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POLITICAL PARTIES OF THE NORTHERN SUNG DYNASTY

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In my papers on Wang An-shih¹, Southern Migration of the Sung Dynasty², and The Emperor Hui Tsung³, I have summarized in very brief outlines some of the episodes of the Northern Sung Dynasty. These are incorporated in the following chronological epitome of the leading events in the reigns of the Emperors.

1. T'ai Tsu, A.D. 960-976. The man who became the founder of the dynasty was Chao K'uang-yin⁴. He is known in history by his dynastic title of T'ai Tsu. He was descended from a family that had held office under the T'ang dynasty and himself held high military command in the Hou Chow⁵ dynasty. After he was made emperor by his troops at K'ai-fêng⁶, he succeeded in exterminating the divisions which had split the country during the Five Dynasties and united it as it was under the T'angs, with the exception of the small districts of Pei Han⁷ which are now included in Shensi and Shansi. He subordinated the military to civil control.

2. T'ai Tsung, 976-997. During this reign Pei Han was reclaimed and included in the empire, but Tonquin seceded. In 981 the Hsi Hsia⁸ began their attacks on the empire from the Northwest. The emperor led a campaign against the Khitans during which Yu-chow⁹ (the

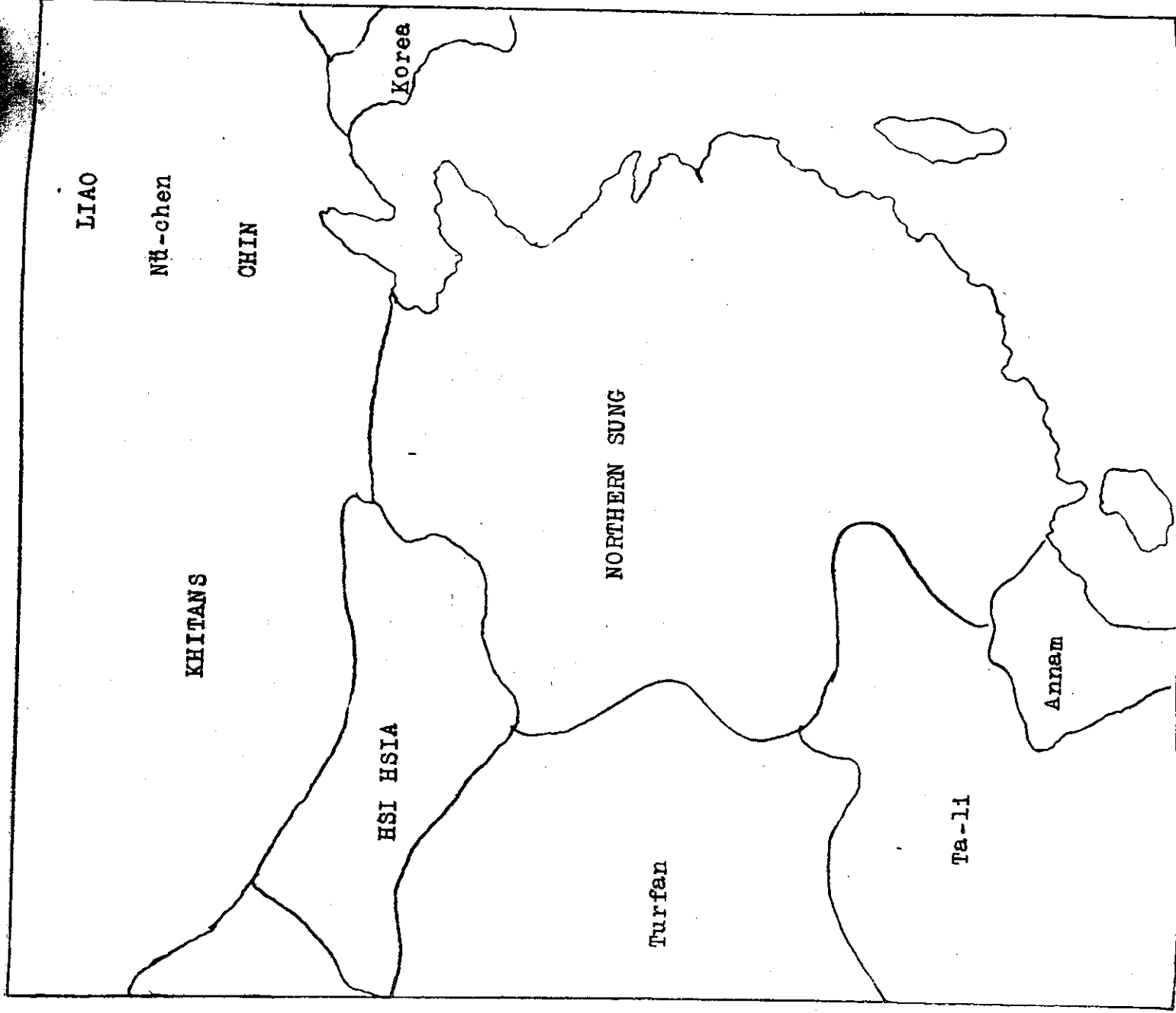
¹ Journal of the China Branch R.A.S. Vol. XXV, 1903, p. 1.

² Journal of the China Branch R.A.S. Vol. LV, 1924, p. 15.

³ China Journal of Science and Arts, Vol. II, 1924, p. 204.

⁴ 趙匡胤 後周 開封 北漢 西夏 Hsi Hsia, which was also called Ta Hsia, included the Ordos and Alashan portions of Mongolia and parts of north-western Kansu. The Khitans inhabited the country around the Sungari River both northward and southward which has now come to be known as Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia.

⁵ 幽州.



EMPIRE OF THE NORTHERN SUNGS

district in which Peking is located) was invested, but the fighting was generally in favor of the Khitans, and finally the emperor fled for his life back to K'ai-fêng. Korea and two districts, Cho¹⁰ and I¹¹, located in the present province of Chihli were lost to the Nu-chên¹² Tartars in a second campaign ordered by the emperor.

