EMpress Wei, consort shang-kuan

&

the political conflicts in the reign of chung-tsung

by

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ABSTRACT

Female intervention in government happened from time to time in Chinese history. The women involved were usually either ambitious individuals who made use of favourable opportunities to seize political power or daughters of powerful families whose marriages into the Imperial House were arranged in order to insure the power of their male relatives.

In tracing the background of these women, we find that the former type often came from a non-Chinese or lower-class family while the latter type were usually Chinese and invariably had an aristocratic background. Although coming from different backgrounds these ladies shared the common characteristic that they were contented with the position they had as Empress or Empress Dowager. The further ambition of themselves ascending to the throne never occurred to them.

The cases of female intervention during the T'ang period were rather different from the above stereotypes. They were a succession of ambitious female members of the Imperial family who tried to follow in the footsteps of Empress Wu in order to rule the country both in name and in fact. Though none of them did succeed, their ambition and struggle was one of the major factors that influenced the political history of the first half of the eighth century.
In this thesis, I concentrate my study on the stories of Empress Wei and Consort Shang-kuan, the two ambitious consorts of Emperor Chung-tsung, for the purpose of defining the particular circumstances which allowed these ladies in the early T'ang Court to realize their opportunities of seizing political power and the reasons for their failure.

In addition to translating the biographies of these two ladies from the *Old and New T'ang Histories* and comparing them with the material in the *Tzu-chih T'ung-chien* and other available sources, I trace the background of feminine influence in both the Imperial Li family and the T'ang Court. Besides, I also try to analyse the character of Chung-tsung and outline the political conflicts in his reign.

In studying the relationship between female intervention and the political conflicts in the outer court, it is interesting to find that the supporters of Empress Wei in the outer court were mainly the aristocratic group of officials who had strongly opposed the intervention of another female power-seeker, Empress Wu, about half century earlier. The antagonism between officials with different backgrounds no doubt gave both Empress Wu and Empress Wei valuable chances to seize political power. However, different family background and different political scene did not allow Empress Wei to duplicate all the policies her model, Empress Wu, used to apply. Lack of ability to select the proper strategy for
herself caused her failure in the end. 

Above all, it is unquestionable that the conflicts of interest between different groups of officials in the outer court and the female intervention of the state affairs from the inner court were interrelated and dominated the political scene of the early T'ang court.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The glorious T'ang Dynasty of China is famous for many things, such as its multi-origin culture, its many-sided influence on neighbouring countries, its newly matured poetry and literary style. It is also famous for having had a female sovereign, both in name and in fact, a phenomenon unique in Chinese history.

Empress Wu was not only the sole female ruler, but also one of the most capable sovereigns in Chinese history. Her forty years of sovereignty together with the preceding reign of the heroic T'ai-tsung and the following reign of the talented Hsuan-tsung, constitute the high points of the T'ang Dynasty. Yet her talent and achievements were by no means unique and as an ambitious female power-seeker she was neither the first nor the last at the T'ang Court. Especially during the period right after the reign of Empress Wu, there were several ladies whose ambition was to follow in her footsteps. Among these ladies, Empress Wei, with the assistance of Consort Shang-kuan, was the one who almost reached her goal.

Though there were women who interfered in the government,
usually an empress dowager or an empress, in other Chinese dynasties, they were either exceptional individuals or puppets representing the interests of powerful officials.

The former type ordinarily occurred as the result of the combination of favourable opportunities and the political ambition of an empress or empress dowager. Usually the empress or empress dowager of this type was from a non-Chinese or lower-class family; for example, the Empress Dowager Lü of Western Han, the Empress Tu-ku of Sui and the Empress Dowager Tz'u-hsi of Ch'ing etc..

The latter type always happened when the sovereignty was under the control of certain powerful families. The male members of these families used marriage as a way of insuring their continued remaining in power. The empresses or empress dowagers of this type were usually Chinese and were invariably from an aristocratic background. However, they were merely tools of the ambitious males of their families. The successive Empress Dowagers in the Eastern Han are the best examples.

The characteristic which the above mentioned two types of females had in common was that they were all contented with the positions they had. The further ambition of ascending to the throne themselves never occurred to them.

The female intervention during the T'ang period could not be classified into either of the above mentioned types.
Although the character of Empress Wu's interference resembled the first type, the fact that she had a succession of ambitious imitaters made it, by no means, a typical case. Besides, Empress Wu and all her successors were from neither non-Chinese nor lower-class families.

From this point of view, since the women involved in such activities during the T'ang period were all from Chinese aristocratic families or even the Imperial family, they might seem to resemble the second type. Nevertheless, their marriages were not purposely arranged by their male kin in order to maintain the position and power of their family. Therefore, instead of being controlled by the male members of their own family, as the other women of the second type were, the ambitious female power-seekers during the T'ang usually put all the male relatives under their command.

Above all, the final aim of the female power-seekers, including Empresses, Princesses etc., in T'ang was the throne and sovereignty in name and in fact. The position of Empress Dowager, Princess etc. was merely a stage in their struggle to success.

Since the phenomenon of female intervention during T'ang period was so different from that of other dynasties, I think it is worth some attention in the field of Chinese history.

In this thesis, I would like to take Empress Wei and
Consort Shang-kuan as examples in order to analyse the circumstances which allowed these ladies in the early T'ang Court to realize their opportunities of seizing political power and the reasons for their failure.
CHAPTER II

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF EMPRESS WEI

I. Translation of CTS 51 7a-9b

[The Empress] of Chung-tsung 中宗, Commoner Wei was a native of Wan-nien 萬年 of the Capital District (Ching-chao 京兆). 1 Her grandfather Hung-piao 弘表 held the post of Colonel of the Guard (Tien-chün 典軍) in the Palace of Prince Ts'ao (Ts'ao-wang Fu 曹王府) 2 during the Chen-kuan 賢觀 period. Chung-tsung took her as his Consort while he was Heir-Apparent. Hence her father Hsuan-ch'en 玄貞, the Administrator (Ts'an-chün 參軍) of P'u-chou 3 was promoted to be Governor of Yu-chou (Yu-chou Tz'u-shih 豫州刺史). 4

In the first year of Ssu-sheng 嗣聖 (684 A.D.), 5 she was made Empress. In the same year, Chung-tsung was forced to abdicate. 6 The Empress followed Chung-tsung to his place of banishment in Fang-chou 房州. 7

At that time Chung-tsung was so afraid that he could not control himself. Whenever he heard that there was a messenger coming from the court, he became so frightened that he even attempted suicide. The Empress advised the Prince [Chung-tsung], "Failure and success, fortune and
misfortune are interrelated. What constancy is there in them? No one can avoid dying once. Why you are in such a hurry!" In sharing difficult and dangerous circumstances for years, their affections became deeply united.

[Empress Wei] had borne the Heir-Apparent I-te 睦德太子 and the four princesses Yung-hui 永徽 [sic], Yung-shou 永壽, Ch'ang-ning 長寧, and An-lo 安樂. The An-lo Princess was the youngest. When she was born in Fang-chou, the Emperor took off his own robe and wrapped her in it. So he named her "Little Bundle" (Kuo-erh 濃兒) and showed special favour to her.

When Chung-tsung was again appointed Heir-Apparent, he made Empress Wei Consort once more. At that time, Shang-kuan 上官, the Chao-jung 昭容 [consort of Chung-tsung], often urged the Empress to follow the precedent of Empress Wu. Therefore Empress Wei sent a memorial asking that there be a three years' mourning period for a divorced mother among all the officials and commoners in the Empire. In addition, she asked that among the common people twenty-three be made the age of adulthood (ting 年), and fifty-nine the age for exemption from government service (i 役). She tried to change the government regulations in order to win popularity. Her requests were all permitted by the Emperor.

When they were in Fang-chou, the Emperor always told the Empress that once they were free to see the sun and sky,
he swore that he would not restrain her. After attaining the promised position, she was lured by the corrupt speech of Shang-kuan, and brought Wu San-ssu into the Palace. He climbed onto the Imperial bed and played the game of "shuang-lu" with the Empress. The Emperor calculated tallies for them for his amusement. Disgraceful sounds could be heard from outside everyday.

(The Emperor] also let a great number of court ladies go out of the Palace. Even the consorts were allowed to leave the Palace at times. Shang-kuan and the other consorts who were favoured by the Emperor all set up their houses outside of the Palace. Their entering and leaving the Palace were unrestricted. Those among the court officials who were treacherous and cunning watched for the consorts and unrestrainedly had familiar dealings with them, begging for rewards or ranks in order to attain important posts.17

At that time the President of the Chancellery (Shih-chung) Ching Hui planned to remove the Wus. Wu San-ssu was worried by this, therefore he allied himself with Lady Shang-kuan looking to her for support.19 Hence he received favour from the Empress and stealthily entered the Palace in order to make plots. Consequently, he hinted to the court officials that they should give the Emperor the honorific title of "The Responding to Heaven Emperor" (Yingt'i'en Huang-ti) and the Empress the title of
"The Conforming to Heaven Empress" (Shun-t'ien Huang-hou 順天皇后). 20 The Emperor and Empress visited the Imperial Ancestral Temple (T'ai-miao 太廟) in person to announce their thanks for receiving those honorific titles. 21 Henceforth San-ssu was arrogant and bold in exercising authority. Ching Hui and Wang T'ung-chiao 王同皎 22 were liquidated one after another. The whole Empire laid the blame on the Empress.

At that time the Empress was bestowing favours on her relatives. All those who had maternal or paternal kinship relations with her were granted titles or appointed to posts. They were distributed among all the important posts. 23

In addition she wanted to establish the An-lo Princess in special favour. Therefore she ordered the creation of a staff for the Princesses. 24 The T'ai-p'ing Princess 太平公主 25 enjoyed the same perquisites as the Princes of the blood. The staffs of Ch'ang-ning and An-lo Princesses lacked only the post of Chief Administrator (Chang-shih 長史) [from the establishment of Princes of the blood]. The perquisites of the I-ch'eng 真城 26 and other Princesses were diminished to half of those of the T'ai-p'ing Princess because they had not been borne by the Empress.

The An-lo Princess took advantage of her being a favourite and was arrogant and unrestrained. She sold official posts and received bribes for litigations. 27 The whole court
bowd before her power.

She used to draft edicts and imperial orders by herself, and then, covering the words, asked the Emperor to sign them. The Emperor laughed and did what she asked without reading or examining [the drafts]. She also asked to have herself appointed as Heiress (Huang-t'ai-nu 皇大女). Although the Emperor did not permit [her request], he did not reprimand her either.

All the officials whom the An-lo Princess appointed for her own staff were of humble origin and without the requisite skills for their posts. She also extensively built dwellings which were excessively wasteful and extravagant. Ch'ang-ning and other princesses imitated her one after another. The whole Empire groaned with resentment for this.

In the third year of Shen-lung (707), after the Heir-Apparent Chien-min 舍冕太子 died, Tsung Ch'u-k'e led all the officials sending a memorial asking that the honorific title of the Empress be made "The Conforming to Heaven to Assist the Emperor Empress" (Shun-t'ien I-sheng Huang-hou 顺天翊聖皇后).

In the spring of the second year of Ching-lung (711), the people in the Inner Palace fell in with the Imperial wish and falsely stated that there were clouds of five colours coming out of the Empress' wardrobe chests. The Emperor had it drawn by an official artist and showed to the Court. He
further granted an amnesty to the entire Empire and bestowed "district titles" (i-hao 邑號) upon the mothers and wives of all the officials.\(^34\)

The General of the Brave Cavalry of the Right, in Charge of the Direction of the Imperial Library (Yu Hsiao-wei Chiang-chün Chih-t'ai-shih shih 右驍衛將軍知太史事)

Chia-yeh Chih-chung 述業志忠\(^35\) sent in a memorial which said:

Previously, before Kao-tsu 高祖 received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang of 'Peach-plum Li' (T'ao-li Tzu 桃李子).\(^36\) Before T'ai-tsung 太宗 received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang the music of 'The Prince of Ch'in Breaking Through the Ranks' (Ch'in-wang P'o-chen-yueh 秦王破陣樂).\(^37\) Before Kao-tsung 高宗 received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang of 'Majestically at the Side' (T'se T'ang-t'ang 步堂堂).\(^38\) Before 'The Queen of Heaven' (T'ien-hou 天后) [Empress Wu] received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang of 'Charming Miss Wu' (Wu Mei-niang 武媚娘).\(^39\)

It is my humble opinion that before 'The Responding to Heaven Emperor' received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang of 'The Prince of Ying at Shih-chou' (Ying-wang Shih-chou 英王石州).\(^40\) At the time before 'The Conforming Heaven Empress' received the mandate of Heaven, people in the Empire sang of 'The Branch of Mulberry-tree Wei, It is Women's Business' (Sang-t'iao Wei-yeh Nü-hang...
Everyone inside the 'six directions' (liu-he 六合), with heads level and feet stamping, on the occasion of the four seasons and 'eight festivals' (pa-chieh 八節), sings and dances and enjoys themselves together. Can this be spoken of in the same year as the hundred animals dancing for the playing nine times of the music of 'Hsiao-shao' 謹韶?

It is my humble opinion that the Empress is the spirit of a daughter descended from Heaven. She is fit to be the mother of the state and to take charge of the silkworms and mulberries [the sericulture industry] in order to tranquilize the Empire. It is in this that the virtue of the Empress and Consorts is fulfilled.

With respect I send in these twelve verses of 'The Song of the Mulberry Branches' (Sang-t'iao Ke 桑條歌) and humbly request to have them proclaimed to the world and sent into the Music Office (Yueh-fu 音府) for use on the occasion of the Empress' 'Hsien-ts'an Sacrifice' 先塋 to offer to the ancestors at the Imperial Ancestral Temple.

The Emperor was pleased and agreed to his request. He specially bestowed on Chih-chung an estate and seven hundred "tuan" 投 of variegated silk. In addition, the Vice-President of the Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang Shao-ch'ing 太常少卿) Cheng Yin 鄭愔 amplified it and entered it among
the dances and chants. He was also heavily rewarded.\textsuperscript{49} The President of the Ministry of War (Ping-pu Shang-shu 兵部尚書) Tsung Ch'\textsuperscript{u}-k\'o also hinted to the Omissioner (Pu-ch\"eh 補闕) Chao Yen-hsi 趙延禧 to send in a memorial to state the auspicious omen of Heaven's will.\textsuperscript{50} In this he explained the "Mulberry Branch" as the amulet of the eighteen generations\textsuperscript{51} and requested that it be promulgated to the Empire as well as included in the historical records. The Emperor was greatly pleased and promoted Yen-hsi to be Remonstrating Censor (Chien-i Tai-fu 諫議大夫).

At that time Shang-kuan Chao-jung, together with her mother, née Cheng 鄭氏, and the Shang-kung Consorts 尚宮, née Ch'ai 桂氏 and He-lou 賈妻氏 established and employed their relatives and faction members.\textsuperscript{52} They accepted bribes on a large scale and sent down their own "edicts written in black ink" (mo-ch\'ih 墨勅) to make "irregular appointments" (hsieh-feng 銜封)\textsuperscript{53} to offices. Some of those officials, although slaves or butchers by origin, were appointed to a succession of honourable positions. In addition, a sorceress whose name was Chao 趙氏 was introduced to go in and out of the Inner Palace and was created Lady Lung-hsi 隆西夫人. Her power could compare with that of the Shang-kuan Consort.\textsuperscript{54}

In the winter of the third year of Ching-lung (709), the Emperor was going to "worship [Heaven] personally in the southern suburb" 親祠南郊.\textsuperscript{55}
(kuo-tzu Chi-chiu 国子祭酒 ) Chu Ch'in-ming 祝欽明 and Vice-rector (Ssu-yeh 司業) Kuo Shan-yun 郭山聳 made a proposal that the Empress should also assist at the sacrifice. Erudite of the Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang Po-shih 太常博士 ) T'ang Shao 童紹 and Chiang Ch'in-hst 蒋欽绪 sent in memorials to oppose this suggestion. The Vice-President of the Right of the Department of Affairs of State (Shang-shu Yu P'u-yeh 尚書右僕射) Wei Chu-yuan 章巨源 carefully established detailed ritual procedures to carry out the Imperial will in accordance with Ch'in-ming's proposal. The Emperor accepted his words and made the Empress manage the "second offering" (ya-hsien 祭獻). In addition, the daughters of the Prime Ministers were made "Ladies in Charge of Ritual Preparations" (Chai-niang 齊娘) to hold the "splint-baskets" (p'ien-tou 之豆). Chin-ming further intended to request that the An-lo Princess hold the "final offering" (chung-hsien 終獻) but was forced to stop by the criticism of his contemporaries.

On the night of the fifteenth day of the first month in the fourth year of Ching-lung (710), the Emperor and Empress went to the streets in disguise to watch the "lantern festival" (shao-teng 燈燈). Several thousands of court ladies were allowed to wander at night to watch without restraint. Consequently they made use of the opportunity to have intercourse with outsiders secretly and to escape without coming
At that time Rector of the Imperial University Yeh Ching-neng 萊靜能 who was good at the technique of making incantation and taboo, Grand Councillor (San-ch’i Ch’ang-shih 散騎常侍) Ma Ch’in-k’e 馬秦客 who was quite well-trained in medicine, the Vice-president of the Bureau of Imperial Banquets (kuang-lu Shao-ch’ing 亢祿少卿) Yang Ch’un 楊均 whose duties involved arranging meals were all going in and out of the Palace often. Ch’un and Ch’in-k’e were both favoured by the Empress. 68 Their mothers died one after another but both of them were ordered to return to their old posts after mourning for ten days.

At that time the An-lo Princess, the Imperial Son-in-law (Fu-ma 驃馬) Wu Yen-hsiu 武延秀, 69 President of the Chancellery Chi Ch’u-na 續處訥, 70 The President of the Imperial Secretariat (Chung-shu Ling 中書令) Tsung Ch’u-k’e, President of the Board of Agriculture (Ssu-nung Ch’ing 司農卿) Chao Lü-ren 趙履溫 were suspicious of each other and kept changing their alliances.

In the sixth month, the Emperor passed away suddenly, a victim of poison. 71 His illness was treated by Ma Ch’in-k’e. Public opinion blamed Ch’in-k’e and the An-lo Princess. The Empress was frightened. She kept the news secret by not making a public announcement and brought those who were close to her into the Palace in order to plan a strategy for her
safety.

She put the President of the Ministry of Justice (Hsing-pu Shang-shu 刑部尚書) P'ei T'an 裴談 and the President of the Ministry of Public Works (Kung-pu Shang-shu 工部尚書) Chang Hsi 張錫 in charge of government affairs and left them to protect the Eastern Capital. She also ordered the Grand General of the Left of the Chin-wu Bird Army (Tso Chin-wu Ta-chiang-ch'un 左金吾大將軍) Chao Ch'eng-en 趙承恩 and a eunuch, Grand General of the Left of the Grand for Surveillance of Gates (Tso Chien-men-wei Ta-chiang-ch'un 左監門衛大將軍) Hsüeh Ch'ung-chien 許仲賢 to lead an army with five hundred soldiers to Yun-chou 菏州 [sic] to prepare for any action by the Prince of Ch'iao 燕王, Ch'ung-fu 重福.

The Empress and her cousin Junior Protector of the Heir-Apparent (T'ai-tzu Shao-pao 太子少保) [Wei] Wen 萬 settled on a plan to make Ch'ung-mao 燕茂, the Prince of Wen 温王, the Heir-Apparent and summoned an army of fifty thousand soldiers from various "militia units" (fu 府), dividing it into left and right "camps" (ying 僑) stationed at the Capital.

After this, national mourning was declared. Shao-ti 少帝 [Ch'ung-mao] succeeded to the throne. The Empress was honoured as Empress Dowager and gave audiences as well as administered the government. Wei Wen took full responsibility for the army inside and outside of the Palace to protect it.
The Imperial Sons-in-law Wei Chieh 
and Wei Cho took charge of the left and right "camps" respectively. Wu
Yen-hsiu, [Wei] Po, son of a brother of Wei Wen, 
Hstän, a cousin of Wei Wen, and Kao Ch'ung, son
of a sister of Wei Wen, administered the Left and Right
Reathers Forest Guards (Tso Yu Yü-lin-chün) as well as the Flying Cavalrymen (Fei-ch'i) and the
Ten-thousand Cavalrymen (Wan-ch'i).

Wei Po and Wei Hstän, intending to make an early show of force, flogged several soldiers of the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen on the day they took command. Therefore, everyone hated them and was unwilling to obey their orders.

At that time the whole Capital was frightened. A rumour was spread that a revolution was going to happen. There was an atmosphere of insecurity and people were constantly talking together.

Under the command of the Prince of Lin-tzu, Hsteh Ch'ung-chien 萧崇簡, Chung Shao-ching 鍾紹京, and Liu Yu-ch'iu 刘幽求 led the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen as well as workmen from the Imperial Workshops (Tsung-chien Ting-fu) went into the Palace City from the Hstän-wu Gate and went to the Left Feathers Forest Guards where they beheaded Generals Wei Hstän, Wei Po and Colonel Kao Ch'ung inside of their sleeping tents. Then they severed the bars of the gates and went in as far as the Pole Star.
Hall (T'ai-chi Tien 太極殿).  

The Empress was agitated and terrified. She fled into the camp of the Flying Cavalrymen in front of the Hall where she was killed by the rebelling soldiers along with Wu Yen-hsiu and the An-lo Princess.

The soldiers of the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen were despatched separately to exterminate the partisans of Empress Wei. Wei Wen, his nephew [Wei] Chieh, his cousin [Wei] Ying 婦, 99 Tsung Ch'u-k'e, his younger brother [Tsung] Chin-ch'ing 晉卿, 100 Chi Ch'u-na 纪處訥, Ma Ch'in-k'e, Yeh Ching-neng, Yang Chün, Chao Lü-wen, 101 the President of the Court of Imperial Insignia (Wei-wei Ch'ing 衆尉卿) Wang Che 王哲, the President of the Court of Imperial Sacrifice (T'ai-ch'ang Ch'ing 太常卿) Li I 李瓘, the Deputy Chief of the Department of Works (Chiang-tso Shao-chiang 將作少匠) Li Shou-chih 李守質 and the clansmen of the Wei 102 and Wu 103 families, whether young or old, were all executed.

The heads of the Empress and the An-lo Princess were exposed in the "eastern market" (tung-shih 東市). 104 On the next day, the corpses of the Empress and the Princess were gathered up and buried by Imperial command. The Empress received the rites of the first rank and was posthumously degraded to the status of "commoner"; the Princess received the rites of the third rank and was posthumously degraded to the status of a "traitorous commoner" (pei-ni shu-jen 逆庶人). 105
The Commoner [Empress] Wei of Chung-tsung was a native of Wan-nien of the Capital District. Her grandfather Hung-piao held the post of Colonel of the Guard in the Palace of Prince Ts'ao during the Chen-kuan period.

The Empress was selected as the Consort [of the future Chung-tsung] while the Emperor was living as Heir-Apparent in the Eastern Palace (Tung Kung). In the beginning of the Ssu-sheng period, she was made Empress. After a short while she was sent to live at Fang-ling with the Emperor. Every time there was a messenger coming, the Emperor was always so frightened that he even attempted to commit suicide. The Empress stopped him by saying "There is no constancy in either fortune or misfortune. Death will come sooner or later. Don't be in a hurry to reach it!"

When the Emperor regained his throne, the Empress took charge of the Inner Palace. At that time Shang-kuan Chao-jung was interfering in government affairs, while Ching Hui and others were planning to annihilate all of the Wus. Alarmed, Wu San-ssu persuaded Chao-jung to plea for him, and after succeeding in obtaining favour from the Empress, managed finally to plot successfully the executions of Hui and his partisans.

At first when the Emperor was forced to abdicate and
was in exile, he agreed with the Empress that once they were free to see the sun and sky, they would not restrain each other. Hence, by this time [the Empress] climbed onto the Imperial bed with San-ssu and gambled. The Emperor calculated tallies by their side without being irritated.

San-ssu hinted to the court officials that they should give the Empress the honorific title of "The Conforming to Heaven Empress". She visited the Imperial Ancestral Temple in person [to show her appreciation] and gave to her father Hsuan-chen the title of "Prince of Shang-lo Prefecture" (Shang-lo Chün-wang 上洛郡王) [sic]. The Left Reminder (Tso Shih-i 左拾遺) Chia Hsü-chi 賈庶己 stated:

Anyone who does not belong to the Li family and who receives the title of Prince (wang 王) will be expelled by the [nobility] who signed the form of oath. The dynasty having just been restored, it is dreadful to grant favours to the family of the Empress in such a hurry. Needless to say, the lamentable example of the previous throne is not far away. If the Empress refuses absolutely [to accept the title], this will convince the whole empire of the modesty of the Inner Palace [Empress]. What a good example she will set!

[His words] were not accepted.

In the third year of Shen-lung (707), the Heir-Apparent Chieh-min gathered an army but was soon defeated. Tsung Ch'u-
k'e led all the officials in a petition to put "to Assist the Emperor" (I-sheng 翔聖) on the title (of the Empress). It was permitted by an Imperial edict.

Inside the Inner Palace, a false rumor was spread that there were five-coloured clouds rising from the wardrobe chests of the Empress. The Emperor [had a picture of the clouds] drawn and shown to the Court. He therefore granted an amnesty to the entire Empire and bestowed "district titles" upon the mothers and wives of all the officials.

The Director of the Imperial Library (T'ai-shih 太史) Chia-yeh Chih-chung sent in a memorial with twelve stanzas of [the poem] "The Song of the Mulberry Branches" and said that the Empress should receive the mandate of Heaven. He said:

Formerly, in the reign of Kao-tsu, people in the Empire sang of 'the Peach-plum' (T'ao-li 桃李). In the reign of T'ai-tsung, [they] sang of 'The Prince of Ch'in Breaking Through the Ranks (Ch'in-wang P'o-chen). [In the reign] of Kao-tsung, [they] sang of 'The Majesty' (T'ang-t'ang 帝皇). In the reign of 'The Queen of Heaven' [Empress Wu], [they] sang of 'Charming Miss Wu' (Wu Mei-niang). [When] the Emperor received the mandate, [they] sang of 'The Prince of Ying at Shih-chou' (Ying-wang Shih-chou). Now when the Empress receives the mandate of Heaven, [they will] sing of 'The Branch of Mulberry-tree Wei' (Sang-t'iao...
Wei 桑条章, since the virtue of Empress and other Consorts consists in taking special care of the silkworms and the mulberries [the sericulture industry] and in sharing the responsibility of sacrifice in the Imperial Temple.

[The Emperor] conferred on Chih-chung a mansion and seven hundred "tuan" of variegated silk.

The Vice President of Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices, Cheng Yin, entered it among the poems of the Music Office. Ch' u-k' e again hinted to the Omissioner Chao Yen-hsi to analyse and comment on the [relationship between] branches of the mulberry to ninety-eight generations. The Emperor was greatly pleased and promoted Yen-hsi to the position of Remonstrating Censor.

Thereupon Chao-jung used the example of Empress Wu to persuade the Empress to send in a memorial right away [to ask]: that the mourning period for one's own mother be lengthened; that twenty-three be made the age of "adulthood" (ting) among the common people and fifty-nine the age for exemption; that the mothers and wives of officials whose ranks were over the fifth "grade" (p'in), and who received their honorific titles not because of the appointments of their husbands or sons, should enjoy the musical rite of drum and flute in their funerals. [The Empress] changed the system several times [with the secret design of gaining] popularity. She granted
titles and government posts to all her favourites and relatives. Chao-jung and her mother as well as the Shang-kung Consort, née He-lou etc., all accepted large sums of money. The sorceress Chao was made "Lady Lung-hsi". She went in and out of the Inner Palace and became as powerful as Shang-kuan. (In this way) the "black ink edicts" and the "irregular appointments" were all created.

In the third year (of Ching-lung) (709), the Emperor worshipped Heaven in person and put the Empress [in charge of] the "second offering" (ya-hsien).

In the fifteenth night of the first month of next year (710), the Emperor and the Empress, in disguise, went wandering and looking around the streets. The court ladies freed from their confines were able to enjoy themselves freely. Consequently, they all eloped without coming back.

The Rector of the Imperial University Yeh Ching-neng who was good at stratagems, the Councillor (Ch'ang-shih 長侍) Ma Ch'in-k'e who was master of healing, the Vice-President of the Bureau of Imperial Banquets Yang Chun, who was good at cooking, were all brought into the Inner Palace. Both Chun and Ch'in-k'e having had illicit intercourse with the Empress, had been ordered to return to their old posts after mourning for less than ten days.

