

The Newly-Risen Bureaucrats in Fukien  
at the Five-Dynasty-Sung Period,  
with Special Reference to their Genealogies

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- I. Those Recorded as Immigrants from Kuang-chou District in Honan
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Some time ago I made researches chiefly genealogical concerning the newly-risen bureaucrats in Kiangsi and Szechwan at the Five-Dynasty-Sung period. Here I should like to study Fukien in this connection.

I. Those Recorded as Immigrants from  
Kuang-chou District in Honan

During the T'ang period, the Fukien region formed part of the Chiang-nan-tao 江南道, and during the Five-Dynasty period, Wang Shên-chih 王審知, the younger brother of Wang Ch'ao 王潮, established Min 閩 Kingdom, but as Wang Yen-ch'êng 王延政, the 6th generation descendant, surrendered to South T'ang 南唐, only Fu-chou 福州 in the northern part was occupied by Wu-yüeh 吳越 Kingdom. During the Sung period, was founded the Fu-chien-lu 福建路 which consisted of the six *chou*—namely, Fu-chou, Chien-chou 建州, Ch'üan-chou 泉州, Nan-chien-chou 南劍州, Chang-chou 漳州, and T'ing-chou 汀州 and also of the two *chün*, namely Shao-wu-chün 邵武軍 and Hsing-hua-chün 興化軍. Excepting the south-western provinces of China, this was an area whose rural districts remained least developed, until they were developed gradually after the middle T'ang period, and was so thoroughly developed during the Sung period.<sup>1)</sup> For this reason, the inscription on the *Tu-tu-fu hsün-hsüeh pei* 都督府新學碑銘 in the *P'i-ling-chi* 毘陵集 (Bk. 9) of the T'ang period reads to the ef-

1) Dr. ICHIMURA Sanjirō 市村瓊次郎, *Tō izen no Fukken oyobi Taiwan ni tsuite* 唐以前の福建及び臺灣について (On Fukien and Formosa before the T'ang Dynasty), *Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報, VIII, no. 1, Tokyo,

fect that throughout Min (Fukien) there was no school of Confucianists .....<sup>2)</sup> There was no Confucianism worth mentioning. During the Sung period, at the beginning, there were very few bureaucrats yet; they increased in number after the reigns of Emperors Chên-tsung 眞宗 and Jên-tsung 仁宗, and considerably increased after the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗 as shown in the table appearing in a later part of this article. For the purpose of concretely clarifying the circumstances since the last days of the T'ang period, we shall investigate here the number of those who passed the State examinations in Fu-chou, the center of Fukien, according to the accounts in the *Ch'un-hsi san-shan-chih* 淳熙三山志. According to the paragraph *K'o-ming* 科名 under *Jên-wu-lei* 人物類, I, *op. cit.* (Bk. 26), there were 36 Fu-chou men who passed the *chin-shih* 進士 degree and other State examinations<sup>3)</sup> during 123 years (between Shên-lung 神龍, 705-706, of T'ang and T'ien-chêng 天成, 926-929, of the Five-Dynasty-Last-T'ang period. Furthermore of this number, Hsüeh Ling-chih 薛令之 of 705 is recorded as the only one<sup>4)</sup> prior to the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗; the next one is dated 794; there are 34 men between then and the last days of T'ang; and one man is given for the Latter-T'ang 後唐. Even in the Sung period, Lü Fêng-t'ien 呂奉天 of 980 is given as the first one and only 41 men are recorded prior to 1019. As this number includes brothers and descendants of the same men, even less families are represented. After the middle of the Sung period, prior to Yüan-fu 元符 (1098-1100), 302 men<sup>5)</sup> besides 81 *ên-k'o* 恩科 grantees indicate a considerable increase. Those names given on the *shên-tao-pei* 神道碑 (graveyard monuments) or the *mu-chih-ming* 墓誌銘 (tombstone inscriptions) represent only

- 2) *P'i-ling-chi* 毘陵集, the ninth *chüan* 卷, 福州都督府新學碑銘 reads:  
閩中無儒家流, 成公至而俗易民賴, ..... 大曆七年, 加都督福建泉州汀州軍事領觀  
察處置都團練等使, ..... 閩越舊風, 機巧剽輕, 資貨產利, 與巴蜀埒富, 云々
- 3) The list of successful candidates of *chin-shih* examination described in *Ch'un-hsi San-shan-chih* seems to be complete, because it contains even Lin Tsui 林勗 who became *chin-shih* by *K'ai-yüan-li* 開元禮 and Huang Shên 黃統 who passed the examination of *pa-ts'ui-k'o* 拔萃科.
- 4) *Ho Shan hsien-shêng ta-ch'üan-wên-chi* 鶴山先生大全文集, the eightieth *chüan* 卷, 孫和卿墓誌 reads:  
長溪, 自唐神龍元年薛令之初舉進士, 士知鄉學.  
*Ch'ang Li hsien-shêng chih* 昌黎先生集, the twenty-second *chüan* 卷, 歐陽生哀辭 reads:  
歐陽詹世居閩越, 自詹已上皆爲閩越官, ..... 閩越之人, 舉進士繇詹始, 貞元八年考試登第.  
These quotations prove that Ou-yang Chan 歐陽詹 who passed the examination for *chin-shih* in Chên-yüan 貞元 8 (793) was the first successful candidate.
- 5) One hundred and twenty-two years from T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 太平興國 5 to the era before Yüan-fu 元符 must mean the period between T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 5 and Yüan-fu 4, until when there were two hundred and ninety-five successful candidates in *chin-shih-k'o* 進士科, and adding thirty-five in *chu-k'o* 諸科 there were three hundred and thirty in all. This number is too high. If excluding twenty-three successful candidates in Yüan-fu 3, there were three hundred and seven, which is close to three hundred and two but not exactly the same. Either number may be a mistake.

part of those officials, and include quite a large number of those recorded as transferred from other areas. Though in some cases they were officially transferred, most of them migrated due to the rebellion of An Lu-shan 安祿山 of the T'ang period, especially due to the disturbances of the Five-Dynasty days toward the end of the T'ang period.<sup>6)</sup> As to their home areas, several are mentioned, especially in the case of the civil war of the Five-Dynasty days toward the end of the T'ang period quite a large number of them are recorded as migrating from Honan or Ku-shih-hsien 固始縣 of Kuang-chou 光州 in Honan, to Ch'üan-chou in Fukien or to be the local officials of Fu-chou. There are some records relevant to the entrance of Wang Ch'ao into Min. What is the reason for this? The biography of Wang Shên-kuei 王審邽, the younger brother to Wang Shên-chih, in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (Bk. 190), after recording his appointment as *tz'ü-shih* 刺史 of Ch'üan-chou, says: "He admired Confucianism, and was well-read in Confucian works. He was a fine civil administrator; he loaned oxen and ploughs to returned refugees, and boarding-houses were built and kept in perfect shape. As North China were in a chaotic state, a large number of government officials were accommodated in them. He helped those people with his money. Thanks to him, Yang Ch'êng-hsiu 楊承休, Chêng Lin 鄭璘, Han Wu 韓偓, Kuei Fu-i 歸傅懿, Yang Tsan-t'u 楊贊圖, Chêng Chien 鄭戢, and others have been relieved from disasters. He dispatched his son Yen-ch'ên 延郴 and, establishing the *Chao-hsien-yüan* 招賢院, paid respect to these men." From this, it may be inferred that some bureaucrats came there to escape disasters in North China in the last days of the T'ang period.<sup>7)</sup>

The record which represents the bureaucrats as migrating from Kuang-chou or Ku-shih has some connection with the entrance of Brothers Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih, the natives of Kuang-chou, into Fukien, their promotion from *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou to *chieh-tu-shih* 節度使 of Fukien and their establishment of Min Kingdom. The inscription on the *tê-chêng-pei* 德政碑 of Wang Shên-chih<sup>8)</sup> says that his forefathers were from Lang-yeh 瑯琊 and were never absent in history; 4th generation ancestor obtained a position in Kuang-chou

6) Some books describe that he moved there when the rebellion occurred in the Yung-chia 永嘉 era at the end of East Chin 東晉.

Without regard to the above-mentioned description, the author considers that he was a man from province.

7) Among them only Han Wu 韓偓 appears in *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書, the eighteen hundred and third *chüan* 卷, 陸虔傳. It describes that he was appointed *li-pu shang-shu* 吏部尚書 during the reign of Chao-tsung 昭宗 at the end of T'ang and escorted Chao-tsung to Lo-yang 洛陽. *Wei-nan-wên-chi* 渭南文集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 傅正議墓誌銘 reads: 徙光州爲固始人, 廣明之亂, 先人相保聚南徙閩中, 今多爲大家.

8) *Chin Shih-ts'ui pien* 金石萃編, the one hundred and eighteenth *chüan* 卷, 威武軍節度福建管内觀察處置三司發運等使 ..... 福州刺史瑯琊郡王王審知德政碑銘. It was built in T'ien-yu 3 (906) at the end of T'ang.

and settled down in the country; from his great-grandfather down, all were bestowed government positions; his elder brother Wang Ch'ao was honored in the region for his love for modesty and politeness, and was adored by so many soldiers, so Ch'ên Yen 陳嚴, *chieh-tu-shih* of Fukien, invited Wang Ch'ao to be the *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou; when Ch'ên Yen fell ill, at the request of the soldiers, Wang Ch'ao came, together with Wang Shên-chih, and became *chieh-tu-shih*, and so forth. Again the biography of Wang Ch'ao in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (Bk. 190) says that he was a man of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou; Yeh 曄, who was his 5th generation ancestor, was appointed the governor (*hsien-ling*) of Ku-shih; as the populace asked Yeh to stay being in fond of the man's merciful spirit, Yeh established his household there and Yeh's descendants were well-known for their wealth; when Emperor Hsi-tsung 僖宗 entered Shu 蜀 (Szechwan) and robbers rose at Chiang-huai 江淮 (Kiangsu and Anhwei), Wang Hsü 王緒 and Liu Hang-ch'üan 劉行全, the fugitives from Shou-ch'un 壽春, organizing the robbers, established themselves at Shou-chou 壽州, captured Kuang-chou and forced the influential people to enroll in their army; Wang Ch'ao was also appointed a *chün-chêng* 軍正 from the position of the *hsien-shih* 縣史; as Wang Hsü captured T'ing-chou, Wang Ch'ao joined in the expedition; and later he killed the *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou and occupied the region, and so on. Over against these accounts, a passage in the biography of Wang Shên-chih in the *Chiu-wu-tai-shih* 舊五代史 (Bk. 134) says that he was a man of Kuang-chou Ku-shih; his father was a farmer; when the robbers rose at Chiang-huai during the Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 Rebellion, Wang Hsü the leader of the rebels captured Ku-shih-hsien and became *tz'ü-shih* of Kuang-chou for some time; Wang Hsü appointed Shên-chih's elder brother Ch'ao who was then *hsien-tso* 縣佐 to the position of *chün-chêng*; but later Wang Hsü was expelled by the rebels of Ts'ai 蔡, entered Fukien from Nan-k'ang 南康 (Hsing-tz'ü-hsien 星子縣 in Kiangsi Province), and entering Lin-t'ing 臨汀 (T'ing-chou) assumed the title of its *tz'ü-shih*; Ch'ao became the chief after killing Hsü in conspiracy with several local leaders, and in 886 was appointed *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou on a recommendation from Ch'ên Yen, the *kuan-ch'a-shih* 觀察使 of Fukien; as Yen's son appointed himself as *liu-hou* 留後 (acting *chieh-tu-shih*) after Yen's death, Wang Ch'ao slew him, surrendered himself and was appointed *chieh-tu-shih* of Wei-wu-chün 威武軍 of Fu-chou and Shên-chih also became his lieutenant. *Min-shih-chia* 閩世家 in the *Hsin-wu-tai-shih* 新五代史 (Bk. 68) also says that his father Jên 僊 was a hereditary farmer; his elder brother Ch'ao became a *hsien-shih*; when in the last days of T'ang Wang Hsü of Shou-chou captured Ku-shih, learning the talent and bravery of Wang Ch'ao and his brother, Wang Hsü enrolled them into the army and made Ch'ao a military officer . . . . . Of all these accounts, what the *Hsin-wu-tai-shih* and the *Chiu-wu-tai-shih* say is

probably most accurate. Because the positions attributed to Wang Ch'ao, *hsien-tso* or *hsien-shih*, implies that he was a petty official, he may be supposed to have been a powerful person with a considerable amount of land, though recorded as a farmer. Though the first two records, *Tê-chêng-pei* and *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, say that the 5th generation ancestor was transferred to this place and established his household here, the former was a tribute paid by his subordinates, the record in it must be considerably colored; for instance, when it says that his ancestors were of the Wang family of Lang-yeh, which constituted along with the Wang family of T'ai-yüan 太原 the two major branches, and had never been absent in Chinese history, it fails to mention the fact that driven out by Ch'in Tsung-ch'üan of Ts'ai-chou 蔡州 they entered Fukien from Kiangsi, but says that Wang Ch'ao became the *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou on an invitation from Ch'ên Yen. Therefore, it is doubtful whether Wang Ch'ao's forefather really established his household when he was transferred to Kuang-chou. It might be a safe guess that the author of this inscription intended to glorify the lineage as the descendants of the T'ang bureaucrats by connecting it with the famous Wang family of Lang-yeh. The names and positions recorded in the biographies of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* may seem quite authentic; but when considered in the light of the above-mentioned circumstances, the case might prove contrary to this; that is, for the purpose of making it seem authentic, it may be inferred, it was later rendered more precise and definite. At any rate, there may have been a good many men who came into Fukien with brothers Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih from their native district Ku-shih-hsien, Kuang-chou, etc., and rose to considerably high positions when the Min Kingdom was founded. Consequently, a large number of their descendants became government officials down to the Sung period, but the origins of some of them are questionable. For this reason, they will be investigated in the following, chiefly with reference to the graveyard monuments and the tomb-stone inscriptions. Prior to this, I must say a word on my comparison of them with the accounts in the biographies of *Sung-shih* 宋史. Those who appear in both sources, *Sung-shih* and inscriptions, are: Wang Hui 王回, Fu Chi 傅楫, Chêng Mu 鄭穆, Ch'ên Shih-Ch'ing 陳世卿, Ch'ên Chü-jên 陳居仁, Sheh Yung 葉顥, Fan Ju-kuei 范如圭, Liu Kung 劉拱, Hu Hsien 胡憲, etc. A passage on *Yu-ch'ao-fêng-tai-fu Wêng-kung shên-tao-pei* 右朝奉大夫翁公神道碑 in the *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集 (Bk. 26) reads: "Since the East Han period, the lives of famed gentry have been preserved mostly by means of the written tributes paid to the deceased. Under the Present Dynasty, one's biography is written into the Official History if his rank comes up as high as court officials. The style of the Official History is brief and straight, while the lives in the inscriptions are elaborate and in full detail. Therefore, if both were consulted, the true character of the men could hardly be concealed." From this, it

may be seen that the accounts in the *Sung-shih* are brief, and in the case of Fukien, as in that of Szechwan, there is exceedingly little reference to their ancestors.

First of all, in the tombstone inscription of Wang P'ing 王平, a man of about the time of Emperor Chên-tsung<sup>9)</sup>, it is written that his forefather was Tsé, 澤 governor of Yen-mên 鴈門 at the Han period; Hsiung 雄, Tsé's 18th generation descendant, became *liu-shou* 留守 of Lo-yang for T'ang; though the family had its domicile registered in T'ai-yüan, they became a celebrated family in Honan where they had their graves; but the family fortune went downhill in the last days of the T'ang and the family record was lost, thus unabling one to learn how many generations had passed thereafter; at the time of Hu 護, for the first time the family came to live at Hou-kuan 侯官 of Fu-chou; his son Shên 伸 succeeded, and T'ing-chien 廷簡, grandson, become *An-yüan-shih* 安遠使 (probably the commander of the An-yüan 安遠 fort 100 *li* north of Ning-hua-hsien 寧化縣, T'ing-chou) at the time of Wang Shên-chih of Min; Chü-chêng 居政 succeeded T'ing-chien; and P'ing, a son of Chü-chêng, was raised to the rank of *chin-shih*. So it may be admitted that Wang Hsiung lived in Honan and the graves were established there, but from the last days of T'ang to Hu's transference to Fu-chou the family fortunes were on the wane so that nothing was known about them. However, on the tomb-stone inscription<sup>10)</sup> of Wang Hui, his son, of about the time of Jên-tsung, it is written that the family originally came from the Wang family of Honan; later moved from Kuang-chou Ku-shih to Fu-chou Hou-kuan; Hui's great-grandfather held a government position, and father held the position of *Ping-pu yüan-wai-lang* 兵部員外郎. Though it thus omits some items, it adds that the family migrated from Kuang-chou Ku-shih. These are both works by Wang An-shih 王安石, and such omissions may be pardonable. Nevertheless, if the family really came

9) *Lin Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-eighth *chüan* 卷, 都官員外郎王公墓誌銘 reads:

其先漢鴈內太守澤, 後十八世雄爲唐東都留守, 封望太原族, 墓在河南爲閩姓, 至唐之將亡, 諸孫頗凌夷, 始自缺其譜, 亡不知幾傳, 而至護始居福之侯官 ... 伸 ... 廷簡, 當閩王審知時爲安遠使.

This epitaph does not describe his lifetime but describes the name Hui 回 as his fifth son. So it is an epitaph of their father, whose name was P'ing 平 according to the epitaph mentioned below. Among successful candidates, Wang Hsiang 王向 and Wang Hui 王回 appear as P'ing's sons in *Ch'un-hsi San-shan-chih*, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 科名嘉祐二年條, and his name also appears in 天禧三年條.

