are also given noble titles, and there is no concern whether a man is competent for a post or not, or whether his virtue qualifies him for a noble title or not, then, [the formal functioning of] state affairs will be destroyed and title and rank will be abused. In this case, how can the world be not in disorder?

Ch‘iu understood thoroughly that good government, and consequently, the ordering of the state, can come about only as a result of cooperation between the ruler and his officials, especially those high officials who are responsible for the actual administering of imperial policy. Because of the important place they occupy, both as administrators and advisors to the throne, they naturally have to be chosen with utmost care. This item on lavish appointment serves to conclude the ideas expressed in the previous items and, in general, it reaffirms the importance of competence in official appointments.

2. The root of the state

In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, the people are treated as the "root of the state" (pang-pen 祭本), and the question of nourishing and protecting the people occupies the central position in Ch‘iu's discussion of good government. In fact, throughout his work there is the constant theme that government, as represented by the sovereign and his ministers, is established for the sake of the people. For example, in his discussion of the imperial court Ch‘iu argues that a sovereign cultivates his virtue to make his rule successful solely
for the purpose of nourishing the people. This was the case with the ancient kings and emperors who understood thoroughly that Heaven established the sovereign for the sake of the people, Ch'iu says, and hence they acted according to the mandate of Heaven to establish their government for the purpose of nourishing the people. Ch'iu also criticizes Chinese sovereigns from the Ch'in and Han on, who failed in their obligation to establish government in order to nourish the people, and, on the contrary, forced the people to nourish them. Elsewhere, in the section on "Rectifying officialdom", Ch'iu elaborates the subtle relations between Heaven, sovereign, ministers, and people as follows:

Heaven establishes the sovereign [as the ruler of men] and, in return, the sovereign acts under [the order] of Heaven. Of course, Heaven does not establish a man as sovereign merely for the sake of one man, and, also, the ruler of men does not appoint his princes, officials and advisors merely for the sake of these men alone. A ruler of men must act in accordance with the way of Heaven. A minister of men must receive and obey the orders of his sovereign. [However], the Way of Heaven lies with the people and the orders of the ruler of men also lie with the people. If the ruler of men knows that it is the Way of Heaven to establish him as the sovereign for the people, then surely he will love Heaven's people and not dare to maltreat the people to whom Heaven has given birth..... If the ministers of men know that it is the order of their sovereign to appoint them as dukes, officials or advisers for the people, then surely they will sympathize with the people of their sovereign and not dare to maltreat the people their sovereign has entrusted to them.  

In this passage Ch'iu states clearly that sovereign and ministers are established for the benefit of the people, not their own benefit. It is the intention of Heaven to establish the sovereign so that he and his ministers will take the responsibility of protecting the livelihood of the people. In other words, the people are what Heaven entrusts to the sovereign, and the fundamental mission the sovereign receives from
Heaven is to take care of the people. This line of argument is further elaborated in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu under the section "Consolidating the root of the state".

In the item entitled "A general discussion of the Way of consolidating the root", the first part of the section on "Consolidating the root of the state", Ch'iu elucidates the main theme and principle of the "Way of consolidating the root" (ku-pen chih tao 国本道). He quotes the Symbolism of the T'ai and Po Hexagrams from the Book of Changes at the very beginning of the chapter to serve as the guiding principle. The two citations read:

The symbolism of the T'ai Hexagram says: [The trigrams for] heaven and earth in communication together form T'ai. The [sage] sovereign, in harmony with this, fashions and completes [his regulations] after the courses of heaven and earth, and assists the application of the adaptations furnished by them, -- in order to benefit the people.

The Symbolism of the Po Hexagram says: [The trigrams representing] the earth, and [above it] that for a mountain, which adheres to the earth, form Po. Superiors, in accordance with this, seek to strengthen those below them, to secure the peace and stability of their own position.

In his remarks on the T'ai Hexagram, Ch'iu emphasizes the importance of communication. Heaven and earth attain the state of t'ai (peace, success), he says, because the high and the low can communicate with each other. The world, or what Ch'iu refers to as the Earthly Way, attains the state of t'ai because the superiors and inferiors can communicate with each other and are possessed by the same aim. What the inferiors desire could be made known to the superiors. At the same time, the superiors understand thoroughly what the inferiors want, what complies with the wishes of the populace and what goes against them, what is beneficial and what is harmful, so that they can weigh up the merits and demerits and work out the means in order to benefit
the people. In his remarks on the Po Hexagram, however, Ch'iu stresses the importance of the people. He points out that the position of the mountain, which is above the earth but joined to it resembles the position of the sovereign in relation to his people. A sovereign is a sovereign, Ch'iu argues, because he has many people. If a sovereign had no people, or lost their support, to what would he be joined? And, consequently, how could he be regarded as a sovereign? Thus, Ch'iu concludes, a sovereign intending to secure the peace and stability of his position seeks to strengthen the livelihood of the people below him. The citation of the Symbolism of the two Hexagrams and the remarks Ch'iu makes on them reveal his understanding of the relationships between sovereign and people. Obviously the people were the most important part of a state, while the sovereign is in no way superior to the people, and joined with the people in order to secure his position. In other words, the people were the basic and essential constituent of a state, without the people, there would be no government and, of course, no sovereign. Probably this is the reason why Ch'iu treated the people as the 'root' of a state. And consolidating the root, in fact, amounts to consolidating the position of the sovereign and the government.

The term "root of the state", which Ch'iu employs to denote the people, must have been adopted from the "Wu-tzu chih ko" 歌 (The Songs of the Five Sons) in the Documents of Hsia of the Book of Documents, which Ch'iu also cites in this discussion. The original text reads:

It was the lesson of our great ancestor:
The people should be cherished,
And not looked down upon.
The people are the root of a state;  
The root being firm, the state is tranquil.\textsuperscript{90}

The "Wu-tzu chih ko" is composed of five songs. They were said to have been written by T'ai-kang's 太象 brothers who, mourning T'ai-kang's loss of the throne, expressed the warning of the great Yü in the form of songs.\textsuperscript{91} What Ch'iu cited in his work was the first of the five songs, which laments how T'ai-kang had lost the affections of the people. Praising the significance of this song for later times, Ch'iu says that the last two lines -- "the people are the root of a state; the root being firm, the state is tranquil" -- should be kept as a motto and remembered with gratitude by the rulers of men over a myriad generations.\textsuperscript{92} Obviously, Ch'iu considered that the tranquillity of the state depended on whether or not the root was firm, that is, whether or not the people below gave support to the government above. In terms of winning the support and affections of the people, Ch'iu speaks of "winning the people's hearts". He distinguished this from securing the land and lives of the people, believing that only winning the people's hearts could be regarded as truly winning the people. He wrote:

Heaven gives birth to the people and establishes the sovereign to manage them. Thus, the establishment of the sovereign is for the sake of the people. A sovereign with no people can not form a state. How can a sovereign form his [state] with only one man? This is the reason why a sovereign becomes distinguished by winning the people. What I mean by winning the people does not mean securing their land and lives but winning their hearts. Securing their land and lives without winning their hearts amounts to not winning them at all.\textsuperscript{93}

In the above passage, we see vestiges of the influence of Mencius who once said: "There is a way to get the kingdom; get the people, and the kingdom is got. There is a way to get the people; get their hearts, and the people are got."\textsuperscript{94} In Mencius, the people are regarded of
primary importance, the ruler is seen as deriving his position from
the peasantry, and the positions of the feudal princes as well as the
altars of the state are only held conditionally. The only thing in a
state that continues forever and exists unconditionally is the people.
Mencius looks upon the people not only as that which is the primary
concern of all government, but also as the chief element of the
state. Although Ch'iu does not say explicitly that a ruler may be
deposed, he certainly fully supported Mencius' theory of the
importance of the people. Thus drawing inspiration from the Book of
Documents, Ch'iu put strong emphasis on consolidating the root of the
state and went to some lengths to expound and illuminate the signific­
ance of this concept. Like Mencius, Ch'iu focussed his concern on
enriching the people's livelihood, reducing corvée and taxes, effecting
proper management of land and agriculture, and freeing the people from
calamities and evils. Relating these tasks to the stability of the
state, Ch'iu cites the dialogue between Ch'en Feng-hua and Duke
Huai of Ch'en (1027-478 BC) from the Tso-chuan: "Your
minister has heard that states flourish through prosperity and perish
through calamity. States flourish when they treat their people as if
apprehensive of their being hurt; this brings prosperity. States
again perish when they treat their people as earth or grass; this
brings calamity". Following this citation Ch'iu remarks:

What makes a state a state is people and nothing else. If
there are no people, there cannot be a state. The bright and
sagely sovereign understands that a state flourishing through
prosperity depends on loving the people, therefore he is sure
to reduce [the use of] punishments, decrease taxes, and
lessen corvée so as to bring benefit to the people. People
enjoying ease and comfort amounts to the state enjoying
prosperity. The benighted and tyrannical sovereign treats the
people as earth or grass, and anything that will bring calamity goes to the extreme. People already suffer from calamity, and the state is likewise afflicted. If there is no state there can be no sovereign. A state without sovereign, a sovereign without his person and family -- among the calamities in this human world, which is more serious than this? Tracing its origin, it arises simply from one man having no compassion for the people.97

Since people are the indispensable element of a state and losing the people means losing the empire, it is obvious that a sovereign who intends to secure his position and maintain his empire has to regard the well-being of the people as the most important task of the government. Ch'iu argues that if the ruler of men could really decrease taxes and corvée, mitigate punishments, avoid wanton engagement in military aggression and public work, so that people can look forward to a happy life without holding their existence lightly, then, calamity and disorder would not happen, the sovereign could secure his position in perpetuity and the state would endure forever.98 That Ch'iu mentioned the stability of the throne and the welfare of the people in the same breath, demonstrates his acute awareness of the significance of the latter for the former. In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu itself, the concept of "for the people" (wei-min 爲民) as the prime obligation of the government is present in all parts of the text, and striving for the well-being of the people rather than the security of the imperial position is unquestionably its main theme.99

Throughout the section on "Consolidating the root of the state", Ch'iu focuses his concern on enriching and protecting the people's livelihood. The essentials of Ch'iu's view on enriching the people's livelihood can be seen in the items: "Regulating the people's land holdings", "Devoting attention to the people's agriculture", "Reducing
the people's corvée" and "Compassion for the people who are in poverty". In terms of ensuring that the people are well-fed and live a life of plenty, Ch'iu takes it to be the government's responsibility to direct the people in farming. Citing the Canon of Shun — "[Shun consulted with the twelve Pastors (mu 教) and said: "The food! It depends on observing the seasons." — Ch'iu remarks:

A sovereign can govern because of the people; people can live on because of food. Food can be sufficient because of farming; farming can be carried out because of the seasons. The ruler of men established the Pastors in the provinces for the purpose of nourishing the people so that they can make a living. To make a living, daily food is indispensable. In order to have sufficient food, the seasons of farming cannot be violated.

Ch'iu considered food as most important for the people. Without food, people would not be able to sustain themselves and consequently the root of the state would also be shaken. In that case, neither the government nor the throne could stand. Hence, Ch'iu stresses the importance of the government directing and encouraging farming. Besides appointing "Pastors" (mu 敎) which he interprets as "officials established for nourishing people" (yang-min chih-kuan 教民之官), the sovereign should also set a good example by encouraging farming. Ch'iu draws two examples from the Book of Documents. The first, taken from the Canon of Shun 舜書 of the Book of Yu 禹書, reads: "Emperor [Shun] said: Ch'i 周, the people are still suffering the distress of hunger. It is yours, 0 prince, the Minister of Agriculture, to sow for them these various kinds of grain". The second comes from the Chapter "Wu-i" 無逸 (Against Luxurious Ease) in the Book of Chou 周書: "The Duke of Chou said: Oh! the superior man rests in this, that he will have no luxurious ease, the first understand the painful toil of sowing and reaping, how it conducts to understand the painful toil of sowing and reaping, how it conducts to
ease, and thus he understands [the law of] the support of the inferior people."103 The example from the Canon of Shun records Emperor Shun's confirmation of Ch'i as Minister of Agriculture to direct the people in sowing and reaping. Ch'iu praises emperor Shun, for whom support for farming took precedence over the imposition of the "five lessons of duty" (wu-chiao) and "five punishments" (wu-hsing),104 for his insight in understanding what was important for the people. The example from the Book of Chou tells how the Duke of Chou leads the king to find a rule for himself in the laborious tasks of the husbandman. In his remarks Ch'iu argues that the ancient emperors cautiously avoided indulgent ease because they understood the labours of husbandry. They understood the law of the people's support: what was indispensable to them was food and what they depended upon was their hard toil in the fields. Besides, since what the people depended upon was sowing and reaping, Ch'iu continues, how can the ruler of men hamper the people's agriculture and make them lose their support for the sake of his carnal desires?105 Needless to say, Ch'iu's citation of these examples did not aim at extolling the past but drawing a lesson for the present. Ch'iu's following remarks, which direct his admonishment explicitly to the Ming emperor, shows this:

It is your minister's wish that the Benevolent Sage above might reflect on what the imperial task relies, and show understanding of that on which the inferior people depend; abstain from pleasure excursions and ease so that the people will concentrate on their work; lessen compulsory corvée so that the people's farming time will not be curtailed; reduce taxes and duties so that the people's possessions will not be exhausted. Hence, although [Your Majesty] may not issue imperial edicts to show sympathy for the husbandmen, every one will understand that you have a sympathetic heart, and although you do not establish special officials to encourage farming, every one will benefit from your encouragement. This would indeed be a great fortune for the inferior people.106
Obviously Ch'iu believed that the sovereign should take an exemplary and influential role in encouraging farm work. If the sovereign could abstain himself ease and extravagence, and reduce the taxes and corvee imposed on the people, then, the people could devote more time to their farm work and consequently lead a better life with abundant material needs. In other words, the attitude of the ruler and the policy of the government have direct influence on the husbandry as well as livelihood of the people, and has great implications for the consolidation of the root of the state.

On the question of compulsory corvee imposed on the people, Ch'iu gives further elaboration under the item "Reducing the people's corvee ". His opening quotation from the Book of Changes, the Summary (tuan 頃) of the Tui 禹 Hexagram, states the principle and direction of his approach to the problem: "When pleased satisfaction goes before the people, [and leads them on,] they forget their toils; when it animates them in encountering difficulties, they forget [the risk of] death. How great is [the power of] this pleased satisfaction, stimulating in such a way the people!" The Tui Hexagram, the symbol of joy, has the meaning of pleased satisfaction. Ch'iu took the message of this Hexagram as the criterion of whether or not it would be suitable for the government to impose extra labour on the people. In his remarks on this Hexagram Ch'iu argues that in using the people's labour, the ruler of men should take the attitude of the people to their work -- whether they were pleased and ready to do the labour -- as the basis of his consideration. Before he decided to press the people to undertake a certain task he should consider whether the people will be pleased or displeased by the prospect. Only if the
people are completely pleased and convinced can he gain their wholehearted support and know they will carry out his plan without obstruction. In short, what a ruler desires should accord with the will of the people instead of serving his own selfish ends or those of his family. Following the Tui Hexagram, Ch'iu quotes the Summary of the Chieh Hexagram: "[If rulers] frame their policies and measures according to proper regulations, the resources [of the state] suffer no injury, and the people receive no hurt." He remarks that the Chieh Hexagram intimates restrictions and regulations. The ruler of men should observe the principle of regulation (chieh) when he formulates his policies: keep expenditures within the limits of income, avoid excessive collection or misuse, and benefit his subjects rather than pressing the people for private gain. If these points are observed, Ch'iu says, it is unlikely that the resources of the state will suffer injury, and if the resources of the state suffer no injury, it is unlikely that the people will be hurt.