3. Chên Tsung, 997-1022. The emperor failed to avail himself of the opportunity furnished by the death of the ruler of Hsi Hsia to crush that rising power, but on the contrary ennobled its new prince in 1006. On the death of Ts'ao Pin¹³ in 999, the emperor was advised to make peace with the Khitans, but before any such steps were taken the Khitans in 1004 invaded the empire. K'ou Chun¹⁴ led the Chinese forces against them but could not hold them back. They captured Ying-chow¹⁵ (modern Ho-chien in southern Chihli) and penetrated as far as T'an-chow¹⁶ on the Yellow River, where a humiliating treaty of peace was concluded by which China was obliged to pay a yearly subsidy of one hundred thousand ounces of silver and two hundred thousand rolls of silk goods. In consideration of this huge levy the emperor obtained the honor of being addressed as Elder Brother. The emperor became insane during the last years of his reign and K'ou Chun proposed a regency of the heir-apparent, but this was opposed by the Empress Liu, who was helped by Ting Wei¹⁷ and the eunuch Lei Yün-kung¹⁸.

4. Jên Tsung, 1022-1063. During the first ten years of this reign the power was really in the hands of the Empress Liu, though she was held in check by Wang Tsêng¹⁹. When the emperor succeeded in gaining control, he himself fell under the influence of Lü I-chien²⁰ who accused his opponents of forming cabals—*tang*²¹. A desultory war with Hsi Hsia commenced in 1029 and lasted several years. The Khitans again made trouble and Fu Pi²² was sent to make a second agreement with them, and by this the yearly subsidy was increased by the addition of one hundred thousand ounces of silver and one hundred thousand pieces of silk. There were many local uprisings, such as those of Yüan Hao²³ and Nung

¹⁰ 涿州¹¹ 易州¹² 女真¹³ 曹彬¹⁴ 寇準¹⁵ 瀛州¹⁶ 檀州¹⁷ 丁謂¹⁸ 雷允恭¹⁹ 王曾

²⁰ 呂夷簡 ²¹ 黨 ²² 富弼 ²³ 元昊 Yüan Hao, became the first Emperor of Ta Hsia (i.e. Hsi Hsia). In all there were nine emperors of this small country, who held sway for 195 years until it was absorbed by the Mongols.

Chih-kao²⁴. In 1058 Han Ch'i²⁵ became Chief Minister and introduced many reforms. On the recommendation of Wên Yen-po²⁶ and Ou-yang Hsiu²⁷ in 1060, Wang An-shih²⁸ was appointed to a position in the Board of Finance.

5. Ying Tsung, 1063-1067. During the first year the Empress Ts'ao constantly interfered, but in 1064 Han Ch'i forced her to retire. In 1066 the victorious Khitans took the dynastic name of Liao²⁹ and their ruler Yeh-lü Hung-chi³⁰ became the eighth emperor of the dynasty by raising his ancestors for seven generations to imperial rank. War with the Hsi Hsia again broke out and was waged for two years with heavy losses. During the last year of this reign Ssü-ma Kuang³¹ was appointed Hanlin. Wang An-shih was recommended to be appointed Prefect of Nanking by Han Wei³², Lü Kung-chu³³ and Tsêng Kung-liang³⁴, but Wu K'uei³⁵ objected to the appointment stating that from his observation he believed that Wang would prove a dangerous man if given a high position. When Han Ch'i resigned on account of his dispute with other ministers as to the honors to be paid to the emperor's father, he was asked his opinion of Wang An-shih and said that he was worthy of literary honors as a Hanlin, but should not be appointed a Minister of State.

5. Shên Tsung, 1067-1085. During the first year of this reign Wang An-shih was given a high position—*Ts'an Chih Chêng Shih*³⁶—which made him almost supreme in authority. Fu Pi was also given an important post, but soon resigned because he could not bring himself to agree with the new schemes of Wang An-shih. In 1068 a Bureau for the drafting of new laws was established and Ch'ên Shêng-chih³⁷ and Wang An-shih were appointed as chiefs. Wang An-shih chose Lü Hui-ch'ing³⁸, Chang Tun³⁹, and Tsêng Pu⁴⁰ as his helpers. The new laws were gradually put into force during this year—the *Chün Shu*⁴¹ or "Monopoly of Commerce" in the seventh month and the *Ch'ing Miao*⁴² or "State Advances to the Cultivators of the Soil" in the ninth month. These were strongly opposed by Fan Ch'un-jên⁴³ and, on account of

²⁴ 懷智高 ²⁵ 韓琦 ²⁶ 文彥博 ²⁷ 歐陽修 ²⁸ 王安石 ²⁹ 遼
³⁰ 耶律洪基 ³¹ 司馬光 ³² 韓維 ³³ 呂公著 ³⁴ 曾公亮 ³⁵ 吳奎
³⁶ 參知政事 ³⁷ 陳升之 ³⁸ 呂惠卿 ³⁹ 章惇 ⁴⁰ 曾布
⁴¹ 均輸 ⁴² 青苗 ⁴³ 范純仁