10) *Lin Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-third *chüan* 卷, 王深父墓誌銘 reads:

諱回, 本河南王氏, 其後自光州之固始遷福州之侯官, 爲侯官人者三世, 曾祖某某官, 祖某, 父某兵部員外郎.

It is obvious that 三世 in the above-mentioned quotation is a mistake and should read 五世 according to the epitaphs of his father and younger brother.

from Kuang-chou Ku-shih, a question may be raised as to the relation of this with the account which asserts the family to be the Wang family of Honan. The tomb-stone inscription of Wang Chiung 王岡, Wang Hui's younger brother<sup>11</sup>, averaging these two accounts in details, says that his forefather was a man of T'ai-yüan; some time later the family moved to Honan, and then from Kuang-chou Ku-shih to Fu-chou Hou-kuan; and the 5th generation descendant T'ing-chin 廷金, Chiung's great grandfather, served the King of Min and was appointed *Yüan-an-chün-shih* 遠安軍使; Chü-chêng, grandfather, was granted a posthumous rank, and P'ing, father, became *shih-yü-shih* 侍御史. Yüan-an is unmistakably An-yüan. T'ing-chin and Chü-chêng are recorded as T'ing-chien 廷簡 and Chü-chêng 居正 on the tomb-stone inscription of P'ing as mentioned above. As these names cannot be considered mere miswritings, there may have been two different traditions of their genealogy. Be that as it may, the statement that the family came Kuang-chou Ku-shih must be significant in that the region is identical with the homeland of the Royal Family of Min. While one assigns the exodus to the time of the 5th generation ancestor, the inscription on the father's monument states that his great grandfather served under Wang Shên-chih. Consequently, the exodus from Ku-shih must considerably precede that. The dates could not be reconciled and it cannot be true. Probably because the great grandfather served under the King of Min, the author must have adopted Kuang-chou, the hometown of Royal Family, as his own. However, his coming out from the Honan area may well be admitted; only the date must have been about the last days of the T'ang period. On the other hand, the biography of Wang Hui in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 432) gives him as a man of Hsien-yu 仙遊 (a *hsien* under Hsing-hua-chün; the same name is used to-day) and mentions a few items concerning him only. According to the tomb-stone inscriptions of the father of Wang Hui and of Chiung, his younger brother, he buried his father at Ju-yin 汝陰 of Ying-chou 潁州 and settled down in this district, with nothing said about Hsien-yu. Probably this is a mistake. As nothing is said concerning the official services of his great grandfather and father, it will not do to determine when his household rose to eminence.

It is also said that the ancestor of Fu Chi<sup>12</sup>, a man of about the time of Emperors Shên-tsung and Chê-tsung 哲宗, came from the north and served in Chiang-nan and his descendants were scattered in Chiang-huai; some who resided in Kuang-chou fled to Fukien following Wang Ch'ao in the civil war of Kuang-ming 廣明 (i. e. Huang Ch'ao Rebellion in 880); after several generations, as the 4th generation ancestor Jên-tuan 仁端 moved to Hsien-yu-hsien of Hsing-hua-chün; neither his great grandfather nor grandfather served

11) *Yüan-fêng-lei-kao* 元豐類藁, the forty-second *chüan* 卷, 王容季墓誌銘.

12) *Fu-hsi-chi* 浮溪集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 朝請郎傅公墓誌銘.

as officials; his father was revered by the villagers and passed the *chin-shih* examination. Now, what can be trusted is only the items mentioned after the 4th generation ancestor Jên-tuan, no generation preceding whom is not given. Also his migration to Hsien-yu is quite questionable. Consequently, in this case, the account of his homeland and himself in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 248) merely serves to indicate the date at which the family came to eminence. Even this is confirmed by the account in the tomb-stone inscription. Although what precedes the 4th generation ancestor might not be accurate, still it might imply that some one had migrated from Kuang-chou. I shall not discuss other instances here; but concerning the dates of appointment, the tomb-stone inscriptions say, as for Chêng Mu, that appointment dated from himself; as for Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing, Ch'ên Chü-jên, Hu Hsien, from their fathers; as for Fan Ju-kuei, also from his father; as for Sheh Yung from his 5th generation ancestor; as for Liu Kung 劉洪, from his grandfather, while the *Sung-shih*, in the biography of Ch'ên Chü-jên, refers to his father's appointment, but in the cases of all others mentions only their own appointment. Therefore, though it is usually difficult to learn about their ancestors or the dates at which they joined bureaucracy from the biographies in the *Sung-shih*, it may be seen that in most cases their appointment does not go back many generations. This may account for the fact that the Fukien area was a newly developed province and the bureaucrats of the Sung period were mostly newly-risen.

So much for the comparison of the two groups. I shall now briefly take up those recorded as having moved to Fukien after the civil war of An Lu-shan of the T'ang period, and then discuss those recorded as from the Kuang-chou area after the disturbances in late T'ang or following Wang Ch'ao and others.

After the rebellion of An Lu-shan, Lu Chün 盧君<sup>13)</sup> a *hsiang-kung-chin-shih* 鄉貢進士, is said to have temporarily resided at Min-ch'uan 閩川 (i. e. Fukien), seeking help from his wife's folks; but as his death is recorded to have taken place at his private residence at Yung-t'ai-li 永泰里 of Lo-yang in the 4th year of Ch'ang-ch'ing 長慶 (824) under Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗, he had probably returned to his former post.

As similar cases are found in Kiangsi, it is probable that there were many who sought refuge in Fukien also at the rebellion of An Lu-shan but afterward returned to the North. And among those recorded as having moved from Kiangsi to Fukien as Liu Chan 劉展 revolted in South China under the influence of the Rebellion, there is the family of Yang Wên-i 楊文逸 and his cousin

13) 芒洛冢墓遺文中, 唐故鄉貢進士范陽盧府君墓誌.



Yang Hui-chih 楊徽之<sup>14)</sup>. It is written that the forefathers of Yang Wên-i were men of Hung-nung 洪農 in Hua-yin 華陰 who had produced high officials in the days of Former Hans 漢, Wei 魏, and Chin 晉; but toward the end of East Chin, they moved during the civil war of Yung-chia 永嘉 (311) to the left banks of the Yangtzekiang and registered themselves in Shang-yao-chün 上饒郡 as citizens of the district; after more than ten generations, in the era of Shang-yüan 上元 (760-761) of T'ang, during the civil war of Liu Chan, the 6th generation ancestor accompanied by all the families moved to Wu-hsing 吳興 in Chien-an 建安 (Chien-an is the name of Chien-chou as a *chün* 郡; Wu-hsing is the *hsien* where the *chou* is), and by making a fortune, he came to be influential as the wealthiest man in the district; Yang Wên-i's great-grandfather was not politically active; but the grandfather Kao 郛 was appointed as *I-chün-chih-hui-shih* 義軍指揮使 by the local officials and the whole villagers relied upon him; the father Pi 弼 was also appointed *I-chün-tao-chi-fu-shih* 義軍討擊副使, Whose second son was Wên-i; as the Wang family conquered Fukien, his uncle became the district governor (*hsien-ling*), on whose recommendation he was appointed an official; after the Min Kingdom was annexed by South T'ang he successively served until he became the governor of Yü-shan-hsien 玉山縣. According to the record of the activities (*hsing-chuang* 行狀) of his cousin Yang Hui-chih, his grand-father, in the last days of T'ang, organized an army of volunteers to protect kinsmen and fellow-villagers; his father served the Wang family of Min; when his numerous brothers adored freedom, he alone served in several offices in succession. So says the record. His biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 296) says that his grandfather became *I-chün-chiao* 義軍校 of Min; but only his father breaking his creed became a Confucianist scholar, and was appointed the district governor (*hsien-ling*); then he studied abroad between Pien 汴 (K'ai-fêng 開封) and Lo 洛 (Lo-yang 洛陽), and, on passing the *chin-shih* examination of the Chou 周 Dynasty, served the Sung court in various offices.

According to this, it cannot be asserted that the 6th generation ancestor had migrated from Kiangsi. Fukien being a newly-developed district lying beyond the disturbance of the civil war, such could have been the case during the rebellion of Liu Chan. Therefore, from the passage it may be supposed that, by making strenuous efforts in business management, he gradually amassed a fortune so that he became a powerful man in Chien-an. Toward the last days of T'ang, Yang Hui-chih's grandfather organized a volunteer army and became a military officer, but some of his descendants turned to learning to become civilians. Particularly one of his grandsons stole to Chou and after passing the *chin-shih* examination served the Sung regime in several

14) *Wu-i-hsin-chi* 武夷新集, the eighth *chüan* 卷, 故玉山令府君神道表.  
*Ibid*, the eleventh *chüan* 卷, 翰林學士 ..... 楊公行狀.

offices. As for a man who distinguished himself as a military, the abovementioned graveyard monument of Yang Wên-i reads: "Kao, his grandfather, towards the last days of T'ang, . . . . . The family had resided there for generations with everybody together, and had over a hundred servants. Unless forces were employed, security of the family could not be maintained. So he raised several hundred strong villagers, and, with a permission from the local government, became the commander of the volunteer army (*i-chün chih-hui-shih*). With strong walls and fortresses, he was prepared for emergencies. The whole village relied upon him." From this, it may be seen that toward the last days of T'ang the rural leaders had to rise as soldiers in order to maintain their positions, for, so far as the defence of the families and homelands were concerned, the characteristic of self-defence was so marked that as soon as the civil war subsided the soldiers were quite apt to turn bureaucratic officials. They were, so to speak, bureaucratic soldiers. The son of Yang Wên-i who remained a soldier, served under Min as a *hsien-ling* though in connection with his uncle.

Again, the forefather of Chang Chung-jên 張仲仁<sup>15)</sup> is said to have been a man of Ch'ing-ho 清河. Though no date is given, later the family allegedly moved to Wu-hsing 吳興 of Chien-an and became a well-known family. As the Wang family rose in Min, Ts'ung-i 從義, Chung-jên's great-grandfather who was a powerful man in his native place and well-known as a scholar and warrior, served as *chih-chih-fu-shih* 制置副使 of P'u-ch'êng 浦城. Wên 贇, Chung-jên's grand-father became *chang-shih* of Chien-chou. Jên-miao 仁邈, Chung-jên's father, became *Tso-san-ch'i ch'ang-shih* 左散騎常侍, and as South T'ang conquered Min, he resigned his post for illness. Chang Chung-jên presented a memorial to the Court, and was granted *T'ai-ch'ang-shih fêng-li-lang* 太常守奉禮郎. Later he served the Sung Court and until he was appointed the governor of the district. It could not be believed that the family had migrated from the North, but it seems that they had been a powerful family in Chien-an since the last days of T'ang. The great-grandfather had served Min as a military officer but was probably a man of considerable culture, because his great grandson was employed as a civil official in the South T'ang Court. There are points of resemblance between these records. As for the forefather of the brothers, Lu Kuang 陸廣 and Lu I 陸虞<sup>16)</sup>, men of about the reign of Jên-tsung of Sung, the 5th generation ancestor moved from Wu-chün 吳郡 (Su-chou) to Hou-kuan of Fu-chou to escape the civil war at the end of T'ang. Ching-ch'ien 景遷, the great-grandfather, became the *Hsiao-wei shang-chiang-chün* 驍衛上將軍 of Wu-

15) *Wu-i-hsin-chi* 武夷新集, the ninth *chüan* 卷, 陝州芮城令張君墓誌銘.

16) *Lin Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-second *chüan* 卷, 京東提點刑獄陸(廣)君墓誌銘.

*Ku-ling hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 古靈先生文集, the twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 左侍禁陸(虞)墓誌銘.

yüeh Kingdom, Ch'ung-i 崇宸, the grand-father, became *kuan-ch'a-t'ui-kuan* 觀察推官 of Wei-wu-chün 威武軍, then after surrendering himself to Sung, served the Court. The father never served the Court. Lu Kuang himself passed the State examination during the T'ien-shêng 天聖 era (1023-1031) and rose to be a high official. The great-grandfather's appointment as a *Shang-chiang-chün* of Wu-yüeh was probably because when South T'ang conquered Min, Fu-chou area alone was in the possession of Wu-yüeh. The grandfather's appointment as a *kuan-ch'a-t'ui-kuan* suggests that the family was turning to civil services. Some of those who rose as military officers during the last T'ang Five-Dynasty period, in such cases, turned to be civil officials since the South T'ang Kingdom as may be seen from these records.

Now we may take up those who are recorded as migrating from Kuang-chou following Brothers Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih on account of the civil war at the end of T'ang. Among the men of the period of Five-Dynasty and earliest Sung we find men such as Wang Yen-ssü 王延嗣, Wang Pin 王彬, Li Hsü-chi 李虛己. Wang Yen-ssü<sup>17)</sup> of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou, whose ancestors had been a powerful family in the village, was brought up by his uncle Wang Shên-chih. While Shên-chih's sons learned horsemanship and swordsmanship, he alone enjoyed reading books and histories. When Shên-chih controlled Min, he wanted to give his nephew an official position, but several times Yen-ssü refused this offer on the pretext that the country was not yet peaceful and exclusively served him as an advisor. In order to get away from the dissension which arose within the Royal Family after his uncle's death, Yen-ssü concealed himself in the farms. This secured his safety when South T'ang conquered Min. During the era of Chia-yü 嘉祐 (1056-1063) of Sung, his grandson passed the State examination. This shows that Wang Yen-ssü was a nephew of Wang Shên-chih and emigrated with the latter to Fukien and that in Min at that time military career was held in high estimation. Closely applying himself to his studies, even under such circumstances, he made it his duty to advise the Court from a Confucianistic standpoint. When Emperor T'ai-tsu of Liang 梁 was about to appoint Wang Shên-chih King of Min, Wang Yen-ssü did his utmost to admonish his uncle not to accept the title. It is reported that Wang Shên-chih "drooped his head for a long time, then said, 'This is only a stale sermon of a rotten Confucianist. It serves no practical purpose.'" This will indicate the views and attitudes of the Min militarists in those days.

According to the biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 304), Wang Pin 王彬 of an early Sung period was a man of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou; his grandfather

17) *Fan-t'ai-shih-chi* 范太史集, the thirty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 王延嗣傳.

Yen-ying 彥英 and father Jên-p'in 仁侃 both emigrated to Min following their kinsman Wang Ch'ao. So this was also another case in which a whole family emigrated. Wang Yen-ying lost favor of Wang Ch'ao by exerting too much power and fled to Silla 新羅 where he was treated well. Wang Pin passed the *chin-shih* examination during the reign of T'ai-tsung 太宗 (976-997) at the beginning of Sung period and rose to a high post.

As for Li Hsü-chou 李虛舟<sup>18)</sup>, his 7th generation ancestor Ch'ang 昌 lived at Kuang-shan 光山. As the Wang family became rulers of Min, Ch'ang's grandson Ying 盈 led the whole family to join the king, and moved his domicile to Chien-an. Hsü-chou's great grand-father Kuan 璫 and grandfather Hsün 詢 were granted posthumous honors. His father served as *chu-ssü-shih* 諸司使 in the South T'ang court. In the Sung period, his eldest brother passed the *chin-shih* examination. Though Hsü-chou himself could not pass the examination, he was granted a position on a special recommendation. As for his elder brother Li Hsü-chi, there is a biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 300). It says that his 5th generation ancestor Ying, following Wang Ch'ao, emigrated from Kuang-chou to Chien-an in Min, etc., in about the same way. The phrase "his 5th generation ancestor" sounds as if a little too many generations intervened between Ying and the present generation when compared with the two foregoing records and the following record; so there might be some mistake. However, as the *Sung-shih* which, while it mentions each generation except in the case of 4th generation ancestor, predominantly describes the person concerned, representing him in the same way in its biography, this may be trusted tentatively at least.

As shown in the foregoing, in the cases of those of the Five-Dynasty and Early Sung period, it seems that most of the records represent facts; but in the cases of those in the Mid-Sung and later period, like the above-mentioned Wang Hui, Fu Chi and many others, they increase in number while there are also many whose origins are quite suspicious. As for the records which give the men who emigrated from Kuang-chou or Ku-shih or the dates of the emigrations, we find Brothers Su I 蘇繹 and Su Shên 蘇紳, Chêng Mu, Ch'ên Shih-chieh 陳士傑 of about the reign of Jên-tsung (1023-1063), and Hsia Chieh 夏俠 of about the reign of Shên-tsung (1068-1085). As to Brothers Su I and Su Shên<sup>19)</sup>, the former's tombstone inscription quotes their family record and says

18) *Fu-hsi-chi* 浮溪集, the nineteenth *chüan* 卷, 故尚書虞部郎中致仕李公(虛舟)墓碑.

*Ibid*, the twenty-first *chüan* 卷, 故虞部郎中李(虛舟)公墓誌銘.

*Lín Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the eighty-eighth *chüan* 卷, 虞部郎中李公神道碑.

