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CH'IU CHÜN'S TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU
AND ITS INFLUENCE
IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Hung-lam Chu

Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) was a profound scholar, a prolific writer, and a controversial statesman. As the subject of recent scholarship, his dates have been studied, his biography in the MING HISTORY has been corrected,¹ and issues concerning his career as a high official have been re-examined.² His didactic plays have been criticized, from a modern point of view.³ He has been studied as an economic and legal thinker of the Confucian persuasion,⁴ and as a moralistic historian.⁵ Two dissertations have been written on him. One treats the background of his TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU [SUPPLEMENT TO THE EXTENDED MEANING OF THE GREAT LEARNING, hereafter abbreviated as SUPPLEMENT], a classic work in statecraft-writing and the first of its kind in the Ming dynasty.⁶ The other considers Ch'iu's views on government and history.⁷ Historically important in many aspects, Ch'iu Chün's most enduring contribution was in the sphere of statecraft thought and learning, a topic which has recently drawn more attention from historians of pre-modern Chinese thought.⁸

The following study provides a summary of Ch'iu Chün's SUPPLEMENT and documents some of the obvious influence of his work on the intellectual milieu of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My aim is to illustrate the Ming engagement in statecraft knowledge as an intellectual endeavor which, flourishing alongside philosophical discussions of the human mind, was concerned with acquiring factual knowledge to apply to actual political problems.⁹

THE SUPPLEMENT

Ch'iu Chün's SUPPLEMENT is a monumental work about ways government should work in order to achieve lasting stability and prosperity for the state and society. When Ch'iu Chün wrote this book in the 1470's, he believed that the Ming dynasty was ailing -- to use a metaphor that he so often employed to characterize the condition of the state and government -- but that it was possible to cure the ailment if a proper diagnosis and an efficacious prescription were forthcoming. In presenting the manuscript to the throne, he drew for statecraft a parallel with medical practice, saying, "One prescription can cure one disease; to cure a disease by the corresponding prescription depends on how the latter is used."¹⁰ It was such diagnoses and prescriptions that he professed to provide in his book for the cure of the diseases that he saw in the state and society of his day. For that reason, he intended his book simulta-

neously as a reference in statecraft knowledge for Ming emperors and their servitors, and as a blueprint for implementing reform policies for the Ming dynasty of the late fifteenth century.¹¹

If Ch'iu Chūn did not succeed in achieving the second part of his aim, he achieved the first part of it mainly because of the scholarship that he demonstrated in the SUPPLEMENT. Being a student of both current politics and history, Ch'iu's method was that of observation and research working in tandem. As a result, he sought to address current situations from a historical perspective, making the evolution of political and social problems clear for his contemporaries. This method proved to be appealing. When the emperor accepted his presentation, the following assessment was credited to the emperor: "Its evidential research is careful and detailed; its discourses are broad and comprehensive; it is helpful to governance."¹² This view was widely shared in later generations, even by Ch'iu's most relentless critics, the compilers of the SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU.¹³ Judging from Ch'iu's intentions and from the way he presented it, the SUPPLEMENT may appropriately be characterized as a pragmatic work which is empirical, which concerns itself with the consequences of socio-political actions, and which is intended to be useful to its readers.¹⁴

The SUPPLEMENT was ostensibly written as a continuation of another work in statecraft, the TA-HSUEH YEN-I [EXTENDED MEANING OF THE GREAT LEARNING, hereafter abbreviated as EXTENDED MEANING] by Chen Te-hsiu (1178-1235), the eminent official and Neo-Confucian philosopher of the Southern Sung.¹⁵ Both books take as their framework the small but important Confucian classic, the GREAT LEARNING, which provided the steps for the achievement of good government: the investigation of things, the extension of knowledge, the rectification of the mind, the sincerity of the will, the cultivation of the person, the regulation of the family, the ordered governance of the state, and the bringing of peace to the world. Ch'iu Chūn's SUPPLEMENT was so named because Chen Te-hsiu's book elaborated only the first six steps.

Although they share a similar format, these two books are entirely different in content and in their assumptions about how to achieve good government. Although both Chen and Ch'iu drew upon the authority of historical lessons and dynastic precedents, they differed about the goals to which such authority should be directed: Chen's target was the moral uplifting of an emperor, while Ch'iu's was the functional accomplishment of effective government. The fundamental assumption in the EXTENDED MEANING is that a government could be orderly and well-run only if (or rather, if only) an emperor were sincere in his mind, cultivated his person, and regulated the conduct of the imperial family.¹⁶ In response to this, Ch'iu argues in the SUPPLEMENT that such assumptions are unwarranted or of no real consequence if both emperor and his officials do not simul-

taneously possess applicable knowledge about the functional aspects of governing. Using the vocabulary of Neo-Confucian philosophy, Ch'iu Chūn put the difference thus: Chen's book is about the principles (li) and original substance (pen-t'i) of government, and his own book is about the affairs (shih) and the effective function (kung-yung) of government.¹⁷ He also stresses that without affairs being accomplished, principles cannot be ascertained, and that without function being effected, substance cannot be sustained.¹⁸ In short, Ch'iu considers that knowledge should precede action though action is the end of knowledge;¹⁹ what Chen Te-hsiu proposed is correct, but the real problem is what to do in order to achieve the intended result of ordered governance of the state.

One reason for such a difference between Chen Te-hsiu and Ch'iu Chūn is that they wrote from different backgrounds. Chen wrote the EXTENDED MEANING during a period of forced retirement when the court of a young emperor was dominated by an awesomely crafty empress dowager and a powerful prime minister, together with their cohorts. His book was specifically intended for the Sung emperor Li-tsung, whom he regarded as having the potential of a capable emperor but lacking the will to make himself one.²⁰ Ch'iu wrote his book when he was Chancellor of the National Academy, after having been a veteran Hanlin official in the inactive imperial classics lectures. Since he was in a position directly responsible for the training of future officials and indirectly responsible for imperial consultations, his audience comprised practically all members of the government headed by the emperor. The problem for him was that the government which he addressed was facing an uncertain future, for the most part because of an unwieldy, slack bureaucracy. In any event, although for both theoretical and practical reasons Ch'iu claimed and entitled his work a continuation of Chen's, the SUPPLEMENT in fact came to be regarded as an independent, self-contained work, which could offer practical guidance to those who governed.

The SUPPLEMENT is comprised of 160 chūan, and is divided into 12 sections, each of which is further sub-divided into a total of 119 sub-sections, ranging from 6 to 16 sub-sections per section (with the exception of the last, which includes only 1 sub-section). Preceding the book proper is one independent chūan, which is supplementary to the section entitled "Essence in the Sincerity of the Will and Rectification of the Mind" in Chen Te-hsiu's EXTENDED MEANING.

This introductory chūan clearly reveals Ch'iu Chūn's intellectual position as an advocate of the so-called Ch'eng-Chu philosophical tradition. Consisting of four sub-sections under the general heading of "Judgments on Incipient and Subtle Affairs," it calls attention to the ways by which an emperor can keep his mind alert for judging and approaching governmental affairs. By virtue of its title and position, this section

suggests that Ch'iu Chūn acknowledged the kind of statecraft based in self-cultivation that Chen Te-hsiu had promoted, as well as his own emphasis on the acquired ability of an emperor to deal with the exigencies of governing. With regard to the preservation of a man's heavenly-endowed principles and the restraint of his human desires, Ch'iu said, "It is especially easy for one to have accomplishment when one, rather than exerting his effort at a time when an act has already become prominent, judiciously examines an act at its incipient and subtle beginning."²¹

The book proper, however, conveys Ch'iu Chūn's dissatisfaction with Chen Te-hsiu's approach as well as his own ideas about what pragmatic statecraft ought to include. The first section, "Adjustment of the Imperial Court," contains four chūan on general principles of the conduct of government at the level of the imperial court. The second, entitled "Adjustment of the Officialdom," has eight chūan dealing with such topics as the appointment of officials, the determination of official ranks and emoluments, methods of employment and evaluation, rites honoring officials, and checks and controls on them. Together these two sections furnished what in effect were the knowledge and methods most essential in dealing with the personnel aspects of the central imperial bureaucracy.²²

The following two sections contain detailed information about the economic and financial regulations of the state, as well as many far-sighted proposals for the reform and modification of existing policies. Section Three, "Consolidation of the Foundation of the State," addresses in seven chūan such basic problems as how society is to be administered from an economic point of view. Section Four treats "Administration of the State Finances," containing sixteen chūan on state revenue and budget, tax and labor service, currency and governmental monopolies, transportation and land development, etc. Reflecting the economic situation of the Ming to the mid 1480's, materials in these two sections were as appealing to students of statecraft as they are to historians of economic thought in general and of the economic situation of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in particular.²³

The next two sections deal in the main with the exercise of official rites as a function defining the strata of officialdom, for binding together the official class, and for exerting state-sponsored ethical influence on local society. Hence the fifth section includes eighteen chūan on the "Elucidation of Rites and Music," which lay out in detail the ceremonial functions of the court and the local governments as well as the social obligations of official households and local communities. The sixth section has thirteen chūan on "Proper Arrangement of Offerings," dealing with the rites for making offerings to state deities, imperial temples, Confucius and state-honored Confucians in school temples, and for offering various kinds of prayers.