The above quotations and Ch'iu's comments clearly show Ch'iu's views on the imposition of corvée. Other evidence in this section also shows his support of the ancient principle that the employment of people's labour by the government for the construction of city walls, roads and palaces, etc. should not exceed three days in the course of a year. He expresses enthusiasm over the lot of the people of the Three Dynasties, who only had to render three days of labour to the government annually and could devote most of their time to earning their living, and laments the lot of the people of later times who had to spend most of their time in compulsory labour. Actually Ch'iu's treatment of the question of compulsory labour as one of the
main themes in his discussion of improving the welfare of the people
was by no means irrelevant to the situation in Ming times. The rate of
corvée was fixed early in the first year of Hung-wu by T'ai-tsu, the
founding emperor. Every man who had reached manhood, that is, was aged
sixteen or over, was required to render thirty days' labour to the
state annually, usually at the time of farming-break, until he was
sixty years of age. Although this requirement was relaxed in later
days, it does not mean that the people had much respite. Extra labour
was periodically imposed on the people for the large-scale
construction, or reconstruction, of palace chambers and temples.
Hence, Ch'iu was not only making general criticism of the imposition
of corvée, but, to a certain extent, was being directly critical of
the practice of the Ming government. A remark by Ch'iu may be
cited here to conclude his views on this question:

[With regard to] the use of people's labour, the ruler of men
should not use it unless it is absolutely necessary. This is
because the ruler takes nurturing the people as his
obligation. What is meant by nurturing is not necessarily
feeding everybody or providing for every family. Value every
bit of people's labour, so that they can exert all their
efforts on behalf of their own family and have the means to
provide for old and young, the ability to nourish the living
and bury the dead, and the obligation of the ruler is then
fulfilled.113

At the same time, as an integral part of his theory of consolidating
the root of the state, Ch'iu maintained that people's land should be
properly arranged. In this matter he focussed on equality in land
distribution. Ever since the establishment of private landholdings in
the Ch'in and Han the concentration of land in the hands of the few
had been a recurrent problem. Generally speaking, two main solutions
were proposed by scholars and officials in attempts to deal with it:
the restoration of the Well-field System (ching-tien chih 井田制), or, retaining private ownership but placing limitations on the amount of land an individual could hold.\textsuperscript{114}

The Well-field System involved the abolition of private property and a permanent prohibition on the purchase or sale of land. Under this system, all land would be nationalized and subject to redistribution by the state in accordance with the "nine-square" formula. Widely regarded as the land policy of earliest times which had prevailed during the early part of the Chou dynasty, the Well-field System was expounded by Mencius, who called for its restoration.\textsuperscript{115} This appeal was periodically echoed by later scholars, such as Lin Hsün 林献堂 of the Sung dynasty, although whether this system had actually been widely practiced in ancient times is questionable. Very often, it is the admiration for, and long-cherished dream of restoring the institutions of the Three Dynasties of the Confucian scholars that account for much of their support for this idea in later times.

Nevertheless, there were also scholars who believed that conditions had changed so much as to render a full return to the Well-field System inpracticable. Among them were, for example, Tung Chung-shu 童仲舒 (180-115 B.C.) and Su Hsün 蘇洵 (1009-1086), eminent Confucian scholars from Former Han and Northern Sung dynasties respectively.\textsuperscript{116} Su Hsün argued that the Well-field System could not possibly be restored since the complete system of rivers and highways, canals and roads, waterways and roadways, ditches and lanes, trenches and pathways, necessary for its implementation, could not be established without several hundred years of exhausting labour.\textsuperscript{117}
Tung Chung-shu, on the other hand, believed that "although it would be
difficult to bring about a precipitate return to the ancient Well-
field System, it is possible to make present usage approximate to the
old system." Hence he proposed a simple limitation on the amount of
land an individual could hold, with the excess being distributed among
those in need, and with private ownership being retained.\textsuperscript{118}

In Ming times, the number of scholars calling for the
restoration of the Well-field System was by no means smaller than in
earlier dynasties. Before Ch'iu Chun, Hu Han 胡翰 (1307-1381) and
Fang Hsiao-ju were two of the scholars who strongly supported its
restoration.\textsuperscript{119} Fang Hsiao-ju considered the abolition of the Well-
field System after the Ch'in dynasty the main cause for the degener-
ation of society and for the emergence of a wide gap between the
rich and the poor, which were the roots of disorder. Therefore he
suggested the restoration of the Well-field System, which he believed
to be appropriate for the sparse population of early Ming.\textsuperscript{120} Yet,
Fang Hsiao-ju, and Hu Han as well, were unable to devise an effective
practical method for its restoration.

Ch'iu Chun seems to reject Hu Han and Fang Hsiao-ju's
suggestions although he agrees that concentration of landholdings was
a pressing problem urgently in need of a solution. Ch'iu's argument is
that for more than a thousand years since the Ch'in and Han dynasties,
the Well-field System had been abandoned and private landholding had
become customary, so it would be by no means easy to restore the old
system abruptly. Subsequently he proposed the following alternative:

Although the institutions of the ancient kings are impossible
to restore, the ideas of the ancient kings might not be
impossible to follow. If [the government] can value every bit
of the people's labour, make the best use of the people's wealth, give relief to people who suffer from calamities, and have a true understanding of the will of the people, so that they have abundant means to provide for old and young, and lead a life of plenty, no matter whether it is a good year or a bad year, then how could what we refer to as the basis of benevolent policy be achieved other than by the above measures.  

The ideas of the ancient kings which Ch'iu considered possible to follow were probably that every one should have his own fields and provide for his own living. Since the Well-field System cannot be adopted to his time, Ch'iu reconciled himself to the method of limiting private ownership of land. However, his idea of limiting private ownership of land differs from that of his predecessors. Ch'iu criticises the proposals by earlier scholars for property limitations (hsien-t'ien) and equalization of land (chün-t'ien) for going against the general will of the people and not respecting local customs. Thereupon he recommended that the government should not limit the past, i.e. what people already possess, but should limit only the future, i.e. what they shall have. In other words, Ch'iu's proposal for limiting private landholdings was characterized by its prohibiting only excessive landholdings in future and preserving the status quo. With regard to how this was to be done, Ch'iu provided some detail:

For instance if the government should adopt the limitation policy today, it would not raise any objection even if a person was holding as much as hundred ch'ing, provided that he had it prior to January of this year. But from the first of January of this year, the land holding of every adult should be limited to one ch'ing. Those who are holding less than the limit shall be allowed to buy more land up to the limit; but those who are holding more than one ch'ing for each adult, shall be allowed to sell their excess property. But if they buy any more property all their land property shall be confiscated. . . . This system is what we might call the system of distribution of land according to the number of adults (p'ei-ting t'ien-fa). . . . If this system is adopted for tens of years, the rich will thus have no right to buy any more land, and are on the other hand liable to sell out some of their property. Thus, although we
cannot restore the Well-field System all of a sudden, yet the evil of the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few will disappear in a quiet way.\textsuperscript{123}

Ch'iu's plan for limiting private ownership reveals his attitude of compromise towards the landlord class. Certainly any suggestion to seize the land of the rich was bound to meet with strong opposition and might even result in disorder. Frequent oppositions came from the imperial family and powerful officials who owned large amounts of land, and unfortunately the decisions of the court usually fell under their influence. This is perhaps the reason why Tung Chung-shu's proposal for property limitations was never carried into effect. Ch'iu understood this thoroughly. Thus he suggested a conciliatory system of property limitation which allowed the existing rich landlords to keep their land. Ch'iu believed that if his method was employed, after several decades, since the rich landlords could only sell off their property and not increase it, monopolisation of land would gradually be eliminated, and the gap between the rich and poor would gradually disappear. Although the Well-field System could not be restored, he said, the spirit of the system should be preserved.\textsuperscript{124}

In fact, Ch'iu's suggestion was not without loopholes. First, his method would take time to become fully operational and although it might be effective, it would do nothing to relieve the immediate problem. Second, since his main aim was to prevent further monopolisation of land in the hands of the rich landlords and he proposed no measures to help the poor to acquire their own land, the poor gained nothing from his suggestion of a limitation. Third, and perhaps the most important, even if the problem of monopolisation of land was under control, there was no guarantee under Ch'iu's proposal
that the people would be better off. Moreover, since the rich were to be prohibited from buying more land, there was the possibility that the demand for farm labour might drop, and, as a result, the poor who were unable to buy their own land and depended on labour service to earn their living might lose their livelihood. No doubt, more comprehensive consideration and detailed planning would be required for Ch'iu's proposal on property limitation to become feasible. Although his intention to alleviate the land problem was commendable, not surprisingly, his proposal failed to arouse any attention at the court.125

The essentials of Ch'iu's view on protecting the people's livelihood can also be seen in the discussions: "Compassion for the people who are in poverty" and "Providing relief for people suffering from calamities". The main themes in these discussions deserve a brief mention here. On the subject of taking pity on those in poverty, Ch'iu refers to four kinds of people in particular: widowers, widows, solitaries, and orphans. He cites the Works of Mencius: "There were the old and wifeless, or widowers; the old and husbandless, or widows; the old and childless, or solitaries; the young and fatherless, or orphans; these four classes are the most destitute of the people, and have none to whom they can tell their wants, and King Wen, in the institution of his government with its benevolent action, made them the first objects of his regard."126 There is no doubt that in Ch'iu's eyes also a good government should make them the first objects of its regard. It was his wish that adequate provision be made for the aged till their death, that the young be cared for until maturity, that kindness and compassion be shown to widows, orphans, childless men, and those who were without support, so that all their needs would be
met. Therefore he urged the government to improve the condition of the Relief and Support House (yang-chi yüan) an organization which originated in the Sung dynasty and was re-established in the fifth year of Hung-wu (1372) for taking care of orphans and the aged. He also suggested that the dispensation of alms to the needy by monasteries be encouraged, and more public burial grounds be established.

On the matter of providing relief for people who suffer from calamities, two dictums were quoted from the Book of Changes and the Great Learning respectively to demonstrate its necessity: The Book of Changes reads: "How shall [a ruler] collect a large population round him? By the power of his wealth." And in the Great Learning: "The accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people." Ch'iu pointed out that when there were bad years, drought, and floods, the people might have scattered and turmoil might result, which would endanger the stability of the state. On such occasions, therefore, the government should scatter its wealth in order to provide relief for the people. Drawing wisdom from the Book of Rites, he asserted that if in a state the husbandry of three years was used to provide a surplus of goods sufficient for one year, and that of nine years to provide a surplus sufficient for three years, then after thirty years of this, although there may be bad years and calamities, the people will never lack anything or be forced to leave home and wander about, and it will be possible to say that the root of the state is firm and the ruler shall almost certainly be able to rest in peace.
3. Education, rites and music, and punishment

In the last section we considered Ch'iu's views on nurturing and protecting the people as one of the basic principles of good government. Yet, to nurture and to protect the people are only the primary duties of a good government; however, the various demands of government and peace-keeping cannot be met merely by benevolent means. Thus, proceeding from this basic tenet of the importance of the people, Ch'iu went on to discuss the means of maintaining order and governing the people. Here he spoke of promoting education, popularizing rites and music, and the employment of punishments. His views are reflected mainly in three different sections, namely "Exaltation of education", "Elucidation of rites and music", and "Care in laws and punishments".

In Ch'iu's eyes, rites (li禮) and laws (fa法) were the two main essentials of governance. Nevertheless, like most of Confucianists, Ch'iu placed his emphasis on rites and believed that rites are preferable to laws in maintaining social order. In distinguishing between rites and laws, Ch'iu said that although both aim at restraining people from doing evil, rites prevent evil being done in the first place, while laws amend what has already been done. According to him, rites exert an imperceptible influence on people's thinking and guide them towards good and away from evil. Because rites can lead people away from evil imperceptibly, stern restrictions are not essential for social order to be attained. In some cases, Ch'iu interprets "rites" (li) in a narrow sense to mean merely ceremonies. For instance he quotes the Book of Rites to the effect that: "The ancient kings in their institution of ceremonies
sought to express their regulation of circumstances, and, in their cultivation of music, to express the aims they had in mind. Hence, by an examination of their ceremonies and music, the condition of order and disorder in which they originated can be known." He also remarks that ceremonies (li) and music are the foundations of order for the ruler of men. He explains rites here in terms of the ceremonies relating to sacrifices to Heaven and ancestor worship and considers the institution of ceremonies as a means of regulating the affairs of the state. If the affairs of the state are regulated according to the prescribed rites, the people will also act accordingly and certainly will not lack moderation. Thus, he asserts that the rites of the imperial court, the local government, and the family should be distinguished and properly regulated.

Of course, our understanding of the institution of rites, in the form of ceremonies, cannot be separated from the rules of propriety which govern the human conduct. These are indeed an integral part of the Confucian concept of rites. It is through the differentiation of rites in accordance with status that social order is attained. Rites on the one hand were ceremonies established for the purpose of clarifying the system of sacrifices and social etiquette, while on the other hand they were rules of conduct for discriminating between persons according to their social status. Thus, it is said that the function of rites (li) is to achieve differentiation. This function of differentiation aimed at establishing relationships of subordination and precedence, and the distinctions between superior and inferior, senior and junior. For the Confucianists, these sorts of distinctions, which operated within the family and were also
applied to the state at large, were indispensable for the maintenance of the social order. Hence in his commentaries to the *Book of Rites*, K'ung Ying-ta (574-648), the gifted Confucian and Classicist of the T'ang dynasty and compiler of the *Wu-ching cheng-i* (Correct Meaning of the Five Classics), remarks that "the system of the superiority and the inferiority and the high and the low of a nation exists in rites."  

It is evident that Ch'iu Chün's motive for strengthening the rules of rites remained true to the Confucian concept according to which ideal human order is to be achieved through moral autonomy. He cites the *Works of Mencius*: "If each man would love his parents and show due respect to his elders, the whole empire would enjoy tranquility", and asserts that the ruler should serve as an example for the people. He argues that the ruler should cultivate his person and regulate his family, and extend this practice to the whole empire. But how can the ruler ensure that every family will follow his example and that princes, ministers, scholars, and the common people will all love their parents and respect their elders? To achieve this aim, Ch'iu says that the ruler must "transform them with the right Way, and manage them with the proper method" (*hua-chih yu-tao, ch'u-chih yu-fang*). Regarding the Way of transforming the different classes of people, Ch'iu gives the following explanation:

The *Great Learning* explains the ordering of the state and the pacifying of the world as follows: "If one family exemplifies humanity, humanity will abound in the whole country. If one family exemplifies courtesy, courtesy will abound in the whole country." It also says: "When superiors accord to the aged their due, then the common people will be inspired to practise filial piety, when superiors accord to elders their due, then the common people will be inspired to practise brotherly respect." This is the Way to transform the people.
The above remarks reaffirm the effect which "one family" can have upon other families. "One family" here refers to the family of the ruler, or the royal family. This belief that the influence of one family could extend throughout the state is an essential concept of the Confucians. Ch'iu applies this concept to the question of rites and maintains that the ruler and the royal family should serve as examples for the people in observing the rites. On the other hand, although the ruler may follow the right Way to transform the people, because the world is so vast and the people so many, this process of transformation may not be effective in every corner of the world or every walk of life. Hence Ch'iu believes that it is absolutely necessary for the ruler to have a proper method for managing the people. When explaining this view of the "proper method", Ch'iu borrows a saying from Confucius: "Keep them in line with the rites."144 This sentence comes from Chapter Three of Book Two, entitled "Wei-cheng" (The practice of government) of the Confucian Analects in which Confucius contrasts the use of punishments and rites in the practice of government. The full text of this Chapter is worth citing here:

Guide them by edicts, keep them in line with punishments, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. Guide them by virtue, keep them in line with the rites, and they will, besides having a sense of shame, reform themselves.145

This passage states that rulers should rely on moral influence rather than on laws and punishments. There can be no doubt that Ch'iu readily supports this view. As far as he is concerned, moral influence is greater and more profound than legal coercion, for virtue can win the hearts of the people while the law can only control their behaviour.
In fact, his advice to "transform them with the right Way and manage them with the proper method" was derived from this passage. Besides pointing out that the proper method to manage the people is to keep them in line with the rites, in the same discussion Ch'iu also notes that what he describes as the right Way of transforming the people, that is, the extension of the influence of one family to the state, closely resembles Confucius' dictum: "Guide them by virtue." This attempt to take the guidance of virtue as the Way and the direction of rites as the method of governance explicitly reveals Ch'iu's view on the function of rites in the practice of government. Obviously in Ch'iu's eyes rites are the best tool for rulers who want to govern their people. A citation from the Book of Rites future supports this view:

Therefore, rites form a great instrument in the hands of a ruler. It is by them that he resolves what is doubtful and brings to light what is obscure, that he conducts his intercourse with spiritual beings, examines all statutory arrangements, and distinguishes benevolence from righteousness; it is by them in short, that government is rightly ordered, and his own tranquility secured. When government is not correct, the ruler's seat is insecure. When the ruler's seat is insecure, the chief ministers revolt and minor ministers pilfer. Punishments then are made severe, and customs deteriorate. Thus the laws become irregular, and the rules of rites uncertain. When the rules of rites are uncertain, officers do not perform their duties; and when punishments become severe, and customs deteriorate, the people do not turn [to what is right]. This is what we call "a defective state."

Following this citation Ch'iu also cites the eminent Yuan scholar Wu Ch'eng's annotation to the above passage. Wu Ch'eng explains that "government is not correct" because the prescriptions of the rites are not observed and employed in the practice of government. As a consequence of this fault, Wu adds, the ruler's seat will be insecure and laws will become irregular. In his remarks on the above
citations, Ch'iu notes that rites are what the ruler of men relies on to order the world and to maintain his majesty. Yet, Ch'iu believes that the rulers of men merely know how to take government as their means of ordering the state but are unaware that the practice of government should be based on the prescriptions of the rites. He criticizes such attitude as "neglecting the root". \(^{149}\)

Ch'iu's views on the application of rites to government also reveal his pragmatic outlook. When employing rites in government, he believes, the rulers should not stick to convention. In a concluding remark to the section on "The rule for rites and etiquette", Ch'iu says positively: "Ancient rites cannot be carried out in the present, just as current rites could not be carried out in ancient times." \(^{150}\) Yet Heaven and Earth remain the same through the ages, as does the human heart. Rites are derived from the human heart, drawn up by the sage in accordance with human feelings. How then can we account for the differences between the rites of the present and those of antiquity? In answer to this question, he explains that what remains unchanged is what Master Ch'eng called "righteousness" (i), what Master Chang called "principle" (li), and Master Chu called "great foundation and great origin" (ta-pen ta-yüan); the external trappings of the rites, on the other hand, such as clothes and utensiles, etc., must naturally change from one period to another. \(^{151}\) From this, it is obvious that Ch'iu did not subscribe to the idea commonly put forward by Confucian scholars of transplanting or restoring ancient rites, particularly those of the Chou dynasty, in their own time. Apparently, he supports the ideal of government through rites, yet he is not as a Confucianist willing to cherish what is
outmoded and to preserve what is worn out. What he supports is the principle of the rule of rites but not the formalities of the past themselves. Such views are also evident in his Chia-li i-chieh 家禮儀節.

