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Qizhi Zhang
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Contents

1 A Scientific Approach to the Origins of Chinese Civilization 1
1.1 Emperors Huang and Yan: The Mythic Age of Chinese Ancient History 1
1.2 Emperors Huang and Yan in the Eyes of Modern Historians 4
1.3 A Civilization of Multi-origin and Great Diversity 8
1.4 Primitive Agriculture and the Progress of Civilization 17
References 21

2 Ancient Chinese Society and the Change of Dynasties 23
2.1 The Succession of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties and the Shaping of the Chinese Nation 23
2.2 The Social Composition of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties 26
2.3 Social Changes in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods 29
2.4 Reflections upon the Rise and Fall of the Qin Dynasty 34
2.5 Dynastic Change and Peasant War 40

3 The Golden Ages of the Han, Tang, and Qing Dynasties: A Comparative Analysis 43
3.1 From the Wen-Jing Age of Order to the Zhao-Xuan Revival 43
3.2 From the Zhenguan Age of Order to the Kaiyuan Golden Age 49
3.3 The Golden Age of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong 61
3.4 Overview of the Golden Ages 75
References 80

4 Transportation Systems and Cultural Communication in Ancient China 81
4.1 Traffic Construction in Ancient China 81
4.2 Standardization of Vehicles and Roads and Unification of Languages 88

4.3 Zhang Qian's Camel Caravan and Zheng He's Voyage to the Western Oceans 93
4.4 Contacts with Foreign Civilizations in Ancient China 102
Reference 108

5 Ethnic Relations in Chinese History 109
5.1 Geographical Environment and Ethnic Relations 109
5.2 "Middle Kingdom" and "Land Under Heaven" 112
5.3 Boundary Between Han Chinese and Barbarians and Their Unification 115
5.4 Unified Economic Base 117
5.5 The Political System of Diversity and Unity 124
5.6 Process of Unification and National Integration 129
5.7 Several Issues About Ethnic Relations 133
Reference 137

6 The Systems of Politics, Law, and Selecting Officials in Ancient China 139
6.1 Patriarchal Consanguinity and the System of State (the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties to the Spring and Autumn Period) 140
6.2 The Naissance of the Central Authority and the Absolute Monarchy (the Warring States Period and the Qin and Han Dynasties) 144
6.3 The Rise and Fall of Family Politics (the Wei and Jin Period and the Southern and Northern Dynasties) 153
6.4 The Improvement of Bureaucratic Politics and the Founding of the Imperial Examination (the Sui and Tang Dynasties) 156
6.5 The Consolidation of the Imperial Authority and the Perfection of the Imperial System (the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties) 166
6.6 The Features of the Political and Legal System in the Liao, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties 171
6.7 The Further Consolidation of Imperial Authority and the Disadvantages of the Political System (the Ming and Qing Dynasties) 175
Reference 188

7 Agriculture, Handicraft, and Commerce in Ancient China 189
7.1 The Development of Ancient Agriculture 189
7.2 Achievements of Agricultural Theories 198
7.3 The Administration of Agriculture in Historical Dynasties 200
7.4 The Characteristics of the Development of the Handicraft Industry 204

7.5 The Preference for Agriculture over Commerce in Chinese History and the Difficult Development of Commerce 208
Bibliography 215

8 The Military Thought and Military Systems of Ancient China 217
8.1 The Military Thought of Ancient China 217
8.2 Famous Cases of Warfare from Ancient China 230
8.3 Military Systems of Ancient China 239

9 The Rich and Colorful Social Life in Ancient China 249
9.1 Life in the Ancient Age 250
9.2 Social Activities in the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties 253
9.3 Changes to Social Life in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods 255
9.4 The Prevailing Social Customs in the Qin and Han Dynasties 259
9.5 Social Life During the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties 264
9.6 Characteristics of Social Life in the Sui and Tang Dynasties 271
9.7 An Analysis of Aspects of Social Life in the Song and Yuan Dynasties 273
9.8 Social Practice in the Ming and Qing Dynasties 277

10 The Evolution of Ancient Chinese Thought 283
10.1 Introduction 283
10.2 Moral Doctrine in Ancient China: Confucian Foundations 284
10.3 Natural Philosophy in Ancient China: Laozian Foundations 289
10.4 The Debate over the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity During the Warring States Period 292
10.4.1 Mencius 292
10.4.2 Xunzi 295
10.4.3 Zhuangzi 296
10.5 Attempts to Reconcile the "Hundred Schools of Philosophical Thought" 298
10.6 Taoism, Buddhism, and Indigenous Chinese Thought 302
10.7 Innovations and Points of Reconciliation Achieved Between Confucianism, Taoism, and (Siddhattha Gotama) Buddhism 311
Bibliography 317

11 The Treasure House of Ancient Chinese Literature and Art 319
11.1 The Long History of China's Literary Heritage 319
11.2 An Extraordinarily Diverse Legacy of Calligraphy and Painting 330
11.3 The Flourishing Scene of Musical Dance 343

12 The Emergence and Progress of Ancient Chinese Historiography 353
12.1 The Pre-Qin Period: Historiography and Its Characteristics 353
12.2 The Eastern and Western Han Dynasties: History Theory and Historical Practice 356
12.3 From the Wei and Jin Dynasties to the Sui and Tang Dynasties: Further Progress in Historiography 364
12.4 The Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties: New Developments in Historiography 370
12.5 From the Ming and Qing Dynasties to the Period of the Opium Wars 376

13 Reflection on Ancient Chinese Science and Technology 385
13.1 Achievements and Features of Ancient Chinese Science and Technology 385
13.2 The Reasons for the Achievements in Ancient Chinese Science and Technology 393
13.3 Why Ancient Chinese Science and Technology Gradually Declined 402
References 408

14 New Issues in the Modern History of China 409
14.1 The Isolationist and Backward Qing Dynasty and the Modernization Trend of the Western World 410
14.2 The Westernization Movement and the Initiation of China's Modernization Process 415
14.3 The Institutional Reform Attempted at the End of the Qing Dynasty and the Beginning of the Republic of China 420
14.4 The New Culture Movement and the Flourishing and Contentious Intellectual World 428
14.5 Victory for China's Democratic Revolution 433

15 A General Progression to the Socialist Modernization of the People's Republic of China 441
15.1 Completing the Transition from New Democracy to Socialism ... 441
15.2 The Preliminary Exploration of Socialist Construction 446
15.3 The Historic Turning Point of the People's Republic of China 452
15.4 Creation of Socialist Modernization with Chinese Characteristics 457
15.5 A New Stage of Development at the Beginning of the New Century 462

Chapter 1
A Scientific Approach to the Origins of Chinese Civilization

China has one of the earliest recorded civilizations, as witnessed by its ancient historical record,[1] a wealth of historic archaeological remains, and a clear historical continuity covering several thousand years of development.

It is widely acknowledged that Chinese civilization has made great contributions to the world. However, there are still many questions relating to the origin and the early development of Chinese civilization, which remain to be further explored.

The many research projects into the "root" or the origin of Chinese civilization, conducted by generations of scholars, have enabled us to take a deeper scientific approach, and today our knowledge of the origin of prehistoric Chinese civilization has grown gradually closer to the truth.

1.1 Emperors Huang and Yan: The Mythic Age of Chinese Ancient History

Sima Qian (*c*. 145 or 135 BC–86 BC)[2] held the title of Grand Historian (*Taishiling*)[3] during the Han Dynasty and is regarded as the father of Chinese historiography. In his *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of the Five Emperors (Shiji: Wu Di Benji)*,[4] he records the stories of the Emperors Huang (personal name Xuanyuan),

[1]The written history of China can be found as early as the Shang Dynasty (*c*. 1700–1046 BC), although ancient historical texts such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*c*. 100 BC) and the *Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu Jinian*) affirm the existence of the Xia Dynasty before the Shang.

[2]See Chap. 12 for further biographical details of Sima Qian.

[3]*Taishiling* can also be translated as "Great Historian" or "Prefect of the Grand Scribes."

[4]*Records of the Grand Historian* covers the period from the five sages of prehistoric times, through the Xia, Shang, Zhou, and Qin Dynasties to the Han Dynasty of Sima Qian's own time.

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Zhuanxu (Gaoyang),[5] Ku (Gaoxin),[6] Yao (Fangxun),[7] and Shun (Chonghua)[8] covering a period of more than 2,000 years. Actually all of Sima Qian's knowledge concerning the prehistoric events of China's earliest civilizations is reflected in these vivid stories of the Five Emperors (*Wu Di*).[9] He claimed that the stories came from relevant earlier documents, which also conformed to the Chinese folk legends. He wrote that he traveled constantly, setting his foot on Kongtong in the west, Zhuolu in the north, to the China seacoast in the east and also sailed on the Yangtze and Huai Rivers in the south. Everywhere he went, he conversed with the local aged people, noting that their stories of Five Emperors were widely spread. Although the culture and local customs differed, the basic narrative was roughly the same. From Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*), it can plainly be seen that in his day the legends of Five Emperors were widely known and accepted.

Based on the *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of the Five Emperors* (*Shiji: Wu Di Benji*), during the time of Emperor Huang (Xuanyuan),[10] different tribes constantly battled each other, and the people suffered much. Therefore, Xuanyuan (Emperor Huang) trained his soldiers to punish those tribes which were unscrupulous in wars against others, and for this reason he won wide support among the tribal peoples. After he defeated the tribes of Emperor Yan (dates uncertain) and Chiyou[11] in succession, Xuanyuan was enshrined as the Son of Heaven, Emperor Huang (said to have reigned from 2697 or 2698 BC to 2597 or 2598 BC).

The tribes of Huangdi (the "Yellow Emperor") and Yandi (the "Fire Emperor") were closely connected in prehistoric times. While the tribe of Yandi declined, the tribe of Huangdi was on the rise. Concerning the relationship between Yandi and

[5]Zhuanxu was claimed by Sima Qian to have been a grandson of the Emperor Huang, who headed the Shi Clan in their migration to present-day Shandong. He was said to have prohibited marriage between close kin, encouraged the formation of a patriarchal as opposed to a matriarchal society, reformed the calendar and religion, and composed some of the earliest known music.

[6]Ku was believed to be another descendent from the Emperor Huang, but through an alternative line. Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi Chunqiu*) credits him with ordering the invention of various early percussion and woodwind instruments. He was purported to ride about on a dragon in spring and summer and on horseback in autumn and winter. It is unclear what territory or state he actually ruled.

[7]Yao is upheld as the perfect model of the sage king, who imparted wisdom and responsibility to others. He is said to have become a ruler at 20 and lived to be 119. He is credited with inventing the game of *Weiqi* (better known in Western countries as *Go*).

[8]Shun was the successor to Yao and was in turn succeeded by Yu "the Great" (*Da Yu*), who won renown for his work in flood control and for founding the Shang Dynasty. Shun is remembered for his piety and diligence and for making further contributions to early Chinese music.

[9]The Five Emperors cited here are those given by Sima Qian. Different historical works offer slightly different lists.

[10]The connotation of the title *Xuanyuan* indicates that tribes led by Huangdi invented carts.

[11]Chiyou was said to have been a descendent of the Emperor Yan and a tyrant with a hideous body, consisting of a bronze forehead, 4 eyes, and 6 arms. Some legends give him a bovine appearance, like a kind of horned beast. The Hmong ethnic minority group claim him as an ancestor.

Huangdi, in *Discourses of the States: Discourses of Jin, 4* (*Guoyu: Jinyu, 4*),[12] it is recorded that in the beginning, "Shaodian's wife Youjiao gave birth to the Yellow Emperor near the Ji River and the Yan Emperor next to the Jiang River which accounted for their different temperaments. Although Shaodian preceded the Yellow and Yan emperors, he was not their father. Therefore, Ji was the first name of the Huangdi family and Jiang the Yandi family. Because of their different characters, the two tribes conflicted with their armies." Based on this account, the Emperor Yan and the Emperor Huang both originated from the Shaodian tribe. The Jiang River, where the Yandi tribe resided, is a tributary of the Wei River, which lies in present-day Baoji, Shaanxi. The identity of the Ji River has still not been definitively identified, but this waterway should lie close to the Jiang River. It can be, furthermore, inferred that both of the tribes—those of Huangdi and Yandi—originated in Loess Plateau, in northwest China,[13] and expanded to the Central Plains.

In the time of the Huangdi, spectacular accomplishments were made in the development of Chinese prehistoric society. People began to domesticate cattle and horses, invented the cart and boat, and acquired the techniques of sinking wells, raising silkworms, and silk reeling. It was also a time of invention: the Chinese characters, the Chinese calendar, the *Jiazi* (a cycle system which marks the sequence of day and years), the hat, and the woven apparel are all attributed to the period of Huangdi. The accomplishments in Yandi's time were mainly to be found in primitive agriculture and culture. In Chinese legend Yandi Shennong[14] tasted a hundred different kinds of herbs while researching herbal medication; therefore, the invention of ancient Chinese medicine is considered another great achievement in the time of Yandi.

Regarding other important tribes in ancient Chinese civilization, some scholars hold the view that the Chiyou tribe ought to be taken into consideration, while others consider the Miao ethnic group as another important tribal alliance which paralleled the Huangdi and Yandi.[15] It is impossible to make an irrefutable conclusion about

[12]In Chinese *Guoyu* is a classical Chinese history book that collected the historical records of numerous states from the Western Zhou to 453 BC.

[13]Zhang Qizhi, chief editor; Liu Baocai, Qian Xun, and Zhou Suping, editors; *Chinese History. Pre-Qin History* (Higher Education Press, 2001)

[14]There has been much debate throughout history as to whether or not the Yandi Emperor and the equally mythical Shennong or "Divine Farmer" or "Sacred Farmer" were one and the same. Shennong has been given the epithet *Wuguxiandi* or Emperor of the Five Grains and is credited with having introduced techniques such as plowing, hoeing, and drawing water through wells, which allowed for the development of agriculture in China. He also investigated the properties of many plants, apparently building on the foundation for medical pharmacology laid out by the Yellow Emperor.

[15]Scholars like Xu Xusheng and Meng Wentong ever thought that there were three tribe groups that existed in the prehistoric time: the central China *Huaxia* group centered in the Yellow River and Luo River, the eastern Yi ethnic groups centered in Haidai Regions, and the southern barbarian group centered in the Yangtze River and Hanjiang River. In the 1960s, when Su Bingqi was doing research into the cultural relations between central China and southeast China in ancient history, he put forward the division of three cultural regions based on the archaeological culture: Yangshao

the historical and cultural analysis of this era, since the written records of this mythic time are scattered fragments and not completely confirmed.

In the exploration of prehistoric culture in Chinese history, researchers have found that the earlier the time, the more variety and greater distinctions there were between different tribes and communities. Even the relics unearthed from ancient residential sites located only a short distance from each other possess various unique and different features. After many centuries of exchange and communication, the common attributes gradually developed from the different cultures of the various ethnic tribes. The traditional story that Emperor Huang "set the boundary of the other tribes" to make them "harmoniously coexist" appears to coincide with the blending of tribal features in the evolution of Chinese civilization.

1.2 Emperors Huang and Yan in the Eyes of Modern Historians

Since the late Qing Dynasty, Chinese progressive intellectuals have begun to mull over the ancient beliefs of Chinese traditional culture while also welcoming Western historical thoughts. In the early 1920s, the Doubting Antiquity School with the banner of Debates on Ancient History (*Gu Shi Bian*) was on the rise. This surge of thought was significant in smashing the orthodox system of Chinese historiography, for breaking through the constraints of the feudal cultural tradition and emancipating the Chinese national spirit. It also launched a revolution in Chinese historical science.[16]

Culture in Central China, Qingliangang-Dawenkou Culture in Southern Shandong and Northern Jiangsu, and Qujialing Culture in the area between the Yangtze River and Han River. After the 1980s, when he was studying the origin of Chinese civilization, he laid a special stress on northern China around the Yanshan Mountains and the Great Wall. He recalled the hypothesis of Three Groups raised by Liang Siyong. When Liang Siyong was doing the archaeological excavation in the former Rehe Province, he thought much of Hongshan Culture as "frontier culture contact areas," and he held that "as long as the relations of cultural systems in the late Neolithic time on both sides of the Great Wall are confirmed, we can firmly make comparative studies between remote ancient history and the archaeological findings." Liang Siyong's hypothesis of three groups may also include south of Northeast China. Tian Changwu also published the hypothesis of four groups, which added a north region represented by the Hongshan Culture to the former ones.

[16] *Debates on Ancient History* is a collection of articles of Chinese ancient history research and criticism published between 1926 and 1941. It's a display of a scientific exploration process with the greatest strength, hottest discussion, and most plentiful achievements at that time in the academic world. After the May Fourth Movement, scholars like Gu Jiegang began to revise their research methods with a Western scientific approach and reconsider Chinese ancient history. He launched a campaign of textual criticism to the ancient history. They published a series of articles of textual criticism to ancient history. These articles were collected together and compiled into *Debates on Ancient History*. There are altogether 7 volumes (9 books). Volumes 1–3 and Volume 5 were edited by Gu Jiegang, Volume 4 and Volume 6 were edited by Luo Genze, and Volume 7 was coedited by Lü Simian and Tong Shuye. There were totally 350 articles (3.25 million

Gu Jiegang (1893–1980),[17] the initiator of the school of "Debates on Ancient History," proposed the view of a "layered, accumulated, and fabricated Chinese ancient history." He considered that the emperors in the Ancient Chinese legends each possessed a divine nature and evolved through time from being regarded as humans to being regarded as gods. This accumulation of fabricated history in the ancient classics evolved through the layers of legends in different times. The time sequence of legends occurred contrary to the sequence of the ancient history arrangement recorded in the ancient books. He stated that "[t]he later the time in history, the more fabricated the legendary ancient history will be." "The most ancient leaders in Chinese people's minds in the Zhou Dynasty (*c*. 1046–256 BC) were Yu; by the time of Confucius (551–479 BC), this had become Yao and Shun; by the Warring States Period (475–221 BC), this had become Huang and Yan; by the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC), this had become the Three Sovereigns[18]; then in the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), this had become Pangu; and so on." Moreover, "the later the time in history, the greater the heroes in the legends were amplified." For instance, Emperor Shun, in Confucius' time, was just reputed to be a sacred emperor known for "ruling without action," but later he evolved into being a saint who "first regulated the family and then governed the country" in the *Classic of History*[19]*: Canon of Yao* (*Shangshu: Yaodian*), and finally he was adorned as a model of filial piety in Mencius' time.[20]

Shortly after Gu Jiegang's research was published, it sparked an unexpected repercussion. Many years later, Gu recalled:

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characters) about Chinese ancient history and textual criticism to the Chinese ancient classics published between the 1920s and 1930s collected into this book. Among these articles, some are the textual criticism to the classics such as *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*)*, Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*), *and Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), and some are the research into Confucianism, Mohism, Taoism, and the Legalist School and the textual criticism to mythology before the Xia Dynasty, the origin of *Yin* and *Yang*, the Five Elements, ancient politics, and the ancient imperial system. Therefore, *Debates on Ancient History* has become a banner of this school of thought.