The seventh section is on education and social morality. Entitled "Exalting Education and Moral Transformation," it has eighteen chūan dealing with school systems and ways of instruction and with the exaltation of Neo-Confucian teachings.

The eighth section has fifteen chūan on "Furnishing Official Facilities," which treats of various aspects of public works as well as matters ranging from patrolling the imperial capital to running the imperial courier stations.

Section Nine, "Circumspection in Law and Punishments," deals in fourteen chūan with every aspect of the theory and enforcement of law and justice. From the close attention and serious study that has since been given to it, this section is without doubt one of the most important portions of this work, and in fact it has been regarded as a classic document in Chinese legal thought.²⁴

The following two sections deal with the defence of the state. Section Ten, "Rigor in Military Preparation" (twenty-nine chūan), deals not only with military systems and their administration, but also with weaponry and the art of war. Section eleven, "Control over Barbarian Peoples," contains fourteen chūan on strategies and tactics for dealing with foreign countries and minority peoples, as well as with border defense and military intelligence. As a whole, these two sections offered what was considered most important from a generally Confucian and essentially defensive point of view for maintaining the state's military strength and territorial integrity.

The last section is for the most part theoretical. Entitled "Moral Perfection of the Emperor and the Government," the four chūan it contains mustered Neo-Confucian political ideas about governing to outline the transformation of the morality of the emperor, the bureaucracy, and the society into an ideal that had been desired but not achieved by the ancients.

The organization of the content and the sequence of presentation used in the book make it clear that the SUPPLEMENT was oriented toward institutional problems and conceptualized on the basis of the existing organization of the Ming central government. The first and last sections deal with governmental activities that were the direct responsibilities of an emperor; the rest covered those spheres of governmental activity that comprised the responsibilities of the Six Ministries.²⁵ The book's overt purpose was of course to provide both the emperor and his officials with basic knowledge that would let them function well. Even in this respect alone, the SUPPLEMENT was not merely a book for the "learning of the emperors" (ti-hsüeh); it was in fact one for the learning of emperors and servitors in tandem.

The materials from which the SUPPLEMENT was compiled limited the kind of knowledge its readers could obtain.²⁶ They included the standard Confucian Classics; writings by ancient philosophers of both Confucian and non-Confucian schools; exegesis and elaboration on both Classics and philosophical writings; histories ancient and contemporary, standard and annalistic in style, political and institutional in nature; comments on events by writers contemporary with, as well as later than, the events; memorials addressing concrete problems; administrative handbooks, including gazetteers; military handbooks; and such other writings as those written by, or compiled by order of, the Ming founder -- the so-called "ancestral instructions."

The kind of knowledge that the contemporary reader could obtain from such materials was as broad as it was useful. It included historical political thought, opinions, and proposals; political, military, social, and economic background of the Ming dynasty up to the last quarter of the fifteenth century; and, equally important, Ch'iu Chün's own thought and opinions formed upon that background.²⁷

THE INFLUENCE OF THE TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU

The praise for the SUPPLEMENT has been so extensive that it would be redundant to recount it here. To be sure, there have also been criticisms of its defects. What matters, however, is that it exerted a tremendous impact on Ming scholarship and intellectual orientation. There is not a single other work in statecraft written in the Ming that was as influential. Some of the more obvious and well known aspects of its influence may be pointed out first.

The importance of the SUPPLEMENT was recognized when it was presented to the throne in 1487. Besides rewarding Ch'iu Chün with a ministerial post, the newly enthroned Hung-chih emperor (reigned 1487-1505) at once ordered the book to be printed with government funds and copies distributed to local government schools. As a reference book, it was also regarded as useful by the early Ch'ing court. According to Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (1582-1664), the Shun-chih emperor also ordered it to be distributed to local schools and to be made a source of examination questions for provincial and metropolitan examinations.²⁸

It was not only useful to students. On many occasions it can be seen that major statecraft writers since the late sixteenth century acknowledged it as an important contribution to statecraft learning. For example, Wang Ch'i (cs. 1565) quoted many of its passages into his own monumental political encyclopaedia, the HSU WEN-HSIEN T'UNG-K'AO.²⁹ Excerpts from it also

dominate the largest and most important collection of statecraft writings of the Ming, the HUANG MING CHING-SHIH WEN-PIEN compiled by Ch'en Tzu-lung (1608-1647) and his associates. These excerpts cover a total space of six chüan. Of the 440 writers appearing in this compilation, only Yang I-ch'ing (1454-1530) and Hsü Kuang-ch'i (1562-1633) were also given this much space for their writings.³⁰

Modern scholars have pointed to its high regard by major seventeenth-century scholars representing new intellectual orientations. For example, Fang I-chih (1611-71) understood it as a book for "advising the emperor," arguing that "for precedents from his own dynasty, the emperor should read not only the Hung-wu emperor's admonitions to his descendants, but also the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU."³¹ Ch'en Jen-hsi (1579-1634) has been identified as compiling his huge collection of government documents of the Ming -- the HUANG MING SHIH-FA LU -- under the influence of it.³² Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682), too, quoted many passages from it in his statecraft-oriented gazetteer of the empire, the T'IEN-HSIA CHÜN-KUO LI-PING SHU.³³ All this points to the indisputable fact that the SUPPLEMENT exerted an impact on many late Ming minds. But from the following documentation it can be seen that the tremendous influence of this book was actually continuously felt since its appearance.

(1) PUBLICATION HISTORY

The influence of the SUPPLEMENT is reflected in its distinguished publication history.³⁴ The book was first published in 1488 by imperial sponsorship, and was printed in Fukien by the prefectural government of Chien-ning. Over the next 150 years -- to the end of the Ming -- it appeared in at least eight more editions in China. The first four of them were all published in Fukien: two between 1488 and 1533, one in 1533, and one in 1559. The last one is a collated edition to which the collator, Tsung Ch'en (1525-1560), also contributed a preface. Following that were a "small character" edition (hsiao-tzu pen), which probably appeared in 1594, and another which appeared between 1567 and 1605. The places where the last two were issued are unknown. In 1605, under the order of the Wan-li emperor (reigned 1572-1620), a palace edition was printed by the eunuch agency, the Directorate of Ceremonies. The last edition in the Ming to my knowledge was published in 1623 in Ch'ang-chou, modern Kiangsu, by Ch'en Jen-hsi; it also contains Ch'en's comments. Ch'en's version turned out to be the basis of numerous reprints in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1781, it was copied into the SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU. Two more editions were issued in 1837 and 1895 respectively. Before the end of the imperial era, two editions had also been issued in Korea and Japan. According to the Korean VERITABLE RECORDS, the Korean edition was published by the Korean king's order of 1487. The Japanese edition was published in 1792 by the Sasayama daimyo. Two editions were

also issued in the present century -- one in Hainan in 1931 and one in Taipei in 1972. To my knowledge, there are at least fourteen different printed editions of the SUPPLEMENT still extant, in addition to a Ming manuscript. This record of repeated publication makes it clear that the book was popular, and was especially widely read during Ming times. In any event, it was the most widely circulated -- and most frequently printed -- book of its size in the Ming.