19) *Su-wei-kung-wên-chi* 蘇魏公文集, the sixty-second *chüan* 卷, 叔父衛尉寺丞景陵府君(蘇繹)墓誌銘.

that between Hsü Wên-chêng-kung Kuei 許文正公瓌 of T'ang and Su I's uncle the family emigrated three times, but they are now inhabitants of Ching-ling 景陵 of An-chou 安州. Then the inscription goes on to say that as I 奕 the grandson of Kuei 瓌 became *tz'ü-shih* of Kuang-chou during the Yüan-ho 元和 era (806-820), his descendants established their household at Ku-shih; and I 益, Kuei's 4th generation descendant immigrated from Ku-shih into Min following Wang Ch'ao, and settled down at T'ung-an 同安 of Ch'üan-chou; Su I's great grandfather Kuang-hui 光誨 came, at the beginning of Sung, to the Court following Ch'ên Hung-chin 陳洪進, the lord of Ch'üan-chou, and was appointed *Tso-chien-wei Chiang-chün* 左監衛將軍 in his capacity of a former *tz'ü-shih* of Chang-chou 漳州; Su I's great grandfather Yu-t'u 祐圖 became *ssü-ma-chi-chiu* 司馬祭酒 of Chang-chou; Su I's grandfather Chung-ch'ang 仲昌 failed in the *chin-shih* examination but was appointed *Tso-t'un-wei Chiang-chün* 左屯衛將軍 and *T'i-tien hsing-yü* 提點刑獄<sup>20)</sup>; Su I himself was too ill to take the examination. The *hsing-chuang* of Sung 蘇頌, Su Shên's son,<sup>21)</sup> is a little more detailed. After narrating a brief history of the family's antiquity and the affairs concerning Kuei 瓌 and his sons, Shên 詵 and I 奕, it refers to I 益 who entered Min following Wang Ch'ao and was appointed a *chün-shih* 軍使; to Su Sung's 4th generation ancestor Kuang-hui 光誨 who at the beginning of Chin 晉 Dynasty, on slaying the rebel leader in Ch'üan-nan 泉南, became the *tz'ü-shih* of Chang-chou and settled down at T'ung-an of Ch'üan-chou, and at the beginning of Sung, for becoming the leader of the defenders against robbers, was appointed the *Chiang-chün* 將軍; and to the affairs of each generation, though unnamed, from the great grandfather down; and to Su Shên who was recommended as a *hsien-liang-fang-chêng* 賢良方正 in the reign of Jên-tsung. In the light of these records, it is evident that the Su family members from the generation of Kuang-hui down, distinguished themselves as military leaders during the Five-Dynasty period until the beginning of Sung, but Su I's grand-

20) According to *Fu-hsi-chi* 浮溪集, the twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 蘇(攜)墓誌銘, Su Chung-ch'ang 蘇仲昌 lived in the reign of Chêng-tsung 眞宗.

The epitaph of Ching-ling 景陵, governor and Su's uncle, (叔父景陵府君墓誌銘) reads: 仲昌學賢良, 擢進士第, 逾月覆落, 換三班官, 歷閤門祇候左屯衛將軍, 提點荆南湖北兩路刑獄, 云々

In 蘇公行狀 he is described to be *hsien-liang-fang-chêng* 賢良方正 and *chin-shih-ti* 進士第. The epitaph of Su Ssü-k'ung (蘇司空墓誌銘) describes that he was recommended to take the examination for *chin-shih* 進士, but he did not succeed. The epitaph of his uncle describes most exactly.

In the epitaph of Su Ssü-k'ung (蘇司空墓誌銘) the name of his forefather is given as Hsien-hui 先誨 and his profession as *tso-t'un-wei Chiang-chün* 左屯衛將軍, but the author considers that Hsien-hui 先誨 is a mistake and should be Kuang-hui 光誨.

21) It appears in *Tao Hsiang hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 道鄉先生文集, the thirty-ninth *chüan* 卷, 故觀文殿大學士蘇(頌)公行狀 and in *Tsêng Wên-chao kung chi* 曾文昭公集, the third *chüan* 卷, 贈蘇(頌)司空墓誌銘.

father and father turned to be civilian officials. Though that prior to this, I, emigrating to Min, held a military post was probably true, it is doubtful if the family descended from the T'ang bureaucrats. The ancestor of Chêng Mu<sup>22)</sup> was a man of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou who in the last T'ang days died in Min after entering it as a captive of Wang Ch'ao; on account of this, his descendants settled down in Fu-chou and became inhabitants of Hou-kuan; Mu's great grandfather and grandfather did not become officials; his father was bestowed a posthumous honor; Chêng Mu himself passed the *chin-shih* examination under the reign of Jên-tsung. In the Sung period, it was not unusual to designate one without actually naming him even when his name was known. Probably so it was in this case. As for the family of Ch'ên Shih-chieh<sup>23)</sup>, his 4th generation ancestor moved in the civil war in the last T'ang days from Kuang-chou to Wên-ling 溫陵, and settled down at Chin-chiang 晉江 (Chin-chiang-hsien of Fukien Province). After Shih-chieh's great grandfather Tso 佐 and grandfather Hsi 錫, his father Ch'êng-chih 成之 prospered and became a financial magnate. Shih-chieh was called an honorable man and patronized Confucian scholars, and his son passed the *chin-shih* examination. The ancestors of Chêng Chieh 鄭俠<sup>24)</sup> were men of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou. P'ei 裴, Chieh's 4th generation ancestor, entered Min in the last T'ang days following the Wang family, and settled down at Yung-fu 永福 of Fu-chou. The great grandfather Yü 御 emigrated to Fu-ch'ien 福倩. The grandfather was granted a posthumous honor. The father became *T'ung-chih-lang* 通直郎. Chêng Chieh himself passed the Examination in the category *chia-k'o* 甲科 during the reign of Ying-tsung. All these three families emigrated during the days of the 4th generation ancestor. Especially in the case of Chêng Chieh 鄭俠, the man's name is mentioned, and his son and grandson are given as officials. Therefore, these accounts must be a true record. In the case of Chêng Mu 鄭穆 also, as he is described as a captive of Wang Ch'ao, most probably this is also a true record.

On the other hand, there are quite a few cases after this period in which no mention is made of the men who emigrated or of the times; or other cases in which are given the times which are quite contradictory. To mention that some one emigrated from Ku-shih of Kuang-chou would most naturally have meant the last T'ang period at which the Wang family entered Min; for this reason, it may be supposed that special mention of the period was omitted. Of these, in the case of Wang Hui (See Note 9) of about the reign of Jên-tsung,

22) *Fan-t'ai-shih-chi* 范太史集, the forty-third *chüan* 卷, 鄭 (穆) 公墓誌銘.

23) *Yen-shan-chi* 演山集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 陳君士傑墓誌銘.

Since he died in Chien-chung-ching-kuo 建中靖國 1 (1101) when he was fifty-four years old, he must have lived in the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗 and Chê-tsung 哲宗.

24) *Hsi T'ang-hsien-shêng chi* 西塘先生集, the tenth *chüan* 卷, 鄭 (俠) 墓誌.

the names of those who emigrated are given and the time may be guessed as the last T'ang period; therefore, it may be true that they emigrated from Honan. Saying that at that time they emigrated from Ku-shih seems to mean that the native place of Wang Ch'ao was borrowed by them. Again, as for the families of Ch'ên Hsiang 陳襄 and Ch'ên-shih 陳氏 of about the same period, Fu Chi of about the time of Shên-tsung and Fu-mou 傅某 (unnamed) of the last North Sung and early South Sung period, it is not mentioned in what generation they moved into Fukien. According to the *hsing-chuang* of Ch'ên Hsiang written by Sheh Tsu-hou 葉祖洽,<sup>25)</sup> the Ch'ên family originally lived at Ku-shih of Kuang-chou but followed the Wang family into Min toward the end of the Five-Dynasty period, and settled down at Fu-t'ang 福唐 in Min. As there was no *hsien* name such as Fu-t'ang, it may be the name of a place in Min-hsien 閩縣. "Toward the end of the Five-Dynasty period" must surely read otherwise. The *ssü-t'ang-chi* 祠堂記 by Liu I 劉彝<sup>26)</sup> is most probably right when it says that the ancestor, as the robbers led by Huang Ch'ao were rampant in Central China at the beginning of Kuang-ming of T'ang, entered Min following Wang Hsü 王緒, and then served under Wang Shên-chih living in Fu-chou. In my view, the probable reason for committing such careless errors is that this record, *hsing-chuang*, was carelessly compiled with no accurate facts to support it. As for the later generations, the *ssü-t'ang-chi* says that in the Sung period Ch'ên Hsiang's grandfather became a petty official and father also served as an official; the *hsing-chuang*, though saying nothing about the grandfather, writes that during the reign of Chên-tsung the father became the *chu-pu* 主簿 of the *hsien*. So it is evident that the family had risen as a family of officials since the beginning of Sung. Also the ancestors of Ch'ên-shih 陳氏<sup>27)</sup> are said to have been inhabitants of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou; during the last days of T'ang, her family, escaping the disaster, emigrated to Min to settle down at Lo-yüan 羅源 of Fu-chou; her father Ch'ên Tso 陳佐 became an official on passing the *chin-shih* examination in 1008; Ch'ên-shih herself is recorded as being married to Wang Shih 王碩. As for her father's predecessors, the record fails to tell us anything, to say nothing of their generations. The questionability of the migration of Fu Chi's ancestors was already discussed above. As for the ancestors of Fu-mou<sup>28)</sup> who lived at the end of North Sung and the beginning of South Sung, it is said that he was a well-known family at Ch'ing-ho 清河 in the North but later emigrated to Ku-shih of Kuang-chou; during the civil

25) *Ku-ling hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 古靈先生文集附行狀誌銘條, (陳襄) 先生行狀.

26) *Ku-ling hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 古靈先生文集附行狀誌銘條, 先生祠堂記.

27) *Su-wei-kung-wên-chi* 蘇魏公文集, the sixty-second *chüan* 卷, 福清陳氏墓誌銘.

28) *Wei-nan-wên-chi* 渭南文集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 傅正議墓誌銘.

Only his *tzü* 字, Ning-yüan 凝遠, is given, but his lifetime is not given.

war of Kung-ming 廣明, the people of Kuang-chou emigrated in a body into Min and most of them became powerful families; as for the Fu family, their ancestor Shih 實 lived for the first time at Chin-chiang 晉江 of Ch'üan-chou and having buried his eldest son in Hsien-yu-hsien 仙遊縣, moved there; during the Sung period, both Ch'êng 程, the grandfather, and Sung 嵩, the father, obtained the degree of *chin-shih* 進士 but did not serve as officials, instead they instructed their sons; during the Ch'ung-ning 崇寧 (1102-1106) Fu-mou himself entered *Ta-hsüeh* 太學 (academy) and, on passing the Examination, he was appointed an official. However, this mentions nothing as to the affairs intervening between the ancestor Shih and the grandfather Ch'êng. From the fact that, after the family having been interested in educating children for two generations, he was appointed an official toward the end of North Sung, it may be suspected that the family rose from among the natives about that time. Again, those who are not given their names and their dates are Wu Shêng-tien 吳聖典<sup>29)</sup> and others. The ancestors of Wu Shêng-tien were people of Kuang-chou. The family became a well-known one during the T'ang period. Later they moved to Shao-wu 邵武 in Min (which originally belonged to Chien-chou; later became Shao-wu-chün). Wu Shêng-tien's 4th generation ancestor Yun 允 served South Han 南漢 and was appointed *chün-shih-t'ui-kuan* 軍事推官 of Hsün-chou 循州. The great grandfather Han-ch'ing 漢卿 and grandfather Yung 顥 were both famous for good behavior in the district. The father I 益 instructed his children, and the son Shêng-tien passed the *chin-shih* examination in Yüan-fêng 元豐 (1078-1085), and served in several offices. As for Huang Yu 黃洵<sup>30)</sup> of the early South Sung period, he was a man of Chien-ning 建寧. As for his ancestors, the record says, after especially mentioning that it is a tradition, that they entered Min from Ku-shih of Kuang-chou and resided at Shui-tung 水東 of Chien-yang 建陽, but later moved to Yen-p'ing 演平 of Ou-ning 甌寧, *ah sien* subject to Chien-chou; the great grandfather Chih-chü 執矩 and the grandfather Pai-chien 伯堅 were both granted posthumous honors; the father Jui 銳 became an official; Huang Yu himself was appointed an official on account of his father's services. And as for Ch'ên Kuei-i 陳貴誼<sup>31)</sup> of the middle period of South Sung, it is written that his ancestors were people of Ku-shih who later transferred their address to Fu-ch'ing 福清; his great grandfather Ch'üeh 確 and grandfather Ta-kang 大剛 were both granted posthumous honors; his father Tsung 宗 was appointed *Han-lin hsüeh-shih* 翰林學士 (Academy member); he himself resided at Wu-k'ang 武康 of Hu-chou 湖州 and passed the Examination in the category *i-k'o* 乙科.

29) *Fu-hsi-chi* 浮溪集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 左中大夫吳 (聖典) 公墓誌銘.

30) *Chu wen kung wen-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-third *chüan* 卷, 黃公墓誌銘.

31) *Ho Shan hsien-shêng ta-ch'üan-wên-chi* 鶴山先生大全文集, the eighty-seventh *chüan* 卷, 參知政事陳 (貴誼) 公神道碑. *Ibid.* 孫和卿墓誌.



Sun Ho-ch'ing 孫和卿, a contemporary of Ch'ên Kuei-i, also had ancestors who resided at Ku-shih of Kuang-chou, but at the end of T'ang period the family emigrated to Wu-shih-shan 烏石山 of Fu-chou. After several generations they again moved to Ta-liu 大留 village of Ch'ang-ch'i-hsien 長溪縣, and again after several generations, to Lung-p'o 龍坡. From Sun Ho-ch'ing's great grandfather down, none served as an official. He himself instructed pupils and had his daughter married to a man who had passed the State examination. In these cases, the previous abode Kuang-chou or Ku-shih is distinctly given in the records, but without the names of the men who emigrated or their dates of emigration. As the dates are greatly deranged, the circumstances after migration are generally obscure. It follows, therefore, that they involve some doubt. When in the case of Huang Yu it is purposely stated that it was based upon a tradition, we may take it as a true statement.

As we come down to the South Sung period, we find a number of cases in which the generations of those who emigrated are definitely given, in a contrast to the preceding examples. As for Huang Ch'ung 黃崇<sup>32)</sup>, it is said that his ancestors were people of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou; his 11th generation ancestor Huang Ying 黃膺 fled to Min and became a man of Shao-wu-chün; great grandfather I 戾 was granted *T'ai-ch'ang-chêng* 太常丞 in his last years; grandfather Ju-ch'ên 汝臣 did not serve the Court; father Yu 豫 was appointed *Ch'êng-wu-lang* 承務郎; and Huang Ch'ung himself, *Chin-tzû kuang-lu ta-fu* 金紫光祿大夫. The tomb-stone inscription of Huang Chung 黃中, son of Huang Ch'ung, reads approximately identical, except that it has corrected "the 11th generation" as "the 12th generation" and refers to his passing of the *chin-shih* examination during the Shao-hsing 紹興. Despite the fact that Ch'ên Chü-jên 陳居仁 became a *chin-shih* like Huang Chung in the Shao-hsing era, the record assents that the line of his ancestors can be known as far back as in the Latter Han 後漢 and says that his 7th generation ancestor Ssü-ma 司馬 moved from Kuang-chou to P'u-t'ien 莆田 of Ch'üan-chou to get away from the Five-Dynasty disturbances; later the family transferred its domicile to *Chin* 鄞 of Ch'ing-yüan 慶元; Chü-jên's great grandfather Chih 砥 did not serve the Court; grandfather Chia-mo 嘉謨 was granted a posthumous honor; and the father Kao 膏 became *T'ai-fu shao-ch'ing* 太府少卿.<sup>33)</sup> Though in the case of Huang Ch'ung and his son the dates of their emigration are not definitely given, they are represented as men of Ku-shih of Kuang-chou. As for Huang Ch'ung, the record writes "They took refuge in Min. It is the present Shao-wu-chün in Shao-wu-hsien 邵武縣". It must refer roughly to the period at which Wang Shên-chih entered

32) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-first *chüan* 卷, 金紫光祿黃(崇)公墓誌銘. Ibid., 黃(中)公墓誌銘.

33) *Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, the eighty-ninth *chüan* 卷, 華文閣學士陳(居仁)公行狀.

Fukien. If so, one would be the 12th generation ancestor and the other the 7th generation ancestor counted back from their descendants who were contemporaries at the beginning of the South Sung period. This would put the two dates too far apart. Whichever had been right, such a discrepancy may prove that it was not a historical fact. When viewed in this light, it would seem that, among those people mentioned above, there were many natives of this region who never actually emigrated, but later forged their origins by linking themselves to the historical affairs of Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih who emigrated to Min to found a kingdom. As treated in another article concerning Szechwan by the present author, this probably indicates the remarkable tendency between the middle of the Sung period and the South Sung period to trace the family lines as far back as possible. The chief difference here from the case of Szechwan bureaucrats is that those who claim themselves to be descendants of the T'ang bureaucrats are extremely few. This is because, as shown in the case of brothers Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih, those who emigrated from the Honan area into Fukien included a large number of powerful rural families and farmers. This would deserve our notice as a partial reflection of the fact. If so, however, even if linked to the emigration of the Wang family into Min, it would not serve to enhance the glory of the families as in the case of Szechwan. In spite of this fact, why did the native of this area claim that? Though they may have intended to link themselves to the Wang family, the founder and ruler of Min, what is more important is that they wished to be immigrants from other parts, especially of North China. As Fukien had been inhabited by non-Chinese people of South-Asian origins and development by Chinese had not been started until considerably later, the local bureaucratic families probably wanted to be considered Chinese, and what gave them a convenient pretext was the fact that many people had moved in from other parts of China.

## II. Those Recorded as Immigrants from Other Regions

There are a large number of men whose ancestors are recorded as immigrants from regions other than Kuang-chou, but in many cases the names of those immigrants are not given. Among these, few are of the earliest part of the Sung period, including Liu Jo-hsü 劉若虛, Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing 陳世卿, Fang Chieh 方偕, and Chang Mien 張沔. As to the ancestors of Liu Jo-hsü<sup>34)</sup>, the record

34) *Ts'ai Chung-hui kung chi* 蔡忠惠公集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 尙書屯田員外郎劉(若虛)公墓碣.

*Lung Yün hsien-shêng wên-chi* 龍雲先生文集, the thirty-second *chüan* 卷, 故劉先生(庚夫)墓誌銘.