The Chia-li i-chieh, 8 chüan, is a concise work concerned almost exclusively with ritual regulations. It deals with all kinds of ceremonies, for the common people as well as imperial families, including capping, marriage, mourning and ancestor sacrifices, and provides illustrations of ceremonial utensils, ceremonial arrangements, etc. Written by Ch'iu and based on the Chia-li 家禮, 5 chüan, of Chu Hsi, the work involves expansion and deletion of various items in the Chia-li so as to make it more appropriate to the customs of his time. Apart from his own explanation and comments, sayings of earlier Confucianists from forty different texts, including the Book of Rites, the Chou-li, the I-li 儀禮, the Pai-hu t'ung 師虞通, the Cheng-ho wu-li 治和五禮, the Shu-i 始儀 of Ssu-ma Kuang, the Chia-i 家儀, the Chia-li pien 家禮辨, and the Ta-Ming chi-li 大明 儀禮, etc., were also quoted to elucidate the principles and details of each ceremonial item. In a preface to this work, Ch'iu stresses that "rites can 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." He also believes that rites are as important as the millet and cotton of a family, and that those who devote themselves to study but fail to observe rites are just like a farmer without a plough or a craftsman without a measure. He praises Chu Hsi's book, the Chia-li, as a timeless Classic which explains and preserves the proper rites of ancient times, and considers it the foundation for refutation of heretical doctrines and
rectification of the human heart. Nevertheless, the forms and
details of ceremonies had undergone some changes over the years, thus,
using Chu's work as his basis, Ch'iu compiled his Chia-li i-chieh,
which, on the one hand, developed the meaning of the Chia-li, and on
the other updated particulars so as to fit them to the situation of
his time.

As may be seen from his preface, two current malpractices
provoked Ch'iu into compiling his work on rites: First, Confucians of
his time did not strictly observe the ritual perscriptions and were
unable to differentiate between orthodox rites from heretical
practices, which gave the heretical school, i.e. Buddhism, the
opportunity to take advantage of the situation and confuse proper
rites with heretical practices; second, some Confucians attentively
stuck to the ritual perscriptions, but what they were concerned with
was only the formalities, not the principles, which led to undesirable
disputes among the scholars over whether ceremonies should keep to
ancient practice. Given this background, it is obvious that
Ch'iu's work was compiled with a specific motive. The compilation of
the Chia-li i-chieh demonstrates Ch'iu's intention to standardize
the practice of ceremonies. It aims to provide a modern standard for
ceremonies to be followed by the imperial family as well as the
officials and common people. A preface attributed to Ho Shih-chin
incorporated in a 1618 reprint edition, records that the Chia-li
i-chieh was compiled for the purpose of regulating the prescriptions
of the rites — a goal which derived from Confucius' ideal of "Guide
the people by virtue, keep the people in line with rites." This
observation further supports the view that the Chia-li i-chieh was
not compiled as an academic pursuit, but to strengthen the prescription of the rites for the sake of government.\(^{156}\)

Although Ch'iu appears to concentrate more on the discussion of rites, which takes up four items, than music (\(\text{ yüeh }^{156}\)), to which only one item is devoted, he does not neglect the importance of music. In fact, the item on music, "The regulation of musical temperament", is subdivided into four parts in which he provides lengthy and detailed discussions on the principle, function, regulation, and also the performance of music. Not surprisingly, Ch'iu's basic ideas on music come from the "Yüeh-chi" \(^{156}\) (Record of Music) of the Book of Rites. For example, explaining the significance of music, he quotes: "Tones arise from man's heart, and music is related to man's morality. Those who know only sound but not its tones are birds and beasts; those who know the tones but not its music are the multitude. It is only the superior man who can really know music. On this account, to examine the sound is to know its tones, to examine the tone is to know its music, and to examine its music is to know the government; thereby can the way of government become complete."\(^{157}\) Ch'iu believes that during the Three Dynasties the practice of government was based on the heart of man, and politics were resided in tones and music, so that by examining the tones and music, the way of government of the time can be known. However, after the Three Dynasties, this function of music was no longer observed by the emperors. Music was no longer based on man's heart or employed in government but regulated to serve as an accompaniment to ceremonial functions. Hence the essence of the ancient civilization came to be overlooked.

Like many other Confucians, Ch'iu also thinks that music as an
expression of human emotion is essential to man's life, and, together with rites, serves as the inner bond of harmony to form or transform character and regulate conduct. Elsewhere Ch'iu cites the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Hsiao-ching* 孝經), which reads: "For changing the people's manners and altering their customs there is nothing better than music; for securing the repose of superiors and the good order of the people there is nothing better than the rules of propriety. The rules of propriety are simply [the development of] the principle of reverence (*ching*). Therefore the reverence paid to a father makes [all] sons pleased; the reverence paid to an elder brother makes [all] younger brothers pleased; the reverence paid to a ruler makes [all] subjects pleased. The reverence paid to one man makes thousands and myriads of men pleased. The reverence is paid to a few, and the pleasure extends to many; — this is what is meant by an 'All-embracing rule of conduct'." 158 In his remarks on this citation, Ch'iu reaffirms the importance of rites and music in the practice of government. Yet, what merits attention is his elaboration of the significance of music by means of the above citation. People commonly took a sceptical attitude towards the effect of music for changing the people's manners and altering their customs since the performance of music relies on instruments and ceremonies, which were not common in country or remote areas. To dispel these doubts, Ch'iu points out that music has both "root" (*pen 本*) and "formality" (*wen 文*); it issues from man's heart in the form of tones and is then performed on instruments. What the sages emphasized, Ch'iu says, was the principle not the formality. The root of rites lies in reverence, and the root of music lies in harmony. Ch'iu argues that rites can secure the repose
of superiors and the good order of the people simply by virtue of reverence, and music can change the people's manners and alter their customs simply by virtue of harmony. Thus, relating his argument to the preceding citation from the Classic of Filial Piety, Ch'iu explains that what the passage refers to as the reverence paid to a father, to an elder, and a ruler, is the reverence of rites; the sons, the younger brothers, and the subject are all pleased in accordance with the harmony of music. To conclude, Ch'iu asserts that rites and music must complement each other and cannot be separated. He criticizes those who rigidly adhere to formalities for overlooking the essentials.\textsuperscript{159}

It is obvious that both rites and music were recognized by Ch'iu as having equal importance. For him, it is the business of both rites and music that lead to mutual respect and affection, and consequently result in a world governed by courtesy.

When speaking of rites Ch'iu usually related them to education (chiao-hua \textsuperscript{160}), and believing that rites arise from education. He also says that the Way of establishing order has two essentials: government (ch'eng \textsuperscript{161}) and education (chiao \textsuperscript{162}). With regard to government and education, Ch'iu points out that whereas government depends on laws and orders, its enforcement is easy; whereas education depends of morality and righteousness, its enforcement is difficult. A section entitled "Exaltation of Education" (ch'ung chiao-hua \textsuperscript{163}), which Ch'iu wrote especially to elucidate the Way of education, clarifies his views on this matter.

Ch'iu's views on education are undoubtedly based on Confucian theory. For Confucius, there were two methods by which transformation
through education can be achieved: (i) to provide a model with one's person; and (ii) to instruct others in the Way.  Ch'iu makes use of both concepts in his chapter to elucidate the way of education. However, he attaches particular importance to the former and regards it as the primary principle of education. According to Ch'iu, the root of education lies in the ruler of men. It is the ruler who, by means of rectifying his own person and regulating his own family, sets an example to influence and reform the others. Thus, not surprisingly, he cites the Great Learning in his introductory discussion on the Way of education: "What is meant by saying that 'the government of the state depends on the regulation of the family' is this: one can never teach outsiders if one cannot teach one's family. Therefore the prince perfects the proper teaching for the whole country without going outside his family, the filial piety wherewith one serves his sovereign, the brotherly respect wherewith one treats his elders, the kindness wherewith one deals with the multitude. If one family exemplifies humanity, humanity will abound in the whole country. If one family exemplifies courtesy, courtesy will abound in the whole country. On the other hand, if one exemplifies greed and wickedness, rebellious disorder will arise in the whole country. Therein lies the secret. Hence the proverb: One word ruins an enterprise; one man determines the fate of an empire. Yao and Shun ruled the empire with humanity, and the people followed them. Chieh and Chou ruled the empire with cruelty, and the people only submitted to them. Since these last commanded actions that they themselves would not like to take, the people refused to follow them. Thus it is that what [virtues] a prince finds in himself he may expect in others, and what [vices] he
himself is free from he may condemn in others. It is impossible that a man devoid of every virtue which he might wish to see in others could be able effectively to instruct them. ¹⁶² In Chu Hsi's annotation to this passage, which Ch'iu also cites, it is stated that only if one's person is cultivated can one teach one's family. Filial piety, brotherly respect, and kindness, Chu Hsi says, are the product of self-cultivation. The same rule also applies to the Way of serving one's sovereign, respecting one's seniors, or dealing with the populace in a state. This is why a ruler who regulates his family can subsequently perfect the proper teaching for his subjects, Chu adds.¹⁶³ Following these citations, which are explicit enough to reveal Ch'iu's conception of education, Ch'iu notes that in the Great Learning, the items "investigation of things", "extension of knowledge", "making the will sincere", "rectifying the mind", and "cultivating the self", are concerned with the affairs of "learning" (hsüeh 學), while only the items "regulating of the family" and "ordering of the state" are concerned with the affairs of "education" (chiao 敎). In a family there are parents, elder brothers, sons, and servants. One should act with filial piety towards one's parents, brotherly respects towards one's elders, and kindness towards one's sons and servants, Ch'iu argues. Only when one maintains these virtues in oneself is one able to cultivate one's person and teach one's family, and, subsequently, extend that influence to the other families. Ch'iu believes that influence will extend to the whole state as the result of the example of the ruler. What is worth noting here is that Ch'iu indicates how the filial piety, brotherly respect, and kindness paid to one's family will influence the whole state: when
these virtues are extended to the state level, filial piety towards one's parents becomes loyalty to one's sovereign, brotherly respect towards one's elders becomes obedience to one's superiors, and kindness towards one's sons and servants becomes love for one's subjects. Therefore, Ch'iu says, when the virtues of benevolence and modesty are observed in one family and the subtle influence of benevolence and modesty is exerted on the whole state — that is what is meant by perfecting the proper teaching for the whole country without going outside the family.164

As a Confucianist, Ch'iu repeatedly upholds the dictum that the ruler should set an example to educate the people. Certainly, what Ch'iu means here by education is necessarily confined to moral education, and, for him, the ultimate aim of good government is the moral education of the people. In terms of this aim, Ch'iu believes that the moral influence of the ruler through the power of moral example and education is decisive. He cites the Confucian Classics to support his idea, including a passage from the Instructions of I of the Book of Shang: "To set up love, it is for you to love your parents; to set up respect; it is for you to respect your elders. The commencement is in the family and the state; the consummation is in all within the four seas." 165 Another citation from the Great Learning contains the following lines: 'When the sovereign accord to the aged their due, then the common people will be inspired to practice filial piety; when the sovereign accord to elders their due, then the common people will be inspired to practice brotherly respect; when the sovereign shows compassion to the orphaned, then the common people do not do otherwise. Thus the superior man has a principle with
which, as with a measuring square, he may regulate his mind."  

Also from the *Book of Rites*, comes the passage: "The Master said, "Inferiors, in serving their superiors, do not follow what they command, but what they do. When a ruler loves anything, those below him are sure to do so much more. Therefore the sovereign should by all means be careful in what he likes and dislikes. This will make him an example to the people'". The dictum by the Master cited above is explicit enough to reveal the motive behind Ch'iu's discussion: The ruler's example is so influential that if he acts in accordance with the Way, the people will follow and the tranquility of the state will be secured. Therefore, Ch'iu believes that the ruler should practise filial piety so as to promote ethical behaviour, and be sober in conduct so as to set a model to the people.

In fact, all the above citations state the influence of the One Man on the whole state in the most unequivocal terms. For Ch'iu, the Way of education was basically the setting of a moral example by the ruler and the extension of its subtle influence to the whole state. This line of argument indicates two things. On the one hand, it demonstrates Ch'iu's belief in the Confucian idea that there is little difference between the state and the family. The state is but a big family, the government of a state is but the government of a family writ large. The relation of the ruler to his subjects is similar to that of a father to his sons. A good ruler is a good father and a good subject is a good son. The principles governing political relations are substantially the same as those governing familial relations. Politics and ethics are essentially identical. On the other hand, Ch'iu's discussions here can be interpreted as attempting to warn or
restrain the emperor against misbehaviour, which would set a bad example for his subjects and consequently harm the customs of the whole state.

It is obvious, then, that Ch‘iu attached particular importance to moral example in education. In fact, if we consider the ultimate goal of education — to maintain proper social order — Ch‘iu’s focus on moral example and the regulation of one’s family is not surprising. Education, to Ch‘iu, is a means to strengthen human relationships and social order, and his concern with it is closely related to his promotion of the prescriptions of the rites. For example, in his introductory discussion to the Way of education, Ch‘iu quoted the Canon of Shun from the Book of Yü:

The emperor said, "Hsieh 福, the people are still wanting in affection for one another, and do not docilely observe the five orders of relationship (wu-p‘in 五等). It is your task, as the Minister of Instruction, reverently to set forth the five lessons of duty (wu-chiao 五教) belonging to those five orders. Do so with gentleness." 170

The "five orders of relationship", sometimes rendered as "five ranks", refers to the five human relationships — between father and son, ruler and minister, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers, and between friends — according to which human society is arranged. They were also commonly referred to as the "five relations" (wu-lun 五倫). 171 And the "five lessons of duty" refers to the observation of duties belonging to the five orders of relationship. The maintenance of these human relations was regarded by the Confucianists as an important device for maintaining political and social order and they trusted that such distinctions, based upon the principle of the five human relationships, would lead to the realization of ideal human relationships, and to the realization of ideal society in which
ruler, minister, father, son, brother, husband, and wife all would act as they should. According to Ch'iu, the primary goal of education is to introduce the principle of human relationships to the people. Thus, in his remarks on the above citation, he takes Emperor Shun's policy as the origin of education and says that "the practice of education is nothing more than [introducing] human relations".

It is worth mentioning here a play (chuan-ch'i 傳奇) by Ch'iu entitled Wu-lun ch'üan-pei 五倫全備 (Full Completion of the Five Relations) which may be regarded as an attempt by him to promote this line of education. The contents of Wu-lun ch'üan-pei, as the title suggests, emphasize the importance of the five human relations. Consisting of 29 acts (ch'u 章), the story deals with the life and families of two half-brothers, Wu Lun-ch'üan 五倫全 and Wu Lun-pei 五倫備 (their names are symbolic, both meaning "completeness of the five human-relations"). It shows how the two brothers and their wives, mother, and friends observe the five human-relations and enjoy good retribution thanks to their loyalty, filial piety and benevolence. Although this work occupied an important position in the history of Ming drama, and helped to bring about the flourishing of Southern drama in Ming times, Ch'iu's aim originally pertained to another realm. He wrote this play to imbue moralistic ideas and teach proper human relations, so as to contribute to the education of the common people. Ch'iu recognized the effect of popular literature on the public. Audaciously, he took the writing of drama as a means of educating and transforming the people, despite the fact that the writing of drama was still despised by the
Ming scholars. According to the Ch’uan-ch’i hui-k’ao by an anonymous Ming scholar, Ch’iu’s story of human relations did have an impact upon the morals and manners of his time.

Despite his particular focus on moral example, which is the basic principle in Ch’iu’s philosophy of education, Ch’iu did not overlook the necessity of school education. But the moral example of the emperor exerts an imperceptible influence which educates the people, while school education can provide only systematic and concrete teaching. In the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu Ch’iu notes that the establishment of schools serves to clarify human relations and nourish talent. He considers schools essential to education since men’s characters differ and some people must be selected to receive training in order to promote the observation of human relations and participate in the management of the state. He cites the “Hsüeh-chi” of the Book of Rites which reads: "If a ruler wishes to transform the people and to perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school"; "The ancient kings, when establishing states and governing the people, made instruction and schools as primary objects." And basing himself on the ideas of the “Hsüeh-chi” and the practice of the former kings as reflected in the Book of Rites and other Classics, Ch’iu comments on the system of local schools and the National University of the Ming dynasty, and he further provides detailed discussions on the selection of instructors and choice of text-books. His views on the school system and abuses in the selection of students inevitably repeat the views expounded in his memorials and other writings. Since his suggestions concerning
educational systems have been discussed in Chapter Two, it would be superfluous here to dwell again on the matter. Nevertheless, one point worth noting is his idea of "unifying morality and virtue" (i tao-te 一德).