his opposition, he was banished. Ssü-ma Kuang also opposed them and laid the blame on Lü Hui-ch'ing who, he said, was responsible for misleading Wang An-shih. Ssü-ma Kuang maintained that Wang An-shih was a good man but was obstinate and lacked good sense. These attacks caused bad feeling between Wang An-shih and his associate Ch'ên Shêng-chih, with the result that the latter was replaced by Han Chiang⁴⁴. In 1069 Han Ch'i attacked the *Ch'ing Miao* method and Ssü-ma Kuang resigned, but in the face of this opposition Wang put other new laws into effect, viz. the *Pao Chia*⁴⁵ or "Militia Organization", and the *Mo Yi*⁴⁶ or "Conscripted Labor". War with Hsi Hsia again broke out and lasted two or three years. In 1071 Ou-yang Hsiu retired from official life and Fu Pi was dismissed in disgrace on account of his protest against the *Ch'ing Miao* regulations. In 1072 further new laws were enforced—*Shih I*⁴⁷ or "Equalization of prices," *Pao Ma*⁴⁸ or "Securing a supply of cavalry horses," *Fang T'ien*⁴⁹ or "Division of the country into squares" (for taxation purposes) and the *Chün Shu*⁵⁰ or "Equalization of taxation." In 1073 Wên Yen-po was dismissed from the capital on account of his opposition. The following year all the new laws were abolished as the result of the impression made upon the emperor by a picture painted by Chêng Hsia⁵¹ in which he portrayed the sufferings of the people caused by the heavy taxes of the new régime. This was a short-lived action, for the laws were soon reinforced and Wang An-shih was sent to Nanking. Lü Hui-ching and Han Chiang⁵² took his place and Lü was the author of a new law—*Shou Shih*⁵³, which required the official registration of all property as a basis for the collection of labor tax. In 1075 Wang An-shih was recalled after his brother Wang An-kuo had explained to the emperor that the failure of An-shih's methods was due to his difficulty in securing honest associates. Wang An-shih did not approve of the *Shou Shih* law introduced by Lü Hui-ch'ing and, on account of disagreement with them, both Lü Hui-ch'ing and Chang Tun were dismissed. Expeditions against Annam, Hsi Hsia and the Liao empire were financed by Wang An-shih, but all resulted in failure. A further cession of territory was made to Liao. Wang An-shih only remained at Court a year when the death of his son so affected his peace of mind that he

⁴⁴ 韓絳 ⁴⁵ 保甲 ⁴⁶ 募役 ⁴⁷ 市易 ⁴⁸ 保馬 ⁴⁹ 方田 ⁵⁰ 均稅 ⁵¹ 鄭俠 ⁵² 韓絳 ⁵³ 手實

resigned. Upon the death of the Emperor in 1085 the Empress Dowager Kao, consort of Ying Tsung, who acted as Regent, recalled Ssü-ma Kuang, who had just finished his history, *Tzu Chih T'ung Chien*⁵⁴, and appointed Lü Hui-ch'ing to office. They were able to secure the abolition of the *Pao Chia*, *Fang T'ien*, *Shih I* and *Pao Ma* laws of Wang An-shih.

7. Chê Tsung, 1086-1100. This emperor was only ten years old when he came to the throne and the power of state remained for many years in the hands of his grandmother, the Empress Kao. She worked with Ssü-ma Kuang in abolishing all the laws of Wang An-shih which remained. The *Ch'ing Miao* and *Mien Yi*⁵⁵ laws were repealed during the first year of this reign, which saw the death both of Wang An-shih, who had lived just long enough to see all his work reversed and discarded, and of Ssü-ma Kuang, who had seen the victory of his own party, which was always afterwards known as the Yüan Yu party⁵⁶. This party soon split into three divisions, while the party of Wang An-shih held together as one group. After a little more than a year in power, Lü Kung-chu died and the government was carried on by Wên Yen-po, Lü Ta-fang⁵⁷, Fan Ch'un-jên and their associates until the death of the Empress Kao in 1094, when the young emperor himself took the reins of office. He recalled Tsêng Pu, dismissed Lü Ta-fang and Fan Ch'un-jên and appointed Chang Shang-ying⁵⁸ and Chang Tun to office. He restored the *Mien Yi* law of Wang An-shih and three years later the *Shih I* law. Members of the Yüan Yu party were dismissed, degraded or banished. Even the posthumous titles which had been conferred upon Ssü-ma Kuang and Lü Kung-chu were rescinded, but this did not last long, for as soon as the Emperor died in 1100 and the Empress became Regent they were restored.

8. Hui Tsung, 1101-1126. During the first year Fan Ch'un-jên died. On the recommendation of Tsêng Pu, who was Minister of State, Ts'ai Ching⁵⁹ was promoted

⁵⁴資治通鑑 ⁵⁵免役. This law was first designated by Wang An-shih as *Mo Yi*. On account of the fact that the chief feature of the law was the possible purchase of immunity from conscription by the payment of fixed sums it came to be generally known as *Mien Yi*. The two terms are interchangeable, *mo yi* being the earlier but *mien yi* the one more commonly used. ⁵⁶元祐黨 ⁵⁷呂大防 ⁵⁸張商英.

⁵⁹蔡京

to Hanlin and given high office. Tsêng's policy was to reinstate the methods of Wang An-shih and he proposed that the dynastic title of *Chien Chung Ching Kuo*⁶⁰ should be changed for the second year of the reign to *Ch'ung Ning*⁶¹ eminent tranquility. Han Chung-yen was degraded and Ts'ai Ching was made Minister of State in place of Tsêng Pu. The first step of Ts'ai Ching was to proscribe the Yüan Yu party. Their names were engraved on a stone tablet, which was set up in the gate of the palace where it might be seen by all comers. The first sign of a change on the part of the Emperor came in the fourth year (1104) when Ts'ai Pien⁶², brother of Ts'ai Ching and son-in-law of Wang An-shih, was degraded. About the same time the Su-Hang Supply Bureau⁶³ was established and Chu Mien⁶⁴ appointed as its superintendent. The tablet, which had remained in its position four years, was destroyed by imperial orders on account of the appearance of a comet, and the members of the Yüan Yu party were restored to their original ranks. Peace was made with the Hsi Hsia and Ts'ai Ching was discharged, but was reinstated the following year when the title of the reign was changed to *Ta Kuan*⁶⁵ (1107). Two years later he was again dismissed and the following year his place was taken by Chang Shang-ying⁶⁶. During this time T'ung Kuan⁶⁷ led a successful expedition against the Hsi Hsia and then proposed one against Liao in alliance with the Nüchên Tartars. The title of the reign was again changed and called *Chêng Ho*⁶⁸ (1111). Chang Shang-ying was dismissed and in 1112 Ts'ai Ching was again recalled to office. During the next year Akuta⁶⁹, chief of the Nüchêns, declared independence and took the field against Liao. In 1114 he defeated Liao and in 1115 declared himself emperor of the new dynasty of Chin⁷⁰. In 1118 an alliance was made with Akuta for a joint attack on Liao. Ts'ai Ching had become old and entrusted the management of affairs to his son, whose opinions often differed from those of his father. The wars between Liao and Chin continued until Liao collapsed. The Chins then set their eyes upon the conquest of China. In 1123 an agreement as to boundary line and annual subsidy was

⁶⁰建中靖國 ⁶¹崇寧 ⁶²蔡卞 ⁶³蘇杭應奉局 ⁶⁴朱勗

⁶⁵大觀 ⁶⁶張商英 ⁶⁷童貫 ⁶⁸政和 ⁶⁹阿骨打 ⁷⁰金. The capital of Chin was Hui-ning, which is the modern Kirin.

made with Chin, but this was only a pretext for a strong invasion during the following years and in 1125 Hui Tsung resigned in favor of his son.