(2) ABRIDGEMENTS

The numerous abridged versions produced for the SUPPLEMENT further attest to its popularity. In 1559 -- the year that Tsung Ch'en's collated edition of the book was printed in Fukien -- a scholar in the Hui-chou area by the name of Chiang Wen-wu also published his own abridged version of Chen Te-hsiu's EXTENDED MEANING. He gave two reasons for his endeavor. First, he hoped that he could thus help the students who were preparing for the examinations to have a better grasp of Chen Te-hsiu's ideas, which was necessary because, although Chen's book was profound in its teaching, it was too difficult for the students to comprehend, so that they simply would not read it. Second, while the EXTENDED MEANING and the SUPPLEMENT were equally important, the students were already reading the latter because it alone had been "recently" brought out in abridged version(s).³⁵

Chiang's description reveals the SUPPLEMENT's influence in the first half of the sixteenth century: the book not only influenced officials (as will be shown in the following section); it also influenced the students, who were potential officials, because it was studied for examination purposes. Although the SUPPLEMENT did not help them in their composition of eight-legged essays, it offered them more than enough knowledge to enable them to answer the so-called ching-shih shih-wu ts'ie, questions on historical and current political and social problems. Such knowledge was especially important to the more advanced students, because, although in practice passing was sometimes simply determined by a student's performance in his eight-legged essays, a better position for him was often decisively determined by his answers to such policy questions which did not need to be written in the eight-legged essay style. The SUPPLEMENT contains as many ideas on historical problems and ways of administration as it contains the ideas and opinions of Ch'iu Chün and his contemporaries concerning solving the same kind of problems relevant to the Ming. Studying it, therefore, could be practically useful. It is thus possible to see that the SUPPLEMENT had some "grass-root" impact on students at large, far beyond that on the official circles.

The "recent" abridged version(s) of the SUPPLEMENT to which Chiang Wen-wu referred may have been the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU YAO by Ku Ch'i-ching (fl. 1550-1560)³⁶ and the TA-HSUEH YEN-

I PU TSUAN-YAO by Hsü Shih (1519-1581), both written in the 1550's. Most probably Chiang was referring to the latter, because it was published in 1557 in Fukien (and was re-issued in 1572 in Kiangsi). Hsü Shih's abridgement has an interesting format. It excerpts the SUPPLEMENT and rearranges its entries under six headings corresponding to the Six Ministries of the Ming government.³⁷ This small innovation unmistakably reveals that the SUPPLEMENT was then taken as a reference work on the functions of the various central government departments. It was therefore considered as relevant to the acquisition of administrative knowledge.

Actually, the first abridgements of the SUPPLEMENT had appeared even earlier. The first one known is Ch'eng Kao's (c.s. 1499; died ca. 1515) TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU HUI-YAO, written before 1515.³⁸ After this came Yang Wen-tse's (c.j. 1525) TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU CHIEH-LUEH, written before 1542.³⁹ Like Chiang Wen-wu's abridgement of the EXTENDED MEANING, Yang's probably was also designed for students, as his entire career was spent in teaching, first as a sub-prefectural school instructor and than as an instructor in the National Academy at Nanking.

At least three more abridgements appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. The first was the TA-HSUEH YEN-I T'UNG-LUEH by Wang Cheng (c.s. 1550; retired ca. 1570), possibly published in 1562. The title of this book is slightly misleading, as it refers only to the EXTENDED MEANING; it is in fact an abridgement of both the EXTENDED MEANING and the SUPPLEMENT, with annotations supplied.⁴⁰ The second was the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU CHAI-TS'UI by Hsü Kuo (1527-1596), published in 1567 in Nanking. This work was the outcome of Hsü's intensive study of the SUPPLEMENT during the years when he was preparing for the examination. His outstanding success in the 1565 metropolitan examination probably prompted him to have it published.⁴¹ The third one was the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU YING-HUA by Ling Yü-chih, first published in the Wan-li period.⁴²

Abridged versions of the SUPPLEMENT continued to appear after the downfall of the Ming, at least partly due to the renewed patronage by the early Ch'ing emperors. There was, for instance, a TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU SHAN made by a Kiangsi scholar by the surname of Nieh. When the Supreme Commander of Canal Transportation Ts'ai Shih-ying (fl. 1640-1660) was about to get it published in 1655, Ch'ien Ch'ien-i was invited to grace it with a preface.⁴³ Another one, the twelve-chuan TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU CHI-YAO, was made in the early eighteenth century by Ch'en Hung-mou (1696-1771), which he published in Yunnan in 1737 for the convenience of students there for whom access to complete editions of the SUPPLEMENT was said to be difficult.⁴⁴ This abridged version has been reprinted several times.

The appeal of the SUPPLEMENT appears to be continuous, even when it was no longer practically useful to examinee students. A point is demonstrated by the re-issue of Ch'en Hung-

mou's abridgement in 1866 in Kaifeng, Honan. The publisher added a note that it was published because of his worry that the 1737 edition might not have survived the Anglo-French Expedition in 1860 and the Taiping Rebellion which had just ended in 1864.⁴⁵ Here again the old pattern of thought appeared: in times of great trouble, some people came to think of the importance of statecraft learning; when they thought of that, they also came to think of the SUPPLEMENT.

(3) BOOKS WRITTEN IN RESPONSE

The impact of the SUPPLEMENT can also be considered in terms of the more direct responses to it by Ch'iu Chün's admirers and critics. The responses from Ch'iu's younger contemporaries, people who matured in the first few decades of the sixteenth century, were mixed, some being direct and positive, some otherwise. But unfailingly, they reflect the actual impact of this work. A few more notable examples can be given which also help reveal the intellectual sentiments around the time when Wang Yang-ming's teachings developed into a school.

The SUPPLEMENT contains many proposals for dealing with contemporary political and socio-economic problems. Most of those proposals represented Ch'iu's own views and opinions. As such, they could not all have been shared by Ch'iu's contemporaries. But they were influential to the extent that it was sometimes necessary to oppose them so that the policies which they envisioned could be blocked or reversed. As a result, sometime in the 1500's or 1510's, the noted Hu Shih-ning (1469-1530) wrote his TU TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU FU-CHIEN [SUPERFICIAL OPINIONS ON READING THE SUPPLEMENT], a two-chün critique of Ch'iu's proposals. This book seems no longer to be extant, but according to the Ch'ing scholar Lu Wen-chao (1717-1795), who reviewed it, Hu not only elaborated upon those of Ch'iu's proposals with which he agreed, but he also criticized those which he regarded as unworkable. It appears from this to have been a serious evaluation of Ch'iu's proposals.⁴⁶

The SUPPLEMENT professed to supplement the EXTENDED MEANING, which had stressed personal cultivation of the emperor as the most important basis of good government. But it turned out that the latter was now overshadowed, because the practical knowledge of government and the ways of running the administration offered by the former were more appealing to the readers. Staunch supporters of the EXTENDED MEANING then found it necessary to find ways to make it prevail again. Consequently, Yang Lien (1452-1525) produced an abridged version of it, called the TA-HSUEH YEN-I CHIEH-LUEH, as a means of counteracting the impact of Ch'iu's work. In 1522, Yang Lien presented this book to the newly enthroned Chia-ching emperor (reigned 1521-1566), with a memorial stating that unlike Ch'iu Chün, who had regretted the brevity and incompleteness of the EXTENDED MEANING, he thought that it was already too voluminous for the emperors'

learning of the mind and the heart -- the most important aspect of their governing. He abridged Chen's book from forty-three chün to twenty, so that, he contended, the emperor could grasp the essential ways for cultivating himself in a short time.⁴⁷ Yang's abridgement and his memorial implied clearly one idea: an emperor should not occupy too much time in studying voluminous works, such as the SUPPLEMENT, which were only of secondary importance in helping him govern the state.