Ch'iù mentions two goals of school education when arguing that the method of teaching and evaluation in schools should be regulated: (i) nurturing men of talent; and (ii) unifying morality and manners. In fact, "unifying morality and virtue" occupies an important position in Ch'iù's idea of education and it also demonstrates the inter-relationship between school education and social order. Ch'iù's concept of "unifying morality and virtue" was inspired by the Book of Rites. In Chapter Five, "Wang-chih" (The Royal Regulations), of the Book of Rites, there are these two passages:

When the Son of Heaven received the feudal princes, and there was no special affair on hand, it was simply called an audience. They examined their ceremonies, rectified their punishments, and made uniform what they considered virtuous; thus giving honour to the Son of Heaven.
The Minister of Instruction defined and set forth the six ceremonial observances in order to direct and control the nature of the people; clearly illustrated the seven lessons [of morality] in order to stimulate their virtue; inculcated uniformity in the eight objects of government in order to guard against all excess; unified the morality and virtue in order to assimilate customs and manners.183

From the context of these two passages, it is evident that unifying morality and virtue was regarded as a common concern of ancient rulers in government. Certainly unifying morality and virtue would bring about homogeneity in customs and manners, but how is it related to education? Ch'iù says that every state follows its own government and every family follows its own customs because morality and virtue have not been unified; morality and virtue have not been unified because the administration of the ruler has fallen into decay, the rules of
propriety and righteousness have been neglected, and the instructions of government and education have not been put into effect. According to Ch'iu, if the teaching of morality and virtue was fully implemented, so that the rules of propriety and righteousness were observed by the people, although there are thousands of millions of families, they would all act as one family; although there were hundreds and thousands of states, they would all act as one state. He recognized that although men live in the same world and under the same Heaven, due to the diversity of their locations, they are bound to differ in their customs. Nevertheless, Ch'iu maintains that it is the duty of the ruler of men to do away with these differences and bring men together in unity, so that the state will not have different policies and the families will not have different customs. For the achievement of this aim of unifying morality and virtue, Ch'iu rated education very highly. This is why he recommended that the ruler establish schools and honour Confucian teachers. He believed that the teaching in the schools should be based on the Confucian classics and take righteousness as the root. He considered the pernicious influence of Buddhism and Taoism as one of the main causes of disunity in customs and manners and condemned both in strong terms. He said that customs and manners were not identical because morality and virtue are not unified; morality and virtue are not unified because there are heretical beliefs. Hence in order to homogenize customs and manners and unify morality and virtue, heretical beliefs must be completely banned.

It is true that Confucians have always considered rites, which centre on the bonds of the five human relations, as primary in
government, and maintained that education can prevent misbehaviour. At the same time, however, they did not deny the usefulness of law and punishment. As Professor John K. Fairbank observes:

The ideal Chinese society as thus set forth in normative terms was hierarchic within both the family and the state. The essence of order was that certain persons were of superior status and certain others were by the nature of things in an inferior status. The father and the emperor, as capstones of their respective organizations, had dominant roles to play. Women, youth, and subjects had correspondingly subordinate roles. The "three-net-ropes" (san-kang) that held Confucian society together enjoined them to obey their respective husbands, parents, and rulers. There was a similar hierarchy of means for maintaining this hard-won social order. The first and preferred means was education, really indoctrination in the Classical teachings, so that each individual would thoroughly understand the great "principles of social usage" (li, etiquette, how to behave) and so would do his part in the status in which he found himself. When this failed, the second level of social discipline, especially for the inferior person inadequately aware of how to behave, was the system of rewards and punishments.187

Although the Confucian and Legalist Schools, or Fa-chia 訕家, held opposing views on rites and law during the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States,188 these focused essentially on their preference towards either rites or law as the proper way of attaining the ideal social order. The Confucians, in fact did not totally ignore the value of law and punishment. Law and punishment were still regarded as necessary in the Confucianists' concept of government, as is apparent from the thought of Confucius himself. The techniques of government that Confucius proposed are three: to nourish, to educate, and to govern. The instruments for nourishment and education are "virtue" and the rites, while the instruments for government are "politics" (cheng) and punishments; virtue and rites he regarded as of major importance, politics and punishments as auxiliary. What Confucius called politics and punishments included all regulations and
constitutions, laws and ordinances. Although he believed that transformation through teaching is essential to good government, his approval of political action and of the institution of punishment shows that he accepted the principle that the state cannot eliminate laws and punishments. Later, Hsun Tzu (fl. 289-238 BC), a Confucian who was the teacher of Han Fei (d. 233 BC), the most important representative of ancient Legalism, further developed this line of argument and maintained that laws were written documents while rites were its essential practice. According to his teachings, laws cannot be properly enforced if the people do not behave in conformity with rites. Hence rites and laws complement each other in the maintenance of social order. In fact, the idea that rites and laws are complementary is also reflected in the Book of Rites, which states:

Rites are to direct men's aims aright; music is to give harmony to their voices; laws are to unify their conduct; and punishments are to guard against the tendencies to evil. The end to which rites, music, punishments and laws conduct is one; they are the instruments by which the minds of the people are assimilated, and good order in government is made to appear. Rites afforded the defined expression of the people's minds; music secured the harmonious utterance of their voices; the laws of government were designed to promote the performance [of the rites and music]; and punishments, to guard against the violation of them. When rites, music, laws, and punishments had everywhere full course, without irregularity or collision, the method of Kingly rule was complete.

Ch'iu, as may be seen from his writings, acknowledged the supplementary function of laws and punishments to rites in government. Indeed, at one point he says that the two main essentials of government are rites (li) and laws (fa), and states that rites serve to prevent what might happen, whereas laws serve to punish what has already happened.
Since laws and punishments have value for governing the state, Ch'iu did not hesitate to express his opinion on the basic principles of their usage. Regarding the relationship between laws and punishments, he gives the following definition:

"Regulations" that were set down in the past are called laws; "Penalties" that applied at a time when something is done are called punishment. Law is the substance of punishment; punishment is the application of the law. They are indeed a united whole. 193

Ch'iu states that the establishment of the system of laws and punishments should be done with utmost care. On the question of law, Ch'iu emphasizes its principle and proper application. He explains that laws and statutes are established to serve as warnings to the people to keep away from evil. They are not established simply in order to await offenders, in the way that a net or trap is set for birds or animals. However, Ch'iu comments, the terms of the law of recent generations were naturally vague and obscure in meaning, it trapped the people and confused them as to the consequences. Moreover, the ambiguity of regulations has provided opportunities for treacherous officials to subvert the law by playing with legal phraseology and by determining what is a crime according to their personal whims. He points out that it is impossible for all people to obtain a copy of the government laws and statutes in order to read them, and even if they were provided with the text, they certainly would not be able to understand it thoroughly. If they are unfortunate enough to be charged with an offence due to misunderstanding, Ch'iu observes, "isn't it the fault of the emperor?" 194 Therefore, he maintains that laws and statutes should be written in simple terms, and their meaning should be explicit.
enough for the common people to understand them. Consequently he suggests that the emperor appoint officials to annotate the Ming Code, which was compiled in 1373 and revised in 1397, so as to clarify the ambiguous terms and explain clearly the nature of offences and the punishments attached.

From the contents of the section on laws and punishments in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, it is evident that Ch'iu was more concerned with punishment than law. Probably this was because punishment is the application of laws, and carefulness in the use of punishment, which determines the ultimate effectiveness of law and directly influences people, must be a primary consideration. Thus, he discusses punishment extensively. But leaving aside his discussions of the implementation of punishment, methods of litigation, and the appointment of judicial officials, what merits our attention here is his elaboration of the principle and application of punishment.

As we might expect, Ch'iu liberally sprinkles his writings and comments with the maxims and messages drawn from the Classics, in order to exhort the emperor to maintain a proper attitude towards punishment. From the Book of Documents he cites: "The Emperor [Yü] said: 'Kao-yao [9 f], that of these my ministers are all r a y  people hardly one is found to offend against the regulations of the government is owning to your being Ministers of Punishment, and intelligent in the use of the five punishments, thereby assisting [the inculcation of] the five cardinal duties (wu-chiao), with a view to the perfection of my government, and that through punishment there may come to be no punishments, but the people accord with the path of the Mean'." In his remarks on this citation, Ch'iu notes that "to use the five punishments to assist [the inculcation of] the five cardinal
duties was the original motive of the sages of antiquity for establishing punishments." Then he states that punishment was not specially established to punish for wrong-doing; its primary function is to guide the people in observing the duties of the five human relations. It seeks to ensure that sons are dutiful, ministers are loyal, and brothers are loving, the ruler is kind and trustful, the husbands observe righteousness and the wives observe the rules of propriety. Any failure to carry out these duties, Ch'iu declares, is a violation of the laws, and punishment must be applied. Hence there is little doubt that in Ch'iu's mind, punishment does not exist primarily for the purpose of legal retribution but to prevent and warn the people against wrong-doing. He believes that punishment can exert a warning effect so that the people will not dare to commit evil. And when every one does his duty and is afraid of punishment, there will be no need for punishment.198

Moreover, since Ch'iu accepts the idea that the function of punishment is to assist in the inculcation of the five cardinal duties, he suggests that punishment must be determined in accordance with the principle of human relations. He cites the Book of Rites: "When hearing a case requiring the application of any of the five punishments, [the judge] was required to consider the affection between father and son, or the righteousness between ruler and minister, before passing his own judgement. He must consider the gravity or lighteness [of the offence], and carefully try to fathom the capacity [of the offender] as shallow or deep, to determine the exact character [of his guilt]. He must exert his intelligence to the utmost, and give the fullest play to his generous and loving feeling,
to arrive at his final judgement." Apparently this passage suggests that legal judgement should take into consideration the affection between father and son; which might lead either party to conceal the guilt of the other, and the righteousness between ruler and minister, which might similarly affect the evidence. Nevertheless, Ch'iu held that this passage demonstrates the idea that punishments, especially major punishments, should be applied according to the principles of affection between father and son, and righteousness between ruler and minister, in other words, according to the principle of proper human relations. This conception he makes clear in his remarks. He says:

Laws and punishments are established to assist education, and the root of education lies in [the regulating of] human relations, while the most important of the human relations are those between father and son, and ruler and minister. [The relation between] father and son depends on benevolence, and [the relation between] ruler and minister depends on righteousness. All offences, no matter whether serious or light, and all feelings, no matter whether strong or weak, should be determined by the benevolence between father and son, and the righteousness between ruler and minister. The original intention must be traced, and the proper principle must be established.... If the noble man can utilise punishments in this way, how could there be unjust verdicts in this world? How could there be a decline in morals and human relations?

Obviously, in the eyes of Ch'iu Chün, punishment is the tool to strengthen proper human relations. We shall see in the next chapter how this concept of proper human relations also played an important role in his historical interpretation and judgement.

On the principle of using punishment, Ch'iu draws his inspiration from the saying of Kao-yao which is supposed to have been a reply to Emperor Yü's commendation cited above. It reads: "You pardon inadvertent faults, however great, and punish purposed crimes,
however small. In cases of doubtful crimes, you deal with them lightly; in cases of doubtful merit, you prefer the high estimation. Rather than put an innocent person to death, you will run the risk of irregularity and error. This life-loving virtue has penetrated the minds of the people, and this is why they do not render themselves liable to be punished by your officers. In this passage, Kao-yao stresses the importance of the life-living virtue of the ruler in using punishment. In his remarks Ch'iu further points out that Emperor Shun was honoured and respected by the people because he had life-loving virtue. The ruler of men, who realized the great virtue of Heaven and Earth in giving life to the people and is a father to his subjects, Ch'iu says, should nourish the life of the people and get rid of the evils that endanger their lives. Thus, he regards the establishment of punishment simply as a way of maintaining the life of the people. The way of maintaining the life of the people, he says, can be summed up in one word — life-loving. He concludes: "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is life; the great virtue of the sage is benevolence. Benevolence means life-loving." In other words, Ch'iu thinks that punishment should be based on the principle that it is employed to maintain the life of the people rather than to exterminate them, and in using punishment the ruler should always remain true to the virtue of being life-giving.

Ch'iu further defines the meaning of punishment as the "punitive response of Heaven" (t'ien-t'ao 天罰). He says that although Heaven employs punishments to control the rebellious people, it is only a last resort used when there are no other alternatives. It is not a means of government that should be frequently employed. A ruler using
the Way of Heaven to govern the state, according to Ch'iu, should take virtue as the fundamental means of government, and not punishment. Only when there were no other alternatives can he employ punishment as a temporary measure to regulate his people. A judicial official, Ch'iu adds, should act reverently in accordance with the mind of Heaven so as to serve his sovereign. His judgements and decisions should accord with the mind of Heaven and not necessarily with the will of his sovereign. Moreover, he insists that a judicial official should observe only the laws of his sovereign and not his will, for only then can an official act reverently in accordance with the mind of Heaven. Speaking of 'reverently to accord with the mind of Heaven', Ch'iu explains how this is to be achieved in fairly specific terms:

"Reverently apportion the Five Punishments, so as to complete the Three Virtues (san-te 三德)."203 The "Three Virtues" refers to the virtues of "correct and straightforwardness" (cheng-chih 修正), of "strong control" (kang-k'o 强制 strong government), and "mild control" (jou-k'o 藉制, mild government). Originating from the Book of Documents, the Three Virtues denote three different modes of government: "Correct and straightforwardness" is the course that the perfect sovereign will naturally and usually take; while "strong control" and "mild control" are the courses the perfect sovereign takes when it is necessary and proper for him to instill fear or to condescend to weaker natures respectively.204 These three virtues, according to James Legge, are characteristic of the imperial rule -- they are not personal attitudes of the sovereign, but the manifestation of royal perfection.205 On these three virtues, Wang Yen's (1138-1218) annotation reads:
Punishments being light when they ought to be light, is "mild government", and the mildness will not be weak indulgence. Punishments being severe when they ought to be severe is "strong government", and that strength will not be oppressive. Being intermediate between light and severe is "correct and straightforward government", and that correctness and straightforwardness will not degenerate to one-sideness.206

Simply speaking, the idea of the Three Virtues expresses the importance of employing different degrees of punishment according to what the situation requires. Yet, the essence of the Three Virtues lies in the diligent and careful administration of punishments. Obviously Ch'iu believes that in employing punishments the ruler should be careful and circumspect. If a ruler can attain the ideal of Three Virtues in his government, no calamity will strike him. Thus, Ch'iu concludes: "To observe reverently the Five Punishments is to meet the need of one day; to attain rigorously the Three Virtues is to establish the principle of myriad generation."207

In general, Ch'iu's discussions of laws and punishments, point to a further cardinal rule of good government -- that laws and punishments should not be oppressive. Not only was he opposed to the idea that punishments were evils, he also took the optimistic view that punishments, through their warning effect, could assist the work of education in the transformation of the public morality. If the ruler adopts a proper attitude towards punishments and does not use it to harm or oppress the people but in order to give them repose, Ch'iu argues, punishment can be made a blessing and a propitious tool for government.208 In keeping with this conception, therefore, he maintains that rites and music on the one hand, and punishments and laws on the other, complement each other. He cites the Analects, "When rites and music do not flourish, punishments will not fit the
crimes, the common people will not know where to put hand and foot", and concludes that rites and music, and laws and punishments indeed all share the common goal of good government; rites and music should be taken as the root of laws and punishments, and then the application of laws and punishments will be natural and inevitable.

4. Economic Policy and Financial Administration

The fourth section of the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, "Administration of Public Expenditure" (chih kuo-yung 調國用), contains eleven items on financial administration. Coming as it does immediately after the sections on Rectifying the Imperial Court and Officialdom, and Consolidating the Root of the State, and preceding the discussions on rites, education, punishments, and other institutional matters, the arrangement of this section indicates the important position which financial administration occupied in Ch'iu's idea of good government. Indeed, the discussions in this section conclusively show that he gave a great deal of thought to the administration of public finance.

The Confucian theory of government recognizes the importance of economic security for the people. It warns that without this security the "moral" stability of the people will be uncertain. Ch'iu Chün likewise incorporates this principle into his theory of good government. As has been shown in the last section on consolidating the root of the state, Ch'iu maintains that in order to make the root of the state firm, the most important measure is to secure the livelihood of the people. Here he reaffirms the message of the Great Appendix of the Book of Changes, which acknowledges the
significance of "wealth" (ts'ai 立) - "The great attribute of Heaven and Earth is the giving and maintaining of life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the [highest] position. What will guard this position for him? Men. How shall he collect a large population round him? By the power of wealth." Ch'iu asserts that what people rely on to maintain their life was wealth, therefore, it should not be insufficient even for one day. Ch'iu thought of "wealth" in terms of grain and commodities. Grain serves as food for the people, while commodities are the means of daily life and nourishment, Ch'iu explains. Meanwhile, Ch'iu also cites the "Eight Objects of Government" (pa-cheng 豆城) from the Great Plan of the Book of Documents, which takes "food" and "commodities" as the two primary things which precede sacrifice, construction, education, punishment, military, and other matters, to support his argument that only when food and commodities are secure will the people have the essentials of life and the ideal of good government can be attained.

