

華西協合大學中國文化研究所集刊

STUDIA SERICA



STUDIA SERICA

VII

1940



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民 國 三 十 六 年 印 行

STUDIA SERICA

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VOLUME VII

November 1948

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SOME SOCIOLOGICAL REMARKS ON THE SYSTEM OF PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE FIVE DYNASTIES

by WOLFRAM EBERHARD

Ankara

In order to understand the sociological background of the political developments during the period of the "Five Dynasties" it is necessary to study the system of administration. The source for this as well as for other inquiries¹ in the sociology of the 10th century is the *Chiu Wu-tai-shih* 舊五代史 (The Ancient History of the Five Dynasties). In spite of the fact that the *ChWTS* has been altered and even forged to a certain extent² it is still in many respects better than the *Hsin Wu-tai-shih* 新五代史 which is written in a strong Confucianist manner and therefore even less reliable than the *ChWTS*; furthermore, the *HsWTS* is shorter than the *ChWTS*, and this is another drawback. On the other hand, as the following inquiries are of a statistical character, only a single, uniform source could be used.—

I.

During the period of the "Five Dynasties" the smallest unit of local administration was the "hsien 縣". Our text mentions only very few "hsien", because these small units had no political importance. Several "hsien" together made a "chou 州", the normal and important unit of local administration. The chief of a "chou" can be (a) a "Ts'ih-shih 刺史" (Administrator) or (b) a "Chieh-tu-shih 節度使" (Military Governor). In periods of military trouble the administration of a "chou" can be taken over either by a (c) "Fang-y-shih 防禦使" (Defense Commander) or (d) a "T'uan-lien-shih 團練使" (Training Corps Commander). In the case of direct military actions the administration of a "chou" is in the hands of a (e) "Liu-hou 留後" (Tutor of the Rear). In the following pages we will study these five offices. The administration of the four capitals of our period was

1. Cf. W. EBERHARD: *The Composition of the Leading Political Group during the "Five Dynasties"* (*Asiatische Studien*, vol. 1, p. 19-28; Bern 1947); W. EBERHARD: *Sato Turklerin Kultur tarihine dair notlar* (*Bulleten*, No. 41, p. 15-26; Ankara 1947; an English enlarged edition of this article is in the press).
2. Cf. CHEN YUAN 陳垣: 舊五代史輯本發覆.

essentially identical, only instead of a "Chieh-tu-shih" we have here the "Yin尹", and instead of the "Liu-hou" a "Liu-shou留守".

The *ChWTS* mentions about 3300 persons³; among them, according to my statistics, 2311 administrators are mentioned⁴. Some persons have been appointed several times, many others have never occupied any local post. Among these 2311 officials 73 are "Vice-Governor", "Vice-Administrator" etc. The remainder of 2238 officials is quite high: the *Wei-shu* 魏書 (Annals of the T'o-pa Dynasty) mentions only 1939 similar officials⁵ for a period of 165 years, our *ChWTS*, being only 2/3 of the *Wei-shu*, mentions 2238 for a period of 54 years! Indeed, comparing the first part of the annals (the so-called "pen-chi 本紀") of the Han, T'o-pa and Wu-tai dynasties one sees that the "pen-chi" of the Han dynasty contain materials on general internal as well as external politics and remarks on astronomical events, being an interesting reading; the "pen-chi" of the T'o-pa dynasty report on the most important changes in the administration, but still give a lot of other informations. The "pen-chi" of the Wu-tai period devote almost all available space to reports on changes in the administration, thus being a quite dry reading. Still, remarks on appointments are not only found in the "pen-chi" but also in the biographical part of the Annals ("lieh-chuan 列傳"), and the reports in the biographies sometimes complete the lists, sometimes correct them. In order to get the complete lists, the whole annals have to be studied. I give the following example:

Name of the Province

An-chou 安州

<i>Name of Governor</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Source</i> ⁶
1) Chu Han-pin 朱漢賓	923-925	30:4239bb; 64:4282ab
2) Shih Ching-jung 史敬鎔	926	37:4248ba; 55:4271da
3) Kao Hsing-kui 高行珪	928	39:4251ba; 65:4283ab
4) Shih Ching-jung 史敬鎔	928	39:4251cb
5) Yang Hui-chang 楊漢章	931-933?	42:4255ba

3. Many cases of adoption as well as incomplete textual material make it impossible to give an exact number.
4. This figure may be too low. I might have overlooked some governors. But as this may also apply to the material on the T'o-pa period (see below) and as such errors will be equally distributed over the whole textual material, the proportions will remain unchanged.
5. The administration of the T'o-pa empire (see my *Das Reich der Toba in Nordchina*, which will be published soon) was twofold: there were "civil districts" and independent "military districts" in the same place. Our figure comprises both.
6. I used the K'ai-ming 開明 edition of the *Chiu Wu-tai-shih*; for technical reasons it was impossible for me to consult other editions too. The first figure is the chapter, the second the page. The first letter is the column of the page, the second indicates the left (a) or the right (b) part of the column.

6) Fu Yen-ch'ing 符彥卿	933-93	44:4257da;124:4355db
7) Lu Wen-chin 盧文進	934-?	46:4261ca; 97:4325aa
8) Li Ching-chou 李敬周	934-?	45:4259ba
9) Chou Huan 周 環	937	76:4295ba; 93:4322aa
10) Lu Wen-chin 盧文進	937	76:4295aa
11) Li Chin-ch'ian 李金全	?-940	79:4293cb; 97:4325ab
12) Ma Ch'ian-ch'ieh 馬全節	940	79:4299cb; 97:4325ab
13) Li Ch'eng-y 李承裕	940	79:4299cb; 97:4325ab
14) Yang Ch'eng-hsin 楊承信	947-949?	100:4328da
15) Liu Sui-ning 劉遂凝	949?-950	103:4332aa
16) Wang Ling-wen 王令溫	950-952	103:4332ab;124:4357ab;113:4345bb
17) Li Hung-i 李洪義	952-954	112:4343cb;113:4345ab;114:4346db

Generally, the "pen-chi" are much more complete than the biographies which mention only the most important appointments; the same fact could also be stated in the *Wei-shu*. But the fact, that sometimes the biographies contain dates, not to be found in the "pen-chi" seems to prove that the sources of the biographies are not always the same as the sources of the "pen-chi". This is verified further by the fact, that in many cases the same man is called "Military Governor" in the "pen-chi" and "Army Governor" in the biographies.

The *CHWTS* mentions 228 districts; 13 have to be drawn of, as these districts existed either only during the T'ang period, i.e. before the Wu-tai period, or were situated outside of the territory of the Five Dynasties. We do not know, whether the remaining 215 districts really comprise all existing districts, as the *CHWTS* gives no statistics; the only report I found⁷ states, that the "Later T'ang" dynasty had the command over 13 great and 50 smaller districts in 923, when they started their rule over North-China.⁸ We know the names of 2238 officials acting as commanders of districts; 222 have to be drawn of, as they acted during the T'ang dynasty or in districts which never belonged to the territory of the Five Dynasties. Thus 2039 officials acted in 215 districts during the 54 years of the Wu-tai period.⁹ This figure is of an only relative value, because a) sometimes a man remained in the same district for two successive periods, but is mentioned only once in the statistic; b) sometimes a man is called "Military Governor" in the one part of the text, and "Army Governor" in the other whilst obviously occupying only one post. As the cases (a) and (b) are almost in a balance, our following statistics still have a certain value:

7. See below.

8. 29:4237da.

9. The *Wei-shu* mentions 131 districts during the T'o-pa period.

10. Against 1101 Military Governors in 131 districts in the 165 years of T'o-pa rule in North-China.

Liang dynasty:	17 years	254 officials	average: 15
Later T'ang d.:	13 years	789 officials	average: 61
Later Chin d.:	11 years	507 officials	average: 46
Later Han d.:	4 years	189 officials	average: 47
Later Chou d.:	9 years	277 officials	average: 31
T'ang dynasty, foreign territory:	—	222 officials	—

It is obvious that the historical material for the Later Liang dynasty is highly defective whereas the material for the Later T'ang dynasty is comparatively rich. Even an only cursory reading of the *ChWTS* gives the same impression. The reasons for this will be explained in a study on the composition and the compositors of the *ChWTS*.