When the Emperor was killed, public opinion blamed Ch'in-k'e and the An-lo Princess. The Empress, frightened,
brought those who were close to her into the Palace in order to set up a strategy. Then she appointed the President of the Ministry of Justice P'ei T'an and the President of the Ministry of Public Works Chang Hsi to assist the administration and to protect the Eastern Capital. She also appointed General (Chiang-ch’un 將軍) Chao Ch’eng-fu and Hsueh Chien to lead five hundred soldiers to guard against the Prince of Ch’iao, Ch’ung-fu and planned with her cousin [Wei] Wen to make Ch’ung-mao, the Prince of Wen, the Heir-Apparent. In addition, fifty thousand soldiers from various "militia" units were divided into two "camps", to be stationed in the Capital.

After this national mourning was declared, the Heir-Apparent succeeded the throne. He was the [later] so-called Shang-ti 帝. The Empress Dowager gave audiences in the Court. [Wei] Wen took full responsibility for the army inside and outside of the Palace in order to protect it. [Besides], [Wei] Cho and [Wei] Po, cousins [of Wei Wen], [Wei] Chieh and [Wei] Hst’n, son of [Wei Wen's] clansmen and [Wei] Hst’n's nephew Kao Ch’ung as well as Wu Yen-hsiu led the left and right "camps", the Feathers Forest Guards (Yü-lin 羽林), the Flying Cavalrymen and the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen respectively.

The whole Capital was frightened. There were rumors in the air that a revolution would break out. [Wei] Po and
[Wei] Hsuan went to the armies and disciplined the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen by flogging in order to make a show of force. Hence the soldiers hated them and were unwilling to obey their orders.\textsuperscript{123}

After a short while, the Prince of Lin-tzu led an army to open the Hsuan-wu Gate at night. They went into the Feathers Forest Guards\textsuperscript{124} to kill [Wei] Hsuan, [Wei] Po and [Kao] Ch'ung at their sleeping [tent].\textsuperscript{125} Then they chopped through the bars of the gates\textsuperscript{126} and knocked on [the door of] the Pole Star Hall. The Empress fled into the camp of the Flying Cavalrymen where she was killed by the rebel soldiers. [The army of the Prince of Lin-tzu] beheaded [Wu] Yen-hsiu, the An-lo Princess and arrested the Weis as well as the Wus and their partisans, respectively. All of them were executed.\textsuperscript{127} The heads of the Empress and the An-lo [Princess] were exhibited in the "eastern market" (tung-shih). On the next day [the Empress] was posthumously degraded to the state of "commoner" [but nonetheless], was still buried with the rites of the first rank.
CHAPTER III

THE BIOGRAPHIES OF SHANG-KUAN CHAO-JUNG

I. Translation of CTS 51 9b-10a

Shang-kuan the Chao-jung Consort¹ of Emperor Chung-tsung had the personal name Wan-erh and was the granddaughter of the Vice-President of the Western Terrace (Hsi-t'ai Shih-lang)² Shang-kuan I.³ Her father T'ing-chih⁴ was executed at the same time as Shang-kuan I. At that time Wan-erh was in her infancy.⁵ She was banished to the Palace of the Side Apartments (Yeh-t'ing)⁶ with her mother.⁷

After she grew up, she was good at literature and thoroughly conversant with the administration of state affairs. Once during the reign of Empress Wu, Wan-erh was sentenced to be executed for disobeying a command from the Empress. Because Empress Wu appreciated Wan-erh's talent, she only had Wan-erh branded on the face instead of putting her to death.⁸

Beginning in the Sheng-li 聖(Il) period (698-699 A.D.), she was often ordered to take part in the decisions made on memorials submitted by the high officials.

After Chung-tsung's succession, Wan-erh was again ordered to take special charge of the edicts. She won great
trust from the Emperor and soon was appointed as the Chao-
jung Consort; her mother, whose maiden name was Cheng
became "Lady P'ei-kuo".

Since Wan-erh had licentious relations with Wu San-ssu,
the edicts she wrote for the Emperor were always trying to
find reasons to favor the Wu family and denigrate the Imperial
Family. The Heir-Apparent Chieh-min deeply hated her for her
doing so.

When the Heir-Apparent led the army to Su-chang Gate
he knocked and asked for Wan-erh. Wan-erh said
arrogantly, "To judge from his intention, he will ask for the
Emperor and Empress next." Therefore the Emperor and Empress
were enraged at the prince by this and together they led Wan-
erh to climb up the tower at the Hsuan-wu Gate in order to avoid the troops. The incident was settled after
a short while.

Wan-erh often urged the Emperor to increase the appoint-
ments of Scholars of the Chao-wen Academy and recommended a great number of writers and
scholars among the officials at the court. Frequently the
Emperor gave banquets in scenic spots. All the attendants
wrote poetry and competed at matching one another's rhymes.
Wan-erh always wrote for the Emperor, the Empress, the Ch'ang-
ing Princess and the An-lo Princess. Although she was writing
several compositions at the same time, the terms were still
elegant and beautiful. Her poems were popular among her contemporaries for chanting.  

Wan-erh also had illicit relations with the Vice-President of the Ministry of Personnel (Li-pu Shih-lang 侍郎) Ts'ui Shih 崔湜; therefore she recommended that he be made Participant of Political Administration (Chih-cheng-shih 知政事). Ts'ui Shih had served as commissioner for the construction of a new route by Mount Shang (Shang-shan 商山). The work was not even half done when Emperor Chung-tsung passed away. Wan-erh used this opportunity to write a testamentary edict for the Emperor dishonestly stating Ts'ui's merit and giving him praise and rewards.

When Empress Wei's plot failed, Wan-erh was also beheaded in the army. Later Emperor Hsuan-tsung 玄宗 ordered her poetry collected and compiled in twenty "chuan" with a preface written by Chang Yweh 張説.

Previously, when Lady Cheng was pregnant with Wan-erh, she dreamed that someone sent her a large scale. A fortune-teller interpreted this as a prediction that she would have a son who would have noble position and hold the scales of authority in state affairs. After a girl was born, all those who had heard the prediction laughed at its unreliability. Later Wan-erh held full authority in the palace administration just as the fortuneteller had predicted.
II. Translation of HTS 76 13b-14a

Shang-kuan the Chao-jung Consort (of Emperor Chung-tsung) had the personal name Wan-erh and was the granddaughter of the Vice-President of the Western Terrace Shang-kuan I. Her father T'ing-chih 唐芝 was put to death along with Shang-kuan I in the time of Empress Wu. Her mother was an elder sister of the Vice-President of Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices Cheng Hsiu-yuán 鄭休遠.

Immediately after her birth Wan-erh was banished to the Palace of the Side Apartments along with her mother. Wan-erh was bright and alert by nature and good at literary composition. At the age of fourteen, she was summoned to audience by Empress Wu. The work she wrote in front of her majesty was of the same quality as if she had it already worked out.

From the T'ung-f'ien 天期 period (696 A.D.) on she was trusted by Empress Wu with handling the imperial edicts within the Palace. They were admirably coherent and written in beautiful language.

Wan-erh once disobeyed a command of Empress Wu, an offence which should have brought her the punishment of execution. The Empress was reluctant to lose her talents and only branded her on the face instead of putting her to death. After this incident she dealt with the memorials of the high officials and participated in all state affairs.

After Chung-tsung succeeded to the throne, Wan-erh was
again entrusted with great responsibility. She was promoted as Chao-jung Consort and her mother was made "Lady P'ei-kuo".

Wan-erh had illicit relations with Wu San-ssu; therefore the edicts she wrote always favoured the Wu family and tended to denigrate the House of T'ang.

The Heir-Apparent Chieh-min felt insecure. When he started his military uprising, he knocked on the Su-chang Gate and asked for Wan-erh. In order to arouse the Emperor Wan-erh said, "If I die, he will ask for the Empress and the Emperor next." The Emperor and Empress took Wan-erh between them and climbed up on the Hsuan-wu Gate to avoid the soldiers. They survived when the army of the Heir-Apparent was defeated.

Wan-erh urged the Emperor to enlarge the Academy (Shu-kuan), increase the number of the Scholars (Hsueh-shih) and recommended officials as well as famous scholars to participate in the selection. On several occasions the Emperor gave banquets at which the officials matched the rhymes of his poems. Wan-erh usually wrote for the Emperor, the Empress and the two princesses Ch'ang-ning, An-lo. She wrote several poems on the same occasion but each was more elegant and original than the last. She also ranked the works of the officials and conferred golden cups upon them as prizes. Therefore writing poetry became very popular in the court.

At that time, most of the writers paid too much attention to
making their language ornate but their works were still quite worth reading. \(^{29}\) That should be attributed to Wan-erh's efforts.

When Lady Chêng died, she was given the posthumous title "Lady Chieh-i" 节義夫人. Wan-erh requested that her rank be lowered while she was mourning. She was demoted to be Chieh-yü Consort 婕妤 but promoted back to Chao-jung very soon. \(^{30}\)

Chung-tsung visited Wan-erh's house where she had artificial ponds and hills made. \(^{31}\) It was thoroughly decorated and filled with points of interest. \(\text{[When the Emperor discovered the beauty of the place, he summoned the courtiers to have a banquet there.\]}\)

At that time, the consorts in the Inner Court of the Emperor were all free to go out of the Palace without restraint. Therefore Wan-erh and other favourites could keep houses outside. Shameless and disreputable people hurried to wait in their houses and gave themselves up to licentious intimacy in order to ask for high positions.

Wan-erh had immoral relations with Ts'ui Shih and recommended him as Participant of Political Administration. Ts'ui was ordered to open the road in Mount Shang. Although he had not finished half of the work, Wan-erh made use of an opportunity to write the Emperor's testamentary edict to put Ts'ui's false merit in it and cause him to be rewarded. After Empress Wei's plot failed, Wan-erh was also executed in front
of the Palace Gate.

At first, when Lady Cheng was just pregnant, she dreamed that a giant gave her a big scale and told her, "Use this to weigh the empire." Over one month after Wan-erh was born, her mother jokingly said, "Are you the one who is going to weigh the empire?" The baby made a sound which sounded like a "yes" answer. Later Wan-erh was in charge of state affairs, which perfectly matched the words of the dream.

In the Ching-yun period (710-711 A.D.) Wan-erh's rank of Chao-jung Consort was restored and she was given the posthumous name Hui-wen 惠文.

At first, her aunt's son Wang Yu 王暎 held the position of Reminder (Shih-i 拐遠). He warned [Lady Cheng], "When formerly the Emperor was imprisoned in Fang-ling, the Wu's were in power but the Imperial house finally regained control. This was the will of Heaven and not just a matter of luck. Although San-ssu is taking advantage of his opportunity, the whole empire knows that he is going to fail. Now Chao-jung, who is trusted by the Emperor, sides with San-ssu. It will bring about the extinction of the whole family." Lady Cheng rebuked Wan-erh using his words but Wan-erh refused to accept their opinion.

After the Heir-Apparent killed Wu San-ssu he really asked for Wan-erh [as Wang predicted], then she began to feel worried and afraid. When she drew up the testamentary edict
for Emperor Chung-tsung she brought in Prince of Hsiang (Hsiang-wang 相王) to assist in state affairs. When Prince of Lin-tzu launched his coup, Wan-erh was arrested. She showed the draft of the testamentary edict of Chung-tsung to Liu Yu-ch'iu. Liu appealed to Prince Lin-tzu on her behalf but the Prince did not permit her to be forgiven. Hence Wan-erh was executed.

At the beginning of K'ai-yüan 甲午 period (713-741 A.D.) Emperor Hsüan-tsung had Wan-erh's literary works compiled and ordered Chang Yteh to write the preface for this collection.
CHAPTER IV

THE SOURCE OF POWER OF EMPRESS WEI
AND CONSORT SHANG-KUAN

I. The Feminine Influence at the T'ang Court

A. The Traditional Feminine Influence in the Li Family

When the tradition of a family is involved, we have to trace back its family history. According to the records which contained information coming directly from the Lis, the Imperial Li family of T'ang was related to the Chinese aristocratic Li family of Lung-hsi, and moreover only six generations before Kao-tsu, the founder of the T'ang Dynasty, it had been the Imperial family of Western Liang. ¹

Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o made a series of detailed studies on this subject. In his essays he agreed that the Lis had Chinese origin. However, he also pointed out that instead of being the descendants of the Imperial family of Western Liang and a branch of the Li family of Lung-hsi, the Lis most likely were related to a humble branch of the great Li family of Chao Prefecture (Chao-chün) of Eastern China.²

There have also been scholars who maintain that the Lis had non-Chinese origin.³ Since Professor Ch'en's theory is generally accepted and this question has little bearing on
what I am going to discuss in this thesis, I will not make any further inquiry into it.

What I would like to emphasize is that even if the Li family had Chinese origin, by the time the T'ang Dynasty was established, they had already been strongly influenced by non-Chinese culture brought into northern China during the Sixteen States Period and the Northern and Southern Dynasties. This is a conclusion we can draw from the reliable part of the Li family history.

Starting from Li Hu 李虎, the grandfather of Kao-tsu, the family history of the Lis can be traced in official historical records. Li Hu was one of the eight Pillar of State Generals (Pa Chu-kuo Ta Chiang-chün 八柱国大將軍) who helped Yu-wen T'ai 宇文泰 build Northern Chou 北周. As to his followers, except for some non-Chinese from the Six Garrisons (Liu-chen 六鎮), most had Chinese origin. For the purpose of strengthening the unification of his multi-origin followers in order to resist the threatening power of Northern Ch'i 北齊 and the Southern Dynasty 南朝, Yu-wen T'ai applied his "Kuan-chung First Policy" (Kuan-chung Pen-wei Cheng-ts'e 關中本位政策).

In executing his new policy, Yu-wen T'ai imitated the system recorded in The Rites of Chou (Chou-li 周禮) to create his officialdom in order to emphasize the fact that the
territory of Northern Chou was the place of origin of ancient Chinese culture. On the other hand he ordered all the officials to be dressed in the Hsien-pei style and to use newly bestowed Hsien-pei family names, hoping that while reviving old Chinese forms of government, his Chinese followers would be more and more non-Chinese in their daily life.

As statesmen, Li Hu and his family naturally would have had to support the "Kuan-chung First Policy" of Yu-wen T'ai. Instead of Li, they began to use the newly bestowed Hsien-pei family name—Ta-yéh 太野. The maiden name of Li Hu's wife was "Liang" 梁 which most probably was a Chinese name. Nevertheless, his son Li Ping 李炯, grandson Kao-tsü—Li Yuan 李淵 and great grandson T'ai-tsung—Li Shih-min 李世民 all married daughters of non-Chinese aristocrats.

Living in a society strongly influenced by non-Chinese culture for at least four generations and furthermore having had marital relations with noble non-Chinese families for at least three generations, it was impossible for the Lis not to have assimilated some aspects of the non-Chinese culture. Therefore, in the biographies of Kao-tsü, T'ai-tsung and their sons, the influence of non-Chinese life style is quite obvious. When any special skills of the male of the Lis are mentioned, these usually include horse breeding, riding, archery, hunting as well as fighting. The eldest son of T'ai-tsung, Li Ch'eng-ch'ien 李承乾, not only declared that he
preferred to be a non-Chinese but also practised a non-Chinese life style in his palace. He is therefore an extreme example to show the influence of both the tradition and the blood of the maternal side in the Li family.

Generally speaking, the female position in a non-Chinese family was higher than in a traditional Chinese family, a custom which would be discussed in detail later in this chapter. The data concerning the life of the female members of the Lis is far less abundant in history records. However, we can still trace some of their special characteristics which were different from typical Chinese women.

Although, no biography exists in official history on Lady Tu-ku, mother of Kao-tsu, she was most probably the first one to bring non-Chinese blood into the Li family. Her younger sister was the Empress of the Emperor Wen of Sui (Suí Wen-ti ). Empress Tu-ku was notorious for her dominance and extreme jealousy. Emperor Wen let her interfere freely in state affairs, therefore, in the Palace she and the Emperor were honoured together as "The Two Sovereigns" (Erh Sheng ). We are not sure whether Lady Tu-ku was as dominant as her sister. However, the biographies of her daughter-in-law, Empress Tou, mention that her character was very strict, and that therefore, except for Empress Tou, all her daughters-in-law avoided attending on her in her illness in order not to be scolded. Although her relationship
with her daughters-in-law does not make Lady Tu-ku seem any different from a typical Chinese mother-in-law, it still can reinforce the assumption that she probably had the same kind of disposition as her sister.

Even with the exception of Lady Tu-ku about whom we do not know enough to make a judgement, the Li family was filled with capable and ambitious women that include either daughters-in-law or daughters of the Lis.

Empress Tou of Kao-tsu and Empress Chang-sun 23 of T'ai-tsung both were from non-Chinese families. They however, were well educated and became famous for their unusually good judgement. Ever since her childhood, Empress Tou showed her talent as an admonitor. Her admonitions were directed even against her uncle, Emperor Wu of Northern Chou (Chou Wu-ti ). As a child, she had already shown a grasp of politics by persuading Emperor Wu to be more affectionate towards his Turkish Empress for the sake of the country. Even after her death, her advice was followed by Kao-tsu who, in order to avoid the suspicion of Emperor Yang of Sui (Sui Yang-ti ) offered eagles and dogs to the Emperor. With Empress Tou's keen judgement and ability, if she had not died before the T'ang Dynasty was founded, the early part of T'ang History, especially the handling of the succession problem, would undoubtedly have been somewhat different.
As to Empress Chang-sun, she had the opportunity to be more influential in state affairs. Though, she always emphasized her preference to be a woman following Confucian principles,\textsuperscript{24} which may have prevented her from being dominant, this certainly did nothing to prevent her from being influential on Emperor T'ai-tsung.

From the time that Empress Chang-sun married at the age of thirteen, she always stood closely behind T'ai-tsung. When the antagonism between T'ai-tsung and his elder brother Chien-cheng, the Heir-Apparent, became more and more obvious, she was the one who tried to reconcile T'ai-tsung to his father as well as to the consorts of Kao-tsu and that was an aspect in which T'ai-tsung himself had less ability than Chien-cheng. Finally, the Coup of Hsüan-wu Gate occurred. When T'ai-tsung was busy in distributing the arms, Empress Chang-sun was the one to give all the participants verbal and moral encouragement.

After T'ai-tsung succeeded the throne, Empress Chang-sun admonished him in many aspects. However, understanding how not to offend the dignity of a ruler, she always chose the right time to make her admonitions. Sometimes even if T'ai-tsung forced her to make suggestions, she would not say anything. By giving T'ai-tsung the impression that she had no intention of interfering in state affairs, she won the respect and trust of the Emperor. Hence, her suggestions were usually
accepted willingly. 25

Even before she died, Empress Chang-sun, in her illness, still tried to stand beside T'ai-tsung when some military information was sent in in the middle of the night. Her last words with T'ai-tsung urged the Emperor not only to practise the virtues of an emperor in Confucian style but also to call back the old statesman Fang Hsuan-ling 范軫 who had been temporarily dismissed from office at that time. 26

With her influence on T'ai-tsung and her knowledge of the ambition of her brother, Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌, 27 if Empress Chang-sun had not died so early, the intrigues and succession problem in the later part of T'ai-tsung's reign might not have been as severe, or there might have been a different result.

Besides the two Empresses, the P'ing-yang Princess 平陽公主 28 was also a highly respected female member in the Li family. During the founding war of the T'ang Dynasty, the P'ing-yang Princess, a daughter of Kao-tsu, formed an army of seventy thousand soldiers to fight in the Kuan-chung area. Although most of the soldiers were outlaws, they showed perfect discipline and captured quite a few cities under the command of the Princess.

Because of her military merit, when the P'ing-yang Princess died, inspite of the dissent of the officials of the Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices (T'ai-ch'ang Ssu 太常寺),
Kao-tsu ordered the inclusion in her funeral of the music of horns and drums, a traditional military musical rite which had never been bestowed upon the funeral of a woman.  

Although the Empress Tou, Empress Chang-sun and the P'ing-yang Princess showed no ambitions of either dominating their husbands or taking over the state affairs, their abilities and the respect they won in the family somehow must have influenced the female position in the Li family.

Apart from these three capable female members of the Lis, there were other princesses involved in political intrigues during the beginning of T'ang period. For example, the Ch'ang-lo Princess 常樂公主, a daughter of Kao-tsu was killed by Empress Wu for the charge of involvement in the anti-Empress Wu coup led by Li Chen 李真, the Prince of Yueh 悦 Shir. The Pa-ling Princess 巴陵公主, and the Kao-yang Princess 高陽公主, daughters of T'ai-tsung, both were ordered to commit suicide in Kao-tsung's reign for participating in the conspiracy of Fang Yi-ai 房遺愛. However, there is little doubt that all these princesses were victims of political power struggles.

The Ch'ang-lo Princess was a favourite aunt of Emperor Kao-tsung. She must had influenced Kao-tsung to the extent that Empress Wu regarded her as an opponent. Therefore, Empress Wu arranged to have her daughter imprisoned till death, taking away at the same time her privilege of having
in audience with the Emperor, and furthermore the Princess' husband was also degraded.

According to the limited information existing on the Ch'ang-lo Princess, she seems to have remained quite determined. These early signs of warning she received from Empress Wu did not stop her from joining the anti-Empress Wu coup organized by the Prince of Yüeh. Hence, even if the information is limited, little doubt exists as to the political interest of the Ch'ang-lo Princess.

As to the conspiracy of Fang Yi-ai in which the Pa-ling Princess and her husband Ch'ai Ling-wu 柴令武, the Kao-yang Princess and her husband Fang Yi-ai were involved, it is quite doubtful whether it really did exist. Since both Ch'ai Ling-wu and Fang Yi-ai were partisans of Li T'ai 李泰, Prince of Wei 魏王, and opponents of Chang-sun Wu-chi during the previous conflicts of succession in the Chen-kuan period, there is a great possibility that the charge was only made by Chang-sun Wu-chi in order to remove these political opponents together with the reputable Li K'o 李恪, Prince of Wu 吳王, whose existence was a constant threat to the throne of Kao-tsung.

Their conspiracy was said to have been detected in the course of litigation between the Kao-yang Princess and her brother-in-law Fang Yi-chih 房道直. It would have been quite a foolish move of the Princess to arouse attention right
before a coup, hence if she was not greedy and unwise, she must have been a victim of Chang-sun Wu-chi's plot.

The Kao-yang Princess was known to dominate her husband. And there were records of her despatching a eunuch to spy on the Imperial Palace for her. Hence, there is no doubt that she played a part in her husband's political activities. As to the Pa-ling Princess, there is insufficient information about her, however, it is likely that she had at least some interest in politics, since during the T'ang period, a princess usually would not receive any punishment but have a second marriage arranged, if only her husband was involved in a conspiracy or political intrigue.

After a review of the feminine history of the Lis, I have the impression that during the period immediately before and after the T'ang Dynasty was founded, possibly because of the non-Chinese life style which was introduced among the Lis by marriage and state orders, the female members did play a more important role in the Li family than in a traditional Chinese family. They participated in fighting and political intrigues and were constant admonitors to the male members. What those ladies did at that time must somehow have influenced their descendants' ideas of the woman's role in the family and have helped the later ambitious female members of the family to feel that power-seeking efforts would not necessarily be futile.
B. The Background of Feminine Influence at the T'ang Court

1. Social

The social position of women in T'ang was relatively much higher than in later periods. The feminine influence in the T'ang court may have been partly the result of this social custom. There are two possible sources for this social custom. One is the customs of non-Chinese tribesmen of the Northern Dynasties that allowed women to interfere in men's business. The other is the respect for the great families shown in the Northern and Southern Dynasties.

The first possible source, mentioned earlier in this chapter, is that traditionally the female position in the families of tribesmen was higher than in Chinese families. The existence of this custom is mainly related to their traditional life style.

The Later Han History (Hou Han Shu 後漢書) mentions that the customs of Hsien-pei and Wu-huan were alike. Living a nomadic style of life, they were skilled in riding and hunting. If a male was annoyed, he might even kill his father or brothers. However, he would never commit matricide, otherwise the maternal kinsmen would take revenge on him. Besides, except for fighting, the mistress was the decision-maker of the family.

According to the description of the Later Han History, the Hsien-pei tribe still possessed some features of a
matriarchate. Not only the mother but also the maternal kinsmen were highly respected by the family. Because of these traditional customs, even by the time of Sui and T'ang, the females of the tribesmen still held a respected position in the family and were used to exerting influence on the male members of the family. Hence, according to the criteria of the northern tribesmen, the interference of women would not be considered as objectionable as among the Chinese, who were under the influence of philosophical ideas like those of Confucianism which made not meddling in men's business a necessary virtue of women.

During Northern Wei its Hsien-pei rulers made every effort to make their non-Chinese subjects adopt Chinese culture. Their endeavours did bring about the assimilation of the tribesmen in the Capital District—Lo-yang—while those who lived along the frontier—the Six Garrisons remained unchanged. Treated unequally compared to their compatriots in the Capital, the frontier tribesmen together with the frontier Chinese, including the future Imperial Li Family of T'ang, who had been assimilated to the culture of tribesmen, finally showed their implacable anger by resorting to force of arms.  

After this uprising, the Northern Wei was soon divided into two parts—the Eastern and the Western Wei. The Emperors of both sides only ruled nominally, the Eastern Wei was
dominated by Kao Huan, whose son later founded Northern Ch'i to replace it and Western Wei was dominated by Yu-wen T'ai, whose son later established Northern Chou to replace Western Wei. Both Kao Huan and Yu-wen T'ai came from the Six Garrisons area and needed the support of the tribesmen from there, hence, under the orders and encouragement of the government, adopting the culture of tribesmen became the trend of social custom in both Northern Chou and Chi.

This trend remained until Yang Chien, Emperor Wen built up the Sui Dynasty and again unified China. He abolished the bureaucratic system of Yu-wen T'ai and built his own by following the traditional Chinese system. Moreover, he also made the Chinese go back to their original Chinese family names which had been replaced by Hsien-pei names during the Northern Chou period.

Yang Chien had established himself as a Chinese sovereign. He did not however forbid tribal customs, because of his own background and his need of the support of the non-Chinese group. Hence, the influence of the tribal customs remained in the society throughout and even after the short period of Sui. The higher social position of women was only one of the phenomena which survived until the beginning of T'ang.

It is not difficult to find examples of females dominating their husbands and sons either in family or in state affairs during the Northern Dynasties.
Yen Chih-t'ui 颜之推 in his Family Instructions for the Yen Clan (Yen-shih Chia-hsun 颜氏家训) tells vividly:

But in the city of Yeh 鄭 it was the custom for women to handle all family business, to demand justice and to straighten out legal disputes, to make calls and curry favor with the powerful. They filled the streets with their carriages, occupied the government offices with their fancy dress, begged official posts for their sons, and made complaints about injustice done to their husbands. Were these custom handed down from the T'ao-pa Wei dynasty (386-534)?

...Most people north of the Yellow river let their wives handle domestic affairs. (To these ladies) satin and silk, gold and jade were indispensable; yet lean horses and decrepit servants were good enough for service. Husband and wife sometimes could address each other by "thee" and "thou".

The women north of the Yellow River are far superior to those east of Yangtze in the arts of weaving and sewing, and in skill in various sorts of embroidery on silk garments.

Chao I 趙翼 also quoted from the biography of Yuan Hsiao-yu 元孝友 in Northern Ch'i History (Pei Ch'i Shu 北齊書) a passage which said that the officials of Northern Ch'i had no concubines and females were taught by their parents, sisters or sisters-in-law to be jealous. Therefore, it became the custom to consider dominating one's husband as a feminine virtue 婦德, and jealousy as a women's employment 婦工.

According to these descriptions, women in the northern part of China during the Northern Dynasties were not only
dominant and independent but also capable and diligent. In addition to that, many of them were even skilled in archery.

Among the Imperial families of the Northern Dynasties, the social customs described by Yen Chih-t'ui and Chao I were also widely practised. Hence, though the number was not as high nor the practise as consistent as during T'ang, there were quite a few dominating Empress Dowagers and Empresses throughout that period.

The better known were Empress Dowager Feng 滃太後 and Empress Dowager Hu (Hu Ling Hou 胡皇后), of Northern Wei, and Empress Dowager Lou 沂太後 of Northern Ch'i. As to Sui, a period following the Northern Dynasties which inherited most of its customs, there was the famous Empress Tu-ku. All these Imperial Ladies worked in their own way to be powerful and influential in state affairs. Eventhough the official histories which were written according to Confucian criteria could not avoid mentioning their talents in managing state affairs and capabilities in dealing with officials.