[17]Gu is known for his theory of Chinese diversity, as opposed to the idea of Chinese homogeneity, which is the main assumption of Hanism.

[18]The Three Sovereigns (*San Huang*) are listed by Sima Qian as being Shennong (or the "Divine Farmer"), Fu Xi, and Nüwa. The latter two were a brother and sister who legend has it were the sole survivors of a great flood and retired to Kunlun Mountain from whence they went about creating the human race by sculpting and animating figurines of clay. Tales about them vary, but Fu Xi is hailed as the creator of writing (as is Cangjie), fishing, and trapping.

[19]The *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*), also known as the *Book of History* or the *Book of Documents*, is a work of historical records, which was latterly ascribed to Confucius, but the origins of which are actually mysterious and potentially complex. It consists of an Old Text and a longer New Text. It appears that a scholar named Fu Sheng preserved the Next Text when most copies of the *Shangshu* were destroyed in the third century BC under the edict of book burning issued by the First Emperor Qin Shihuang. The Old Text was purportedly found later on hidden in the wall of a house said to have belonged to the family of Confucius. The accuracy of both versions was the subject of enormous scholarly debate throughout the subsequent dynasties.

[20]Gu Jiegang, *Discussion about Ancient history Classics With Mr. Qian Xuantong, Debates on Ancient History, Vol. 1* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), p. 60

> [h]ow could I have imagined that once the letter "Talking about Ancient History with Mr. Qian Xuantong"[21] (*yu Qian Xuantong xiansheng lun gu shi shu*) was published, it would shock the field of Chinese ancient history like an atomic bomb? Even for me, it's unbelievable that it had such a remarkable impact, that people in different fields who read ancient history were so affected by this view. Because all through Chinese history, people's minds were fixed on the principle that our history started from Pangu, who created the earth and the sky,[22] and was followed by the Three Sovereigns and the Five Emperors (*San Huang Wu Di*) up until the present. Therefore there was uproar when they heard that there is no Pangu, neither did the Three Sovereigns or Five Emperors ever exist. Many people cursed me, but a few approved. Many people said, with their traditional ideas, that I was bewitched, and brazen enough to smash the holy shrine into nothing![23]

Gu Jiegang's argument of a "layered, accumulated, and fabricated Chinese ancient history" did blow a storm into the circle of Chinese historians. Qian Xuantong thought it was a brilliant idea, and he "could do nothing but joyfully applaud after reading the letter."[24] Hu Shi[25] later remarked that "Mr Gu's idea of 'layered, accumulated, and fabricated Chinese ancient history' has indeed made a great contribution to today's historical field; we should study it, and experiment with it humbly and carefully, and not allow our stereotype to impede us from embracing this important view."[26] However, many other scholars opposed it. Whenever Gu answered questions from critics, he was apt to enrich and refine his theory. On July 1, 1923, his article "Letter in Answer to Mr. Liu and Mr. Hu" (*Da Liu Hu liang xiansheng shu*) was published. In this he stated that there should be four criteria for overriding the false history. First, "abandon the idea of Chinese homogeneity." Second, "abandon the idea that the Chinese territory was always united." Third, "abandon the idea of the personification of antiquity." Fourth, "abandon the idea that

[21]Qian Xuantong (1887–1939) was a philologist and fellow member of the Doubting History School.

[22]In traditional Chinese mythology, Pangu was the first living creator in history. He emerged from a gigantic cosmic egg in which *Yin* and *Yang* first coalesced. Upon hatching he cleaved apart *Yin* and *Yang* with his ax, pushing *Yin* downwards to create the earth and *Yang* upwards to create the sky.

[23]Gu Jiegang, *How did I Compile 'Debates on Ancient History'?* This article was reorganized by Wang Xuhua and was first published in *Chinese Philosophy, Vol. 2* (SUP Bookstore). In 1981, the article was revised by the author and collected into *Debates on Ancient History, Vol. 1* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), p. 60.

[24]Qian Xuantong, Letter to Answer Mr Gu Jiegang, *Dushu Magazine*, *Vol. 10,* June 10, 1923, *Debate on Ancient History, Vol. 1* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), p. 67.

[25]Hu Shi (1891–1962), a Chinese philosopher, essayist, and diplomat, was a president of Peking University and in 1939 was nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature. Hu is widely recognized today as a key contributor to Chinese liberalism and language reform.

[26]Hu Shi, *Thoughts after the discussion about Ancient History, Dushu Magazine*, *Vol. 18,* Feb 22nd, 1924, *Debate on Ancient History, Vol. 1* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), pp. 189–198.

antiquity was an ideal world." Gu said "the above four points are the basic principles for distinguishing true history from the false and disordered ancient history. I do believe they are correct."[27]

In the past few decades, with continuous new archaeological discoveries, scholars have gradually realized that the many viewpoints of the Doubting Antiquity School were correct and ought to be modified, and the knowledge of the ancient legends should be continually updated. Xu Xusheng[28] pointed out in *The Mythic Time of Chinese Ancient History* (*Zhongguo Gudaide Chuan shuo shidai*) that "in the different ethnic groups of early Chinese civilization, their original history was always circulated orally." He also said that "The main difference between the historical materials from the prehistoric mythical time and those from the historical time is that the latter are more reliable than the former." Besides those historical facts which were passed on orally and thus easily became "distorted," "at that time the belief in divine powers prevailed, and people were unable to consider their world view without a mythical context. Therefore it is not easy to separate the true history from the historic legends which have become mingled with myths. For these reasons, the early history of any culture is uncertain and full of contradictions, which is a common problem in studying the ancient peoples." Moreover, he reassured: "[t]here can always be found some historical truth and the core factors within the ancient legends, which are not fictional."[29]

Since the time of the Warring State Period, during the Qin and Han Dynasties, the legends of the "Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns" had long been considered as the original framework for the structure of Chinese history. Although the scholars who have debated ancient Chinese history in the past century have concluded that the legends of the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns are mythical ancient history modified by posterity, most scholars still consider that there are some true historical truths which remain in these legends. Lewis H. Morgan[30] wrote in his book *Ancient Society*: "[i]t is immaterial whether either of the seven so called kings of Rome were real or mythical persons, or whether the legislation ascribed to either of them is fabulous or true," [31] and:

> [t]he work of society in its totality, by means of which all progress occurs, is ascribed far too much to individual men, and far too little to the public intelligence.It will be recognized

[27]Gu Jiegang, "Letter to answer Mr Liu and Mr Hu," *Dushu Magazine*, Vol. 11, July 1, 1923; *Debate on Ancient History, Vol. 1* (Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1982), pp. 96–102.

[28]Xu Xusheng (1888–1976) was one of China's most important and respected archaeologists and historians of the twentieth century.

[29]Xu Xusheng, *Mythology Age of Chinese Ancient History* (Cultural Relics Press, 1985), pp. 19–20.

[30]Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881) was a pioneering American anthropologist and social theorist, best known for his work on kinship and social structure and his theories of social evolution.

[31]Lewis. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, translated by Yang Dongchun, Ma Yong, Ma Ju, Vol. 2 (The Commercial Press, 1987), p. 302.

> generally that the substance of human history is bound up in the growth of ideas, which are wrought out by the people and expressed in their institutions, usages, inventions and discoveries.[32]

Based on this conclusion, when one researches the relation between civilization and "Three Sovereigns and Five Emperors," one can explore the truth behind the legends regardless of other distractions.

Some modern scholars think that, because of new archaeological discoveries, historians should take a different perspective regarding Emperor Yan and Emperor Huang. Many scholars now think that the legends of Fuxi, Shennong, and Huang better reflect the embryonic stage and early development of Chinese civilization. The Chinese Archaeologist and Scholar Li Xueqin points out in his book *On Ancient Civilization* (*Lun Gudai Wenming*) that the "*Records of the Grand Historian* borrowed the idea of Big Dai's *Book of Rites* (*Da Dai Li Ji*)[33] which is absorbed from *The Virtues of the Five Emperors* (*Wu Di De*). Emperor Huang was ranked first in the *Annals of the Five Emperors* (*Wu Di Benji*), which can be considered as a symbol of the birth of Chinese civilization." The early civilization of China is reflected in Huangdi's time as establishing the government bureaucracy, observing astronomy to arrange the farming practices, growing hundreds of different crops, and domesticating animals. "Therefore, the idea that Chinese civilization originated from the legends of the Emperors Huang and Yan's is not something that was discovered by modern scholars, but rather it is a historical statement that circulated for thousands of years." Li Xueqin also said that "Huangdi and Yandi represent two different traditions, Central China and Southern China, and this classification is quite conducive to our study of ancient history."[34] When reading *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of the Five Emperors* (*Shiji: Wu Di Benji*), one can see that Sima Qian focused on Central China when he narrated the ancient history, but he also acknowledged the existence of a southern Chinese civilization.

1.3 A Civilization of Multi-origin and Great Diversity

The scholars of the Doubting Antiquity School proposed four criteria for exposing false historical views. First, "abandon the idea of Chinese homogeneity." Second, "abandon the idea that the Chinese territory was always united." The evidence of the archaeological documents assures that these two criteria now reflect the scientific perception of the origins of Chinese civilization.

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] Big Dai (*Da Dai*) refers to Dai De, a Confucian scholar of the Han Dynasty. He was active in the reign of the Emperor Yuan of Han (48–33 BC) and helped to compile the 214-chapter-long version of the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*). His younger brother, Dai Sheng, was known as Little Dai (*Xiao Dai*). Dai Sheng reduced the *Book of Rites* to 46 chapters and added a further three.

[34] Li Xueqin, *Ancient Civilization, Stepping out the Time of Doubting Ancient History*, *Revised Version* (Liaoning University Press, 1997), pp. 41–43.

Archaeological discoveries in recent years have confirmed that Chinese civilization developed widely across the grand territory even in its embryonic stage. For a long time the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River were considered to be the only birthplace of Chinese early civilization, but new evidence shows that several primitive cultures also flourished in other areas in the Neolithic Age.

In the early 1920s, a Swedish scholar named Johan Gunnar Andersson (1874–1960) discovered primitive remains which featured elaborate painted pottery in Majiayao, Lintao, in Gansu Province. Since then, the Neolithic culture in the upper reaches of the Yellow River has been named as the Majiayao Culture (in existence from around 3100–2700 BC). This culture was located mainly in Gansu Province, centered in the Longxi Plain, starting from the Longdong Mountain region in the east and reaching to the Gansu Corridor in the west. Some other sites of Majiayao Culture are also found in northern Gansu, the Gannan (southern Gansu) Mountain region, southern Ningxia, and northeastern Qinghai. The Majiayao Culture is a regional branch of the Yangshao[35] Culture; therefore it is also called "Gansu Yangshao Culture" (*Gansu Yangshao Wenhua*).

Painted pottery accounts for 20–50 % of the total pottery found at Majiayao sites and for the burial objects, more than 80 %. Speaking of the painted pottery of different times and areas in China, the Majiayao Culture constitutes the highest ratio. Compared with the other cultures, the painting style of Majiayao pottery features great complexity and variety and with extraordinary regular patterns, from which we can see that the painting technique the Majiayao people used had reached a mature level. The painted areas on the surface of the pottery are much more extensive than in other cultures, with the outer layer and the rim fully painted with detailed flower patterns. The inner layer of some highly intricate pottery and some textured cooking wares were also painted. The artistic patterns of Majiayao painted pottery were mainly borrowed from nature, such as fish, birds, frogs, tadpoles, water waves, blades of grass, and gourds, besides many other patterns which were modified from those natural patterns or some geometrical patterns. The delicacy and brilliance of Majiayao pottery reflect their extraordinary craftsmanship. In the time of the Majiayao Culture, the pottery kiln was built with a square shape, which was different from the round kilns of the Yangshao Culture. A large pottery kiln site was discovered in Baidaogouping, an eastern suburb of Lanzhou, Gansu, which included 12 kilns of 5 groups, and some other kiln ruins. From these kilns, some stone tablets for grinding the pigments and some small dishes for mixing colors were unearthed. Both were tools for the craftsman to employ when painting his pottery. There were even subdivided grids in some small dishes for mixing colors, from which the purple pigment could be easily seen.

[35] A Neolithic Culture that existed extensively along the central Yellow River in China. It is dated from around 5000 BC to 3000 BC. The culture is named after Yangshao, the first excavated representative village of this culture, which was discovered in 1921 in Henan Province by the Swedish archaeologist Johan Gunnar Andersson.

A pottery basin was unearthed at the Shangsunjia site in Datong, Qinghai, which features a pattern of colored dancers. The whole design consists of 3 groups, and in each group there are five dancers dancing hand in hand, elegantly and gracefully with the same movement. Each arm of the dancers at the two ends of the group was painted with two lines, which possibly evokes the continuous movements of one arm. Moreover, the lines on the lower body of each dancer are considered to be a widely worn ornament by some scholars, or to be waving ribbons by others, or to be a decoration which imitates the tails of birds or animals. Speaking of the origin of the primitive dance, there are apparently related phrases in the *Classic of History: Yi and Ji* (*Shangshu: Yiji*) such as "when the organ and bells take their place, this makes the birds and beasts begin moving. When the nine parts of the service, as arranged by the Di, have all been performed, the male and female phoenix come with their measured gambolings into the Court." And the lines continue "when I smite the sounding stone, or gently strike it, the various animals lead each other on to dance." At that time people played the instruments such as organs and flutes made simply from bamboo, or beat the thin flat stone tablet (an ancient musical instrument) rhythmically, and danced to imitate the birds and animals. All of these records reflect the relationship of the dance with the primitive hunting life. Therefore, it is possible that the dancers on the Shangsunjia pottery are wearing the tail ornaments to imitate birds and animals.

It is noteworthy that there is a mythical story that claims "[s]inging and dancing originated from the eight sons of Emperor Di" noted in *Classic of Mountains and Seas: Classic of Regions Within the Seas* (*Shan Hai Jing: Hainei Jing*). In other words, according to ancient mythology, the earliest song and dance was supposed to have originated with the legendary emperors. Nonetheless, the empirical data now shows that primitive singing and dancing existed elsewhere in ancient Chinese culture, found in the relics unearthed in the remote northwest of China.

From among the relics found close to the time of the Shangsunjia pottery basin, there were found some primitive musical instruments. In the Yanshan Majiayao Culture site, Minhe, Qinghai, there were excavated two pottery drums. Cylindrical in the middle and tank-like on one end, the other end was enlarged like a trumpet. There is a ring attached on each end, which could be tied to a rope for the player to hang it on his body. On the trumpet-like end, some small holes and hooks are found, which was assumed to fix the animal skin. In the *Books of Lineages* (*Shiben*), there is a record about "the barbarian made drums." Perhaps this means that the earliest drum was invented by Chinese ethnic minority groups. In addition, a pottery whistle was unearthed in a Liuwan Graveyard, in Ledu, Qinghai, which could blow four different pitch tones.

The primitive culture in the Gansu and Qinghai region, which featured the elegant and brilliant craftsmanship of the pottery art, is also rather conspicuous in the field of Chinese history. A pottery jar with a carved human head, unearthed in Dadiwan, Qinan, Gansu, was found with signs of bonding at the crack. This repair implies that people at that time cherished this pottery ware very much. The vivid depiction and delicate carving of the head on this pottery jar was quite striking, especially the

hairstyle. Besides the neat short hair on the forehead, on the back, and on the two sides, the hair was quite long. In Chaijiaping, Tianshui, Gansu, there was also an unearthed clay pot with a man-shaped sculpture on the mouth. Some other pieces of pottery with human face sculptures were also found in a Liuwan Graveyard, in Ledu, Qinghai. Among them, was a pottery jar bearing a painting of a naked man. Different parts of the man's body were shaped on the jar and picked out with a black pigment. The head and face were clearly painted on the neck of the jar with long hair, and the torso was painted on the belly of the jar with the breast and bellybutton and with the lower body naked. The two arms were clutching his belly with five fingers clearly painted. The cultural implications of this pottery ware still remain unknown, but the artistic value reflected from the brilliant design and craftsmanship is definitely noteworthy.

A buried human couple has also been unearthed at a Majiayao site, suggesting that this was when monogamy was established. Also, the differences between the funeral objects of males and females reveal the gender differences in their social division of labor. The quantity, quality, and variety of objects reflected the disparity between the poor and the rich, thus signifying that the primitive system of collective ownership had come to an end.

After the time of the Majiayao Culture, a primitive people in the upper reaches of the Yellow River named the Qijia People (2400–1900 BC) developed and flourished during the Bronze Age. About 50 copper and bronze artifacts were unearthed in a Qijia Culture site in Huangniangniangtai, Wuwei County, and Dahezhuang, Yongjing County, in Gansu Province. These included a knife, awl, ring, dagger, ax, auger, and some mirrors. The bronze ax unearthed in the Qijiahe site, Guanghe, Gansu, is the largest bronze ware of the Qijia Culture. There were altogether eight bronze mirrors. The one unearthed from graveyard No. 25 in Gamatai, Guinan, Qinghai, was well preserved. It was round, with the diameter of 9 cm and thickness of 0.4 cm. On one side it was flat and smooth, while the other side was decorated with a seven-pointed star pattern, and the rim had a raised edge. From the craftsmanship, it was found to be the product of a double-mold casting. With high-speed neutron radiation analysis, the ratio of copper to tin was measured as 1:0.096. The original handle was damaged, and on one side of the mirror edge, there were two holes for fastening a rope.