2.

As the geographical situation of almost all districts is, if not exactly, at least approximately known, we are able to draw maps of the territories of each of the Five Dynasties¹¹, always showing the greatest extent of the territory (see maps 1-4). A glimpse at these maps shows that several districts are mentioned which were undoubtedly outside the frontiers of the empires. This habit of appointing governors in districts outside the frontiers (especially in Kuangtung and Kuanghsi provinces) was particularly en vogue during the first years of the Later T'ang dynasty, but was always known. It is characteristic that these "outposts" were always ruled by an "Administrator" and not by a "Military Governor", that normally in the whole course of the dynasty only a single nomination was made, and that the "Administrator" got his wages but never went to his district to rule there. Furthermore, these "outposts" were not situated directly beyond the frontiers, but always far off. The explanation for this habit is, that the Later Liang and the Later T'ang dynasty in their first years hoped to conquer the whole of China; the nominations thus unveiled their political aspirations. Indeed, the Later Chou dynasty, the only of the Five Dynasties, really trying to conquer the South, often started a war one year after having appointed an Administrator or Governor in a district beyond the frontiers. In other cases, the nomination to such an outpost was made only in order to give a certain salary to a person in favour.

Normally all administrators and governors changed every year. Only during the Later Liang and the Later Chou dynasties more frequently officials remain at the same place for more than a year. This for two reasons: (a) the said official either was already at the beginning of the

11. The map of the Later Han dynasty is unimportant, as this dynasty reigned only four years.

dynasty half-independent or became so powerful that the central government did not dare to recall him. This is the case, especially in the frontier districts, and (during the Later Liang dynasty) in districts adjacent to the growing empire of Later T'ang. (b) in order to retain peace and order sometimes it was advisable not to change a good governor after one year. In this case his nomination was renewed after a year's activity.

Theoretically, we should expect 17, resp. 13, 11, 4, 9 officials for the period of each of the Five Dynasties. In some cases the real number should even be higher, as sometimes officials died before the expiration of their term. Studying the detailed lists I made for every district, I could establish the fact, that we have not a single complete list of officers in the Later Liang period. The lists of the next three dynasties are much better, but even there we have complete lists of only a small number of districts. During the Later T'ang¹² and the Later Chih dynasties¹³ all these districts are situated in the great plain of Eastern China, but for the period of the Later Han dynasty we have also complete lists of some districts in Eastern and even North-Eastern Shensi and South-Western Shansi. This seems to establish the fact, that lists of all, near and distant districts were collected in the historiographical bureau, but that some lists, and not always lists of distant districts, were incomplete even before the compilation of our text. A parallel inquiry on the districts of the T'o-pa period led to the same results.

Our text as well as other annals normally do not mention the names of officials under the administrator or the governor. In some special cases the vice-governors and vice-administrators are mentioned, the district-judge, the district-treasurer, the district-secretary and the chiefs of the military department of the district are mentioned only exceptionally.¹⁴

3

During the Later Liang period, the chief of a district was normally an administrator¹⁵, only important districts had a military governor. According to the greater extent of the Later T'ang empire and to the fact that the lists of officials are more complete, the number of districts with administrators is increased¹⁶. But after this period the number of districts with administrators decreased rapidly¹⁷ in favour of districts with military governors. The governor is higher than the administrator.

12. With the exception of Li-chou in Sihch'uan, scene of many battles in these years.

13. With the exception of Shan-chou in Western Honan, battlefield in these years.

14. Before 926 the staff was bigger; (73:4292aa).

15. The Annals mention 58 such districts, 4 of which outside the frontiers.

16. The Annals mention 106 such districts, 7 outside the frontiers.

17. In the Later Chin period 68 (7 of which outside the frontiers), in the Later Han period only 22, in the Later Chou period 24 (2 outside the frontiers).