The examples of these Empress Dowagers and Empresses during the Northern and Sui Dynasties would definitely not only raise the already comparatively high social position of women but also encourage the ambitious female power-seekers in T'ang to seize every opportunity to follow the example of their immediate predecessors.

The other custom which possibly elevated the female
social position was also derived from the period of Northern and Southern Dynasties.

At that time, China had five groups of great families which were highly respected by both government and society of the area in which they were residing. Since the great families maintained their honorable position partially by intermarriage within their own groups, the positions of mother and maternal kinship in the family were considered relatively important. Liu Fang of T'ang mentioned this phenomenon and stated that it was exceptionally prominent in the groups from Shan-tung and T'ai-pei areas. The passage quoted above telling how the ladies in the city of Yeh used to go out to seek appointments for their husbands and sons could also serve to illustrate the social position of the females of the great families in Northern China.

Although the great families usually would not have marriage relations with any family considered to be in a lower social position, sometimes they might consider a betrothal with a great fortune. This possibility made the families of lower social standing, including even the Imperial family of the time, eager to court the great families as soon as they had enough money and political power. Such a situation still existed in early T'ang period as we can see from the story of Li Yi-fu of Empress Wu's reign, who tried to arrange an engagement between a daughter of a great
Shan-tung family and his son.\textsuperscript{58} Since it was taken to be a great honour to marry a daughter from the great families, these ladies who were married to families of lower social standing might even receive greater respect from their in-laws than those who were married to families of equal position. Therefore, Yen Chih-t'ui warned his descendants not to marry with great families in order to avoid having "an arrogant woman assume power in the household".\textsuperscript{59} The edict of T'ai-tsung promulgated in 642 A.D. also refers to cases of women from great families being rude to their in-laws.\textsuperscript{60} Consequently, because of their family background the daughters of the great families usually enjoyed higher position in their husband's home no matter what kind of families they were married into. This probably would not have made too much difference to the families of commoners. Nevertheless, it must had influenced the feminine position of those in the higher class.

The Imperial Li family which possessed the blood of the Tai-pei great families were also unavoidably influenced by this custom. For example, after their Empresses passed away, both Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung once considered appointing new Empresses. Kao-tsu's choice was the Chao-yi Consort née Yu-wen,\textsuperscript{61} a daughter of the Imperial family of Northern Chou, and T'ai-tsung's was Lady Yang,\textsuperscript{62} a daughter of the Kuan-chung aristocratic Yang family. They both gave the
idea up later for other reasons, however, the motive which made them select these two among all the favourites was at least partly the prominent family background of these two consorts.

Besides, in the early reign of Emperor Kao-tsung, one of the reasons that the Prince of Wu was regarded as a constant threat to the throne by Chang-sun Wu-chi was the family background of his mother, another Lady Yang 楊妃. She was not only a daughter of Emperor Yang of Sui but also from the eminent Yang clan of Kuan-chung.

These examples should show how much importance the Imperial family of T'ang placed on the social standing of their in-laws and give us some idea of what kind of position the daughters-in-law could enjoy in the Li family.

2. Political—the succession problem

Because of the influence of the abdication theory in Confucianism, the Chinese believed that the country should be ruled by a capable man of outstanding virtue who was entrusted by Heaven with the care of the empire. For this reason, the emperor was called T'ien-tzu, son of Heaven 天子. The theory commonly held in European countries and Japan of rule by an unbroken family line was unknown in Chinese political thought. Hence, having the right blood was not as important as receiving the sanction of Heaven from the former emperor. This thought applied not only when a change of dynasty was involved, but
also to the problem of succession within the dynasty.

It became a theoretical rule at the beginning of the Chou Dynasty 周 (1122-255 B.C.) to appoint the eldest son of the empress as the emperor's heir-apparent. However, the rule was not followed all the time. Usually, in contrast to the European succession rule, according to which the eldest son could claim the throne as of right, the empress' eldest son in China still needed to be appointed as heir-apparent by his father. Therefore, if a prince was a special favorite of the emperor, he might have more chance of being appointed the heir-apparent than his eldest brother. That was the reason why princely rivalries happened frequently in Chinese history.

Among all the dynasties in China, T'ang was one of those which had the most succession problems. There were twenty-one rulers during the T'ang period and none of them succeeded to the throne without any competition.

This situation was probably influenced to the numerous examples from the preceding periods. During the one hundred and sixty-nine years of the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the theoretical rule of succession by the eldest son of the empress was seldom applied in either Northern or Southern China. In more recent times, the success of Sui Emperor Yang's plot and Emperor T'ai-tsung's coup also provided examples for later power-seekers of T'ang, showing that the throne could be had by Machiavellian methods.
Through the period of T'ang, the ambitious power-seekers who were involved in the competition of succession included princes, empresses, princesses, court ladies, officials, palace guards and even eunuchs. Some of the coups were led by ambitious princes who wished to follow the example of T'ai-tsung; others were organized by the Heir-Apparent who had lost a sense of security for his succession because of the pressure of competition from other princes or even princesses.

Usually, those involved in a coup included a mélange of the kinds of people mentioned above. However, after the success of the coup, the female participants and the eunuchs frequently won more credit from the Emperor than the others. Chung-tsung's trust in Empress Wei, even though she did not join the coup directly, Jui-tsung's trust in the T'ai-p'ing Princess as well as Su-tsung's trust in Empress Chang and eunuch Li Fu-kuo were all good examples.

This phenomenon was mainly caused by the secluded early life of each emperor. Since princely rivalries happened from time to time, the Emperor had to take some precautions to decrease the possibilities of opposition from his Heir-Apparent, sons and brothers.

For instance, during the reign of T'ai-tsung, he sent most of his brothers and sons to prefectural posts and assigned each of them a staff. Except for assisting the Princes in
administration, the chief duty of the leading members of their staffs, the Chief Administrator (Chang-shih) and the Administrator (Ssu-ma ąż ą ), was to report the behavior of the Princes to the Emperor. During Empress Wu's period, the Princes of the Li family were either imprisoned in the Palace and beaten several times each year or banished to prefectures. When Hsuan-tsung came to the throne, he employed the gentle but prudent technique of gathering all the Princes together in the Capital. The Princes were encouraged to indulge in a luxurious life style but on the other hand any officials or Imperial-in-laws who tried to make friends with the Princes were severely punished. The traditionalistic historians praised Hsuan-tsung for his affection toward his brothers by describing how he granted the Princes audience every morning and how in addition to frequent personal visits of the Emperor the eunuchs who carried the kind regards and gifts bestowed upon the Princes formed a constant stream on the road. Nevertheless, it is more likely that it was a deliberate policy of Hsuan-tsung to corrupt the Princes with extravagant enjoyment and at the same time to send eunuchs to spy on them, in order to decrease the possibilities of any princely rivalries.

For this reason, most of the T'ang Princes spent their early lives in remote places or in the Capital under close watch. They seldom had opportunities to have contacts with
people outside their own households. Besides, even if they had the chance to communicate with the outside world, they were reluctant to do so, because it was so easy to provoke the charge of conspiracy from other competitors. Consequently, the early secluded life of a prince helped to make his consorts, eunuchs and female attendants the few confidential assistants he could possibly trust.

When one Prince finally succeeded to the throne, he used to reward the officials and palace guards who had served him in the succession competition with important posts. However, after a short while, it was very easy for Emperors to start suspecting that those officials who had once been his allies were trying to deprive him of his power, since the bureaucratic system of T'ang had a built-in tendency to make the Emperor and his officials rivals for power.

Because they lacked access to the throne and so found it difficult to prove their innocence when they had political opponents in the inner palace, high officials who had helped an emperor to power frequently soon lost their posts, power and even lives. The antagonism between Kao-tsung and Chang-sun Wu-chi as well as the conflict between Chung-tsung and the "Five Princes" (Wu-wang, ), discussed later, were perfect examples.

Unlike such officials, the consorts, princesses, eunuchs or even female attendants, who usually had already become the
confidential assistants of the Emperor before his accession, could still live in or readily enter the Inner Palace after he came to the throne. They did not have to antagonize the Emperor by opposing his will in the Outer Court but could persuade him at convenient times. By using their opportunities skillfully and continually the consorts, eunuchs etc. were often able to transfer the Imperial power to themselves without the Emperor's being aware of it.

During the early part of T'ang, consorts and princesses were far more influential in state affairs than the eunuchs. However, in the later period only the eunuchs dominated the throne.

The powerlessness of the eunuchs during the early T'ang period was mainly caused by the order of T'ai-tsung which stated that the number of eunuchs should be limited and the appointments they held should under no circumstances be higher than the fourth grade. Besides, except for wearing the yellow uniform of the fourth grade and receiving an allowance of grain, the duties of the two Nei-shih 内侍 who held the highest fourth grade posts among all the eunuchs were confined to guarding the Palace gates and cleaning the Inner Palace. This order limited the Nei-shih, heads of the Department of Administration of the Inner Palace (Nei-shih Sheng 内侍省), to a lower grade and to doing only manual tasks. For this reason, the eunuchs were no match for the
consorts and princesses in access to the Emperor.

It was during Empress Wu's and Chung-tsung's reigns that both the numbers and ranks of eunuchs were escalated with the result that their power increased in direct proportion. Then after they gradually gained the control of palace guards from Su-tsung to Te-tsung's period, the eunuchs finally surpassed the consorts as well as other female competitors and began to dominate state affairs and later even the succession of the throne.

To put it briefly, the unstable condition of succession in T'ang aroused the ambition of many power-seekers. Among them, the consorts and princesses were most successful in the early T'ang period while the officials were unable to intervene and the eunuchs had not yet found a way into the confidence of the Emperor.

The intervention of Empress Wei, Consort Shang-kuan, the An-lo and T'ai-p'ing Princess as well as their female partisans was the typical result of the succession problem from the reign of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu to Chung-tsung as well as from Chung-tsung to Jui-tsung. Later between the reign of Hsian-tsung and Su-tsung, the similar but less severe situation also existed.

3. Religion

By the T'ang period, Confucianism, Buddhism and Taoism had already become the three major philosophical trends which
most influenced Chinese thought and way of life. Hence, though Confucianism was not a religion, it was included among "The Three Religions" (San-chiao 三教) together with Buddhism and Taoism.

Since the Three Religions had great influence of the people in China, it also became necessary for the ruler to know how to apply the three religions strategically in order to strengthen his sovereignty. Throughout Chinese history, a few rulers forcibly advocated one of the three religions at the expense of the others whereas others tried to rank the three in order. However, most of the rulers, no matter which one of the three religions they themselves preferred, usually tolerated the existence of all the three, considering this as the best policy.

It is only in recent years that historians have begun to notice that religion may have been a factor in favouring women's higher position in T'ang society. However, the work of analyzing the relationship between the waning and waxing of the influences of the three religions and the female position in T'ang society still remains to be done.

Among the teachings of the Three Religions, Taoism seems to have shown less discrimination against women. I have mentioned before that Confucian principles frequently emphasized that female intervention in state affairs would bring about the destruction of the country. The ideal woman
in Confucian teaching should obey the head of the family, a male of course, and concern herself only with her own domestic duties; such as breeding silkworms and weaving. Consequently, females in a society mainly dominated by Confucianism were inclined to cultivate refinement and not to be aggressive in meddling in business outside of the family.

Although in Buddhism women are permitted to leave the home and become devotees as men are, original Buddhism still considered the female as an inferior sex. This attitude is apparent in the Buddhist idea that a women is not qualified to become a Buddha unless she can cultivate her morality to reach the standard of being worthy to be reincarnated as a male in her next life; then she may be able to become a Buddha after the end of this second life, if she keeps cultivating the morality of this second, male, life. Moreover, from the number of disciplines required: two hundred and fifty for a monk and five hundred for a nun, we can also see the unequal treatment of the male and female Buddhist devotees.84

Basically, the position of men and women in Buddhism is unequal. Nevertheless, this kind of attitude sometimes varied as the religion spread and different sects arose. For example, when the Mahâyâna sect was introduced into China, its canon already included some prophecies about female rulers who would be avatars of Buddha.85

As to the religion of Taoism, it was originally a
combination of Chinese traditional ideas of immortality and some teaching of Lao-tzu 老子. There was no obvious idea in Taoism to show any discrimination against women. Both males and females were able to become immortals as long as they were devotees or had set up a divine altar at home and worshiped day and night. As a religion originating from ancient Chinese beliefs, Taoism inherited all the gods and goddesses in traditional Chinese folklore, for example, Li-shan Lao-mu 驪山老母, Hsi Wang-mu 西王母, etc. Unlike the situation in Buddhism, in Taoism women could become immortals, and goddesses were believed to exist. Perhaps because of the influence of the principle of duality, Taoism allowed the female to enjoy a position of relative equality.

In his "Tōdai ni okeru boshin shugiteki fukki kaisei ni tsuite" 唐代における親主義的復制改革について, Professor Fujikawa Masakazu 藤川正数 also suggests that during the T'ang period Taoism played a part in bringing about a higher social position for women because of the respect it accorded to motherhood and that it was because of this favourable social climate, that Empress Wu and Empress Wei were able to promote the position of mothers in mourning rites.

During the periods which preceded T'ang, the position of Confucianism was relatively low while Buddhism and Taoism, with the encouragement of their political supporters, competed
for the leading position. Once the Emperor Wu of Northern Chou did endeavour to suppress Buddhism and Taoism and to honour Confucianism as the only religion. But his reign was short and his territory covered less than one third of the Chinese map of that epoch. After he died, Buddhism and Taoism soon became even more popular than before.

The Northern and Southern Dynasties were times of anarchy and disorder which made people turn to religion for relief. This kind of quick relief was what Confucianism, not a religion but a philosophy, could not provide. Hence, even without the constant support of sovereigns in both the Northern and the Southern Dynasties, Buddhism and Taoism still might have remained more influential than Confucianism in society.

The two rulers of Sui, Emperor Wen and Emperor Yang, were both ardent supporters of Buddhism. However, they also believed in Taoism. For example, Emperor Yang always kept male and female Taoists, together with Buddhist monks and nuns, as his attendants. At the same time, since the Sui Emperor did not give as much attention to Confucianism, few Confucian scholars won important posts because of their learning. Besides, there was conflict between different sects of Confucianism, hence it stayed at the lowest position among the three religions.

Therefore, generally speaking at the beginning of T'ang, Chinese society was influenced less by Confucianism than by
either Buddhism or Taoism.

After the T'ang Dynasty was established, Emperors Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung showed more regard for Confucianism. This was especially true of Emperor T'ai-tsung, who ordered Yen Shih-ku to prepare *The Definitive Edition of the Five Classics* (Wu-ching Ting-pen 五經定本) and K'ung Ying-ta to compile *The Orthodox Interpretation of the Five Classics* (Wu-ching Cheng-i 五經正義). From that time onward, the Confucian students had a standard to follow and they had to follow this standard in order to enter into officialdom after competing in the examination system set up in the beginning of T'ang. Since studying Confucianism again became an outlet to winning appointments in the government, its importance increased.

Nevertheless, although Confucianism received a certain amount of encouragement from the government, the influence of Buddhism still existed in society. Besides, it was not Confucianism but Taoism that was regarded as the first religion by both Emperors Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung.

Since Taoism claimed Lao-tzu as its founder and the surname of Lao-tzu happened to be Li, the Imperial family of T'ang took advantage of this to praise Taoism and to identify themselves as the descendents of Lao-tzu in order to promote their family fame. Hence, with the encouragement of the government, Taoism enjoyed the leading position almost from
the beginning of T'ang, whereas Confucianism was the next and Buddhism the third officially.\textsuperscript{99}

This situation continued until the reign of Emperor Kao-tsung. The power struggle between Kao-tsung and his ambitious Consort, Empress Wu, showed itself clearly in their attitude toward the three religions. Kao-tsung tried to hold on to his sovereignty by praising Taoism and Confucianism constantly while Empress Wu worked step by step to promote the official position of Buddhism.\textsuperscript{100}

Empress Wu encouraged Buddhism partly because of her own belief. However, a more practical reason came from the Buddhist canon of the Mahâyâna school mentioned above which tells of female rulers, an example that Empress Wu could use as a justification for her mandate.\textsuperscript{101} Since Empress Wu could not find any precedent of a female sovereign in Chinese history, she had to search for examples from other sources in order to prove the legality of her position as sovereign. It was quite impossible for her to find anything useful in the Classics and Commentary of Confucianism. As for Taoism, it was supposed to be a supporter of the Imperial Li family, and the maximum advantage Empress Wu could obtain from it was to have the statue of the mother of Lao-tzu moved into the temple of Taoism and given the posthumous title of "The Hsien-t'ien Empress Dowager" (Hsien-t'ien T'ai-hou 先天大后) in order to emphasize the importance of the Empress Dowager.\textsuperscript{102} Hence,
according to her political needs, Empress Wu supported Buddhism as the leading religion, and kept Taoism in a lower position and paid as little attention as possible to the male chauvinistic doctrine, Confucianism.

After Emperor Chung-tsung succeeded the throne, he tried to improve the position of Taoism and Confucianism. However, his political power was soon transferred to the hands of Empress Wei who again needed the Buddhist canon to back up her position. Consequently, Buddhism continued to prosper and to be influential in society.

Therefore, if we try to analyze the influence of the three religions in the early T'ang period, we find that from the reign of Emperor Kao-tsu to Chung-tsung, Confucianism was probably the least influential in society. This was in the first place because of its long history of insignificance. Secondly, it never received as much attention from the government as the other two religions. Besides, although it became the means of entry to official posts in the government, its influence was mostly limited to certain groups, namely the new middle class and the great families in the Shan-tung region, since the examinations were either out of reach for people in the lower class or unnecessary for those with Kuan-lung aristocratic family background as the sole way of winning official posts.

The middle class which will be discussed later was a
new entity which appeared in the later period of Northern and Southern Dynasties. Later, thoughout the centuries, it gradually replaced the great families which had dominated the leading social and political positions from Eastern Han and became the essential class in Chinese society. However, at the beginning of T'ang, it was not until the reign of Empress Wu, that the middle class became significantly influential upon both the court and the society. Their position mainly came about because of Empress Wu who emphasized the importance of examinations in order to expand the basis for her selection of officials. Consequently, the middle class would not do anything to remove their patron by opposing the power of a female ruler.

The same situation applied to the great families of the Shan-tung area. These families with a tradition of Confucianism should not have approved of the rising power of Empress Wu. However, with the hope that Empress Wu, who was also an outsider toward the Kuan-lung Group, could bring them a share in the political power which was at that time mainly held by the Kuan-lung families, the great Shan-tung families also compromised.

The middle class and the great families of Shan-tung origin did oppose female intervention in state affairs by following the principle of Confucianism but such an attitude did not appear until Empress Wei was in power. Since by that
time they had already established their political position, the original means of access was simply not necessary. Besides, Empress Wei belonged to and was mainly supported by the aristocratic Kuan-lung group which had long been the political opponent of both the middle class and the great families of Shan-tung origin.

I have mentioned before that the influence of Confucianism in society was already limited at the beginning of T'ang. In addition to this, its main followers were not only less powerful but also chose to compromise with a female ruler for their own advantage. This could explain from the religious point of view why there was so little resistance against Empress Wu's ascending the throne.

Hence, we could say the higher social female position and the constant female intervention in state affairs in early T'ang period were at least partly due to the lack of Confucian influence in society as well as the powerless and compromising attitude of the supporters of Confucianism. Besides, from Empress Wu's reign onward the female social position was most probably even higher as a result of her effective rule, her advocacy of Buddhism, emphasizing the prophecy of female rulers in the Buddhism canon, and her appeal to the spirit of respect for motherhood in popular Taoism. The female followers of Empress Wu, most of whom were from Kuan-lung families which usually were less coloured
by Confucianism, would have been easily influenced by such a trend and they began to conceive the ambition of following in the footsteps of Empress Wu.

4. The Influence of Empress Wu

The influence of Empress Wu on her female successors included at least three aspects. The one which directly stimulated the ambition of her followers was her effective sovereignty.

Before the reign of Empress Wu, there had been other times of female rule in China. Previous female rulers however had all governed under the name of Empress Dowager. Besides, they often handed the sovereignty to their male kin, usually a father, brother or nephew. Even Empress Lu of Western Han, who was a comparatively capable Empress Dowager previous to Empress Wu, conformed to this stereotype. As to the successive Empresses Dowagers in Eastern Han, they were actually only the tools of their ambitious male relatives.

Since the domination of state affairs by Imperial in-laws usually resulted in political conflicts, it seems to have been widely accepted that an Empress Dowager would not only be incapable of conducting the government effectively by herself but would also inevitably bring about political conflicts. Such conclusions based on historical precedents could not have been encouraging to any woman who had the opportunity to interfere in politics.
Nevertheless, Empress Wu finally brought a change to this stereotype. With her ability, she became the sovereign both in name and in fact. The officials, including her male relatives, were all under her command. Her merits made it possible to set up her own dynasty without any significant military resistance in the country. Compared to the male rulers in Chinese history, her name could be put amongst the most capable. To the ladies of her court who had access to power in the following reigns, she had provided a living example which no doubt strengthened their ambitions.

The second aspect of the influence of Empress Wu was on a more practical side. She promoted the position of women both in society and at court.

Empress Wu’s first attempt to improve the social position of women was in the reign of Kao-tsung. She pleaded with the Emperor to ordain that even during the lifetime of a father, mourning should be worn for a deceased mother for three years. Hitherto this period of mourning had been confined to bereavement for a father. She suggested prolonging the traditional one year mourning period for the mother to three years in order to show as much respect and filial piety to the mother as to father. This proposal of Empress Wu was not applied until her own reign. Nevertheless it later became an official rite of the T’ang system.

Although this petition of Empress Wu did not yet bring
the position of the mother to a fully equal standing with father, it was no doubt a great step forward in promoting the position of the mother in the family. Besides, it helped, in one way or another, to promote the position of women in society generally.

The T'ang system allowed a woman who received an honorific title not because of the position of her husband or sons but for her own merit or birth, to bear her official rank with the bestowed title whenever the title was mentioned. However, Empress Wu seems to have been the first sovereign who extensively bestowed honorific titles on women. Besides giving such titles to her mother, female relatives and neighbours, she also applied this system in order to honour two women for their bravery in organizing women soldiers to help in defending their cities against the attacks of non-Chinese tribes.

These special honours which were generously bestowed on women by Empress Wu must have not only improved their social and political positions but also helped to make them aware that they were not merely accessories of their husbands or sons.

Besides such women who won their own titles, ladies who were given ranks and titles because of the positions of their husbands or sons, such as court ladies, and mothers and wives of the high officials, were also regarded with more
estem after Empress Wu was appointed the Empress of Kao-tsung. The reason was that Empress Wu requested to be allowed to follow the rite described in *The Rites of Chou* (Chou-li) of having audience with those ladies regularly.\(^\text{126}\) Besides, the ladies were often summoned to participate in banquets and religious ceremonies.\(^\text{127}\) Such audiences and ceremonies were practised frequently during the reign of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu. Consequently, these ladies apparently played a much more important role than in preceding reigns.

In addition to participating in banquets, formal audience and ceremonies, some of the ladies were actually trusted with state affairs. Although Empress Wu greatly increased the number of eunuchs, there is no record of her permitting them any access to state affairs. Her long-time trusted confidential assistants in the Palace were the court lady Shang-kuan Wan-erh and her daughter, the T'ai-p'ing Princess.\(^\text{128}\) They both frequently attended her decision making meetings. This was especially true of Shang-kuan Wan-erh, who occupied the position of a confidential secretary in the last decade of Empress Wu's reign. Although she was once punished for disobeying the command of the Empress, this seems to have only been a warning for her not to be too conceited in over estimating herself, a usual move for a powerful sovereign. After that she was even more trusted by the Empress. She not only handled the imperial edicts within the
palace but also took part in decisions made on memorials submitted by high officials, and participated generally in all state affairs.

During the reign of Empress Wu, there may have been other court ladies besides Shang-kuan who were trusted to deal with less important duties in state affairs. There is no sufficient information concerning this; however, judging from the political power of Shang-kuan Wan-eh and the T'ai-p'ing Princess during Empress Wu's and the following reign of Chung-tsung, their position undoubtedly had already greatly influenced the feminine standing in the court.

The provision for more educational opportunities for court ladies was the third aspect of Empress Wu's influence on the female position in the court.

Empress Wu was interested in literature and most probably she intended to train more assistants like Shang-kuan Wan-eh. She enlarged the Literary Academy of the Inner Palace (Nei Wen-hsueh Kuan 内文学館) considerably. At the beginning of T'ang, the Literary Academy of the Inner Palace was under the administration of the Imperial Secretariat (Chung-shu Sheng 中書省). With only one Confucian educated tutor assigned as Scholar (Hsueh-shih 學士) to teach the court ladies, we can imagine it to have been a rather small department of little importance in the Imperial Secretariat. Though, there is no record of the actual number of court
ladies in the early T'ang period, in a memorial submitted by Li Pai-yao 李百藥 urging T'ai-tsung to release the surplus court ladies, it is mentioned that there were several ten-thousand surplus ladies at that time. In relation to this number, one can imagine that the Literary Academy of the Inner Palace could not have been very effective.

In 692 A.D., Empress Wu changed the name of Literary Academy of the Inner Palace to Academy of Arts (Hsi-i Kuan 賢 藝 館 ) and increased the number of teachers, Tutors of Inner Palace (Nei-chiao Po-shih 内 教 博 士 ), to eighteen. Among the eighteen tutors, five were in charge of teaching the Confucian classics (ching 經 ), three for History (shih 史 ), Philosophy (tzu 子 ), Belles-lettres (chi 集 ) and Composition (chui-wen 綴文 ), two for formal Calligraphy (k'ai-shu 楷書 ) and one each for Chuang-tzu 庄子, Lao-tzu, T'ai-i 太一, writing of Seal Character (Chuan-shu 象書 ), Law (lu-ling 律令 ), Chanting (yin-yung 吟咏 ), writing of Fei-po style (Fei-po-shu 飛白書 ) and Chess (ch'i 棋 ). Besides, two of the most famous contemporary poets, Sung Chih-wen 宋之問 and Yang Chiung 楊炯 , were appointed by Empress Wu as tutors in the Academy of Arts.

Judging from the wide range of the courses and the quality of the teachers, Empress Wu obviously took the education of court ladies seriously. The courses, which included Law, History, Classics etc., provided knowledge not
necessary for ordinary court ladies but for high officials. This also shows that the Empress may have had the intention of selecting Inner Palace confidential assistants from among the court ladies. This would not only have promoted the political position of the court ladies, at least those who had the opportunities to be educated, but would also have made some of them conscious of the possibility of gaining political power. Needless to say, knowledge could have also helped them gain confidence and develop ambitions.

Except for Shang-kuan Wan-erh, I could not obtain sufficient information as to whether the other powerful consorts of Emperor Chung-tsung, such as the Consort Ch'ai or Ho-lou, were in the Inner Palace and had been educated during the reign of Empress Wu. Nevertheless, Shang-kuan Wan-erh can be taken as the best example of a court lady who cultivated her knowledge, abilities and ambition in the Inner Palace of Empress Wu.

Whether deliberately or not Empress Wu improved the social and political position of T'ang women after she was appointed as Empress of Kao-tsung. Above all, her own success made her a living example for her followers most of whom had witnessed her extraordinary achievement and found it hard to resist the temptation of imitating her.
II. The Political Conflicts in the Outer Court

Since the late Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o published his "T'ang-tai Cheng-chih-shih Shu-lun Kao" in 1944, political antagonisms in the early T'ang Court have been discussed by many contemporary historians. In Professor Ch'en's studies, he suggested that native-place, birth, marriage relationships and type of appointment and examination were the major factors in the formation of factions in the early T'ang Court.

Among the later works in which the same subject has been discussed, some have provided supplementary material to support Professor Ch'en's theory and some have been against it. However, those who have tried to prove that native-place, birth, marriage relationships and type of examination and appointment were not the main reasons for factionalism have usually concentrated on rejecting one or two of these four factors suggested by Professor Ch'en.

Chang Ch'un 章群 for example, has presented a quite detailed study "Lun T'ang-tai Kai-yüan Ch'i'en Ti Cheng-chih Chi-t'uan" which discusses the forming of the political groups before K'ai-yüan period. In this essay, though he disagreed that native-place was the main factor which caused political antagonism, he could not totally deny the influence of birth, type of examination or even marriage relationships.