Obviously the need to secure the daily necessities of the people is the main concern of Ch'iu's economic views. Regarding the principle of the administration of wealth, he cites the Book of Yu:

[Yu said:] I opened passages for the streams throughout the nine provinces, and conducted them to the sea. I deepened the channels and canals, and conducted them to the streams, at the same time along with Chi sowing grain, and showing the multitudes how to procure the food of toil in addition to flesh meat. I urged them to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores. In this way all the people got grain to eat, and all the states began to come under good rule." Ch'iu believes that what Yu said -- "to exchange what they had for what they had not, and to dispose of their accumulated stores" -- was the origin of "the principle of the administration of the wealth of myriad
generations". He further points out: an exchange between the "haves" and the "have nots", and circulation of the excess goods, is nothing more than ensuring that all people get grain to eat. Subsequently he asserts that the administration of wealth, as seen from the practices of the ancient worthies, aimed to benefit the people. The ultimate aim of the government was to administrate the wealth of the people for the people. Hence he asks: How is it that the sovereigns of later times use government to accumulate the food and commodities of the people for their own personal gain? Concluding his remarks to the Book of Yü, Ch'iu clarifies the attitude which a government should have in regard to wealth: "The ancients accumulated their riches among the people. When the wealth of the people was administrated, then the expenditure of the ruler of men would not fall short. Therefore, those who are skilled in making their country rich will invariably consider the administration of the people's wealth as of first importance and the administration of the wealth of the state as secondary." Ch'iu's distinction between the "people's wealth" and the "state's wealth" and his idea that the administration of the people's wealth is of primary importance, reveal the nature of his economic views. In fact, his ideas bring to mind the Confucian Analects which contains the following lines: "If the people have plenty, their sovereign will not be left to want alone. If the people are in want, their sovereign cannot enjoy plenty alone." Ch'iu thought that whether a state is rich or poor depends not on the sovereign but on the people. The prosperity and decline of the empire depends on the common people; only when the people have sufficient wealth will the state have sufficient wealth. Elsewhere in the same section, he
further elaborates the implications of this point: the wealth of the state comes entirely from the people and the expenses of the sovereign are likewise entirely met by the people. Thus, if the people are wealthy, it is as if the sovereign is wealthy. If the people are impoverished, how can the sovereign maintain his wealth?\textsuperscript{221} Obviously, Ch'iu believes that the people are the main financial support of the state, and if the wealth of the people is properly administered, both the state and the sovereign will benefit. But if the government's concern is with the sovereign's wealth, it is most unlikely that the people will have a sufficiency. And if the people are in want, according to Ch'iu, it is impossible for the sovereign to enjoy a wealthy life alone.\textsuperscript{222}

It appears that what Ch'iu puts forward in his \textit{Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu} is a conventional Confucian theory of finance. As is demonstrated by his citations, all his views either originated or drew inspiration from the Confucian Classics. However, in what follows, we shall see that Ch'iu's ideas are not necessarily bounded by convention: often he took the conventional Confucian theory as a basis on which to develop his own unconventional opinions.

For Ch'iu, sound finance requires not only proper management of wealth, as Confucian scholars have always advocated, but also positive steps to increase state revenues, the productivity of the country, and the wealth of the people. Thus, as well as showing his concern with the "administration of wealth" (\textit{li-ts'ai} 理財), Ch'iu also stresses the importance of the "production of wealth" (\textit{sheng-ts'ai} 生財). As far as his understanding of the "production of wealth" is concerned, this derives from the \textit{Great Learning}. In the \textit{Ta-hsüeh yen-i}
He quotes: "There is a great course for the production of wealth. Let the producers be many and the consumers few. Let they be active in production, and economical in expenditure. Then the wealth will always be sufficient." In his remarks on this passage, Ch'iu says that a good government should not adopt any policies aimed at the accumulation of wealth, but should explore the means to increase the production of wealth. For increasing the production of wealth — that is increasing state revenue — Ch'iu emphasizes the "great course". He asserts that the great course for the production of wealth is not the utilitarian measures of the Legalist School, but the attempt to be "active in production" and "economical in expenditure".

With regard to the question of being "economical in expenditure", Ch'iu's attention is particularly directed towards the sovereign and the government. The reason for which national resources may be insufficient, Ch'iu argues, is because the government simply spends too much. Thus he calls for a proper administration of government expenditure. Regulation of government expenditure is not for the benefit of the sovereign but for the sake of the country and the people, Ch'iu asserts. He points out that the virtuous rulers of ancient times understood that their duty was to preserve the wealth which belonged to Heaven and the people, so when spending they did not act rashly and did not dare to pursue personal gain, with the result that both those above and those below enjoyed sufficiency. At the same time he urged the emperor to set an example of frugality for the whole government. In support of his argument, he cites the wisdom of Confucius from the Analects, "Avoid excesses in expenditure and love your fellow men", and comments that the Way by which emperors...
and kings established order did not go beyond this maxim. The word "love" (ai 爱) is the foundation of governing the people, applicable to a myriad generations, and the term "avoid excesses" (chieh 什) is the essential of the administration of wealth, applicable to a myriad generations, he adds. He also cites the Mencius: "Without [the great principles of] government and their various businesses, there will not be wealth commensurate with the expenditure." In his remarks Ch'iu explains that a state should not be troubled lest its revenue is insufficient, but lest the great principles of government are not established. To establish the great principles of government, according to Ch'iu, is essentially: "to produce [wealth] in the proper Way, to acquire [wealth] within limits, and to spend without excess."

In order to manage government expenditure and conduct financial transactions properly, Ch'iu suggests that the government should appoint a special minister in addition to the Minister of Revenue, to take sole charge of affairs concerning the population, land, currency and provisions, and that he be responsible for the overall regulation of the national economy including affairs such as grain transportation, business duties, government trade, the issuing of currency, and the investigation of commodity prices, etc. Likewise, he proposes that the government should make a careful estimate of government revenues and expenditures at the beginning of each year and prepare a detailed budget so that it will be in a position to take the necessary steps beforehand if the estimated income of that year falls short of the projected expenditure. Ch'iu's proposal, which failed to arouse any attention or appreciation from the court in his own time,
has been praised by modern scholars. In his article evaluating Ch'iu's economic thought, Li P'u-kuo commends Ch'iu's proposal for an annual government budget as a remarkable development in the history of Chinese financial thought.

It is true that the philosophical background of Ch'iu's economic views consisted mostly of conventional Confucian theory. For example, two citations from the *Great Learning* which Ch'iu regarded as the basic principles of financial administration may be cited here by way of illustration:

A gentleman will first be prudent of his own virtue. Possessing virtue will give him the people. Possessing the people will give him the territory. Possessing the territory will give him its wealth. Possessing the wealth, he will have resources for expenditure. Virtue is the root, wealth is the result. If he makes the root his secondary object, and the result his primary, he will only wrangle with his people, and teach them rapine. Hence, the accumulation of wealth is the way to scatter the people; and the letting it be scattered among them is the way to collect the people. And hence, the ruler's words going forth contrary to right, will come back to him in the same way, and wealth, gotten by improper ways, will take its departure by the same.

The officer Mang Hsien said, "It is better to have a minister rob a country of its reverence than to have a minister who would make imposts upon the people in order to fill the coffers of the government". This is in accordance with the saying: "In a state, [pecuniary] gain is not to be considered to be prosperity, only [the achievement of] righteousness is to be considered to be prosperity."

The "gentleman" in the first citation unquestionably refers to the sovereign. Both citations express the idea that the virtue of the sovereign and righteousness in government should precede the pursuit of wealth or profit. They appear to reaffirm the Confucian principle that the management of finance should aim at righteousness (*i* 仁), but not benefit or profit (*li* 利), the very opposite of righteousness. However, it is interesting to note that Ch'iu does not reject the idea of profit. According to Ch'iu's interpretation, the
pursuit of wealth and profit does not conflict with Confucian principle except when the management of finance is not based on the principle of righteousness. He acknowledges that wealth and profit are what everyone desires. However, a good government should not seize the wealth and profit that belongs to the people, but rather should remove their difficulties and the obstacles to production. In this way, Ch'iu says, the wealth and profits which the government acquires are rightful and proper. He called this "the regulating principle of the measuring square" (chieh-chū chih-tao ), an expression adopted from the Great Learning.

Speaking of the means to make production prosper, Ch'iu says that government should make taxes and levies light so that the people will not be burdened and shall be able to concentrate on their own production. He says that wealth is the "heart" of the people, and if the government can let the people have their own way and does not impose heavy taxation on them, it is a means of winning the people's hearts. Likewise, he warns that heavy taxation will not only make the government lose the hearts of the people, but will also lead to disorder and, in extreme cases, to the downfall of the dynasty. He cites the examples of the Ch'in and Han dynasties, which levied taxes of 50 percent and 6.7 percent on land respectively, and concludes that the short span of the Ch'in dynasty was largely due to its heavy land taxes.

Besides his emphasis in promoting agricultural productivity and the well-being of the farmers, as did most Confucian statesmen, Ch'iu surprisingly shows also strong support for private trade and commercial activities. He does not favour government control or intervention in all trades and advocates a laissez-faire policy of
letting the people pursue their economic activities free from government interference. Thus, he maintains that the government should neither monopolise trades nor appropriate the profits made by the people. The reasons behind his position are twofold: firstly, Ch'iu thought that a government, as the majestic and prestigious ruling body should not engage in commerce or trade, which would amount to competing with merchants for gain. Secondly, a laissez-faire policy would allow trade to prosper and consequently increase government revenue.235

Ch'iu clearly moved beyond the rather indifferent attitude of many Confucianists towards commerce and trade. Thus he recognized the benefits offered by maritime trade more than most of the officials of his times. As early as the Hung-wu era, due to the disturbances by Japanese pirates in coastal areas and military operations against the Mongols, which required much attention, the Ming government adopted a negative policy by prohibiting all private maritime trade.236 Overseas trade was monopolized by the government and conducted within the tribute system.237 But since foreign trade was very profitable, the prohibition gave rise to smuggling, especially among the trade-dependent people of the South China coast. Ch'iu, however, suggested that the government should end the prohibition and open maritime trade to the public. He believed the advantages were twofold: on the one hand, free foreign trade was not only a way of resolving the problem of smuggling but was also in accordance with the wishes of the people; on the other hand, imported commodities and the taxes they raised would benefit the state economy. Ch'iu argued that if the prohibition on trade was applied only to Japan, which was the main source of
coastal disturbances in China -- but not to other countries, and trade activities were conducted properly under the Foreign Trade Superintendencies (shih-po ssu 中舶司), maritime trade would surely be advantageous to the state. 238

Moreover, in keeping with his economic view, Ch'iu also opposed the government monopoly on salt, iron, and tea. His comments on the salt monopoly of the Ming government deserve a brief discussion here. Since salt was a daily necessity and usually in great demand, it was a commodity that yielded good profits. Ch'iu recognized that rulers and ministers of the past regarded government control of salt as the foremost way, apart from regular taxes, to make the country rich. 239 But basically he opposed government control of commerce and industry. He thought that such a policy was no different from robbing people openly by force, and he criticized its supporters for "seeing only profits but not righteousness, knowing that there are human desires but not Heavenly principles." 240 Yet his proposal to relax government controls on salt was less a result of this theoretical standpoint than a response to the situation of his times.

The salt monopoly in Ming was supervised by the Minister of Revenue and operated in the provinces through six Salt-distribution Commissions (chuan-yün ssu 轉運司) and eight Distribution Superintendencies (t'i-chu ssu 提舉司). These operating agencies, despite their titles, were not responsible for salt distribution. They controlled varying numbers of production fields and salt-producing households, which in theory were not allowed to change their profession or place of residence once registered. In principle the salt revenue was meant to be used only to subsidize military
expenditures on the frontier. Under the Barter System known as k'ai-chung 市易, originally developed under the Sung, salt merchants delivered grain or animal fodder to frontier army posts in return for salt licences, or yin 任, which on presentation would authorize the merchants to collect a certain amount of salt from the Distribution Commission. Although the salt monopoly worked effectively in the early years of the dynasty, it was by no means without organizational weaknesses, and the system declined during the mid Ming period. The reasons for this were basically the lack of support from the salt workers, the emigration of salt producers, inefficient and insufficient administrative officers, inadequate distribution facilities, and the compulsory services demanded on the merchants. Defaulting salt payments to the merchants, because the failure of distribution offices to collect sufficient salt from the producers, was a conspicuous feature of its decline. It is recorded that in 1429 there existed salt licences issued twenty-seven years earlier which had not yet been cashed, and in the fifteenth century delays of over thirty years were common. Further, in order to maintain the salt revenue and increase grain deliveries in times of emergency, the government adopted a new policy in 1440 of offering the available stock for sale at increased prices, giving new buyers priority in cashing their licences and delaying salt deliveries to old buyers. This led to the annual salt production being divided into two categories: the 80 percent maintained for normal circulation was known as “Regular Stock” (ch'ang-ku yen 常段鹽), while the remaining 20 percent reserved for emergency use was known as "Reserve stock" (ts'ung-chi yen 存積鹽). But in practice, even in peacetime the
Reserve Stock was also made available for barter, and indeed it was more attractive to the merchants since it was available for immediate delivery. In 1449 the court increased the Reserve Stock to 60 percent and reduced the Regular Stock to 40 percent. As a result the system was thrown into confusion. There were further delays on salt payments to the buyers of Regular Stock and the buyers of Reserve Stock began to discover that there was little advantage to be gained from it.\(^{241}\)

It was at this time that Ch'iu proposed his measures to reform the system. He pointed out that due to the establishment of Reserve Stock, the demand for Regular Stock decreased. Since payouts increased daily not the stock, the result was that the Reserve Stock now faced the same problem as the Regular Stock -- default in payments. Because the salt trade no longer offered good profits as a result of the long waiting period, and, moreover, grain delivery to the frontier army posts was no easy task, the Barter System soon ceased to be attractive to merchants. Fortunately there was no military threat or crisis on the frontier and the garrisons had sufficient stores of grain. But Ch'iu warned that if there was an emergency, the situation would be really worse. He also warned the emperor of the danger to the nation if he did not quickly adopt measures to prevent the problem from deteriorating further.\(^{242}\) To remedy the situation, Ch'iu proposed a drastic reform in the salt administration by allowing the private production of salt. The common people were to be allowed to extract salt under government supervision and the government would levy an excise tax on them known as "Lighting Charges" (\(ch'u-huo ch'ien\)). Merchants who had business with the salt producers were to report the exact amount to the government and obtain a licence before
they were allowed to sell their salt. On these licences the government would impose an excise tax known as "Licence Charges" (kung-mo ch'ien). In essence the measures simply amount to allowing private production and imposing an excise duty on all salt production and trade.

Although Ch'iu's proposal is clearly formulated in his book, there is no evidence that he ever argued the case in official capacity. The Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu is said to have been read by Emperor Hsiao-tsung, to whom Ch'iu presented his work and on whom he placed all his hopes, but it is very unlikely that the emperor paid any attention to the proposal. In 1489, the second year of Hung-chih of Emperor Hsiao-tsung, it was decreed that the Barter System be temporarily suspended and that all salt be sold for cash at the salt fields, though still under government monopoly. When the distribution centres were unable to supply the authorized amounts, the merchants were allowed to make it up by purchasing directly from the producers. Likewise, the producers were also allowed to sell privately any surplus salt produced in excess of government requirements. But these measures were inadequate to save the monopoly system, which was already showing signs of decay. In his overall evaluation of the salt administration in Ming, Ray Huang concludes that: "Rather than maintain the fiction of a government monopoly it might have been better simply to impose an excise duty on all salt production". As we have seen, this proposal was actually put forward by Ch'iu in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu.

Ch'iu's ideas on economic and financial policy are certainly
numerous, and it is impossible to touch upon all his proposals here. But his discussions on paper currency and grain transportation can not be ignored if we are to bring out the most spectacular, if not the most important, part of his economic ideas.

When the Ming government was founded in 1368, bronze cash was adopted as the general use currency. In that year it was decreed that the Ministry of Revenue mint copper coins in five denominations: 10 cash (1.0 ounce), 5 cash (8.5 ounce), 3 cash (0.3 ounce), 2 cash (0.2 ounce), and 1 cash (0.1 ounce). But in 1375, owing to the scarcity of copper and for the sake of convenience, paper money was issued to circulate in conjunction with bronze cash. Paper notes were issued in six denominations, namely, 100, 200, 300, 400, 500 cash and one string (kuan 4 ). One string in paper currency was made the equivalent of 1000 copper coins, one ounce of silver, or one-quarter of an ounce of gold. People were forbidden to use gold, silver, or goods as medium of exchange, but the exchange of gold and silver for paper notes was allowed. Commercial taxes were to be paid three parts in cash, seven parts in notes.