The rank of a "Defence Commander" is below the rank of a military commander, and the rank of a "Commander of the Training Corps" is still lower¹⁸. The geographical distribution of these posts shows no particularities. As military troubles prevailed during the whole period of the Five Dynasties, there was no reason for abolishing these, originally "exceptional" officers, on the contrary, the number of the "Defence Commanders" increased. In our period the "Commander of the Training Corps" is still a real officer, whereas later, in the Sung period (930-1278), this post became an honorary title.

The fundamental feature of this system of administration is its military character. The administrator or the governor control the civil administration too, whereas in the T'o-pa period for instance, there was a dual system of civil and of military governors. In the period of the Five Dynasties the governor always had considerable troops at his disposal. As every one of the founders of the last 4 dynasties was in a provincial town before and when he declared himself emperor, we have to suppose that they kept their troops or at least a greater part of them when moving from one district to another. This, of course can have been only the practice of more powerful persons. We know, that even the members of the staff of the governor normally remained in the same district for several years, and only exceptionally were allowed to follow the leaving governor to his next post.

The political unrest during the last period of the T'ang dynasty led to a new institution, surviving during the Wu-tai and Sung periods. Special armies, different from the district armies, were kept in certain strategically important places. These armies were under the command of a "Military Governor" (Chieh-tu-shih); exactly as the districts. The administrative center of these armies was not always but often in or near a district city. This T'ang-time institution was retained and even extended in our period; the number of these armies increased, the names of the old ones remained often unchanged, but the seat of the administration changed often. It is not always easy to identify the geographical situation of such an army¹⁹. In the Wu-tai period the relations between these armies and the next district city

18. As can be seen from their wages: the Defence Commander became a "house-hold money" of 200 strings a year (the Commander of the Training Corps: 150), 100 tan 石 (70 tan) grain, 5 tan (5 tan) salt, 10 (5) horses and money for the maintenance of 30 (20) servants (in 951; see 111:4342ba). The system of ranks and wages in our period was with very insignificant deviations the same as the T'ang-system.

19. We were unable to identify only 9 army-districts. - There existed still a third administrative unit, the "fu" 府 for districts inhabited by foreigners. Our text mentions (a) T'u-hun-fu 吐浑府 near Hsien-chou in North-Shansi (99:4327cb;db;100:4329aa; 111:4341db), a place where T'u-hun people lived. After the Sha-t'o had killed the chiefs of their 5 tribes, they created a "fu" with a tribesman as "Military Governor" (946-951), (b) Shan-yu-fu 珊于府 (53:4269aa) in the Northern part of the Ordos.

became quite close. In some cases the military governor of the district is at the same time also "Army Governor", or - more often - the district administration is abolished and the district is directed by the Army Governor, resp. the army administration is abolished and the army is under the command of the "Military Governor". As there were several degrees for districts and armies (great, medium, small), such a change often meant also a change in the rank of the district or army, and this again signified a change in the wages of the governor. The geographical distribution of these army districts shows no particular features; army districts are to be found as well near the frontiers as near the capital.

In cases of direct military actions, the command of the district and the army-district armies was in the hand of a "Liu-hou (Tutor of the Rear)". This commander is always the civil governor of the district also, i.e. there are newer Tutors and Governors at the same time acting in the same area. Normally, these Tutors changed every year.

4

Now we have to ask: how did this system work? According to my material, the institution of Administrators and Governors cannot have been profitable for the districts and their population. (a) As can be seen from their biographies, certain "Governors" were children of less than ten years age, when they were appointed. It is open to question whether they went to their district at all, because we know that (at least during the Later T'ang period) all Military Governors, Administrators, Defense Commanders and Commanders of Training Corps had their own lodge in the capital Lo-yang²⁰. (b) not seldom, even grown up governors did not go to their district, but remained near the emperor, to exercise more influence. This can be proved by cases in which the emperor visited a governor, which was supposed to be in his district, in his home in Lo-yang. (c) the governor had to come to the capital in order to get his new appointment. Travelling from one district to the capital and than to the next district of course took some time, and we cannot suppose that the sojourn in the capital was only for a few days. Certainly the governor always tried to stay for a while in the capital, in order to win new friends, to gain new influence, to talk with his friends, to see his family and to arrange his financial and other affairs. Thus we should subtract from the one year-appointment at least 2-3 months for travel and sojourn in the capital. To give an example of the travels of a normal member of the bureaucracy:

LI HUNG-I 李洪義: Former Defence Commander of Yueh-chou 岳州 (North-Hunan) 948 appointed as Military Governor of Sui-chou 遂州 (101:4330ca). (East-Sihch'uan). Appointed 949 as Military Governor of

Shan-chou 澶州 (South-Hopei) (102:4331cb). At the end of 950 the emperor gives him the secret order to kill Wang Yin 王殷 (103:4332bb; 110:4340ab; 124:4356ca) (thus he was in the capital at that time). Li does not kill Wang Yin, goes to Wang and informs him (103:4332ca). For this service Kuo Wei 郭威, the founder of the Later Chou dynasty, praises him in 951 (103:4332db). Li, having also informed Kuo Wei (110:4340aa) on the situation in the capital, is appointed 951 as Military Governor of Sung 宋 in reward (110:4341aa) (South-East-Honan). 952 he is Military Governor of An-chou 安州 (South-Honan) (112:4343cb); he is confirmed there in 953 (112:4344ab); again confirmed in 954 (113:4345ab), but in the course of this year he became Military Governor of Ch'ing-chou 青州 (Shantung) (114:4346db). He is confirmed there towards the end of 954 (114:4346cb). In 959 he became Army Governor of the Yung-hsing Army 永興軍 (near the capital) (119:43521a), where he is confirmed towards the end of 959 (120:4353cb.)

Probably, Li, never went to Yüeh-chou, but surely he really was in all the other places mentioned in the Annals. And even these incomplete notes²¹ prove, that he cannot have been very active in governing the districts of Sui-chou and Shan-chou. Thus, an analysis of several hundred similar cases leads to the conclusion that (a) administrators or governors normally did not exercise real power in their districts, with the exception of such men who already had gained so much power that they could take with them their army or at least their important friends and clientele. (b) The effective power therefore must have been in the hands of the men under the governor.

But then, why these men were interested to accept such posts? Firstly, because they got wages. We know nothing about the wages of officials during the Later Liang dynasty. But 925²² and 926²³ discussions went on to cut the wages, and the "Money for ceremonies" (Li-ch'ien 禮錢) was cut at about 50%. In this same year, the proposal was made, to cut the wages at about 50%, but to pay the nominal wage without any reduction. The amount of reductions (customs?) seems to have been excessively high. But in spite of this intention of the government — says the text²⁴ — soon new reductions were made. In 941 the wages were increased²⁵, but even 951 the wages of Defence Commanders or Commanders of the Training Corps were not high enough to arouse interest (see note 18). As all the five empires were always on the verge of financial breakdown, simony was allowed. At

21. We do not know what he did between 954-959.

22. 32:4241db.

23. 35:4247db.

24. 73:4292aa.

25. For instance an "Upper General 上將軍" of the palace-guards now became 50 strings a month instead of 30; according to the administrative system he was in the rank B 2, whereas an administrators was only B3 or even A4b. See note 27.