9. Ch'in Tsung⁷¹ who succeeded his father was captured at K'ai-feng along with him and both died in northern exile.

This rapid sketch of the events of the Northern Sung dynasty brings into prominence the struggle between a liberal policy represented by Wang An-shih and the conservative one of which Ssü-ma Kuang may be taken as an outstanding advocate. Wang An-shih was not a revolutionist nor a radical but was always loyal to his Imperial Master. He believed in a government which would take into account the needs of the time and not be controlled solely by precedent. He was a scholar and a gentleman of the same type as his opponents. He found the empire threatened on all sides by enemies—Hsi Hsia, Nüchên Tartars and numerous other northern tribes, as well as Annam on the south. He believed that an aggressive military policy directed against these enemies was the only salvation of the empire. In order to raise funds to carry on these wars, while at the same time adequate support was given to the Emperor to enable him to maintain the great brilliancy of the Court, new sources of taxation must be discovered, and every possible source of strength must be utilized. The policy of Wang An-shih meant the conscription of men, money and all resources of the country, on an equal basis, for the defence of the empire and for the defeat of threatening enemies. Such ideas were startling and hence Wang's policy is usually characterized in Chinese histories as *hsin fah*⁷², innovations or, in other words, reform. It is for this reason that I have used the term "liberal" in describing Wang's political tenets, though his party never had any distinctive name. Opposed to him was the conservative Yüan Yu party of scholarly men who believed in traditional methods. The founders of the T'ang and Sung dynasties when they established themselves had promised to preserve the existing methods⁷³ and this promise was interpreted by the people to mean that no unusual exactions would be demanded of them. These two founders of dynasties had found their path to the throne fairly easy, for the country had in both cases been previously at the

⁷¹欽宗⁷²新法⁷³維持現局

mercy of war-lords contending for the mastery. The appearance of a leader who promised to bring peace to the nation without increase of the burden of taxation was welcomed everywhere and it was with this understanding that Chao K'uang-yin became the first emperor of the Northern Sung. It was quite natural for the scholars of the empire to desire to continue the policy inaugurated by the first emperor of the dynasty and it is for this reason that I call them "conservative." They opposed increase of taxation and universal conscription. The two political parties, therefore, were the liberal, headed by Wang An-shih, and the conservative, headed by Ssü-ma Kuang.

Mention must be made of the word which came to be used to designate a political party, viz. *tang*⁷⁴. Confucius twice said that a gentleman was not a partizan (*tang*)⁷⁵, but Mencius says of Confucius that when he was in Ch'ên he remarked, "Let me return. The scholars of my party (*tang*) are ambitious but hasty."⁷⁶ *Tang* has the two meanings of district or locality and party or partizan. In the quotation from Mencius it is usual to interpret *tang* as referring to locality, but this may be a later explanation due to the general use of this word from the time of the T'ang dynasty in an offensive sense. The term as applied to the conservative party of Ssü-ma Kuang, viz. Yüan Yu Tang⁷⁷, was at first intended to be contemptuous. Their name, Yüan Yu, was taken from the title of the reign of Chê Tsung covering the years in which the policies of Wang An-shih, started during the reign of Shên Tsung, were repudiated and reversed. Later, among writers of the Southern Sung and following dynasties, the term Yüan Yu came to be synonymous with good government, which was commonly described as *Yüan Yu Chih Chêng*⁷⁸. *Tang* has now come to be the current term for a political party, but it must not be forgotten that this is a usage of the last twenty years.

It is significant that in one of the most brilliant periods of Chinese history there should have arisen two distinct political philosophies with two militant political parties whose fierce struggle lasted about fifty years. This was much earlier than the rise of political parties in Europe. In my paper on Wang An-shih I called attention to the contemporary struggle which centred

⁷⁴黨⁷⁵君子不黨⁷⁶孔子在陳曰盍歸乎吾黨之士狂簡⁷⁷元祐黨⁷⁸元祐之政

around the great personality of Hildebrand. In some respects the struggle in China resembled that which was going on at the same time in Europe. The Yüan Yu party contended for the centralization of all power in the hands of the Emperor, who should be guided by ancient precedents as interpreted by themselves. Wang An-shih was as zealous as they in respect for ancient precedent and for the teachings of the sages but insisted on a different interpretation. Does this not sound very much like the controversy of the Ultramontanes, who desired to see all the power of the Church centred in the Pope, with the liberals, who struggled for the independence of nationalist churches, while all appealed to early usage for their justification? The result of the struggle in China was the victory of the conservatives, but in Europe liberal policies prevailed. China's stabilization, uniformity and inertia date from the triumph of the Yüan Yu party. From that time to the Republic the views of Ssü-ma Kuang controlled all historical interpretation, and those of the two Ch'êngs⁷⁹ and Chu Hsi⁸⁰ all philosophical thought, while all later statesmen obediently followed the economic theories of the conservative Yüan Yu party. One can only imagine what China would have become if the liberal policies of Wang An-shih had been allowed to develop to their natural ends.

