

On the Theory of *Na*-Tone Five Elements in the Daybooks of *Shui Hudi Qin Bamboo Slips*

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The text titled “Gan zhi” 干支 in the daybooks of *Shui Hudi Qin Bamboo Slips* is important material for the theory of *Na*-Tone Five Elements. According to comparative studies on excavated bamboo and silk slips, it should be renamed “Yu xuyu” 禹須臾 or “Yu xuyu xing xi” 禹須臾行喜. This is the earliest material found on the *Na*-Tone Five Elements, which proves that the theory of Sixty *Jiazi Na*-Tone was developed no later than the late Warring States period. On this basis, this paper argues that the order of bamboo slips nos. 224–237 is problematic, and proposes a new sequence according to the piece titled “Ru guan” 入官.

Keywords: daybooks of *Shui Hudi Qin Bamboo Slips*, theory of *Na*-Tone Five Elements, *Yu xuyu* 禹須臾, *Ru guan* 入官, compilation

Indigenous Elite Networks and Mongol Governance in Thirteenth-century North China*

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In this paper, I reconstruct the epistolary network of Han literati in the northern territories during the thirteenth-century Jin-Yuan transition. As a base, I used two hundred letters in a collection titled *Zhongzhou qizha* 中州劄 (Epistolary writings of the central plain). In response to a recent study which suggested the dissolution of literati networks after the demise of the Jin dynasty in 1234, I show how literati across different regions in the North maintained connections with each other through letters. I further discuss how Qubilai’s system of patronage, with the help of several key brokers in the epistolary network, transformed parts of the literati network into an indigenous network of political elites after 1260; and this network, in turn, contributed to Mongol governance and administration in the North.

Keywords: Mongol empire, elite networks, Qubilai, North China, Epistolary Research

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1. Introduction

In less than half a century, the Mongols established an empire across Eurasia. How did they administer the empire's vast territories? Historians have attributed the success of the Mongols in maintaining the empire to their effective mobilization of resources and flexible adoption of various indigenous traditions of governing in different conquered territories.¹ In what is now North China, the Mongol ruling elites, with the help of Han literati, adopted the so-called "Han ruling methods" (*hanfa* 漢法) to govern. The Mongols labeled the population in the territories of the defunct Jin regime (1115–1234) as "Han people" (*hanren* 漢人) irrespective of their ethnic background such as Jurchen or Khitan. On the basis of this definition, I define Han literati as scholars, (1) whose native place was under the jurisdiction of the Jin; (2) who practiced the culture of traditional scholarly elites; and (3) who were educated to follow the basic values and moral standards of the Confucian school. The reasons behind Qubilai[Kublai]'s 忽必烈 (1215–1294, r. 1260–1294) employment of Han literati and his adoption of Han measures to govern have been extensively discussed in existing bodies of secondary literature.²

- 1 David Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 108–11; John Joseph Saunders, "The Nomad as Empire-BUILDER: A Comparison of the Arab and Mongol Conquests," in *Muslims and Mongols*, ed. G. W. Rice (Christchurch: University of Canterbury, 1977), 36–66, esp. 46–49; Thomas T. Allsen, *Mongol Imperialism: The Policies of the Grand Qan Möngke in China, Russia, and the Islamic Lands, 1251–1259* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Michal Biran, "The Mongol Transformation: From the Steppe to Eurasian Empire," *Medieval Encounters* 10, nos. 1–3 (2004): 339–61; and most recently *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and their Eurasian predecessors*, eds. Reuven Amitai and Michal Biran (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015).
- 2 See Morris Rossabi, *Khubilai Khan: His Life and Times* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 28–36; Herbert Franke, "From Tribal Chieftain to Universal Emperor and God: The Legitimation of the Yuan Dynasty," in chapter 4 of his *China under Mongol Rule* (Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1994), 4–85. For specific studies relating to the Yuan adoption of the administrative structure of previous dynasties that ruled China, see David M. Farquhar, *The Government of China under Mongolian Rule: A Reference Guide* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart, 1990), 1–11; Elizabeth Endicott-West, *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1989), 3–15. For detailed discussions of Han literati who served the Mongols, see *In the Service of the Khan: Eminent Personalities of the Early Mongol-Yüan Period (1200–1300)*, eds. Igor de Rachewiltz et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993); Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing 蕭慶, "Hubilie 'qiandi jiulu' kao" 忽必烈「潛邸舊侶」考, in his *Yuandai shi xintan* 元代史新探 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1983), 263–302; and Zhao Qi 趙琦, *Jin Yuan zhiji de rushi yu hanwenhua* 金元之際的儒士與漢文化 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2004), 251–97.

Yet the following questions remain unanswered: How did the Mongols recruit Han literati? How did the latter manage to assume influential positions in the Mongol administration? Through a detailed analysis of a rare collection of letters that has yet to attract scholarly attention, I attempt to explore the extent to which an analysis of Han literati networks help solve the above two questions.

Recently Wang Jinping 王錦萍 has argued that networks of Han literati who relied on the patronage of the Jurchen Jin state power dissolved after the Mongol conquest in 1234. Instead, non-literati social groups like religious clergymen, villagers, and women formed networks and contributed to social stability in local communities, which in turn facilitated the Mongol governance in China.³ In contrast to Wang who substantiates her arguments with evidence from modern Shanxi, another scholar Ong Chang Woei 王昌偉 focuses on literati in Guanzhong 關中 (modern Shaanxi). Unlike Wang who considers the impact of the literati on Mongol governance was limited, Ong suggests that Guanzhong literati during the Jin-Yuan transition were "very 'officially' oriented, with many perceiving incorporation into the bureaucracy as their ultimate goal."⁴ Considering an extra-bureaucratic space unnecessary, these men of letters promoted court-centered activism and a top-down political hierarchy.⁵ This in turn facilitated efforts by the Mongols to establish a centralized bureaucracy with reference to the Han tradition. Different scholarly perceptions on literati during the Jin-Yuan transition suggest that we need to rethink the social, political, or intellectual roles that literati played in thirteenth-century North China.

To what extent were literati networks dissolved after the demise of the Jin dynasty? I have reconstructed the epistolary network of literati in the Jin-Yuan transition through an examination of two hundred letters in a collection titled *Epistolary Writings of the Central Plain* (*Zhongzhou qizha* 中州 劄, hereafter

- 3 Wang Jinping, "Between Family and State: Networks of Literati, Clergy, and Villagers in Shanxi, North China, 1200–1400" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 2011). In another recently published article, Wang also discusses the cultural impact of religious networks in the Jin-Yuan transition period by showing how the networks of Complete Perfection Daoist monastic institutions and lay followers facilitated the printing of a massive Daoist canon in 1244. See Wang Jinping, "A Social History of the *Treasured Canon of the Mysterious Capital* in North China under Mongol-Yuan Rule," *East Asian Publishing and Society*, 4, no. 1 (2014): 1–35.
- 4 Ong Chang Woei, *Men of Letters within the Passes: Guanzhong Literati in Chinese History, 907–1911* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2008), 206.
- 5 Ibid., 76–131.