the time, when a Defence Commander got a wage of 200 strings (=200000 pieces of money), a man could be freed from forced-labour by paying 1000 strings, and if he could pay 10000 strings, he became Shang-tso 上佐 in a district²⁶; but a Shang-tso ("Upper Helper") is a degree still below the lowest official degree (No. 30:B9b), and a Defence Commander ranks between B3 (No. 6) and A4b (No. 8)²⁷. Thus, the wages were not indeed high.²⁸ Besides, they had to send gifts to the emperor at the day of the Ch'ing-ming 清明 festival in the spring, the festival of the 7th day of the 7th month, the festival of the 9th day of the 9th month, the festival of the 10th month²⁹; the festival of the 5th day of the 5th month, the winter solstice and the birthday of the emperor³⁰. Furthermore, they had to send arms to the capital; a part of these was "official tribute", the rest was "private gift".³¹ This means, that their obligations were quite heavy. But, in spite of all that, we hear that many citizens, belonging to the lower class (and thus not allowed to become officials) had been adopted as sons of officials by paying them considerable sums of money, or had found other ways to win the privilege to become officials. An inquiry, made in 924 resulted in the dismissal of about 70-80% of all lower officials!³² Why, then, were they so much interested in these posts?

26. 83:4309aa

27. According to the system of the T'ang dynasty.

28. For instance 926 the official price of 1 chin 斤 (less than 1 pound) refined copper was 400 (1 chin raw copper 200) (146:4384da); thus a Defence Commander could buy 500 chin copper with his "household money". The value of the other items of the wage-list is not very high: 100 tan grain is the yearly consumption of 11 persons (1 tan = 42kg?). According to M. WILBUR (*Slavery*, p. 401) a person eats 366kg a year; the size of the "tan" was 29,3kg in Han-time, but seems to have been about 42kg in T'ang-time, if we calculate according to the material given by ST. BALAZS (*Beitraege zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der T'ang-Zeit* III; *MSOS* 36, p. 209). 5 tan salt corresponds to the yearly consumption of 8 families.

29. 939 a law was promulgated against these gifts (78:4299aa).

30. 941 a law prohibited these gifts (79:4300ab).

31. 952 a law prohibited these gifts; they were of too bad a quality (112:4543ca). - Sometimes, the financial situation of the government was so bad that the court had to accept money gifts. Thus 926 a mutiny occurred, because the soldiers had got no wages. At the same time floods and famine prevailed in great parts of North-China. The court had spent too much money for festivals, hunting-parties, journeys and was obliged to make use of private gifts to pay the wages of the soldiers. In this very year, the independant state of Shu 蜀 (in Sihch'uan) also sent a "tribute" of 400000 (34:4245aa). All these devices did not help. Financial considerations were one of the most important reasons for the attack against Shu in 925: the result of the victory was (according to 33:4243bb): 30000 prisoners, 7 Million weapons, 3530000 (tan) grain, 1920000 strings money, 220000 ounces of silver or gold, 20000 pearls or pieces of ivory, 500000 pieces of cloth.

32. 32:4241bb.

In 937 it is stated that during the Later Liang and the Later T'ang periods, the governors did not know anything about the administration of their districts, as they had got these posts only by their personal relations³³. Thus, the inferior officers always sold official posts, imprisoned innocent people or freed imprisoned robbers for high bribes, giving half of the bribes to the governor³⁴. This seems to have been a major source of income for the governors.

Secondly, the official rank is hereditary, and officials without sons can be replaced by their nephews. The "state examination" for these sons of officials is³⁵ a pure formality: they have to know by heart 10 chapters of