*Hsi T'ang hsien-shêng wên-chi* 西塘先生文集, the fourth *chüan* 卷, 劉公南(庚夫)墓表.

gives the names and offices for four generations since Liu Hsien 劉暹, the elder brother to Liu Yen 劉晏 of the T'ang period, and says that those four generations lived sometimes at Ch'ang-an 長安, sometimes between Fên-chou 汾州 and Chin-chou 晉州; Liu Jo-hsü's great grand-father Chi 倭 became *chieh-tu p'an-kuan* 節度判官 of O-chou 鄂州; as the King's soldiers rose everywhere, he took his family and entered Min to settle down at Ch'üan-chou; Chi's son Wên-chi 文濟 (namely Jo-hsü's grandfather) moved to Fu-chou, married Wang Shên-chih's daughter and became a high official; Jo-hsü's father Fu 甫 served Wu-yüeh after the downfall of Min, but never served Sung; Liu Jo-hsü was the second son of Liu Fu, passed the *chin-shih* examination during the reign of Chên-tsung and served as an official. "The kings' soldiers rose in everywhere" would refer to the rebellion of the Ma 馬 family, if judged from the text quoted below. What is given after the great grandfather Chi's moving to Ch'üan-chou is probably true, while what precedes it seems to be based on something or other. In the case of Liu Kêng-fu 劉庚夫, namely a grandson of Liu Jo-hsü, who lived probably under the reign of Shên-tsung, there are two brief but different versions of the Liu family-tree. One says, in accord with the foregoing, that Kêng-fu was the 8th generation descendant of Hsien, the elder brother of Yen, who at the Five-Dynasty period was *chieh-tu p'an-kuan* of O-chou and settled down at Wên-ling during the rebellion of the Ma family; Hsien's son Wên-chi became a Min man to marry Wang Shên-chih's daughter; and as education offices (*hsüeh-kuan* 學官) were established in five *lu* 路 during Hsi-ning 熙寧, he was appointed to one of them. From this account it is evident that the above-mentioned "King's soldiers" referred to the rebellion of the Ma family. However, the other version says that Liu Yen of T'ang was succeeded from generation to generation down to the 4th generation ancestor of Liu Kêng-fu, who established his household in Min due to his official post. When considered in terms of generations, the 4th generation ancestor corresponds to Wên-chi but his name is not given in this version, as the names of those who precede him. Another discrepancy, that he is recorded as if posterior to Liu Yen, should not be regarded as a careless mistake on the writer's part, but rather as a case in which the name Liu Yen is employed to represent the family because of the power he once exerted as Prime Minister. In spite of this, there is no doubt that the family existed since the Five-Dynasty period as one of the hereditary officials. As for Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing<sup>35)</sup>, the record gives account of his family's origin at the beginning,

35) *Yuan-fêng-lei-kao* 元豐類藁, the forty-ninth *chüan* 卷, 秘書少監陳公神道碑.

It describes at the beginning his death in Hsiang-fu 祥符, his descent from Shun 舜, and Chou 周 and Ch'un-ch'iu 春秋 period. It reads: 其後居長葛者, 出于漢太丘令實之後, 唐之晚, 長葛之陳氏, 徙南劍州之沙縣, 公諱世卿, 曾大父昶大父昂, 父文餘公貴, 君熙寧進士, 葬沙縣.

In the above quotation he is described to be *chin-shih* 進士 in Hsi-ning 熙寧 era. Hsi-ning however is an era under the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗, and since it describes first his death in Hsiang-fu, *viz.* Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 under the reign of Chên-tsung 真宗, Hsi-ning must be a mistake. Yung-hsi 雍熙 is presumably the correct reading.

introducing him as the descendant of Ch'ên Shih 陳實 of Han; then the record says that the Ch'ên family of Ch'ang-ko 長葛 (Ch'ang-ko-hsien 長葛縣 in Honan Province) emigrated to Sha-hsien 沙縣 of Nan-chien-chou 南劍州 (Sha-hsien in Fukien Province) in the late T'ang. As for the great grandfather and grandfather of Shih-ch'ing, only the names are given, but the father is represented by his posthumous name Wên-yü-kung 文余公; Shih-ch'ing himself is said to have passed the *chin-shih* examination in the Hsi-ning era. Hsi-ning, as is stated in Note 35, must be a mistake; it must refer to Yung-hsi 雍熙 (984-987) in the reign of T'ai-tsung. From his posthumous title it may be inferred that Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing's father rose to a high post. It may be gathered, from these evidences, that the Ch'ên family arose as bureaucrats at the beginning of Sung when Shih-ch'ing's father flourished, not too far removed from the date of their migration to Fukien, if the record is referring to the civil war in the last day of T'ang by 'late T'ang'. Here, therefore, it may look a little suspicious that neither the name of the person who moved nor the date of the migration is given, although it must have taken place only about the time of Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing's great grandfather, on the analogy of the cases of families who are said to have moved in from Kuang-chou. However, it is recorded that Fang Chu-shu 方取述, *tz'ü-shih* of Ch'üan-chou of T'ang who was the 6th generation ancestor of Fang Chieh 方偕<sup>36)</sup>, a man who lived about under the reign of Chên-tsung or Jên-tsung, emigrated from Mu-chou 睦州 to Hsing-hua-hsien 興化縣 of Ch'üan-chou during the civil war at the end of the T'ang period. Omitting the two intervening generations, the record says that Fang Chieh's great grandfather Ching 京 assumed the post of *ch'ang-shih* 長史 of Ch'ing-yüan 清源 during the Wei-t'ang 僞唐 (False T'ang, namely South T'ang); grandfather Shou-yin 守經 became *chu-pu* 主簿 of Chang-pu-hsien 漳浦縣; father Ting 鼎 moved to P'u-t'ien 莆田 as he surrendered himself to Sung accompanying Ch'ên Chung-shun 陳忠順 at the beginning of the Sung period; and Fang Chieh himself passed the *chin-shih* examination. Again, as for the family of Chang Mien 張沔<sup>37)</sup>, leaving alone is antiquities, it is said that Yao 瑤, the son of Chang Tz'ü-yüan 張子員 of P'o-yang 鄱陽, moved to P'u-cheng 浦城 of Chien-an 建安. Then the record gives names of each generation from Yao's son Li 厲, the 5th generation ancestor of Chang Mien, down, and says that they served South T'ang until Chang Mien's grandfather; father died while young; Chang Mien himself assumed a government post. The date of Yao's immigration is not given, but by analogy with the case of Fang Chieh, it must be supposed that it was in the last days of the T'ang period. Both of these families are

36) *Ts'ai Chung-hui kung chi* 蔡忠惠公集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 光祿少卿方 (偕) 公神道碑.

37) *Kung-shih-chi* 公是集, the fifty-third *chüan* 卷, 朝散大夫刑部郎中張 (沔) 公墓誌銘.

recorded as having been in service for South T'ang, but the occupation of this area by South T'ang was some time after they conquered Min in the middle of the 10th century; as, prior to that, it was Min territory under the Wang family or the Kingdom of Yin 殷, it would be wrong to say that the family served South T'ang for two generations, or all those prior to the grandfather did. However, not only the names of the immigrants and their generations, but as in the latter case each generation is named; so it would not be wrong to admit them as records of facts.

A study of the records of those dated after the middle period of Sung shows that some comparatively early ones definitely state that their previous dwellings could not be known. As for the ancestors of Lin Chi 林積<sup>38</sup>, the record says in the opening section "Nothing is known about their origin"; that they, fleeing from the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao to Yen-p'ing 延平 at the end of the T'ang period, dwelt at Yu-ch'i 尤溪 (a *hsien* subordinate to Nan-chien-chou); those from Lin Chi's great grandfather down never served as officials; Lin Chi himself passed the *chin-shih* examination in the category *i-k'o* under the reign of Jên-tsung to serve as the very first official from this district. Again, as for Yü Pei 俞備<sup>39</sup> of Yen-p'ing 延平, the record says "Nothing is known about their origin"; and then that Yü Huai-chih 俞懷志 first came to and lived at Sha-yang 沙陽; neither his son Shou-ying 守瑩 nor his grandson Chi-lun 繼倫 served as officials, but Yü Pei himself, during the reign of Jên-tsung, failed at the State examination, but during the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗 was appointed an official under special consideration. As for the Hu An-kuo 胡安國<sup>40</sup>, his 5th generation ancestor entitled *Chu-pu-kung* 主簿公 emigrated to Chien-chou during the Five-Dynasty period and died there; nobody knew where he came from, but later tradition said it was somewhere in Chiang-nan 江南; neither Hu An-kuo's great grandfather Jung 容 nor grandfather Han 罕 served as officials; father Yüan 淵 became *Hsüan-i-lang* 宣義郎; and during the Shao-shêng 紹聖 era Hu An-kuo passed the *chin-shih* examination. Hu Hsien 胡憲, son of Hu An-kuo's cousin, is said to have been a man of Ch'ung-an 建州崇安; neither his grandfather Sung 聳 nor his father Ch'un 淳 served as officials; but Hu Hsien studied so assiduously that he was appointed a professor in the district academy (*chou-hsüeh chiao-shou* 州學教授). The records of these three families may be comparatively true to facts, but their ancestors' previous abodes are not given, and it is not definitely known who immigrated. Therefore, when the

38) *Yen-shan-chi* 演山集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 墓誌銘林 (積) 公.

39) *Yen-shan-chi* 演山集, the thirty-fourth *chüan* 卷, 法曹俞 (備) 君墓誌.

40) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 先公行狀 reads: 五世祖號主簿公, 五代中至建州之鷺子峯下, 釣魚自晦, 人莫知其祈來, 後世相傳云, 本江南人也, 云々.  
*Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-seventh *chüan* 卷, 胡 (憲) 公行狀.

records say that they immigrated from other regions, the statement is probably not based on any fact. Yet it is worth noticing that they make this kind of statement.

Apart from these, those of which the places of origin are not definitely given include the families of Chu Cho 朱倬 of the last days of the North Sung period, Sheh Yung 葉顥 of Early South-Sung period, Lü Fu-jên 呂夫人 and Hsü Hsü 徐詡 of South Sung; all of them, except Hsü Hsü, are represented as descendants of the T'ang bureaucrats, implying that their ancestors had moved in from other provinces. In his biography of the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 372), Chu Cho is recorded as the descendant of Ching-tsê 敬則, Prime Minister of T'ang; Chu Cho's 7th generation ancestor fled into Min, and became a man of Min-hsien 閩縣; generation after generation the family studied *I-ching*; Chu Cho passed the *chin-shih* examination in the 5th year of Hsüan-ho 宣和 (1123). As for Sheh Yung 葉顥<sup>41)</sup>, after briefly referring to the past of the family, the record says that, when many aristocrats of Central China moved to the south to escape the disaster of the civil war of Huang Ch'ao 黃巢, the Sheh family also settled down in Ch'üan-chou because of an official post there; when Ch'ên Hung-chin 陳洪進 surrendered himself to the Court at the beginning of the Sung period, Su 素, the 5th generation ancestor of Sheh Yung, accompanied him to the Court and was awarded *wên-hsüeh* 文學 of Ch'üan-chou; Pin 賓, Fu 傅 and Pao-ch'ên 寶臣, the great-great-grandfather, great-grandfather and grandfather of Sheh Yung respectively, served as officials; but T'ing 霆, his father, did not serve as an official; Sheh Yung himself passed the *chin-shih* examination during the South Sung period. As for the ancestors of Lü Fu-jên<sup>42)</sup>, it is said that they represented a celebrated family in Ho-tung 河東 in the T'ang period; during the Chien-fu 乾符 era (874-879), *Shih-yü-shih* 侍御史 Hang-li 行立 took refuge in Chien-yang 建陽 where he established his household; a hundred years after the founding of Sung dynasty, Lü Fu-jên's father Hsi-shuo 希說 passed the *chin-shih* examination, and served in several offices at the beginning of South Sung. As for Hsü Hsü 徐詡<sup>43)</sup>, his ancestors are said to have moved to P'u-chêng 浦城 of Chien-chou during the civil war of the late

41) *Ch'êng-chai-chi* 誠齋集, the one hundred and nineteenth *chüan* 卷, 尚書左僕射葉 (顥) 公行狀.

As to his life after the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao 黃巢, it reads: 自黃巢亂, 中原士夫避地南遷, 葉氏仕于泉因居焉.

There is his biography in *Sung-shih* 宋史, the three hundred and eighty-fourth *chüan* 卷. It describes that he was a man from Hsing-hua-chün 興化軍 Hsien-yü 僊遊 and became *chin-shih* 進士 in the Shao-hsing 紹興 era.

42) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety first *chüan* 卷, 夫人呂氏墓誌銘 reads: 建寧府建陽縣長平里人, 其先世於唐爲河東著姓, 乾符中有侍御史行之者. 避地始家建陽, 云々

43) *Ch'êng-chai-chi* 誠齋集, the one hundred and twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 江東運判徐 (詡) 墓誌銘.

T'ang and Five-Dynasty period. Though the names of the three generations from his great grandfather down are given, it seems that Hsü Hsü was the first person of the family to pass the *chin-shih* examination to be appointed an official. Of these, Chu Cho and Lü Fu-jên are described as the descendants of the central bureaucrats of the T'ang dynasty. If so, they may be inferred to have come from North China, especially from Ch'ang-an. As for the descendants of Chu Ching-tsê 朱敬則, the alleged ancestor of Chu Cho, a good deal is known concerning them down to the last days of the T'ang period. When it comes down to the Sung period, however, neither the Chu family nor the Lü family appears in historical records for a considerable length of time. In the case of Sheh Yung 葉頤, the history since the appointment of Su 素, the 5th generation ancestor, at the beginning of the Sung period, can be trusted; but nothing is said about the name of the man who settled down in Ch'üan-chou, or his relation with the 5th generation ancestor. Therefore, it is doubtful whether they were really the descendants of the T'ang bureaucrats. Also it could not be believed that they came to Fukien from other provinces.

Over against these, there are as many whose previous abodes are given. Among them, there are cases in which, as in those of Huang Chung-hsien 黃中羨 and Chang Tsai 章緯, the names of those who moved or their dates are not mentioned. The ancestors of Huang Chung-hsien<sup>44</sup> are said to have come into Fukien from Ch'ao-chou 潮州 (Ch'ao-an-hsien 潮安縣 in Kuang-tung 廣東 province.), lived first at P'u-ch'êng of Chien-chou and then moved to Shao-wu-chün 邵武軍; both Huang Chung-hsien's great grandfather and grandfather were known for their secret good conduct; father Mêng 蒙 was the first one of the family that passed the *chin-shih* examination; and he himself also passed it in Yüan-yü (1086-1093). As for Chang Tsai 章緯<sup>45</sup>, it is said that the family had lived at Yü-chang 豫章 for generations and later moved to Chien-an; during the time of South Sung, Ku 谷, Chang Tsai's 4th generation ancestor, became a *chin-shih*, but he failed to distinguish himself as an official; great grandfather P'in 頻 was appointed *Hsing-pu lang-chung* 刑部郎中; grandfather became *Li-pin-fu-shih* 禮賓副使 and moved to Su-chou 蘇州; father Tzŭ 棗 became *Tzŭ-chêng-tien hsüeh-shih* 資政殿學士; and Chang Tsai himself also served as an official.

There are other cases in which the accounts of the dates of migration are a little more detailed than in the foregoing, though only few of them give the names of those moved, using the number of generations instead. Those whose

44) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the eighty-ninth *chüan* 卷, 朝議大夫黃 (中羨) 公神道碑.

45) *Hung Ch'ing chü-shih wên-chi* 鴻慶居士文集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 宋故左朝奉大夫章 (緯) 公墓誌銘.

place of origin and dates of emigration are introduced are Huang Jên-tao 黃任道 under about the reign of Jên-tsung, Sheh Fên 葉份 and Wei Ch'ü-shih 魏處士 at the end of North Sung and at the beginning of South Sung, and Liu Tzū-yü 劉子羽 and his son Kung 珙 at the beginning of South Sung. As for the ancestors of Huang Jên-tao<sup>46)</sup>, they were people of Chiang-hsia 江夏 (Wu-chang 武昌, Wu-han 武漢 City, Hupeh province); the family emigrated in the civil war at the end of T'ang separately to Chiang-nan and Hsi-shu 西蜀 (Szechwan); those resided at P'u-ch'êng of Chien-an became a celebrated family, but no one was elevated to a high rank; Yüan-chi 元吉, the great grandfather of Jên-tao, founded the family tradition of Confucian learning; Chiao 覺, grandfather, passed the *chin-shih* examination and served as an official in the Sung period; Jên-tao's father, Ch'ien-shan hsien-shêng 潛山先生, failed in the State examination; in the Huang-yü 皇祐 era (1049-1053) Huang Jên-tao himself passed the *chin-shih* examination. The ancestors of Sheh Fên<sup>47)</sup> had lived at Chin-ling 金陵, but moved southward in the civil war of Five-Dynasties to Yen-p'ing; Sheh Fên's grandfather further moved to P'ing-chiang 平江 and established a household there; father passed the Examination in the category *chia-k'o* 甲科 during Hsi-ning and served as an official; Sheh Fên himself also was made an official through his father's influence. The ancestors of Wei Ch'ü-shih<sup>48)</sup> were people of Pien-chou 汴州 who took refuge in Fukien during the Five Dynasties and first lived at Ou-ning 甌寧; the *ch'ü-shih's* 4th generation ancestor *Pi-shu shao-chien* 秘書少監 moved to Chien-yang 建陽; great grandfather was a Confucian scholar; grandfather failed in the *chin-shih* examination; the father passed the examination toward the end of North Sung; but the *ch'ü-shih* himself died without an official title. As for both Liu Tzū-yü<sup>49)</sup> and his son Kung, their ancestors moved from Ch'ang-an to Chien-chou at the end of the T'ang period to settle down as a resident of Ch'ung-an-hsien 崇安縣; Su 素, Liu Tzū-yü's great grandfather, and Min-hsien 民先, grandfather, taught Confucianism; father Sui 遂 held various high offices during the early part of South Sung; Tzū-yü himself also was appointed an officer.