The paper money regulations established in 1375 indicate a shift in the Ming currency system; the copper standard was replaced by a paper standard and copper cash became merely supplementary while gold and silver were relegated to the status of ordinary commodities. From the outset the Ming note was inconvertible, the legal value of this standard currency was purely fictitious and it was the supplementary copper coins which represented real value. Moreover, since there was no control over the amount of paper notes issued, over issue
depreciated its value and threw the currency system into confusion.248

As early as 1390, the value of the paper money had fallen greatly. In Chekiang a note of one string was worth only two hundred and fifty copper coins, exactly one quarter of the original value. Although measures were taken by the government to maintain the value of the paper money, inflation continued. In 1393, the note of one string was worth only one hundred and sixty coins in south of the Yangtze valley, where the people were said to prefer copper coins to notes.249 There was also the "paper currency conversion system" under which people, by paying a charge of 30 cash per string, could exchange old worn-out notes for new ones from the government. In this way the government itself actually destroyed the credit of the paper currency. People generally began to discriminate between old and new notes, with the former often coming to have a value of only half of the latter, and tax collectors in many places thereupon refused to accept old notes for tax payments.250 In 1394 the government decided to abolish the use of copper coins. A decree was issued ordering the people to bring all their copper coins to the treasury, where paper money would be issued to them instead, and the range of taxes which could be paid in paper money was expanded. These devices, however, proved to be of little avail and served only to increase the confusion. Consequently, in some provinces, merchants who had lost all confidence in the currency tried to fix the price for their goods in terms of silver and gold.251 Such were the conditions under which Ch'iu proposed his remedial measures for the monetary system.

In a section entitled "The defects in coinage and paper currency"
Ch'iu puts forward the view that the duty of the ruler of men is to manage the profits of the world but not to monopolize them. He maintains that the issuing of money was for the convenience of the people, not for the benefit of the government. He condemns the rulers and ministers of the past for only being concerned with defrauding the people of their wealth through manipulation of the currency. Thus he insists that every coin minted by the government must have a metal content equivalent to its face value, and holds that issuing a new coinage with the appropriate metal content and beautiful minted is the best method of stopping illegal minting.

At the same time, Ch'iu holds that the evil of paper money in Ming lay in its over-supply and lack of a basic standard, just as counterfeiting was the bugbear with copper coins. Ch'iu's proposal is that there should be three kinds of legal tender used concurrently: silver as Upper-class Money (shang-pi 銀官), paper currency or Middle-class Money (chung-pi 銀票), and copper coins as Lower-class Money (hsia-pi 銀號). The last two should be used as the common medium of exchange, but with their values determined by silver as the standard. One fen (0.01 tael) of silver was to be the equivalent of 10 copper cash. New paper notes were to be valued at 10 cash per string; used but unmutilated ones at 5 cash per string; ceased ones at 3 cash per string; and worn out ones with only the denomination legible at 1 cash. Silver was to be used only when the sum involved was 10 taels or more. Further, the standard was to be observed from generation to generation without change and a balance was to be maintained between the amount of paper currency and copper coins in circulation by absorbing the notes by means of coins when the former was over-issued, or vice versa, in order to prevent depreciation.
Ch'iu sought to replace the paper standard of Ming with a silver standard, so that both paper money and copper cash would be relegated to the status of supplementary currency. Credit should be given to Ch'iu for his far-sightedness concerning the monetary role which could be played by silver which indeed began to play an important function in the late Ming economy as well as in the subsequent monetary history of China. However, as modern scholars have pointed out, his misconceptions concerning coinage and paper currency, the gradations he proposed in the value of paper money, and the limitation on the use of silver to sums of 10 taels or more, show that it was not a thorough silver standard system which he was proposing and his views were seriously limited by the contemporary monetary confusion.

Although Ch'iu's proposal for monetary reform was limited by his conception on money, it should not affect our admiration of his vision as far as grain transportation is concerned. Ch'iu was recognized by his contemporaries and later scholars as an early promoter of grain transportation by sea. His comments on the grain transport system of the Ming prove that he was a man of vision.

In the early years of the Ming dynasty when the capital was still in Nanking, transportation of grain thither was conducted through the natural waterways and existing canals. Grain transportation by sea, a policy adopted from the preceding Yuan dynasty, was also employed after 1370, when the conquest of Liaotung was undertaken, to supply the armies fighting the Northern Mongols. When Emperor Ch'eng-tsu ascended the throne in 1403, he transferred the capital to Peking, partly because Peking was his base area and partly due to his ambition to pacify the nomads in the steppe land who were still threatening
the northern frontier. Henceforth, the needs of the army posts on the
frontier, the central government, and also the imperial palace, which
maintained a huge number of attendants, all had to be met with the
supplies from the south. Because those supplies had to come from a
region 1000 miles away, the transportation problem became an issue of
national concern. At this time sea transport, organized on a military
basis, continued to carry grain from Chiang-nan to Chih-ku
(near the present Tientsin) to supply Peking. But sea
transportation could not cope with the amounts required. Therefore,
from the beginning of the Yung-lo reign the government also relied on
transportation by the inland waterways. Some 2.5 million piculs
of tribute grain was transported annually via the land
and sea routes, but the amount was still not sufficient to meet the
annual expenses of the government. Thus, in 1411 the emperor ordered
the dredging of the Hui-t'ung Canal, a canal which connected
the Chi-chou Canal and Wei River by cutting from south to
north through the western part of the Shantung Peninsula but had been
disused since the Yuan period. The project was completed within a
year. The whole route, commonly known as the Grand Canal, was an
extensive waterway of approximately 1800 kilometres, beginning at
Hang-chou in Chekiang, intersecting the Yangtze River at
Kua-chou, and extending to T'ung-chou and Peking via Huai-
an, Hu-chou, Lin-ch'ing, Te-chou and
Tientsin. The revived river transport was so successful that in 1415
sea-transport was stopped, and the system of transporting grain from
south to north through the Grand Canal, usually referred to as the
Tribute Grain Transport (ts'ao-yünn), continued to be the sole
method employed in the remainder of the Ming dynasty.
Yet the operation of the canal system could hardly be considered economical. The cost of labour, especially for the maintenance of the waterway, made the system a burden on government finance. Then why did the Ming government continue to rely on this inland waterway?

The answer to this question is indicated in an observation by Father Matthew Ricci (1552-1610), a Jesuit missionary who travelled in China during the Wan-li era:

The cost of maintaining these canals, which consist chiefly in keeping them navigable, mount to a million a year, as a mathematician would express it. All this may seem rather strange to Europeans, who may judge from maps that one could take a shorter and less expensive route to Peking by sea. This may be true enough. But the fear of the sea and the pirates who infest the sea has so penetrated the Chinese mind that they believe the sea route would be far more hazardous for conveying provisions to the royal court.

This passage accurately indicates the attitude of the Ming court. What the Ming court failed to take into consideration was the danger of maintaining the canals as the only line of communication between the capital and the south. Moreover, their reliance on the canals far exceeded that of their predecessors. In the Ming, aside from grain, supplies of all sorts, including food stuffs, articles for military use, household commodities, and almost all the goods that the nation produced, were dependent on the canals for transportation to Peking. But the operational efficiency of the waterway was limited by terrain and climatic factors. The Yellor River posed a constant threat to the canals. The Yellor river is renowned of its terrifying torrents and fierce floods. Carrying large amounts of sediment in its stream, it tends to fill up its own bed and silt up the land around it. Not infrequently it devastates large areas. Up to Ch'iu Chün's time, counting only the major catastrophies, the river
had changed its course five times, the last time during the eight year of Hung-chih (1495). A study by Ts'en Chung-mien reveals that within the two-hundred and seventy-seven years of the Ming dynasty, either because of natural disasters or as a result of water control measures, the Yellor River changed its course considerably. Since the canal had to pass through the region, its maintenance was a constant headache. The situation is well described in the following passage by Rev. D. Gander:

The danger is there. It (i.e. the canal) can be wiped out in no time. Beds could be filled up easily. Dikes would break. Roads can disappear. The whole thing could be rendered upside down.

This being so, the Grand Canal could not be regarded as a stable and perfect transport channel. Disaster would result if the canals were blocked. The supply of the capital city would be interrupted. The decision of the Ming court to rely totally on an imperfect inland waterway and to suspend coastal traffic altogether was not at all sensible. But did any Ming officials who aware of this sound a warning? Ch'iu Chün was the first to draw attention to this potential danger in Ming times. In the twenty-third year of Ch'eng-hua (1487), he submitted to the throne a memorial based on opinions expressed in his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu. The memorial reads:

Your minister humbly observes that since antiquity there have been three methods of transporting grain: by land, by sea, and by inland waterway. Transport by inland waterway is 30 percent to 40 percent cheaper than transport by land, and sea transport is 70 percent to 80 percent cheaper than transport by land. Now although transport by inland waterway avoids travelling by land, yet men still have to haul [the vessels when they pass through the locks]. Although there are disastrous shipwrecks and drownings in the course of transport by sea, yet it spares soldiers the toil of hauling, the cost of trans-shipping the cargo to pass over shallow places, and [the bother of] keeping the vessels in proper sequence. The advantages and disadvantages balance each other.
Ch'iu weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of transport by inland waterway against transport by sea and concluded that the former was actually not much better than the latter. Of course the huge cost of keeping the canals in operation, to which Ch'iu does not refer, must also be considered. But the most important factor of all was not economic. Ch'iu continues:

The nation's capital is now at Peking, that is to say in the extreme north, while the inflow of taxes comes entirely from the south-east. The Hui-t'ung Canal may be likened to a man's throat. If food cannot be swallowed for a single day, death ensues immediately. Pedantic scholar that I am, this causes me anxiety, and, in this peaceful era, I would request that a sea route be opened following the Yuán people's old route, and that it be operated in conjunction with the transport by inland waterway. The grain of Kiangsi 江西, Hukwang 湖廣, and Kiungtung 江東 (i.e. the eastern part of the Yangtze valley) should be transported by inland waterway as before, but that of Cheshi 福 (i.e., the area lying between Hang-chou and T'ai-ts'ang) and the eastern coastal region should go by the sea route, so that there are men who are familiar with navigation. Should it ever happen that there is some slight obstruction in the grain transport canal, the latter grain will come even though the former does not. This is a plan to forestall future disaster.268

Ch'iu's proposals to revive the transportation of tribute grain by sea reveals that the imperfect inland waterway filled him with concern. Thanks to his insight, he thoroughly understands the potential danger of relying solely on the canal system and thus calls for the opening of a subsidiary route, by sea, to be operated in conjunction with the inland waterway. Opening a sea route, according to Ch'iu, as well as providing a way of forestalling disaster, would facilitate the flow of goods between north and south, reduce the cost of transportation and consequently lower the price of commodities. Consequently, in his opinion, not only should the current law forbidding sea traffic be rescinded, but also, to encourage maritime trade, a moratorium of three years on the levying of customs duties should be declared.
Further, he emphasizes that promotion of sea traffic is the best way to build up a naval reserve.  

Ch'iu's likening of the Hui-t'ung Canal to a man's throat, and his warning that "if food cannot be swallowed for a single day, death ensues immediately", though perhaps a bit overstated, is not at all groundless. The closest example, which Ch'iu cites in his book, is the chaotic period of the late Yuan, when tribute grain transport was unable to reach the capital and many officials and imperial relatives starved to death. Yet, giving such a warning when the Ming dynasty was in its heyday, was Ch'iu perhaps being overly pessimistic? The answer is no. Although the emperor did not approve Ch'iu's proposal, this does not mean that the proposal itself was mistaken. In fact, in the Chia-ching (1522-1566) and Wan-li (1573-1620) reigns, especially around 1571 to 1572 when the inland waterway was blocked by floods in the Yellow River valley, proposals to revive the sea transportation were constantly on courtiers' lips, and they seldom failed to quote Ch'iu in support of their argument. In his penetrating study of the Grand Canal during the Ming dynasty, Professor Ray Huang concludes that the Ming court's suspension of sea traffic was not because it was unnecessary or unprofitable but because it was an extension of a policy of isolation which, based on an agrarian approach, rejected growth or expansion of any kind. Thus, Ch'iu's proposal to revive sea transport and, at the same time, to promote maritime trade, was certainly unconventional in this respect. It is a pity that his proposal was not put into practice during the Ming, despite the fact that it had quite a few supporters after his time. Nevertheless, his
suggestion is enough to show that he was a man of vision. Had his plan been carried out, even though the potential danger did not arise, as we know from our present-day vantage point, at least the national economy might have been invigorated and the Ming government might have built a navy capable of suppressing the plundering Japanese pirates who caused such destruction on the south-east coast of China during the 16th century.

5. Military Defence and Management of Barbarian Peoples

In this section we shall see Ch'iu's views on the principles of military action and his proposals to enhance the combat readiness and the actual strength of the Ming army. His opinions on the management of, as well as the precautionary measures the government should take against, the barbarian peoples will also be discussed. Since the Ming government's major military threats came from the barbarians, especially those on the northern frontier, it is obvious that military defence and management of the barbarians are two closely related subjects. This relationship is evident in Ch'iu's discussions.

As the foundation of his discussions on the principles of military might (wei-wu 威武), Ch'iu quotes the Shih Hexagram of the Book of Changes, for he believes that the way of military action (hang-shih chi-tao 行師之道) that applicable to myriad generations did not go beyond the messages of this hexagram. The Shih Hexagram, a symbol of the army, signifies the multitude. The indication of the hexagram -- firmness and correctness -- refers to moral correctness of aim; when the mover is able to use the multitude

The above passage reveals the acceptability of using the force of arms. However, in his remarks on this citation, Ch'iu comments that military action is advantageous only on the condition that the motive is correct. He says:

To take military action (cheng 亙) is to correct (cheng 亙). When inferiors have done something incorrect, the superior [takes military action to] correct them. If the inferiors have not done anything incorrect and the superior recklessly dispatches his troops to subjugate them, then the superior is himself incorrect. How can he correct [the mistake of] the others?

Hence although Ch'iu believed that if the ruler solely concentrated on employing refined virtue (wen-te 文德) and ignored military force, his government would become indulgent, he did not support military aggression. For him all military actions should be dedicated to a just cause, and even though the ruler might have a just cause, military action should be used only when no other alternative remained. He maintains that an army is an evil thing and war is a dangerous affair; even in a just war, the cruelty of killing and vast military expenditure are unavoidable. He compares launching a military
expedition against wrong-doers with using poisonous drugs to cure an
ilness, and states that unless it is a severe and lingering illness,
under no circumstances are poisonous drugs to be used.278

According to Ch'ui, it is for the sake of the people that a
ruler launch a military expedition. Thus, if the expedition dose not
conform with the common aspiration of the people, it cannot be an
expedition with a just cause nor an action carried out in accordance
with the principle of benevolance and righteousness. A ruler should
suspend a military expedition if he finds that the people are not
pleased with the action. It is better that he lose his power and
influence over others than he lose the heart of his own people, Ch'iu
warns.279 He also draws the Mencius to support his argument about
the significance of the common aspiration of the people in this
context. A citation from the "Kung-sun ch'ou" 夫孫氏, Book II, of
the Mencius reads: "[In war], the opportunities of time vouchsafed
by Heaven ( t'ien-shih 天時 ) are not equal to advantages of
situation afforded by the Earth ( ti-li 地利 ), and the advantages
of situation afforded by the Earth are not equal to the union arising
from the accord of Men ( jen-ho 仁和 )."280 Here, the opportunities
of time vouchsafed by Heaven may include all varieties of weather as
well as time and seasons. The advantages of situation afforded by the
Earth include walls and other material aids to the campaign. Following
this statement, the passage gives an example of taking a city and
shows that the benefits from the situation of Heaven and Earth were of
less avail than the union arising from the accord of Men. Then it
continues: "Hence the saying: 'A people are hedged in not merely by
dykes along the frontiers; a state is protected not merely by the natural obstacles of hill and stream; the empire is kept in awe not merely by sharp swords and armour.' He whose government is based on right principle will find many helpers; he whose government is unprincipled will find but few. In the latter case, even his own kith and kin will at last revolt against him; in the former case, the whole empire will in the end espouse his cause. With the empire at his back, and attacking one against whom his own kinsmen revolt, the noble ruler may not find it necessary to fight at all; but if he has to fight, he will surely conquer."281 In his remarks on this passage, Ch'iu says that the opportunities of time vouchsafed by Heaven, the advantages of the situation afforded by the Earth, and the union arising from the accord of Men are the three essentials of using military force, and it is last of these that is most important. He asserts that to win the world (t'ien-hsia) is merely a question of winning the hearts of the people (min-hsin 𒈹); winning the hearts of the people depends on whether the government is based on right principles. If a ruler wins the hearts of his people by means of rightly principled government, Ch'iu argues, he will not have to worry about the factors of Heaven and Earth, since his people will help him to overcome any disadvantages arising from them. Thus, he considers that to find the right principle of government and to win the hearts of the people are the "root", and the opportunities of the vouchsafed by Heaven and the advantages of situation afforded by the Earth are only the "branches". Of course, the ideal is to have all three essentials, yet even if the ruler can attain only the last one, that is, get the support of the
people, it will still be sufficient for him to safeguard his empire, Ch'iu adds.282