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33. And, it should be added, they were absolutely in the hands of the inferior local officials, because they stayed only a year, instead of 6 years in T'o-pa period, thus being unable to acquire the necessary knowledge on the situation of a district.
34. 98:4325bb.
35. And has always been! - The remarks of E. ERKES (*China und Europa*, Leipzig 1947, p. 20): "...die Durchsetzung einer bauerlichen und buergerlichen Demokratie, in der die Staatsaemter nicht mehr nach Geburt, sondern nach dem schon seit dem 2. vorchristlichen Jahrhundert durch Examina nachzuweisenden g[ra]dsen Fachigkeiten erfolgte, hat die Klassenunterschiede in China auf ein Minimum reduziert" are absolutely wrong. This prove my inquiries on the examinations during the T'o-pa period (to be published). Here some examples from our *ChWTSh*: 1) Ts'ui I-sun became "chin-shih 進士" (graduate) "because of his family" (69:4287da); he belonged to a very ancient and famous gentry family (see my *The Leading Political Group*, p. 26, note 3). - 2) it is stated in 955, that examinations should be real examinations. Graduation without examination, graduation "honoris causa" of persons who had failed several times, and graduation for family reasons should be forbidden (115:4347ca). - 3) In 938 military and civil authorities are allowed to propose to the court candidates for official posts, but these candidates had to be members of the "gentry" (77:4297bb). Thus ERKES is not correct in stating that "Nicht Geburt und Erbe, sondern die persoennliche Leistung bestimmt ueber Stellung und Verwendung in Staat und Gesellschaft" (p. 20), and likewise his statement "Abgeschlossene Klassen gibt es seit Ausgang des Altertums... nicht mehr" (p. 20). The "gentry" felt and acted as a class. Some examples: 1) In the Later T'ang period we see four great families, the Li from Ku-tsang 姑藏李 with their branch in Ch'ing-ho, the Ts'ui from Ch'ing-ho 清河崔, the Lu 盧 family and the Cheng 鄭 family. Their social position was neither the consequence of personal merit nor of special education. Even if they were clothed in rags and walked on the street (instead of riding), they felt superior even to ministers. Their children never intermarried with common families (93:4318ca). Most members of the Lu family were killed by a popular rebellion in 906, because they belonged to a favorite family (67:4285aa and 68:4286ba). 2) the members of the gentry fled to the (aristocratic) Sha-t'o Turks, when Ch'u Ch'uan-chung 朱全忠, head of a peasant-revolt, marched against the capital (*ChWTSh* 60, var. loc.). - 3) In 931 a law forbade that provincial officials were assisted by the local gentry (rich people) when sitting in court (42:4255db), because, obviously, in this case their decisions were always in favour of the gentry and against the commoners. - 4) just as was the case in the T'o-pa period, no member of the lower classes is proved to have passed examinations. - 5) see further note 32.-

the classical holy books³⁶ only.

Thirdly, the Military Governors of great districts had the right to recommend three governors of small districts and one man each year to the emperor for service at court³⁷; if they did not prefer their own relatives, they could gain much money by accepting bribes.

Fourthly not least, they got the command of the provincial troops, a possible source of personal power and influence. We have no exact idea on the size of the provincial armies, but in some cases at least, the troops of a single district seem to have been 25000 men³⁸; besides, the administrators were allowed to have special armies of at least 500 men³⁹ (from ca. 930 on). Later "Local Defence Units" were created, comprising 500 (resp. 200) soldiers in big (resp. small) districts⁴⁰ (law of 950). And some officials even

36. Law of 928 (39:4252ab). The system of the T'ang period was similar. - It may be stated that (a) the Later Liang dynasty, in spite of its revolutionary character, took over all officials of the T'ang dynasty, willing to collaborate, with special regard to specialists in finance. This was necessary, because the followers of the new dynasty, poor peasants or bandits, were not able to fill all posts. The second dynasty, the Later T'ang, dismissed or degraded in 923 most of the Liang officials, but as soon as the influence of the pro-Chinese party at the Later T'ang court, represented by the Sha-t'o prince who later became emperor Ming-tsung grew, former Liang officials were rehabilitated. (926 and later). When Shu, the former independent state in Western China, was occupied (925) all higher officials were dismissed and the others degraded (33:4243da). As the family-relations between the members of the Shu-gentry and the Chinese court-gentry were not very close, the pro-Chinese party did not care very much their fate.
37. Law of 924 (31:4240bb). In 934 there were 9593 higher officials at court (46:4260ca); lower civil services at court were done by 100 inner-servants, 30 inner-officials, 100 members of the music and theater band, 20 falconers and 50 cooks (in 926; see 36:4247aa).
38. An attack in 909 against Hsia-chou 夏州 (Western Ordos; the center of the small Hsi-hsia state, founded by members of the former imperial family of the T'o-pa) was made with 50000 soldiers from the districts of Pin-chou 鄜州 and Feng-chou 鳳州 in Shensi (132:4367bb; a second attack was made later with the same number of soldiers, see: 132:4367cb). Further material: In 926 a general commanded 26000 men (36:4247aa). In 898 a mutining general commanded 10000 men (134:4370ba); when the independent state in modern Chekiang province was founded (in 897), it had 30000 soldiers at its command (133:4368db). The greatest army, mentioned in our text, was an army of Later Liang of 500000 men in 912 (55:4271ab). After the suppression of the insurrection of Li Shou-chen 李守貞 (949), monks collected more than 200000 skulls in the environment of the city (103:4331db). At the end of 954 the army was reorganised by Chao K'uang-yin 趙匡胤, the future founder of the Sung dynasty (960-1278) (114:4347ab), all incapable soldiers were dismissed and thus a new, smaller but more efficient army was built up.
39. 62:4280ab.
40. 103:4332ab. - We possess an interesting description of the encampment of Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭 the prospective founder of the Later Chin dynasty. He besieged T'ai-yuan in 936. His encampment was more than 100 Li (1 li is about 300m) long and 50 Li deep. In order to make desertations impossible, he had many strong dogs and many ropes with small bells put around the camp. His own troops as well as his Kitan auxiliaries lived in round tents (70:4289ba-bb).