To date, the discovered graveyards of the Qijia Culture have mostly been clan public graveyards, and the size of these graveyards corresponds to the size of the clan or the tribe. The funeral objects mainly consist of pottery, stoneware, jade jewelry or artifacts, bone ware, and bronze ware. Also the mandibles of pigs and goats have been found. From the archaeological evidence of some burials, there is a great disparity between the scale of the graveyards and the quality and quantity of the funeral objects. To take the graveyard in Huangniangniangtai, Wuwei, Gansu, as an example, the number of pottery ware specimens in one grave could be as few as one or two and as many 37. The number of jade artifacts could be as few as one or as many as 83. Altogether in the more than 50 graveyards excavated in Qinweijia and Dahezhuang, Yongjing, Gansu Province, more than 550 pig mandibles have been

unearthed; the minimum per graveyard was one and the maximum 68. All of these findings regarding the disparity in quantity of property reveal a hierarchy in social status.

The development of tool production, and especially the development of the metallurgy industry, proves that the people of the Qijia Culture had ascended the first stair of civilization.

In graveyards of the Qijia Culture, 6 "stone circles" (*shi yuanquan*) were discovered. These were constructed using riverbed stones of the same size and the circles each have a diameter of 4 m. It is considered that they were used to designate a place of religious worship. To the northwest of one "stone circle" in Dahezhuang, Yongjing, Dahezhuang, there was left an opening of 1.5 m wide. Around the "stone circle" were scattered many burials, in which numerous bones belonging to oxen and sheep were found. This reveals that religious worship was highly valued and that the progress of the civilization had stepped into a new phase.

The Qijia Culture was mainly spread along the Yellow River in Gansu and Qinghai and some tributaries like the Wei River, Tao River, Daxia River, and Huangshui drainage area. There were also some scattered sites found in southern Ningxia and northwest Inner Mongolia. The Qijia Culture region is roughly the same early dwelling area of the ethnic group named "West Rong" (*Xirong*) by the Han Chinese.

A stone chime excavated in the graveyard of the Qijia Culture in Liuwan, Ledu, Qinghai, was the earliest among the musical instruments unearthed in China. Alongside it, there was also discovered a precious document for studying the Chinese history of music. In addition 36 seashells were unearthed in Liuwan, which indicates that the ancestors of the Qijia Culture maintained economic exchanges with other remote areas.

The ancient Hemudu Culture, first discovered in Hemudu, Yuyao, Zhejiang Province, was a Neolithic Culture in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. The Hemudu Culture was situated in the Ningbo-Shaoxing Plain along the south bank of Hangzhou Bay and the Zhoushan Islands, from around 5000 BC to 3000 BC. The bone ware manufacturing technique was highly developed in the Hemudu Culture. Bone-made spades, arrowheads, fishing darts, awls, needles, daggers, and chisels have been found in large numbers, suggesting they were widely produced and common in people's daily lives. Moreover, ornaments such as hairpins, tubes, pendants, and beads were delicately made and smoothly polished. Some of these bone wares are carved with beautiful patterns which reflect the excellent craftsmanship.

Located in the Songze site of the Lake Taihu area, 4 km from the eastern border of Qingpu County, Shanghai, there existed a rich mid-level accumulation of Neolithic culture. Some scholars call it the "Songze Type" or "Songze Period," while others call it "Songze Culture." This is thought to have been active between around 3900 BC and 3000 BC. The culture remains of the same type that can be found in Caoxieshan site in Wuxian, Jiangsu Province; the Zhangliangshan and Weidun sites in Changzhou, Jiangsu; and the Qiucheng site in Wuxing, Zhejiang Province.

The stone wares of the Songze Culture were usually smoothly polished. These artifacts included a pierced stone spade and a long stone adze. The tool molds and the materials of pottery are mainly made from rice husks, a fact which also reveals how the economy and the livelihood of the people relied mainly on the rice agriculture.

The Liangzhu Culture (3300–2200 BC), which was located in Yuyao County in Zhejiang Province, inherited the accomplishments of the Songze Culture. The Liangzhu Culture was also mainly to be found along the Lake Taihu area. Its territory bordered with the Qiantang River to the south and with Changzhou City Jiangsu Province to the northwest. The Qingdun site in Hai'an, Jiangsu, was also influenced by Liangzhu Culture.

The discovery of the Qianshanyang site in 1934 and the Liangzhu site in 1936 enabled people to reconsider the precious ancient civilizations in Southeast China. In the last 60 years, the archaeological discoveries of and research into Liangzhu Culture have deepened. The jade ware manufacturing of the Liangzhu Culture is quite outstanding and features rather complicated patterns. The characters carved on the pottery discovered in the Maqiao site, Shanghai, directly reflect the advanced social and cultural progress at that time.

Wood craftsmanship in the Hemudu Culture (5000–3000 BC) also reached a high level. Besides wooden tools such as spades, batons, spears, knives, paddles, sticks, and spinning wheels, many wooden handles for attaching different tools were found. Many architectural components unearthed from the Hemudu sites show their mastery of the tenon joint, including the invention and various applications of the dove joint. A ring-foot wooden bowl with a constricted mouth was also unearthed in the third layer of the Hemudu site. It was painted thinly with a scarlet substance on the outer layer, and although much of the pigment was peeled off, it is still partly shiny. This pigment was verified as raw lacquer. Therefore, this bowl is the earliest example of lacquerware to have been discovered in China so far.

The people of the Hemudu Culture used to live in a unique column-fence style compound which was built higher above the ground using earth mounds, posts, and beams. In the different layers of the Hemudu Culture, there are more than 4,000 relics such as round wooden posts, square posts, beams, pillars, and wooden boards found that all related with this style of architecture. In a site of column-fence architecture found in the fourth layer of Hemudu Culture, more than 220 long round posts are placed tightly side by side. From the layout of these timbers, it can be seen that the size of this house was more than 160 m^2. Owing to its large size, it is considered to be a communal house, which was possibly divided into several small rooms. In the second of the four layers of the Hemudu site, a wooden-framed shallow well was discovered. This is the earliest water well known in China so far and also the oldest well with a vertical structure. It was said that in the time of Emperor Huang, there was a period when "jade was made into a weapon." Here "jade" (*yu*) may be referring to a stone material with a pure quality, or quite possibly people had discovered the pure quality of jade when they were manufacturing the stone ware, and then they made delicate ornaments and magnificent ritual ware with

actual jade. The jade ware in Neolithic times reflected the aesthetic sense of the ancestors of the Chinese people, and its application was perhaps related with the primitive religion.

Southeast China has always set the standard for the technique of jade production, and this was also one of its most impressive cultural contributions. Jade production emerged as the outstanding characteristic of the Liangzhu Culture among the primitive cultures of that time. Artifacts, such as jade beads, tubes, pendants, bracelets, *Yuan* (big-hole jade), *Huang* (semi-annular jade pendants), *Cong* (rectangular jade), and *Bi* (round-flat jade), were most carefully polished and carved with elegant patterns. Many graveyards of the Liangzhu Culture contained a great quantity of jade wares. For instance, more than 60 funerary objects were unearthed at the burial ground No. 198 in Caoxieshan, Wuxian, Jiangsu. Among them, there are 5 rectangular jades, 2 round-flat jades, and more than 30 beads, tubes, bracelets, awl-like ornaments, and a pierced ax. Burial ground No. 6 was otherwise destroyed, but 5 rectangular jade and 4 round-flat jade pieces were discovered in that place, and in Burial ground No. 3 in Sidun, Wujin, Jiangsu, 57 round-flat jade objects were found. Based on the records of "Burying the dead with round-flat jade and rectangular jade" in *Rites of Zhou: Office of Spring, Dianrui* (*Zhouli: Chungong, Dianrui*), some scholars deduced that the burial form being described could be called a "Jade Burial" (*Yu lianzang*). In the time of Liangzhu, there appeared to be many good artisans specializing in jade production who were recorded as the "Jade Men" (*Yuren*) in the *Rites of Zhou: Office of Winter, Record of Trade* (*Zhouli: Dongguan, Kaogongji*). The soft sheen of the Liangzhu jade can be likened to a wisdom being handed down from ancient times, and it may also be said to represent the light of Eastern civilization.

The known Neolithic sites in Fujian Province are mainly situated at the lower reaches of the Min River. The Tanshishan Culture, named from the Tanshishan site in Fujian, reflected the distinct features of this period. Notable among the stone wares in Tanshishan is the great variety of adzes. Besides flat adzes and segmented adzes, there was an adze unearthed with one side flat and the other side possessing a V-shape ridge. The geometrically patterned pottery and the painted pottery with a red ribbon design is one of the main features of the Tanshishan Culture.

With its special characteristics, the Hongshan Culture in the Liao River region has drawn great attention. The Hongshan Culture was an agricultural civilization scattered in the north of the Yanshan Mountains and upper reaches of the Liao River 5000 to 6000 years ago. Its name derives from the Hongshan Mountain in Chifeng, Inner Mongolia. So far nearly 1,000 Hongshan sites have been found across the west of Liaoning Province.

The discovery of "the Temple of the Goddess" (*Nü Shen Miao*), the sacrificial altar and the "stone tomb" (*jishi zhong*), located in Niuheliang, Lingyuan, Liaoning, showcased the highest level of ancient civilization in northern China. "The Temple of the Goddess" is a half-submerged architectural remains, or crypt, with a length of 22 m and width of 2–9 m. The length of the main building is about 18.4 m. The main layout is like the Chinese character "" (*ya*). The temple contains several rooms; the shape of the main room is round, and on each side there is a circular side room.

To the north of the main room, there is a rectangular room, and in the south, there are three rooms next to each other. The main structure is symmetrical. Historians have therefore reconsidered the origins of Chinese civilization and Chinese ancient history and now claim that it dates back 5,000–1,000 years more than previously stated. Chinese historians have since enlarged the scope of their research in Chinese ancient history as well, to include the areas from the Yellow River to the west of the Liao River area.

The stone tomb was the basic form of all the Hongshan graveyards. In contrast with the pit graveyards in Northern and Central China, the stone tombs were erected on the highlands around the Temple of the Goddess. In the tomb group, the large central tomb was surrounded by the smaller ones, and the stone fence was built around the tombs as the boundary. The group of stone tombs were centered with a sacrificial altar and arranged in a symmetrical east–west and north–south layout. The size of the central tomb is much larger than the smaller ones, and it also contained more funeral objects. The hosts of the central tombs are all male, which reveals that a patriarchal society was in existence. The sense of a hierarchy had been established and the primitive ritual system had begun to stabilize Chinese social relationships.

In the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*), there is a line which states that "the Original book comes from the Yellow River and Luo River, and then the saints followed it." In the *Biography of Emperors* (*Diwangshiji*), when speaking about the origin of culture, there are stories of the fish, dragon, tortoise, and phoenix. For example, *Quotes for the Beginners* (*Chuxueji*) quoted the *Biography of Emperors* to state that "the graphic book comes from the fish movements." The *Carving Jade Collection* (*Diaoyuji*) quoted the *Biography of Emperors*, to say that "the tortoise in the Luo River carried the book out, and the dragon in the Yellow River brought the painting." The *Collection of Good Fortunes* (*Jirui*) also quoted the *Biography of Emperors* that "the phoenix carried the painting and put it in front of the emperor." If we believe that in the mythological time, there was the concept of a "totem"[36] existing in the ancient Chinese history, then we can say that different cultures from different tribes gradually converged into the mainstream of Chinese culture, just as Wen Yiduo[37] said in *The Study of Fuxi* (*Fuxikao*) that "the convergence of totems is the only way of a totem society development." In this process, "when different totems blended into a complex" he said, "a blended totem is born from the merger of different tribes, ancient Egypt being a good example." In Chinese history, the northern constellation *Xuanwu*[38] originally depicted two separate animals, the tortoise (*gui*) and the snake

[36] A totem is an emblem of a group of people (family, clan, or tribe) reminding them of their ancestry (or mythic past). It can include an object, a being, or a symbol which represents an animal or plant.

[37] Wen Yiduo (1899–1946) was an influential poet and literary critic active during the time of the Chinese Civil War and the Second Sino-Japanese War.

[38] *Xuanwu* can be translated literally into English as "black tortoise," even though the totem contains a snake as well. Xuanwu has lent its name to one of the Four Symbols of Chinese constellations.

(*she*), but now it has become the blending of a tortoise and snake. Something is different here in the blending of the totems, however, in that after those totems are blended, each animal remains unchanged. But with the Chinese dragon (*long*),[39] after the melding of different totems, there was developed a totally new one, and the former smaller totem ceased to exist at all. Therefore, the former example can be called the "blended totem," while the latter can be called the "mixed totem."[40]

Obviously, from examining these many ancient Chinese cultures, one can see that at the time when primitive cultures were advancing to become more advanced societies, these separate ancient tribes began to merge with one another, which provided the necessary conditions for the birth of modern Chinese civilization.

Concerning the historical analysis of the origin of Chinese civilization, at first the doctrine of "One Central China" (*Zhongyuan Zhongxin*)[41] was the dominant theory. Gradually historians have developed the multi-origin theory, which is also called the "stars in the sky" (*Man Tian Xingdou*) theory. It contends that the early people were definitely scattered across the Chinese territory like the stars in the sky. Su Bingqi[42] pointed out that

> . . . there used to be a viewpoint that the Yellow River was the cradle of all Chinese people, and our culture first developed from there, then spread around; so the cultures of other regions could only rely on it to develop. It is a one-sided view. In our history, the Yellow River area did make a great contribution, and especially in the time of recorded civilization, it has always been a dominant culture. But at the same time, the ancient cultures in other areas were also developing with their own characteristics. The archeological findings in different places have verified this point. Meanwhile, this influence was mutually beneficial, since as central China influenced other regions, it also received influence from other regions.

Su believed there are six areas that made great contributions to the birth of early Chinese civilization: (1) the area of Shaanxi, Henan, and Shanxi; (2) Shandong and its vicinity; (3) Hubei and its vicinity; (4) the lower reaches of the Yangtze River; (5) Southern China, centered around the Poyang Lake and the Zhujiang River Delta; and (6) Northern China surrounding the Great Wall.[43] Some other scholars combine the one origin theory and multi-origin theory together to explain the origin of Chinese civilization and its development. They consider that the multifactor distribution and the "moon supported by the stars" (*zhong xing peng yue*) distribution together formed the Central Plains culture in another sense, which is also the center in the Chinese social and culture development of our ancestors.

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[39]One explanation for the emergence of the dragon symbol is that every time the Emperor Huang defeated another tribe, he incorporated the animal emblems of their insignia into his own, the result being a curious hybrid beast. Alternatively, it is possible that the dragon did emerge from the merger of tribal totems, but without the involvement of this mythical ruler.

[40]Wen Yiduo, *Mythology and Poetry* (Ancient Books Press, 1956), pp. 26 and 27.

[41]In Chinese the word "China" is *Zhongguo*, which means "Middle Country."

[42]Su Bingqi (1909–1997), an archaeologist based at Peking University, who excavated sites belonging to the Shang and Zhou dynasties, as well as Neolithic Cultures.

[43]Su Bingqi, *Typological Issues of Archaeological Culture, Selected Articles of Archaeological Study by Su Bingqi* (Cultural Relics Press, 1984), pp. 225–234.

The above analysis is identical with the following conclusion made by Zhang Guangzhi.[44] He stated that "No matter whether we consider Northern China or Southern China, we can propose a hypothesis that since 4000 BC, several regional cultures with special features and characteristics connected with each other and formed a sphere of interaction." [45] He said, moreover:

> ... this sphere of interaction formed 4000 years ago, which stretched to the Liao River in the North, Taiwan and the Zhujiang River Delta in the South, along the sea coast in the east and Gansu, Qinghai in the West. This can be called the China sphere of interaction or pre-China sphere of interaction, because this pre-historic sphere formed the geographical center in China, and all of the regional cultures in this sphere have played important roles in the formation of Chinese civilization in the time of the Qin and Han Dynasties.[46]

1.4 Primitive Agriculture and the Progress of Civilization

Concerning the symbols that represent the beginning of early Chinese civilization, some scholars advocate that bronze casting, the birth of Chinese characters, and the development of cities should be considered as the basic factors. Other scholars point out that there are limitations in taking those factors as the basic standards. However, for this discussion about the origin of Chinese civilization, it is widely acknowledged that the development of agriculture is considered the basic condition for the progress of any civilization.

The reason why the Emperor Yan was called the "sacred farmer" (*Shennong*) is most likely because the primitive farming techniques reached their first peak level during this time. The archaeological findings agree with the related mythology that the farming economy during the Neolithic Age in China achieved great prosperity.

The social and economic situation of the Yangshao Culture (5000 BC to 3000 BC) could be studied from the Banpo site.[47] As the people of Banpo began to settle down, agriculture accounted for rather a large ratio of their economy. At the same time, the Banpo people also raised livestock while fishing, hunting, and collecting wild plants.

Su Bingqi compared the quantity of production tools for reaping, logging, fishing, hunting, and weaving, in order to analyze the difference between the Banpo

[44] Zhang Guangzhi (Kwang-chih Chang in Wade-Giles, or K.C. Chang for short) (1931–2001) was a Chinese-American archaeologist and sinologist. He served as vice president of the Academia Sinica and held a Chair at Harvard University.

[45] Zhang Guangzhi, *Chinese Sphere of Interaction and Civilization, Collection of articles for Su Bingqi's 55 Years Anniversary of Archaeological Study* (Cultural Relics Press, 1989), p. 6.

[46] *Ibid.*

[47] Banpo is an archaeological site discovered in 1953 and located in the Yellow River Valley just east of Xi'an, China. It contains the remains of several well-organized Neolithic settlements dating from 5600 to 6700 years ago.

Culture and Miaodigou Culture.[48] The conclusion he made is that "farming, fishing, hunting and logging in the Banpo people's life were equally important, while the farming dominated the Miaodigou people's life. Banpo people's clothing was mostly made from animal skins, while the Miaodigou people mostly wore clothing made of plant fiber."[49]

The people of the Yangshao Culture period mainly grew millet. In the ashpit No. 15 of the Banpo site, there were several unearthed dippers of millet. An urn of carbonized grain unearthed in Dahe village, Zhengzhou, Henan Province, was verified to be sorghum, and something similar to rice was found in the Quanhu village site. Therefore, some scholars have inferred that it is possible that rice was grown in the Yellow River area. Primitive gardening had also begun in the Yangshao period. Some pottery jars for preserving shepherd's purse or cabbages were unearthed in house remains No. 38 of the Banpo site.