The innovations proposed by Wang An-shih were the results of his study of the Book of History⁸¹, Book of Odes⁸² and Chow Li⁸³, carried on during his early manhood before he came to high office. He was also familiar with the work of Shang Yang⁸⁴ (Wei Yang⁸⁵), B.C. 338, who had abolished the old division of the country into nine squares—*ching t'ien fah*⁸⁶—and had introduced the *ch'ien-mo*⁸⁷ regulations which provided for individual ownership under a system of tithing. He also took as a precedent the work of Sang Hung-yang⁸⁸ who, during the reign of Wu Ti (B.C. 140-86) of the Han dynasty, was the author of the law of adjustment—*p'ing chun*⁸⁹—for the stabilization of prices. The policies of Wang An-shih are usually combined under four headings: (1) State Monopoly of Commerce, *chün shu*⁹⁰, under which are included *ch'ing miao*⁹¹, "State Advances to Farmers" and *shih i*⁹²—"State Equalization of Prices"; (2) Equality

⁷⁹二程 ⁸⁰朱熹 ⁸¹書經 ⁸²詩經 ⁸³周禮 ⁸⁴商鞅 *Vide* Shang Yang, *Leben und Werk*, by Kuhn, Leipzig, 1926. ⁸⁵衛鞅 ⁸⁶井田法 ⁸⁷阡陌 ⁸⁸桑弘羊 ⁸⁹平準 ⁹⁰均輸 ⁹¹青苗 ⁹²市易

of Taxation—*chün shui*⁹³, or as it is frequently called, *fang t'ien*⁹⁴—a system of tithing; (3) Militia Organization—*pao chia*⁹⁵, under which the policing and defence of the country was portioned out to an organization composed of selected members of families; and (4) *mien yi*⁹⁶, "Substitution for the Conscription of Labor," by which the people were divided into five tax-paying classes according to their wealth. It was a form of Income Tax. There is nothing startling or unfamiliar in any of these proposals to students of European political systems. In the opinion of a Westerner the most cogent objections to Wang's policies were made by Su Chê in pointing out that their successful operation was dependent upon a large body of untrained officials many of whom would prove to be corrupt. This criticism proved to be sound. Any one of the several policies demanded in administration hundreds of experienced honest men, and these were not available. Furthermore, within the limit of a few years all of Wang's schemes were put into operation and the resulting confusion on account of this unwise haste can be readily imagined. Even the men immediately associated with Wang were often lukewarm in their support, not to mention being uninstructed in the underlying principles of his theory. The arguments against Wang's policies which were made by Ou-yang Hsiu, Han Ch'i, Fu Pi, Wên Yen-po and others of the conservative party seem full of prejudice and are entirely unconvincing to a Westerner, but those advanced by Su Chê rested on solid foundations. The ultimate failure of Wang's schemes came about through the ignorance and corruption of his agents. Little can be said as to the political theories of the Yüan Yu party, for they were chiefly negative and were based upon the fundamental principle that that government is best which governs least. Wang An-shih saw clearly that an efficient government must have adequate financial support from taxation of the people, and must also bring every individual in the empire into some kind of active contribution toward the success of national policies. The Yüan Yu party believed in a policy of inaction, based upon the theory that the supreme virtue of the sovereign would so reflect itself upon the actions of his ministers that the empire and its environs would enjoy the blessings of peaceful prosperity. The closing events of the Northern Sung dynasty, when their

⁹³稅均 ⁹⁴方田 ⁹⁵保甲 ⁹⁶免役

northern enemies combined against the Chinese, showed that Wang had a clearer view of the dire needs of the times than his conservative opponents; but they also showed that the Yüan Yu party's view of the moral conditions of the period as expressed by Su Chê were sounder than Wang's. This party clearly recognized the prevalence of corruption which would thrive on the complications and intricacies of Wang's innovations, and in this opinion they were correct. In a word, it was not the fault of Wang's policies but the lack of honest men to administer them that brought them into disrepute.

The good scholarship and high character of Wang An-shih may be premised, for he was first recommended by the great statesman Wên Yen-po and by Ou-yang Hsiu who had also stood sponsor for Tsêng Kung⁹⁷, Su Hsün⁹⁸ and his two sons, Su Shih and Su Chê. This first favorable opinion of Wang on the part of these two distinguished men was later confirmed by Han Wei, Lü Kung-chu and Tsêng Kung-liang in their recommendation that he should be appointed Prefect of Nanking. The first helpers selected by Wang for the drafting of his new laws were Lü Hui-ch'ing, Chang Tun and Tsêng Pu. The first man of this group proved a traitor to Wang and finally went to the great length of showing Wang's private correspondence with him as a proof of his slanders. Ssü-ma Kuang repeatedly called the attention of Wang An-shih to the danger of his employing Lü Hui-ch'ing whom he characterized as an insincere flatterer and who, he averred, would turn against Wang if Wang lost power. This estimate of Lü by Ssü-ma Kuang proved correct. His second helper, Chang Tun, showed himself to be a faithful supporter, but he lacked good judgment. When he was Minister of State under Chê Tsung he loyally restored all of Wang's regulations which had been annulled during the Yüan Yu period; but he made a great mistake in following the advice of the coterie of men who surrounded him and who were intolerant of all opposition. In this coterie were Ts'ai Pien⁹⁹, son-in-law of Wang An-shih, Chang Shang-ying, Shang-kuan Chün¹⁰⁰ and others. They were ruthless in their persecution of the Yüan Yu party and went so far as to ask permission of the Emperor to break open the graves of Ssü-ma Kuang and Lü Kung-chu. The obstinacy of Chang Tun concerning the settlement with Hsi Hsia resulted in increased disaster to the