An instance in which all three, the place of origin, date and person, are mentioned is that of Ts'ao Chung 曹中<sup>50)</sup> at the end of North Sung. The family was originally from Shou-yang 壽陽 (a classical name for Shou-hsien 壽

46) *Wu-wei-chi* 無爲集, the fourteenth *chüan* 卷, 朝奉郎知汝州黃(任道)府君行狀.

47) *Yün-ch'i-ch* 筠谿集, the twenty-fourth *chüan* 卷, 墓誌銘龍圖閣直學士……葉(份)公墓誌銘.

48) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 處士魏君墓誌銘.

49) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the eighty-eighth *chüan* 卷, 少傅劉(子羽)公神道碑. *Ibid.*, 劉(珙)神道碑.

*Ibid.*, the ninety-seventh *chüan* 劉(珙)行狀.

50) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 左朝奉郎曹(中)君墓誌銘.



縣 in Anhwei 安徽 Province); Ts'ao Chung's 7th generation ancestor took refuge in Fukien escaping from the civil war of the Five-Dynasties and was buried at Sha-yang 沙陽, a reason why his descendants never left the district; both the grandfather and the father of Ts'ao Chung were awarded posthumous honors; and Ts'ao Chung himself passed the *chin-shih* examination toward the end of North Sung.

According to these records, one half of them place the dates of emigration at the end of the T'ang period, or the end of the T'ang period, while the other half place the dates at the civil war of Five-Dynasties, or simply at the Five Dynasties; all these datings are either ambiguous or uncertain. And Wei Ch'u-shih's 4th generation ancestor is reported to have become an official, but none of the rest were officials except the father. In the cases of those in the last days of North Sung or under South Sung, there are too long intervals between them and the migrations so that nothing is known about the affairs during the intervals; in spite of this, the accounts of the migration are rather detailed. Besides, the records of the middle part of North Sung clearly state often that their previous abodes are unknown, while those of the last days of North Sung and under the South Sung regime contain nothing to that effect. This is probably because, like the previously mentioned men recorded as emigrating from Kuang-chou, the natives of Fukien sometimes pretended that they had migrated from other provinces. And a study of the regions to which they migrated shows that, among those recorded as immigrants from Kuang-chou or Ku-shih-hsien, settlers in Fu-chou number a half and outnumber all others, with those in Ch'üan-chou in the second place. It may be inferred that this is a result of the close relation of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou to Brothers Wang-Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih, whom many had actually followed to live in these districts. Most of those reportedly coming from regions other than Kuang-chou or Ku-shih are found in Chien-chou; Ch'üan-chou and Nan-chien-chou follow it. This is, partly at least, because Chien-chou was the strategic point for the traffic connecting Fukien with Chekiang and Kiangsi. The fact, however, that, while other districts appear in the records of the early or Mid-Sung, Chien-chou does not appear too frequently until the late part of the North Sung or the South Sung period, makes us suspect some artificiality. This also would corroborate the theory of forged genealogies which has previously been discussed.

There are not too many who are said to have settled down in Fukien because of their appointment to official posts in this district; in some of those cases the records specify that they remained there on account of the civil war at the end of the T'ang period. It is recorded that Ch'ên Chiao 陳喬<sup>51)</sup>, who

51) *T'ang Huang hsien-shêng wên-chi* 唐黃先生文集, the sixth *chüan* 卷, 司直陳 (喬) 公墓誌銘 reads: 漢太丘長二十三世孫, 南安縣尉諱眞生處士薨, 薨生大理評事齊, ..... 有子九人皆力儒學, 公其長也, 諱喬, ..... 光啓二年收開, 三年榮登, 故相榮陽鄭 (誠) 公禮部上第大哉, ..... 閩帥 ..... 避之爲大從事, ..... 光化二年卒.

passed the *chin-shih* examination during the Kuang-ch'i 光啓 (885-887) in the last T'ang period, became the *ts'an-chün* 參軍 of Ching-t'iao-fu 京兆府 and was buried at P'u-tien 莆田 in Ch'üan-chou after he was appointed *ta-ts'ung-shih* 大從事 of a Fukien general; so he must have settled down in that district. He might have been transferred to the post in Fukien as he wished to escape the disaster of the last days of the T'ang dynasty. The ancestors of Ts'ui Chih-yao 崔致堯<sup>52)</sup> lived in Ch'ing-ho 清河; I-liang 翼亮, the 4th generation ancestor of Chih-yao, was four times Prime Minister in the T'ang period; Li 蠡, great grandfather, never served as an official; Hsün 潯, grandfather, was *Li-pu yüan-wai-lang* 吏部員外郎; I-億, father, proceeded to his post of the *hsien-ling* of Chien-yang 建陽 of Chien-chou, but confronted with the civil war of the whole country, he established his household in the district; toward the end of the T'ang period, Ts'ui Chih-yao, succeeding his father's profession, became an official; upon the downfall of the Dynasty, he led his officers and men southward, but perished on his way to Chien-an; his son passed the *chin-shih* examination and served the Sung Court. And as for Lin T'ê 林特<sup>53)</sup>, a man of the Five-Dynasty and early Sung, nothing is said about forefather; his grandfather Ling K'uei 林揆 serving Min became the *hsien-ling* of Nan-chien-chou and settled down there; Lin T'ê himself served South T'ang and Sung. These can be trusted as true facts. As for Liu Ch'ung 柳崇<sup>54)</sup> of the Five-Dynasty and Early Sung period, letting alone the question whether he was a descendant of the Liu family who prospered during the T'ang, the record says that his 5th generation ancestor Ao 奧 accompanied Mien 冕, an uncle who was appointed *kuan-ch'a-shih* 觀察使 by Min, to be *ssü-ma* 司馬 and later became *ch'ang-shih* 長史 of Chien-chou to live there; and after the four generations, Tan 誕, Ch'ung 瓊, Tsu 祚 and Têng 澄, Ch'ung himself once became *hsien-ch'êng* 縣丞 of the Min Kingdom; when the district was occupied by South T'ang, his son was appointed an official. This again may be fairly trusted because every generation is described. Besides, in the latter half of North Sung, P'an Ch'ang-yen 潘昌言 and Wang Yin 王廕 are found. As for the ancestors of P'an Ch'ang-yen 潘昌言<sup>55)</sup>, the record says that they were people of Jung-yang 滎陽; during the reign of Hsi-tsung 僖宗 (874-888) toward the end of the T'ang period, P'an Chi-hsün 潘季荀 became *t'ai-p'u-ch'ing* 太僕卿, was dispatched to Fu-chou as an official, but on account of the civil war established his home there; Chi-ao 季翽, his

52) *Hsü-kung wên-chi* 徐公文集, the thirtieth *chüan* 卷, 唐尚書水部郎中崔 (致堯) 君墓誌銘.

53) *Sung-shih* 宋史, the two hundred and eighty-third *chüan* 卷, 王欽若傳附林特傳.

54) *Hsiao-ch'ü-chi* 小畜集, the thirtieth *chüan* 卷, 建谿處士贈大理評事柳 (崇) 府君墓碣銘 reads: 五代祖奧從季父冕賡閩川, 因奏署福州司馬, 改建州長史遂家, 奧生誕, 誕生瓊瓊生祚, 祚生澄, 于公爲顯考, 公十方而孤, 母夫人丁氏嘗誨成人, 旣冠屬王審知據福建, 以公補沙縣丞, 時審知殘民自奉, 已沮李氏庵有江左, 其長子宜爲太子校書郎江寧縣宰 ……

55) *Chang Yu-shih wên-chi* 張右史文集, the sixtieth *chüan* 卷, 潘 (昌言) 奉議墓誌.

younger brother, became *t'ai-tzŭ ssŭ-i-lang* 太子司議郎; after two generations, both Ch'ang-yen's grandfather Chi-fu 吉甫 and grandfather Ch'ü 衢 became Sung officials; *Kê* 革, his father, did not serve; P'an Ch'ang-yen himself became an official. As for the ancestors of Wang Yin 王廕<sup>56)</sup>, the record says that Wu-kun 務琨 came there from Ho-tung 河東, became the *hsien-ling* of Ch'ang-ch'i 長溪, and never returned; nothing is said about the generations which succeeded him; Wên-fang 文昉, the 6th generation descendant (the great grandfather of Wang Yin), was appointed *Chao-tso-tso-lang* 著作佐郎, but refused to assume the post, and lived in retirement writing books; the 7th generation descendant Su 粟 (the grandfather of Wang Yin) modeled himself upon his father; To 度, the 8th generation descendant (the father of Wang Yen) failed in the *chin-shih* examination during T'ien-shêng 天聖; Wang Yin himself became a Confucian and instructed his son who later entered the *T'ai-hsüeh* 太學 (academy) during the reign of Shên-tsung. This account is somewhat doubtful. Moreover, as a case of a man sent as an envoy, is the ancestor of Li Ch'u-tao 李處道<sup>57)</sup> of the Mid Sung. His ancestors lived at Ch'ên-liu 陳留 of K'ai-fêng-fu 開封府; but during the Liang of the Five-Dynasty period, Ch'êng 澄 was sent as an envoy to Min and settled down at Lien-chiang 連江 of Fu-chou, whose descendants became residents of Fu-t'ang 福唐; The grandfather of Li Ch'u-tao was granted a posthumous honor; Yü-ch'ing 余慶, the father, died as the *chih-shih* 知事 of Ch'ang-chou 常州; so the family moved to Wu-hsien and Li Ch'u-tao himself passed the *chin-shih* examination during the reign of Ying-tsung 英宗.

### III. Those Recorded as Natives of Fukien

We may now take up those given as native sons of Fukien. The first Fukienese to become a *chin-shih* during the T'ang period was Hsüeh Ling-chih 薛令之 who passed the examination in the 1st year of Shên-lung 神龍 (705) and the

56) *Yen-shan-chi* 演出集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 太原居士墓誌銘 reads: 昔有王氏務琨, 由河東來爲長溪令, 遂不後去, 六世有文昉, 詣關獻萬言, 除著作佐郎, 爲蜀中官, 以其甚遠弗就, 爲山林計錄書萬餘卷以示, 厥後七世有粟, 承志不仕, 八世有度, 得祖所錄書而讀之, 天聖中, 應舉天府不第, 有子諱廕, 少而嘆曰, 吾祖有志而無命, 安用有涯之生, 而困于不可必之狗彘, 壯而改曰, 世爲儒家者流, 以廕, 而廢食可乎, 遂教其子應中, 帥族之賢有力者, 闢齋金, ……

57) *Chang Yu-shih wên-chi* 張右史文集, the sixtieth *chüan* 卷, 李 (處道) 參軍墓誌 reads: 先君子之友自言, 系出唐太宗, 五代時有澄爲梁使閩, 遂居晉福之連江, 今福唐人, 治平進士第, 云々.

*Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志, the sixty-second *chüan* 卷, 人物福州府, 李彌遜條 reads: 連江人, …… 其先唐宗室, 世居陳留, 撰七世祖永嘉令澄始遷連江, 祖餘慶知常州卒於官, 因徙居吳縣云々.

The above quotations do not coincide; the former describes that he entered government service with his great great grandfather, Yü-ch'ing 餘慶, and the latter describes that he entered government service when he moved to Lien-chiang 連江.

second one did not appear until Chên-yüan 貞元 (785–806) as previously stated. However, there are some others who may be regarded as bureaucrats dated from about the An Lu-shan Rebellion (755–763). And those recorded as moving here from the civil war of Yung-chia 永嘉 (311) prior to T'ang and others are discussed here for convenience' sake.

As for the ancestors of Yang Mou 楊某<sup>58)</sup>, they fled southward during the civil war of Yung-chia from Hung-nung 弘農 (in the south-west of Ling-pao-hsien 靈寶縣, Honan), crossing the Yangtzekiang; after several generations, the family settled down in Min-yüeh 閩越 (Fukien); Yang's great grandfather was appointed *ssü-ma* 司馬 of Hsün-chou 循州 of T'ang; grandfather was *chang-shih* 長史 of Chang-chou 漳州; father was *hsien-ch'êng* 縣丞 of Nan-an-hsien 南安縣 of Ch'üan-chou; Yang himself was appointed acting *ssü-ts'ang ts'an-chün* 行司倉參軍 of O-chou 鄂州. And the ancestors of Chêng Wan 鄭晚<sup>59)</sup> who died in the reign of Tê-tsung 德宗 (780–806) had originally lived at Jung-yang 滎陽; in the southern migration in the Yung-chia era, a distant ancestor further migrated from the bank of the Yangtzekiang to Fukien and settled down at Chin-chiang 晉江; as the record mentions official positions held by the great grandfather down it seems that the family had produced bureaucrats for generations; Chêng Wan himself married the younger sister of Ou-yang Chan 歐陽詹 but did not apply for the *chin-shih* examination. So much for the families which are said to have migrated in the civil war of Yung-chia.

Apart from these, the ancestors of Ou-yang Chan<sup>60)</sup> lived for successive generations in Fukien; his predecessors had been officials in Fukien, to say nothing of those who held such positions as *chou-tso* 州佐 and *hsien-ling* 縣令; Ou-yang Chan himself was respected and loved by Ch'ang Kun 常袞, ex-premier and *kuan-ch'a-shih* of Fukien, and in the 8th year of Chên-yüan (792) he passed the *chin-shih* examination as the first man from this district to be successful. His biography in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (Bk. 203) says that he was a man of Chin-chiang whose ancestors had all been *chou-tso* or *hsien-ling* (*chou-tso* was only a subordinate official).

Now, as records which describe only the men themselves, we may cite the biographies of Ch'ên T'ung-fang 陳通方 and Hsieh T'ung 謝瞳. Ch'ên T'ung-

58) *Ou-yang Hsing-chou wên-chi* 歐陽行周文集, the fourth *chüan* 卷, 行鄂州司倉參軍楊公墓誌銘 reads: 諱某, 先關右弘農人, 永嘉過江, 公自始遷之祖若干代, 處於閩越, 曾祖某云々. The official titles of his grandfather and the rest of his family are described after the sentence quoted above.

59) *Ou-yang Hsing-chou wên-chi* 歐陽行周文集, the fourth *chüan* 卷, 君子鄭 (晚) 公墓誌銘.

60) *Ch'ang Li hsien-sheng chi* 昌黎先生集, the twenty-second *chüan* 卷, 歐陽生哀辭. A quotation from *Min-ch'uan ming-shih-chuan* 閩川名士傳 in *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記, the two hundred and seventy-fourth *chüan* 卷, describes him: 泉州晉江人貞元登第.

fang<sup>61</sup>), a man of Min-hsien 閩縣, passed the State examination in the reign of Tê-tsung; but it is written that on account of a family trouble which forced him to return home, he lost the opportunity to rise to eminence. Hsieh T'ung's biography in the *Chiu-wu-tai-shih* (Bk. 20) says that he was a man of Fu-chou and failed to pass the *chin-shih* examination in the last T'ang period; as the rebellion of Huang Ch'ao 黃巢 broke out, he waited upon Chu Ch'üan-chung 朱全忠; then he was invited by Hsi-tsung who was in the Szechwan and was appointed *tz'ü-shih*; but again he followed Chu Ch'üan-chung. These men were all natives of Ch'üan-chou or Fu-chou, and it is remarkable that none of them came from Chien-chou in the interior. This means that the native bureaucrats rose first from the well-developed areas on the coast.

In the Five-Cynasty period, there were a few who served as officials in the north such as Chang Hsi 張錫 and Ch'ên Pao-chi 陳保極, but most Fukienese bureaucrats at that time became officials of the Min Kingdom and also of the South T'ang that conquered Min.

Chang Hsi, according to the biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 262), was a man of Min-hsien 閩縣 of Fu-chou, was invited to be *chün-shih p'an-kuan* 軍事判官 of Liu Chün-to 劉君鐸 when the latter was the *tz'ü-shih* of Ti-chou 隸州 toward the end of the Liang Dynasty, and after serving in several offices during the Chou and Sung Dynasties became an official in the central government. Also Ch'ên Pao-chi, according to his biography in the *Chiu-wu-tai-shih* (Bk. 96), he was a man of Min-chung 閩中 who passed the *chin-shih* examination during the T'ien-ch'êng 天成 era (926-929) in the Hou-t'ang 後唐 period and was invited to be *ts'ung-shih* 從事 of the King of Ch'in 秦王 and was later appointed *Li-pu yüan-wai-lang* 禮部員外郎, etc., but was relegated in the Chin 晉 period.

Among those who served in the Min government, there were Ch'ên Tê-ch'êng 陳德成, Hsieh Tê-ch'üan 謝德權, P'an Shên-hsiu 潘慎修. The list seems to include many families who rose to bureaucracy by means of military services. The ancestors of Ch'ên Tê-ch'êng 陳德成<sup>62</sup> were for generations great leaders in Chien-an; as the Min Kingdom declared independence, both Mao-hsin 茂新, Tê-ch'êng's great great grandfather, and T'ao 滔, grand-father, served as generals with their valor and talent; Hui 誨, father, became *chieh-tu-shih* of Chung-i-chün 忠義軍; Ch'ên Tê-ch'êng himself was appointed *Yu-ch'üan-niu-wei Chiang-chün* 右千牛衛將軍; during the reign of South T'ang, Ch'ien 倩, his son, was appointed

61) *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記, the two hundred and sixty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 陳連方條記事. *Ch'un-hsi-san-shan-chi* 淳熙三山志, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 人物類科名, 貞元十年條 also describes him: 閩縣人, 終南陵院官.