The socioeconomic development of the Longshan Culture in the middle reaches of the Yellow River was more progressive than that of the Yangshao Culture. The stone production tools were more delicately polished and chipped tools were seldom used. With the discovery of the wooden plow, bone hoe, stone ax, and triangular plow, it can be inferred that the farm production of the Longshan Culture had greatly improved with the innovation of these farming tools. Many reaping tools were found, such as a rectangular serrated stone knife, a half-moon-shaped serrated knife, stone sickle, and mussel sickle, all of which revealed that with the application of these many reaping tools, the crop harvest must have greatly increased.

The cultural remains of the Dawenkou (4100–2600 BC)[50] reflect how Dawenkou Culture relied mainly on agriculture. In a large cellar of the Sanlihe site, 1 cubic meter of millet was found. This indicates that in the later stages of the Neolithic Age at least, farm production could roughly meet the needs of their society, allowing some surplus for storage.[51] Many archaeological findings from Central China further indicate that the farming economy at this time was stepping into an age of prosperity.

In the fourth layer of the Hemudu site, a large cache of rice was discovered. In some places, the rice, rice husks, and rice straw were mixed together, forming an accumulation layer from 20 cm to over 1 m in depth. The people of the Hemudu Culture also used rice husks and straw as raw materials when they were making pottery. The great quantity and level of preservation of rice in the Hemudu Culture

[48]Miaodigou refers to a phase in Yangshao Culture (*c*. 4000 BC to 3000 BC). The Miaodigou people were the successors to the Banpo people.

[49]Su Bingqi, "Several Issues about Yangshao Culture, Journal of Archeology," Vol. 11, 1965.

[50]The Dawenkou Culture (*dawenkou wenhua*) is a name given by archaeologists to a group of Neolithic communities who lived primarily in Shandong but also appeared in Anhui, Henan, and Jiangsu, China. The culture existed from 4100 BC to 2600 BC, coexisting with the Yangshao Culture.

[51]Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Science, *Archaeological Excavation and Researches in New China* (Cultural Relics Press 1984).

was rarely to be found in the history of Chinese archaeology. It has been verified that the rice of the Hemudu Culture is of the long-grained *indica* variety. The Hemudu rice and rice unearthed in the Luojiajiao site of Tongxiang in Zhejiang are both dated around 5000 BC, which are the earliest rice discoveries found in China so far and also the oldest rice of artificial cultivation known in the world. The stone spade and stone sickle made of the shoulder blade of an ox or deer, also unearthed in the Hemudu site, formed some of the farming tools used by these ancestors.

The people of the Liangzhu Culture (3300–2200 BC) also made a living by farming, and the main crop also was rice. With the evaluation of the rice found in the Qianshanyang site, Zhejiang, it was discovered that these people were already growing two kinds of rice: short-grained (*japonica*) rice and long-grained (*indica*) rice. There were also peanuts, sesame, beans, and melon found in the Qianshanyang and Shuitianpan sites. The farming tools of the Liangzhu Culture are of great variety and delicately manufactured. Among them, the so-called triangular plow (*san jiao xing li xing qi*) was considered as the stone plow attached to the wooden plow bed. Another tool is the so-called sloping-handled knife (*xie bing dao*), which was also considered to be attached with a wooden handle. People used it to stir the plow trench as an "earth breaker" (*po tu qi*).

By exploring the origins of Chinese civilization, one can determine that the invention and accumulation of farming implements and domestic crop production were among the most important conditions for the birth and progress of civilization. Some scholars have pointed out that "starting from agriculture, and gradually developing into the civilization," is the common direction of historical progress.

> The history of growing rice in China can be traced back to 7,000 or 8,000 years ago; the same with millet. Starting from the development of agriculture, nomadic tribes began settling down, and gradually developed domestic livestock and handicraft, thus carving the way for Chinese civilization. This process was not exclusive to China; the same occurred with Western Asia, Egypt and India. Now it is accepted that three revolutions were necessary to the formation of the civilized world: the first is the agricultural revolution, the second, the industrial revolution and the third is the information revolution [. . .] [t]he so-called agricultural revolution refers to the social changes brought about by the development of agriculture, which is directly related with the origins of human civilization.[52]

Regarding the relationship between the cultural formation of China's early civilization and the later Chinese cultural progress, Zhang Qizhi pointed out that the Yandi and Huangdi are the source of ancient Chinese Culture. From a historic viewpoint, the Yandi tribe and Huangdi tribe are considered to be two large clan tribes with close relations, which together made a great impact upon the development of the modern Chinese nation. In the history of the development of Chinese civilization, the advanced cultures of the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring State Period can be called the "original culture" (*yuanchuangxing wenhua*) in recorded history, each forming a complete societal system with their rich

[52]Tian Changwu, *Social Characters of Yangshao Culture and Some Theoretical Issues related with Origin of Chinese Civilization, Yangshao Culture, Central China Relics,* Special Edition, 1986.

contributions. When conducting research into the sources of Chinese civilization, it is deemed necessary to examine carefully the archaeological projects pertaining to the origins of Chinese civilization. Now with a rich background of archaeological accomplishments, Chinese scholars have proposed many new views about the origin of Chinese civilization. For example, according to Zhang Qizhi: "The late Yangshao Period and Longshan Period are considered the time of Chinese civilization's origin, and the Period of Yandi and Huangdi is included within it." [53] "The main contribution of the Yandi Period lies in primitive farming and primitive culture."[54] "With the development of Chinese archeology, it is easy to verify the close relationship between the primitive agriculture and the origin of Chinese civilization. The archeological findings tell us that more than 7,000–8,000 years ago, the primitive farming in China was quite developed, and this is solid evidence of the origin of Chinese civilization. It can clearly be seen that the legends about Yandi Shennong are not so unreliable."[55] The primitive culture cannot be called the "original culture," but the primitive farming and primitive culture in ancient China have been found to be closely related with the original culture. "The primitive farming in the Yellow River Basin and Yangtze River Basin: specifically, the millet farming in the Yellow River Basin, is considered to be the material basis for the Qilu Culture (Confucian Culture) during the Warring States Period; and the rice farming in the Yangtze River Basin is considered to be the material basis for the Chu Culture (Taoist Culture). The original culture of Confucianism, featuring strength and solidity, enhanced Chinese moral values, and the original culture of Taoism, featuring elegance and purity, enhanced Chinese aesthetic values. Both of these two rivers are the mother river of Chinese culture, and the original culture cultivated by them formed the mainstream of Chinese traditional culture."[56]

To sum up, the study of the origins of Chinese civilization is an ongoing academic project which needs to be seriously investigated before formulating any final conclusions. Perhaps there is still a long way to go to clearly depict this course of history, but the general framework of ancient China's historic evolution has become gradually more and more lucid.

Questions

1. Please briefly elaborate on the significance of the origins of Chinese civilization.
2. Please illustrate the relations between the mythology of the Emperor Huang and the Emperor Yan and the Chinese archaeological findings of the post-Neolithic Age with examples.

[53] Zhang Qizhi, "Civilization Origin and Time of Yandi and Huangdi," *Guangming Daily*, Aug 23rd, 2002.

[54] *Ibid.*

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Chapter 2
Ancient Chinese Society and the Change of Dynasties

Dynastic change is a well-known aspect of ancient Chinese history. In a sense, the history of ancient China is punctuated with the rise and fall of dynasties. Every historical event, figure, new civilization, and bloodthirsty or fiery dispute is indeed inseparable from the past dynasties. A historical truth lies behind the change of dynasties, which was perhaps not clear to people living at the time. As history evolved, more and more people came to understand this truth. All past dynasties, no matter how well-developed their economies grew or how profound their culture became, depended entirely on one simple truth: the primacy of public will. In other words, the rise or fall of any dynasty rested upon popular support rather than the ruler's desire.

2.1 The Succession of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties and the Shaping of the Chinese Nation

Please refer to Volume 1: Pre-Qin Times in *History of China* (6-volume textbook)[1] which briefly introduces the Three Dynasties.

What was the Xia? The Xia derived from the Xiahou Clan, a tribe in the Xia Dynasty. The Xia Dynasty was generally thought to have been located at Yuzhou (a former county of Henan Province). However, some still argue that it was either situated in the reaches of the River Han, in Xia County, Shanxi Province, or at a more distant location.

[1]Zhang Qizhi (General Editor-in-Chief), Liu Baocai (Editor-in-Chief), Qian Xun, and Zhou Suping, *History of China: Volume 1 – Pre-Qin Times* (Higher Education Press, 2001).

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The Xia Dynasty (twenty-first century–1600 BC?) was the first dynasty in China and endured for about four or five hundred years, spanning 17 emperors (from Da Yu or the "Yu the Great" to Jie) and encompassing 14 generations in total. With its heartland covering the west of Henan Province and the south of Shanxi Province, it possessed a large territory bounded on the east by eastern Henan, by Mount Hua in the west, by the Ji River in the north, and the Huai River in the south.

There is little authentic extant literature relating to this dynasty. In *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Xia* (*Shiji: Xia Benji*), Sima Qian only recorded a brief history, stretching from Da Yu or "Yu the Great" (who was said to have reigned the twenty-first century BC) and his great feats in flood control[2] to the fall of the dynasty, precipitated by the cruelty and oppression of its last emperor, Jie (1728–1675 BC). In spite of his ruthless and fierce nature, Jie once pompously compared himself to the everlasting sun. His empire would not set at the end of the day, like the sun, nor would it ever set he claimed. Having suffered more than enough of his heavy oppression, the people cast a fatal curse upon him: "If only the ruthless 'sun' would set! Damn you to death, even at the price of our death!" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Xia*). A great man named Shang Tang (later the Emperor Tang of Shang) led his troops in rebellion against Jie and eventually the Xia Empire fell, with the death of the tyrant Jie following soon afterwards.

The Shang Dynasty (1600?–1046 BC) consisted of a series 31 emperors belonging to 17 generations and was based in the region around the northeast of Henan, the southwest of Shandong, and southern Hebei. Its territory stretched from the eastern seaboard to Shaanxi in the west and as far north as Hebei and as far south as Hubei. The area it had dominion over was much larger than that of the Xia Dynasty. From the reign of Tang (*c.* 1675–1646 BC), the founder of the dynasty, to the period of Pan Geng (who reigned for around 28 years from *c*. 1300 BC), the capital was relocated five times. Finally, it was moved to Yin (now Anyang in Henan Province) under the imperial edict of Pan Geng.

The last emperor of the Shang Dynasty, Zhou (known as Di Xin during his lifetime) (1075–1046 BC), was confronted with the greatest obstacle – the rebellion of the surrounding tribes. This reached its climax in a major war between the empire and the rebels. The central power was left remarkably weakened despite the fact that it had previously easily suppressed the rebellion of minorities in the southeast. Seizing this golden opportunity, the well-prepared tribe of Zhou annihilated the Shang Dynasty.

The Zhou was an old tribe that dwelt in central Shaanxi Province and in the east of Gansu. The tribe had emerged since Gongliu (also known as Duke Liu) relocated

[2]Da Yu or the "Yu the Great" was said to be the son of Gun, a descendent of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi). Gun lost his life after King Yao tasked him with taming the Yellow River, which flooded numerous times bringing devastation to the interior of the land. Where Gun had failed, Yu was successful. He collaborated with Houji (the mythical inventor of agriculture) to create drainage channels and in so doing established the pattern of terrace farming which persists to this day. An alternative local myth states that he wielded his colossal ax to create the Three Gorges of the Yangtze River.

his capital to Bin City (now Xunyi and Bin counties of Shaanxi Province). The city stood on the border between the Loess Plateau of northern Shaanxi and the Central Shaanxi Plains. Under the leadership of Gongliu (dates uncertain), the Zhou tribesmen built thatched cottages, regulated arable lands, and developed agriculture. The economy improved and attracted people from the surrounding areas. After 300 years of laying the painstaking foundation, Zhan Fu took the lead, left, and settled in the Zhou Plains at the foot of Qishan Mountain (now in Qishan and Fufeng counties of Shaanxi Province). The new location was endowed with fertile soil and they lived there contentedly and peacefully.

The Zhou was unable to rival the Shang in national strength when King Wen of Zhou (reigned 1099–1050 BC) succeeded to the throne. In this way, he accepted the title Earl of Western Yin (Yin Xibo) but was later imprisoned at Qiangli (now Anyang in Henan Province) as is recorded in *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Zhou Dynasty* (*Shiji: Zhou Benji*). The Zhou tribesmen had no choice but to bribe the leaders of the Shang Dynasty by offering steeds and beauties in exchange for the release of their beloved king. With his strength increasing, King Wen relocated the capital to Feng City (now on the western side of the River Feng in Chang'an County, Shaanxi Province) and planned to overthrow the Shang Dynasty. Upon the succession of King Wu (Duke of Zhou 1050–1046 BC; King of China 1046–1043 BC), after the death of King Wen, the capital was relocated once again to Hao City (now on the eastern side of the River Feng). At that time, King Wu continued his preparations for an attack on the Shang Dynasty.

In the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046–711 BC), which consisted of 12 emperors belonging to 11 generations, with two exceptions, the throne passed from father to son. This dynasty possessed a territory that stretched from the eastern part of Gansu (its western extremity) to the eastern seaboard (its eastern extremity) to Liaoning (its northern extremity) and the Yangtze River (its southern extremity). The Western Zhou Dynasty had the largest territory of any of the Three Dynasties mentioned thus far.

Although the rulers of the Shang and Zhou dynasties were described as "kings" (as mentioned above), the royal throne in fact existed much earlier and may even date back to the later period of the clan society. Some scholars who have studied the original form of *wang* (the Chinese character for "throne" or "royalty") have discovered that it resembled a hatchet. The hatchet stood for the supreme military authority of a chief.[3] The conceptual precursor to the "king," from which this office developed, might have been a military chief of the confederacy of tribes in the late clan society. It certainly took a long time to deify and to develop the throne into a supreme title.

Judging from their history, which spans more than 1,000 years, both disputation and fusion were present in the development of the three dynasties. Some of the ancestors of the Zhou acted as magistrates in the Xia Dynasty some as supervisors in the Shang Dynasty. After the establishment of the Western Zhou Empire, members

[3]Lin Yun, "On the concept of 'King,'" *Archeology* (1965, Issue 6).

of the Xia and Shang tribes were given the title of "seignior" (*Zhuhou*). Before that, the Xia and Shang tribes melded together when the Shang overthrew the Xia. As the Zhou toppled the Shang, all the three tribes found themselves in a melting pot. As a result, the modern Chinese nation began to take shape in the later Western Zhou Dynasty.

The Han, the main nationality of China, can be traced back to the Huaxia nationality. Even though the Han refer to themselves "the Chinese nation," the current usage of that name is quite different from its original meaning for over time the nationality came to subsume many more ancient ethnic groups.

The *xia* component in *huaxia* (another name for "China" in Chinese pinyin) refers to the people of the Central Plains. As is documented in *Explaining and Analyzing Characters* (*Shuowen Jiezi*),[4] *xia* means "people of the central land." The central land is pronounced *zhongguo* (the pinyin rendering of the name "China"). This was taken to be used as the name for the people from the Central Plains in the Western Zhou Dynasty. Also, however, the people were called *Hua* in the Spring and Autumn Period. The *Hua* and *Xia* combined together after the Han Dynasty.

All three tribes showed a remarkable sense of national identity. They each thought of themselves as the progeny of the tribe of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) because in their hearts they shared the same origin. Besides, they incessantly interbred with surrounding ethnic groups. Division and fusion were two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, this meant division for Huaxia, but on the other hand, it meant fusion for the other ethnic groups and vice versa. Since ancient times, the Chinese nationality has displayed the qualities of a multinational unity (see Part V of *National Relations in History of China* for further details).

2.2 The Social Composition of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties

Whether people approve of it or not, the composition of social classes and relations can be clearly discerned through the evolution of Chinese history, especially from the change of dynasties. Why did dynasties change? To answer this question, one has to think objectively about the existence of social class.

The society of the Shang Dynasty consisted of the aristocracy (*guizu*), the plebeians (*pingmin*), and the slaves (*nuli*).

As the ruling class of the Shang Dynasty, the aristocracy included the king, royalty, bureaucrats, princes, and earls. Shang society was characterized by a developed clan hierarchy. The clans at all levels were both social organizations and political entities with power. The clan was the fruit of blood kinship. As the supreme ruler, the King of the Shang Dynasty was the chief of the Shang Clan, which was the strongest of all the clans. Likewise, all other members of the nobility gained

[4]The *Shuowen Jiezi* was compiled by Xu Shen (*c*. 58-*c*. 147 AD) and is often regarded as the earliest attempt at a dictionary of the written Chinese language.

their power through their clans. The aristocracy was generally called "the People" (*baixing*), which referred to many clan chiefs.

The plebeians, another major class of the Shang Dynasty, were engaged in productive labor such as agriculture and hunting. They were also involved in war and serving on guard duty, participated in sacrifices, and served the king.

According to the oracle bone script, the seal script of the Shang Dynasty and other extant writings, slaves, representing the lowest class, accounted for a large proportion of the whole population at that time. They were given numerous names such as "slave" (*li*), "serf" (*chen*), and "thrall" (*qie* or *xi*), but most of them were in fact prisoners. Moreover, those from conquered clans or tribes also constituted a sizeable sector of the population.

In the Shang Dynasty, slaves were deprived of all personal freedoms. Yet, they also served the nobility in cultivation, plowing the land, hunting, penal servitude, and so forth. All of these services were rendered without pay. In wartime, they were compelled to join the army and held lowly military posts. Some male and female slaves performed domestic work in the homes of the aristocracy. The aristocracy had ownership over their labor and often even slaughtered them. Human sacrifice and *sati* were the most typical form that their ruthless cruelty took. Human sacrifice (*ren ji*), as its name describes, means the taking of people's lives as an offering at religious rites. There are many records of human sacrifice among the oracle bone scripts which were unearthed in archaeological ruins dating back to the Shang Dynasty. Performing human sacrifice was, nevertheless, exceedingly brutal. Human *sati* entailed burying people alive (*ren xun*) with the deceased dignitaries they had served in order to ensure their continuous servitude in the afterlife. Archaeological relics reveal that human *sati* was popular in the Shang Dynasty. It is evident in most tombs belonging to the aristocracy. Varying numbers of bodies of slaves have been found in each, ranging from one or two to dozens or even hundreds.