In the meantime, the materials included in the SUPPLEMENT also aroused reactions. The book contains much on historical events and dynastic precedents which were designed to provide comparative cases and historical analogies for the study of contemporary (i.e. fifteenth-century) government. The famous Chan Jo-shui (1466-1560), however, thought that past speeches were equally important for the sake of discussion. As a result, in 1528 he produced his own monumental KO-WU T'UNG [PENETRATION BY THE INVESTIGATION OF THINGS], modelled after the format and style of the SUPPLEMENT. His work consisted mostly of the sayings of past rulers, worthies and wise men. It was thus conceived as a statecraft-oriented work, and though it enjoyed only limited circulation, it was considered a worthy companion of Ch'iu's work.⁴⁸

Also responding to the statecraft "spirit" of the SUPPLEMENT, and stimulated by Ch'iu Chün's statecraft ideas, was another work of the same genre as the SUPPLEMENT. This was the CHUNG-YUNG YEN-I [EXTENDED MEANING OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN] by Hsia Liang-sheng (1480-1538), written in 1537. There was ample justification in the minds of that age for Hsia to write his book, for if the GREAT LEARNING could be elaborated upon, so could the DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN, as these two small classics were considered of equal importance in Confucian learning. Even though Hsia was working on the DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN, he was much influenced by the SUPPLEMENT. In his book, many of Ch'iu Chün's opinions expressed in the SUPPLEMENT are quoted.⁴⁹ More important, he inherited much of Ch'iu's critical spirit; although ostensibly an elaboration of the DOCTRINE OF THE MEAN, Hsia's book implied many criticisms of the government of the 1520's and 1530's, just as Ch'iu's had criticized that of the mid-fifteenth century.

And if the SUPPLEMENT needed to be criticized (as indeed it was criticized by Hu Shih-ning), so, then, some people thought, should the EXTENDED MEANING. Between 1530 and 1540, Huang Hsün (c.s. 1529, d. ca. 1538) wrote his long-lost TA-HSUEH YEN-I FU-CHIEN, which, with a title similar to Hu Shih-ning's work on the SUPPLEMENT, was obviously a critique of the EXTENDED MEANING.⁵⁰

During the opening decade of the sixteenth century, the SUPPLEMENT caused one noted scholar-official to change his intellectual orientation. According to Hu Sung (1503-1566), who wrote a preface to his works, Wei Hsiao (1483-1543) had

been devoted to the study of law. Then he shifted to the study of the SUPPLEMENT. Finally, he discovered that despite its greatness in statecraft-learning, the SUPPLEMENT did not teach what was called "basic" learning of Confucians, which, according to him, was the rectification of the mind and personal cultivation. Thereafter, he shifted to that "basic" learning, which eventually made him a famous Confucian scholar and an intellectual rival of Wang Yang-ming.⁵¹

From such responses, it can be seen that the SUPPLEMENT had considerable impact during the first half of the sixteenth century, regardless of whether people (such as the scholars cited) were agreeing or disagreeing with Ch'iu Chün. The SUPPLEMENT had become a focus for certain types of learning and scholarship. All other Ming collections of statecraft writings appeared after the SUPPLEMENT, and excerpts from it are found in almost every one of them.

(4) OTHER RESPONSES IN THE SAME PERIOD

One may be tempted to suppose that the intellectual climate in the first half of the sixteenth century would not have allowed the SUPPLEMENT to be so influential. The School of Mind, represented by Wang Yang-ming, Chan Jo-shui, and their followers, was flourishing. In addition, the conservative Chia-ching emperor was noted for his interest in promoting the EXTENDED MEANING. He sponsored an edition of it in 1530 and bestowed copies on remonstrators and censors.⁵² This imperial gesture contrasts with that of the Hung-chih emperor, who, by sponsoring the SUPPLEMENT, had helped foster an intellectual climate which encouraged more attention to the positive solution of practical governmental affairs and more devotion to statecraft knowledge. By sponsoring the EXTENDED MEANING, the Chia-ching emperor, whether intentionally or not, helped re-emphasize the supremacy of the notions of rectification of the mind and personal cultivation. That age, in short, could be thought of as being generally unfavorable to the promotion of the kind of learning and scholarship that the SUPPLEMENT had stood for.

Yet when it came to practical problems, the SUPPLEMENT remained an appropriate text to consult. Noted statesmen such as Yang T'ing-ho (1459-1529) and Yang I-ch'ing (1454-1530) were clearly influenced by the intellectual orientation of Ch'iu Chün.⁵³ They were but the more prominent among the many admirers of the book and its author. Their admiration was not without reason: the book was useful to them. As Tsung Ch'en pointed out in his preface to the 1559 collated edition of the book, despite the Chia-ching emperor's promotion of the EXTENDED MEANING, the SUPPLEMENT continued to be used as a reference and a basis of argument whenever important state issues were raised in the court. For example, in 1531 the Chia-ching emperor himself was convinced by Grand Secretary Chang Ts'ung

(1475-1539) to subscribe to Ch'iu Chün's ideas in sensitive matters concerning sacrificial offerings to the imperial ancestors.⁵⁴

But more important than this occasion of imperial acceptance was the SUPPLEMENT's being widely recognized as an essential and useful work by the officials who did not think that stress on the mind and personal cultivation could help much to solve practical state affairs. They understood, as it was aptly put by Tsung Ch'en, that the SUPPLEMENT was a work aiming "to overcome the defects of the age," which means that it addressed urgent state and social problems. To some, the book was taken as a point of departure in the understanding of real and imminent issues; to others, it was also seen as a masterpiece with which to confront the rising tide of the doctrines of mind. In fact, Tsung Ch'en, himself a man of integrity and cultivation, criticized (though as indirectly as possible) the impracticality of the EXTENDED MEANING.⁵⁵ And even though the famous Hsüeh Ying-ch'i (1500-ca. 1573) stated that "in supplementing the EXTENDED MEANING Ch'iu had, I am afraid, unavoidably confined his mind by the factual knowledge he provided," Hsüeh conceded that Ch'iu's work was "like that of a medical doctor who collected books of prescriptions and that it would serve well if one could use it flexibly with a reference to the [EXTENDED MEANING]."⁵⁶

Actually, despite the patronage of the Chia-ching emperor, the EXTENDED MEANING was never able to come close to the SUPPLEMENT in terms of its practical influence, though they were always being mentioned together and sometimes published alongside each other. For instance, when petitioning in 1573 for Wang Yang-ming to be honored in the Confucian temple, the most crucial advocate felt that he had to cite Ch'iu Chün's definition as found in the SUPPLEMENT in order to justify his case for granting such an honor.⁵⁷ Although both books were available in government local schools, the SUPPLEMENT drew more readers.

As time passed, a need was felt among the intellectuals to continue and expand the kind of knowledge provided in the SUPPLEMENT. Probably at the end of the sixteenth century, there appeared a "supplement" to the SUPPLEMENT. This was the HSÜ TA-HSÜEH YEN-I PU, written by Tsou Kuan-kuang (1556-ca. 1620). Tsou was a friend of eminent Tung-lin leaders such as Tsou Yüan-piao (1551-1624) and Ku Hsien-ch'eng (1550-1612), and was particularly said to have enjoyed equal fame with the former.⁵⁸ The content of his work is unknown, for it seems to have long been lost. But it seems safe to infer that it contained information on the Ming state and government after 1487, and was similar to the SUPPLEMENT in format and style of presentation. It may be worthwhile to point out that while Tsou Kuan-kuang was supplementing Ch'iu Chün's work, another scholar, Wu Jui-teng (sui-keng 1586, died before 1618), was doing the same thing for Chen Te-hsiu's EXTENDED MEANING. In 1594 Wu wrote

the preface for his HUANG MING SHENG-WU PIEN, a book with the self-explanatory subtitle of NI-HSU TA-HSUEH YEN-I [EMULATION AND CONTINUATION OF THE EXTENDED MEANING OF THE GREAT LEARNING]. Although the topics of this book are similar to those of the EXTENDED MEANING, it mainly cites happenings of the Ming dynasty. Basically, as another preface stated, it was written because while Chen Te-hsiu had emphasized the importance of historical lessons (but of course had no material immediately relevant to the Ming), Ch'iu Chün's entries concerning the Ming cases were not complete, and therefore should be supplemented.⁵⁹ This last view about the SUPPLEMENT was shared by other people of those times.