62) *Hsü-kung wên-chi* 徐公文集, the sixteenth *chüan* 卷, 唐忠義軍節度建州觀察等使陳公 (德成) 墓誌銘 reads: 先顯川人, 帝賜餘烈, 俟滿崇封, 故我洪胄代雄建安, 王室中微, 閩方角立, ..... 我曾祖茂新 ..... 滔皆以雄才勇略, ..... 文誨檢校太尉兼侍中建州刺史忠義軍節度使, 先公遣公入宿衛, 即擢拜右千牛衛將軍, 云々.

*chao-tso tso-lang* 著作佐郎 for consideration of his ancestors' past services. This means that the family turned to civil services during the reign of South T'ang. Hsieh Tê-ch'üan 謝德權, according to his biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 309), was a man of Fu-chou; his father Wên-chieh 文節 served the Min and was appointed *hsien-ling* of Hou-kuan, then *t'uan-lien-shih* 團練使 of Jao-chou 饒州; later he was killed in the battle with the Sung forces; Tê-ch'üan himself was appointed *chuang-chai fu-shih* 莊宅副使, and after he surrendered himself to Sung, he was appointed *hsün-chien* 巡檢 of Shensi, *ti-hsia san-ssü ya-ssü* 提轄三司衙司, etc. Unlike these two, the family of P'an Shên-hsiu 潘慎修, it seems, rose as civilians from the beginning. According to his biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 296), he was a man of P'u-t'ien-hsien 莆田縣 of Ch'üan-chou; his father Ch'êng-yü 承祐 first served Min Kingdom, then submitting himself to Chiang-nan Kingdom 江南國 (South T'ang), rose to be *hsing-pu shang-shu* 刑部尚書; P'an Shên-hsiu himself was appointed an official on his father's merit; and later he served for the Sung court in many offices and was specially promoted as *chih-chou* 知州, *yu-chien-i tai-fu* 右諫議大夫, etc.

There were many more families who rose to eminence under South T'ang; it is to be observed that they served as civilian officials from the beginning. As for Chiang Wên-wei 江文蔚<sup>63)</sup> of South T'ang, apart from the claim that his ancestors were men of Kao-ch'êng 考城 of Chi-yang 濟陽 who produced dutiful children, loyal ministers and great generals during the Han and South Dynasties period but later transferred their domicile to Chien-an to escape a civil war, the record says that they were a noted family in Chien-an; both Pi 毗, Wên-wei's grandfather, and Ch'in 秦, father, made it a family constitution to lead a life of secret virtue and integrity; but Chiang Wên-wei rose to a high post in the South T'ang government. Again, Liu Ch'ang-yen 劉昌言, according to his biography in the *Sung-shih* (Bk. 267), was a man of Nan-an 南安 of Ch'üan-chou who was devoted to learning in youth and was invited to be *Kung-ts'ao ts'an-chün* 功曹參軍 by Ch'ên Hung-chin 陳洪進, the *chieh-tu-shih* of Fukien; later he pledged allegiance to Sung, and, passing the *chin-shih* examination, was appointed *chih-chou*, etc. Besides these, there are some men of the Sung period whose ancestors had been officials in the South T'ang govern-

63) *Hsü-kung wên-chi* 徐公文集, the fifteenth *chüan* 卷, 唐翰林學士江(文蔚)君墓誌銘 reads: 其先濟陽考城人也, ..... 在漢者爲孝子, 在宋者爲忠宰, 在梁者爲列將, 在陳者爲詞臣, 長城旣封, 淮水亦絕, 辭周粟而遠鶩, 避嬴亂而深藏, 徙籍建安, 世爲大姓, 至於我王考毗考秦, 皆以隱德清操, 垂爲門風, 惟公嗣奕葉之賢, 有生知之異, ..... 我烈祖高皇帝王業始於江東 ..... 署宣州觀察巡官, ..... 遷水部員外郎, 云々.

ment. The ancestors of Wu Mou 吳某<sup>64</sup> were a great family in Chien-an; Wu's great grandfather and grandfather served the Li 李 family of Chiang-nan 江南 Kingdom as *ch'ang-shih* of Chien-chou and *li-pu yüan-wai-lang* 吏部員外郎 respectively; father was *chün-shih-t'ui-kuan* 軍事推官 of T'ing-chou 汀州; but pledged allegiance to Sung and became *chu-pu* of Hsin-chêng-hsien 新鄭縣; as Wu's father died while he was young, he did not serve as an official; but his son became an official. Again, Chang Yu-chih 章友直<sup>65</sup> of about the reign of of Jên-tsung was also a man of Chien-an; since his great grandfather was appointed *chün-shih-t'ui-kuan* 軍事推官 of Chien-chou under the Li family of Chiang-nan, his grandfather became *chao-tso tso-lang* 著作佐郎 of Sung and father *chieh-tu p'an-kuan* 節度判官 of Ching-t'iao-fu; Chang Yu-chih traveled various districts; and his son passed the *chin-shih* examination. A great deal later appears Huang Tzŭ-yu 黃子游<sup>66</sup> around the end of North Sung and the beginning of South Sung. His family is said to have originated from the Huang family of P'u-ch'êng 浦城 and was a well-known family in Fukien; Yüan-chi 元吉, his 5th generation ancestor, served the Li family of Chiang-nan and noted for his poetry, though the posts he held are not record; Kuan 觀, the 4th generation ancestor, became *ssü-li ts'an-chün* 司理參軍 of Ch'üan-chou 全州; Hsiao-hsien 孝先, the great grandfather, became *t'ai-ch'ang po-shih* 太常博士 and was buried at Yüan-chiu 宛丘 of Ch'ên 陳 (Huai-yang-hsien 淮陽縣 in Honan Province); and the descendants settled down at Yüan-chiu: Hao-ch'ien 好謙, the grandfather, was appointed *chih-shih* of Ying-chou 潁州; and Huang Tzŭ-yu himself was appointed *ch'ao-ch'ing-tai-fu* 朝請大夫. From this record it may be inferred that the family lasted as one of the civil officials since the South Sung period.

The foregoing instances would serve to tell one of the differences between the Min and South Sung regimes; in the former there were a number of those who came following Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih all the way from the Kuang-chou district in Honan, and as the country was militaristic, a number

64) *Lin Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-fourth *chüan* 卷, 吳處士墓誌銘 reads: 諱某字某某其先建安大姓, 曾大父諱某, 建州長史, 大父諱某館驛巡官, 檢校尚書吏部員外郎, 皆江南李氏所置也, 方李氏時, 吏部府君之父子, 同時仕江南者以十數, 至君之考諱某, 始以汀州軍事推官, 歸選於朝, 主鄭之新鄭簿, 君少孤 . . . . . 有子三人, 甫·申·冉 . . . . . 三人者皆以進士貢於鄉, 而申爲太平州軍事推官云々.

65) *Lin Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-first *chüan* 卷, 建安章 (友直) 君墓誌銘.

66) *Shêng-ch'i-wên-kao* 省齋文藁, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 朝請大夫致仕 . . . . . 黃公子游墓誌銘.

The epitaph of Huang Jên-chien 黃仁儉, Court Gentleman-Advisor and son of Huang Tzŭ-yu 黃子游, (奉議郎黃君墓誌銘) in *Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, the one hundred and third *chüan* 卷, 墓誌銘條 describes about him: 本出建寧浦城谿東之族, 慶曆皇祐間高祖銀青仕于中原, 因家于陳之宛, 云々.

of them rose to eminence as soldiers, while in the latter as soon as the conquerors began to rule, they employed a great many natives and, the State being bureaucratic, a number of them rose to eminence as civilian officials. And the fact that those who became officials in the South T'ang regime were generally Chien-chou natives deserves our notice in this contrast that most of those recorded as the followers of Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih during or at the end of the T'ang period were found in Fu-chou or Ch'üan-chou. There is a political reason for this, because while Chien-chou occupied a strategic point for those entering Fukien by land from the direction of Chekiang and Kiangsi, there existed no such relation as between the Founder, the Wang family and the people of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou in founding the Min regime. Probably another reason is that, because Chien-chou was located in a remote interior, it was developed later than Fu-chou or Ch'üan-chou.

Even in the Sung period, there were only a few native bureaucrats at the beginning. It is said that the ancestors of Chang Shih 張式<sup>67</sup> originally lived at P'u-ch'êng of Chin-chou, but later moved to Chien-an; for three generations none served as officials; Chang Shih's father accompanied the son on his studies outside the district and helped the latter to pass the *chin-shih* examination during the T'ien-hsi 天禧 era under the reign of Chên-tsung; There appear more and more after Jên-tsung 仁宗 of the middle period; in some cases are guessed the circumstances as well as are given the dates of the new rise to bureaucracy as the man himself, or his father, or his grandfather, or his great grandfather is recorded as a newly appointed official. There are few bureaucratic families which could be considered lasting ever since the Five-Dynasty period. The rest date from the Sung period, mostly from after the middle of the Sung period. It may be noticed that so many are recorded as natives. Among them, as for the middle North Sung period, there are Ch'ên Chu 陳洙, Ts'ai Hsiang 蔡襄 and Yü Tso 游酢; and, as for the last part, Chiang Ch'i 江琦, Wêng Yen-shên 翁彥深, Chu Tsung 朱宗, Lin Hsiao-tsê 林孝澤 Hsieh Fu 謝孚, Wei Ch'u-shih 魏處士 and C'hên Ju-i 陳汝揖.

Ch'ên Chu 陳洙<sup>68</sup> of about the time of Jên-tsung was a man from Chien-yang 建陽 of Chien-chou; Jên-lu 仁魯, his great grandfather, is recorded as *ta-li p'ing-shih* 大理評事; Ying-ch'i 應期, grandfather, and Shang 商, father, were granted a posthumous honor; Ch'ên Chu himself is said to have given up to his younger brothers the positions he was to be appointed on account of his father's meritorious services, implying that the father rose to a high position.

67) *Lín Ch'uan hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 臨川先生文集, the ninety-second *chüan* 卷, 司封郎中張(式)墓誌銘.

68) *Ku-ling hsien-shêng-wên-chi* 古靈先生文集, the twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 殿中御史陳(洙)公墓誌銘.



He himself is said to have passed the *chin-shih* examination and to have served in several offices. The appointment of the great grandfather may go back to the beginning of the Sung period or even to the Five-Dynasty period. Again, Ts'ai Hsiang 蔡襄<sup>69</sup> of about the time of Jên-tsung is definitely stated to have been a farmer's son at Hsien-yu; Hsien 顯, his great grandfather, did not serve; both Kung 恭, grandfather, and Hsiu 綬, father, were granted a posthumous honor, probably on account of Hsiang; he passed the *chin-shih* examination in the reign of Jên-tsung and rose to a high post; there followed his descendants one after another who passed the *chin-shih* examination or were appointed officials on account of their fathers, and the family prospered through the Sung regime. Though they are represented as farmers, they were probably landlords or rich farmers. Yu Tso 游酢<sup>70</sup> was a man of Chien-yang of Chien-chou 建州建陽; neither Shang 尙, his great grandfather, nor Li-chih 禮之, grandfather, served; Ch'ien 潛, father, was granted a posthumous honor; Yü Tso himself passed *chin-shih* examination in the 5th year of Yüan-fêng (1082) under the reign of Shên-tsung and was promoted to *yü-shih* 御史; and his son is also recorded as becoming an official.

Toward the end of the North Sung period, Chiang Ch'í 江琦<sup>71</sup> lived at Pei-lo-li 北樂里 in Chien-yang-hsien of Chien-chou; his great grandfather and grandfather became teachers in the community, and in the late years he was decorated by special favor as *chu-pu* of *chiang-tso-chien* 將作監: father passed the *chin-shih* examination; Chiang Ch'í himself was granted the qualification of *ch'u-shên* 出身 in the 3rd year of Hsüan-ho 宣和 (1121) and became a professor in the *chou-hsüeh* 州學 of Yung-chou 永州. Hsieh Fu 謝孚<sup>72</sup>, also a man of Chien-an of Chien-chou, had great grandfather and grandfather who endeavored to increase the family wealth; and it was his father who for the first time in the family turned to the learning and instructed children; Hsieh Fu himself passed the *chin-shih* examination in the Yüan-fu era and was appointed official; and his son was also given a position on account of the father. From these records it may be seen that the family amassed wealth and attained learning for several generations before they rose to bureaucratic eminence. Again, Wêng

69) *Ts'ai Chung-hui kung chi* 蔡忠惠公集, the first *chüan* 卷, 東越文苑蔡襄條 reads: 仙遊農定子也, 天聖八年舉進士開封第一, .....

The inscription of 中大夫蔡公伸神道碑 in *P'ing-yüan-hsi-kao* 平園續藁, the twenty-third *chüan* 卷, reads: 按蔡氏世定興化軍之仙遊, 自公會祖刑部侍郎綬而上, 隱居不耀, 忠惠公拔起田間, 未冠擢甲科, 其弟高景祐進士第云々.

Ts'ai Shên 蔡伸 is Ts'ai Hsiang's 蔡襄 grandson and Ts'ai Min's 蔡旻 son. Chung-hui-kung 忠惠公 is Ts'ai Hsiang himself.

70) *Yu Chi-shan hsien-shêng chi* 游麴山先生集, the first *chüan* 卷, 年譜 and 御史游(酢)公墓誌銘.

71) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 左宣教郎江(琦)君墓誌銘.

72) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 朝請郎謝(孚)君墓誌銘.

Yen-shên 翁彥深<sup>73)</sup> lived at Po-sui 白水 of Ch'ung-an-hsien of Chien-chou; his great grandfather did not serve; grandfather was granted a posthumous honor; father became *ch'ao-fêng-lang* 朝奉郎; he himself was given the *ch'u-shên* of a *chin-shih* in the Shao-shêng 紹聖 era. Chu Tsung 朱宗 was of the Chu family of Hsien-yu-hsien that had moved there from their original abode P'ei under some unknown circumstances; Ying 榮, great grandfather, did not serve as an official; Tuan 端, grandfather, was granted a posthumous honor; Fu 紱, father, was *chi-shih-chung* 給事中; Chu Tsung himself was appointed *t'ai-miao chai-lang* 太廟齋郎 on account of his father's meritorious services, was promoted to a *hsien-wei* 縣尉 in the 2nd year of Ch'êng-ho 政和 (1112), and finally rose to high position. Ch'ên Ju-chi 陳汝楫<sup>74)</sup> was a man of Kan-hua-li 感化里 in Yung-fêng-hsiang 永豐鄉 of T'ung-an-hsien 同安縣 of Ch'üan-chou; neither Chu 珠, great grandfather, nor Yen-ssü 彥嗣, grandfather, served as officials; Hsi 禧, father, was granted a posthumous honor; he himself was granted a *shang-shê ch'u-shên* 上舍出身 in the 8th year of Ch'êng-ho (1118) and rose to *ch'ao-san-lang* 朝散郎. Lin Hsiao-tsê 林孝澤 was a man of P'u-t'ien 莆田; neither Chih 質, his great grandfather, nor Fu 傅, grandfather, served as officials; Hsüan 選, father, became a *ch'êng-i-lang* 承議郎; he himself passed the *chin-shih* examination in the Hsüan-ho era and served as an official.

At the beginning of the South Sung period, such native Fukienese as Chiang Ch'ing-ch'ing 江清卿, Ch'ên Chün-ch'ing 陳俊卿, Huang Yü 黃隅, and Chang Wei 張維 are found. Also, though not from a bureaucratic family, an interesting instance is that of Lu T'ang 陸棠. Chiang Ch'ing-ch'ing<sup>75)</sup> was a man of Chien-yang of Chien-chou, who established his estate at Pei-lo-li; Ts'ê 測, his great grandfather, was appointed a *chu-pu* of *chiang-tso-chien* 將作監; Li 立, grandfather, *tso-ch'ao-fêng-lang* 左朝奉郎; and Ch'i 琦, father, *tso-hsüan-chiao-lang* 左宣教郎 *chou-hsüeh chiao-shou* 州學教授; Chiang Ch'ing-ch'ing himself could not pass the *chin-shih* examination, gave up the idea of becoming an official, and died in the 14th year of Ch'un-hsi 淳熙 (1187). Probably the appointment of his great grandfather as *chiang-tso-chien chu-pu* took place in the last days of North Sung. It seems that, because the services of the family lasting for three generations were not quite enough to earn a position for the son, he gave up the idea of serving the government upon failing in the examination. As for

73) *Fei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the twenty-sixth *chüan* 卷, 右朝奉大夫翁 (彥深) 公神道碑.  
*Hung Ch'ing chü-shih wên-chi* 鴻慶居士文集, the thirty third *chüan* 卷, 宋故朝散大夫直祕閣朱 (宗) 公墓誌銘.

74) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-seventh *chüan* 卷, 陳 (汝楫) 公行狀.  
*Ch'êng-ch'i-chi* 誠齋集, the one hundred and twenty-fifth *chüan* 卷, 墓誌銘林運使孝澤.

75) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-third *chüan* 卷, 江君清卿墓誌銘.