Recently, Howard F. Wechsler has also presented an
essay "Factionalism in Early T'ang Government". Though, mainly basing himself on Chang Ch'un's work, he seems to be trying to use a more scientific approach to analyze the reasons which caused factionalism during the reigns of Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung. His conclusion is that during the reigns of the first two T'ang Emperors, if factional conflict between officials did occur, it was typically the result of personality conflicts and petty jealousies. Neither native-place nor birth, marriage relationships, personal background etc., in general, had any significant correlation with it. Nevertheless, apart from the sparseness and limitations of the sources for the T'ang period, his lack of comprehensive knowledge of the historical background has led him to make quite a few mistakes in the tables he drew. These mistakes detract from the reliability of his conclusion.

Hence, although the sparseness and limitations of the source materials make it impossible to draw up a statistical table which will show the real picture of the political antagonisms in early T'ang period, we can say that Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o's viewpoint, though for the time being under attack, is still a widely accepted theory.

Political conflicts in the court of Chung-tsung, were no doubt another main source of power for Empress Wei and Consort Shang-kuan. However, it is probably better to call the participating parties "interest groups" instead of
factions, since in addition to native-place, birth, marriage relationships and type of appointment and examination, their confederacy also varied depending on the temporary interests each group or individual represented.  

I believe there were four interest groups in the Court of Chung-tsung. That included: (1) The Li, Wu, Wei, Yang Four Family Group (2) The Kuan-lung Aristocratic Group (3) The New Middle Class Bureaucrats (4) The New Power-seeking Group with humble origins. Generally speaking, during the reign of Chung-tsung, these four groups formed two rival blocs, the pro-Empress Wei bloc and the anti-Empress Wei bloc, in order to compete for their own group interests.

A. The Formation of the "Group of Four Families Related by Marriage--the Li, Wu, Wei and Yang Families"

In his essay "Chi T'ang-tai Chih Li, Wu, Wei, Yang Hun-yin Chi-t'uan" 記唐代之李武韋楊姻姻集團  Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o suggests that ever since Empress Wu had been appointed as the Empress of Kao-tsung, there was a new political group formed in T'ang Court. The forming of this group was based on the inter-marriage relationships among the four families of Li, Wu, Wei, Yang. The Lis were the Imperial family of T'ang. Wei and Yang both were among the leading aristocratic families in the Kuan-chung area. Besides, the Yangs were also the Imperial family of Sui and the maternal kin of Empress Wu. Through the early period of T'ang, before
the Rebellion of An Lu-shan, this group, centered on Li and Wu and supplemented by Wei and Yang were the leading political group in T'ang Court.

Professor Ch'en also says that the group of Four Families was founded by Empress Wu in order to strengthen the political power of the Wu family, Actually, the formation of this group, though begun by Empress Wu, was not completed until the time of Wu San-ssu and Empress Wei.

According to the existing records, it seems obvious that the idea of a network of marriage relationships between the Lis and Wus did not occur to Empress Wu until she set up her own reign and began to look for a candidate to be her successor. As a female sovereign, living in a society which only recognized the male line of a clan, she encountered a dilemma in the problem of selecting the successor. Being urged constantly by some of her officials and since she never liked the male kin of her family very much, she always kept one of her own sons as the Heir. However, for the safety of the descendants of the Wus, a network of marriage relationships seemed to be the best policy she could apply. Therefore, she arranged several marriages between the two families, including the second marriage of her favorite daughter--the T'ai-p'ing Princess. Even this required quite a few troublesome procedures.

After the succession of Chung-tsung, these efforts of
Empress Wu immediately yielded abundant rewards. Since the An-lo Princess, the favorite daughter of Chung-tsung and Empress Wei, was married to the son of Wu San-ssu, who was the nephew of Empress Wu and the leader of the Wu family at that time, the newly formed Li Wu Group were able to put the state affairs under control in no time.

The official records all blame Consort Shang-kuan for introducing Wu San-ssu to Empress Wei and Chung-tsung.\textsuperscript{143} Actually, Wu San-ssu already had marriage connections with Chung-tsung and Empress Wei before Chung-tsung's succession. In the K'ao-i of the Tzu-chih T'ung-chien\textsuperscript{144} the author states that he revised the time of Wu San-ssu's sneaking into the Palace to plot with Empress Wei from the day after Chung-tsung's revolution to one month later, since the period of one day which is recorded by Chiu T'ang-shu 91, 4b seems too short. However if we notice the earlier marriage connection and possible earlier association between Wu San-ssu and Empress Wei, the statement in the Chiu T'ang-shu is not completely inconceivable. On the other hand, Shang-kuan Wan-erh probably did encourage Empress Wei to bring Wu San-ssu into the decision making group, since Shang-kuan, as a loyal attendant of Empress Wu, would think it was a good arrangement to continue Empress Wu's policy of strengthening the ties between the families of Li and Wu.

Empress Wei continued to enlarge the almost established
group by introducing more blood from her own family, the Weis. Since the Yangs already had a long-term marriage relationship with the Imperial Li family, finally the Group of Four Families was entirely formed and had sovereignty and government under its control during the reign of Chung-tsung.

Though for the convenience of identification we here call this group the Group of Four Families as named by Professor Ch'en Yin-k'e, we should keep in mind that the members of this group were not strictly confined to those who bore the four family name Li, Wu, Wei and Yang. In this group there were also a few members who bore surnames other than Li, Wu, Wei and Yang, but who attached themselves to the group because of their marriage connections with these four families. For example, the Tsung brothers Ch'u-k'o and Chin-ch'ing, sons of Empress Wu's cousin, both were active members of the group.

Even earlier than the succession of Chung-tsung, the male members of the Wu family had realized there were not much possibilities for them to ascend the throne. However, because of their marriage connection with the Imperial family, some of their female members possessed the blood of the Imperial family. Therefore, it was natural for the male members of the Wus to try to advance their power seeking ends by encouraging the female members, the daughters of the Lis, to pursue the throne. For example, the ambitions of Wu San-ssu
and his son Wu Ch'ung-hsun were probably the main motivation which inspired the An-lo Princess to ask for the position of heiress of the throne. 149

As to the members of the Wei, Yang and other attached families, they were also willing to support Empress Wei and her daughter the An-lo Princess, for the sake of their personal or family advantages.

The leadership of Empress Wei and the An-lo Princess certainly would also stir up dissatisfaction among other members of the Imperial family, especially those who reckoned themselves at least as qualified for the throne as Empress Wei and her daughter. However, at that time the members of the Imperial family, having just escaped from the iron hands of Empress Wu, 150 were either too timid or too powerless to stand up against the Empress Wei's party. A few of them, for instance the Heir-Apparent Ch'ung-ch'un and the Prince of Ch'eng, tried but failed. 151 Cautious and ambitious members of the Li clan like the T'ai-p'ing Princess and the Prince Li Lung-chi tried to cultivate their power secretly and at the same time maintained harmonious relations with Chung-tsung and Empress Wei on the surface in order to survive the constant attacks from the partisans of Empress Wei. 152

In short, because of the inter-marriage policy of Empress Wu and Empress Wei, the four families of Li, Wu, Wei and Yang gradually replaced the Lis alone and formed the
upper ruling group of the T'ang Court. Though usually maintaining a non-hostile relationship among each other, the ambitious members of the group were busy at intrigues for the pursuit of the throne while the other members selected their leaders for personal or family interests. Besides, since male members were sometimes unable to pursue the throne for themselves, the female members were often encouraged to do so. Hence, the Group of Four Families was one of the important factors which caused constant female interventions in the early T'ang period.

B. The Attempt of the Kuan-lung Aristocratic Group to Revive Their Political Power

In his recent work, "The Composition of the T'ang Ruling Class: New Evidence from Tunhuang", Professor Denis Twitchett proposes his new hypothesis that the really new element of mobility which emerged through the examination system in early T'ang times was not the new escalating middle class literary gentry group suggested by Professor Ch'en Yin-k'o but a large group of locally prominent clans whose origins often went back at least as far as the super-elite aristocratic clans and was recognized in standing only minor to these super-elite clans by state and society. As to the members of ordinary provincial commoner families, they were not able to participate in politics until late T'ang.

Professor Twitchett has made a detailed study to support his hypothesis, but there are still some questionable points
in his work.

For example, based on some fragments of a genealogy found in Tunhuang, Professor Twitchett proposes that the origins of the prominent local lineages could be traced back at least as far as the super-elite aristocratic clans. Nevertheless, even if these fragments are proved to be written in the pre-T'ang period, it might still be from a genealogy of a newly opulent middle-class family, since the new middle-class gentry began to appear not in T'ang society but in the society of a much earlier stage—the Northern and Southern Dynasties. 154

Professor Twitchett also points out that the contents of this genealogy almost certainly derive in large part from the local history Tun-huang Shih-lu, written by the fifth-century author Liu Ping. However, he neglects the possibility that in a society extremely conscious of family standings, a newly wealthy family may try to develop a prominent family history and link itself with some eminent local figures in history.

Besides, Professor Twitchett also states that according to official listing, the locally prominent clans formed a fluid group whose members were increasing greatly throughout the T'ang period. If this group was made up of prominent clans which had had an eminent family history for centuries and whose standing was recognized as superior both by the
state and by society as he believes, we would expect to find most of these clans included in the earliest official listing of prestige clans of T'ang. Consequently, since the fluid character of this group fits in more with the continuously increasing and escalating characteristics of the middle class gentry group which struggled and won a prominent social standing throughout T'ang Dynasty, there is also a possibility that what Professor Twitchett reckons as the group of locally prominent clans is nothing but a new rising class with no eminent background.

In addition to Professor Twitchett's research, Professor Howard F. Wechsler has taken a different direction in trying to show that there was no factionalism during the reigns of Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung. I have mentioned that his argument seems at best inconclusive to me. As a matter of fact, even T'ai-tsung himself pointed out the contrast between his officials of Kuan-chung origin and those from Shan-tung area. Although not always sharply defined, the two clearly discernible lines existed in the Outer Court of T'ang at least as early as in T'ai-tsung's reign.

Therefore, since we lack conclusive evidence to prove Professor Twitchett's or Professor Wechsler's hypotheses, I will still apply in this thesis Professor Ch'en's theory, which defines the two contrasting groups of officials in the Outer Court of T'ang as the Kuan-lung aristocrats and the
middle class gentry from the east and south, though in need of more supplementary work.

I have mentioned earlier the view of Professor Ch'en that not only place of origin but also birth, type of examination and appointment or even marriage relationship could influence the way in which sides were taken by a certain official. Therefore, though we usually distinguish the two groups as the aristocrats from the Kuan-lung area and the middle class literary gentry from the east and south, there were always some exceptions, people who deserted their own group and joined the others'. For example, the Confucian educated Kuan-lung aristocrats who won their appointments through examinations might have fellow feeling with the literati group\textsuperscript{156} while some of the literate bureaucrats with aristocratic background in the east and south joined the Kuan-lung aristocratic group.\textsuperscript{157} Besides, personality conflicts and petty jealousies would certainly also make a difference.

The composition of the interests groups among the T'ang officials is a problem too complicated to be further discussed in this thesis. However, it is obvious that the antagonism between the Kuan-lung aristocrats and the new middle class bureaucrats from the east and south was getting stronger throughout the reigns of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu, especially after Empress Wu promoted a great number of officials, with literate gentry backgrounds through the
examination system. As a new ruler playing the old trick of promoting a group of new attendants who would follow orders gratefully in order to fight or replace the existing bureaucratic power, Empress Wu was by all means good at her games. By the end of her reign, though the old aristocratic power still existed, it was far less influential in the Court.\textsuperscript{158}

Chung-tsung's resuccession gave the Kuan-lung aristocratic group a new opportunity to retrieve their power. Since Empress Wei was originally from this group and her ambition coincided with their needs, she quickly won support from the aristocratic group of officials.\textsuperscript{159}

Nevertheless, Chung-tsung's reassumption was planned and accomplished through the efforts of the "Five Princes" and their partisans, a group of officials from the east and south.\textsuperscript{160} The Kuan-lung aristocratic group confederated with the group of Four Families, led by Wu San-ssu at that time, gradually abolished the power of the Five Princes and played a superior part in the Court.\textsuperscript{161}

The revival of the power of the aristocratic group showed itself in the administrative policies of Chung-tsung's government. For example, during the reign of Chung-tsung, except for the first few months, most of the Prime Ministers were from either the Kuan-lung aristocratic group or the group of Four Families.\textsuperscript{162} Since it was the duty of Prime Ministers to recommend candidates for high official posts to the
Emperor,\(^{163}\) the officials of Kuan-lung group and the group of four families naturally enjoyed more opportunities for promotion.\(^{164}\) It was no doubt a great asset to their groups in strengthening their political power.

In 706, Emperor Chung-tsung permitted the descendant families of twenty-five meritorious statesmen who served in the founding war of the dynasty to enjoy the same income of fiefs (shih-feng 食封) as their honorable ancestors. This was another victory of the Kuan-lung aristocrats.\(^{165}\)

In addition to the above mentioned examples, there were other undertakings that seemed to reflect the interests of the Kuan-lung aristocratic group. For instance, after receiving a memorial from Liu Ch'ung, a member of the great Liu family of Kuan-chung, the Emperor ordered him and a group of scholars to revise the list of prominent clans and lineages.\(^{166}\) Since usually the official compilation of such a list was designed primarily to check and eventually to control aristocratic claims to preeminent status and influence both in politics and in social life, Chung-tsung's order was probably not only caused by the plea of Liu Ch'ung, a man with aristocratic background, but also represented a general wish on the part of the reviving aristocratic group. For the aristocrats, it was a restatement of their traditional status in the face of the political challenge of men from comparatively humble origins.\(^{167}\)
Furthermore, Liu Ch'ung's request to revise not the Hsing-shih Lu 姓氏 錄 of Kao-tsung's period, but the Chen-kuan Shih-tsu Chih 貞觀 氏族志 of T'ai-tsung's period, also showed his intention of compiling a work to honor the old aristocratic families, since a revision of Kao-tsung's Hsing-shih Lu would have conferred status upon the descendants of the many persons of comparatively humble origins who had held high rank under the Empress Wu.

The building of the new transport route in Shang-chou can probably also be counted as another work undertaken in the interests of the Kuan-lung aristocratic group.

According to records, the Kuan-chung area suffered from drought and famine in the year of 709. However, Empress Wei, with her family living in the suburb of Ch'ang-an, was not willing to follow the precedent of moving the Court to the Eastern Capital, Lo-yang, a more convenient place for receiving the grain supply from the east and the south-east, so she sent a wizard to persuade Chung-tsung to stay in Ch'ang-an.

Though the official records state that Empress Wei was the one who was responsible for obstructing the Court from moving away from her hometown, her interests were probably shared by both the Kuan-lung aristocratic and the Four Family groups, since the prominent families of these two groups all came from the Kuan-chung area.
The time of commencement of the project of constructing a new pass in Mount Shang of Shang-chou coincided with the famine in Kuan-chung area. The object of this project was to connect the land and waterway transportation in Shang-chou, a place between the Capital, Ch'ang-an, and the grain supplying area—Shannan Tung Tao. The project was suggested and planned by Ts'ui Shih, a partisan of Empress Wei. Although the whole project was a failure and its details are hard to discover, it was most likely undertaken in the interest of both the Kuan-lung aristocratic and the Four Family groups, the purpose being to enable the forwarding of grain from the south to Ch'ang-an in order to solve the grain supply problem of the Kuan-chung area and keep the Court in the base of these prominent families.

In short, from the time of the abdication of Empress Wu, the aristocrats began a series of attempts to retrieve their political power, which had been severely reduced by the increasing power of the middle class literati gentry group under the control of Empress Wu. During the first round, Chung-tsung's period, though they encountered frequent hindrances from other forces, the old aristocratic group were in general in the ascendancy.

C. Economic Development and the Merchant Group

In Chinese history, most of the dynastic founders advocated frugality in order to help the country recover from
the usual economic bankruptcy suffered at the end of the previous dynasty. The first two emperors of T'ang, Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung, both followed this stereotype because of unavoidable economic necessities. By the time Empress Wu set up her reign, China had again become a strong and prosperous country. This showed itself not only in the more extravagant life style which the Imperial family enjoyed but also in the expansion of trade and industry.\textsuperscript{173}

The long period of peace and the economic prosperity led to the growth of a group of rich merchants.\textsuperscript{174} Since it was impossible to carry on commerce successfully without some political support, naturally these merchants turned their attention toward politics. However, at that time, it was almost impossible for sons of those with a merchant family background to enter government service through the usual way of passing examinations.\textsuperscript{175} Besides, the ordinary way was not certain of success, even if a large amount of time and endeavor had been put in. Therefore, these merchants were in need of a more effective and smooth access to government, in order to protect their family business and fortunes. During the reign of Chung-tsung, their problem was solved, since what the merchants could offer—money—corresponded to the needs of the partisans of Empress Wei.

The partisans of Empress Wei were notorious for competing with each other in extravagant life styles which
could hardly be maintained with the income they collected from their wages, fiefs etc. Since the most convenient way for them to acquire extra money was using their political power, the vending of official posts and the enrolment of Buddhist and Taoist monks and nuns became profitable sidelines.

One of the richer merchants could offer a large amount of cash in exchange for an official post which guaranteed his enjoying a salary, land, the exemption from corvée labour, military service, land tax, market tolls and other numerous privileges while a less wealthy or ambitious merchant could pay a smaller amount for an ordination certificate which would at least protect him and his family from paying tax and forced labour. Besides, since Empress Wei and her partisans were quite enthusiastic about religions, some of the monks and Taoist priests also had opportunities to receive irregular appointments and became extremely rich and influential.

Actually, the merchants should not be recognized as a self-contained caste but as a certain group in the new, rising, middle class. The middle class of landowners began to appear in the latter part of the Northern and Southern Dynasties and its numbers increased continuously throughout Sui and T'ang times. At least part of its membership came from the merchants, since in an agricultural society there were great possibilities for successful merchant families to become landowners and
eventually to join the middle class gentry.\textsuperscript{178}

In short, the prosperous economy in early T'ang led to the emergence of a great group of merchants whose background were rather similar to that of the new bureaucratic officials, a land grabbing group which had already made its appearance before and during the reign of Empress Wu. However, during the reign of Chung-tsung, since the middle class gentry group had already become an established power in the court while the merchant group was still struggling for a better political status, even though both of these two groups originally arose from a similar, lower non-aristocratic background, they rivaled each other in political standing and interest.

D. The Antagonism between the Pro & Anti-Empress Wei Bloc

While the Kuan-lung Aristocratic Group joined with the Group of Four Families and the New Power-seeking Merchant Group\textsuperscript{179} to support Empress Wei for their own interests, the middle class bureaucrats from the east and south naturally formed an Anti-Empress Wei bloc in the Court. This was not only the result of their long-term antagonism with the Kuan-lung Aristocratic Group. It was also because the literati bureaucrats who attained their political power through examination system were educated in Confucianism and, to them, the extravagant life style of the aristocrats, the intervention in government of Empress, Princess, Imperial-in-laws or even monks and nuns, and the appointment of officials
of merchant background were all corrupt and unorthodox.
Needless to say the domination of Empress Wei and her partisans
over Chung-tsung reduced almost to zero the possibility of
applying the Confucian ideal of officials admonishing the
Emperor.

Apart from differences of ideology, there were also
practical reasons for the literati officials to oppose what
was happening. Empress Wei and her partisans brought a great
number of "extraordinary appointees" into the officialdom in
exchange for financial aid from the merchant group. The
literati bureaucrats had to oppose this in order to protect
their established political power from being replaced by these
new officials.

During the reign of Empress Wu, the traditional
educated literati bureaucrats could endure an unorthodox
female sovereign because she was the source of their political
power. Nevertheless it was already difficult for them to bear
the existence of the favorites of Empress Wu such as the Chang
brothers. Besides, these officials were proud of their non-
cooperative attitude toward the Wu brothers, nephews of
Empress Wu,\textsuperscript{180} and constantly urged the Empress not to appoint
any of the Wus as the Heir-Apparent. Consequently, after
Empress Wu was finally forced to abdicate, a plot in which not
all of the literati bureaucrats participated yet the results
of which they accepted with almost no regret,\textsuperscript{181} they were
unwilling to see the sovereignty transferred into the hands of another woman. This was especially true since the new female contender was on the side of the aristocrats, Imperial in-laws and extraordinary appointees, and was not only unlikely to help strengthen the political power of the literati bureaucrats but would probably destroy it.

The historical records contain frequent references to the opposition between the two political blocs during the reign of Chung-tsung. The literati bureaucrats, in general, fought individually with the pro-Empress Wei bloc. Not until the reign of Jui-tsung, did they find themselves a leader from the Imperial family—the Prince Li Lung-chi; while the old aristocrats, imperial in-laws and other power-seekers of humble origins united again to support their new leader—the T'ai-p'ing Princess.

By making use of the interests and antagonisms of the above mentioned interest groups, Empress Wei, Consort Shang-kuan and their female partisans were able to establish their power during the reign of Chung-tsung. However, later their defeat was also partly caused by being unable to balance the power and interests of these groups. It made the anti-Empress Wei's bloc turn closer to the Prince of Hsiang and gave his son, Prince Li Lung-chi, and his sister, the T'ai-p'ing Princess, the opportunity to enthrone him.
One of the decisive factors among the sources of power of Empress Wei and Shang-kuan Wan-erh was the complaisant attitude of Chung-tsung. This attitude arose mainly from his character and long isolated life but also possibly at first from his displeasure at "The Five Princes".

Inheriting all the weaknesses of his father, Chung-tsung has a cowardly and indecisive character which was just the opposite of that of his mother and wife. As a commoner, he might have been described as good-tempered, affectionate, weak-minded and reclining in the lap of luxury. However, as an Emperor, all these weaknesses in his character were responsible for the tragic end of his life and reign. On the other hand, but for his weaknesses and lack of ability, he would probably have died earlier at the hand of Empress Wu.

Apart from heredity, the life of Chung-tsung in his early years must had had a great influence in forming his character. Though, the details of his early period are not obtainable, judging from all the incidents that happened around him, it was definitely not a pleasant experience.

He was born in the first year of Hsien-ch'in (656 A.D.), the same year his eldest brother, Li Hung, was appointed as Heir-Apparent to replace the position of the unfortunate Li Chung, half-brother of both Li Hung and Chung-tsung. In 657, the second year after his birth, he received
the title of Prince of Chou (Chou Wang 周王) and the appointment as Governor of Lo-chou (Lo-chou Mu 洛州牧). He probably left the Capital and took the office from that time, however, no matter where he was brought up, Chung-tsung was never a favorite child of his parents.

As soon as he succeeded the throne in 684, Chung-tsung intended to appoint the son of his nanny as a high official. In addition, he was the first T'ang Emperor to bestow district titles on his nanny as well as on a court lady who probably had taken care of him in his childhood. Judging from the close relation between Chung-tsung and these female attendants, his early life seems not to have had much difference from those of other T'ang princes, lonely, isolated, with only the company of a few attendants.

Although he was isolated from the outside world, Chung-tsung must had noticed the successive tragedies that happened inside of the Imperial family during his princehood and been terrified by the horrible atmosphere. Before he was appointed as the Heir-Apparent in 680, there had been three appointed Heir-Apparents, but none of them could avoid meeting a tragic fate.

The first Heir-Apparent Li Chung was first deposed and then accused of participating in rebellion and executed. His successor Li Hung, the eldest son of Empress Wu, died mysteriously with the suspicion of being poisoned by his
mother. The third Heir-Apparent Li Hsien 號, 193 second son of Empress Wu, was also deposed on a charge of conspiracy, and though not killed immediately, it was only a matter of time. Besides, two other Imperial Princes were also involved in this incident and punished. 194

Apart from the deposing of the three previous Heir-Apparants, Chung-tsung also witnessed the fate of his Consort née Chao. 195 She was imprisoned till death because of Empress Wu's hatred of her mother, the Ch'ang-lo Princess, aunt of Emperor Kao-tsung.

In addition to these fatal incidents, the other children of Kao-tsung, half brothers and sisters of Chung-tsung, had all been either degraded or imprisoned without any charge and finally dismissed from the Capital and had lost the right of participating in audience. 196

The misfortunes of his elder brothers, consort, half brothers and sisters must had influenced Chung-tsung deeply and brought him a sense of insecurity. In addition the inheritance of the weaknesses from his father, the insufficiency of affection and encouragement from his parents as well as such an isolated, insecure, early life may have all been partly responsible for the forming of the timid and indecisive character of Chung-tsung.

Besides, he was probably also influenced by the domineering attitude of his mother, Empress Wu, toward his
father, Emperor Kao-tsung, and the whole Court. Since Empress Wu was in charge of everything, even including his life and death, the young Chung-tsung did not dare to decide anything for himself, and was not in the habit of doing so.

As an Heir-Apparent, all the weaknesses in his character had already shown themselves. However, it was also for this reason that he was allowed to remain in this position until Emperor Kao-tsung passed away.

During the first reign of Chung-tsung, he was already quite dominated by his Consort Empress Wei, who happened to be as domineering and strong-willed as Empress Wu. The weak-willed Chung-tsung naturally first relied on her and was then fully dominated by her.

Emperor Chung-tsung was soon compelled to abdicate by Empress Wu and her officials. During his fourteen years' banishment (684-698), Chung-tsung suffered the constant threat of death. Though, after he was officially reappointed as the Heir-Apparent of Empress Wu, his own life and position seemed more secure, yet he lost a son, a daughter and a son-in-law at the hands of Empress Wu.

The terror of death and the loneliness after his abdication had made Chung-tsung even more dependent on the comfort and encouragement of Empress Wei, so he promised not to restrain her after he regained power. Consequently, he connived at Empress Wei's interfering in State Affairs during
his second reign. For these reasons, he not only trusted to her loyalty and ability but also wished to compensate her for what she had suffered with him in their long term of exile.

There is another possibility, that Chung-tsung at first deliberately let Empress Wei and her partisans have power in order to remove "The Five Princes", who frequently opposed his will and gave him the impression that they were a threat to his sovereignty. Yet, his displeasure at "The Five Princes" was probably also a result of slander by Empress Wei and Wu San-ssu, who regarded the Five Princes as the main obstruction in the Empress Wei's way of becoming the second Empress Wu.

Though, Chung-tsung's disaffection from the Five Princes was most probably provoked by Empress Wei and Wu San-ssu, obviously he had also never appreciated their contribution to his accession right from the beginning. As far as Chung-tsung was concerned, the coup which the Five Princes and their partisans planned for him was not a necessity, since he had already been restored as the Heir-Apparent and the health of Empress Wu was in decay. It seemed to him that his succession was only a matter of time. Hence, he was almost forced by them to participate the coup. Although the coup was a success, it was difficult for Chung-tsung not to think what kind of dilemma they would have put him in, in case the result had been the opposite.
Besides, except for Ts’ui Hsüan-wei who had taken the position of "T’ai-tzu Tso Shu-tzu" in the household of the Heir-Apparent for one year as a second post to his main appointment as Prime Minister (Luan-t’ai Shih-lang T’ung Feng-ke Luan-t’ai P’ing-chang-shih), none of the other four Princes had any close relation with Chung-tsung. This would also have helped him reach the conclusion that they were merely a group of ambitious intriguers who were trying to take a chance on him in order to win power and rewards.

Though, there is no evidence to prove whether Chung-tsung did think in this way, yet he once did criticize Ti Jen-chieh for persuading Empress Wu to let him, as Heir-Apparent, take charge of State Affairs while she was in illness saying that it had been out of the selfish intention of winning favour for himself. If Chung-tsung made such a comment on Ti Jen-chieh, who had constantly supported his restoration to the position of Heir-Apparent, he might certainly have felt the same way towards those who reenthroned him.

According to the judgement of Chung-tsung, Empress Wei was indisputably much more trustworthy than the officials who helped him to restore the throne. Consequently, those who were recommended by her would also be reliable. Hence, he supported their efforts to expel the partisans of the Five
Princes form the Court and enabled them to take charge of State Affairs. By the time Empress Wei and her followers got out of control, he showed his regret. However, it was too late and only hastened the end of his life and reign.

After Empress Wei and her partisans murdered Chung-tsung, they were also soon destroyed, since Chung-tsung was their main source of power. Without his support, they were neither capable nor powerful enough to take his place as the sovereign as Empress Wu had done about a quarter of a century earlier.

IV. The Ambiguous Delimitation of the Inner and Outer Court

The rule of separation between the Inner and Outer Courts during T'ang times was far less strict than in the later dynasties of China. That was most probably the result of contemporary social custom, which allowed women more respect and freedom in society and the higher female position in politics.