Coming into the seventeenth century, with the critical situation of the Ming dynasty being felt, the study of statecraft works like the SUPPLEMENT became even more appealing. While conscientious officials were increasingly worried about the worsening situation and were pondering ways to overcome the adversities of the time, the SUPPLEMENT was given a new sense of relevance. Its proposals were reconsidered, and some perhaps were modified for actual implementation.⁶⁰

New ideas about the book also evolved. It came to be regarded as the essential reference work for the most practical kinds of problems, and as a book that must be studied in order that affairs could be handled and problems solved. Some officials were especially serious about it. In 1624 the Libationer of the National Academy at Nanking, T'ang Ta-chang (chin-shih 1607), memorialized that the SUPPLEMENT be studied daily in the imperial lectures, so that "the difficulties of the age could be overcome." He stressed that if the emperor really had "the desire to overcome the adversities of the time through learning about the past, then Ch'iu Chün's work has offered what is definitely applicable." Specifically, he asked that each day several of the book's entries be presented in the imperial lectures. T'ang's memorial was submitted in the fourth month, and it was ordered that the SUPPLEMENT be presented for imperial reading. In the eighth month, T'ang was again ordered to have it collated and re-issued.⁶¹ It cannot be ascertained whether T'ang had published a new edition of the book as a result; there seems to be no extant copy of the SUPPLEMENT that was published during the T'ien-ch'i period (1621-1627). And it is doubtful if that carpentry-enthusiast, the T'ien-ch'i emperor, ever read the book seriously or even gave it serious consideration. At that time, the court was under the domination of the eunuch Wei Chung-hsien and his gangsters, and any imperial lecture was at best a mere formality. But T'ang's memorial reveals that some late-Ming intellectuals realized the scholarship represented by the SUPPLEMENT was useful for the solution of practical problems. The problems that Ch'iu Chün had raised in the latter half of the fifteenth century were still relevant in the first half of the seventeenth century. His book, then, was concerned with contemporary, not just historical, statecraft knowledge.

But for that very reason, the SUPPLEMENT was also felt to be inadequate, if not exactly outdated. It was written in the late fifteenth century; the many important and special cases of the entire sixteenth century were therefore not mentioned. But since no book of the same type and power had appeared to replace it, some "supplementation" was in order. In 1628, with the Ch'ung-chen emperor newly on the throne, a remonstrator by the name of Sung Ming-wu (c.s. 1619) memorialized that it be edited and supplemented so as to bring it up-to-date.⁶² Sung's idea was accepted, and the book was formally recognized as a necessary reference work for court officials.

One cannot be sure, however, whether imperial sponsorship was ever given to Sung's proposal for further work on the SUPPLEMENT: no record exists concerning the matter. But if the government did nothing substantial to carry out Sung's proposals, that fact does not mean that his ideas were not echoed by his fellow officials. The eminent Ch'en Jen-hsi was working on his HUANG MING SHIH-FA LU, which was precisely an endeavor to draw up Ming cases which had occurred after the writing of the SUPPLEMENT and which he thought were useful for the analysis of the current situation. This work was written in 1632 -- the same year that Ch'en published in Ch'ang-chou a new edition of the SUPPLEMENT with his comments -- but it was not published until after Ch'en's death in 1634. The format of this work is not quite parallel to that of the SUPPLEMENT, but Ch'en made it clear in his preface that he undertook to have it compiled as an attempt to supplement the SUPPLEMENT and the EXTENDED MEANING.⁶³ It should perhaps be noted that the present title of the book was Ch'en's final choice; earlier and elsewhere, he called it (or conceived of it) as the "Continuation and Supplementation of the Complete Works of the EXTENDED MEANING" -- i.e., of both the EXTENDED MEANING and the SUPPLEMENT.⁶⁴ It is also interesting to note that Ch'en was somewhat bothered by the fact that "in recent years there are people who read the SUPPLEMENT [and came to like it], but there are no people who read the EXTENDED MEANING and came to like it."⁶⁵ In any case, Ch'iu Chün's works were now being widely read and discussed, and the SUPPLEMENT given serious attention as never before. The treatment that it was given in the HUANG MING CHING-SHIH WEN-PIEN mentioned earlier is a good example. Ch'iu's name probably had become so respected and appealing that some opportunistic publishers found it profitable falsely to attribute to him books which they published.⁶⁶

CONCLUSION

From this discussion, it is clear that the SUPPLEMENT was influential in the Ming. It was warmly welcomed and widely read because it offered a compendium of practical statecraft knowledge and manifested a pragmatic spirit that attracted those concerned with practical state problems. The responses

to the SUPPLEMENT also demonstrate that the Ming intellectual world was never totally dominated by idealistic Neo-Confucians. From at least the late fifteenth century, a conscious effort by a substantial number of Confucian-minded scholars, officials, and potential officials persisted in the pursuit of organized, pragmatic statecraft knowledge.

From these conclusions, we may reassess what Ming intellectuals achieved. Huang Tsung-hsi alleged in the late seventeenth century that only in the area of the learning of the mind and heart did Ming scholars excel in terms of clarity and subtlety in the tradition of Neo-Confucian learning.⁶⁷ Now it perhaps can be added that they were also unrivalled in the breadth and depth of knowledge that was practical to them and their society on a daily basis. Thus if they showed that they were interested in a philosophical understanding of the human individual as a moral being, they also showed that they were equally enthusiastic about the political disposition of human affairs as a practical business. The only question is why they failed after all to achieve what they had intended--to keep the Ming dynasty healthy.

NOTES

1. See Wu Chi-hua, "Ming-tai Ch'iu Chün te sheng-tsu nien," and "MING-SHIH Ch'iu Chün chuan pu-cheng," in TA-LU TSA-CHIH 35.2 (1967), 42-44, and 35.9 (1967), 217-78, respectively.
2. See Ch'iu Chün's biography by Ray Huang and Wu Chi-hua in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., DICTIONARY OF MING BIOGRAPHY (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1976), p. 251; also Su Yün-feng, "Ch'iu Chün, i-wei yao-ts'ung hai-wai shu chung-yüan te pu-i ch'ing-hsiang," CH'IU HAI CHI-K'AN, no. 5-6, pp. 9-20.
3. See Feng Ch'i-yung, "Chieh-p'ou i-pu feng-chien tao-te chiao-k'o-shu--WU-LUN CH'UAN-PEI CHUNG-HSIAO CHI," in Feng, CH'UN-TS'AO CHI (Shanghai: Shang-hai wen-i ch'u-pan she, 1979), pp. 345-68.
4. For example, see Chao Ching, "Ch'iu Chün -- Chung-kuo shih-wu shih-chi ching-chi ssu-hsiang te cho-yüeh tai-piao jen-wu," BEIJING DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN), 1982.2, pp. 47-53,60; Hu Chi-ch'uang, CHUNG-KUO CHING-CHI SSU-HSIANG-SHIH CHIEN-PIEN (Peking: Chung-kuo She-hui-k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan-she, 1981), Chapter 20; Li Chin, et al., CHUNG-KUO FA-LU SSU-HSIANG SHIH (Harbin: Hei-lung-chiang

jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1983), p. 323-33.

5. See Lee Cheuk-yin, "Ch'iu Chün chih shih-hsüeh: tu Ch'iu Chün SHIH-SHIH CHENG-KANG cha-chi," MING-SHIH YEN-CHIU CHUAN-K'AN 7 (1984), 163-208; also Hung-lam Chu, "Some Aspects of Ch'iu Chün's SHIH-SHIH CHENG-KANG," paper presented at the Regional Seminar on Neo-Confucianism, Columbia University, March 1983.
6. Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) and the TA-HSÜEH YEN-I PU: Statecraft Thought in Fifteenth-Century China," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1984.
7. Lee Cheuk-yin, "Ch'iu Chün (1421-1495) and his Views on Government and History," Ph.D. dissertation, The Australian National University, 1984.
8. See, for instance, the twenty-eight articles in Institute of Modern History, Academic Sinica, ed., PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON THE THEORY OF STATECRAFT OF MODERN CHINA (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1984).
9. For a discussion of some of the reasons for the book's success, see Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Chün and the TA-HSÜEH YEN-I PU," pp. 86-94.
10. TA-HSÜEH YEN-I PU (1488 edition), "preface," 4a-b; also Ch'iu Chün, CH'IUUNG-T'AI HUI-KAO (1621 edition), 9.38b.
11. For a discussion of Ch'iu's intention for his book, see Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Ch'un and the TA HSÜEH YEN-I PU," Chap. 2.
12. See Chou Hün-mu's (1419-1491) memorial requesting the publication of the book, in the front matter portion of the SUPPLEMENT (1488 and most other editions); or MING HSIAO-TSUNG SHIH-LU (rpt. Taipei: Academic Sinica, 1965), 7.0134-5; or Ch'iu Chün's memorial for the presentation of the book, "Chin TA-HSÜEH YEN-I PU tsou," in CH'IUUNG-TAI HUI-KAO, 7.1a-3a.
13. See Yung Jung (1744-1790), Chi Yün (1724-1805) et al., eds., SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO (WAN-YU WEN-K'U edition. Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1931), vol. 18,