Ch'ên Chün-ch'ing, 陳俊卿<sup>76)</sup> at the beginning of South Sung, it is claimed that his ancestors had originally lived in Ying-ch'uan 潁川, of whom in the civil war of Yung chia chung-lang-chiang 中郎將 K'uei 逵, the grandson of t'ai-wei 太尉 Ch'ên Chun 陳準, migrated to Ch'üan-chiang 泉江 in the south (Sui-ch'uan-hsien 遂川縣 in Kiangsi Province); apart from this, it is said that, after the T'ang and Five-Dynasty period, Ch'iao-hang 嶠沆, the 22nd generation descendant of the t'ai-wei, first resided at P'u-t'ien; since the I-kung 沂公, Ch'ên Chün-ch'ing's great grandfather, the family liked to do charity; he himself passed the chin-shih examination during the Shao-hsing 紹興 era and rose to a high position. Another record says that Ch'iao-hang, the 12th generation, first appears in inscriptions, but the time too remote for details. It seems that the family had become gradually powerful since about the time of his great grandfather until he came to be an official. Chang Wei 張繼<sup>77)</sup> was a man of Chien-p'u 劍浦 of Nan-chien-chou 南劍州; his was a rich family reputed for charity works; neither his great grandfather, grandfather, nor father served the government; Chang Wei himself passed the chin-shih examination in the Shao-hsing era. The ancestors of Huang Yü 黃禹<sup>78)</sup> were originally people of Chang-lo 長樂 of Fu-chou, but later migrated to the east of the city of Fu-chou and settled down at Min-hsien; this took place six generations before the time of Huang Yü; neither Hui 徽, his great grandfather, nor Shih 時, grandfather, served the government; Nan-chung 南仲, father, had tried the li-pu 禮部 examination 7 times, but had failed every time; Huang Yü himself passed the chin-shih examination in the Shao-hsing era and became an official. Moreover, Lu T'ang 陸棠<sup>79)</sup>, a man of Chien-an of Chien-chou, entered the t'ai-hsüeh 大學 (Academy

76) *Ch'êng-ch'i-chi* 誠齋集, the one hundred and twenty-third *chüan* 卷, 墓誌銘陳公俊卿. *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-sixth *chüan* 卷, 行狀 is another description. 陳俊卿條 describes that Ch'ên 真 in the nineteenth generation from the transfer to the South of the Chin 晉 dynasty and Chiao-hang 嶠沆 in the twenty-second generation appear for the first time in the epitaph, but they are not known in detail from the description because of the long distance of age. It also describes that Ch'ên-kung's 陳公 family likes to practice charity since I-kung's 沂公 (his great grandfather) days.

77) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-third *chüan* 卷, 張 (維) 公墓誌銘.

78) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the ninety-third *chüan* 卷, 朝散黃 (瑀) 公墓誌銘 reads: 先世居福州長樂縣, 後乃徙家郡城之東, 爲閩縣人六世矣, 曾祖徽祖時不仕, 父南仲七度試禮部不偶, 以公故贈官, 云々.

79) *F'ei-jan-chi* 斐然集, the thirtieth *chüan* 卷, 陸棠傳 reads: 建州建安人, 家素貧, ..... 既冠負書遊學至鄒魯間, 及入太學一試高等, 聞 ..... 楊公駕說荆楚, 則羸粮往從之, 舍於逆旅朝暮執弟子禮, ..... 家人每從屏戶間聆其講讀, 喜謂公白, 陸秀才脩潔博習士也, 以次女妻之, 棠既托身君子之門, .... 年逾四十未得第, 時時轉販以歸養, 且自給, 識者非之, ..... 宣和末罷三舍法, 復科舉取士, 棠自度遲暮恐終蹉跎, 會中官梁師成, 竊主文柄, 網羅遺書, 充御前文籍, 置官設屬, 有白衣試員, 棠往預焉, 居一歲補迪功郎, 未幾考慈皇帝履極, 盡召遺賢將革宿弊, ..... 中丞許公建白清汰雜流冗濫者, 棠既羞悔其前舉, 又懼見奪, 奔走權要自營, 日不暇食, 棠又大喜, 然終不敢就銓選, 值國有戒事, 越東南兵, 棠念惟軍功可取賞 .....

He could not pass the *k'o-chü* 科舉 examination after all efforts. He became sometimes a middleman and was censured. Later he lost confidence in the *k'o-chü* examination and entered government service from a different line. At the beginning of South Sung 南宋, his dismissal from office was informed to the Emperor, and he gave up his promotion and intended to begin life as a warrior. It is interesting to know his life which is an example how those who failed the *k'o-chü* examination lived.

and married the second daughter of Yang Kung-chia 楊公駕; but as he failed to pass the *chin-shih* examination though he had reached forty years of age, he supported himself as a trader, thus drawing criticisms from the intelligent public. These cases of Huang Nan-chung and Lu T'ang, as well as the previously cited case of Chiang Ch'ing-ch'ing, demonstrate the importance of and difficulty in passing the *chin-shih* examination in order to become an official and lead a family to prosperity. Especially, Lu T'ang's deserves attention as a case in which one, after despairing of passing the examination, took to trade as a means of gaining profit.

Besides, there are some bureaucratic families who rose in this district, but had moved elsewhere before tombstone inscriptions were written. As previously mentioned as a case in which a family migrated to Fukien from another district, the family of Chang Tsai 章緯<sup>80)</sup>, as stated, had produced officials, ever since the appointment of his great grandfather during the South T'ang period, when his grandfather Chang Fang 章訪 was a *li-pin fu-shih* 禮賓副使; the family moved to Wu-hsien 吳縣 of Su-chou. The tombstone inscription for Chang Chung 章綜, the younger brother of Chang Tsai, says that ones who had emigrated to P'ing-chiang 平江 were most eminent. As for Wu Shun-chih 吳順之<sup>81)</sup> of the late North Sung and early South Sung, it is said that his ancestors were people of Chien-an; Wu Fang 吳方, his great grandfather passed the *chin-shih* examination along with his brothers during the T'ien-shêng 天聖 era and was appointed an official: An-hsing 安行, grandfather, was a *tso-ch'ao-i tai-fu* 左朝義大夫; and Shih 似, father, was a *hsien-ch'êng* of San-yüan-hsien 三原縣; Wu Shun-chih himself was appointed on account of his grandfather. Since in the meanwhile the elder brother of the great grandfather had his father buried in Chêng-chou 鄭州, and Ch'ung 充 the younger brother was also buried in K'ai-fêng, a number of the Wu families in Chien-an had their domiciles registered in the north; for this reason, Wu Shun-chih too had become a man of Lo-yang. And as for Fan Ju-kuei 范如圭<sup>82)</sup>, a man of Chien-yang-hsien of Chien-chou, it is said that neither Li-ch'ien 履謙, his great grandfather, nor Pu-chih 補之, grandfather, served the government, but lived in retirement;

80) *Hung Ch'ing chü-shih wên-chi* 鴻慶居士文集, the thirty-third *chüan* 卷, 宋故左朝奉大夫章(緯)公墓誌銘.

81) *Shêng-ch'i-wên-kao* 省齋文藁, the thirty-first *chüan* 卷, 靖州太守吳君順之墓誌銘.

82) *Chu-wên-kung wên-chi* 朱文公文集, the eighty-ninth *chüan* 卷, 范(如圭)公神道碑 reads: 建州建陽人, 曾大父皆隱德不仕, 父舜舉始登進士第, 云々. *Ibid.*, the ninety-fourth *chüan* 卷, 范直閣(其圭)墓記 reads: 曾大父履謙大父補之, 父舜舉從事郎, 大父以上世家建州建陽縣之由原, 光大父始居潭濱, 遂爲荊門軍當陽縣人, 云々. Only Fan Ju-kuei 范如圭 is described in *Sung-shih* 宋史, the two hundred and eighty-first *chüan* 卷, 本傳, according to which he learned from his wife, a daughter of Hu An-kuo 胡安國, a famous scholar.

Shun-chü 舜舉, father, passed the *chin-shih* examination, served as an official and settled down at Ching-mên-chün 荊門軍; at the beginning of South Sung, Fan Ju-kuei himself also passed the examination in the category *i-k'o* 乙科. Judging from this, his father must have become an official some time toward the end of the North Sung period. Moreover, there are still some families who had migrated somewhere a great deal before and then rose to bureaucracy; but it would be more proper to refer to them in a discussion of the districts to which they migrated.<sup>83)</sup>

From these records it seems that some Fukienese natives succeeded as officials at the beginning of the Sung period, more after the middle of the period, and still more at the South Sung period. It is to be noticed that every one of them, in first rising to bureaucracy, had to go through the *chin-shih* examination. The reason why most of them came from Chien-chou is probably because, as discussed some paragraphs above, Chien-chou was an important but remote city in the interior and did not enjoy such historical relations as Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou had with Wang Shên-chih who had migrated there from Honan to found a kingdom accompanied by a large number of immigrants, thus creating a situation favorable for the natives who wanted to claim their Chinese descent, while Chien-chou had few such Chinese immigrants, suppling its natives with no convenience for the forgery of their genealogies and forcing them to admit the historical fact.

#### IV. Those Who Passed State Examinations and Their Genealogies

From the foregoing we have seen that many of the newly-risen bureaucrats in the Fukien region had passed the State examinations, mostly the *chin-shih* examination, to rise to the bureaucracy, and that once a man was appointed an official, in a large number of cases, the status was quite often continued for

83) According to *Fu-hsi-chi* 浮溪集, the twenty-seventh *chüan* 卷, 贈左大中大夫陳 (彥恭) 君墓誌銘, Ch'ên Yen-kung 陳彥恭 lived at the end of Sung 宋. His ancestor settled at P'u-yang 莆陽 in Min 閩 and later moved to Ku-su 姑蘇 (Wu-hsien 吳縣 of Kiangsu). His great grandfather, Chiang 絳, became *tso-ssü-chien* 左司諫 in the reign of Chên-tsung 眞宗. Both his grandfather, Tung-chih 動之, and his father, T'ung 侗, were officials. T'ung lived in the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗 and died in the Chien-yen 建炎 era of South Sung 南宋. His son also entered government service.

According to *Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, the ninety-fifth *chüan* 卷, 寶謨閣待制陳 (傳良) 公神道碑, an ancestor in the eighth generation of Ch'ên Fu-liang 陳傳良 who was a famous bureaucrat at the beginning of South Sung moved from Min 閩 to Fan-yu-hsiang 帆遊鄉, Jui-an-hsien 瑞安縣, Wên-chou 溫州. He entered government service and made his fortune.

two generations or more. However, what affords a more concrete key in this field is the *Jên-wu-lei k'o-ming-piao* included in the *Ch'un-hsi San-shan-chih* (Bk. 26 ff.), a topography of Fu-chou. This includes not only the names of those who passed the *chin-shih* examination, the examinations of other categories (*chu-k'o* 諸科) and the names of those especially recommended (*t'ê-tsou-ming* 特奏名) since the 5th year of the Yüan-fêng era (1082) under the reign of Shên-tsung, but also the denominations—fathers, sons, brothers, nephews, and other blood relationships. The following table is based upon this *k'o-ming-piao* and indicates first the numbers of those who passed the *chin-shih* and other examinations, along with the *t'ê-tsou-ming* for reference, arranging them according to each reign of North Sung emperors under which they succeeded in the examinations; next those who passed the State examinations for first time in their family and provided successors for two or more generations, diagrammed in two classes, direct descendants and collateral descendants, brothers being given in a separate column; and finally the numbers of those who passed the State examination and who belong to the families which produced successful examinees for more than two generations, also similarly classified and diagrammed, along with the ratios with the total numbers of the above-mentioned successful examinees.<sup>84)</sup> The figures in parentheses in Column B indicate the cases interrupted with breaks among the total numbers of direct descendants who produced successful examinees for more than two generations. The figures in parentheses in Column B indicate the cases in which the following successful examinees are represented as great grand-nephews. The figures in circles in Column C indicate the cases represented as great grand-nephews and second cousins, descendants, third cousins, clansmen, grandsons of a third cousin, etc.

According to this table, until the middle of the North Sung period, the reign of Jên-tsung which was the longest, those who passed the *chin-shih* examination overwhelmingly outnumber others. After that, those of other categories of examination increased, but those of the *chin-shih* decreased. After Chê-tsung 哲宗, those of other categories are missing. This is probably due to the revision, during the reign of Shên-tsung, of the system of the State examination and education, the combination of the *chin-shih* and *chu-k'o* examinations (though

84) In 科名條 of *Ch'un-hsi san-shan-chih* 淳熙三山志, Lin Chi 林機 who is Lin Ti's 林迪 father is not found among successful candidates in Yüan-yü 元祐 6 (1091), and neither Hsü Yen 徐琰 who is Hsü Ho's 徐合 father nor Ch'ên Jung 陳榮 who is younger brother of Ch'ên Wêng 陳翁 is found among successful candidates in Shao-shêng 紹聖 1 (1094) and in Hsüan-ho 宣和 3 (1121) respectively.

Chu Ting-ch'ên 朱鼎臣 who is Chu Ting-hsieh's 朱庭傑 uncle and a successful candidate in Ch'ung-ning 崇寧 5 (1106) is supposed to be a mistake of Chu Chi-ch'ên 朱穉臣 who is a successful candidate in Hsi-ning 熙寧 3 (1070), and the author omitted the both.

Emperors		T'ai-tung	Chên-tung	Jên-tung	Ying-tsung	Shên-tsung	Chê-tsung	Hui-tsung
Years		22	25	41	4	18	15	25
A	<i>Chin-shih</i>	8	32	102	19	51	83	258
	<i>Chu-k'ò</i>		2	13		20		
	( <i>T'e-tsou-ming</i> )					(28)	(21)	(116)
Sum total of <i>Chin-shih</i> and <i>Chu-k'ò</i>		8	34	115	19	71	83	258
B	More than 2 generations in the direct lines	4 (2)	8 (2)	18 (4)	6 (2)	8	4	2
	More than 2 generations in the collateral lines	0	1	2 (1)	1	2	8	3
	Brothers			3		1	4	7
Total		4	9	23 (1)	7	11	16	12
C	Numbers of the persons who belong to the Direct lines for more than 2 generations			20	1	10	21	39
	Numbers of the persons who belong to the Collateral lines for more than 2 generations			9	2	2	14	40 (9)
	Brothers		7	6	2	3	6	15
Total			7	35	5	15	41	103
D	Sum total of the ones in the direct lines in B and C	4	8	38	7	18	25	41
Ratio D/A		0.5	0.24	0.33	0.37	0.25	0.30	0.16
E	Sum total of B and C	4	16	59	12	26	57	115
Ratio E/A		0.5	0.47	0.51	0.53	0.37	0.68	0.45

the latter was partly restored later), and also due to the introduction of the *san-shê-fa* 三舍法 for the purpose of intensification of school education.

Consequently, the number of the *chin-shih* examinees increased after the reign of Chê-tsung, especially during the reign of Hui-tsung the number more than doubled that during the reign of Jên-tsung and even exceeded the sum total of those from the reign of Jên-tsung to that of Chê-tsung. The *t'ê-tsou-ming* represent only those after the reign of Shên-tsung.<sup>85)</sup> They again increased a great deal under the reign of Hui-tsung. If both the *chin-shih* and the *t'ê-tsou-ming* under the reign of Hui-tsung are combined, the number is almost 400; it is evident that the system was extremely abused. What deserves our attention is those who passed the State examination for the first time and brought the family to the bureaucratic status, and whose sons, grand-children, or others passed the State examination for more than 2 generations. According to the Line B of the table, those in direct lines increased gradually after the reign of T'ai-tsung, with good many under the reigns of Jên-tsung and Shên-tsung. This reflects an increase of those who newly rose to bureaucracy in the Fu-chou region in those days. A considerable decrease of the number under the reign of Hui-tsung toward the end of North Sung period is because the table does not include those whose descendants passed the examinations. That there were many of them may be guessed from the fact that during the reign of Hui-tsung there were considerably more brothers who passed the examination compared with those under other reigns. Next, the number of those who served for more than 2 generations was considerably large under the reign of Jên-tsung; it was a little less under the reign of Chê-tsung; and under the reign of Hui-tsung larger than the total of those under the two reigns. If you come to think that these, including the brothers, are centered round the officials for more 2 generations, you will find here a material for supposing the stabilization of the bureaucracy toward the end of North Sung. Again in the reign of Hui-tsung, not only nephews but also rather distant relatives such as cousins, second cousins, nephew's sons, distant cousins, etc., considerably increase. This shows a tendency to grant blood relatives the qualifications abusively as well as an aspect of clannish unity intensified in the form of making inroads into the government personnel. The ratio D/A is exceptionally as high as 50% at the time of T'ai-tsung; under the other reigns, the ratio is naturally lower; yet under the regime of Jên-tsung and Shên-tsung it reaches 30%. If those in collateral lines are added, the ratio will be higher under the reign of Chê-tsung; if the reign of Ying-tsung with the fewest years in power is excepted, the reign of Jên-tsung comes next in order, with 50%. That it is so low under the reign of Hui-tsung, is

85) *T'ê-tsou-ming* 特奏名 were described from Yüan-fêng 元豐 5 (1082) under the reign of Shên-tsung 神宗, and the reason of its description is: 是歲府學題名始書寫特奏名



chiefly due to the fact that, as previously mentioned, the table does not extend itself beyond the last days of North Sung.

Among these, those which extend for 4 generations (including collatetrl lines) are Li Ya-hsün 李亞荀, Liu Jo-hsü 劉若虛, Liu T'ien-hsi 劉天錫, Ch'ên Chien-nêng 陳簡能, Lin Kao 林高, Ch'ên Hsiang 陳象, and Brothers Lu Kuang and Lu I; those extending for 3 generations number about twice as many. Single families producing 5 or 6 men who passed the examination include those of Li Ya-hsün, P'an Ch'ü 潘衢, Liu Pi 劉僖, Yü Ch'ing 余清, Ts'ui Têng 崔登, Huang Min 黃敏 and Ch'ên Kung-ch'i 陳公器; Lin Kao's family produced 12 persons; Lu Kuang's produced even 13 persons.<sup>86</sup> 3 or 4 brothers who passed the examination were the four grandsons of Lin Kao, Chu Min-chung 朱敏中 and his three brothers, the three grandsons of Han P'ing 韓丙, the three grandsons of Lu I, Liu I-chien 劉易簡 and his two brothers, Ch'ên Hsiang-tao 陳祥道 and his two brothers, Ch'ên Kung-ch'i 陳公器 and his two brothers, and Huang T'ang-tso 黃唐佐 and his two brothers.