During the reign of Chung-tsung, this situation was most obvious. Ever since Chung-tsung had been reenthroned, he permitted Empress Wei to follow the previous examples of Empress Tu-ku of Sui and Empress Wu of sitting behind a curtain to participate in the daily audience. Besides, also following the example of Empress Wu, Chung-tsung and Empress Wei frequently summoned their favorite officials to participate in banquets in which the officials were able to
mingle with all the Princesses and Consorts.\textsuperscript{209}

Over and beyond such earlier precedents, the female partisans of Empress Wei were permitted to enjoy more freedom than the Court Ladies in any other period of Chinese history. The Princesses were permitted to set up their own staffs,\textsuperscript{210} a right usually only possessed by the Princes of the blood while the offspring of the Princesses being granted the same right of hereditary employment as those of the Princes'.\textsuperscript{211} As to the Court Ladies, they were allowed to come in and out of the Inner Palace from time to time. Some of the favorite Consorts, for example Shang-kuan Wan-erh, even had their own houses built outside of the Palace.\textsuperscript{212} Not only these favorite Consorts but also other female partisans of Empress Wei, for instance the sorceresses née Ti-wu and Chao, were all permitted to enter and leave the Palace unrestrictedly.\textsuperscript{213}

In addition to the freedom of entering and leaving the Palace, the partisans of Empress Wei also enjoyed the power of appointing, promoting and degrading officials.\textsuperscript{214} Since they were so influential in the government institutions and since it was not difficult for the officials to gain access to these ladies either inside or outside of the Palace, not too many ambitious officials could ignore this short cut for their own future. Consequently, some officials in the Outer Court and the female partisans of Empress Wei in the Inner Court formed alliances, so that both groups could become
stronger and more influential in the government. The associations between Wu San-ssu and Consort Shang-kuan, between Wu San-ssu and Empress Wei, as well as between Ts'ui Shih and Consort Shang-kuan etc. were all examples of their making use of each other in this way.

Hence, the phenomenon of ambiguous delimitation between the Inner and Outer Courts was at first a result of female intervention in State Affairs, however, since it brought support from the Outer Court for Empress Wei, Consort Shang-kuan and their female partisans, it later also became one of the sources which made Empress Wei's group more powerful.
CHAPTER V

AN ANALYSIS OF THE REASONS FOR
THE FAILURE OF EMPRESS WEI

At the beginning of Chung-tsung's reign, Empress Wei, with the assistance of Consort Shang-kuan, seemed to have a good chance to duplicate the story of Empress Wu and Kao-tsung. However, she failed at the crucial moment of the transfer of sovereignty. The reasons for her failure had definite association with her birth and personality, and her position in the political conflicts in the court of Chung-tsung.

Empress Wu's success was due to her determination and extremely fine judgement in applying varied schemes at the right time in order to reach her goal.

After she won the appointment as Empress in 655, Empress Wu commenced to impress Emperor Kao-tsung with her ability in administration. She extinguished her opposition among the officials and in the meantime increased her popularity in the country.¹

By the time Emperor Kao-tsung died (683 A.D.), Empress Wu had been in power for more than twenty-three years. The court officials respected her ability to the extent that they were willing to depose Chung-tsung in exchange for her
domination. However, instead of hurrying to usurp the throne, she carefully arranged to step through the positions of Empress Dowager and "Holy Mother Divine Imperial One" (Sheng-mu Shen-huang 聖母神皇) until she came to govern, both in name and in fact, as the "Holy and Divine Emperor" (Sheng-shen Huang-ti 聖神皇帝). Before each step she took, auspicious omens and prophecies were arranged to show her divine right. It took Empress Wu seven years to go through all these steps. When she finally ascended the throne in 690, the whole country accepted this result without any rivalry.

However, Empress Wu's success was not only because of these long term preparations in changing titles but also because of the effective policies she adopted in governing. For example, as we mentioned earlier, ever since Kao-tsung's reign, she had begun to enlist support and to repress opposition in the country.

She emphasized the importance of examinations in order to expand the basis for her selection of officials. This policy created a group of scholars with middle class origin in the officialdom. Furthermore, Empress Wu appointed a large number of the so-called "Scholars of the North Gate" (Pei-men Hsueh-shih 北門學士) and took particular care to encourage literature and to appear as a patron of learning. These policies helped her to win full support from these scholar officials. She also frequently ordered the Scholars
of the North Gate to take part in the decisions made on
memorials submitted by the high officials. In this way, she
was able to encroach upon the responsibilities of the Prime
Ministers and gradually deprive the Emperor and the established
bureaucracy of their political power. At the same time, she
did not forget to liquidate her opponents among the officials
and the members of the imperial family.

After she began to govern under the name of Empress
Dowager in 684, Empress Wu applied her former policies more
extensively. She further broadened the basis of selecting
officials to people with lower class origin. The official
history refers that:

"The Empress was not sparing in the bestowal of titles
and ranks, because she wished to cage the bold and
enterprising spirits of all regions. Even a wild reckless
fellow who said something which she thought apt would be
made an official without regard to the normal order of the
degrees of rank."

Though Empress Wu seemed not very selective in appointing
officials, she kept a close eye on these new appointees.
Therefore, "...those (officials) who proved unfit for their
responsibilities were forthwith, in large numbers, cashiered
or executed. Her broad aim was to select men of real talent
and true virtue." By practising this policy, she not only
brought many talented men of humble origin into the government
for service but also won their loyal support.

Besides enlarging the party devoted to her rule, Empress
Wu also tried to detect and suppress revolts and conspiracies in a more organized way by instituting a system of intelligence and a secret police which served her purpose efficiently until she successfully ascended the throne. 6

With her expert and intuitive ability to foresee and twist events to her purpose as well as the skill and capacity which she had acquired in the art of government, after thirty-six years' endeavor, Empress Wu finally gained full control over her officials, relatives and the whole country and became the sole female sovereign, both in name and in fact, in Chinese history.

Obviously, when Empress Wei and Consort Shang-kuan decided to follow in the footsteps of Empress Wu, they had studied the methods of their model—Empress Wu. Hence, during the reign of Chung-tsung, Empress Wei sent in proposals to change the mourning rite for mothers and shorten the period of government labour etc. in order to win popularity. There also arranged auspicious omens and prophecies, for example, the clouds of five colours and the Song of the Mulberry Branches, and assumed honorific titles to indicate the will of the Heaven. Besides, the Empress assisted the Emperor in the worship of Heaven, a rite Empress Wu and Kao-tsung also performed. 7

Furthermore, at least the main leaders of the opposition in the officialdom and the imperial family were removed. The
number of the Scholars of Chao-wen Academy was increased to win the political support of the scholar officials. Thousands of officials with lower class origin were appointed and promoted without regard to either the usual standard of selection or the normal order of the degrees of rank.

On the surface Empress Wei seemed to copy most of the policies of Empress Wu, nevertheless the result was contrary. This was mainly because her limited talent and experience did not allow her to analyze her situation, foresee her opportunities and draw up a proper plan for herself. Besides, due to her lack of determination and skill, even though she realized that the basic principle of Empress Wu was to enlist support and repress opposition she was not capable of adopting it effectively. Hence, her efforts to enlist support only brought forward a group of arrogant favorites and relatives and her repressing of opposition was scarcely successful, especially during the later part of Chung-tsung's reign.

Actually, at the beginning of Chung-tsung's period, Empress Wei probably had more assets than Empress Wu had had. Empress Wei, the first Consort of Emperor Chung-tsung, was from a leading Kuan-lung aristocratic family. Therefore, she had the cooperation of the old aristocratic group that wished to revive their political power in the court. Besides, she also had the support of most of the members of the group of the Four Families Li, Wu, Wei and Yang. Hence, what she needed
most was the submission of the middle class bureaucrats, the capable members of the Lis and the lower class power-seekers.

As we mentioned in Chapter IV, the middle class bureaucrats, had already become an established group by that time. Since they were trained in Confucianism and disapproved in principle of female intervention in politics, it would have been difficult to obtain their total submission. However, Empress Wei also did not foresee the necessity of doing so. During the years of her preparation for usurpation, although she liquidated the Five Princes, her main obstacle, she seldom tried either to suppress or to win the favour of the group of middle class bureaucrats. She hastened to bestow princely titles on her father, to arrange omens and prophecies and honorific titles for herself, and to participate in the worship of Heaven without considering the need to prepare a more inviting atmosphere in the outer court. Hence, her actions did nothing but provoke the anger of her opponents and put them on the alert. Though, because of the suggestion of Consort Shang-kuan, Empress Wei did increase the number of Scholars of the Chao-wen Academy, she failed to realize that since most of the Prime Ministers of Chung-tsung were her supporters, there was no such necessity for her to appoint a group of scholars to weaken the power of the Prime Ministers. Therefore, except for giving a special position to a small group of poets among the court officials and winning some fame
for Consort Shang-kuan, it brought Empress Wei neither the reputation of being a patron of learning nor efficiency in her administration.

Besides, after the removal of the Five Princes, the Heir-Apparent Chieh-min and their partisans, Empress Wei stopped trying intensively to extinguish the remaining power of her opponents. Hence, a group of middle class bureaucrats survived in the court and in prefectural posts, who, though not in power, took pride in putting down the power of the Empress whenever there was a chance.

From the sparse information we have, it is not clear if Empress Wei and her partisans were strong enough to exterminate the ambitious members of the Li family. However, the creation of a staff for the T'ai-p'ing Princess, perhaps originally a scheme to win the cooperation of the Princess, proved to be one of the greatest mistakes of Empress Wei. It no doubt strengthened the power of the Princess and, later, the alliance of the Princess and the Prince Li Lung-chi finally broke the dream of the Empress and the An-lo Princess.

Probably because they knew it was too difficult for them to win the support of the middle class officials, Empress Wei and her partisans tried to bring more lower class officials into the court in order to increase the support for the Empress. Nevertheless, since she did not have the prudent judgement of Empress Wu to distinguish men of real talent and true virtue
from the throng of power-seekers, all this policy brought her was the scandals of bribery, overstaffed government institutions and the strong disapproval of the middle class officials.

In addition to all these mistakes that Empress Wei made in applying her policies, she was definitely inferior to Empress Wu in handling the people close to her. Though Empress Wu sometimes entrusted a certain amount of power to her relatives and favorites, she always remained the mistress of all her policies and kept these relatives and favorites under her full control.

On the contrary, Empress Wei adopted a laissez faire attitude toward her partisans. Such an attitude was most probably caused by her lack of ability. Also, since she was not as experienced and capable as Empress Wu, she had to rely on the assistance of her partisans. During the early part of Chung-tsung's reign, her chief consultants were Wu San-ssu and Consort Shang-kuan. Wu and Shang-kuan made the party of Empress Wei concentrate most of their attention on removing the opposing power from the court and winning popularity in order to prepare a more inviting atmosphere in the court for Empress Wei's further intervention in state affairs.

Wu San-ssu died in the coup of the Heir-Apparent Chiêh-min (707). After this coup Shang-kuan Wan-erh, who was a true admirer of Empress Wu and an aspirant to the power once wielded by Empress Wu, also became reluctant to give her full support
to Empress Wei. It was said that she was frightened by Wu San-ssu's death. However, judging from her personality and her continued activity on the political scene, it is more likely that she foresaw that the incapable Empress had little chance and since her power had grown out of Empress Wei's hand, she probably began to have some other ambitious plan for herself. For example, her suggestion of increasing the number and importance of the Scholars of the Chao-wen Academy was likely a scheme to win popularity for herself.

After losing the support of her two more experienced and cautious consultants, Empress Wei could only rely on the advice of her ignorant spoiled daughter, the An-lo Princess, the witless relatives from the Wei family and some ambitious power-seeking officials. It was a group overwhelmed by the taste of power. They hurried to the arrangement of auspicious omens and prophecies and the removal of Chung-tsung in order to allow Empress Wei to rule under the name of Empress Dowager, a step for which even Empress Wu had waited for almost a quarter of a century.

With neither Empress Wu's talent and determination nor her patience and skill, Empress Wei got rid of Chung-tsung, her source of power, while there was still opposition power in both the officialdom and the imperial Li family. Even the palace guard who usually played a key role in the early T'ang coups was not under her full control. Hence, the failure of Empress Wei was unavoidable.
NOTES

CHAPTER II

1 In T'ang period, the District of Capital consisted of two prefectures: Ch'ang-an on the west and Wan-nien on the east (see Map I). According to LCCFK 8. 8a, the prefecture office of Wan-nien was in the southeast corner of Hsüan-yang Fang 善陽坊 which was the eighth block on the third street east of the Chu-ch'üeh Men Street 朱雀門街 (also see Map I).

At that time, the Wei Family of Wan-nien was one of the numbered great families in Kuan-chung 關中 area (see HTS 199. 11b and 74a. 1a-27a). They actually resided in Wei-ch'u 威曲, a suburb to the south of the Capital Ch'ang-an (cf. Takeo Hiraoka, Ch'ang-an and Lo-yang Maps [Vol. VII of T'ang Civilization Reference Series, Kyoto: Jimbunkagaku Kenkyusho, Kyoto University, 1956], pp. 79-80; and Morohashi Tetsuji, "Wei-ch'ü", Dai Kan-wa Jiten, XII, p. 184, n. 31.).

2 According to CTS 76. 12ab and HTS 80. 9b, Prince of Ts'ao, Li Meng 李 明, was the fourteenth and also the youngest son of T'ai-tsun 太宗. His mother had been the consort of Prince of Ch'i 崔, T'ai-tsun's younger brother Li Yüan-ch'i 李 元Sig. Prince of Ts'ao was forced to commit suicide in the Yung-lung period (680 A.D.) of Kao-tsung 高宗.

Wei Hung-piao should work in the Palace of Prince of Ts'ao between 647 A.D., the year Prince of Ts'ao first received his title of Prince, and 649, the last year of Chen-kuan period.

3 According to Hu San-hsing's note of TCTC 202, Yung-lung 1(680)/8/after i-ch'ou, P'u-chou was 2306 li 里 from the Capital, Chang-an, and 3203 li from the Eastern Capital, Lo-yang. CKKCTMTTT p. 899 indicates that the prefecture government of P'u-chou was in the modern An-yüeh Hsien 安岳縣 of Szechwan Province 四川省. However, CTSCKC 32. 4a mentions that according to TFYK 141. (31a), Wei Hsüan-chen was the Administrator of Chin-chou 楚州 which is the modern Shou-yang 寿陽 Hsien of Shangsi 沙司Province (see also CKKCTMTTT p. 704). Since both CTS 51. 7a and TCTC state that
Wei Hsuan-chen was the Administrator of P'u-chou, it is probably a miswriting of TFYK.

According to Hu's note of TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1/1(after chia-shen shuo; CKKCTMTTT p. 323 "Ju-nan Ch'fin" and pp. 1242-43 "Yu-chou", during the T'ang period, Yu-chou included the eastern part of modern Honan and the western part of modern Anhwei Province. Its prefecture government was in modern Ju-nan Hsien of Honan Province.

According to TCTC ibid., she was made Empress between the dates of chia-shen shuo and kuei-ssu of the first month of the first year of Ssu-sheng (684 A.D.).

Cf. TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1/1/after Kuei-ssu. The main excuse Empress Wu used to force Chung-tsung to abdicate was that Chung-tsung wanted to promote Wei Hsuan-chen, father of Empress Wei, to the position of President of the Chancellery (Shih-chung).

According to TCTC 203, Ch'ui-kung 1/3/ping-ch'en, Chung-tsung was moved to Fang-chou on this date. Also see CTS 39, 40a, Fang-chou was 1195 li south of Ch'ang-an and 1185 li from Lo-yang.

Cf. CTS 88, 7b-8a and HTS 81. 5ab biographies of I-te. Heir-Apparent I-te was a posthumous title. His original name, Li Ch'ung-chao, was later changed to Ch'ung-jun, because the name of Empress Wu was also pronounced as "chao". CTS 86, 7b mentions that he was born of Commoner Chang (Chang Shu-jen). Obviously Chang is a miswriting of Wei. The sepulchre of Heir-Apparent I-te has been excavated in 1971 (see the report and photos in Wen-wu, VII, 1972, pp. 26-31).

It should be the Yung-t'ai Princess. CTSCKC 32. 4b indicates that in T'ai-p'ing Yü-lan 141. (4a) instead of Yung-hui, it writes as the Yung-t'ai Princess. Since Yung-hui is a title of reign of Emperor Kao-tsung, in here "Hui" is obviously a miswriting. According to the biography of the Yung-t'ai Princess in HTS 83, 7b, she was killed by Empress Wu. Her title of Princess was posthumously granted by Chung-tsung.

The sepulchre of the Yung-t'ai Princess has also been excavated in 1960-1962 (see the report and photos in
Judging from the words of the epitaph found in the sepulchre, it is possible that the Princess, instead of being killed by Empress Wu, died of pregnancy (see Wu Po-mun, "T'ang Yung-t'ai Kung-chu Mu-chih-ming", Wen-wu, I, 1963, pp. 59-62).

10 Biography in HTS 83. 7b. Her title of Princess was also a posthumous one granted by Empress Wu in the beginning of Ch'ang-an period.

11 Biography in HTS 83. 7ab. The Ch'ang-ning Princess was one of the two Empress Wei's children who were alive in the second reign of Chung-tsung. She and her husband Yang Shen-chiao were however accused of being prodigal and partisans of Empress Wei (cf. her biography in HTS and Sui T'ang Chia-hua 3. p. 25), and they never became as influential as their younger sister the An-lo Princess. This should be the reason why after Empress Wei's plot failed, instead of being executed, the Ch'ang-ning Princess and Yang Shen-chiao only received a punishment of being exiled.

12 Biography in HTS 83. 7b-8a. According to her biography in HTS; OTS 183. 8b & 10a and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2(708)/11/chia-mao, the An-lo Princess first married with Wu Ch'ung-hsun in the Ch'ang-an period of Empress Wu's reign and then married again with Wu Yen-hsiu in the second year of Ching-lung. However, in TTCLC 43. p. 211, we find an edict of Empress Wu proclaiming to marry the Princess to Yang Shou-wen. This marriage is not mentioned by HTS, OTS, TCTC or other existent sources but it also does not seem to be a mistake of TTCLC. Therefore, before she married Wu Ch'ung-hsun, the An-lo Princess was probably at least once engaged or married to Yang Shou-wen who was a member of the great Yang family in Kuan-chung area.

13 According to HTS 83. 7b and TCTC 208, Sheng-lung 1(705)/2/after chia-tzu, she was born on Emperor Chung-tsung and Empress Wei's journey to Fang-chou. See also OTS 183. 8b which indicates that she was born at roadside while the Emperor and the Empress were about to reach the territory of Fang-chou.

14 See TCTC ibid., it happened in Shen-lung 1(705)/2/ chia-tzu.
However, according to the opinion of CTSCKC 32. 4b, instead of twenty-three and fifty-nine, it should be twenty-two as the age of adulthood and fifty-eight as the age of exemption, since both CTS 48. 3b and T'ung-tien 7. (p. 42) state so.

According to Hu's note of TCTC 208, Sheng-lung 1/2 after chia-tzu, Shuang-lu is a kind of checkers. The move of the twelve checkers is decided by throwing dice. Since it has six checkers on each side, the game is named "Double Six" (Shuang-lu).

Ching Hui is one of the five leading officials who were honoured as the "Five Princes" (Wu Wang 五王) because of their participation in planning for the restoration of Chung-tsung. His biographies together with those of the other four officials can be found in CTS 91 and HTS 120. Cf. also HTS 76. 12b and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2 after chia-tzu and 5/kuei-ssu. According to HTS 76., Ching Hui and his partisans were planning to annihilate the Wus. However, judging from the statements of CTS 91; HTS 120 and TCTC, instead of annihilation, they only tried to restrain the power of the Wus.

The details of the conflict between the factions of the Five Princes and Wu San-ssu as well as its results can be found in TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1-2(705-706) passim.

According to TCTC 208, it was in Shen-lung 1(705)/11/wu-ying.

According to TCTC 208, it was in Shen-lung 1/11/jen-wu, four days after they received the titles.

Wang T'ung-chiao married a daughter of Chung-tsung, the Ting-an Princess 唯安公主. He was also a partisan of the Five Princes. His biographies and the incident of his death can be found in CTS 187a. 9b; HTS 191. 5b-6a and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/3 after chia-ch'en and keng-shu.

Cf. CTS 183. 15a and HTS 206. 5b-6a. At that time
only the power of the Wus could compare with the Wei family.

24 See TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/spring intercalary 1/ping-wu. The edict was sent out on the above date. In the edict seven Princess were permitted to create their own staff. Also cf. CTS 196a. 5b-6b; HTS 83. 7a-8b; THY 6. p. 69 and TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1(707)/summer 4/hsin-ssu. Except for the youngest Ch'eng-an Princess 㐹.ALIGN ameworks, all Chung-tsung's five daughters who were alive at that time were granted special privileges in this edict. Moreover the Chin-ch'eng Princess 㐹.ALIGN ameworks, an adopted daughter of Chung-tsung, also received special privileges because of the marriage arrangement between she and the king of Tibet (T'u-fan 㤋).

25 The T'ai-p'ing Princess was the favorite daughter of Empress Wu and Kao-tsung. Her biographies can be found in CTS 183. 11a-12a and HTS 83. 5a-7a. Since she was a sister of Chung-tsung, she is allowed to enjoy perquisites more respectful than those of her nieces. However, in Chapter V we will discuss the other possible reasons behind the scenes for her being granted these perquisites.

26 Biography can be found in HTS 83. 7a. The biography of the I-ch'eng Princess mentions that the Princess was once banished as Chun-chu 彭 by the Emperor. Therefore Wu Shen pointed out in his Hsin T'ang Shu Chiu-miu 19. p. 200 that since there was no Emperor for twenty-one years before the Shen-lung period, the content of the whole biography was not reliable. Actually, it is most probably only a careless mistake of HTS. The Emperor who banished the I-ch'eng Princess must be Empress Wu. Such a minor mistake certainly could not disprove the validity of the rest of the biography.

27 Cf. TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/12/after chi-mao and HTS 83. 8a.

28 Cf. TCTC ibid. and HTS 83. 7a-8a. According to the words of TCTC she sometimes drafted edicts and asked the Emperor to sign, however, in HTS she only did it once.

The K'ao-i of TCTC ibid. has interpreted the reason why TCTC does not quote from T'ung-chi 興紀 the story of Wei Yman-chung's 㤋, persuade Chung-tsung not to appoint the An-lo Princess as Huang-t'ai-nu. No matter whether Wei Yman-chung has tried to persuade Chung-tsung or not, we can tell this incident of appointing Huang-t'ai-nu must have
brought some uneasiness among the officials and the anti-An-lo Princess group. For example, TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/autumn 7/ after hsin-ch'ou mentions after the death of the Heir-Apparent, Hsi Yu adratic, that the Magistrate (Wei) of Hsiang District (Hsiang-i), having heard of the ambition of the Princess, sent in a memorial to plead with the Emperor for the appointment of a new Heir-Apparent. The T'ai-p'ing Princess who was a leader of the anti-An-lo Princess group wanted to recommend Hsi Yu as a Censor (Chien-kuan) but he ran away to avoid this post which he thought was shameful.

29 According to TLCCFK 4. 18b, 19a & 5. 16b; Ch'ang-an Chih 10. 6a and CTS 183. 8b, the An-lo Princess first dwelled in Hsiu-hsiang Fang with her husband Wu Ch'ung-hsun, then moved to Chin-ch'eng Fang after she married Wu Yen-hsiu. She also had a dwelling in the Ching-shan Fang of Lo-yang City. (See Map I & III) TPKC 236. 10b; CTS 183. 8b; HTS 83. 8a and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/autumn 7/after chia-wu also mention that she built the Lake of Ting-k'ung west of Ch'ang-an City in order to surpass the features of the K'un-ming Lake which Chung-tsung did not give the permission as her property. Besides, a buddhist temple in the Tao-kuang Fang of Lo-yang City was also built by her (see Map III). Both of the two parks of the Ting-k'ung Lake and the temple were extravagantly built.

30 Cf. TCTC ibid. and HTS 83. 7ab. At that time, not only other Princesses but also some of Chung-tsung's Consorts, sisters of Empress Wei and a few sorceresses etc. followed the example of the An-lo Princess. The Ch'ang-ning and An-lo Princess especially emulated with each other, built dwellings which imitated the design of the Palace but even more elaborate.

31 Cf. TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/9/keng-tzu. TCTC put this incident in the seventh month of the first year of Ching-lung. Actually the name of Ching-lung was not adopted until two months later, the ninth month of the third year of Shen-lung.

32 Biographies in CTS 92. 17b-18a and HTS 109. 4b. Tsung Ch'u-k'o's mother is a cousin of Empress Wu. After Wu San-ssu's death, he became the leader of Empress Wei's Outer Court supporters.
33 Cf. TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/8/wu-yin. Emperor Chung-tsung was also made "The Ying-t'ien Shen-lung Huang-ti" by the Empress and officials.

34 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/spring 2/keng-yin and HTS 76. 12b. TCTC does not mention the bestowing of titles but the granting of amnesty.

35 According to Hu San-hsing's note of TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/5/after wu-hst, Chia-yeh is an Indian surname.


37 Cf. CTS 28. 4b-5a and TCTC 192, Chen-kuan 1(627)/1/ting-hai. It was a popular song which was made to sing the merits of the Prince of Ch'in (the future T'ai-tsung).

38 Cf. HTS 35. 9b; CTSCKC 32. 5a; TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/2/after keng-yin and its note by Hu San-hsing. TCTC uses the name "T'ang-t'ang" instead of "Ts'e T'ang-t'ang". HTS mentions that the using of double "T'ang" is an omen of the T'ang Dynasty's receiving the mandate of Heaven again.

39 Cf. CTSCKC ibid.; TCTC ibid. and Ch'ao-yeh Ch'ien-tsai 1. pp. 7-8. According to HTS 76. 5a, "Wu-meï" was a title which was granted to the future Empress Wu by Emperor T'ai-chung.

40 Cf. TCTC ibid. and its note by Hu San-hsing. This song was not recorded in T'ang history. "The Prince of Ying" was a title of Chung-tsung before he was appointed as the Heir-Apparent of Emperor Kao-tsung.

41 Cf. TCTC and Hu's notes ibid. and Ch'ao-yeh Ch'ien-tsai 1. p. 5. The song was popular in the Yung-hui period of Kao-tsung. See also CTSCKC loc. cit. about the omission of the word "yeh" (衆) in TCTC. Besides, it also indicates that the using of "nu-hang" in here is probably a mistake. It should be "nu-shih".
"liu-he" means the six directions of heaven (up), earth (down), east, west, north and south (see "liu-he", Morohashi, op. cit., II, p. 49, n. 84).

The equinoxes, the solstices and the first day of each season were called "pa-chieh" in the Chinese lunar calendar (see Morohashi, op. cit., II, pp. 13-14, n. 310).

"I-chi", Shang Shu 1. (see Ku Chieh-kang, Shang Shu T'ung-chien Taipei: Authorized Reprint Distributed by Chinese Materials and Research Aids Service Center, Inc., 1966, p. 3) and Morohashi, op. cit., VIII, pp. 858-59, n. 13. "Shao" is the music of Shun, a legendary Chinese ruler, said to have ruled from 2255-2205 B.C. "hsiao" is a kind of musical instruments, big, tiny or in between. Therefore, the music of Hsiao-shao actually means the music of King Shun.

"Chung Shan Ching", Shan Hai Ching 5. 10b. It records a tale that there is a mulberry tree in Mount Hsuan (Hsuan Shan 附件 ). It is fifty feet (ch'ih 附件 ) tall with outstretching branches, foot-long leaves, red grains, yellow flowers and green calyxes. This mulberry tree is called the "Mulberry Tree of the Daughter of the Emperor in Heaven" (Ti-nu chih Sang 附件+附件 ) (see also Morohashi, op. cit., IV, p. 428, n. 160).

"Yueh-fu", Morohashi, op. cit., VI, p. 514, n. 233 for the origin and changes of this term.

Hsien-ts'an indicates Lei Tsu 娘祖 . In Chinese legend she was the first woman to tend silkworms and reel silk from its cocoons. It is believed in that she was a consort of the Yellow Emperor (Huang-ti 黃帝 ), the first Chinese legendary King. The details of the traditional ceremony of this Hsien-ts'an Sacrifice can be found in Edward T. Williams, "The Worship of Lei Tsu, Patron Saint of Silk Workers" in the Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 166:141-14, 1935.
Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/spring 2/after keng-yin. Cf. also Morohashi, op. cit., VI, p. 764, one "t'uan" equals to half "p'i" 句 or two "chang" 丈 (twenty Chinese feet). Therefore seven hundred t'uan is 350 p'i or 1,400 chang.