- p. 55, comments on the SUPPLEMENT.
14. For a general definition of pragmatism, which I have here applied to characterize the philosophical dimension of the SUPPLEMENT, see H. S. Thayer, MEANING AND ACTION: A CRITICAL HISTORY OF PRAGMATISM (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), p. 431. See also A. J. Ayer, THE ORIGINS OF PRAGMATISM (San Francisco: Freeman, Cooper and Company, 1968), pp. 5-6, 101-19, 180-82.
 15. For a discussion of this work by Chen in connection with his other works, see Wm. Theodore de Bary, "The Neo-Confucian Learning of the Mind-and-Heart," in de Bary, NEO-CONFUCIAN ORTHODOXY AND THE LEARNING OF THE MIND-AND-HEART (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), p. 67-185.
 16. See Chen Te-hsiu, TA-HSUEH YEN-I (SSU-PU TS'UNG-K'AN SAN-PIEN ed.), "Preface," 2b and 3b.
 17. See CH'IUNG-T'AI HUI-KAO, 7.1b; TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU, 1.1a.
 18. TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU, "Preface," 2a-b; CH'IUNG-T'AI HUI-KAO, 9.37a.
 19. TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU, 1.1a.
 20. For this point and its relation to the content of the EXTENDED MEANING, see Chu Hung-lin (Hung-lam Chu), "Li-lun-hsing te ching-shih chih hsueh: Chen Te-hsiu TA-HSUEH YEN-I chih yung-i chi ch'i chu-tso pei-ching," SHIH-HUO MONTHLY, 15.3-4 (1985.9), 108-19.
 21. TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU, "Pu ch'ien shu (immediate supplement to the EXTENDED MEANING)," 1a-b.
 22. See also Manō Senryū, "DAIGAKUENGIHO no 'Seichōtei' ni tsuite," in Sakuma Shigeo and Yamane Yukio, eds., NAKAYAMA HACHIRŌ KYŌJU SHŌJU-KINEN MIN-SHIN-SHI RONSŌ (Tokyo: Ryōen Shoten, 1977), 89-109.
 23. See Nishida Taichirō, "Jukyōteki zaisei shisō no ichi ruikai," TŌA JIMBUN GAKUHŌ, 3.4 (1943), 95-147; also note 4 above.

24. The fourteen chūan that comprise this section have been translated with annotations by Saeki Fukudō. Entitled SHINA REKIDAI KEIJI HŌSEI NO SHISŌ, Saeki's translation was published in Tokyo in 1932 as monographs no. 167 and 168 of the SHIHŌ SHIRYŌ.
25. See also Manō Senryū, "DAIGAKUENGIHO no seiritsu," in Manō, MINDAI BUNKA SHI KENKYU (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1979). Cf. Tamura Jitsujō, "Kyu Shun to DAIGAKUENGIHO," TŌHŌ GAKKAI SŌRITSU JŪGO-SHŪNEN KINEN TŌHŌGAKU RONSHU (Tokyo: Tōhō Gakkai, 1962) 157-64.
26. For the books and commentaries quoted in the SUPPLEMENT, see Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Chūn and the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU," Appendix B.
27. For a list of some of the more important proposals in the SUPPLEMENT, see *ibid.*, Appendix C.
28. See Ch'ien Ch'ien-i, MU CHAI YU-HSUEH CHI (SSU-PU TS'UNG-K'AN CH'U-PIEN SO-PEN ed., Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1967), "Supplement," p. 495-96, "TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU SHAN Hsū."
29. Wang Ch'i even included a biography of Ch'iu in the "Tao-t'ung kao" (monograph of the orthodox transmission of Confucianism) section of this work. See Wang, HSI WEN-HSIEN T'UNG-K'AO (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1979), 206.17b.
30. See Ch'en Tzu-lung, et al., HUANG MING CHING-SHIH WEN-PIEN (rpt. Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1962).
31. See Willard Peterson, BITTER GOURD (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979), p. 119.
32. See also Jerry Dennerline, THE CHIA-TING LOYALISTS (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 166.
33. See Manō Senryū, "DAIGAKUENGIHO no seiritsu," *op. cit.*
34. For notes on extant copies of the various editions of the EXTENDED MEANING described in this sub-section, see Hung-lam Chu, "Ch'iu Chūn and the TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU," pp. 16-21.

35. Chiang's work is the 4-chūan TA-HSUEH YEN-I CHI-YAO, a copy of which exists in the National Central Library in Taipei. It has a preface by Chiang himself, and a postface by Chan Huang (fl. 1560), who wrote that he was a native of She-hsien. Nothing about them, however, can be found in the gazetteers of the Hui-chou area. Both preface and postface are dated 1559.
36. Ku's book, although no longer extant, is registered in Chu I-tsun's (1629-1709) CHING-I K'AO (SSU-PU PEI-YAO ed.), 161.5a. A brief biography of Ku Ch'i-ching, a native of Wu-hsi, is found in the 1881 WU-HSI CHIN-KUEI HSIEN-CHIH (rpt. Taipei: Wu-hsi t'ung-hsiang-hui, 1968), 21.14a-b. In 1557, he was appointed Vice Commissioner to the Salt Administration in Kwangtung. For this, see Juan Yūan (1764-1849), KUANG-TUNG T'UNG-CHIH (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1968), 18.23a. He was appointed from the position of student in the Nanking National Academy. In Kwangtung, he also helped Huang Tso (1490-1566) compile the provincial gazetteers of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. His book probably was written in the 1550's. For comments on another of Ku's works -- an annotation of the T'ang poet Wang Wei's essays and poems -- see SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO, vol. 34, p. 16.
37. This abridgement is in 6 chūan. The Library of Congress has a copy of it. The dates and places of publication of this book are based on the descriptions in T. L. Yūan, A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOG OF RARE CHINESE BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1957), pp. 42-43. There is also a manuscript copy in the National Central Library, on which the description here of the book's format is based. For Hsü Shih, see Chiao Hung (1541-1620), ed., KUO-CH'AO HSIEN-CHENG-LU (rpt. Taipei: Hsüeh-sheng shu-chū, 1965), 52.89a, biography by Chang Yūan-pien (1538-1588); Chang T'ing-yū (1672-1755) et al., ed., MING SHIH (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chū, 1974), 220.5789.
38. See CHING-I K'AO, 159.3b. For Ch'eng Kao, see biography in LO-P'ING HSIEN-CHIH (microfilm of 1752 edition from National Palace Museum, Taipei), 19.14b-15a. Ch'eng was appointed prefect of Lei-chou, Kwangtung, before 1513, after he offended the eunuch Liu Chin (d. 1510); he died there when he was about to go to the capital evaluation.
39. See CHING-I K'AO, 161.6b. Yang Wen-tse was a native of Ningpo. See NING-PO FU-CHIH (rpt. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1974), 17a.38a. He has no biography in that gazetteer, however. In the 1615 edition of the HO-CHIEN