In the Western Zhou Dynasty, society was still composed of the aristocracy, the plebeians, and the slaves, but it was also marked with the trait of hierarchy. The aristocracy of that time consisted of the king, princes, ministers, and others. The King of the Zhou Dynasty, also called "Son of Heaven" or "Son of God" (*Tianzi*), wielded supreme sovereign power on behalf of Heaven or God. Except for the Royal Demesne, all other lands and slaves were given to descendants of the Zhou Clan (with surnames including Ji and Jiang). These lands and slaves were called the "Private Properties" (*Sijia*) of the princes. As we can see, the king, the princes, and even ministers of the whole hierarchy were bound by the blood relationship of the clan.

Beneath the aristocracy, there existed a class of plebeians known as the freemen. They were called the "People of Guo" (*Guoren*) in reference to the name of the city or town where they resided and its suburbs. These folks had to enlist for military service during wartime and perform acts of labor such as constructing palaces or public works. They could, however, be entitled to participate in state affairs. This group, together with the merchants and handicraftsmen, represented the plebeians of that time and formed an important class and even the majority of civilians. They were also drawn into conflict with the aristocracy which eventually resulted in them staging a revolt during the Western Zhou Dynasty.

In addition, an untitled populace (*shuren*) was also present in the society of the Western Zhou Dynasty. They were devoted to agricultural labor, cultivation of public lands, and various forms of servitude. They were certainly unlike slaves because they possessed land and were engaged in agricultural production. The harvests gleaned from their own fields belonged to them. At that time, this class was relatively large.

Slaves were situated at the bottom of the society and were given different ranks. They labored in agricultural production, handicrafts, animal husbandry, and so forth. Some slaves also performed domestic work in the houses of the nobility.

Endowed with the culture established under the Shang Dynasty, the Zhou Dynasty initially imitated the Shang before overthrowing it. Notwithstanding, Zhou culture still retained its own features. Academics of this dynasty had open access to the aristocracy, forming the pattern of "Knowledge in Government" (*Xuezai Guanfu*). Only the children of the nobility could receive education in imperial academies. Their syllabus covered poetry or lyrics (*Shi*) for sacrificial rites, books (i.e., scriptures and edicts) (*Shu*), rites (i.e., rites and rules) (*Li*), music (i.e., music and dance to be performed in rituals) (*Yue*), archery (*She*), cart driving (*Yu*), and other skills necessary for the nobility. Under the dominance of the aristocracy, culture could have never spread among the plebeians because it was bound up with the privilege of rites. For this reason, in the society of the Western Zhou Dynasty, there was a marked distinction between the nobility (urbane) (*junzi*) and the lowly (tortured) (*xiaoren*).

Furthermore, the Western Zhou Dynasty had a feudal enfeoffment system whereby blood relationship depended on the marital system. It still retained the conventions of the Shang Dynasty. Monogamy for the common people and polygamy for the nobility coexisted, however, with the slight difference that marriage tended to be more standardized with a set of legal or established rites. In the *Book of Rites: The Meaning of the Marriage Ceremony* (*Liji: Hunyi*),[5] the following definition is given: "Marriage means a combination or bondage of two families to offer sacrifice to the ancestral temple and produce children. This naturally arouses attention of gentlemen." Since then, marriage had six steps that had to be followed called the Six Ceremonies (*Liu Li*): Betrothal (*Nacai*), Asking for the Name (*Wenming*), Fixing Date of Marriage (*Naji*), Sending Betrothal Gifts (*Nazheng*), Announcing the Wedding Day (*Qingqi*), and Bride Fetching (*Qinying*). This encompasses the whole process from betrothal to consummation.

The six ceremonies took the following form: first, if the bridegroom's family wanted a maiden as their object of marriage, they would invite a matchmaker to

[5] *The Book of Rites* (*Liji*) takes its name from the concept of Li, which Confucius took to mean the system of standard conducts or etiquettes which should be followed in order to maintain a civilized society. It records the rituals of the Zhou Dynasty as they were understood in the Warring States Period and the early Han Dynasty. Together with the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*) and the *Book of Etiquette and Ceremonial* (*Yili*), it constitutes the "ritual" (*Li*) section of the Five Classics within the Confucian canon.

visit her family with a wild goose as a hint that there might be a proposal. Once the bride's family agreed, a formal proposal would be given. Second, the bride's name would be scrutinized by divination to decide whether it carried good or bad luck. Third, a form of divination would be used by the bridegroom's family to determine if the marriage would be auspicious. Were the answer affirmative, approval would be granted. Fourth, betrothal gifts would be sent to the bride's family. Fifth, the bridegroom's family set a day for the wedding. Sixth, the bridegroom led a large retinue to fetch the bride. These ceremonies, which came into being in the Zhou Dynasty, were basically passed down through the later long history of China. Nonetheless, the traces of the primitive marriage customs were still clear. Each spring, single men and women were allowed to court and even elope without limitations. In the later feudal society, this was strictly prohibited owing to the impact of "ethical code" (*lijiao*).

On the whole, the patriarchal clan system greatly influenced the later historical evolution of China. This system has cast a persistent shadow over the history of China.

2.3 Social Changes in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods

This was a critical time in the history of China.

The Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC) lasted for fully 294 years. In this period, the enfeoffment system and the aristocratic regime gradually collapsed and new changes appeared in society.

The Warring States Period (475–221 BC) lasted for 254 years. The centralized states in pre-Qin times were formed and merged, and as a result a national unified centralized empire was established – the Qin Empire.

With the development of private land ownership, new noble landlords emerged, and the society of the Spring and Autumn Period changed significantly. The consequences of these changes are reflected in the political strife between private individuals (*Sijia*) and the royalty (*Gongshi*). From the time when the capital of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty was relocated to Luoyang (771 BC) up until the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period, private individuals gained growing economic and political power. Infighting between them grew intense, and in this way domestic ministers represented by *Qing Da Fu* gradually gained political power over the regime as the royal families in all vassal states were weakened to varying degrees.

This strife fell into two kinds: first, there was the strife between the clan and the immediate royalty. Pursuant to the regulations of the Zhou Dynasty, the first son of the legal wife was entitled to succeed to the throne. Conversely, all others would be awarded the title of "Minister" (*Da Fu*) as later generations of the clan. They were always struggling for power and profit with the royalty. Secondly, there was strife between ministers with different surnames (*Yixing Qing Da Fu*) and the royalty.

The States of Lu, Qi, and Jin reveal the most typical examples of feuding between the ministers and the royalty. In the Spring and Autumn Period, the State of Lu[6] was governed by the royal family. Even so, much private power in this area lay in the hands of the Ji, Shu, and Meng Clans. All of them developed from a common origin, being descended from Duke Huan of the State of Lu (reigned 711–694 BC). They defiantly constructed new towns to try and expand their power and political influence. This phenomenon was painstakingly documented in *Records of the Grand Historian: House of Lu Zhougong* (*Shiji: Lu Zhougong Shijia*) by Sima Qian.

After the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period, the Tian Clan, a new member of the noble class in the State of Qi,[7] emerged and gradually gained sufficient power to govern the state, with the result being that they seized the throne. In the State of Jin,[8] the royalty had faded from the stage of history before this Period. Likewise, ministers with different surnames slowly took over the state power. For this reason, the State of Jin was separated into the Wei, Han, and Zhao States.[9] This is known to history as "the State of Jin Separated by Three Clans" (*Sanjia Fenjin*). What did this strife reflect? It reflected an increasingly sharp contradiction between the political system and the social economy. And thus, it was inevitable that the political system needed to be reformed so as to meet the requirements of economic development. Consequently, on the one hand, the rule of the old clan tended to end abruptly, and on the other hand, a new bureaucratic politics came into being. Nonetheless, clan rule did not and could not come to a total end in the long history of China. It was still associated with the new bureaucratic political system. The hereditary system of royalty continued to be based on blood kinship.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, the gradual expansion of private power was closely related to the development of productivity and the reform of tools for production. The Shang and Western Zhou Dynasties were called the "Bronze Age" (*Qing tong shi dan*) because out of all handicrafts, bronze was considered to be state of the art. "Sacrifice and War were two major affairs of the state" according to

[6]The State of Lu was in existence from *c*. 1042 to 249 BC, when it was annexed to the State of Chu. Its capital was Qufu and it covered territory in the southwest and central parts of what is now Shandong Province. It is renowned for being the birthplace of Confucius.

[7]The State of Qi was in existence from 1046 to 221 BC and covered much of what is now Shandong Province. Its capital was Linzi (now known as Zibo).

[8]The State of Jin was in existence from the eleventh century BC until 376 BC. Originally known as the State of Tang, it was based along the lower reaches of the Fen River Basin on the Shanxi Plateau.

[9]The State of Wei was in existence from 403 to 225 BC and covered parts of what is now Henan, Shanxi, Shandong, and Hebei, having Anyi and then Kaifeng as its capital. The State of Han was in existence from 403 to 230 BC and covered parts of Shanxi and Henan, having Yangzhai and then Xinzheng as its capital. The State of Zhao was in existence from 403 to 222 BC and covered parts of Inner Mongolia, Shanxi, Shaanxi, and Hebei, having Handan as its capital.

the *Duke Cheng of Lu, 13th Year* section of *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*).[10] The manufacture of bronze wares served both these purposes.

In the Shang Dynasty, most bronze, with the exception of some that was transformed into tools for production, was used to make sacrificial vessels and weapons. Moreover, bronze manufacture was still the most important among all the handicrafts of the Western Zhou Dynasty, making this a critical period in the development of ancient Chinese bronze.

The development of ancient tools for production fell into three categories: the Stone, the Bronze, and the Iron Ages. In Chinese history, bronze ware failed to replace stoneware as the main material for tools of production. However, after the birth of ironware, stoneware soon vanished. This was because iron tools are much sharper than tools made out of stone or bronze. In fact, ironware manufacture developed dramatically in the Spring and Autumn Period. The Chinese character for "iron" (*tie*) can be found in the earliest historical literature of the turn of the Western Zhou Dynasty and the Spring and Autumn Period. A line from "Ode to a Hunting Duke" was taken from the *Odes of Qin* section of the *Book of Poetry*[11] (*Shijing: Qin Feng, Si Tie*): "[t]he Great Duke (776–764 BC) by six halters, drives a cart of four black horses." This is a vivid depiction of the Duke Xiang of the State of Qin[12] going hunting. *Tie* in its Chinese original character symbolizes the jet-black color of the horsehair. That the use of ironware was widespread in the mid- and late Warring States Period is proven by the results of archaeological excavations. The introduction of iron farming tools greatly improved the ability of farmers to cultivate the land, which facilitated deep plowing techniques and intense cultivation methods, both of which boosted the development of agriculture.

The progress in social productivity made household production possible. The development of a household economy required breaking the bondage of the clan. In addition to continuous wars, land allocation, and industrial and business development, the states were driven into forming a unified state in history. Social

[10]This commentary was prepared by Zuo Qiuming (or perhaps Zuoqu Ming) in around the fifth century BC in the State of Lu. It covers the reigns of 12 dukes of that state (722–468 BC, with an appendix for 463 BC) and is traditionally considered to be of great use to understanding the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*).

[11]The *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), also known as the *Book of Odes*, the *Book of Songs*, or the *Classic of Poetry*, consists of 300 poetical works (actually 305) composed between around the eleventh and the seventh centuries BC. It gathers works from the various states of pre-unified China and is included among the *Five Classics* within the Confucian canon. See Chap. 10 of this book for further details of its contents and composition.

[12]The State of Qin was in existence from the ninth century BC to 221 BC, when its ruler declared the first imperial Chinese state. As is mentioned in the main text, it covered a large expanse of western China, bordering the territories of the Zhao, Wei, Han, and Chu in the east.

reform campaigns in the States of Wei, Chu,[13] Qi, Qin, Han, Zhao, and Yan[14] perfectly mirrored the above requirements in politics. For instance, the Reforms of Shang Yang for the Duke Xiao of the State of Qin (reigned 361–338 BC) were noteworthy. Shang Yang (390–338 BC), the reformer, who was a student of Shi Jiao (a native of the State of Lu), was a great thinker and reformer of that time. He was ranked the best out of all the numerous schools of thinkers. According to the *History of the Han Dynasty*[15]*: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yiwen Zhi*), Shi Jiao "was an erudite forerunner of various eclectics adept in Confucianism and Mohism, who combined the two to create Schools of Logic and Legalism." Due to his fanatical belief in reform, Shang led two rounds of reform in 359 BC and 350 BC, both with the Duke Xiao's support. The reforms included establishing a system of prefectures and counties, the relocation of the capital to Xianyang, introducing a major reward for military merit, the unification of metrology, implementing a reform in taxation, and the curbing of those ethnic minority customs which were considered to be backwards. However, the reforms were beset with storms and struggles. After the death of Duke Xiao, Shang Yang was sentenced to death by cruel torture, namely, by having his body ripped apart via five steeds galloping in five different directions. His reforms, however, transformed the State of Qin into the champion of the Seven States in the Warring States Period. It laid a solid foundation for the First Emperor's unification of China.

In the early Warring States Period, Qin, Qi, Yan, Chu, Zhao, Wei, and Han were the strongest states. Despite holding a vast territory, the State of Yue[16] played an insignificant role at that time, for the strength of that nation was weakened by the Chu. There were some other small states such as Lu, Jü, Zou, Qi, Teng, and Xue in Shandong Province; Zheng, Wei, and Zeng in Henan province; Cai at the border between what is now Henan and Anhui; as well as Song on the boundary between Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, and Anhui. Historically, the creation of a single unified country was to prove inevitable. However, the question of who should shoulder that mission of unification arose. The answer depended on the fruits of the social reforms.

The coexistence of seven strong states was not an accident. Zhao, Wei, Han, and Qi resulted from the gaining of power by ministers in the Jin and Qi States of the Spring and Autumn Period, which damaged the patriarchal tradition more

[13]The State of Chu was a vast state along the Yangtze River, which was in existence between *c*. 1030 and 223 BC. Its territory encompassed most of what is now Hubei and Hunan, together with portions of Guizhou, Chongqing, Henan, Anhui, Jiangxi, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Shanghai. Its capital was changed four times, but Danyang was its original center of power.

[14]The State of Yan was in existence from the eleventh century BC to 222 BC and covered a long strip of land in the northeast of China. Its capital, Ji, later became the foundation for Beijing.

[15]The *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*), also known as the *Book of Han*, covers the history of the Han Dynasty (206–25 BC) and was compiled by Ban Biao, Ban Gu, and Ban Zhao, being completed in 111 AD. For further details of its composition, see Chap. 12 of this book.

[16]The date of origin for the State of Yue is unknown, though it was conquered by the State of Chu in 334 BC and finally by the Qin in 222 BC. It encompassed portions of Zhejiang, Shanghai, and Jiangsu, having its capital at Kuaiji, just outside present-day Shaoxing.

thoroughly. Neither the Qin nor the Chu had a rigorous patriarchal system. The State of Yan with its most traditional traits was ranked as the weakest of them all. Small states such as Lu, Zheng, Wei, and Song, which were endowed with stringent patriarchal convention and where clans seized power, showed weakness in national strength since the Warring States Period for they had little impact on the patriarchal tradition. From this perspective, the reform of the old system was the necessary prerequisite for historical evolution.

In the late Warring States Period, social reform gave birth to changes in the social hierarchy. At that time, landlords owned land and laborers themselves exploited their surplus labor. The landlord class (squirearchy) (*Dizhu*) gradually evolved into a ruling class. It had four sources: first, the nobility, who were enfeoffed with land, expanded the size of their lands and became the earliest landlords. Second, bureaucrats and military landlords became squirearchal once lands were awarded to them by the emperor. For example, the aforesaid reforms of Shang Yang contained a clause whereby any slave with military merit could be set free and registered. This was, in effect, a system of conferring ranks of nobility according to war service. Moreover, both the plebeians and the nobility could attain squirearchy by accepting more lands and registered residences. Third, successful merchants and usurers were transformed into landlords by annexing lands via trade ties founded upon great success in business and loan sharking. They cultivated private lands and purchased further lands to exploit so as to lead wealthy lives.

The "peasant class" consisted of the "yeomen" (*zigengnong*), "tenant farmers" (*diannong*), "villains" (*shuzi*), and "farm workers" (*gunong*). The yeomen were mainly former plebeians, especially those from the city. The old description of yeomen farming and weaving did indeed reflect the daily life of these people. That lifestyle only just took shape in the time when the reforms of Shang Yang were carried out. Nonetheless, it was clearly documented as late as the history of Qin and Han dynasties. As it is recorded in *Advocating Agriculture* in Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi Chunqiu: Shangnong*)[17]: "Why is it necessary to do farming and weaving? Because they belong to agriculture."[18] Again, according to the *Craft of the Ruler* section of the *Masters of Huainan*[19] (*Huainanzi: Zhushuxun*): "It is toilsome to cultivate land and bothersome to weave. It is inevitable to do such things to satisfy our needs for food and clothes." Furthermore, "food commodities" (*Shihuo*) in later history books just referred to the small-scale peasant economy which combined cultivation and weaving. "Food" signified agricultural production and "commodities" pointed to household handicraft.

"Tenant farmers" were a group that was devolved from the yeomen. Some yeomen were reduced to selling their lands as they could not maintain their

[17]The *Lüshi Chunqiu* is an encyclopedic Chinese classic text compiled around 239 BC under the patronage of the Qin Dynasty Chancellor Lü Buwei.

[18]For more details on this work, see Chap. 7.

[19]*Masters of Huainan* was composed under the patronage of Liu An, prince of Huainan, and is a philosophical work which blends Confucianism, Legalism, and Taoism, exploring concepts such as the *Yin* and *Yang*.

livelihoods and were forced to become tenants under conditions of impoverishment. However, "villains" can only be paraphrased by historical records for the historical records give no exact definition for the status of the villains. As can be seen in the Qin laws, peasants (*shuzi*) shall be awarded to those with military merits as villains. They often worked 6 days a month for the masters. The lowest groups of peasants were called "farm workers" (*gunong*) or "farm laborers" (*yongfu*). They had completely lost their lands and had no permanent master. If they moved to the cities, they would be named *yongbao* or *shibao*, and their lives would lack guarantees and sources of support.

Apart from the landlord and peasant classes, there were also "craftsmen" (*shougongyezhe*), "merchants" (*shanyezhe*), and "slaves" (*nuli*). Craftsmen and merchants were separated from the government office and transformed into commodity producers and operators. A great number of official and private slaves served the society during the Warring States Period. Most official slaves were actually criminals; those who had been enslaved as a criminal penalty were called "servants with lifelong servitude to the government" (*Lichenqie*) according to the *Qin Law* (*Qin Lü*). In this period, slaves were still presented or bargained with like any other goods, and *sati* for slaves had not become extinct by that time. Nevertheless, judging from the main theme of social hierarchy, China had stepped onto the threshold of being a feudal society.