Cf. TCTC ibid. According to Ch'ao-yeh Ch'ien-tsai 1. p. 5. Cheng Yin was rewarded with a hundred p'i of thick silk (chien 织) and promoted as Vice-President of Ministry of Personnel (Li-pu Shih-lang 史部侍郎). Cf. also CTSCKC 32. 5a. It mentions that in TCTC and CTS 37. 18a Cheng Yin has been recorded as Cheng Heng 鄭恒.

The eighteenth generation should read the ninety-eighth generation. In the biography of Empress Wei in HTS 76. 12b it is stated as the ninety-eight generation (see also CTSCKC loc. cit.). Although TCTC ibid. does not state this clearly, it also agrees with HTS. Besides, the strongest proof could be found in HTS 109. 5b. It mentions that the will of Heaven, as explained by Chao Yen-hsi, was that the dynasty succeeding Chou 車 would rule continuously for one hundred generations. Chung-tsung succeeded the throne from his mother, Empress Wu, the Empress of Chou Dynasty. Hence, it was believed that Empress Wu was the first generation of the one hundred and Chung-tsung the second. After Chung-tsung, there would be ninety-eight more generations in the family to occupy the throne.

The words which Chao Yen-hsi quoted to support his theory were those of Confucius:

"Tsze-chang asked whether the affairs of ten ages after could be known. Confucius said, 'The Yin dynasty followed the regulations of the Hsia: wherein it took from or added to them may be known. The Chau dynasty has followed the regulations of the Yin: wherein it took from or added to them may be known.' Some other may follow the Chau, but though it should be at the distance of a hundred ages, its affairs may be known." (Confucius,"Wei-cheng", Lun Yu in "Confucian Analects", The Four Books, Book II, trans. and ed. James Legge Shanghai, 1923; reprint, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966, p. 23.)

Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/autumn 7/after chia-wu. According to TCTC, this powerful female group also included the An-lo and Ch'ang-ning Princesses who were mentioned previously; Lady Ch'eng-kuo 鄭固夫人, a sister of Empress
Wei and a sorceress Ti-wu Ying-erh 第五英兒 who, according to TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/winter 10/after ping-ch'en, should be the wife of Mi-shu Chien 秘書殿 Cheng P'u-ssu 聘首思.

53 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/autumn 7/after chia-wu. These ladies had fixed prices for their business. Any person no matter what kind of origin he had could buy an official post with three hundred thousand of cash or a certificate as monk or nun with thirty thousand of cash. Differing from the traditional Imperial red ink used only by the Emperor, they wrote edicts with black ink. Therefore, these were called "The Black-ink Edicts" (mo-ch'ih 墨 敕). They sent the edicts to the "Grand Imperial Secretariat (Chung-shu 香 書) with oblique seals (hsieh-feng 斜 封), hence the officials who were appointed by these ladies were called "Hsieh-feng" officials (Irregular Appointments). In the reign of Chung-tsung, the number of these irregularly appointed officials reached several thousand. These officials who won the post by money were usually appointed as Yuan-wai 要外, T'ung-cheng 同 正, Shih-she 試 撮, Chien-chiao 椅 校 and P'an-kuan 貫 郃 or Chih-kuan 知 官.

54 Cf. TCTC ibid. According to CTS 92. 15a, she was also called as Chao Wu-niang 趙五娘.

55 According to Morohashi, op. cit., II, p. 567, n. 103, it was a traditional rite to worship Heaven in the south suburb on the summer solstice. Heaven means the Five Planetary Emperors—the Green, Red, Yellow, White and Black Emperors, corresponding with Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury, respectively as well as the gods of Sun, Moon and Stars. However, according to the records of CTS 7. 8b; HTS 4. 15b; TTCLC 68. p. 379; THY 9a. p. 151 and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/winter 11/i-ch'ou, Chung-tsung had this rite performed not in the summer but in wintertime. Cf. also THY 9a. pp. 151-162 for the detail of this incident.

56 Biographies in CTS 189b. 4b-7b and HTS 109. 6a-7b.

57 Biographies in CTS 189b, 7b-8a and HTS 109. 7b.

58 The content of this proposal can be found in CTS 189b, 4b-7a and HTS 109. 6a-7a.

59 Biographies in CTS 85. 2a-3a and HTS 113. 1b-2b.
60. Biography in HTS 112. 12b

61. Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/8/after chi-yu. According to TCTC and CTS 92. 14a, Vice-Recto of the Imperial University Ch'u Wu-liang 楊離 劉, Vice-President of the Ministry of Rites (Li-pu Shih-lang 禮部侍郎) Hsu Chien 紛 and Erudite of the Bureau of Imperial Sacrifices P'eng Ch'ing-chih 彭 峥 also opposed to having the Empress assist at this sacrifice of Heaven. The memorial of Ch'u Wu-liang could be found in CTS 102. 2a-3a.

62. Biographies in CTS 92. 12b-14b and HTS 123. 6ab.

63. Cf. TCTC loc. cit.

64. See CTS 189b. 7a. The daughter of Chief Minister (Tung Chung-shu Men-hsia San-pin 同中書門下三品) Li Chiao 類 was one of the "Chai-niang". After this sacrifice Chung-tsung ordered the husbands of all the married Chai-niang to be promoted.


66. According to CTS 7. 8b and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/8/ting-yu, it was forced to stop by the insistent opposition of T'ang Shao and Chiang Ch'in-hst. Finally, Chung-tsung gave up and appointed Chief Minister Wei Chu-yuan to hold the Final Offering.

67. Cf. CTS 7. 8b and TCTC 209, Ching-y'un 1(710)/spring 1/night of ping-yin.

68. Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-y'un 1/5/after chi-mao.

69. Wu Yeh-hsiu is the second husband of the An-lo Princess. His biography can be found in CTS 183. 8a-9a.

70. Chi Ch'u-na married a sister of Wu San-ssu's wife. He won the trust of Chung-tsung because of San-ssu's scheme (see TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/5/after wu-hst). His biographies can be found in CTS 92. 18b and HTS 109. 5b-6a.
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71 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/5/after chi-mao. According to TCTC, he passed away on the date of jen-wu in the sixth month. The poison was put into the pastry by his Consort, Empress Wei, and daughter, the An-lo Princess.

72 Cf. CTS 88. 11b; HTS 125. 2a and TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/jen-wu. She summoned all the Chief Ministers into the Palace.

73 See TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/7/after ping-yin. He reached this position of President of the Ministry of Justice by suggesting to execute "the Five Princes" without further investigation.

74 Biography in HTS 113. 3b. According to Hsin T'ang Shu Chiu-miu 3. pp. 18-19, this time Chang Hsi held the post of Chief Minister for forty days, instead of ten days as HTS 113. 3b stated.

75 Cf. HTS 61. 25a & ibid.; TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/jen-wu. P'ei and Chang were appointed as Chief Minister and Viceroy of the Eastern Capital (T'un Chung-shu Men-hsia San-p'in; Tung-tu Liu-shou). Since there was neither this position nor such an army existed during T'ang period (cf. CTS 44. 20a-23b and HTS 49a. 1a-6b), it should be a mistake.

76 CTS 86. 8b and HTS 81. 5b both mention him as the Grand General of the Left of the T'un-wei Army (Tso T'un-wei Ta-chiang-chun). Since there was neither this position nor such an army existed during T'ang period (cf. CTS 44. 20a-23b and HTS 49a. 1a-6b), it should be a mistake.

77 CTS 51. 9a, 86. 8b and HTS 81. 5b mention his name as Chao Ch'eng-en, however, in HTS 76. 13a it is Chao Ch'eng-fu.

78 According to TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/kuei-wei, he also possessed the appointment of Nei-shih. There seems not much doubt about his posts; however, among four sources, his name has been recorded in three different forms. He is called Hsueh Ch'ung-chien in CTS 51. 9a, Hsueh Chien in HTS 76. 13a, Hsueh Ssu-chien in HTS 81. 5b and TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/kuei-wei. Besides, in other part of TCTC he also has been called Hsueh Chien once (see TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/9/after chia-ch'en). Since Hsueh Ch'ung-chien is the name of a son of the T'ai-p'ing Princess
(see CTS 7. 10b, 8. 1b and HTS 5. 4a, 83. 5b) and there was little possibility for a eunuch, even a Nei-shih, to possess the same name as the son of a powerful princess, we have reason to presume it is a careless mistake of CTS 51. 9a to record his name as Hsteh Ch'ung-chien. As to the other two forms, Hsteh Chien and Hsteh Ssu-chien, both Chang Tsung-t'ai and Ts'en Chung-mien believe that the latter one is possibly the right form because during the Sui-T'ang period it was a popular practice to state only one word of a two-word given name (cf. CTSCKC 32. 5a; Ts'en Chung-mien, T'ung-chien Sui-T'ang-chi Pi-shih Chih-i [TCSTCPSCI], Peking: Chung-hwa, 1964, pp. 146-147 and Yuan-he Hsing-tsuan Ssu-chia-chiao-chi, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1948, pp. vxiv-vxv).

79 Instead of Yun-chou, it should be written as Chun-chou, since there was no Yun-chou but Chun-chou existed during T'ang period (cf. CTS 38-41 & 39. 39b; HTS 37-43b & 40. 3b). Besides, CTS 86. 8b; HTS 81. 5b and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/ping-yin all record this place as Chun-chou.

80 Biographies in CTS 86. 8a-9b and HTS 81. 5b-6a. Ch'ung-fu, the second son of Chung-tsung, was banished to Chun-chou by Empress Wei in 705 A.D. (see TCTC ibid.).

81 Biographies in CTS 183. 14a-15b and HTS 206. 5b-6a.

82 Biography in CTS 86. 10b. According to this biography Ch'ung-mao was seventeen (Chinese style) when he died in 714. Therefore at this time he should be only twelve years old.

83 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-ytun 1/6/jen-wu.

84 Later, during the reign of Hsun-tsung, he also received the posthumous title of Shang-ti (CTS 86. 10b).

85 Cf. the K'ao-i of TCTC 209, Ching-ytun 1/6/kuei-wei. It indicates that in T'ang Shih-lu Wei Cho was written as Wei Kuan, therefore TCTC also uses kuan instead of Cho. However, CTS 51. 9a, 183. 15a; HTS 74a. 23b, 76. 13a, 83. 7a, 206. 5b all follow the record of Ching-lung Wen-kuan Chi to write as Wei Cho. Cf. also TCSTCPSCI, p. 148, Ts'en Chung-mien favors the use of Wei Cho of Yuan-he Hsing-tsuan and the Genealogy of the Weis of HTS (see Yuan-he Hsing-tsuan Ssu-chiao-chi pp. 180-181; HTS 74a. 23b).
HTS mentions Wei Po as a cousin of Wei Wen. However, according to the genealogy of the Weis in HTS 74a, 23a-24b Po was a nephew of Wei Wen and most of the members who are one generation posterior to Wei Wen possess a "hand" radical in the characters of their given names as Wei Po does. Therefore, we have reason to presume the record of HTS 76. 13a is incorrect while CTS 51. 9a and TCTC are more reliable in stating Wei Po as a nephew of Wei Wen.

HTS mentions Wei Hsuan as a son of Wei Wen's clansman (tsung-tzu ¼ ), while in CTS 51. 9a and TCTC he is recorded as Wei Wen's cousin (tsu-ti ¼ ). According to the genealogy of the Weis in HTS 74a. 23a-26b, there is no Wei Hsuan but three Wei Chün, all are Wen's cousin, in the family. Except the Wei Chün who held a prefecture post and does not belong to the same branch with Wei Wen, there were two Wei Chün in Wei Wen's branch; one held the post of Wei-wei Shao-ch'ing 衛尉少卿 and the other held the post of Chih-fang Lang-chung 職方郎中. According to the genealogy of the Weis in Yuan-he Hsing-tsuan, the name of the Chih-fang Lang-chung Wei Chün should be Wei Hsuan. Ch'en Chung-mien also presume this Chih-fang Lang-chung Wei Hsuan is the one who joined Empress Wei and Wei Wen's plot because CTS has mentioned Wei Hsuan is Wei Wen's tsu-ti. Since the Chih-fang Lang-chung Wei Hsuan shares the great great grandfather with Wei Wen while the Wei-wei Shao-ch'ing Wei Chün share the great great grandfather with him, it is more proper to call the former one tsu-ti. However, his opinion is only based on a presumption. Besides, it is not impossible sometimes to call a cousin, who shares the same great great grandfather, tsu-ti. Since TCTC indicates that Wei Hsuan held the post of Wei-wei Ch'ing which shows great resemblance with the post of Wei-wei Shao-ch'ing Wei Chün and the characters of Hsuan (愼 ) and Chün (忱 ) are easy to be mixed up, there is also a possibility that the one who joined Wei Wen's plot was not Wei Hsuan but Wei-wei Shao-ch'ing Wei Chün. Nevertheless, no matter which one of these two cousins of Wei Wen joined the plot, HTS 76. 13a has made a mistake by placing him one generation posterior to Wei Wen.

In TCTC the name of Kao Ch'ung is written as Kao Sung 高曾, also different from the records of CTS 51. 9a and TCTC, HTS 76 mentions Kao Ch'ung is son of Wei Hsuan's sister.
89 Cf. CTS 44. 22b; HTS 49a. 5b-6a and THY 72. pp. 1291-1292.

90 Cf. ibid. p. 72.

91 Cf. CTS 44. 22b; THY 72. p. 1291 and TCTC 209, Ching-yün 1/6/after jen-ch'en.

92 Cf. HTS 76. 13a and TCTC ibid. According to TCTC, it was Wei Po and Kao Sung who flogged the soldiers of the Ten-thousand Cavalrymen.

93 The biographies of Prince of Lin-tzu, the future Emperor Hsüan-tsong can be found in CTS 7. 10a-17a; HTS 5. 1a-3b. See also CTS 97 and HTS 121. 1a-2a for the biographies of Liu Yu-ch'iu and Chung Shao-ching.

In TCTC ibid. Hsüeh Ch'ung-chien's name is written as 薛 豔, however, in CTS 7. 10b, 8. 1b; HTS 5. 4a, 83. 5b; TCTC 209, Ching-yün 1/6/chi-yü and 210, Kai-yüan 1(713)/7/after i-ch'ou it is 薛 豔. (Cf. also TCSTCPSCI p. 150)

94 Instead of ting-fu 傳府, the SPPY edition of CTS has ting-wei 傳委. However, according to CTSCKC 32. 5b in which the information of TCTC 209, Ching-yün 1/6/keng-tzu pu-shih has been referred to, ting-fu is the correct form. Since Chung-Shao-ching was the Supervisor of the Imperial Workshop (Yuan Tsung-chien 趙 總 監), ting-fu were the men working under his supervision (cf. CTS 44. 15b; HTS 48. 13a and TTLT 19. 24b).)

95 Cf. Morohashi, op. cit. VII, p. 765. It interprets Hsüan-wu Gate as the northern gate of the Ta-ming Palace 天 明 典. Actually in T'ang Dynasty, there were at least four Hsüan-wu Gates in the two Capitals. Two of them were in the Palace City of Ch'ang-an (TLCCFK 1. 2ab, 14b-15a & 22a) and the other two were in the Palace City of Lo-yang (TLCCFK 5. 2b & 10ab). According to TLCCFK 1. 14b-15a and 22a, the two gates in Ch'ang-an; one was the northern gate of the Palace City, the other was the northern gate of the Ta-ming Palace. (See Map. I & II)

In Ch'ang-an Chih 6. 1b, the Hsüan-wu Gate of the Palace City of Ch'ang-an was called Ting-wu Gate 傳 武. Hst Sung points out in TLCCFK 1. 2ab that according to the texts of CTS and HTS, it should be called Yüan-wu Gate. 而 武.
Actually, the original name should be Hsuan-wu, Hsu Sung used Ytian instead of Hsuan, in order to avoid using the same word with the name of Emperor K'ang-hsi 康熙 of Ch'ing 清 Dynasty (cf. Morohashi, op. cit. I, p. 974, n. 21).

For the importance of the northern gate of the Palace City in T'ang Dynasty, cf. Ch'en Yin-k'o, "TTCCSSLK", CYKHSILC, (Taipei, 1971), pp. 141-146.

96 According to TCTC 209, Ching-yun J/6/keng-tzu erh-ku and the note of Hu San-hsing, these were the Po-shou 牝獸 and Hsuan-ter 玄德 Gates of the Inner Palace.

97 Po Star Hall was the main hall of the Palace City of Ch'ang-an (cf. TLCCFK 1. 1b and Map. II). It was also the southernmost hall of the Palace City. The troops of Prince of Lin-tzu came into the Palace City through Hsuan-wu Gate, the northern gate of the Palace City. Hence, by the time they reached Po Star Hall, the troops must had already occupied the main part of the Palace City.

Cf. also TCTC 209, Ching-yun J/6/keng-tzu san-ku. According to TCTC, the coffin of Chung-tsung was placed in Po Star Hall at that time.

98 Cf. TCTC ibid.; CTS 183. 9a and HTS 83. 8b.

99 According to HTS 74a. 23a, he was the General of the Left of the Chin-wu Bird Army (Tso Chin-wu Chiang-chun 左金吾將軍).

100 Biographies in HTS 109. 4b-5b. Cf. also TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/hsin-ssu and its Kao-i for the executions of Tsung Ch'u-k'e and Tsung Chin-ch'ing.

101 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/after hsin-ssu.

102 Cf. TCTC ibid. and TPKC 148. 1a.

103 Cf. TCTC ibid. and the note of Hu San-hsing.

104 Cf. TLCCFK 3. 21b and Ch'ang-an Chih 8. 11ab. The Eastern Market which occupied a space of two blocks was on the fourth street east of Chu-ch'ueh Men Street, between Sheng-yeh 勝業 and An-i 安邑 blocks (see Map. I).
Cf. HTS 76. 13b and 83. 8b.

Cf. n. 7. Fang-ling was one of the four sub-prefectures (hsien) which belonged to Fang-chou. Starting from the tenth year of Chen-kuan (636), the prefecture government of Fang-chou was set up in Fang-ling. CKKCTM suggests that Fang-ling was the modern Fang Hsien of Hupeh Province.

Cf. CTS 51. 7a and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu.

Cf. n. 18.

Cf. CTS 7. 4b, 51. 7b; HTS 4. 14a and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/11/wu-yin and jen-wu. Chung- tsung also received the honorific title of "The Responding to Heaven Emperor". They both visited the Imperial Ancestral Temple to show their appreciation.

Cf. CTS 7. 2a & 4b; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-i-tzu and 11/wu-yin. According to CTS and TCTC, the title of Prince of Shang-lo Prefecture was not bestowed to Wei Hsuan-chen after Empress Wei's receiving the title of "The Conforming to Heaven Empress" in the eleven month of 705. Instead, it was bestowed to him in the second month of 705, right after Empress Wei's being appointed as the Empress. However, the Empress did grant another higher-up title, a title of prince--"Prince of Feng" (Feng Wang), to Wei Hsuan-chen after she received the above mentioned honorific title (see CTS 7. 5a; TCTC 208 Shen-lung 2/summer 4). Obviously, HTS has mixed up the time of Wei Hsuan-chen's twice receiving posthumous titles. In this place HTS should state that Empress Wei gave to her father Hsuan-chen the title of "Prince of Feng" instead of "Prince of Shang-lo Prefecture".

Cf. TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu. The words of the memorial of Chia Hsu-chi quoted by TCTC are slightly different with those of HTS.

Cf. Shih-chi 17. 1b. Since Liu Pang became the first emperor of Han Dynasty, it had been a rule not to bestow any title of "prince" (wang) to someone outside of the Imperial family. During T'ang period, a similar rule also existed (see HTS 112. 5b).
113 Cf. CTS 51. 8a and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/spring 2/after keng-yin.

114 In ibid., this song is mentioned as "T'ao-li Tzu" (Peach-plum Li).

115 In CTS ibid., this song is mentioned as "T'se T'ang-t'ang" (Majestically at the Side).

116 Cf. n. 51.

117 According to CTS 7. 4a & 7a; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/5/after kuei-ssu and 209, Ching-lung 2/spring 2/keng-yin, Empress Wei sent in this memorial in the first year of Shen-lung. It was almost three years earlier than the incident of five-coloured clouds and Chia-yeh Chih-chung's offering up "The Song of the Mulberry-tree Branches". In this place HTS neglects the time sequence again.

118 Cf. CTS 85. 2ab and THY 38. pp. 691-692. According to CTS, the memorial was presented in the second year of Ching-lung (708). However, THY states that it was in the twelfth month of the third year of Ching-lung (709). Both CTS and THY mention that the new rite also applied to all the Consorts, Princesses and Court Ladies.

119 Cf. n. 77.

120 Cf. n. 78.

121 Cf. n. 84.

122 Cf. n. 85-88.

123 Cf. n. 92.

124 According to CTS 51. 9a, it was the Left Feathers Forest Guards.

125 According to ibid., it was in their sleeping tents.
CHAPTER III

1 According to THY 3. p. 32, in the T'ang system, the Chao-jung consort was one of the nine Pins 夫人 whose position ranked only lower than that of the Empress and the four Fu-jen 夫人 and who belonged to the upper second rank (cheng erh-p' in 上二品).

2 Cf. CTS 42. 2b-3a. In the second year of Lung-shuo (662), the title of Chung-shu Ling 中書令 (President of the Grand Imperial Secretariat) was changed to Hsi-t'ai Shih-lang or Yu-hsiang Shih-lang 右相侍郎. Moreover, according to CTS 42. 6b, this title belonged to the second grade of the upper fourth rank at that time but later was changed to the first grade in the K'ai-yuan period.

3 See CTS 80. 9ab; HTS 105. 11b-12a, the biographies of Shang-kuan I. See also TCTC 201, Lin-te 1(664)/winter 10/after keng-ch'en for the Incident of Shang-kuan I's execution.

4 CTS 80. 9b and HTS 105. 12a, both mention that T'ing-chih had served on the staff of the Prince of Chou. This Prince of Chou is the future Emperor Chung-tsung who possessed the title of Prince of Chou from 657-677 A.D. (cf. CTS 7. 1a).

5 In TPKC 137. 5a, Wei Hsuan's 章懷 Chia-hua Lu 嘉話録, in contradiction to other extant sources, mentions that Shang-kuan Chao-jung was born after her father's death and after her mother's entry into the Palace.

6 According to TLCCFK 1. 1b and 7ab, the Palace of the Side Apartments was on the west side of the Palace City (see Map. II). In Ch'ang-an Chih 6. 4a it is also stated that the Palace was built by Kao-tsu 高祖 for teaching arts (I 藝) to the court ladies.
Shang-kuan I was charged with plotting sedition (ta-ni 违逆). According to T'ang Code, anyone guilty of plotting to rebel (fan 叛, overthrow the dynasty) or ta-ni (damage the Imperial temple, tombs or palaces) was to be beheaded. His father and sons who were over sixteen years old were to be hanged. The sons who were under fifteen were to be confiscated by the government along with the culprit's mother, daughters, wife, concubines, daughters-in-law, grandchildren, brothers, & sisters, slaves, wealth, land and dwellings. Only men over eighty or seriously sick and women over sixty or superannuated could be forgiven (cf. Hsieh Yün-sheng, T'ang Ming Lu Ho-pien [Facsimile reproduction of T'ientsin T'ui-keng T'ang Wang Shu (1922) edition, n.p., 1965] I. 8a and 17. 1a).

According to TTLT 6. 40b-41b, women who were skillful were to be sent into the Palace of the Side Apartments as slaves and babies who were under three years old were to be allowed to stay with their mothers. That is the reason why Shang-kuan I's son, T'ing-chih, was killed, his daughter-in-law and granddaughter were banished to the Palace of the Side Apartments.

Cf. Tuan Ch'eng-shih, "Brand" (Ch'ing 黚), Yu-yang Tsa-tsu (Ts'ung-shu Chi-ch'eng Ch'u-pien, Vol. 0276-78. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1935), 8. p. 61. It mentions that Shang-kuan Chao-jung was the first woman to put a flower ornament on her face in order to cover her brand. In Shih-wu Chi-yu-shou ¼ (Kuan-mien Shou-shih 花面十饰), Shih-wu Chi-yuan Hsi-yin Shou-shu, 11 Han 漢, Vol. 73-82. Hung-tao Shu-yuan edition, 1846, 3. 18a). All the same we can presume that Shang-kuan Chao-jung used a flower ornament on her brand and that it is possible that it was her influence which made flower ornaments popular among T'ang women.

Harada Yoshihito mentions in his article "Tōdai Joshi Kesho Ko" which is in pp. 79-92, Shigaku Zasshi 21-4 (1910) that the light green ¼ shape of the ornament between the eyebrows of the ladies in the painting of "Ladies Under Trees" (Juka Bijin 樹下美人) on the screen panels in Shosoin 信仏 (also see Doi Hiromu, "Shosoin", Genshoku Nihon no Bijutsu Tokyo, 1968, pp. 25-26 and appendix p. 5) might be the same kind of flower ornament used by Shang-kuan Chao-jung. He also uses a line in the "Nan-ke-tzu" poem of Wen T'ing-yún 温庭筠 that "脸上金黄细, 眉间翠钿深" to back up his assumption. But so far no trace of light green ornament has been found on the faces of the women from the wall paintings of excavated T'ang tombs.
She was appointed as the Chieh-yu Consort in 705 A.D. (TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/after chia-tzu) and promoted to be Chao-jung Consort in 708 A.D. (TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/11/after kuei-wei).

Cf. Chapter II, n. 31 and TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/autumn 7/hsin-ch’ou. This incident happened in 707 A.D..

According to TLCCFK 1. 3ab, Su-chang Gate was one of the three gates between the inner and outer part of the Palace City. The three gates were Su-chang, Chu-ming and Ch’ien-hua. Su-chang was the one on the west side (see Map. II).

In this place, the original text is "... 王章門開關未完..." By quoting from the biography of Heir-Apparent Chieh-min, we can see the word "ko" in this original text does not mean the Su-chang Gate. The biography in CTS 86. 10a says, "... Leading the army by himself, the Heir-Apparent broke into the Su-chang Gate to search for Commoner Wei and the An-lo Princess. Moreover, since the Chao-jung Consort née Shang-kuan had illicit intercourse with Wu San-ssu, the Heir-Apparent knocked a palace door to ask for her (自率兵越章門，斬關而入求韋庶人及安樂公主所在，又以昭容上官氏素與二思瑾通和關未之)..." From this passage we know the Heir-Apparent had already broken into the Su-chang Gate while he was asking for Shang-kuan. Moreover, according to Morohashi, op. cit. XI, p. 740, n. 2, "ko" is a general designation for small door in the palace. Hence, if we refer to the map of the Palace City (Map. II), it is more likely that the "ko" Heir-Apparent Chieh-min knocked while asking for Shang-kuan was not the Su-chang Gate which he had already broken into but some other small palace door, for example the Yi-ch’iou or Pei-fu Gate, between the Su-chang Gate and the Inner Palace.

In 707 A.D. Chung-tsung changed the name of Hsüan-wu Gate to Shen-wu Gate (see TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/8/wu-yin).

Hsu Sung’s TLCCFK 5. 2b says this Shen-wu Gate should be the northern gate of the Palace City of Lo-yang, because it was the gate from which the army came in to help Chung-tsung restore his throne. Nevertheless Hsu Sung neglected to note that the changing of name was in 707 A.D.. It was right after
the incident of Chieh-min however two years after the restoration of Chung-tsung. Besides, in the incident of Chieh-min, the tower of the Hsuan-wu Gate in Ch'ang-an played a much more significant role than those of Lo-yang in the restoration of Chung-tsung. Therefore, it is obvious that the Shen-wu Gate and the Chieh-sheng Tower are the northern gate and its gate tower of the Palace City of Ch'ang-an where the troops of Heir-Apparent Chieh-min were defeated.

14 The details of this incident can be found in CTS 86. 9b-10a; HTS 81. 6b, the biographies of Heir-Apparent Chieh-min and TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/6/after ting-mao-shuo

15 See CTS 43. 21a and TTLT 8. 41a-44b. Chao-wen Academy (Chao-wen Kuan 趙文館) was originally named Hung-wen Kuan 弘文館. Since the name of Emperor Hsiao-ching (posthumous title of the Heir-Apparent of Kao-tsung) was also Hung, it was changed to Chao-wen in 705 and then to Hsiu-wen 修文 in the next year. Later the name was changed back to Hung-wen in Kai-yuan period (719).