As for the length of time through which the families prospered, of the 4 families which produced successful examinees under the reign of T'ai-tsung and continued to produce for more than 2 generations, the families of Li Ya-hsün of the 1st year of the Tuan-kung 端拱 (988), and of Li T'an-jan 李坦然 of the 1st year of Ch'un-hua 淳化 (990), though the latter has a break in the interval, continued to produce successful examinees until the reign of Hui-tsung at the end of North Sung. Again, as those who produced successful examinees under the reign of Chên-tsung and also under the following reign of Jên-tsung, we find the families of Lin Hsiu-fu 林休復 of the 3rd year of Hsien-p'ing 咸平 (1000) and Wang P'ing 王平 of the 3rd year of T'ien-hsi 天禧 (1019); and all the rest of those families which produced their first successful examinees under the reign of Chên-tsung kept going on until the reign of Hui-tsung at the end of North Sung; the descendant of Ch'ên Chien-nêng 陳簡能 of the 5th year of Ta-chung-hsiang-fu 大中祥符 (1012) is recorded as a kinsman of his grandson, and that of Lin Kao of the 8th year of the Ta-chung-hsiang-fu (1015), as a grandson of his nephew; and other families continued until the reign of Chê-tsung. Under the reign of Jên-tsung, the number of such hereditary successful examinees considerably increased; among the families which produced their first successful examinees under that reign, we find those of Chang Wu 張沃 of the 2nd year of T'ien-shêng 天聖 (1024), Wu Chün-yü 吳君瑜 of the 1st year of Huang-yü 皇祐 (1049), and his brother, and Li P'ing 李平 of the 5th year of T'ien-shêng (1027) and his son; the families which continued to produce successful examinees until the reign of Chê-tsung were those of Chan Yü 湛俞 of the 5th year of

86) See notes 17 and 34. Epitaphs and inscription of tombstones which appeared in the the notes are not to be redescribed, if not indispensable.

Ching-yu 景祐 (1038), Ch'ên Ku 陳固 of the 6th year of Ch'ing-li 慶曆 (1046) and his son, Li Fu 李敷 of the 1st year of Huang-yu (1046) and his son, Lin Han 林罕 of the same year and his nephew, and Chang Chien-mêng 張肩孟 of the 5th year of the same era (1053)—five in all. The other ten-odd families continued to produce to the reign of Hui-tsung, including such as those of Chiang Chieh 江階 of the 5th year of the T'ien-shêng era (1027) lasted until the reign of Ying-tsung, Chêng Chu 鄭洙 of the 1st year of the Ching-yu era (1034) until the reign of Chê-tsung, Wu Chou-ch'ing 吳周卿 of the 5th year of the Huang-yu era (1053) until the reign of Shên-tsung, and Chêng Yün 鄭暈 of the 4th year of the Chia-yu 嘉祐 era (1059) until the reign of Chê-tsung, with a *t'ê-tsou-ming* during the reign of Hui-tsung for each one of them. Under the reign of Ying-tsung, there appeared three families which produced their first successful examinees with the sons who passed the examination until the reign of Chê-tsung, and three which produced the firsts with the sons, sons of nephew or the grandsons until the reign of Hui-tsung. After the reign of Shên-tsung, many continued until the reign of Hui-tsung; not only those in the reign of Hui-tsung, but also those in the previous reign of Chê-tsung, covered, as a rule, with two generations the time to the end of North Sung. It would be rather dangerous to draw a hasty conclusion from the above-discussed phenomenon, for it is possible that some families which arose in the earlier part of the Sung period but cannot be traced down to the end of North Sung, took advantage of the system of special appointment on account of the ancestors' meritorious services; however, judging from the fact that there were a considerable number of the families which had to resort to the *t'ê-tsou-ming* system in keeping up themselves until the end of North Sung, it may be safe to guess that many of them had gone downhill. This is confirmed by the tombstone inscriptions to be referred to later on. On the other hand, it is certain that many continued until the end of North Sung, especially those posterior to the reign of Shên-tsung. When this is considered in connection with the above-stated fact that more than 40% of the ones who passed the examinations toward the end of North Sung, were those who continued for more than 2 generations in the direct line as well as the collateral, it is evident that the consolidation of the bureaucratic stratum had considerably advanced by the end of North Sung.

The foregoing is what has been learned from those who passed the State examinations in Fu-chou. In order to investigate the matter in the other regions, we may once more take up the tombstone inscriptions in Fukien and examine and supplement the items concerning the descendants previously omitted, including those appointed on account of their ancestors and other privileges.

Among those recorded as immigrants, there are about ten families from Kuang-chou of Honan, of which those who continued till the end of North

Sung were two, namely the families of Chêng Chieh and Wu Shêng-tien; and if those who then rose as military men, namely Liu Kuang and Su I, are added, the number will be four. The two latter families date from the end of T'ang or the Five-Dynasty period, and Chêng Chieh's also dates from about the middle of Sung. Those recorded as immigrants from the regions other than Kuang-chou number about fifteen; those who lasted until the last days of North Sung were Liu Jo-hsü, Huang Jên-tao, Lin Chi, Chêng Chieh, Fu Chi, Huang Chung-hsien, Hu An-kuo and Sheh Yung; the family of Liu Jo-hsü dates from the Last T'ang and Five-Dynasty period and that of Sheh Yung from the beginning of Sung. Among those who, officially transferred, settled down, we find Ch'ên Ch'iao, Liu Tsung, P'an Ch'ang-yen and Li Ch'u-tao 李處道; as to the last it is written that their sons were students or were '*chü-chin-shih* 舉進士', suggesting that those who are said to be the '*chü-chin-shih*' most probably were appointed as officials. Among those, native officials number over twenty, of whom those who lasted until the last days of Sung include the families of Huang Tzû-yu, Ch'ên Yen-kung, Wu Shun-chih, Huang Jên-chien, Wêng Yen-shên, Hsieh Fu, Lin Hsiao-tsê and Chiang Ch'i; Huang Tzû-yu's and Ch'ên Yen-kung's continued from the beginning of Sung, and Huang Jên-chien's and Wu Shun-chih's from the middle of the regime.

Let us study this a little more concretely. Wang Yen-ssü of the Five-Dynasty and Early-Sung period was a nephew of Wang Shên-chih and had a grandson who passed the *chin-shih* examination toward the end of Jên-tsung's reign. Liu Jo-hsü is reported to be from a bureaucratic family lasting since the T'ang and Five-Dynasty period.<sup>87)</sup> As for the dates of the families' rise to bureaucracy, Chang Mien's, a contemporary of Liu Jo-hsü, was some time prior to his grandfather; Li Hsü-chou's of the time of Chên-tsung and Jên-tsung was his father's generation; Fang Chieh's of the same time and Brothers Lu Kuang and Lu I's and Wang Hui's of the time of Jên-tsung were their great-grandfathers' generation; and Su Sung's was the generation of his great-great-grandfather who had held civil and military offices in the Five-Dynasty period.<sup>88)</sup> Except Li Hsü-chou who was through the influence of his father who had passed the *chin-shih* examination and had been appointed an official, all the rest passed the *chin-shih* examination themselves. A son of Lu Kuang was appointed on account of the father's services and Hsien-yüan 憲元, son of Lu I, passed the *chin-shih* examination. The sons of Li Hsü-chou and Fang Chieh also became officials. Wang Hui's family can be traced down to his nephew who passed the *chin-shih* examination and became an official. Therefore, it may be seen that they lasted

87) See note 86.

88) See notes 37, 18, 36, 16, 9, 10, 11, 19, 20 and 21.

as bureaucratic families for a considerable length of time, though little is known about them toward the end of North Sung. Again, Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing of about the time of Chên-tsung, and Ch'ên Hsiang and Chêng Mu of about the time of Jên-tsung all passed the *chin-shih* examination; Ch'ên Hsiang's father was appointed an official; Ch'ên Shih-ch'ing's father was so eminent a man that he was posthumously called *Wên-yü-kung* 文余公; Ch'ên Hsiang and the rest had their sons appointed as officials; and Chang Tsai was of a family which had always produced officials since his great grandfather.<sup>89)</sup> Though lasted for a long time, it seems that their conditions at the end of North Sung are not definitely known.

Since, however, the above-mentioned Li Hsü-chou had the sons K'uan 寬 who became *ssü-hsün yüan-wai-lang* 司勳員外郎 *t'i-tien Ching-hu-pei-lu hsing-yü* 提點荊湖北路刑獄, and Ting 定 who became *k'u-pu yüan-wai-lang* 庫部員外郎 *chih-Nan-k'ang-chün* 知南康軍, it is most probable that the sons of these sons also succeeded as officials until the end of the Sung period. Especially, it is known that Liu Jo-hsü, according to the tombstone inscription of his grandson Kêng-fu 庚夫 of about the reign of Shên-tsung, had a great grandson who became an official. Along with this family, the family of Su Sung, whose father had been recommended for *hsien-liang-fang-chêng* 賢良方正, prospered till the end of North Sung. Su Sung became Prime Minister to Chê-tsung; not only he had 6 sons and 5 grandsons who became officials, but his son Hsi 攜 was appointed an official on account of the father; also appointed officials were Hsi's sons, grandsons, and great-grandson Su Pi 蘇玘 who was appointed on account of his ancestors and died during the Shao-hsi 紹熙 era (1190-1194), and his son. As for Sheh Yü 葉遇<sup>90)</sup>, not only he, but his great great grand-father also had passed the *chin-shih* examination in the reign of Chên-tsung, and every member of the family, except his father who happened to live at the end of North Sung, became an official. Again, of such people as Huang Jên-tao and Lin Chi who passed the *chin-shih* examination during the reign of Jên-tsung, Chêng Chieh during the reign of Ying-tsung, Wu Shêng-tien and Fu Chi during the reign of Shên-tsung, and Huang Chung-hsien and Hu An-kuo during the reign of Chê-tsung.<sup>91)</sup> Huang Jên-tao had a grandfather who had passed the *chin-shih* examination; Chêng Chieh had a father who had been appointed an official with *wu-ching ch'u-shên* 五經出身; Hu An-kuo had a father who had been appointed a *hsüan-i-lang* 宣義郎; also as for their sons, like Fu Chi's son who passed the examination, most of them were appointed as officials. As Chêng Chieh's son died young, his grandson was appointed an official, thus keeping up the family

89) See notes 35, 25, 26, 22 and 45.

90) See note 41.

91) See notes 46, 53, 24, 29, 12, 44 and 40.

until the end of Sung. The father of Sheh Fên<sup>92)</sup> of the end of North Sung and at the beginning of South Sung, passed the *chin-shih* examination in the category *chia-k'o*; Sheh Fên himself failed twice in the examination, but was appointed on account of his father, and his descendants also served as officials.

Now let us turn to the natives of this region. The ancestor of Ch'ên Tê-ch'êng 陳德成 of the Five-Dynasty period first rose as a soldier: his son became an official of South T'ang. As for Wu Ch'u-shih of the early Sung period, his ancestor served the South T'ang regime during the Five-Dynasty period; his father held several posts in the Sung regime; he himself lost his father early and did not serve as an official, but his son became an official. Again, Chiang Wên-wei also became a high official under the South T'ang regime, so did his son. However, nothing is known about the later history of these families.<sup>93)</sup> Also Chang Shih, Ch'ên Chu, Yu Tso and Ch'ên Ch'í<sup>94)</sup> who respectively passed the *chin-shih* examination under the reigns of Chên-tsung, Jên-tsung, and Shên-tsung, became officials along with their sons. Especially, as Chang Shih's son passed the *chin-shih* examination, and his grandfather and father had also been appointed as officials, it seems that the family had prospered ever since the Five-Dynasty period or the beginning of the Sung period. Again, it was probably the case with Chang Yu-chih of about the reign of Jên-tsung; he did not serve as an official, but his son did.<sup>95)</sup>

Apart from these families, Huang Tzŭ-yu<sup>96)</sup>, a man of the South Sung period, was from a family which had served as officials since the Five-Dynasty or Early Sung; his 4th generation ancestor of the time of Chên-tsung, great grandfather, and grandfather had all passed the *chin-shih* examination, and his descendants also became officials and were one of the leading families for a long time. As for the family of Ts'ai Hsiang<sup>97)</sup> who passed the *chin-shih* examination during the reign of Jên-tsung, his descendants for 5 generations until Ts'ai Tuan, his grand-son, and great grand-son, extending into the South Sung period, became *chin-shih* officials as many as eight members of the family. The great-grandfather of Ch'ên Yen-kung<sup>98)</sup> of the last days of the North Sung regime, had passed the *chin-shih* examination under the reign of Chên-tsung and appointed an official, and Yen-kung's son also became an official. His contemporary Wu Shun-chih also had a great-grandfather who became an official under the reign of Jên-tsung. The family of Huang Jên-chien 黃仁儉 of the South Sung regime

92) See note 47.

93) See notes 62, 64 and 63.

94) See notes 67, 68 and 70.

95) See note 65.

96) See note 66.

97) See note 69.

98) See note 83 and 81.

had produced officials in every generation ever since his great-great-grandfather was appointed in the reign of Jên-tsung. The family of Chiang Ch'ing-ch'ing had been officials since his great grandfather. These are the families of which dates of origin go back quite far. What may be pointed out from these examples is that, apart from a few since the Five-Dynasty or Early Sung period, there are, generally speaking, not too many to be traced down to the end of North Sung among the families which arose at early times, while those increase among the families which arose at later times; this phenomenon resembles somewhat to what has been observed in the case of Fu-chou. The reason why little is known about the descendants of many men who rose to bureaucracy under the reign of Jên-tsung, may be partly that more tombstone inscriptions were written under the same reign than at any other time. Some of the men, who passed the *chin-shih* examination and brought their families to prosperity, often had sons or grandsons who were appointed as officials on account of the ancestors. As a rule, the records describe the descendants rather briefly, except whether they were appointed officials or not. Therefore, the situation is not quite clear, yet it would seem that the system of the appointment on account of ancestors' services as well as that of *t'ê-tsou-ming* was utilized more frequently than imagined in maintaining their family status.

## Conclusion

We have seen that during the civil war in the last days of the T'ang regime, Brothers Wang Ch'ao and Wang Shên-chih of the powerful families in Ku-shih-hsien of Kuang-chou in Honan, rose in arms, moved into Fukien and grew so powerful in Ch'üan-chou and Fu-chou that they finally succeeded in founding the Min Kingdom. Naturally, a large number of people of Honan, especially of the Kuang-chou district, migrated to the two districts, Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou, and also some others of other districts moved in, chiefly to the Chien-chou district during the civil war toward the end of the T'ang period and at the Five-Dynasty period. Among those people who came from districts other than Kuang-chou, there were some who might be regarded as descendants of the T'ang bureaucrats; but compared with those in the case of Szechwan, they were considerably fewer in number. Truth may be that the majority of the those who claimed to be immigrants were actually powerful families and farmers of the districts in their origin.

A considerable number of families rose as soldiers centering round Min during the Five-Dynasty period; and whether in the sense of defending their home area or otherwise, a large number of men turned bureaucrats in the South T'ang period or at the beginning of the Sung period. It would seem

that they were seldom descendants of the T'ang soldiers. In the South T'ang period there appeared men who brought their families to eminence by becoming officials. This was also observed among the natives of Fukien as the chief difference from the case of Min. It may be considered to reflect the growth of bureaucrats in the South T'ang period. However, as Sung rose in the north and unified the whole China, the Fukienese bureaucrats are rather trifling in number at the beginning of the regime, but increases from about the reigns of Jên-tsung and Shên-tsung to the end of North Sung and to South Sung; and at the latter part the records are much detailed in giving their previous abodes, dates of their migration, and numbers of their generations, sometimes claiming to be descendants of T'ang bureaucrats. This is probably because about that time there developed a tendency to value genealogies and this involved a number of cases of forgery.

On the other hand, unlike the case of Szechwan, most of those described as natives of Fukien are from Chien-chou. This shows that, though in the previous case of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou so many migrated with Wang Shên-chih and others and in founding the Min Kingdom that the natives there were pushed aside by them, only a few actually moved into this district. The reason why Chien-chou had so overwhelmingly many who were recorded as natives, is that, as it had few historical incidents convenient for pretention as in Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou, they had to admit their native origins. Viewed in this light, this will corroborate that some natives of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou had falsely claimed to be immigrants who had accompanied Wang Shên-chih and others from North China.

Again, in the Sung period, passing the State examinations, especially the *chin-shih* examination, meant a great deal for the purpose of bringing a family to prosperity; for once a man rose to a fairly good post, his descendants, even his family members in a broader sense, could easily become officials by means of the appointment on account of ancestors or others. If we count in collateral lines, the family status would quite often extend for more than 2 generations. A study of the successful examinees from Fu-chou will show that such men reached about 50%; and according to the tombstone inscriptions, it seems that their family status even more often lasted much longer, if the appointments on account of ancestors and others are counted in, this being the case, some families maintained their bureaucratic status from the Five-Dynasty period or the earliest part of the Sung period to the end of North Sung. Generally speaking, however, more families of the early period, it would seem, had declined by the end of North Sung. Nevertheless, after the reign of Shên-tsung, if an appointment lasted for more than 2 generations, the status generally lasted till the end of the North Sung regime. These newly-risen bureaucrats joined those

from earlier times, and the abuse of official appointments at the end of the Sung regime helped the consolidation of the bureaucratic stratum.