⁹⁷曾鞏 ⁹⁸蘇洵 ⁹⁹蔡卞 ¹⁰⁰上官均

country and he was finally banished. He was a firm but unwise supporter of Wang. Tsêng Pu was his third friend. He argued with Han Ch'i in favor of Wang's laws but he also called Wang's attention to the mishandling of the *shih i* law by one of his agents, Lü Chia-wên¹⁰¹. While strongly supporting the new laws he did not overlook the difficulty of honest administration. When Ssü-ma Kuang was Minister of State he asked Tsêng Pu to revise the *mien yi* law, but Tsêng refused to do so, saying that this law had been drafted for Wang by himself. It will thus be seen that two out of the three first assistants of Wang were loyal and efficient. This cannot be said of the younger group of assistants already mentioned. Of these, Ts'ai Pien proved himself vindictive toward opponents and unscrupulous in methods. Chang Shang-ying was a brilliant man, but corrupt. He associated himself with Ts'ai Ching during the reign of Hui Tsung and lent his aid to Ts'ai in carrying out his nefarious schemes. He is generally credited with the authorship of *Su Shu*¹⁰², a book to which he wrote a preface stating that it had been found in the tomb of Chang Liang¹⁰³ at the beginning of the 4th century. This book advocated the policy of overcoming difficulties by gentleness (right vs. might)¹⁰⁴ and of advancing by retreat (stooping to conquer)¹⁰⁵. He later quarrelled with Ts'ai Ching, who retaliated by including Chang's name in the list of the proscribed Yüan Yu partisans. Shang-kuan Chün was a fearless man and never was in sympathy with Wang's policy. He may be considered to have been an opponent who chanced to be on the inside of Wang's plans. His name, like that of Chang Shang-ying, was included by Ts'ai Ching among those of the traitorous Yüan Yu party. The one man who brought Wang's plans into greatest obloquy was Ts'ai Ching, who revived these innovations in the reign of Hui Tsung. Ts'ai Ching was corrupt, unscrupulous and revengeful. He filled public offices with his own men and pandered to the extravagant tastes of the Emperor. His frontier policy as well as his handling of domestic affairs involved the country in such disaster that it resulted in the downfall of the dynasty and the capture of the two emperors. It was Ts'ai who advised the Emperor to erect the stone tablet on which the names of the Yüan Yu party were inscribed in a facsimile of the Emperor's own handwriting. It is perfectly clear

¹⁰¹呂嘉問 ¹⁰²蘇書 ¹⁰³張良 ¹⁰⁴以柔制剛 ¹⁰⁵以退爲進

that the interest Ts'ai Chang had in the new laws of Wang An-shih was wholly based upon his using them for his own personal aggrandizement and emolument. Wang's latest and most noted supporter did more than any other single agency to bring him into disfavor with the scholars of later generations.

The names of the leaders of the Yüan Yu party have already been mentioned in various preceding paragraphs, but it may serve a useful purpose to bring them together. The first name is given on some lists as Wên Yen-po and on others as Ssü-ma Kuang. Wên Yen-po lived to be 92, served under four emperors and was acquainted with more of the statesmen and scholars of the Northern Sung than any other man. He started the *Ch'i Ying Club*¹⁰⁶ at Loyang¹⁰⁷ composed of men over sixty years of age. Ssü-ma Kuang was historian, philologist and statesman. Lü Kung-chu belonged to a brilliant family. He became head of the Board of Censors and later succeeded Ssü-ma Kuang as chief Minister of State. Lü Ta-lin¹⁰⁸ and Fan Ch'un-jên were eminent scholars and were associated in administrative work in the Yüan Yu period. Liu Chih, Han Chung-yen and Wang Kuei were also distinguished scholars who gave their services to their country. The two brothers Su Shih and Su Chê are too well-known to need comment, as is also Huang T'ing-chien. In short, the Yüan Yu list may be taken to include all the leading men of the period with the exception of those whom I have mentioned as connected with the party of Wang An-shih. Yüan Yu stands for the scholarship, statesmanship, prestige and dignity of the Northern Sung.

During the Shên Tsung and Chê Tsung periods the conflict between Wang An-shih and his opponents was carried on, to a large extent, on a high plane of political discussion and with only the usual amount of rancor; but when the original parties to the controversy had passed off the stage events took a new turn. When the emperor Hui Tsung came to the throne a new type of man—the demagogue Ts'ai Ching—came into power and new motives were introduced. This second stage must be described in detail.

The stirring events of the second year of Hui Tsung, known as the first year of *Ch'ung Ning*, (1102) moved

¹⁰⁶ 耆英會¹⁰⁷ 洛陽¹⁰⁸ 呂大臨

rapidly toward catastrophe. In the fifth month forty-four officials, among whom were the names of Ssü-ma Kuang and Wên Yen-po who had already been dead several years, were denounced by Censors in a Memorial of which the following is a translation. "During his reign of nineteen years the government of Shên Tsung¹⁰⁹ was based upon the good examples of previous rulers. Subsequently during the Yüan Yu¹¹⁰ period of Chê Tsung¹¹¹ the offices were held by members of a party who brought the affairs of the government into confusion. They knew only their own party affiliations and anything proposed by any one member of their party was supported by all the rest. They succeeded in misleading the sovereign and keeping their opponents out of office. Though they were disbanded in the later years of Chê Tsung, they have now again, on account of the merciful treatment of your Majesty, revived their activities. The members of the party are so many and their relations so close, that through their co-operation with each other they are holding important positions and high offices. They behave just as they did during the Yüan Yu period and forget that they have been previously guilty of grave offences. The names of the members of this traitorous party are still in the official records and each of them should receive his proper punishment. This will be a warning to the traitorous and an encouragement to the loyal, who will have no more fear of being injured by this traitorous party. It will not only be an evidence of your obediently following in the ways of your illustrious ancestor Shên Tsung, but without any further action on your part will bring good government to the country. We beg that early action shall be taken in this matter."

Ten days later a mandate prepared by Tsêng Pu was issued by the Emperor in reply. The substance of the mandate was as follows: "During the period of Yüan Yu the government was in the hands of a group of traitorous statesmen who denounced the good methods of government of our ancestor and made mischievous changes. When Chê Tsung became of age and took up the government under the dynastic name of *Shao Shêng*¹¹², he saw the misconduct of these men and punished them by dismissal or degradation. When I succeeded to the throne I gave them another chance to reform their ways

¹⁰⁹ 神宗¹¹⁰ 元祐¹¹¹ 哲宗¹¹² 紹聖

and called them back to office. However, their party affiliations are close and they aim only at destroying good government and repaying kindness with treachery. They denounce existing conditions and would change the methods of government of the *Hsi Ning*¹¹³ and *Yüan Fêng*¹¹⁴ periods (i.e., those of Wang An-shih) to those of the *Yüan Yu* (i.e., the party of Ssü-ma Kuang). Their arguments astonish me greatly. They give promotions to their party members without any regard to the established practice. Unworthy persons whose only qualification is membership in their party are given positions in the service of the Crown, and officials dismissed for incompetence are restored to their posts. I had thought of waiting longer before taking action, but the Censors now request the immediate dismissal of these men. I have therefore decided to choose a few of the most notorious members and degrade or discharge them to allay excitement. In order that the people may not misunderstand my purpose I have explained the case in detail. With the exception of those who have already been selected for punishment, all other members of the *Yüan Yu* party or those who cast in their lot with it during the *Yüan Fu*¹¹⁵ period are exempt from any further prosecution. This mandate should be displayed at the entrance to the Palace for general information."