The Chao-wen Academy belonged to Department of the Imperial Chancellery (Men-hsia Sheng 領省) which had thirty students, two Secretaries in Charge of Revising Books (Chiao-shu Lang 校書郎) and an indeterminate number of Scholars. The Scholars of Chao-wen Academy were in charge of the revision of maps and books and acted as teachers and consultants for the state system and rites. According to HTS 202. 1b; THY 64. pp. 1114-15 and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/summer 4/kuei-weì, in 708 Chung-tsung started to appoint four Grand Scholars (Ta Hsteh-shih 大學士), eight Scholars (Hsteh-shih 學士) and twelve Auxiliary Scholars (Chih Hsteh-shih 补學士) for the Hsiu-wen Academy in accordance with the symbol of four seasons, eight festivals and twelve months. It was a great honour to be selected at that time, since among all the officials, except the Chief Ministers, only the Scholars of the Hsiu-wen Academy were allowed to attend the Emperor Chung-tsung in his strolls and banquets.

16 This kind of poetry is called Ying-chih Shih (poems written in response to Imperial command). There was a large number of poems written in this style during Chung-tsung's period. It contributed greatly to the growth of the "seven-word line poetry" (ch'i-yien lu-shih 七言律詩) (see Takagi Shoichi, "Poetical Circle and the Growth of the Seven-Word Line Lu-shy"; Ritsumeikan Bungaku, 224:45-81, February, 1964).

18 See CTS 74. 10a-11b and HTS 99. 9a-10b, the biographies of Ts'ui Shih.

19 According to ibid., the actual post Ts'ui Shih held at that time was not Chih-cheng-shih but T'ung Chung-shu Men-hsia P'ing-chang-shih 同平行。But later the setup was not followed strictly. Since these became the two different names of one post, we could presume both CTS and HTS used Chih-cheng-shih in the biographies of Shang-kuan Chao-jung as a matter of convenience.

20 See CKKCTMTT pp. 785-786. Shang Shan (Mount Shang) is in the east of the present day Shang Hsien of Shensi Province. It was also once known as Shang Ling or Mount South (Nan Shan). The possible relations between Ts'ui's planning for the construction of the new route in Mount Shang area and the reviving political power of the old aristocratic group during Chung-tsung's period will be discussed in Chapter IV. II, B.

21 The collection, except for the Preface of Chang Yüeh, no longer exists. For the preface, see Tung Kao et al. (eds.) Ch'üan T'ang Wen (Taipei: Hui-wen, Facsimile reproduction of 1814 edition, 1961), 225. 17b. Chang Yüeh also inscribed memorial tombstone for Shang-kuan Chao-jung. This information can be found in Ch'üan T'ang Wen 231. 6b.

22 There are at least three different versions of the dream Lady Cheng had before Shang-kuan Chao-jung was born. They are quoted by CTS, Ching-lung Wen-kuan Chi (CLWKC) which is also the source of the quotation in HTS and Chia-hua Lu (CHL). The one in CLWKC can be
Lu (CHL). The one in CLWKC can be found in TPKC 271. 6a and
the CHL one in TPKC 137. 5a. Of these three quotations the
one in CTS seems to be the least mythological. The CLWKC
one and the CHL one are similar, but the CHL one only mentions
that Lady Cheng's child was going to weigh the literati of
the empire instead of weighing the whole empire.

23 In CTS 51. 9b, 80. 9b and HTS 105. 12a, T'ing-chih
is all written as 庾之. Hence it might be an error of the
copyist to write 庾之 as in here (HTS 76. 13b).

24 Compared to the text of CLWKC which is quoted by
TPKC 271. 6a, the biography of Shang-kuan Chao-jung in HTS
was written using CLWKC as the main source material. But in
this place CLWKC used 庚摟 instead of 庚摟.

25 It should be called the Wan-sui T'ung-t'ien period.
CTS 51. 9b mentions that after she was branded, beginning in
Sheng-li period (698-699) she was often authorized to take
part in the decisions made on memorials submitted by the high
officials. Comparing the texts of CTS and HTS, it is quite
obvious that at first Shang-kuan Chao-jung was trusted by
Empress Wu with handling the imperial edicts within the Palace
from the Wan-sui T'ung-t'ien period (696). Later she was
branded on the face, because of disobeying a command from the
Empress. This incident probably happened around 698-699 A.D.
After this incident she was even more trusted by the Empress
and this was also the beginning of her dealing with the
memorials of the high officials and participating in all state
affairs.

26 The gate Chieh-min knocked on probably was not the Su-
chang Gate. See n. 12 for the explanation.

27 According to CTS 51. 9b, shu-kuan indicates the Chao-
wen Academy and hsteh-shih refers to the Scholars of Chao-wen
Academy (cf. also n. 15).

28 See Chi Yu-kung (ed.), T'ang Shih Chi-shih (reprint

29 Cf. TPKC 271. 6a and HTS 202. 3a. According to HTS,
"From the Chien-an 未 期 period of Wei to the
Southern Dynasties, the rules of writing had changed several
times. By the time of Shen Yteh 沈約 and Yu Hsin盛信 they
used rhymes to restrict the form. Their selection of parallel
used rhymes to restrict the form. Their selection of parallel sentences was exact. By the time of Sung Chih-wen and Shen Ch’wan-ch’i, it became more flowery. They were very strict in using tones and formed the number of words and sentences of each style. Their work was as ornamental as embroidery. It is true that most of the writers paid too much attention to making their language ornate in that period. But at the same time they also formed the style of poetry."

30 See THY 38. p. 689 and TTCLC 25. p. 81. She was appointed as Chao-jung Consort in 708 A.D. and demoted to be Chieh-yu Consort again at her own request in the twenty-ninth day of the eleventh month of the third year of Ching-lung (709). The edict which Chung-tsung approved her request can be found in TTCLC loc. cit.

31 According to TLCCFK 4. 25ab and Ch’ang-an Chih 10. 9b, the house of Shang-kuan Chao-jung was in the fifth block of the fifth street west of the Chu-chteh Men Street (also the third street west of the Imperial City). The block was called Chun-hsien Fang (see also Map. I). The house of Shang-kuan was on the southeast corner of Chun-hsien Fang.

32 See TPKC 271. 6a which quotes from CLWKC seems to be the source of this story.

33 According to TCTC 210, Ching-yun 2(711)/autumn 7/kuei-ssu, she was restored to honour in that day. It is in the reign of Jui-tsung. Wan-erh had brought in Jui-tsung (Prince of Hsiang) to assist in state affairs, when she drew up the testamentary decree for Chung-tsung. This might be the reason why Jui-tsung restored her to honour later.

34 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-yun 1/6/after keng-tzu san-ku. According to TCTC, it was a conversation between Wang Yu and Lady Cheng.

35 Later became Emperor Jui-tsung. His biographies can be found in CTS 7. 10a-17a and HTS 5. 1a-3b.
CHAPTER IV

1 Cf. CTS 1. 1ab; HTS 1. 1a, 70. 10ab; TFYK 1. 25b-26a.


3 For example Kanai Yukitada, who was mentioned by Ch'en Yin-k'o in "SLLTSTWT", CYKHSLC pp. 342.

4 Cf. CTS 1/1a; HTS 1. 1a; CS 16. 14b-15b and TCTC 163, Ta-pao 1(550)/12/after hsin-ch'ou.

5 See CS 1. 1a.

6 See Morohashi, op. cit., II, p. 69, n. 449. The Six Regiments in modern Sui-yuan and Ch'a-ha-erh were established by Emperor Shih-tsu on the frontier of Northern Wei. Their names were Wu-ch'uan Chen, Fu-ming Chen, Huai-suo Chen, Huai-huang Chen, Jou-hsthan Chen, and Yu-yi Chen, established by Emperor Shih-tsu on the frontier of Northern Wei.

7 Cf. TCTC 149, P'u-t'ung 4(523)/summer 4/after chia-shen. There were quite a few Chinese among his high officials, for example K'ou Lo (cf. CS 15. 1a & 3a), Li Pi (cf. CS 15. 3a & 5b), Chao Kuei (cf. CS 16. 1a & 3a), Li Hu, Yang Chung (CS 19. 16a & 19b), Wang Hsiung (CS 19. 23ab), Su Chuo (CS 23. 1a) and Lu Pien (CS 24. 1a), etc.


9 Cf. CS 24. 2b-5a; PS 30. 27b-31a and TCTC 165, Ch'eng-sheng 3(554)/1/after hsin-ch'ou (14) and 166, Shao-t'ai 1(555)/12/after jen-hsü (13) and T'ai-p'ing 1(556)/spring 1/t'ing-ch'ou shuo.

10 TCTC 173, T'ai-chien 11(579)/spring 1/kuei-ssu
mentions that from that time on, the Emperor of Northern Chou and his officials began to dress in Han-Wei (traditional Chinese) style. Therefore, in his notes Hu San-hsing states that the Emperor and officials of Northern Chou must have dressed in non-Chinese style previous to this date. Ch'en Yin-k'o in his "STCTYLLK" (CYKHSLC p. 38) agrees that the Emperor and officials of Northern Chou might usually dress in non-Chinese style. However, he also points out that on special occasions, for example the new year's audience, they should wear clothes designed according to the description of The Rites of Chou (Chou-li 周 禮 ) (cf. also CS 24. 2a and SS 11).

11 See WS 113. 38b; CTS 1. 1a; HTS 1. 1a and TCTC 165, Ch'eng-sheng 3(554)/1/after hsin-ch'ou (14).

12 Cf. THY 3. p. 23; "TTCCSSLK", CYKHSLC p. 116 and "SLLTSTWT", CYKHSLC p. 343. Professor Ch'en quotes from CS 19 (should be 17. 1a), PS 59. (16a) and WS 113. (40a) to prove that there were non-Chinese who changed their family name to "Liang", for example the Pa-lieh 宋列 family. However, most of the "Liang" family were of Chinese origin, hence, it is more likely that Li Ping's wife was also a Chinese.

13 Lady Tu-ku 突孤氏, wife of Li Ping, was a daughter of Tu-ku Hsin 突孤信, Pillar of State General of Northern Chou (see CS 16. 3b; PS 61. 5a for her family history). Empress Tou 突后, Consort of Kao-tsū, was a daughter of Tou Yi 突毅, who was also a Pillar of State General of Northern Chou. Her mother was the sister of Emperor Wu 武帝 of Northern Chou (see CS 30. 1a & 6b; CTS 51. 2a; HTS 76. 1b, 71b. 5a-6b for her family genealogy). Empress Chang-sun 長孫皇后, Consort of T'ai-tsung, was a descendant of the Imperial family of Northern Wei (see CTS 51. 2b; HTS 76. 2a, 72a. 1a-2a as well as her father Chang-sun Ch'eng's 長孫成 biography in SS 51. 3a-11b for her family history). All these three ladies were from the leading non-Chinese aristocratic clans of Northern Dynasties.

14 Since the government of Northern Wei had encouraged the inter-marriage of Chinese and non-Chinese, it is not impossible that even much earlier than Li Ping's generation the Lis already had marriage relations with non-Chinese families. However, as far as we know (cf. THY 3. p. 23) Li Hu's mother and grandmother all had Chinese family names.

15 CTS 1; HTS 1.
16. CTS 2 & 3; HTS 2.

17. CTS 64 & 76 passim; HTS 79 & 80 passim.

18. See CTS 76. 2b; HTS 80. 1b and TCTC 196, Chen-kuan 17(643)/3/after keng-wu.

19. Biography in SS 36. 4a-5b. See also Chao I, Nien-erh Shih Cha-chi (Taipei: Shih-chien, Reproduction of 1795 edition, 1967), 15. pp. 208-209, she was even jealous of the concubines of her sons and of the officials.

20. See SS 36. 5ab. See also TCTC 179, Kai-huang 20(600)/6/after ting-ch'ou about her interfering in the succession problem.

21. CTS 51. 2b; HTS 76. 1b.

22. Biographies in CTS 51. 2ab; HTS 76. 1b-2a.

23. Biographies in CTS 51. 2b-4b; HTS 76. 2a-3b.


25. See CTS 51. 4b and TCTC 194, Chen-kuan 10(636)/6/after jen-shen, after Empress Chang-sun's death, T'ai-tsung said in grief that he had lost a good assistant whose admonitions had always reproved him.

26. See HTS 76. 3a; TCTC ibid.

27. See CTS 51. 3a & 4a; HTS 76. 2b & 3a; TCTC ibid. She always insisted on letting her family members, especially Chang-sun Wu-chi, only receive honorable but powerless positions in order to keep them from interfering in state
affairs.

28 Biographies in CTS 58. 6b-7b and HTS 83. 1ab.


30 Biography in HTS 83. 2b. See also CTS 76. 10b; HTS 80. 8a and TCTC 204, Ch'ui-kung 4(688)/9/after ping-ch'en. TCTC is the only source states the Ch'ang-lo Princess, instead of being killed, committed suicide.

31 The Prince of Yteh is a son of T'ai-tsung. Biographies in CTS 76. 9a-11b; HTS 80. 7a-8b. See also TCTC 204, Ch'ui-kung 4/7/after ting-ssu for the details of his coup.

32 Biography in HTS 83. 3a. See also CTS 58. 7b; HTS 90. 6a and TCTC 199, Yung-hui 3(652)/11/after kuei-ssu. All these sources fail to mention the details of how and why the Pa-ling Princess and her husband were involved in the conspiracy.

33 Biography in HTS 83. 4ab. See also CTS 66. 6a; HTS 96. 4a and TCTC ibid.

34 Cf. CTS 76. 5b; HTS 80. 5a.

35 Cf. CTS 76. 2b; HTS 80. 2b.

36 Cf. TCTC loc. cit.

37 HTS 83. 3a and TCTC loc. cit.

38 See HTS 83 passim. For example, the Ch'eng-yang Princess, daughter of T'ai-tsung, the T'ai-p'ing Princess, daughter of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu, the Ting-an Princess, daughter of Chung-tsung, all had a second marriage arranged when their husbands were executed for conspiracy.

39 Hou Han Shu 120. 1ab & 8a.

40 See TCTC 149, P'u-t'ung 4/summer 4/after chia-shen

41 Biographies in Pei Ch'i Shu 1 & 2; PS 6. 1a-23a.

42 The situation in Northern Chou was mentioned earlier in this chapter. As to Northern Ch'i, Yen Chih-t'ui described in his Yen-shih Chia-hsun how Chinese made their sons learn Hsien-peilanguage and playing non-Chinese music instruments in order to gain appointments.

"Once a gentleman of the Ch'i court told me, 'I have a son who is already seventeen years old. He knows something about writing letters and memorials. I am having him taught the Hsien-pi language and playing the lute (p'i-p'a 琵琶) with the hope that he may gain proficiency and mastery in both. With these accomplishments he may serve the high ministers and officials, and obtain their favors. Is not that an important thing?'" Yen Chih-t'ui, Family Instructions for the Yen Clan, Yen-shih Chia-hsun, translated and annotated with introduction by Teng Ssu-yü (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968), pp. 7-8.

43 See TCTC 175, T'ai-chien 13(581)/2/after chia-tzu.

44 See TCTC 174, T'ai-chien 12/12/kuei-hai.

45 Cf. Yang Chien's biography in SS 1. 1a. His family was also one of the Chinese families which had been assimilated by the culture of non-Chinese tribesmen in the Six Regiments area. Besides, his wife, Empress Tu-ku, also a daughter of Tu-ku Hsin, was from a non-Chinese aristocratic family. She was known to have great influence on him.

46 See Yen, op. cit. pp. 119, n. 11.

"The text reads, Heng-tai chih i-feng 恒代之遺風, 'a custom bequeathed from P'ing-ch'eng 平城, of Tai-chün 代郡 in Heng-chou 恒州 near Ta-t'ung, Shansi, where the capital of the Northern Wei dynasty was located before moving to Lo-yang; hence the translation."
47 See ibid. p. 19.

48 Cf. Chao I, op. cit. 15, p. 201 and Pei Ch'i Shu 28, 3a-5b.

49 Cf. WS 13, 21a; PS 13, 19a and 14, 4b. For example, Empress Hu (Hu-Ling Hou 胡靈后) of Wei and Empress Erh-chu, daughter of Erh-chu Jung, Consort of Emperor Hsiao-chuang of Wei 魏孝莊帝 and Emperor Shen-wu of Ch'i 齊神武帝, were both skilled in archery.

50 Biographies in PS 15, 10b-13a; WS 13, 8a-11b.

51 Biographies in PS 15, 18a-21a; WS 13, 20a-24a.

52 Biographies in PS 14, 2b-4a; Pei Ch'i Shu 9, 1b-3b.

53 Cf. HTS 199, 11b. The five groups were the Ch'iao-hsing 齊姓 group in southeastern China, the Wu-hsing 吳姓 group in southeastern China, the Chun-hsing 春姓 group in the east (Shan-tung 山東), the Chun-hsing 春姓 group in Kuan-chung area and the Lu-hsing 龍姓 group in Tai-pei area.

54 Especially the clans of the Shan-tung area, they married only among themselves unless heavily bribed to do otherwise. (see CTS 65, 2ab; HTS 95, 2ab and TCTC 195, Chen-kuan 12(638)/1/after i-wei). As to the clans of the Kuan-chung area, they had constantly intermarried with the non-Chinese families of the Tai-pei area during the Northern Dynasties. Hence they had formed a group of mixed-blood elite which established both Sui and T'ang dynasty and exercised great influence in the early T'ang court.

55 Cf. HTS 199, 12a. See also CTS 65, 2ab; HTS 95, 2ab and TCTC ibid. T'ai-tsung mentioned to his officials that the brothers of great Shan-tung families used to compare the social standings of their wives' lineages with each other.

56 Cf. CTS ibid.; HTS 95, 2ab; TCTC ibid. and Chao I, op. cit. 15, p. 197.

57 Cf. THY 83, p.1528 and Chao I, ibid.
58 See CTS 82. 6a; TCTC 200, Hsien-ch’ing 4(659)/10/after ping-wu.

59 See Yen, op. cit. p. 20

60 See THY loc. cit.

61 Cf. CTS 64. 9b; HTS 79. 1a & 7ab.

62 Cf. HTS 80. 1a & 9b.

63 Cf. CTS 76. 2b; HTS 80. 2b.

64 In Confucianism, abdication is the best way to get an ideal state. Therefore in Confucius’s teachings he always admires the old sages Yao 順 and Shun, because it was believed that Yao gave his throne to the capable, virtuous and non-aristocratic Shun instead of his own son and Shun also did the same thing to Yu 禹 whose great contribution to the people was to stop the flood. Yao and Shun are the models of the Confucian abdication theory.

65 Cf. TFYK 256. 1ab

66 See TCTC 179, Kai-huang 20(600)/6/after ting-ch’ou to 180, Jen-shou 4(604)/8/ping-tzu passim. See also PS 71. 9a-17b and SS 45. 1a-10b, Yang Yung’s 楊 pregnant biographies.

67 Cf. CTS 64. 1b-7a; HTS 1a-6a; TCTC 190, Wu-te 5(622)/11/after keng-ch’en to 191, Wu-te 9/6/t'ing-ssu passim. See also Ch'en Yin-k'o, "TTCCSSLG", CYKHSLC pp. 140-143 and Li Shu-t'ung, T'ang-shih K'ao-pien (Taipei: Taiwan Chung-hua, 1965), pp. 1-309 for their arguments about the reality of the records of CTS, HTS and TCTC.

68 During T'ang period the succession problem of Sui was frequently mentioned and taken as an example (see CTS 64. 3b; TCTC 196. Chen-kuan 17(643)/3/after keng-wu).

69 For example, the coup of Prince Li Ch'ung-fu, son of Chung-tsung (see CTS 86. 8a-9b; HTS 81. 5b-6a and TCTC 209, Ching-yün 1/7/after i-hai).
For example, the coup of Li Ch'eng-ch'ien, Heir-Apparent of T'ai-tsung, was mainly caused by the pressure of competition from his brother, Li T'ai £ (see CTS 76. 1b-2a & 5b-6a; HTS 80. 1a-2a & 4b-5a; TCTC 196, Chen-kuan 17(643)/3/after i-ch'ou).

The coup of Li Ch'ung-chun, the Heir-Apparent of Chung-tsung, was mainly caused by the pressure of competition from his sister, the An-lo Princess (see CTS 86. 9b-10a; HTS 81. 6b; TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/6/after ting-mao shuo).

See TCTC 196, Chen-kuan 17/2/after wu-shen. See also CTS 44. 27b-28a; HTS 49b. 1ab for the organization of a Prince's staff.

See CTS 86. 7ab; HTS 81. 4ab and TCTC 204, T'ien-shou 2(691)/8/after keng-shen.

See CTS 86 passim and HTS 81 passim.

See CTS 95. 2a & 107 passim; HTS 81. 7b & 82. 1a-6b passim.

See CTS 95. 2a & 5b; HTS 81. 7b & 10ab.

See CTS 95. 2a; HTS 81. 7b.

For example, Prince Li Shou-li 李守禮, grandson of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu, was accused by his cousin, Li Fan 李贇, for knowing magic only because he was able to foretell the weather (see CTS 86. 7ab; HTS 81. 4b).

See CTS 184. 1a; HTS 207. 1a and THY 65. p. 1131.

Ibid. See also TCTC 210, K'ai-yüan 1(713)/7/after chi-ssu, instead of cleaning the Inner Palace, it states the duties of Nei-shih were confined to guarding the Palace gates and transmitting orders.

According to CTS 44. 5b, 184. 1a, there were only two Nei-shih in the Department of Administration of the Inner Palace, however, HTS 47. 8a, 207. 1a and THY 65. p. 1131 all state four.

Cf. CTS 184. 1a-2a; HTS 207. 1ab; THY ibid.
For example, Emperor Wu of Northern Chou (cf. CS 5. 24b; TCTC 171, Kuang-ta 6/5/ping-tzu).

For example, Emperor T'ai-tsung and Empress Wu (cf. THY 49. p. 859; TTLC 113. pp. 586-587).


Cf. CYKHSLC p. 312-314.


Fujikawa, loc. cit.

Cf. CS 5. 18a-24b passim; TCTC 171, Kuang-ta 6/5/ping-tzu.

See CYKHSLC pp. 306-312 for the relation between the Imperial family of Sui and Buddhism.

See TCTC 181, Ta-yeh 6(610)/1/after ting-ch'ou. See also Fan, op. cit., III, 2:649, it mentions that one of the confidential assistants of Emperor Wen was a famous Taoist, Emperor Wen bestowed upon him a Taoist temple and the title of "The Head of Taoist Sect" (T'ien-shih 天師). Fu Chia-ch'in, T'ao-chiao-shih Kai-lun (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1934), p. 65 mentions that the title of reign of Emperor Wen, K'ai-huang 慶黃, was derived from the Taoist canon. Besides, TCTC 181, Ta-yeh 8/spring 1 also records that Emperor Yang ordered a Taoist to refine the pill of immortality for him. All these records prove that both Emperor Wen and Emperor Yang of Sui also believed in Taoism.
Cf. TCTC 175, T'ai-chien 13(581)/12/after keng-tzu, because of the encouragement of Emperor Wen, Buddhism was much more popular than Confucianism in society. Cf. also TCTC 179, Jen-shou 1(601)/6/i-ch'ou and SS 75. 1b & 16b which stated that because of the encouragement of Emperor Wen, Buddhism was much more popular than Confucianism in society. Cf. also TCTC 179, Jen-shou 1(601)/6/i-ch'ou and SS 75. 1b & 16b which stated that Confucianism, therefore, had the schools in prefectures abolished and limited the establishment of the school in the Capital. SS 75 passim also mentions the negligible position of Confucian scholars at the Sui Court and the conflict between different sects of Confucianism at that time.

Cf. THY 35. p. 633-640 passim; CTS 189a. 1b-2b and HTS 198. (1ab).

Cf. CTS 73. 5ab, 189a. 2b; HTS 123. 4b.

Cf. CTS 73. 10ab, 189a. 2b; HTS 123. 6a and TCTC 195, Chen-kuan 14(640)/2/ting-ch'ou.

The examination system was first set up in the Sui period. During the reign of Kao-tsu of T'ang, it was re-established. However, the system was not fully developed until the reigns of T'ai-tsung and Kao-tsung (cf. HTS 44. 1a-3b).

During the reigns of Kao-tsu and T'ai-tsung, there were many ardent supporters of Buddhism in the Court and society. (see THY 47. pp. 835-836 for the controversy over Buddhism between Fu I Funda and Hsiao Yu 由此 in 624 as well as the discussion between T'ai-tsung and Wei Cheng 梁 in 634 about the popularity of Buddhism in society). Besides, T'ai-tsung also believed in Buddhism (see Arthur F. Wright, "T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism", Perspectives on the T'ang New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973, pp. 239-263 for T'ai-tsung's attitude toward Buddhism).

Cf. THY 49. p. 859 and 50. p. 865; CTS 1. 8b; Fan, op. cit. III, 2:650-651.

Cf. Fan, ibid. it; I

101 Cf. "WCYFC", CYKHSLC pp. 305-315
102 See THY 50. p. 878. It was in the first reign of Jui-tsung (684 A.D.), while Empress Wu was still in the position of Empress Dowager.
103 See THY 49. p. 859.
104 Ibid. See also THY 50. p. 865, during Empress Wu's reign (689), Lao-tzu lost his posthumous title as an emperor.
105 Cf. CTS 189a. 2b-3a; HTS 198. 1b; THY 35. pp. 633-634 and 637; TCTC 206, Sheng-li 2(699)/winter 10/after ting-hai.
106 See THY 50. p. 865, as soon as Chung-tsung regained the throne, the posthumous imperial title of Lao-tzu was restored.
107 See THY 35. p. 638-639. During the reign of Empress Wu, she had never follow the example of previous T'ang emperors to either praise or offer a sacrifice to Confucius. Hence, even though Chung-tsung's attitude toward Confucianism was still not as positive as other T'ang emperors, it was already a great improvement from Empress Wu's period. However, Chung-tsung's actions in praising Confucius took place only at the very beginning of his reign.
108 Empress Wei and her partisans were notorious for building temples and bestowing favors upon monks (cf. THY 48. pp. 850-852, on p. 850 the reign title Ching-yun should be Ching-lung. cf. also TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/after chia-tzu, Ching-lung 1/9/after chia-ch'en, 209, Ching-lung 2/7/after kuei-ssu the memorials of Lu Yian-t'ai and Hsin T'ai-fou and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/1/ting-mao & 3/after wu-wu, 210, Ching-yun 2/winter 10/after chia-ch'en, the memorial of Hsin T'ai-fou).
109 For the "hereditary system" (Men-yin 門蔭) see HTS 45. 1b-3a.


Cf. "TTCCSSLK", CYKHSLC pp. 118-123.

See part II of this chapter for the details.

Biographies in Shih-chi 9 and Han Shu 3hu Cf. Cf. also Chao I, op. cit. 3. pp. 35-36.

Cf. Hou Han Shu 10ab passim.

For example, the conflicts occurred in Western Han because of the intervention of the kinsmen of Empress Lu (cf. Shih-chi 9 and Han Shu 3) and Empress Dowager Wang (cf. also Shih-chi 9 and Han Shu 3), etc.

See CTS 91. 2ab; HTS 120. 1b-2a and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu, the memorial of Huan Yen-fan represents this viewpoint typically.

Cf. TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1(684)/9-12/passim. The most serious one was led by Hsu Ching-yeh 陆敬業, it was extinguished in three months.


Empress Wu was cautious enough not to bring the standing of the mother to full equality with the father. She suggested wearing the heaviest unhemmed mourning garment (chan-ts'ui 斬衰) for the father and the second degree hemmed mourning garment (tzu-ts'ui 齊衰) for the mother in order to distinguish the position of the father from the mother. This was possibly one of the reasons that her suggestion of prolonging the mourning period for the mother did not stir up any opposition.

See T'ung-tien 34. 197a.
Among the existing records, I found that previous to Empress Wu's reign, Kao-tsu was the only T'ang Emperor who had bestowed honorific titles to women for their birth or merits. According to CTS 193. 2ab and HTS 205. 1b, he only applied this system twice, far less extensively than Empress Wu did.

See CTS 4. 8b & 9a; TCTC 200, Hsien-ch'ing 5(660)/3/ping-wu.

Cf. CTS 193. 5ab and T'ung-tien loc. cit. One of these two ladies is recorded as the wife of Tsou Pao-ying 堆 and the wife of Cheng Pao-ying 堆 by CTS and the wife of T'ung-tien 堆 by T'ung-tien.

Cf. HTS 76. 5b and THY 26. p. 492.


Cf. HTS 83. 5b and TCTC 209, Ching-yun1/6/ch'i-yu.