had their private armies⁴¹. Several reports state⁴², that every 7 families had to fit out one soldier. The population of the empire at the end of our period (960) was 2309812 families⁴³. This figure may be open to question, but we should take into consideration that it is official and that the number of soldiers was calculated according to this figure. If we calculate in the same way; we would find that the armies of the whole empire at that time were 329830 men, a figure which is not impossible.⁴⁴

A further source of income of governors and other high officials should be mentioned, although only very few men really got this income: *enfeoffment*. *Enfeoffment* could be either nominal (theoretical revenue of a certain number of families) or real (real revenue of certain families) or both. This is the list⁴⁵ of *enfeoffments* during the Wu-tai period:

Name	year	nominal	real	source
1) Niu Ts'un-chieh 牛存節	915		? 1000	8:4209cb;22:4227ab
2) Cheng Ch'ueh 鄭珪	918		? 500	9:4211ab
3) Hsiao Ch'ing 蕭頊	918		? 400	9:4211ab
4) Chao Kuang-feng 趙光逢	918		? 500	9:4211ba
5) Chu Yu-neng 朱友能	920		? 3000	10:4212da
6) Li Sih-yüan 李嗣源	924		100	31:4240ba
7) Shih Ching-t'ang 石敬瑭	927	1200	600	75:4293ca
8) " " "	930		500	75:4293ca
9) Cheng Ch'ieh 鄭珪	928	500		39:4251ba
10) Feng Tao 馮道	930	1500	100	41:4254aa
11) Chao Feng 趙鳳	930	700		41:4254aa
12) Li Ch'i 李琪	930	1000		41:4254aa

41. 88:4311ba, a private army of some 100 men.

42. 107:4335ba (in 922) and 82:4304ca (in 944).

43. 146:4384cb. At that time the empire was bigger than in the beginning of the period of the Five Dynasties. On the other hand, population had doubtlessly diminished (too many wars, famines, floods). For instance, we hear, that the whole district of Chieh-chou 階州 (in Sihch'uan) had a population of only 1000 indigenous and newly-settled families (in 930; see 41:4254ca), and that the formerly crowded districts Teng, T'ang, Sui and Ying (in southern Honan) had so many uncultivated land that they promised special rights to new colonists (in 942; see 80:4301bb). At the best period of the T'ang dynasty (between 627-742) the population is said to have been 19 million families or 53000000 people; during the Han period (206B.C. - 220A.D.) population was 12000000 (according to 58:4275bb), but the Han- and T'ang empire was much bigger, than the empire of the Five Dynasties.

44. But when the Later T'ang mobilised their army for the decisive battle against the army of the founder of the Later Chin dynasty, they got not more than 2000 horses and 5000 men (48:4264ba).

45. 4 cases, belonging to the years 888 (25:4231a), 895 (26:4232bb), 900 and 904 (26:4233a) and 904 (16:4219ba) are omitted because they occurred before our period.