In the seventh month Ts'ai Ching became Prime Minister, and two months later he persuaded the emperor to make out in his own handwriting a list of condemned members of the *Yüan Yu* party and to have this inscribed on a stone tablet. This was erected at the Tuan Li Mên¹¹⁶ of the Palace. It contained many more than the forty-four names which had been proscribed in the fifth moon. The additions swelled the list to 98, according to the account given by Liu Hsin-yüan¹¹⁷ in his "Record of the *Yüan Yu* Party" (*Yüan Yu Tang Jen Chuan*¹¹⁸), but the Sung dynasty history gives the number as 120, although less than one half of this number are mentioned by name. They were divided into classes. The first of these included only those who had been Prime Ministers, viz., Wên Yen-po, Lü Kung-chu, Ssü-ma Kuang, Lü T'ang-fang, Liu Chih¹¹⁹, Fan Ch'un-jên, Han Chung-yen¹²⁰ and Wang Kuei¹²¹. The second class consisted of men who had held high executive offices. There were sixteen

¹¹³熙寧 ¹¹⁴元豐
¹¹⁵元符 ¹¹⁶端禮門 ¹¹⁷劉心源 ¹¹⁸元祐黨人傳 ¹¹⁹劉摯 ¹²⁰韓忠彥 ¹²¹王珪

names, of which the best known were Liang Tao¹²², Han Wei¹²³ and Su Chê¹²⁴. The names of the twenty-four men in these two classes are the same in the Sung History as in the list given by Liu Hsin-yüan. The third class was composed of men above the rank of assistant executives, and in it the leading names were those of Su Shih¹²⁵, Fan Tsu-yü¹²⁶ and the two brothers, K'ung Wên-chung¹²⁷ and K'ung Wu-chung¹²⁸, all of whom were dead. The fourth class was a miscellaneous list of household officers, military officers and assistants. Two names distinguished in art circles were in this class, viz. Huang T'ing-chien¹²⁹ (Lu-chih¹³⁰), the great calligraphist, and Ch'ao Pu-chih¹³¹, a noted painter.

In this same month (ninth), leading ministers addressed another memorial to the Throne asking that similar stone tablets should be erected in all the districts of the country. The memorial was as follows: "On a recent mission we were asked by some of the gentry of Ch'ên-chou¹³² about the stone tablet at the Tuan Li Mên, giving the names of the members of the traitorous party of *Yüan Yu*. Although the names of this traitorous party have been made public, the fact of inscribing them on a stone tablet in your own writing is not generally known. Your Majesty gives rewards and punishments according to principles of justice and it was to discourage the disloyal that you published the names of the traitorous party, whether dead or alive, and had them inscribed on stone. Finding that this fact is not even well known in the vicinity of the capital, we are certain that it cannot be known in places far distant. We now therefore beg that your Majesty issue a mandate giving the names of the traitorous party and the fact of their being inscribed in your own handwriting on stone at the Tuan Li Mên, and instructing the local officials to erect similar stone tablets in their official residences, thus serving as a warning against future treachery."

At the request of Ho Chih-chung¹³³ a supplementary mandate was issued as follows: "The persons that are included in the list of the traitorous party and their sons and brothers (with the exception of those who had held position as *chien*¹³⁴ and *ssü*¹³⁵ and have been dismissed

¹²²梁燾 ¹²³韓維 ¹²⁴蘇轍 ¹²⁵蘇軾 ¹²⁶范祖禹 ¹²⁷孔文仲
¹²⁸孔武仲 ¹²⁹黃庭堅 ¹³⁰魯直 ¹³¹晁補之 ¹³²陳州
¹³³何執中 ¹³⁴監 ¹³⁵司

and their names given to their local officials,) are forbidden to come to court or to be sent on official missions. From this time on they are to be examined according to the proper regulations by the local officials and a report made to the Board of Civil Office as to their fitness for office. If among (their descendants) there are those who wish to qualify for the first time as officials they are required in addition to being examined, to secure two reliable guarantors. A certificate issued by the local official should be attached to the report."

Another mandate issued also in the ninth month ordered that the list of these traitorous officials made during the preceding year, 1101, as well as the list made during the last part of the Yüan Fu period (1100) should be destroyed by fire.

In the tenth month the ministers presented another memorial which read: "Your Majesty with a determined and clear mind and for the good of the empire discharged from office members of the traitorous party who held offices during the last days of the Yüan Fu period. The results of this action on your part are apparent in the stabilization of the affairs of government. Being guided by your experience in this case you decided to check dangerous movements at their outset lest they should result in serious disorders. For this reason you issued the mandate ordering that regulations made during the periods from the fifth day of the third month of the eighth year of *Yüan Fêng* to the thirteenth day of the fourth month of the first year of *Shao Shêng*, and from the twelfth day of the first month of the third year of *Yüan Fu* to the first month of the first year of *Ch'ung Ning*, are not to be cited as precedents. This step is taken in order to prevent the development of future trouble. We also mention with hesitation the fact that the members of the traitorous party were in office up to the sixth month of this year and during those first six months conducted public business in a scandalous way. What they did during this time cannot be considered in any different light from what they did during the first year of your reign and therefore must never be quoted as precedents. As it is your Majesty's aim to bring peace and order in the empire we believe that everything connected with the traitorous party, no matter how small it may be, should be disposed of."