Cf. HTS 47. 8b-9a and Wang Ying-lin, Yü-hai (Taipei: Hua-wen, 1967; reprint of 1875-1877 edition), 165. 11ab and 13a-17a.

According to CTS 43. 24a, this Scholar was a court lady, who was good at Confucianism. However, HTS 47. 8b-9a does not specify whether the Scholar was selected from among the court ladies or officials.


Cf. CTS 190b. 10a; Yü-hai loc. cit.

"TTCCSSLK", CYKHSCLC pp. 109-209.

See Chang Ch'\textsc{t\textsc{n}}, "Lun T'ang K'ai-y\textsc{t}an Ch'\textsc{t}ien ti Cheng-ch\textsc{t}in Chi-t\textsc{t}\textsc{u}an", Hsin Ya Hsteh-pao, I, No. 2, (1956), pp. 281-303.

See Howard F. Wechsler, "Factionalism in Early T'ang Government", Perspectives on the T'ang, pp. 87-120.

For example, Empress Wei and the T'ai-p'ing Princess both belonged to the Li, Wu, Wei, Yang Four Family Group, yet were rivals because of their mutual personal ambitions toward the sovereignty. This could also explain the reason why some of the supporters of Empress Wei later allied themselves with the T'ai-p'ing Princess in her competition with Prince Li Lung-chi.

See "LWWY", loc.cit.

Cf. HTS 199. 11b.

Cf. TCTC 204, T'ien-shou 1(690)/7/after ting-hai. Empress Wu did not make any marriage arrangement between the Lis and the Wus until 690 A.D., the first year of her own reign. In this year she married her favorite daughter, the T'ai-p'ing Princess, to her uncle's grandson, Wu Yu-chi 武攸彦.

Cf. TCTC 204, T'ien-shou 1/9/i-yu and 206, Sheng-li (698)/9/jen-shen. From 690 to 698 Empress Wu kept her youngest son, Jui-tsung, as her heir and in 698 she officially appointed Chung-tsung as the Heir-Apparent.

Cf. HTS 83. 5a-8b passim and TCTC 204, T'ien-shou 1/7/after ting-hai. Empress Wu even had Wu Yu-chi's wife killed in order to marry the T'ai-p'ing Princess to him.

See CTS 51. 7ab; HTS 76. 12b and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/after chia-tzu.

TCTC ibid.

Cf. HTS 83. 7a-8b passim.

Cf. CTS 64. 1b, 76 passim, 86. 1a; HTS 71b. 29b-32b
passim, 79. 1a, 80. 1a, 81. 1a and 83. 1b-8b passim. Cf. also "LWWY" loc. cit.

147 Most of them had marriage connections with Empress Wu's family. For example, the Tsung brothers were the sons of Empress Wu's cousin and Chi Ch'u-na married the sister of Wu San-ssu's wife (see CTS 92 and HTS 109).

148 See TCTC 206, Sheng-li 1/spring 2/after i-wei to Ch'ang-an 1(701)/12 passim. After Empress Wu summoned Chung-tsung back from his place of exile and prepared to appoint him as the Heir-Apparent, Wu Ch'eng-ssu 武承嗣 died in disappointment and Wu San-ssu also stopped openly pursuing the position of Heir-Apparent.

149 See TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/6/after ting-mao-shuo.

150 Cf. CTS 64. 76 and 86 passim; HTS 79. 80 and 81 passim. Cf. also TCTC 208 Shen-lung 1/2/after chia-tzu.

151 See CTS 76. 2b-3a, 86. 9b; HTS 80. 2b-3a, 81. 6a-7a and TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/6/after ting-mao shuo.

152 See CTS 70. 9a, 92. 15b-16a; HTS 102. 2b, 123. 3b; TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/8/after wu-yin. See also Chapter V for the conflict between the partisans of Empress Wei and the T'ai-p'ing Princess during Chung-tsung's period.


155 See CTS 78. 7a; HTS 104. 6b.

156 For example, T'ang Shao was from a Kuan-lung aristocratic family, however, he chose to ally himself with the middle class bureaucrats (biographies in CTS 85. 2a-3a;
For example, Ts'ui Shih (biographies in CTS 74. 10a-11b; HTS 99. 9a-10b) and Li Chiao (biographies in CTS 94. 1a-3b; HTS 123. 1a) both came from the aristocratic families of the Shan-tung area.

Cf."TTCCSSLK", CYKHSLC pp. 117-122; Hu Ju-lei, "lun Wu-chou ti She-hui Chi-ch'u", Li-shih Yen-chiu, 1955-1, pp. 85-96; Chang Chün, loc. cit. All these three articles agree that by the end of Empress Wu's reign, though the old aristocratic power still existed, it had become far less influential in the Court.

Among the high officials, most of the supporters of Empress Wei, for example Wei Chü-y'an (CTS 92. 12b-14b; HTS 123. 6ab), Tou Hual-ch'en 舒福臣 (CTS 183. 2b-3a; HTS 109. 3b), T'ang Hsiu-ching 唐休璟 (CTS 93. 2b-4a; HTS 111. 11a-12b), etc., were all from Kuan-lung aristocratic families.

Cf. CTS 91 and HTS 116, the biographies of the Five Princes, all the five princes were from either Shan-tung or the south area. Besides, except for Ts'ui Hsüan-wei, none of them had prominent family background.

See TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/after chia-tzu to Shen-lung 2/after wu-shen passim.

According to HTS 61. 23a-25a and 71a-75a passim, from the fifth month of the first year of Shen-lung (705) to the sixth month of the first year of Ching-yüan (710), Chung-tsung and Empress Wei appointed twenty-four Chief Ministers. Among these Chief Ministers, sixteen, T'ang Hsiu-ching, Tou-lu Ch'in-wang, Yang Ts'ai-ssu, Wei Chü-y'an, Wei An-shih, Pei T'an, Chu Ch'in-ming, Chi Ch'ü-na, Li Chiao, Ts'ui Shih, Cheng Yin, Chang Hsi and Chang Chia-fu, were the supporters of Empress Wei. The first eleven of these sixteen Chief Ministers came from either the Kuan-lung aristocratic group or the group of four families. Besides, they were also the Chief Ministers who stayed in that position for the longest period. For instance, Tou-lu, Yang and Wei Chü-y'an were three of the four Chief Ministers who served over four years and Tsung, Chi both served for almost three years in the later half of the five and half year's reign.
Li Huai-yuan 李懷遠, Chang Jen-tan 張仁亶 and Yü Wei-ch’ian are three Chief Ministers, whose standings we can hardly define from the limited sources of information available. Li passed away early in 706, but from the description in his biographies, he does not appear to have been a supporter of the Empress. Chang had Kuan-lung origin and was never against the Empress' policy, at least as far as there is any record. He was criticized by Confucian historians for his tyrannical administration, but since he was mostly stationed on the frontier, he probably did not become involved in the antagonisms at court as much as the other Chief Ministers did. Yü Wei-ch’ian was not even listed in the genealogies of the Chief Ministers of HTS. Yet this is hardly enough to allow us to presume that he was one of the lower-class power-seekers who sought to advance by joining with the Kuan-lung aristocrats and the members of the four families or by bribing the female partisans of Empress Wei (see CTS 90. 7ab, 93. 4b-5b; HTS 111. 12b-13b, 116. 12b-13a).

Wei Ssu-li 魏素立, Su Kui 苏觊, Wei Yuan-chung, Hsiao Chih-chung 萧致忠 and Ts'en Hsi 岑羲 were the only Chief Ministers who showed their disagreement toward the policies of the Empress or the pro-Empress bloc. Nevertheless, Su was from a famous Kuan-lung aristocratic family while Wei Ssu-li and Hsiao were not only from leading aristocratic lineages but also had kinship or matrimonial alliance with Empress Wei's family. Perhaps, that may explain why they were able to maintain their posts. Besides, Ts'en Hsi won his appointment after Chung-tsung's unannounced death and it was probably because of the recommendation of Ts'ung Ch'u-k'o who used to appreciate Ts'en's ability or perhaps the suggestion of the T'ai-p'ing Princess who was influential in Empress Wei's administration. And Wei Yuan-chung, though often criticized by the extreme members of the anti-Empress bloc for his cooperative attitude toward the partisans of the Empress, was forced to resign in 707 by the pro-Empress bloc. (see CTS 70. 6a-9a, 88 and 92 passim; HTS 102. 2ab, 116. 5a-7a, 122. 1a-6b, 123. 3a-4b, 125. 1a-2a. see also n. 183 for more detailed discussion about the standing of Hsiao Chih-chung and Ts'en Hsi).

Therefore, it is obvious that during the reign of Chung-tsung, except for the first few months, the old aristocratic group and the group of four families had more power in controlling government institutions.

163 Cf. CTS 43. 2b-3a.

164 See HTS 123. 6a for the conversation between Yang Tsai-ssu and Wei Chü-yüan about the appointment of officials.
153

165 Cf. THV 90, pp. 1642. Unless with special imperial favour, the right of shih-feng decreased with each generation (cf. also THV 90, p. 1639 and 1641, the descendants of Fang Hsuan-ling 鄉令 and Li Ching 韓 were allowed to enjoy the same shih-feng as their ancestors by Emperor Kao-tsung).

166 Cf. CTS 189b; HTS 199. 10b.


168 See CKKCTMTTT pp. 785-786; T'ao Hsi-sheng and Chu Ch'ing-yün, T'ang-tai Ching-chi Shih (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), pp. 79 and 81 n. 18. Shang-chou, the modern Shanghsien of Shensi Province, was located to the south-east of Ch'ang-an city. To the east of Shang-chou, there was Mount Shang which was an important pass on the way from Ch'ang-an to south China (cf. also Chapter III n. 20).

169 Cf. CTS 7, 8a; HTS 4, 15b and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/12/after i-ssu.

170 Cf. CTS 51, 9b, 74, 10b-11a; HTS 76, 14a, 99, 9ab and TCTC 209, Ching-lung 3/3/wu-wu to 12/after i-ssu passim. None of these records explicitly states the time of commencement of the construction of the new pass by Mount Shang. However, they say that Ts'ui Shih was the Commissioner of this project, that it began during the period of Ching-lung (707-710) and that by the time of Chung-tsung's death in the middle of 710, it was not half finished yet. If Ts'ui Shih was still working on this project when Chung-tsung passed away, the construction can have started no earlier than the eleventh month of 709 because previous to this month he was in exile for almost half a year and before the exile he was in charge of the "selection of officials" (hsüan 選) in the Capital. The drought had begun in the summer of 709 and the discussion of moving the Capital occurred around the twelfth month of this year, almost at the same time that the construction of the new pass in Mount Shang started. Hence, there is a great possibility that the famine in Kuan-chung area and the work on the new pass were related.
The Court had decided not to move to Lo-yang and the transportation between Lo-yang and Ch'ang-an was dangerous and inefficient (see HTS 53. 1a), and it was also doubtful, if grain could reach Lo-yang from the south because around that time the junction of the Pien Canal and Yellow River was believed blocked (see Pulleyblank, op. cit., pp. 33 and 128-129, sn. 53). In these circumstances, it was quite natural that the partisans of the Empress should look for ways to improve the transportation between Ch'ang-an and the grain suppling area of the south through other access routes. According to T'ao and Chu, loc. cit.; CTS 49. 3a; THY 86. p. 1574, 687. pp. 1568 and TPKC 404. 1b-2a, the transportation, from Ch'ang-an passing by Mount Shang and then taking the waterway of the Han River to reach the Ching-hsiang area—Shannan Tung Tao was quite convenient. Later, during the period of Pao-ying (762), this route was again used for transporting grain from the south to Ch'ang-an. Hence following a drought and famine in Kuan-chung area, the starting of construction of a new pass by Chung-tsung's administration to connect the land and waterway transportation by way of Mount Shang was most probably for the main purpose of grain shipping.

For instance, according to THY 86. p. 1570, in 709 Chao Lu-wen suggested degrading the status of the descendants of several thousand Fan Families (Fan-hu) of Sui to Government Slaves (Kuan-nu-pei) in order to grant these slaves to the aristocrats and the favourites. This proposal which no doubt was made for the interest of the aristocrats and the imperial favourites was dropped because of the oppose of P'ei Tzu-yu. P'ei was from a Kuan-lung aristocratic family, however, with strong literary tradition (see HTS 129. 1b). This incident could be presumed as one of the efforts that the anti-Empress bloc made to prevent the old aristocrats from retrieving their political power.

Cf. Feng Yen, Feng-shih Wen-chien Chi Chiao-chu, revised and annotated by Chao Chen-hsin (Peking: Chung-hua, 1958), 5. 23a; T'ao and Chu op. cit., pp. 97-137 and 182-183. Besides, a great agricultural expansion of the south had also created much new wealth (see Pulleyblanck op. cit., p. 27).

175 Cf. CTS 43, 7a, 48, 3b; HTS 45, 1a; Pulleyblank, ibid. and pp. 133-134, n. 2, 3, 7. At least previous to the period of Empress Wu the members of merchant families were allowed neither to participate in the "selection of officials" (hsstan) nor to be appointed to any government post. Fan Wen-lan states in his Chung-kuo T'ung-shih Chien-pien III, vol. 1, pp. 271-272 that T'ai-tsung and Kao-tsung both granted official positions to merchants. I have not yet been able to find his source materials, however, it is quite doubtful whether the two An-chou natives whom he mentions and defines as wealthy businessmen were actually merchants or merely rich land-owners.

176 They believed in Buddhism, thus had many temples built during the period of Chung-tsung (cf. HTS 83, 8a; TCTC 209, Ching-lung 2/7/chia-wu to Ching-lung 3/3/after wu-wu passim; THY 47, pp. 836-837). Besides, they also showed great interest in Taoism and witchcraft (cf. TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/3/after chi-ch'ou to Shen-lung 2/11/after ping-ch'en passim, 209, Ching-lung 3/11/after i-ssu and TLCCFK 3, 5b).

177 Cf. HTS ibid.; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/3/after chi-ch'ou to 209, Ching-lung 3/11/after i-ssu passim and Ch'ao-yeh Ch'ien-tsai 5, p. 65. Not only the Buddhist and Taoist clergy etc. but also the officials who introduced them to the Empress were rewarded with important positions. A number of these powerful clergy, for example Hui Fan, had non-Chinese origins, however, there is no existing record for us to associate them with the large group of non-Chinese merchants who lived in China at that time.


179 Information on any individual official who was from this new power-seeking merchant group is sparse. Nevertheless there is evidence for their existence in the memorials of protest made by officials who belonged to the anti-Empress bloc (cf. TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/3/after keng-hst for the letter of Yüan Ch'u-k'to and 209, Ching-lung 2/7/after chia-wu for the memorial of Hsin T'i-fou).

During Chung-tsung's reign, there were two officials, Li Ch'eng-chia and Chang Chia-fu, who might fit into this category. Though totally illiterate, as a partisan of Wu San-ssu, Li Ch'eng-chia was appointed as President of the Ministry of Finance (Hu-pu Shang-shu) and President of the Censorate (Yü-shin Ta-fu) during the period.
was extremely powerful in the court (cf. TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/4/after chi-ch'ou and Ch'ao-yeh Ch'ien-tsa'i 6, p. 81). Chang Chia-fu commenced his career as an official during Empress Wu's period. There are records of his sending in a memorial pleading with Empress Wu to appoint Wu Ch'eng-ssu as the Heir-Apparent. After Chung-tsung's death, Chang was one of the supporters of Empress Wei who were appointed as Chief Ministers. He is not even mentioned in the genealogies of Chief Ministers of the Chang family in HTS. This usually means that the person in question is of obscure origin (cf. HTS 61. 25a, 72c. 1a-23a). Judging from the limited information I have collected, there is a possibility that Li and Chang were members of the power-seeking group with humble origins who won their appointment or promotion by bribing or allying themselves to the partisans of Empress Wei.

180 See TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1(684) to 207, Ch'ang-an 1(704) passim; CTS 89. 7b; HTS 115. 3b-4a and TPKC 277. 6ab. Ti Jen-chieh was a typical example in persuading Empress Wu to summon Chung-tsung back from exile.

181 See CTS 96. 1b-2a; HTS 124. 1b; TCTC 207, Shen-lung 1/spring 1/after jen-wu shuo and 208, Shen-lung 1/2/after i-mao. Yao Yüan-chih 姚元之 (Ch'ung 崇) was the only official who wept openly when Empress Wu was deposed but he was also one of the officials who took part in the plan to depose her. Hence, his tears, as he explained, probably meant more sorrow of separation than regret.


183 Though we have the scantiest references to prove it, some of the officials who belonged to the anti-Empress Wei bloc may have been partisans of the T'ai-p'ing Princess. For example, there were two high officials, Hsiao Chih-chung and Ts'en Hsi, who usually disagreed with the policy of Empress Wei and her partisans and later they both died as partisans of the T'ai-p'ing Princess. If it was not coincidence, both Hsiao and Ts'en had defended the Princess from slander during Chung-tsung's period. It was considered by traditional historians that they had abandoned their principles during Jui-tsung's reign to serve the T'ai-p'ing Princess; but is it possible that they had always been somehow associated with
the Princess? (See CTS 70. 6a-9a, 92. 15b; HTS 102. 2ab, 123. 3a; TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/8/after wu-yin; Ta T'ang Hsin-yü 5. p. 95, 6. p. 113.)

Professor Chen Yin-k'o had indicated in his theory that since Empress Wu emphasized the importance of the examination system in selecting officials, the court became dominated by bureaucrats with literati background. Hence, the great ministers of the K'ai-yüan period were mostly officials who had come up through the examination system and who had served under the Empress Wu (see "TTCSSLK", CYKHSILC pp. 111-112). However, if we study the sources of the period between Empress Wu and Hsuan-tsung in detail, we realize that during this period the conflicts between the Kuan-lung aristocrats and the literati bureaucrats went on continuously. As a matter of fact, during the reign of Chung-tsung and Empress Wei, the old aristocrats revived their political power quite successfully. Though their achievement suffered some loss during the coup of Prince Li Lung-chi, they soon managed to recover most of it by allying with the T'ai-p'ing Princess and making use of her influence toward Emperor Jui-tsung to encounter the revivified power of the literati bureaucrats, the supporters of Prince Li Lung-chi. Only after Hsuan-tsung, the former Prince Li Lung-chi, defeated the Princess in his second coup, did the old aristocrats again lose their predominance in the court. This may also explain why during the first half of Hsuan-tsung's reign, the great ministers were usually of literate background. Yao Ch'ung and Sung Ch'ing, the two greatest ministers of Kai-yüan period, who had been high officials under the Empress Wu, but only held local posts during Chung-tsung's period, were the best examples (see Pulleyblank, op. cit., p. 48 and Appendix V).

See CTS 7. 1a.

Biographies in CTS 86. 4a-5b and HTS 81. 2b-3b.

Biographies in CTS 86. 1a-2a and HTS 81. 1ab. Cf. also TCTC 200, Yung-hui 6(655)/11/chi-ssu and Hsien-ts'in 1/ (656)/spring 1/hsin-wei.

Cf. CTS 7. 1a and TCTC 200, Hsien-ts'in 2/2/kkeng-wu. Both CTS 80. 9b; HTS 105. 12a mention that Shang-kuan T'ing-chih, father of Shang-kuan Wan-erh, served on the staff of Prince of Chou (Chung-tsung) before he was executed during 664, therefore, it is clear that Chung-tsung had already set up his
own staff and took the office in Lo-chou before 664. The biography of Chung-tsung (CTS 7. 1a) fails to state the time he left the Capital, however, it is most probably right after his receiving the title of Prince and the appointment of the Governor of Lo-chou.

189 There is no record available for us to verify the relations between Chung-tsung and his parents. However, judging from the biographies of the other children of Kao-tsung and Empress Wu, it seems that except the T'ai-p'ing Princess who was the favorite child of both Kao-tsung and Empress Wu (see CTS 183. 11a), Prince Li Hsien, second son of Empress Wu, won more appreciation from Kao-tsung among all the Princes (see CTS 86. 6ab; HTS 81. 3b and 4a).

190 Cf. TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1(684)/1/after kuei-ssu.
191 Cf. THY 3. p. 35.
192 Cf. CTS 7. 1a and TCTC 202, Yung-lung 1(680)/8/i-ch'ou.
193 Biographies in CTS 86. 5b-6b and HTS 81. 3b-4b.
194 Cf. TCTC 202, Yung-lung 1/winter 10/jen-yin.
195 Cf. CTS 51. 6b; HTS 76. 12a and TCTC 202, Shang-yuan 2(675)/4/after keng-ch'en.
197 For example, as soon as he succeeded to the throne, Chung-tsung promoted Empress Wei's father to be Governor of Yu-chou and within a month intended to promote him again to the position of President of the Chancellery (Shih-chung) (see TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1(684)/spring 1/after chia-shen shuo).
198 See TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1/2/wu-wu.
199 Cf. CTS 86. 8a; HTS 81. 5b, 83. 7b; TCTC 207, Ch'ang-an (Ta-tsu) 1(701)/8/after ping-yin. See also Chapter II. n. 9
for the argument of the death of the Yung-t'ai Princess.

200 Cf. CTS 51. 7ab; HTS 76. 12ab and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu.

201 Cf. CTS 91 passim; HTS 120 passim and TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu to 5/chia-wu passim.

202 See TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/5/after kuei-ssu.

203 See CTS 187a. 9b; HTS 191. 5b and TCTC 207, Shen-lung 1/1/kuei-mao.

204 Cf. CTS 91. 6a and HTS 120. 5b. According to the records of CTS and HTS, Ts'ui Hsuan-wei took the position of T'ai-tzu Tso Shu-tzu as a second post in 703 A.D. In the year of 704 he received a promotion on his main appointment. Since both CTS and HTS fail to mention if he kept the former second post from that time on, we would presume he had only held this second post until 704. Anyway, the coup of Chung-tsung's rescession occurred in the first month of 705, therefore, even though Ts'ui kept this second post from 704 on, he still had only served as Chung-tsung's staff for less than two years, apart from the fact that it was only a second post additional to his main appointment as Chief Minister.

205 Cf. "TTCCSSLK", CYKHSLG p. 148 and the K'ao-i of TCTC 208, Shen-lung 1/5/after chia-wu. According to the record of T'ung-chi, mentioned in the K'ao-i of TCTC, after Chung-tsung was reenthroned, Empress Wu once accused the Five Princes of coveting merits in front of him. Though, Chung-tsung probably would not have been influenced by her words as TCTC presumed, this statement at least could prove not only that there were such innuendos against the Five Princes at that time but also that they had been expressed in front of Chung-tsung. Weak-minded as Chung-tsung was, there was little possibility that he would ignore such a comment totally.

206 Cf. TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/9/chia-ch'en.

207 Cf. TCTC 209, Ching-ytn 1/5/ting-mao.

208 Cf. SS 36. 5ab; HTS 76. 5b-6a; TCTC 175, T'ai-chien 13(581)/10/wu-tzu, 201, Lin-te 1(664)/12/wu-tzu and 208, Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu the memorial of Huan Yan-fen.
Shen-lung 1/2/chia-tzu the memorial of Huan Yen-fan.


210 Cf. CTS 51. 7b; HTS 83. 5b; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/intercalary 1/ping-wu and THY 6. p. 69.

211 Cf. CTS 7. 8a, 183. 11b; HTS 4. 15b, 83. 5b.
According to CTS 7 and HTS 4, during the reign of Chung-tsung, not only the offspring of the Princesses but also those of the ladies, who granted district titles for their own merits, were also allowed to receive the right of hereditary employment.

212 Cf. HTS 76. 14a; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/3/after keng-hsü the letter of Yüan Ch'u-k'o and 209, Ching-lung 2/7/after chia-wu.

213 Cf. CTS 51. 8b, 88. 11ab; HTS 76. 13a, 125. 1b; TCTC 208, Shen-lung 2/10/after ping-ch'en and Ta T'ang Hsin-yü 2. p. 63. According to the record of Ta T'ang Hsin-yü, it would appear that the sorceress née Ti-wu argued with the officials in the Outer Court. Though the female partisans of Empress Wei were powerful at that time, it would still have been quite impossible for them to attend daily audience in the Outer Court. Hence, TCTC made some rectification while taking this story from Ta T'ang Hsin-yü. Nevertheless, the records in both Ta T'ang Hsin-yü and TCTC are enough to prove for us that Ti-wu enjoyed the privilege of entering and leaving the Inner Palace.

214 Cf. CTS 51. 8b; HTS 76. 13a & 14a, 83. 8a; TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/7/kuei-mao and 209, Ching-lung 2/7/after chia-wu.

CHAPTER V

1 Cf. HTS 76. 5a-6b; TCTC 199, Yung-hui 6(655)/6 to 203, Hung-tao 1(683)/12/ting-ssu passim.
2See CTS 2b-3b; TCTC 204, Ch'ui-kung 4(688)/4/after wu-hst and T'ien-shou 1(690)/7-9.

3See CTS 87. 3a, 190b. 2a; HTS 76. 6a, 117. 3a, 201. 8ab and TCTC 202, Shang-yuan 2(675)/3/after ting-ssu. Empress Wu won the fame of patron of learning mainly by ordering these scholars to compile a great number of books. This task continued even after she had ascended the throne (cf. HTS 202. 1a and TCTC 206, Chiu-shih 1(700)/6).

4See HTS 76. 8a; TCTC 203, Ch'ui-keng 2/3/after wu-shen and Fitzgerald, op. cit. p.

5Ibid. and TCTC 205, Ch'ang-shou 1(692)/spring 1/after ting-mao.

6TCTC 203, Ch'ui-keng 2/3/wu-shen states in detail about the establishment of the system of intelligence and the secret police. As to their work and achievement, see TCTC 203, Kuang-chai 1/2/after chi-wei to 206, Shen-kung 1(697)/6/after i-ch'ou passim.

7Cf. CTS 5. 1a; HTS 3. 7a and TCTC 201, Ch'ien-feng 1 (666)/spring 1/wu-ch'en shuo. According to these records, during Kao-tsung's period, the participation of the Empress in the worship of Heaven did not stir up any objection as it did in Chung-tsung's reign.

See also TCTC 201, Lin-te 2(665)/winter 10/kuei-ch'ou for Empress Wu's careful preparation for her participating in the worship. She used filial piety as the explanation of her intending to assist Kao-tsung in the worship which made the officials fail to find any better reason to against her participation. This incident clearly show the differences between Empress Wu and Empress Wei in their methods of dealing with critical problems and handling the court officials.

8Cf. HTS 83. 5b; TCTC 208, Ching-lung 1/7/after kuei-am and /8, 209, Ching-lung 3/9/after wu-ch'en. Information about the other members of the Lis scarcely exists. However, according to the above mentioned statements, the T'ai-p'ing Princess was quite influential in Chung-tsung's court. Both Empress Wei and Shang-kuan Wan-erh admitted they were inferior to the Princess in talent. Besides, the An-lo Princess did try constantly to exterminate the power of the T'ai-p'ing Princess but she never succeeded.
Cf. "TTCCSSLK", CYKHSIC pp. 140-153 for the relation between the palace guard and the coups in early T'ang period. Cf. also CTS 183. 15a; HTS 206, 5b-6a. Empress Wei and her partisans should have been able to foresee the importance of the palace guard. She did appoint her cousin Wei Hsu 韋詡, brother of Wei Wen, as Grand General of the Left Feathers Forest Guard (Tso Yu-lin Ta-chiang-chhun 左羽林大將軍). However, later she poisoned Wei Hsu, the only recorded severe treatment that Empress Wei ever applied to her relatives and favorites. It is said by HTS that Empress Wei condemned him for spending all his time in the army instead of writing poems for his other newly appointed job--Scholar of Chao-wen Academy. Judging from Empress Wei's usual attitude toward her partisans, it does not seem to be a good explanation. However, from the sparse information we have, it is impossible to find out whether the Empress was aware that Wei Hsu had ambition to make use of the palace guard for his own advantage or Wei Hsu failed to follow the direction of the Empress upon the control of the palace guard or perhaps he failed to follow the new inclination of the Empress keeping watch for the growing influence of Consort Shang-kuan toward the Scholars of Chao-wen Academy. Nevertheless, it is sure that by the time of Chung-tsung's death, the partisans of Empress Wei were still not able to control the palace guard and it was one of the main reasons of the failure of Empress Wei.
** Abbreviations **

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<td>CKKCTMTTT</td>
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<td>Wei Shu</td>
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Map I
(Adachi, Kinokuni 5. 1. Jorita Kotei sen ru. Chonio 3. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1.)
Map. II. (Sekino Tadashi 関野賢, Togüe Heimen Ryakuzu 唐宮城平面略圖—Chàng’ān and Lo-yang Map, 20)