Speaking of winning the hearts of the people so that they will espouse the ruler's cause, Ch'iu maintains that this is impossible to do in a short space of time, and depends on the way the government conducts its daily affairs. What is it that a ruler should do in ordinary times in order to win the hearts of the people so that they will espouse his cause? According to Ch'iu, a ruler should be sparing in the use of punishments and fines, make the taxes and levies light, teach people the virtues of filial piety, fraternal respectfulness, sincerity, and truthfulness, and show compassion for the people by following the institutions of the ancient kings. If a ruler can do this, he certainly is a servant of Heaven (t'ien-li 天吏) and unmatched anywhere in the world, Ch'iu declares.283 Obviously, in Ch'iu's eyes, a benevolent government is the most important military resource in a time of war, more decisive even than force and sharp weapons. A dictum from the Mencuis which he cites in the following paragraph illustrates this view: "The benevolent man is matchless (wu-ti 無敵) in the world. When the most benevolent of men smote the least benevolent, how could the resultant bloodshed have set the pestles afloat?"284 There is no doubt that Ch'iu likewise thought that being matchless in the world depends not on strong mail and sharp weapons but on the benevolence in government. Hence, he refers the example of the Ch'in regime, which, despite having a army with strong mail and sharp weapons, was overthrown by a body of men armed only with clubs and sticks.285

On the use of arms, Ch'iu agrees with Lao Tzu 老子 who holds a
negative view of military force. Five passages from the *Tao-te ching* 道德经 are cited in Ch'iu's discussions to serve as guidelines for the use of arms. Two of them which Ch'iu comments on, worth quoting here; the first one reads:

One who assists the ruler of men by means of the way does not intimidate the empire by a show of arms. This is something which is liable to rebound. Where troops have encamped, there will brambles grow. In the wake of a mighty army, bad harvests follow without fail. One who is good aims only at bringing his campaign to a conclusion and dare not thereby intimidate. Bring it to a conclusion but do not boast; bring it to a conclusion but do not brag; bring it to a conclusion but do not be arrogant; bring it to a conclusion but only when there is no choice; bring it to a conclusion but do not intimidate. A thing in its prime soon becomes old. This is known as going against the Way. That which goes against the Way will come to an early end. 286

In his remarks on this citation, Ch'iu further elaborates the meaning of this passage. He asserts that ministers who aid the ruler to win the empire should take the Way as the means rather than military force. This results in both the officials and the common people in the empire being transformed under the influence of the Way. He warns that those who seek to suppress others will invariably meet their match; those who use military force to conquer others are certain to invite retaliation. Ch'iu sees this as an inevitable result. However, he says that although arms should not be used, sometimes it is impossible not to use them. Hence he who is good at using arms stops after achieving results, and does not dare to go too far, Ch'iu adds. Then military action will not peak and go to an extreme. 287 The second citation expresses a more explicit condemnation of those who wantonly engage in military aggression:

It is because arms are instruments of ill omen and there are things that detest them that one who has the Way does not abide by their use. The gentleman gives precedence to the left when at home, but to the right when he goes to war.
Arms are instruments of ill omen, not the instruments of the gentleman. When one is compelled to use them, it is best to do so with relish. There is no glory in victory, and to glorify it despite this is to exult in the killing of men. One who exults in the killing of men will never have his way in the empire.

Ch'iu took the opportunity to drive his critical knife still deeper by commenting that arms were definitely evil things. He who understands the Way possessed a heart indifferent to fame or gain, and will take pride in his achievement in morality and virtue rather than in the superiority of his arms. How can he engage in evil things and exult in the killing of men, Ch'iu asks. Rulers who exercise this will in the world but exult in the killing of men, as past examples show, inevitably bring disgrace and ruin upon themselves and their countries. Ch'iu comments that what Lao Tzu says should be pondered deeply by the rulers of all generations.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that Ch'iu was not a supporter of, and perhaps even had a strong aversion to, military action. Nevertheless, he admits that military preparations are necessary for a state. It is better to be well prepared when there is no challenge than to be inadequately prepared when the situation is desperate, Ch'iu warns. Thus, in his Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu he expresses his views on strengthening the military preparations of the Ming government. Many of his suggestions are original and deserve attention.

In his suggestions concerning military discipline, Ch'iu devotes much attention to the question of giving more effective leadership to the army. Ch'iu stresses that war is a major affair of the state; it is a matter of life and death, the road to survival or destruction.
While tactics of military operations are controlled by the chief commanders, so that they, in other words, hold in their hands the fate of the soldiers and the state, Ch'iu believes that they should be selected with serious consideration. He points out that in the period of the Three Dynasties, civil administration (wen 㚪) and military action (wu 㚱) were not treated as two separate ways of bringing order. Both civil administration and military preparations are integral parts of government. A government cannot concentrate its attention on civil administration and ignore military preparations, or vice versa. However, he notes with regret that rulers and ministers of later times generally neglected the importance of army commanders as well as military preparations in the realm of government. Likewise, political thinkers have generally acknowledged that a prime minister (hsiang 㬎) is the mainstay of a state, but they ignored the fact that a general (chiang .newLine 뎐) is also the mainstay of a state. Ch'iu likened the general and prime minister of a state to the two arms of a man and the two wings of a bird, and insists that neither one is dispensible. He argues that a prime minister plays a leading part in times of peace, while a general plays a leading part in times of emergency. Therefore, he asserts that a pressing matter for the moment is to nourish capable military commanders. He suggests that the government select suitable persons from the army and examine their ability regularly so that the army will not be short of capable leaders in a time of need.

Ch'iu also comments on the organization and maintenance of army troops. Here his discussions are in particular directed to the Ming
army. He brings up the problem of the increasing number of soldiers deserting their posts in the Ming army and considers it one of the most difficult problems of his time to solve. He likened the situation to a man who has passed his middle-age and is gradually getting physically weaker. Although illness does not imperil his life right away, the situation will steadily deteriorate if no immediate measures are taken to build up his health, Ch'iu warns. He suggests that the government conduct a full and detailed investigation of the actual number of soldiers in the Regional Military Commissions, as well as in the Guards (wei) and Battalions (so) of the local districts, and, with the results in hand, call together the high ranking civil and military officials to work out a way to fill the vacancies.

In order to remedy the declining defence capabilities Ch'iu proposes a structural reform to enhance combat preparedness at both the local and metropolitan levels. As far as local districts are concerned, Ch'iu suggests the organization of civilian who have a good knowledge of their locality to assist the government army in guarding the counties and rural areas. For defence of the metropolitan areas, Ch'iu's suggestions are twofold: firstly, to follow the practice of the Han, T'ang, and Sung dynasties by establishing the Hsüan-fu 真府, Yung-p'ing 永平, I-chou 易州, and Lin-ch'ing 林清 as "auxiliary prefectures" (fu-chün 衙郡) to protect the east, south, west and north gates of the Northern Metropolitan Area; secondly, to abolish the rotation system of duty at the capital for soldiers from the two metropolitan areas, Honan, and Shantung areas, and replace it with a permanent garrison around the periphery of the capital.
According to Ch'iu, this would avoid the defects of the rotation-
system which could present a weakness to the enemy at a time when the
troops in two places were being exchanged. Further, in order to
strengthen the defence of the metropolitan areas and remedy any
deficiencies in the forces in these areas, Ch'iu suggests that the
government organize a new military force, similar to the Fu-ping System of the T'ang dynasty but without periodic rotation to garrison
posts and extra duties, by utilising the militia of Shun-t'ien, Pao-ting, Chen-ting, Ho-chien, and Yung-p'ing provinces of the Northern Metropolitan region. In this way, Ch'iu says, the government would obtain an auxiliary force of four hundred
to five hundred thousand men.

As well as suggesting a reorganization of the military system to
strengthen defence capabilities, Ch'iu also gave much thought to
improving armaments. A citation for the Great Appendix of the *Book of
Changes* marks the beginning of his discussions on "the effectiveness
of weapons", an item which covers two chüan in the *Ta-hsüeh yen-i
pu*. It reads: "[Huang-ti, Yao, and Shun] bent wood by means of
string so as to form bows, and sharpened wood so as to make arrows.
This gave the benefit of bows and arrows, and served to produce
everywhere a feeling of awe." In his remarks Ch'iu notes that a
ruler produces everywhere a feeling of awe by his arms, and the might
of arms depends on the effectiveness of weapons. Among weapons he
attached particular importance to bows and arrows. He points out that
the Ming army relied mainly on swords and spears. Swords and spears
are good for defence but not for attack, suitable for local battles
but not against the barbarians, Ch'iu argues. Hence he suggests that
all troops, besides well-trained with swords and spears, should also
practise archery. If the government has an armed force of a hundred
thousand men who are well versed in archery, so as to suppress the
bandits within and control the barbarians without, Ch'iu believes, the
state can certainly rest in peace. He also cites texts on the
making of bows and arrows, and advises the government to improve the
quality of the bows and arrows used by Ming troops, which he regarded
as being of very inferior manufacture.

Of all his numerous suggestions to improve the equipment of the
infantry, which included a detailed design of battle carts that
was to arouse much interest in later times, what merits attention
most is Ch'iu's suggestion concerning firearms. The use of firearms
was characteristic of Ming warfare. In the days of Emperor T'ai-tsu
cannon were already widely employed. It was recorded that in the
Yung-lo reign, a new type of cannon, which was designed to shoot iron
arrows and was known as "Mighty-machine-firearm" (shen-chi huo-ch'ang
神機火槍), was introduced into China. According to Ch'iu, the
technique of making this new firearm was learnt from the natives of
Annam when Ming troops were sent there to suppress a rebellion.
Subsequently, a special office known as the Mighty-Machine Division
(shen-chi ying 神機營), was established by order of the emperor,
to study the manufacture and use of this powerful weapon. From that
time, cannon and guns made of brass, copper, and iron were produced
and used in warfare to some effect. In the Ta-hsiieh yen-i pu
Ch'iu describes the "Mighty-machine-firearm" as an instrument that
projected iron arrowheads to a distance of one hundred steps and had
strong antipersonnel capability. He remarks that often it was due to
this mighty weapon that the Chinese achieved their ambitions in the world. However Ch'iu also notes the weakness of this weapon: it could only fire one shot at a time. Often in battle the enemy would hide in a safe place until they heard the explosion and then charge out immediately. Sometimes the enemy broke through the Ming army's position before a second shot could be fired. He therefore suggests that firearm-soldiers (huo-ch'ang shou 火鎗手) should be divided into groups of five. In each group one or two who were skillful should take charge of the shooting and the rest should help to reload the weapons after they had been fired. Further he suggests that firecrackers which sound like firearms be employed and ignited between shots so as to totally confuse the enemy.

Since Ch'iu's proposals in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu concerning military preparations cover such a wide range of topics, it is impossible to touch upon every one of them here, let alone go into details. Nevertheless, his views on mounts for the army deserve brief discussion.

(Horses were very scarce during the Ming dynasty, and of course this considerably affected military strength.) Thus, horse administration became a matter of primary concern to the Ming government. In the Hung-wu era, great stress was laid on breeding horses for military purposes. Emperor T'ai-tsu established the Office of the Imperial Stud (t'ai-p'u ssu 太僑寺) to supervise the breeding of government horses. In 1406, a special bureau named the Pasturage Office (yüan-ma ssu 綿馬寺) was organised to be responsible for the pasture areas set aside by the government and the rearing of horses. Besides raising horses in the government
pasture areas located in Shansi  山西 , Shensi  陕西 , Liao-tung 辽东 , and Kansu  甘肃 , the Ming government also billeted horses among the people, who were compelled to look after them as part of their duties. According to the Ming-shih, in Peking, Nanking, Shantung 山东 , and Honan 河南 , government horses were bred by the people. This was done in proportion to the labour power of the households. During the Hung-wu reign, in Kiangnan every eleven households, and north of the Yangtze every five households, were obliged to keep one horse for the government. Similarly, in some Guards and Battalions, every group of five military families was put in charge of one horse. Generally this proportion varied according to places and time.

Besides these measures, in order to procure enough horses for its needs, the Ming government also sent special envoys to neighbouring countries to buy horses. On the northeastern border, barbarian horses were traded for Chinese silver, silk, and other commodities, while on the northwest a tea/horse trade was conducted by bartering Chinese tea for barbarian horses. The latter was operated in conjunction with the government monopoly of tea. Tea/horse markets were set up in Liao-tung on the Mongol borders, and in Kansu, Shensi and Szechuan. The rate of exchange in the Hung-wu era was one hundred and twenty catties of tea for one good horse; for a horse of medium quality seventy catties of tea were offered, and for an inferior horse, fifty catties.

For a time the Ming government's policy was highly successful; the number of horses in the empire peaked in the Yung-lo and Hsüan-te eras, but thereafter setbacks occurred. During the mid-Ming
period the horse administration was at a low ebb. It is recorded that in the Ch'eng-hua era the shortage of horses had become a pressing problem for the government. Frequently the government could not supply the needs of the commanders, and had to pay them to buy their own horses. The reasons for this decline were many. As far as the tea/horse trade is concerned, it was damaged by the unstable relations between the Chinese and the barbarians — (especially following the invasions of Esen in 1449) — and also by the smuggling of tea by merchants who wished to sell directly to the barbarians for high profits. The failure of the horse-breeding system, on the other hand, was largely due to maladministration. Pasture land which had been assigned for raising horses was commonly appropriated by the military officials and sometimes sold, or seized, by government officials. Besides, corruption among the officials also seriously weakened the horse-breeding system. We are told that those who failed to give bribes could find that the horses they delivered to the government were not accepted by the officials, after which they would have to borrow money to buy better horses. Even worse was the fact that the people's ignorance of horse-breeding often led to the death of horses entrusted to them, and they had to spend their own money to supply replacements. Further, non-government breeders who were entrusted with stud horses (chung-ma) were obliged to deliver one off-spring per stud horse to the government each year, or else pay reparation. Thus, it was not at all rare for common people entrusted with government horses to have to sell their land and their children in order to pay back the government, and some even had to
flee from home when they had nothing more they could sell to pay their debts.\textsuperscript{319}

The section on horse administration in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu contains Ch'iu's attempts to resolve these problems. In Ch'iu's eyes, horse markets on the frontiers were conducted for the purpose of making a show of conciliation. He argues that the horses the Ming government got from markets were not really of good quality. Despite the high cost of obtaining them, most of these horses were not suitable for military use.\textsuperscript{320} Thus, he did not believe the horse markets were a reliable way of solving the horse shortage. Ch'iu thought that the government should concentrate on improving the quantity and quality of their own horses rather than relying on the barbarians. Hence his proposals for reform in horse administration are confined to the sphere of government and non-government pasturage of horses.

To improve horse breeding quantitatively, Ch'iu suggests that mares and stallions should be kept in a ratio of four to one. He states that the current situation in government pastures is that there are only stallions, and that although the people also raise mares, among them also stallions are greater in number.\textsuperscript{321} This is due to the misconception that stallions are more suitable in battle, Ch'iu argues. Moreover, the stallions used in the army were usually gelded, and this also affected the breeding of horses. Thus, he proposes that the government increase the ratio of mares to stallions and encourage the use of mares for official functions.\textsuperscript{322} Ch'iu also paid a good deal of attention to the pasture lands. He said that in Chinese history it was during the T'ang dynasty that horses flourished most of
all horse breeding. This was because they had good grooms, good pastures, and proper methods of raising the horses. Ch'iu believes that the Ming government also has good grooms and good pastures, but he laments the fact that much of the government pasture land is illegally occupied by officials or local landlords for private use. In his proposal, he insists that the government should make a detailed investigation of the public pasture land in the empire and take back that which is privately occupied. Further, Ch'iu suggests that the government send officials to examine the possibility of opening government pastures in the Shensi and Kansu areas, where the people of T'ang dynasty herded their horses.

As far as the ruling that the horse-breeding households had to pay reparation if the horses entrusted to them died was concerned, Ch'iu considered this necessary since it could restrain the people for maltreating their horses. However he believed that the conditions of reparation should be clearly stated so as to prevent it being abused or becoming a burden on the people. All horses should be carefully checked before being entrusted to the people, Ch'iu suggests. The government should keep a record of the age, colour, height, value and physique, etc. of each horse. If a horse dies of age, sickness, or died while on duty, the horse-keeper need not pay reparation for it. But if a horse dies from improper care, then, the household concerned must be held responsible for replacement.

Regarding the system of entrusting government horses to local households, Ch'iu proposes a reform which aims at rectifying the defects of the current system. According to his proposal, every village of more than fifty families will set up a big stable, while
villages with less than fifty families will set up a small stable, or combine with the nearby villages to form a big one. Every three male adults will be entrusted with one stud horse, and all horses are to be raised in the village stable. Members of the village, or villages, will be required to take collective responsibility for the horses. Among the villagers, one man who has administrative ability and good knowledge of horses is to be selected as supervisor of the stable. He will organize the villagers to maintain the stable and prepare fodder. At the same time officials of the local office and the Office of the Imperial Stud will make an annual inspection tour of the stables.