In the first month of the third year of *Ch'ung Ning* (1104) a mandate was issued ordering the destruction by burning of the wooden blocks from which the collected writings of the three Sus (Su Hsün¹³⁶, Su Shih and Su Chê) were printed, as well as the writings of their students Huang T'ing-chien, Chang Lei¹³⁷, Ch'ao Pu-chih and Ch'ing Kuan¹³⁸. Thus the persecution of the members of the Yüan Yu party continued, chiefly under the influence of the Prime Minister, Ts'ai Ching. In the sixth month of this year a new list of proscribed members of the party was issued and the members increased to more than three hundred. The Sung History states that the list included 309 names, but Liu Hsin-yüan records only 308. They were divided into the following classes:

Those that had held offices as prime ministers or execu- tive officers	27
Those that had held offices above the rank of assistant execu- tives	49
Other officers	176
Military officers	25
Household officers	29
Prime ministers who were traitors	2
	308

The emperor issued a mandate that this list was to be considered final and that no fresh names were to be added.

Two years later, viz. 1106, during the first month a comet appeared and was visible for several days. This caused a great sensation and the superstitious emperor Hui Tsung subjected himself to a vigorous *régime* of fasting and humiliation in one of the smaller palaces. Shortly after this event he issued a new mandate ordering the destruction of the stone tablets in the capital and in the provinces. He said that the members of the Yüan Yu party had already suffered sufficiently for their misdeeds and that in future he would allow no further complaints against them.

The persecution of the Yüan Yu party, which had been to a large extent caused by the personal ambition and cupidity of Ts'ai Ching was thus ended, and it was

¹³⁶蘇洵¹³⁷張耒¹³⁸秦觀

not long before the tables were turned and it came to be considered a high honor to be a descendant of any one of those whose names had been defamed as traitors during Hui Tsung's reign. The initial impetus in this direction was given during the reign of Kao Tsung¹³⁹, the first emperor of the Southern Sung dynasty, when Chang Kang¹⁴⁰ was appointed to make a detailed report of the Yüan Yu case in order that the descendants of those proscribed might receive the full benefits of the restored favor of the emperor. His report, which may be found in the *Hua Yang Chi*¹⁴¹, added no new facts to those available from other sources; but he omitted the name of Wang Kuei from the list of Prime Ministers, thus reducing the number of this class to seven and the total to ninety-seven instead of ninety-eight as recorded elsewhere. Chang Kang claimed that the name of Wang Kuei should not have been included in the original list, but this does not agree with other authorities. In addition to the ninety-seven names on the first stone tablet, Chang Kang mentions the names of six men whose names appear on the later tablet. He says that they should be included in the list of those to whom special favors should be granted on account of their high character. The names of these six were Shang-kuan Chün¹⁴², Ts'ên Hsiang-ch'iu¹⁴³, Chiang Kung-wang¹⁴⁴, Fan Jou-chung¹⁴⁵, Têng K'ao-fu¹⁴⁶ and Sun O¹⁴⁷. The addition of these names brought the list of the Yüan Yu party up to one hundred and three, as officially recognized during the Southern Sung dynasty.

The causes which were responsible for the rise and fall of the policies of Wang An-shih during the years 1068 to 1126 were identical with those which resulted in the flight of the Northern Sung from their capital in Honan on the Yellow River to a new site, Hangchow, in Chekiang province, on the Ch'ien T'ang River¹⁴⁸. These causes may be briefly summarized as (1) fierce assaults along the whole northern frontier by militant tribes and the urgent necessity of supporting large armies for defence of the empire, (2) conscription of a large proportion of the young men of the country to serve in the army, (3) large increase in taxes levied directly upon the

¹³⁹高宗 ¹⁴⁰張綱 ¹⁴¹華陽集
¹⁴²上官均 ¹⁴³岑象求 ¹⁴⁴江公望 ¹⁴⁵范柔中
¹⁴⁶鄧考甫 ¹⁴⁷孫諤 ¹⁴⁸錢塘江

people, (4) extravagance of the emperors culminating in the person of the last emperor, Hui Tsung, (5) the prevalence of superstitious beliefs, and (6) the lack of a sufficient number of trained men. In preceding paragraphs attention has been called to the first three of these causes, and only brief mention remains to be made of the others. As illustrations of the extravagance of the emperors, note may be made of the building at the capital during the reign of T'ai Tsung of the magnificent Buddhist temple *K'ai Pao Ssu*¹⁴⁹, so named in honor of the title of the reign of his father, T'ai Tsu. Another instance occurred during the reign of Chên Tsung. The report of Ting Wei that there was a large surplus in the Treasury encouraged the building of a new palace and the expenditure of huge sums for imperial sacrifices. The collection of national treasures in the Hsüan Ho Palace¹⁵⁰ was commenced during the reign of Jên Tsung and carried on by several emperors with commendable zeal; but with Hui Tsung it became an obsession and was used as a political tool in the hands of Ts'ai Ching. The empire was ransacked from one end to the other to supply all forms of artistic products for the delectation of the emperor. Another cause of the Sung downfall was the alarming growth of superstition. The grosser forms of Buddhism came into prominence. The emperor Chên Tsung bestowed high honor upon Chang Chêng-sui¹⁵¹, a descendant of Chang Tao-ling¹⁵². Written instructions from High Heaven were frequently received and special temples were built for their preservation. Auspicious grasses, fortunate omens in the shapes of trees, signs on stones and all forms of chicanery were acclaimed in court circles and they had often controlling influence in determining the course of state affairs. More important than all was the lack of well-trained men. Apart from the brilliant galaxy of a few literary geniuses who were supported by the court and kept in the capital, there was a famine of talent. There is no better evidence of this fact than the statement of Chang Kang written a few years after the flight from K'ai-fêng, that he could learn nothing about the records of more than two hundred men whose names had been cut in stone by Ts'ai Ching on the Traitors' Tablet. It was this lack of experienced, honest men which made impossible the success of Wang An-shih's policy and brought ruin to the fortunes of the

¹⁴⁹開寶寺 ¹⁵⁰宣和殿 ¹⁵¹張正隨 ¹⁵²張道陵

Northern Sung dynasty, even when these policies were discarded in favor of the Yüan Yu party. No political theories could succeed, whether liberal or conservative, without adequate support by a body of trained men. This is the lesson of the struggle of the political parties of the Northern Sung Dynasty.