- FU-CHIH (microfilm from Library of Congress), 9.58a, there is a short entry about him which states that he had been an instructor in the Pa-chou sub-prefectural school and was later promoted to be an instructor in the National Academy at Nanking. No dates are given, but he should have died before 1542, for according to Yamane Yukio's NIHON GENSON MINDAI CHIHŌSHI DENKI SAKUIN HŌ (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko Mindai-shi kenkyūshitsu, 1964) Yang's name appeared in the 1542 edition of the HO-CHIEN FU-CHIH.
40. This 31-chūan work was reviewed by the SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU compilers. See SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO, vol. 18, p. 90-91. Wang's work seems no longer to be extant. For Wang Cheng, see the biography in WEN-CHOU FU-CHIH (1605 edition, microfilm by Takahashi shashin, Tokyo), 11.83b-84b. According to this biography, he voluntarily retired from his post of Governor of Kweichow after he failed to subdue the aboriginal officials there. According to the KUEI-CHOU T'UNG-CHIH (rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1968), 17.5b, he was the third of the five governors appointed there during the Lung-ch'ing period (1567-1572).
41. A copy of this 12-chūan work, with a preface by Cha To (c.s. 1565) dated 1567, is held by the Gest Oriental Library of Princeton University. The SSU-K'U CH'UAN-SHU has no record of it. For a description of it, see Ch'ü Wan-li, A CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE RARE BOOKS IN THE GEST COLLECTION OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY (Taipei: I-wen yin-shu-kuan, 1975), p. 226. For Hsü Kuo, see KUO-CH'AO HSIEN-CHENG LU, 17.169a-175a, epitaph of Hsü by Wang Chia-p'ing (1536-1603); MING-SHIH, 219.5773-74.
42. This book was mentioned by Ch'en Hung-mou in his preface to his own abridgement of the EXTENDED MEANING and the SUPPLEMENT, which will be noted later. See also Lee Cheuk-yin, "Ch'iu Chūn and his Views on Government and History," p. 506.
43. See MU-CHAI YU-HSUEH CHI, "Supplement," p. 495-96, "TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU SHAN Hsü." The Supreme Commander of the Canal area Ch'ien referred to in his preface was Ts'ai Shih-ying. He held three posts from 1655 to 1658. See CHIANG-NAN T'UNG-CHIH (rpt. Hua-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1967), chūan 105, p. 1717. Ch'ien mentioned that Ts'ai's publishing of Nieh's book took place when he arrived at his post. In a surviving copy of this book (which reveals that it is of a 30-chūan content), the compiler is given as Chang Neng-lin, Assistant Education Intendant of the

Chiang-nan area. It is further said to be printed in 1656 and presented to the Ch'ing throne by its compiler. See Lee Cheuk-yin, "Ch'iu Chün and his Views on Government and History," p. 507.

44. This abridgement of the SUPPLEMENT was published along with a 6-chüan abridgement of the EXTENDED MEANING, called TA-HSUEH YEN-I CHI-YAO, also by Ch'en. For comments on these books, see SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO, vol. 18, p. 91. I have no access to the 1737 edition, but Ch'en's preface (dated 1736) is preserved in the 1866 edition, a copy of which exists in the Gest Oriental Library. Two more "original prefaces," by Chang Yün-sui and Sun Jen-lung respectively (both dated 1737), are also preserved in this later edition.
45. This 1866 edition in the Gest Oriental Library was published by Chao P'ei-kuei of Han-chung, Shensi, once magistrate of Ch'en-liu, Honan. Chao published the TA-HSUEH YEN-I CHI-YAO first, in 1865. The TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU CHI-YAO also has a preface by the collator, Li Wen-min, dated 1866.
46. See Lu Wen-chao, PAO-CHING-T'ANG WEN-CHI (SSU-PU TSUNG-K'AN CH'U-PIEN edition), 2.11a-12b, "TU TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU FU-CHIEN hsü." Lu wrote his preface in 1795. For Hu Shih-ning, see biographies by Chao Shih-ch'un (1509-1567) and Lei Li (1505-1581) in KUO-CH'AO HSIEN-CHENG-LU, 39.7a-22b; MING-SHIH, 199.5258-63. It has not been ascertained when Hu's book was written. Lu Wen-chao wrote that it was evident that Hu had written it after he had become an official, i.e., after 1493. But since Lu said that in some places Hu had stated that he had had certain proposals derived from Ch'iu's, which he submitted to the court, it probably was written during the period 1500-1520, when he was an energetic official in Nanking and Kiangsi.
47. Yang's book seems to be no longer extant. It is not registered in the SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU catalogue, nor in other collectanea. However, his preface to the book and the two memorials for the presentation of the book are preserved in the 1632 edition of the TA-HSUEH YEN-I published by Ch'en Jen-hsi. For Yang Lien, see DICTIONARY OF MING BIOGRAPHY, pp. 1522-23 (biography by Julia Ching and Huang Pei).

48. See Chan's preface to the SHENG-HSUEH KO-WU T'UNG, written upon the book's presentation to the throne in 1528. The book, more often known by its shortened name KO-WU T'UNG, was first published in 1533 by Chan's students. The Gest Oriental Library has a copy of this earliest edition. For a comment on this work, see SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO, vol. 81, p. 61. For Chan Jo-shui, see DICTIONARY OF MING BIOGRAPHY, pp. 36-41 (biography by Chaoying Fang).
49. This 17-chüan book is extant in the SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU collection, in which Hsia's preface is also included. The dating of this work is based on Hsia's preface and on his biography in MING-SHIH, 189.5020-22. For the SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU note on this book, see also SSU-K'U CH'ÜAN-SHU TSUNG-MU T'I-YAO, vol. 18, p. 60-61.
50. See CHING-I K'AO, 159.6a. The book is lost. For Huang Hsün, see HUI-CHOU FU-CHIH (microfilm of 1566 edition from Library of Congress), 13.31b and 18.16b. Chu I-tsun mistakenly gives Huang as a chih-shih of 1514.
51. See Hu Sung's preface to Wei's works, CHUANG-CH'U HSIEN-SHENG I-SHU (Hishi copy of Ming edition at Gest Oriental Library), written in 1561. Wei's works were edited by his student Kuei Yu-kuang (1506-1571). For Wei Hsiao, see Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695), MING-JU HSUEH-AN (WAN-YU WEN-K'U ed., rpt. Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1965), 3.24-25; MING-SHIH, 282.7250-51.
52. See MING SHIH-TSUNG SHIH-LU (rpt. Taipei: Academic Sinica, 1965), 111.2615.
53. For their relation with Ch'iu Chün, see Yang I-ch'ing, SHIH-TS'UNG WEN-KAO (Hishi copy of 1526 edition at Gest Oriental Library), 13.2a-4b, "CH'IUUNG-T'AI LEI-KAO hsü" (preface to Ch'iu's works); Yang T'ing-ho, "Ming hsiang-kung chin-shih Wang K'e-hsin mu-piao" (a tomb inscription about an in-law of Ch'iu), in CH'IUUNG-SHAN HSIEN-CHIH (rpt. of 1911 ed. Taipei: Ch'iuung-shan hsien-chih ch'ung-yin wei-yüan-hui, 1964), 14.54b-56a.
54. See MING SHIH-TSUNG SHIH-LU, 121.2880ff.
55. In his preface to the 1559 collated edition of both the EXTENDED MEANING and the SUPPLEMENT.

56. See Hsüeh Ying-ch'i, HSÜEH-TZU YUNG-YÜ (facsimile reproduction of 1569 edition (s.l., 1939), 1.15a.
57. See MING SHEN-TSUNG SHIH-LU (rpt. Taipei: Academic Sinica, 1966), 13.0425-26. For a further study of this problem, see my forthcoming article, "The Politics of Recognizing Wang Yang-ming in 1572-73."
58. See CHING-I K'AO, 160.7a. For Tsou Kuan-kuang's biography, see YÜN-MENG HSIEN-CHIH (microfilm of pre-1671 manuscript from National Palace Museum), chüan 5. For his learning, see Ku Hsien-ch'eng, CHING-KAO TS'ANG-KAO (SSU-K'U CHUAN-SHU CHEN-PEN PA-CHI ed., Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1978), 10.6b-9a, "Shang-hsien ching-she chi" (a "record" of Tsou's studio).
59. The Academia Sinica in Taipei has a copy of this 34-chüan work. It was published in Kuang-chou, Honan, in 1594. Wu Jui-teng was then the instructor of the Kuang-chou county school. Besides Wu's preface, there are four more prefaces: one undated, two dated 1593, and one dated 1594. The author of the other preface referred to was Li Shih-hua (fl. 1590's), who wrote the 1594 preface. Wu was a native of Wu-chin; his highest degree was a sui-kung, obtained in 1586. See KUANG-HSU WU-CHIN YANG-HU HSIEN-CHIH (1879 ed.), 20.19a. Wu has a biography in the 1618 edition of P'I-LING JEN-P'IN CHI (microfilm from National Central Library), 10.18b. It says that when he was promoted to work in the National Academy, he presented his work to the court, and he died of over-working in copying and proofreading his works. Hence he died before 1618.
60. See the description by T'u Shan (fl. 1610's) in his MING CHENG T'UNG-TSUNG (rpt. of 1615 ed., Taipei: Ch'eng-wen ch'u-pan-she, 1969), 17.3a.
61. For T'ang's long memorial and the imperial responses, see KU-CHIN T'U-SHU CHI-CH'ENG (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hsing shu-tien, 1964), "Ching-chi tien" (section on the Classics), chüan 279 (vol. 578, p. 3).
62. See T'an Ch'ien (1594-1648), KUO-CHUEH (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1958), 89.5423.
63. For an introduction to this book and its date of publication, see Huang Chang-chien's preface to the photographic reprint published in 1965 by Hsüeh-sheng shu-chü, Taipei.