Many great changes took place with pioneering achievements in all fields during the Warring States Period, and it was also a golden age for academia and culture. Numerous schools of thought existed in different regions of the land, and these were often tied to specific geographical locations: Confucianism was based in the State of Lu and disseminated across the States of Jin, Wei, and Qi. Mohism was developed towards the States of Chu and Qin. Taoism was initiated in the States of Chu, Chen, and Song and was later circulated in the State of Qi. The people of the State of Chu retained a rather primitive religion focused upon the worship of necromancers and ghosts, which influenced the States of Qi and Yan. Later on, the *Yin-Yang* School or School of Naturalists (Geomancers) flourished in the State of Qi; however, Legalism mainly originated in the States of Wei, Han, and Zhao. Zhao and Lu were the cultural centers in the Spring and Autumn Period. However, in the Warring States Period, cultural exchange and impact developed vigorously, which helped to break down the aforesaid pattern of cultural regionalism.

2.4 Reflections upon the Rise and Fall of the Qin Dynasty

When the Duke Yingzheng[20] (260–210 BC) succeeded to the throne in 247 BC, he was only 13 years old, and so the Empress and the Prime Minister Lü Buwei took over the powers of the state. By 238 BC, Yingzheng was awarded adulthood

[20]Later to be known as Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of the united Chinese state.

with a grand ceremony in the Yong Capital (now in the south of Fengxiang County in Shaanxi Province), and he took over the reins of government in the following year. He undeniably loved the works of Han Fei (*c*. 280–223 BC) who epitomized thoughts of the School of Legalism. He appointed Li Si (280–208 BC) and Wei Liao to make the best use of the Unite and Conquer policy (*Liuguo Hezhong, Gege Jipo*) with the result being that he defeated every enemy by preventing strategic alliances from being formed. To be specific, these feats included: the appointment of the Imperial Officer Teng to seize the State of Han in 230 BC; the assignment of the Great General Wang Jian to destroy the State of Zhao in 229 BC[21]; ordering Wang Jian to once more attack the State of Yan in 227 BC, which was to fall in 222 BC; ordering Wang Ben, the son of Wang Jian, to overthrow the State of Wei in 225 BC; demanding Wang Jian to attack the State of Chu in 224 BC, which was to fall in 222 BC; and ordering Wang Ben to overthrow the State of Qi in 221 BC upon the orders of the Emperor. In the 26th year after his succession, the Qin Emperor Yingzheng unified China and established Xianyang as his capital. This set the scene for later Chinese feudal dynasties.

Why did the State of Qin rather than any other state manage to unify China? The reason was because the Qin had no rigorous patriarchal system and fewer obstructions to the implementation of reform. The reforms of Shang Yang bore great fruits so that the legalistic policy "Enriching the State and Strengthening the People" (*Fuguo Qiangmin*) became a reality in the State of Qin. Endowed with a strategically advantageous location, the State of Qin could attack others while guarding itself easily. The capitals of all other states, apart from the State of Qin, had been conquered in the past, and this state had to deal with less infighting. As a matter of fact, it enjoyed stability for 150 years, encompassing the long reigns of the Duke Xian (reigned 384–362 BC), Duke Xiao (reigned 361–338 BC), King Huiwen (reigned 338–311 BC), King Zhao (reigned 306–251 BC), and Yingzheng (reigned 247–221 BC). Even during the short reigns of the Kings Wu (reigned 310–307 BC), Xiaowen (reigned 250 BC), and Zhuangxiang (reigned 250–247 BC), no internal splits occurred due to disputes over who should succeed to the throne. In short, the unification of China came about from the comprehensive advantages of "right time, right place, and right people" (*Tianshi, Dili, Renhe*).

Although it was a short-lived imperial dynasty of a little more than 10 years, the system of governance practiced by the Qin Dynasty exerted a far-reaching impact over more than 2,000 years of history thereafter. The theory and practice of Great Unification (*Da Yitong*) were its first and foremost contributions. This was first seen in the *Commentary of Gongyang on the Spring and Autumn Annals*[22]*: The 1st Year*

[21] After that, Prince Jia of Zhao (the subsequent leader) escaped to the Dai Prefecture and made himself king. This new state was destroyed by Qin troops in 222 BC.

[22] Together with *Zuo's Commentary* and the *Commentary of Guliang* (*Guliang Zhuan*), this is considered to be one of the three classic studies of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It differs from *Zuo's Commentary* in that whereas that work consists of elegant prose (much admired for its stylistic features), this takes the form of a series of question and answer sessions between Confucius and his disciples.

of Duke Yin (*Gongyang Zhuan: Yin Gong Yuannian*) and represented a common aspiration for the Schools of Legalism, Confucianism, and Taoism in the Warring States Period. Nonetheless, the three schools held different views as to how to accomplish this and how to govern the resultant state once the Great Unification had been achieved.

The political system of the State of Qin embodied the theory and practice of the "Great Unification." Gaining control over a vast territory once unification had been achieved, it established 36 original prefectures (*jun*): Longxi (West Gansu), Beidi (North Shang), Shangjun, Hanzhong, Shujun, Bajun, Handan, Julu, Taiyuan, Shangdang, Yanmen, Daijun, Yunzhong, Hedong, Dongjun, Dangjun, Sanchuan, Yingchuan, Nanjun (South *Jun*), Qianzhong, Nanyang, Changsha, Chujun, Jiujiang, Sishui, Xuejun, Donghai, Kuaiji, Qijin, Langya, Guangyang, Yuyang, Shanggu, You Beiping (to the right of Beijing), Liaoxi (West Liaoning), and Liaodong (East Liaoning). *Neishi* was a parallel administrative unit alongside the prefectures (*jun*) and had jurisdiction over the counties surrounding the capital city. In the later territorial expansion the prefectures of Jiuyuan, Nanhai, Guilin, Xiangjun, and Minzhong were established. The Qin Empire encompassed 41 prefectures, excluding the areas governed by the *neishi*. A county was set up as an administrative unit inferior to a prefecture. In areas populated by ethnic minorities, the counties were called *Dao*. In total there were about 1,000 of these counties. The system of prefectures and counties set up during the unification of China during the Qin Dynasty paved the way for a political system based around a greatly unified central regime.

Under the guidance of the Grand Unification Theory, the foundations of a perfect central regime were established during the Qin Dynasty. The most important officials (*Sangong*) in the central ruling group were the Prime Minister (*Chengxiang*), the Defender-in-Chief (*Taiwei*), and the Grand Censor (*Yushi Da Fu*). The Defender-in-Chief, otherwise known as the "Defender" (*Wei*) or the "Defender of State" (*Guowei*), was the chief military officer in the Feudal Court; the title Grand Censor was awarded to a senior minister of lower than the Prime Minister, who took charge of inspections. Below them were the Nine Inferior Ministers (*Jiuqing*) who were in charge of affairs under various administrative departments. Although the name "Nine Inferior Ministers" was used, in practice there could have be more than nine ministers at any given time.

The system of officials that operated after the Great Unification of the Qin Dynasty has far-reaching significance. In the light of the *History of the Han Dynasty: Table of Nobility Ranks and all Government Offices* (*Hanshu: Baiguan Gongqing Biao*): "After the Qin unified China, it established for the first time the title of Emperor and a system of more than one hundred officials and ministers. The Han Dynasty just followed suit with little reform." One may say that, broadly speaking, the Han Dynasty retained the system of the Qin with tiny alterations and established the basic pattern of the system of officials used through the ages in China.

Specific policies were enacted during the Qin Dynasty, including "the same ruts for carriages" (*Chetonggui*) and "the same script for writing" (*Shutongwen*).[23] Both of these proved to be pioneering strokes worthy of praise.

In the short period of 15 years from 221 BC to 206 BC, the Qin Dynasty rose and fell. Its era was, alas, transient. What does this imply?

In July of the first year (209 BC) of the reign of the Second Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, more than 900 soldiers who had been sent to Yuyang to serve on the frontier found themselves unable to reach their intended destination owing to a road being obstructed by a downpour. As they were marching behind schedule, they were entitled to be beheaded pursuant to the law of the Qin Dynasty. Chen Sheng and Wu Guang, both former peasants and leaders of the team, decided to rise up with arms against the tyranny of the Qin by exploiting a superstition known to the soldiers at large to confront this emergency. The characters "CHEN SHENG FUTURE KING" was written in red on a silk handkerchief and stuffed inside a fish. In a faux miracle, the handkerchief was then brought out to excite the soldiers. They declared they were destined to be put to death because they had fallen behind schedule, but now they yelled loudly: "We, men with martial spirit, must die heroically in order to be remembered afterwards. Are nobles born that way?" This is documented in *Records of the Grand Historian: House of Chen She* (*Shiji: Chen She Shijia*).[24] In this way, Chen and Wu appointed themselves General (*Jiangjun*) and Defender (*Duwei*) and separately attacked the townships of Daze in Ji County (now in the south of Anhui) and Chen (now Huaiyang, Henan). By then, the army had grown and there were six or seven hundred war chariots and a cavalry of over 1,000 members as well as several hundred soldiers. After conquering Chen, Chen Sheng titled himself king (*Wang*) and renamed the township *Zhangchu*, meaning "Expanding Chu State."

This uprising generated many responses from the general public here and there. As was noted by Jia Yi, a brilliant scholar of the Han Dynasty, in *An Analysis of the Downfall of Qin Dynasty* (*Guo Qin Lun*): "The whole of China responded passionately to it with wooden weapons and banners."[25] Zhou Wen, a general in Chen Sheng's army, marched westward to attack the Qin. Upon his arrival at the Hangu Pass, the general had consolidated a force of one thousand chariots and hundreds of thousands of soldiers to pose a direct threat to Xianyang, the

[23] "The same script for writing" means that the Qin Dynasty sought the unification of the script based on its own language. Among all the eight scripts (large seal script, small seal script, charm script, worm script, script used for seals, appointment script, lance script, and clerical script) of the Qin Dynasty, small seal script and clerical script are critical. In fact, the mission of script unification was not completely accomplished.

[24] "Chen She" is an alternative name for Chen Sheng.

[25] Jia Yi (200–169 BC) was summoned and given the title erudite (*boshi*) by the Emperor Wen of the Han Dynasty and promoted to Superior Grand Master of the Palace (*Taizhong Da Fu*). Unfortunately, this scholar was demoted. His works include the 58 articles featured in *New Editions of Jia Yi's Works* (*Jia Yi Xin Shu Wu Shi Ba Pingde*) (posthumously compiled by Liu Xiang).

capital during the Qin Dynasty. Zhou Wen was pitifully defeated. Chen Sheng was assassinated by Zhuang Gu, who was his driver, at Xiachengfu (now the northwest of Mengcheng County in Anhui).

Hu Hai, the youngest son of the First Emperor, was enthroned as the Second Emperor of the Qin Dynasty (regnal title *Ershi*). In 207 BC (the third year of *Ershi*), the Emperor blamed Zhao Gao, the prime minister at that time, for the rebellion in the east. In retaliation the minister arranged the emperor's assassination at the hands of his trusted aides at Wangyi Palace, and he then declared of the emperor's successor that "the noble man Ziying should be a king (*Wang*) rather than holding the empty title of emperor (*Di*)" (quoted from *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang – Shiji: Qin Shihuang Benji*). For this reason, Ziying was deprived of the title of emperor and renamed "King of Qin" (*Qin Wang*). Forty-six days later, Liu Bang led his troops to overthrow the Qin Dynasty.

Notwithstanding the fact that he was unsuccessful, the rebellion shook the Qin Dynasty to its foundations. As Sima Qian stated in the *House of Chen She*: "Although Chen Sheng was no longer alive, he had initiated the abandonment of noble rights, which gradually led to the collapse of the Qin." Despite his personal failure, political and military groups were still appointed by Chen and Wu. Their outstanding accomplishment in leading one of the first insurrections against the Qin has been eternally engraved in history.

During the Western Han Dynasty, many historical lessons were drawn about the fall of the previous dynasty. As Jia Yi analyzed in his masterpiece *An Analysis of the Fall of the Qin Dynasty*:

> The State of Qin unified China over one hundred years despite its small territory and numerous chariots. Then in this world, it took the Xiaoshan Mountain as the border. One rose up to fight it and the whole empire collapsed with the death of the Emperor. The state itself was made a laughing stock! Why did this happen? The rebellion was staged against the Qin Empire for not ruling with benevolence!

This analysis was indeed penetrating and the guidelines depended on conditions (different guidelines for struggling and ruling). Nevertheless, the Qin, by dominating their known world, created a theater fit for struggle. This is indicated as follows:

First, "sovereignty was reinforced with cruel punishments for the establishment of an absolute tyranny of an autocrat without restriction."
Second, tyranny was put into practice.
Third, no dissenting opinion or school was allowed to exist. In fact, this was a form of cultural dictatorship.

The First Emperor boldly proclaimed that as the First Emperor, he will "have numerous generations governing the whole country forever" (from *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang*). This sovereignty was subject to neither supervision nor restriction. After ruining the six major states, Li Si, the prime minister and a typical follower of Legalism, presented a proposal to the emperor: all historical records and literary works should be burnt, save for the official state documents of the Qin. The *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), the *Classic*

of History (*Shangshu*), and works of other dissimilar schools should be kept by the "erudite scholar" (*Boshiguan*); all other books collected by any individual or institution should also be burnt by local officials. Those who dared to talk about these topics should be executed and exposed publicly. Anyone who satirized the present by speaking of the past should be sentenced to death together with his family. Any official who failed to report the fact should be punished with the same crime. Those who protested against the Edict of Burning Books (*Fenshuling*) should be sent for servitude at the frontier 30 days later. This proposal eventually gained the approval of the emperor. Soon after this edict, Confucian scholars were buried alive. Two scholars named Hou and Lu, who had previously gained the First Emperor's trust, planned to escape because of their resentment towards his greed for authority and superstitious belief in divination. The emperor furiously ordered that over 460 offending scholars be buried alive on the shores of the Wei River as a warning to all scholars. These extreme measures demonstrate the emperor's ruthless ruination of culture. In the end, it stirred up a scholars' revolt.

Besides harsh and ruthless corvée, confiscation could not be ignored. In the last years of the emperor's reign, he organized several large-scale civil projects such as the construction of the Great Wall (*Changcheng*) in 213 BC and the Straight Road (*Zhi Dao*) in 212 BC as recorded in *Records of the Grand Historian: Yearly Chronicle of the Six States* (*Shiji: Liu Guo Nian Biao*). In the Qin Dynasty, the Great Wall stretched from Lintao (now Min County in Gansu) to Liaodong. From east to west, the length was around 10,000 *li* (today 1 *li* = half a kilometer). Another palace complex, with the magnificent Epang Palace at its heart, was built on the southern side of the Wei River. Hundreds of thousands of workers were involved in the construction of the Mausoleum of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty (Qin Shihuang) at Li Mountain. As is recorded in history books, Epang Palace and the Mausoleum utilized over 700,000 workmen (see *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang*). These records have now been proven to be authentic by calculating the quantity of the earth used and the productivity of the labor force at that time. In addition, workers tasked to corvée or victims of confiscation were ordered to fight the Huns in the north or to serve at random in the river ridges between Jiangxi and Guangdong. Numerous able-bodied men and women lost their lives on the battlefield or died while transporting food for combatants. Corvée was the heaviest oppression meted out upon the people. Noticeably, those who served in forced transport and heavy corvée were mainly from the areas to the north and the east of the Tongguan Pass (known as Guandong) where the past Six States had been located. Among the 900 rebels of the Daze Township of Yuyang were Chen Sheng (a native of Yangcheng, now southwest of Dengfeng County in Henan Province) and Wu Guang (a native of Yangxia, now Taikang County in Henan Province). In the First Emperor's time, it was not by any chance that the main focus of his oppression fell upon Guandong.

Endowed with a strong military power, a complete central regime, and administrative system, the Qin Empire nevertheless soon fell in spite of the plans and designs to establish itself into a unified monarchy. This mainly resulted from two factors: first, the public will and power and second, bad means of monarchy establishment.

The empire's cruel suppression of the people and the tyrannical control of culture brought about its own downfall. How could the empire not be short lived? The public will was beyond indignity. Both the successes and mistakes of the Qin Dynasty provided a beneficial lesson for all the later dynasties.

2.5 Dynastic Change and Peasant War

The Western Han Dynasty (206 BC–8 AD) was established after the rebellion led by Chen Sheng and Wu Guang. Its founder, Liu Bang, was born into a plebeian family and once worked as a County Prefect at the grassroots of the officialdom in the Qin Dynasty. As a witness to the First Emperor's Grand Tour (*Che Lie*), he noted: "Alas, he who fails to do this is not a true man" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Gaozu – Shiji: Gaozu Benji*). At the same time, Xiang Yu, a scion of a famous general's family, told his uncle Xiang Liang when taking sanctuary to the east of the Yangtze River that "the Emperor can sooner or later be replaced" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Xiang Yu* (*Shiji: Xiangyu Benji*)). Since the Qin Dynasty, the history of feudal society has been filled with peasant wars and the struggles of emperors who wanted to establish a monarchy.

According to *Views on Reading the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Du Tong Jian Lun*), the masterpiece of the great early Qing Dynasty figure Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692), in the fight between Liu Bang and Xiang Yu, Liu finally triumphed and became the First Emperor of the Han ("Gaozu")[26] owing to "[the] difference between broadness and cruelty." "Broadness" (*Ming*) here means having an open mind that has learned from lessons taken from the Qin Dynasty. Liu Bang issued a number of reasonable policies such as allowing plebeians who lost their identity or property ownership before wartime to recover these things with the approval of the government. Plebeians were able to obtain a registered residence in this way. Meanwhile, a number of slaves were set free.