Ch'iu believes that his suggestion of collective breeding, which could lead to a standardization and improvement of breeding methods, is far superior to the current method. Moreover, it would make government supervision easier and bring non-government horse-breeding under central control.

Although Ch'iu believed that China could breed fine horses, he acknowledged the fact that in general Chinese horses were not comparable to barbarian horses. He also acknowledged that horse-riding was not the strong point of Chinese troops. However, he held that China gained her superiority over the barbarians because of men rather than horses, because of wit rather than force, and by defence rather than aggression. In line with this argument, Ch'iu suggests that the best strategy for frontier defence is building high walls and deep moats and being prepared for tenacious defence. To resist when the barbarians invade us but not to pursue relentlessly when they withdraw is the principle which should be observed by the frontier troops, Ch'iu observes. Only in this way will they avoid their weak
points and rely on their strong points to keep the barbarians under control.328

In fact, Ch'iu's proposal for defensive tactics is a crucial part of his policy on the barbarian peoples. According to him, Chinese and barbarians should co-exist in peace. He opposed the idea of wiping out all barbarians so as to ensure tranquility on the Chinese borders and, furthermore, had no interest in subjugating them. In a section entitled "Management of Barbarian Peoples" (yu i-ti), which is subdivided into nine items, Ch'iu puts forward his basic concept on Chinese and barbarian relations: "Within Heaven and Earth, there are Chinese and barbarians. It is just like Heaven having yin and yang. Having this it will certainly also have that. There is surely no such principle which implies that we have to exterminate the barbarian races." Here Ch'iu expresses the view that the existence of both Chinese and barbarians on earth is a natural and inevitable phenomenon. He recognizes the right of the barbarians to live outside China's border and holds that the Chinese cannot deprive them of this right to live. Elsewhere he observes that barbarians are also human beings, and the Chinese ruler with a benevolent heart should love them as he loves others.330 Thus, criticizing the military expeditions of Emperor Wu 武帝 (Liu Ch'e, r. 140-87 B.C.) of Han, Ch'iu remarks:

A sagacious ruler takes [the will of] Heaven and Earth as his will and loves both the Chinese and the barbarian peoples. He makes them stay in their proper places and neither invade nor harm each other. This is [in accordance with] the Way of Heaven.331

In accordance with this principle, therefore, Ch'iu condemns in strong terms those rulers who engaged in "exhaustive wars in pursuit of
military glory" (ch’iung-ping tu-wu 築兵鑾武).

He believed that military action against the barbarians could be undertaken only on the condition that it was in accordance with the will of Heaven.

In the item entitled "The error of oppression and military aggression", he says that bringing orders to the world, a ruler should treat everyone equally without discrimination. Although there is the demarcation between inside (nei) and outside (wai), between Chinese and barbarian, and right and wrong, the truth and falsehood of principles are not affected by this demarcation. In other words, military expedition against the barbarians should also be governed by the principle of righteousness. Ch’iu maintains that if both Chinese and barbarians behave themselves and stay in their proper place, the world can certainly rest in peace. If the barbarians cross the border and invade the Chinese territory within, then to dispatch armed forces to suppress them is perfectly right and proper, and in accordance with divine judgement. However, if the barbarians behave properly in their own territory and the Chinese army attack them when they are off guard, or take advantage of them when they are few and weak, in order to destroy their nation, the blame is on the Chinese side. Ch’iu proposes severe punishment for frontier generals who provoke and attack barbarians across the borders without imperial orders.

Although Ch’iu believed that the Chinese ruler should love the barbarians as he loved his own people, and condemned invasions or military aggression against the barbarian nations, he insisted that the demarcation between Chinese and barbarians, both geographically and culturally, should not be ignored. There is not the slightest doubt that Ch’iu maintained a strong standpoint on the question of
demarcation between Chinese and barbarian — a concept which dates back to the Spring and Autumn Period (722-481 B.C.). We shall see in the next chapter how examples from history before his time, especially the conquest of China by the Mongols in Yuan times and the disastrous invasion of the Oirat, or Western Mongols, in 1449, contributed to the formation of Ch'iu's ideas on this topic. Here, however, we can analyse the policy Ch'iu suggested for maintaining relations between the Chinese and barbarians. In an item entitled "The boundary between the Chinese within and barbarians without" (nei-hsia wai-i chih-hsien 内夷外夷之限), Ch'iu cites the Han-shu 漢書 by Pan Ku 班固 (32-92 B.C.) which provided the foundation for his views on Chinese and barbarians relations:

The barbarians are covetous for gain. They have their hair dishevelled and the lapel of their coats is on the left side. They have the face of a man but the heart of a beast. Their clothing, custom, food, and language are entirely different from the Middle Kingdom. They live in the cold wilderness of the far north and follow the grazing fields herding their flocks and rely on hunting to maintain their lives. Mountains, valleys and the great desert separate them from us. This barrier was made by Heaven and Earth to demarcate between the without and the within. Therefore, the sage rulers considered them beasts, neither entered into an alliance with them nor conquered them by military force. To enter into an alliance with them would cost a lot and be deceived by them. To conquer them by military force would tire the troops and invite trouble on oneself. Their land is impossible to cultivate and their people are impossible to govern. Therefore, they remained outside and never be admitted to move to the within. They are always being kept at a distance and never be granted proper relations [with the Middle Kingdom]. Our administration and teaching have never reached their people and our Imperial Calendar has never been bestowed upon their country. Punish them when they come and guard against them after they retreat. Receive them with courtesy when they offer tribute as a sign of admiration for our righteousness. Keeping them under loose rein without severing the relationship, so that all the wrongs are on their side. This is the proper policy of the sage rulers towards the barbarians.
In citing this long passage, obviously Ch'iu readily subscribed to Pan Ku's views on the proper policy towards the barbarian peoples. He criticizes as improper those rulers of former dynasties who attempted to cement relations with the barbarians by signing peace treaties or to pursue military glory in the stepple land, and remarks that Pan Ku's dictum -- "Punish them when they come and guard against them when they retreat" -- was the best strategy for bringing the barbarians to order. Therefore, he strongly opposes the policy of allowing the barbarians to move inside the Chinese border and condemns it for breaking the strategy of Heaven and Earth of using mountains and rivers, and dangerous and difficult roads to set up a boundary to divide barbarian districts from the Middle Kingdom.

For Ch'iu, policy towards the barbarians is not something which can be treated independently of the internal politics of the country. In an item on the strategy of resisting and suppressing the barbarians, he states that regulating politics within is the foundation of repelling the barbarians without. The ruler must take the regulating within as the first priority, and only then the without. Only when what is inside the border is regulated can what is outside be effectively managed, Ch'iu adds. Therefore, speaking of the principles of military expeditions and peace negotiation, that is, whether the government should adopt an aggressive policy towards the barbarians or a conciliatory one, he says that military force (chan 弓), garrison defence (shou 守) and peaceful compromise (ho 和), the three devices earlier scholars refer to, are only tactics for meeting an enemy attack, and not the root of subduing the enemy. The root of subduing the enemy lies in the combination of both force, defence, and
compromise. That is, a ruler should be prepared to employ the tactics of force, defence, and compromise at the same time, and adopt his tactics to the needs of situation, Ch'iu explains. Yet ultimately Ch'iu believes that defence is the most important tactics, which should not be overlooked. Elsewhere he remarks that when the country is well-prepared in defence it can afford to deliberate whether it is appropriate to use force or make concessions if the barbarians are particularly avaricious. Moreover, with regard to the relation between force, defence, and compromise, he explains that the use of military force is not aimed at conquest but at strengthening defence; compromise does not issue from fear but from the wish to stabilize defence. Therefore, he believes that garrison defence is the foundation of all tactics and the essence of managing the barbarian peoples.

As is clear from the foregoing discussion, Ch'iu had little sympathy for Emperor Ch'eng-tsu's (r. 1402-1424) aggressive determination to bring the whole of the known world within the framework of the Chinese system, nor did he have any ambition to transform the barbarians living outside the Middle Kingdom by the blessings of Chinese civilization. Rather, it appears that he was an advocate of Emperor T'ai-tsu's policy towards the barbarians, since the basic position he adopts is strongly reminiscent of Emperor T'ai-tsu's. An examination of the records of the Hung-wu era confirms this point. For instance, on the hsin-wei day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Hung-wu (1371), Emperor T'ai-tsu made a major foreign policy speech at the Feng-t'ien Gate to a full-scale assembly of top-
ranking officials, in which he said:

We should chastise the barbarian states beyond our frontiers which threaten China but we should not take arms against those which do not threaten us. The ancients have a saying: "The expansion of territory is no recipe for long-lasting peace, conscription of the people makes for turmoil." For example, with no justification Emperor Yang (Yang Kuang 姚煬, r.605-617) of Sui 唐 sent his forces to invade Ryukyu, killing people there, burning houses, and taking prisoner many thousand men and women. Yet the land which he gained was not enough to furnish him with supplies and the people he enthralled could not be made to serve him. For vain glory he exhausted China. This is told in history and he has been derided by later generations. As for the little barbarians beyond our frontiers, over the mountains and across the seas, located in far corners of the world, it is my view that if they do not menace China we should not invade them. But the nomadic barbarians of the west and the north have for generations been a danger to China and we have no alternative but to be on guard against them. You, the ministers, should bear these words in mind and know my will.

This caution against indulging in military adventurism and the exhortation to be always prepared against intrusion from the north and west, which Emperor T'ai-tsu hoped would be observed by his descendants who would succeed him on the throne, are reiterated in his Tsu-hsün-lu 祖訓錄 (Records of Ancestral Instructions) which were promulgated in 1373:

Foreign countries overseas, such as Annam, Champa, Korea, Siam, Ryukyu, the countries of Western and Eastern Ocean, and the states of the southern barbarians, which are separated from us by mountains and seas and located in far corners of the world, are too small for China to gain any worthwhile advantage from their territory or people. If, overrating their strength, they come and disturb our border, the blame will be on theirs. But if they make no trouble for us and yet we send our armies to attack them, then the blame will be ours. I fear that my descendants, prompted by China's wealth and strength, and coveting the short-lived achievements to be won by war, may engage in unprovoked aggression and slaughter. This is absolutely impermissible and should be kept in mind. Nevertheless, the nomad people to our near north have for generations posed frontier problems. We must always mount careful defences against them with chosen officers and well-trained troops.
These positive statements made by Emperor T'ai-tsu on foreign policy most likely were an important inspiration to Ch'iu Chün. Sharing the views of Emperor T'ai-tsu, Ch'iu stressed the need to refrain from external aggression and proposed stringent defence measures against the nomadic barbarians on the northwest frontier.

Although Japanese pirates and the aboriginal tribes in Kwangsi had been major trouble-makers in the Ming dynasty, in Ch'iu's time the major efforts of the government were directed against the Mongols, who, although expelled from China, still presented a major threat to the Ming, especially after the catastrophe of 1449. This is evident in the Ta-hsüeh yen-i pu, in which the main concern in relation to defence against barbarians focused on the nomadic peoples on China's northern border.

Ch'iu makes many suggestions in this respect. Sometimes he cites memorials by statesmen of former dynasties on frontier defence which considers penetrating and applicable to his time, and suggests that the strategies be referred to the Ministry of War for detailed consideration. For instance, he cites a memorial which presented to Emperor Jen-tsung 仁宗 (Chao Cheng 營悼, r.1023-1063) by Fan Chung-yen 斐文鎮 (989-1052). In this memorial Fan suggests the construction of a outer city-wall (wai-ch'eng 外城) around the capital so as to strengthen its defence capability. Ch'iu remarks that the proposal is applicable to the current situation. He explains that the Ming capital is located in Yen (Peking), within easy riding distance of the border, hence, to strengthen her defence capability is even more pressing than in Fan's time, when the Sung capital was located in Pien-liang (Kaifeng 開封). Moreover,
he recalls the incident of 1449 (*Chi-su chih pien* 己巳之變) when the Mongols drove straight in and besieged the capital, and comments that an outer city-wall would enable the past mistakes to be avoided and provide better protection for the people living around the capital city.345

Ch'iu also gave considerable thought to the strategy of defending and strengthening the frontier, in particular the defence-area near Peking. Most of his suggestions concerned with the defects of the military positions on the frontiers, which had been criticized by scholars as inadequate ever since their establishment in early Ming.346 Actually defences along the northern frontier in the Ming underwent a drastic change during the period of Emperor Ch'eng-tsu. During Hung-wu reign, military establishments were set up in strategically important areas along the border between Liao-tung in the northeast and Tung-sheng 休勝 in the northwest, including K'ai-yüan 閩燕, Kuang-ning 廣寧, Ta-ning 太寧, K'ai-p'ing 前卒, Hsing-ho 華軒, and Ta-t'ung 太同. However, when Emperor Ch'eng-tsu acceded to the throne, in order to reinforce the defence of his new regime at Peking, which established after four years of civil war, he removed the garrison from Ta-ning (in modern Jehol province) to the inner area, and subsequently all establishments except Liao-tung, Kuang-ning and Ta-t'ung were abandoned and the garrison troops were transferred to military posts closer to Peking. The area around Ta-ning was given to the Uriyangqad 永篤 citt Mongols, who had become supporters of the dynasty. Hence the outer frontier was abandoned and replaced by an inner frontier which consisted of the defence areas of Liao-tung (in modern Manchuria), Chi-chou 楚 (the zone northeast of
modern Peking), Hsüan-fu (the zone directly northwest of modern Peking), Ta-t'ung (the northernmost portion of Shansi province), Yen-sui (the northeasternmost portion of Shensi province), Kansu (the northwestern part of modern Shensi province), Ning-hsia (the northeastern part of modern Kansu province), P'ien-t'ou (the northernmost part of Shansi province), and Ku-yüan (the eastern part of modern Kansu province), which were commonly known as the "nine frontier posts" (chiu pien-chen 九邊鎮). A result of this contraction of forward defence in the northern frontier was to create a vacuum in the regions occupied by northern tribes beyond this protective line, and the loss of these areas was to cause problems in later years as greater military strength was required to defend China against invasion.

To remedy the defects of the garrison posts in Hsüan-fu and Ta-t'ung which were separated from each other by natural barriers, and to strengthen the defence of the capital, Ch'iu suggests the building of great walls through this areas to link up the strategic points. He explains that the capital has an "inner fence" and an "outer fence". The first begins from T'ai-hang Mountain in the south, extends to Chü-yung Mountain, and ends at the I-wu-lü Mountain (in the west part of modern Liao-ning province) in the east. The second begins from Ta-ning in the east, extends to Hsüan-fu, Ta-t'ung, Tai-chou, and ends at Pao-te in the west. These two "fences", which are the main shield of the capital, are created by natural barriers. But nevertheless Ch'iu points out that the "outer fence" is discontinuous in some areas because of the natural environ-
ment. Hence he suggests these areas be linked by great walls so as to remain the gaps in this protective line.\textsuperscript{348}

Ch'iu also points out the defence weakness to the northeast of the capital. He notes that when the Regional Military Commission (tu-ssu 鄉司) at Ta-ning was abandoned and troops transferred to inland posts, it resulted in a breach in the defence of Peking's northeast flank. Therefore he proposes that the garrison at Pao-ting 濟 (province of the Northern Metropolitan, located in the southwest of Peking), which was established in the early year of Yung-lo with the troops transferred from Ta-ning, be moved back out to Yung-p'ing 永平, Tsun-hua 達化, or Chi-chou. He argues that if a strong military garrison was to be set up in one of these places, so as to act in conjunction with Hsüan-fu and Ta-t'ung to form a defence triangle protecting the capital, the breach in the northeast flank would be filled and there would be no opportunity for the enemy to break through the defence and threaten the capital.\textsuperscript{349} Further, Ch'iu was concerned about the defence of Chü-yung Pass and Tzu-ching Pass 紫荊閘 (southwest of Peking), which he likened to the "back" (pei 倍) and the "throat" (hang 挂) of the capital. He insisted that the defence of these two Passes be strengthened so as to avoid unforeseen danger.\textsuperscript{350}

As well as making suggestions concerning strategic positions, Ch'iu comments on the defence preparations in the border areas. On the one hand, he considers deforestation for wood and charcoal in the border areas destroyed an important natural barrier. This was so serious that areas around T'ai-hang Mountain and Wei-chou 黃山 (in
modern Shansi), which had originally been densely wooded, were now bare hills with few trees, Ch'iu observed, and warned that these areas provided openings for the barbarian cavalry to drive straight into the capital area. Therefore measures to remedy this military weakness is urgently needed. He maintained that deforestation in the border areas must be stopped and large-scale planting of trees along the border areas be implemented.\textsuperscript{351} On the other hand he believed that the beacon mound along the frontiers were too numerous and too scattered. Hence he proposed that those irrelevant to frontier defence be abandoned and the troops be concentrated to important strategic points. He also suggested a reform in the system of the warning signals, according to which the degree of urgency of developments was to be shown by the number of red lights hanging on a long bamboo stick set up at the highest point of the beacon mound.\textsuperscript{352}