64. See Ch'en Jen-hsi's general preface to the combined issue of both the EXTENDED MEANING and SUPPLEMENT published in 1632.
65. See Ch'en's preface to the 1632 edition of the EXTENDED MEANING.
66. For example, an expanded version of the popular history book HUANG MING T'UNG-CHI by Ch'en Chien (1497-1567), published in the late 1630's or early 1640's with the title HUANG MING ERH-TSU SHIH-SSU TSUNG TSENG-PU PIAO-T'I P'ING-TUAN T'UNG-CHI, even has the line "Ch'iu Ch'iuung-shan hsien-sheng chien-ting" (examined by Ch'iu Chün) inscribed on its cover page and the line "Ch'iuung-shan Ch'iu Chün chien-ting" inscribed on the first page of each of its first 15 chüan. A copy of this book is held by the Gest Oriental Library. Note that Ch'en Chien was born two years after Ch'iu Chün died.
67. MING-JU HSUEH-AN, third entry of "Fan-li" (guidelines of the compilation).

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Cha To 查鐸

Chan Huang 詹洪

Chan Jo-shui 湛若水

Chang Neng-lin 張能麟

Chang T'ing-yü 張廷玉

Chang Ts'ung 張璠

Chang Yuan-pien 張元汴

Chang Yün-sui 張允隨

Ch'ang-chou 長洲

Chao Ching 趙靖

Chao P'ei-kuei 趙培桂

Chao Shih-ch'un 趙時春

Chen Te-hsiu 真德秀

Ch'en Chien 陳建

Ch'en Hung-mou 陳宏謨

Ch'en Jen-hsi 陳仁錫

Ch'en-liu 陳留

Ch'en Tzu-lung 陳子龍

Ch'eng Kao 程誥

Chi Yün 紀昀

CHIANG-NAN T'UNG-CHIH 江南通志

Chiang Wen-wu 江文武

Chiao Hung 焦竑

Chien-ning 江寧

Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益

CHING-I K'AO 經義考

CHING-KAO TS'ANG-KAO 涇臯藏稿

ching-shih shih-wu ts'e 經史時務策

Ch'iu Chün 丘濬

CH'IU HAI CHI-K'AN 丘海季刊

CH'UUNG-SHAN HSIEN-CHIH 瓊山縣志

CH'UUNG-T'AI HUI-KAO 瓊臺會稿

Chou Hung-mu 周洪謨

Chu Hung-lam 朱鴻林

Chu I-tsun 朱彝尊

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CHUNG-YUNG YEN-I 中庸衍義

Ch'ü Wan-li 屈萬里

Fang Chaoying 房兆楹

Fang I-chih 方以智

Feng Ch'i-yung 馮其庸

Han-chung 漢中

HO-CHIEN FU-CHIH 河間府志

Hsia Liang-sheng 夏良勝

hsiao-tzu pen 小字本

Hsü Kuang-ch'i 徐光啓

Hsü Kuo 許國

Hsü Shih 徐弼

- HSU-TA-HSUEH YEN-I PU 續大學衍義補
 HSU WEN-HSIEN T'UNG-K'AO 續文獻通考
 HSUEH-TZU YUNG-YU 薛子庸語
 Hsüeh Ying-ch'i 薛應旂
 Hu Chi-ch'uang 胡寄窗
 Hu Shih-ning 胡世寧
 Hu Sung 胡松
 Huang Chang-chien 黃彰健
 Huang Hsün 黃訓
 HUANG MING CHING-SHIH WEN-PIEN 皇明經世文編
 HUANG MING ERH TSU SHIH-SSU TSUNG TSENG-PU PIAO-T'I P'ING-TUAN
 T'UNG-CHI 皇明二祖十四宗增補標題評斷通紀
 HUANG MING SHENG-WU PIEN 皇明繩武編
 HUANG MING SHIH-FA LU 皇明世法錄
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 Huang, Ray (Huang Jen-yü) 黃仁宇
 Huang Tso 黃佐
 Huang Tsung-hsi 黃宗羲
 Hui-chou 徽州
 Juan Yüan 阮元
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 KU-CHIN T'U-SHU CHI-CH'ENG 古今圖書集成
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 KUANG-HSU WU-CHIN YANG-HU HSIEN-CHIH 光緒武進陽湖縣志

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 Kuei Yu-kuang 歸有光
 kung-yung 功庸
 KUO-CH'AO HSIEN-CHENG LU 國朝獻徵錄
 KUO-CH'UEH 國權
 Lee Cheuk-yin 李焯然
 Lei-chou 雷州
 Lei Li 雷禮
 li 理
 Li Ching 栗勁
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 MING-SHIH 明史
 MING SHIH-TSUNG SHIH-LU 明世宗實錄
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Tsung Ch'en 宗臣

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Wang Chia-p'ing 王家屏

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Wang Yang-ming 王陽明

Wei Chung-hsien 魏忠賢

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Wu-hsi 無錫

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ASPECTS OF THE PLOT OF JIN PING MEI

Peter Rushton

This essay will consider three aspects of the plot of JIN PING MEI,¹ its indebtedness to and development out of the SHUI HU ZHUAN (The Water Margin),² various representative plotting techniques of the first twenty chapters, and its conclusion. In interpreting the plot of the JIN PING MEI, one must inevitably give some consideration to the fact that the novel has drawn on a vast variety of fictional and dramatic sources.³ While undoubtedly much more fruitful work will result from further consideration of all the various sources of the novel, for the purposes of this essay I will focus on one source of primary importance. When we strive for a relatively unified interpretation of the text, we find one source, indeed the most obvious one, SHUI HU ZHUAN, enjoys a unique relationship with the JIN PING MEI. Chapters twenty-three through twenty-six of the SHUI HU ZHUAN provided JIN PING MEI with two central characters, Pan Jinlian and Ximen Qing, in addition to various other secondary figures such as Wu Da and Wu Song, Pan Jinlian's husband and brother-in-law respectively. Equally significant is the presence of the themes of revenge and retribution found in SHUI HU ZHUAN, which are played out in similar, if not identical fashion, in JIN PING MEI. Nevertheless, no matter how inspirationally dependent on SHUI HU ZHUAN JIN PING MEI may have been at its creative inception, it is equally apparent that the latter moved far into areas left unexplored by SHUI HU ZHUAN.

Let us consider these issues by first reviewing, however briefly, the course of events of chapters twenty-three through twenty-six in SHUI HU ZHUAN, which were so central to the shaping of JIN PING MEI. Wu Song, fleeing a possible indictment for murder, has found refuge in Chai Jin's manor. Upon learning that the victim of his battering was not fatally wounded, Wu Song no longer stands in need of the sanctuary provided by this host and would-be patron. He is now determined to return home to visit his elder brother Wu Da. In the course of this journey, he single-handedly kills an attacking tiger which has been preying on travelers on Jingyang Ridge. As a consequence of this act of public service, the magistrate of Yanggu county appoints him constable. Subsequent to his appointment, he rejoins his elder brother Wu Da. Wu Da, in the sharpest possible contrast to his strapping younger brother, is a grotesque dwarf. In spite of his ludicrous physical stature and singular lack of ambition (he plies the trade of a wheat cake street hawker), he is incongruously matched to a pretty and vivacious ex-maidservant, Pan Jinlian. This ill-conceived union is pointedly described by local rascals as "a good piece of mutton fallen into the mouth of a dog."

Wu Da's evident failure to fulfill the emotional and