The heroic individuals in Liu's retinue were mainly from low backgrounds, with the exception of Zhang Liang who was blue blooded. Xiao He, Cao Shen, Ren Ao, and Zhou Ke all served as petty officials; Chen Ping, Wang Ling, Lu Gu, Li Siqi, Xiahou Ying, and others were all plebeians. Fan Kuai was a butcher who killed dogs, Zhou Bo earned a living by weaving mats and playing the pipe at funerals, Guan Ying was a small-time silk merchant, and Lou Jing drove a cart. In his *Notes on the Twenty-Two Dynastic Histories* (*Ershier Shi Zhaji*), Zhao Yi (1727–1814), an eminent historian of the Qing Dynasty, called this "a political situation with an Emperor from a lowly background and his Generals and Ministers from ordinary families." In this way, they knew very well the misery of the common people and

[26] In most subsequent dynasties, it became the convention that the founder of the dynasty should have an imperial name ending with "-zu," whereas the names of his successors would end with "zong."

therefore chastened themselves. As prime minister, Xiao He (died 193 BC) chose a poverty-stricken area of land to cultivate and on which to construct his residence. He thereby displaced fewer local residents. He once said that posterity will follow those who live their lives simply but well. Under these circumstances, a person's property will not be seized by any strong family. One may say that the establishment of the Western Han Dynasty was achieved by avoiding the tyranny of the Qin Dynasty.

After Liu Bang's (reigned 202–195 BC) death, the officials praised him thus: "Gaozu Emperor from a humble background who succeeded in unifying the country by eliminating tyranny" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Gaozu*). As is further stated in the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Rites and Music* (*Hanshu: Li Yue Ji*): "[s]ince ... [its] ... establishment, the Han Dynasty brought order out of chaos." In fact, it transformed the tyranny of the Qin Dynasty into a benevolent administration. After the passing of Liu, the dynasty fell under the dictatorship of the Empress Lü (regent 195–180 BC). Following that, a prosperous society flourished for 39 years during the reigns of the Emperors Wen (personal name Liu Qi) (reigned 180–157 BC) and Jing (personal name Liu Huan) (reigned 157–141 BC) and the Policy of Rehabilitating the People (*Yu Min Xiu Xi*) was implemented. Notwithstanding, following the succession of the Emperor Wu of Han (reigned 141–87 BC), the scene began to change.

No dynasty in Chinese history has ever solved the problem of overbearing individuals annexing land. Bureaucratic landlords have always collected wealth and occupied lands like madmen and driven countless peasants into hardship. Despite some proposals from foresighted ministers, this malady of the feudal society has proven beyond cure. While the masses lived in dire poverty, the whole state was imperiled by intensified social contradictions. A new round of peasant wars was the result. The Red Eyebrow (*Chi Mei*) Rebellion and Lulin Uprising in the late Western Han Dynasty and the Yellow Turbans (*Huang Jin*) Uprising in the late Eastern Han Dynasty were typical examples. Peasant uprisings also occurred in the later dynasties (Sui, Tang, Yuan, Ming, and Qing) and had their slogans through all ages – demanding a reduction of tax, corvée, personal equality, or arable land. However, these never set out with the objective of changing the monarchy. It seems that history evolves driven by invisible hands. After a short-lived peace, the body of society would once again be afflicted by the old diseases inherent in feudal society, increasing the pressures on common people and stirring up rebellion. A cyclical pattern emerged, which was once even called "rotation" (*Zhouqilü*) by the people. The truth behind this was very simple – both peace and unrest in feudal society depended on this system. It always functioned when the system was not altered. From the perspectives of economy, politics, and philosophy, this type of monarchy was initiated by the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, who boasted that the whole world was his personal property. According to the *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang*, he once stated that "The entire world, from the northernmost quicksand area to the southernmost state, East Sea and across Bactria, all belongs to the Emperor. Any place where the human race has left its footprints is under control of the Emperor!" The emperor and his clan's benefits and rights were deified and called royalty (*Huangquan*). A peasant war was then started to initiate

the change of another emperor (clan) rather than to subvert the overarching system. Liu Bang once gave an exclamation similar to that of the First Emperor (see *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Gaozu*). The feudal monarchy lasted for a long time in Chinese history, in spite of many political, economic, philosophical, and cultural innovations. Nonetheless, the guarantee of social stability and long-term peace was proved to be an illusion.

Owing to the fact that the monarchy was an entrenched system, it remained difficult to overthrow, even late into modern Chinese history. Obviously, its solid foundation made it difficult to wipe out its deep impact on people's minds. Long royal governance under an emperor gradually formed a cultural psychology, the emperor being seen as all powerful and the plebeians' weal or woe depending entirely on the imperial edict. In a feudal society, a good emperor was believed to always bring about the salvation of all. In this way, a secular religious worship of the emperor was developed. The peasant war called for a wise monarch who replaced the tyrant. The emperor was considered a great scourge, exploiter, and parasite by Huang Zongxi (1610–1695 AD), a great thinker in the early Qin Dynasty. In his great work *Waiting for the Dawn* (*Mingyi Daifanglu*), Huang even thought of establishing a new political system. This book enlightened the benighted Chinese at that time by violently criticizing the monarchy.

It may be said that the peasant war shook up the past regime, and therefore a new dynasty could only be founded by great efforts of scholars who put their governmental thoughts into practice by setting up systems and strategies with the approval of the supreme emperor. Only by doing so, could it work into due effects. All prosperous and strong dynasties in the history of China focused on cultural knowledge and intellectuals as a rule. For instance, Ban Gu,[27] the author of the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*), praised the Emperor Wu of Han for his outstanding political and military achievements: "He consulted all scholars and promoted the talented ones for their greatest contributions to the empire." This forms a remarkable comparison with the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty who ordered the burning of books and the burying scholars alive. In Wu's reign he was surrounded by many people who had integrity in their thoughts, deeds, morality, recommendations of talents, and writings. On the whole, far from being the monopoly of a single man or class, history is a stage for all the masses to display their talents. The fruit of all this wisdom is named civilization. Chinese history, after having entered into a civilized society, has continued to evolve in a civilized way.

Questions

1. Why does the study of Chinese begin with an understanding of why dynasties change?
2. What lessons can be drawn from the rise and fall of the Qin Dynasty?

[27]For further biographical information about Ban Gu and the compilation of the *History of the Han Dynasty*, see Chap. 12.

Chapter 3
The Golden Ages of the Han, Tang, and Qing Dynasties: A Comparative Analysis

Among the successive dynasties of Chinese history, there have been several so-called golden ages (*Sheng Shi*), meaning a historical period during which society has emerged from a state of chaos to that of sound governance and, as a result, political stability and material prosperity have been maintained over a relatively long period. The characteristic features of a golden age are an enlightened political system, a developing economy, a recovery in living standards, national prestige, and a flourishing culture.[1] The most representative golden ages in Chinese history are the reigns of Emperors Wen and Jing of the Western Han Dynasty, the Zhenguan Period in the Tang Dynasty (named after the reigning title adopted by Emperor Gaozu of Tang), the Kaiyuan Period of Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty, and the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty. These periods are of great historical importance in the development of Chinese society. It is the aspiration of rulers and people alike to live in a golden age: For the rulers such an age will be a reflection of their own achievements, while for the people it will mean stability and security. In this their hopes coincide. So an understanding of how golden ages arise and then fade away can help us to draw lessons from history.

3.1 From the Wen-Jing Age of Order to the Zhao-Xuan Revival

The Wen-Jing Age of Order (*Wen Jing Zhi Zhi*) refers to the historical period in the Western Han Dynasty dating from 180 BC, when Emperor Wen ascended to the throne, to 141 BC, when Emperor Jing died. The golden age did not come

[1] "The Sink of Golden Ages: an interview with Dai Yi by reporter Hong Bo," *China Reading Weekly*, March 20, 2002.

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to an end after these two emperors but, in fact, reached a zenith under Emperor Jing's successor, Emperor Wu, despite some major policy changes during the latter's reign. While Emperor Wu committed a number of errors in his later years, these did not detract from national prestige, and the empire continued to prosper under his immediate successors (Emperors Zhao and Xuan) in the period known as the Zhao-Xuan Revival (*Zhao-Xuan Zhongxing*). By the time of the next emperor's accession (Emperor Yuan), the *hukou*[2] system of residence registration had reached its highest point of development in the Han Dynasty. The Golden Age of the Western Han, which ended with Emperor Xuan (died 48 BC), thus lasted over 130 years.

If we are to explain the success of the period named after the two Emperors Wen and Jing, we first need to look at the situation that existed at the beginning of the Han Dynasty.

The previous dynasty, the Qin, ended amid chaos and confusion brought on by popular discontent, with a draconian legal and penal system and exorbitant taxation. The prolonged struggle for power between the rebels of the former states of Chu and Han plunged the country into misery, with the common people condemned to a life of vagrancy. When the Western Han Dynasty finally came to power, it was faced with a parlous economic situation. According to the description given in the officially commissioned *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*): "the feudal lords were very powerful, while the common people, deprived of the means to live, were suffering from starvation; throughout the country there was only 5,000 *dan* of grain (an ancient Chinese unit of weight equivalent to 15 kg); people were reduced to cannibalism and over half the population had perished" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money – Hanshu: Shi huo zhi*). It was even impossible to find four horses of the same color for the emperor's carriage and officials had to make do with oxcarts. Under these conditions the new rulers' first priority was to set about restoring stability and bring about a revival in economic activity and a return to normalcy.

The first act of Liu Bang (later styled Emperor Gaozu) on entering the capital city of Xianyang was to announce, in consultation with his adviser Zhang Liang, his basic strategy for restoring stability. As reported in the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*) of the Han Dynasty by historian Sima Qian, this became famous as the "Three-Point Code" (*Yue Fa San Zhang*), which stipulated the death penalty for murder and condign punishment for those guilty of causing injury to others or of robbery, while repealing all the other laws of the Qin Dynasty (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Gaozu – Shiji: Gaozu Benji*). Once the fighting was over, Liu Bang adopted a series of measures simplifying the law, reducing the burden of taxation on farm produce to one-fifteenth, stabilizing the political

[2]The *hukou* system has its origins in the family registers of the Xia Dynasty and still exists, albeit in a greatly modified form, in the present day. Chancellor Xiao He (d. 193 BC) listed the *hukou* as one chapter of the *Han Nine Chapter Law* (*Jiu Zhang Lü*), where it represents the basis for gathering tax revenue and enforcing military conscription. Although the laws have now been relaxed somewhat, in post-1949 China the *hukou* classified workers according to their place of residence and was used to impose restrictions upon migration between the countryside and urban areas.

situation, and restoring order in the empire. On Emperor Gaozu's death, his son Liu Ying (Emperor Hui) and wife Empress Lü continued his policies to revitalize the economy, and gradually social conditions took a turn for the better.

Liu Heng, known as Emperor Wen of Han (180–157 BC), was also the son of Liu Bang (Emperor Gaozu) and half-brother of Liu Ying (Emperor Hui). Originally, he was not destined for the imperial throne. Emperor Gaozu had enfeoffed him, when he was a 7-year-old boy, as "King of Dai" to govern North Shanxi Province, where he lived in the Dai capital for 17 years. However, when his half-brother Emperor Hui (195–188 BC) died, Empress Dowager Lü took over the government and the Imperial Court came under the virtually exclusive domination of the Lü family, thus incurring the dissatisfaction of the founding fathers of the Western Han. On Empress Dowager Lü's death in 180 BC, Chief Minister Chen Ping destroyed the Lü family's power and set up Liu Heng as the new emperor despite his prolonged absence from the Court. This latter circumstance had a profound effect on Emperor Wen's policies. It meant that at the outset he enjoyed no prestige at Court and he had no one there in whom he could confide. At the same time many of those who had given Emperor Gaozu outstanding service in winning the empire were still in office and were yet to be convinced of his suitability for the highest office. Only by proceeding cautiously was the young emperor able to consolidate his position.

When Emperor Wen ascended the throne, the central government was still in disarray after the troubles of Empress Dowager Lü's reign. The local feudal lords were very powerful, the economy had not yet fully recovered from the traumas of war, the country was impoverished, the granaries were empty, the people were in a distressed state, and the trade was depressed, while the Xiongnu tribes in the north were making continual incursions in the south, on many occasions threatening the capital, Chang'an (present-day Xi'an). Adopting a Daoist/Legalist approach, Emperor Wen took measures designed to give the people a respite, and these gradually helped to revive the economy, restore the country to financial health, and build up the state's grain stores. This marks the beginnings of the Wen-Jing Age of Order.

After ascending to the throne, Emperor Jing, whose personal name was Liu Qi (reigned 157–141 BC), followed completely the policies of Emperor Wen. With the recovery and development of the social economy and political stability, the adjustment of relations between the central government and local authorities became the top priority. The Han Dynasty implemented a combined system of administration by national government and commanderies. The vassal kingdoms occupied vast areas. They expanded over the provinces and commanderies, minting coins in mountains and decanting salt by boiling seawater. As a result, they accumulated huge wealth and became arrogant rivals to the emperor's authority. Seemingly, they had become too powerful to be put under control. Emperor Jing accepted the advice from Chao Cuo, adopting measures to reduce the power of the vassals, which resulted in the rebellions of the seven states, led by Liu Bi, the King of the State of Wu. They demanded that "Chao Cuo be killed so that the bad influence around the emperor [would] be removed" (*Qing Zhu Chaocuo, yi qing jun ce*). However, the rebellion, which came to be known as the "Rebellion of the

Seven States" (*Qi Guo Zhi Luan*), did not come to an end with the execution of Chao Cuo. After appointing Zhou Yafu as the leading general, Emperor Jing managed to put down the insurrection in a space of three months. Thereafter, "the vassal kings shall not run the kingdom again and officials would be appointed by the Emperor" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Table of Nobility Ranks and Government Offices – Hanshu: Shang Baiguan Gongqing Biao*). The power of the states was weakened, the stability of the Western Han monarchy restored, and the continual development of this age of order guaranteed.

This period is characterized, above all, by economic recovery and development. Fully aware of the importance of agriculture for the economy of that time, Emperor Wen announced a halving of the land tax in the second year of his reign (*History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Wen – Hanshu: Wendi Ji*) and thereafter issued many decrees to encourage farming and sericulture. Not only did he often take part in farming activities himself, but he also involved the empress in the raising of silkworms so as to set an example to others. To alleviate the burden on farmers, from the twelfth year of his reign (168 BC), the land tax was reduced from the rate of one-fifteenth in force under Emperor Gaozu to one-thirtieth and subsequently completely abolished. It was not until Emperor Jing succeeded to the throne that the tax was reintroduced at the rate of one-thirtieth. Emperor Wen also cut the poll tax from 120 *qian* (a currency unit in the Han Dynasty) to 40 *qian* and reduced corvée labor from one month each year to 1 month every 3 years. He eased the ban on fishing and hunting and provided relief and support to widows, orphans, the childless, the needy, and the elderly, thus contributing greatly to the country's economic recovery. Emperor Jing's continuation of these policies gave a further boost to the economy and led to a fundamental turnaround in the state's finances and a clear improvement in the people's living standards.

Another hallmark of the Wen-Jing Age of Order was the relative openness of the political system. Once he came to the throne, Emperor Wen introduced the recommendation and interview system for recruiting talent to serve in government. It was under this system that a young official, Chao Cuo, known for his ability and plain speaking, was appointed to the Court. The emperor actively encouraged his advisers to speak their mind on political issues. A typical example of the emperor's enlightened attitude is the story of Zhang Shizhi, who regularly contradicted the emperor. Far from the emperor taking it amiss, Zhang Shizhi was steadily promoted to high office.

The legal system underwent a major reform during Emperor Wen's reign. Drawing a lesson from the fall of the Qin Dynasty, he repealed the law punishing subversive opinions as well as the law under which when a crime was committed, the criminal's whole family would be punished. He abolished bodily mutilation as a form of punishment. Such a liberal attitude to punishment is rarely seen in history.

The social consequences of the Wen-Jing Age of Order are described throughout the historical works of the time. The *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money* (*Hanshu: Shi huo zhi*) paints the following picture: for 70 years from the founding of the Han to the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign, the empire was safe from disasters and, except in times of flood or drought, the people enjoyed self-

sufficiency; the granaries in the towns and countryside were full to overflowing, and such was the abundance of funds that came into the capital's treasury that when the ropes used to string together the money perished and the coins were scattered, they could not be counted; the grain stores were added to year after year, with the result that the uneaten grain rotted and became inedible; herds of horses were seen in the fields and were available for the common people to use; stallions were the preferred means of travel and anyone who rode to a meeting on a mare was looked down on and not admitted; ordinary people ate fine grain and meat; officials would hold the same position until their grandchildren were grown up and remain so long in office that they adopted their official title as their surname. Another section of the *History of the Han Dynasty* comments that amid such peace and prosperity, Chinese culture, courtesy, and respect were able to flourish. Since only a few hundred criminals were convicted and sentenced to the death penalty, punishment and penalty were practically abolished (*History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Wen – Hanshu: Wendi Ji*). According to the record in the *History of the Han Dynasty*, as the Han Dynasty flourished, heavy taxation was eliminated in order to let the ordinary people have respite. As for Emperor Wen, he introduced frugality and courtesy to the social environment; until he was succeeded by Emperor Jing, he bade by this convention and the social environment was totally changed with people becoming pure and honest (*History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Jing – Hanshu: Jingdi Ji*).

The steady progress made during the Wen-Jing Period culminated in the reign of Emperor Wu (141–87 BC), which marked the zenith of the Western Han Golden Age. This emperor, whose personal name was Liu Che, was a man of outstanding talent and bold vision. Shortly after his accession, he began to replace Emperor Wen's passive and conservative style of government for a more proactive approach. Daoist/Legalist principles were discarded, and Confucianism became the dominant philosophy, thus inaugurating a period of unprecedented brilliance.

Emperor Wu's reign saw further moves towards a greater centralization of power. The principle of the "interaction between heaven and man" (*tian ren gan ying*) provided a new theoretical basis underpinning the supreme authority of the emperor. This was accompanied by a weakening of the power of the prime minister. Emperor Wu reinforced his control at the local level by dividing the whole country into 13 provinces and appointing officials to supervise these in accordance with the so-called Six Articles (*Liu Tiao*). The right to mint coin was returned to the central government, and salt extraction and iron production state enterprises. At the same time a large number of people were sent to the northwest to cultivate the land. Water conservancy projects were undertaken in the Central Plains. Above all, in a shift towards an expansionist foreign policy, Emperor Wu dispatched

Generals Wei Qing[3] and Huo Qubing,[4] among others, to conduct a highly successful campaign against the Xiongnu.[5] In the Hetao and Hexi regions, the emperor established six commanderies (Shuofang, Wuyuan, Wuwei, Jiuquan, Zhangye, and Dunhuang) for the purpose of controlling the western territories. He created the Silk Road, the trade route connecting China with Central Asia and further west. During this period the empire became a vast territory peopled by many different nationalities. Magnificent palaces and pavilions were erected in and around the capital Chang'an. But all this would not have been possible without the foundations laid during the Wen-Jing Age of Order.

Yet even under Emperors Wen and Jing, there were already signs of crisis. As Jia Yi (200–169 BC) argues in his *Public Security Strategies* (*Zhi'an Ce*), beneath the surface prosperity, there lay concealed political, ethnic, and social problems, such as an excess of power in the hands of local kingdoms, incursions by the Xiongnu, and the sharp divide between rich and poor. The *Treatise on Food and Money* from the *History of the Han Dynasty* also complains that owing to the lax application of the law, people enriched themselves, became arrogant and greedy, and seized other people's land; gangs of ruffians roamed the streets; members of the emperor's family were given fiefs; officials wore extravagant clothes and rode in luxurious carriages, in breach of court regulations; all this was the inevitable decline following a period of extreme prosperity. With Emperor Wu's change of policy, the latent problems of the Wen-Jing Period started to become apparent. His military campaigns beyond the country's borders soon squandered the gains made in the Wen-Jing Period. The political mistakes made by Emperor Wu during his later years led to the "the Scourge of Witchcraft" (*Wu Gu Zhi Huo*),[6] almost causing a succession crisis. However, not everything that had been achieved under these two emperors was lost. Policy adjustments under the next two emperors (Zhao and

[3]Wei Qing (d. 106 BC) was the brother-in-law of Emperor Wu and an uncle of Huo Qubing. In spite of being illegitimate and coming from a poor background, he rose to become part of royal circles and established himself as a national hero through his campaigns against the Xiongnu.

[4]Huo Qubing (140–117 BC) was one of the outstanding military tacticians in Chinese history. He benefited from the meteoric rise of the Wei family and was only 18 when he led his first attack against the Xiongnu. He allegedly declined an offer of marrying into the royal family because he did not want to rest until he had annihilated the Xiongnu. His early death has been attributed to him drinking from a water supply which the Xiongnu had deliberately contaminated with dead animal carcasses. Huo's tomb, at Maoling, Xinping, near Xianyang, is still a popular tourist site.

[5]For a more detailed description of these military campaigns, see Chap. 8.

[6]"Witchcraft" here refers to a kind of ancient superstition used to do harm to people by burying carved wooden human figures with curses placed upon them. In his later years, Emperor Wu believed that witchcraft was being employed to do harm to him. There was discord between one of his favorite officials, named Jiang Chong, and the crown prince. Jiang Chong falsely accused the prince saying that there are wooden human figures buried in the prince's palace. The prince killed Jiang Chong in a fit of rage. Emperor Wu pursued the prince with troops, and the prince resisted with arms. The fight lasted for 5 days and ended with the prince's suicide after he was defeated. This is what came to be called "the Scourge of Witchcraft"; the prince was dubbed the "Perverse Crown Prince" (*Li Taizi*).

Xuan) enabled the Western Han to preserve political stability. Jian Bozan[7] claimed that the half century from Emperors Zhao and Xuan to Emperor Yuan is a period that witnessed continued development in social economy in the history of Western Han Dynasty.[8]

Since Emperor Zhao (reigned 87–74 BC) was only 8 years old when he succeeded to the throne, power was effectively in the hands of a general named Huo Guang,[9] who by a policy of tax reductions and calling a halt to foreign military adventures put the empire back on a secure footing. Emperor Xuan (74–49 BC) was renowned for his ability to select talent and employ it effectively. Officials who gave distinguished service under him included Bing Ji, Wei Xiang, and Huang Ba. Emperor Xuan's reign is also noted for the creation of institutions, the importance attached to government by officials, and his strict but fair system of rewards and punishments.

The Western Han Golden Age, which began under Emperors Wen and Jing, reached its zenith under Emperor Wu and enjoyed a long afterglow in the reigns of Emperors Zhao and Xuan, thus setting an example which later rulers of China regarded as worthy of emulation.

3.2 From the Zhenguan Age of Order to the Kaiyuan Golden Age

The Tang Golden Age began with the Zhenguan Period (627–50 AD), Zhenguan being the regnal title of Emperor Taizong. Following a transitional period spanning the reigns of Emperor Gaozong (649–83 AD), Empress Wu Zetian (690–705 AD), and Emperors Zhongzong (684 and 705–10 AD) and Ruizong (684–90 and 710–12 AD), the Tang Dynasty experienced a second golden age in the Kaiyuan Period (713–742) of Emperor Xuanzong. During the later Tianbao Period (742–56 AD) of Emperor Xuanzong, the empire witnessed an intensification of social contradictions leading to the outbreak of the An Lushan Rebellion, which heralded the end of a period of prosperity that had lasted over 100 years. The Tang Golden Age differed from the Han Golden Age insofar as the two high points of the Zhenguan and Kaiyuan Periods were separated by several decades of stagnation.

[7]Jian Bozan (1898–1968) was a Chinese Marxist historian who taught at Peking University, eventually becoming vice-president of that institution.

[8]Jian Bozan, *History of Qin and Han Dynasties* (Peking University Press, 1983), p. 296.

[9]Huo Guang (d. 68) was the Marquess of Bolu and the half-brother of General Huo Qubing. During the short reign of Zhao, he became the power behind the throne, even marrying his 5-year-old granddaughter to the emperor. When the emperor died, Huo was not satisfied with his presumptive successor, and when his preferred choice, Prince He of Changyi, disappointed him, the minister took the unprecedented step of deposing him. This left the succession open to an untitled commoner, Liu Bingyi, who became Emperor Xuan.

The Sui Dynasty (581–618 AD), which preceded the Tang Dynasty, reunited an empire that had been divided during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 AD). Emperor Wen of Sui (581–604 AD), despite his headstrong character, was a successful ruler. But the reign of his successor Emperor Yang (604–18 AD) was a period of distress for the people, who had to bear a crushing burden of taxation and compulsory labor in order to support the emperor's lavish lifestyle. Three failed military campaigns against Korea only aggravated the social contradictions and accelerated the empire's descent into chaos.

After founding the Tang Dynasty, Emperor Gaozu (whose personal name was Li Yuan) appointed his eldest son Li Jiancheng as crown prince while making his second son Li Shimin King of Qin. Li Shimin, in what is known as the "Xuanwu Gate Incident," murdered both his elder and younger brothers and seized the throne as Emperor Taizong, with the regnal title Zhenguan. Learning from the demise of the Sui, he adopted a series of measures to ease social tensions and inaugurated a period of good government and political stability, which became known as the Zhenguan Age of Order (*Zhen Guan Zhi Zhi*).

Emperors Gaozu and Taizong were both enlightened in their approach to government and constantly mindful of the lessons to be drawn from the collapse of the Sui. Their own experiences of the part they themselves had played in its overthrow gave them an insight into how to govern the empire. History records a conversation which Emperor Gaozu had with Pei Ji[10] soon after coming to power. The emperor says:

> [i]n the end the collapse of the Sui was due to the deceit practiced on each other by both high and low officials, the emperor's own arrogance and complacency, the fawning attitude of his advisers and their failure, in terms of loyalty, to criticize the emperor's mistakes. All these things brought about the destruction of the dynasty and the emperor with it. Whereas, I (Emperor Gaozu) have brought order out of chaos, to the satisfaction of the officials. In rebellious times military officials are needed to restore order, but times of peace call for civilian officials. In this way each can exploit their respective talents and so errors can be corrected." (*Old Book of Tang: Biography of Sun Fuqie – Jiutangshu: Sun Fu Jia Zhuan*)

A conversation which took place in the eighteenth year of Zhenguan reveals how conscious Emperor Taizong was of the power of the people. The emperor tells Prince Li Zhi[11]: "[t]he emperor is like a boat and the people are the water. Not only can water carry a boat, it can also overturn it. You will soon be emperor. Let this serve as a warning to you" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: Precepts for Princes and Nobles – Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Jiao Jie Tai Zi Zhu Wang*). This metaphor of the boat is one which many rulers find hard to accept. But it was precisely because Emperor Taizong understood it that his advisers would often quote

[10]Pei Ji (570–629 AD) had served under the Sui Dynasty and was instrumental in persuading Li Yuan to rebel against Emperor Yang. After Li Yuan founded the Tang Dynasty and became known as Emperor Gaozu, he became chancellor. Taizong exiled Pei Ji after hearing stories of his corruption and involvement in witchcraft. He resolved to rehabilitate the former minister, but Pei Ji died before this could take place.

[11]Li Zhi was Taizong's son, who later became Emperor Gaozong.

the example of the Sui in their admonitions. For example, in the second year of Zhenguan, Wang Gui[12] is reported as saying to the emperor: "Qin Shihuang (the First Emperor) and Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty both exhausted their military forces in foreign adventures while enjoying an extravagant lifestyle at home. As a result the people were worn out and disaster became inevitable. It was not that these rulers did not care for their people, but they forgot the right way to do it. The collapse of the Sui is all too recent history and its moral is clear. You yourself were a victim and therefore know the changes that are needed." Wang Gui was thus urging the emperor not to repeat the mistakes of the Qin, Han, and Sui (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Agriculture – Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Wu Nong*). It was against this background that the Zhenguan Age of Order had its origins.

Two aspects of Emperor Taizong's political style stand out: his skill in choosing his ministers and his readiness to accept advice. These qualities were key factors contributing to the success of the Zhenguan Period. As the Tang poet and official, Yuan Zhen,[13] commented: "[o]fficials such as Fang Xuanling,[14] Du Ruhui,[15] Wang Gui and Wei Zheng[16] were allowed to question policies in the emperor's presence and everyone in the empire could openly discuss his successes and failures. The fact that in less than four years the empire was at peace cannot be due solely to the emperor's intelligence. It was also because people could express their opinions freely, and this freedom was allowed throughout the empire" (*Collected Works of Yuan Zhen*, Volume 32 – *Yuan Zhen Ji*).

Emperor Taizong of Tang was well aware that ruling the empire depended on recruiting good talent, and unless talent was fully exploited, it could not deliver good government. He issued many edicts in the search for suitable candidates for office and criticized Chancellors Fang Xuanling and Du Ruhui for paying too much attention to trivialities and not enough to scouring the empire for the right people to serve in government. He adhered to the principle of appointing people on their merit, whether they were his supporters or opponents. One prominent official of the Zhenguan Period, Wei Zheng, had served under Emperor Taizong's enemy Li Jiancheng and had once suggested that Li Jiancheng should eliminate Taizong. However, after the Xuanwu Gate Incident, Emperor Taizong appointed Wei Zheng

[12]Wang Gui (571–639 AD) was originally a supporter of Li Jiancheng but retained by Li Shimin. As this quotation suggests, Wang's critical counsel often proved of great benefit to Emperor Taizong.

[13]Yuan Zhen (779–831 AD) was briefly chancellor to Emperor Muzong (821–4 AD) but also mixed in the same poetic circle as the better-known Bai Juyi (772–846 AD) and is remembered as a new *Yuefu* poet.

[14]Fang Xuanling (579–648 AD) was the lead editor of the *Book of Jin* (*Jinshu*) and a chancellor under Emperor Taizong.

[15]Du Ruhui (585–630 AD) was, together with Fang Xuanling, considered a model for the ideal chancellor.

[16]Wei Zheng (580–643 AD) was a long-serving chancellor under Taizong and the lead editor of the *Book of Sui* (*Suishu*).

as his adviser, thus demonstrating his ability to set aside personal enmity for the overall good of the empire. He also encouraged the selection of talent from the less-privileged classes of society. In the third year of the Zhenguan Period (629 AD), a military officer named Chang He presented an outspoken memorial to the emperor on affairs of state. But from his knowledge of Chang He, the emperor suspected that the memorial had actually been written by someone else. On being questioned Chang He admitted that it was the work of one of his own retainers named Ma Zhou. So the emperor summoned Ma Zhou and appointed him to high office, and, as a reward for encouraging and recommending talent, Chang He received 300 *pi* (a *pi* is a roll of silk cloth 33.33 m long). Taizong once said that employing talent was like using tools, as each needed to be used according to its particular attributes. It was wrong to stifle talent because of personal prejudice. In his later years Emperor Taizong summed up his philosophy of man management as follows: "[e]mploying people is by no means an easy matter. Those whom I take to be good and able men are not necessarily paragons of virtue, while those whom the public at large disapprove of are not necessarily all bad." He stressed the need to be open to all opinions and to be broad-minded enough to employ talent in a way that made use of people's strengths and mitigated their weaknesses. He paid particular attention to the activities of local officials. In order to assess their performance, he had the names of the provincial commanders in chief and prefects posted on indoor screens, followed by a list of their successes and failures to serve as a yardstick for their future promotion or demotion. He was especially mindful of the relationship between the ruler and his ministers, being anxious to avoid the jealousy and suspicion that had marred relations between Emperor Wen of Sui and his advisers. He is reported as saying: "[i]t does great harm to a state if there is lack of trust between the ruler and his ministers such that they cannot speak candidly with each other. A virtuous ruler served by bad ministers or virtuous ministers serving a bad ruler will never achieve an orderly state. Only if ruler and ministers are in accord, like a fish in water, will there be peace in the empire" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Admonition – Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Qiu Jian*). In other words, he believed in harnessing the best available talent and placing his confidence in it.

So important was it, in Emperor Taizong's view, to listen to contrarian advice that he would urge his ministers to speak out when he thought they were reluctant to do so. There is an anecdote from the second year of Zhenguan (628 AD) which tells how, when he was discussing with his chancellor Wei Zheng what made the difference between a wise and an ignorant ruler, Wei Zheng said: "[l]isten to both sides of a question and you will be wise, listen to one side only and you will be ignorant." The emperor took this advice to heart, which is why he was always encouraging his ministers to speak their mind. This attitude is most famously illustrated in his relationship with Wei Zheng, who on countless occasions was prepared to argue a point out with the emperor. But Taizong welcomed such candor, saying: "[e]ven if it goes against my own view, I refuse to see this as disloyalty. If I did and were to punish him, no one would dare to speak out again" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Admonition*). This is not to say that he was not on occasions angered by some overly frank piece of advice, but he was able

to restrain his feelings. As an example of this, in the fourth year of Zhenguan, an imperial attendant named Zhang Xuansu, in a particularly outspoken exchange with the emperor, called for work to cease on the construction of the Qianyuan Palace in Luoyang, even daring to compare the emperor unfavorably with the tyrannous Emperor Yang of the Sui Dynasty. Emperor Taizong replied with a question: "If you think I am no better than Emperor Yang, how would you compare me with Kings Jie and Zhou?" (the two most notorious tyrants in ancient China, whose vices brought down, respectively, the Xia and Shang dynasties).[17] To which Zhang Xuansu answered uncompromisingly: "[i]f you press ahead with this palace, you will bring down on your own head a similar catastrophe." Controlling his temper, the emperor replied: "I can see that I have been too hasty." Thereupon Zhang Xuansu was rewarded with 200 rolls of silk. Another time the emperor was so infuriated with Chancellor Wei Zheng that he told Empress Zhangsun: "I'll find an opportunity to do away with this country bumpkin." But the empress pleaded: "I have heard it said that a wise ruler has plain-speaking ministers. If Wei Zheng is so outspoken, this can only be because you are a wise ruler" (*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, Volume 194*, Zhenguan Sixth Year, Third Month – Zizhi Tongjian*).[18] Thanks to this remark the emperor abandoned any idea of having Wei Zheng put to death. On Wei Zheng's death, Emperor Taizong told his courtiers: "[w]e can use a bronze mirror to see whether we are properly dressed. We can use history as a mirror in which to see the rise and fall of dynasties. We can use people as a mirror in which to see our achievements and failures. I have kept these three mirrors as a way of avoiding mistakes. But now, with Wei Zheng gone, I am suddenly bereft of one of my mirrors!" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Admonition*).

Emperor Taizong's commitment to creating stability and promoting economic development is a hallmark of the Zhenguan Period. The emperor once said: "[t]he ruler's role is to cherish the people" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On the Art of Ruling – Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Jun Dao*). In pursuit of this principle, the government in the Zhenguan Period aimed, above all, at simplicity, which in practice was manifested in four areas: frugality in expenditure, a reduction in taxation and corvée labor, the selection and appointment of honest officials, and ensuring the people had enough to eat and clothe themselves. In order to allow the economy to recover and grow, the Tang implemented the "equal-field system" (*Jun Tian Zhi*) from the Wude Period to the Zhenguan Period, whereby all adult males were assigned 100 *mu* of land (equivalent to about 1.1 ha or 2.7 acres). Of this, 20 *mu* was for permanent cultivation and could be passed on to the next generation. The remaining 80 *mu* had to be returned to the government after the holder's death.

[17] See the previous chapter for further details

[18] The *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* was compiled by Sima Guang (1019–86 AD) at the behest of Emperor Yingzong of Song. It originally recorded the history of China from the Warring States to the Five Dynasties but was revised by Zhu Xi (1130–1200 AD) to cover later dynasties. It was this version that Emperor Kangxi of Qing ordered to be translated into the Manchu language. See Chap. 12 for further details of its composition.

Although this equal distribution of land was not universal, it did make a very positive contribution to restoring the agricultural economy. Alongside the equal-field system, a tax system (known as *Zuyongdiao*) helped to lighten the burden on the people and at the same time ensured the empire's fiscal stability. Under this system each household was required to deliver 2 *dan* of grain in annual rent (in the Tang Period, 1 *dan* would have been equivalent to about 53 kg), 2 *zhang* of silk (1 *zhang* equals 3.33 m), and 3 *liang* of cotton (1 *liang* equals 0.05 kg) and perform 20 days' corvée labor or deliver 3 *chi* of silk per day in lieu (1 *chi* equals about one-third of a meter). In particular, the option to pay in silk as a substitute for doing corvée labor was in sharp contrast to the heavy corvée duty demanded under the Sui and was a significant factor in restoring stability. That this policy bore fruit can be seen from the fact that by the third year of Zhenguan (629 AD), the economy of the central Shaanxi area had been restored to health and by the eighth year (614 AD) the whole empire was at peace. As is recorded in *Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Governance* (*Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Zheng Ti*): "[m]erchants could travel without fear of robbers. The prisons were often empty. The fields were full of cows and horses. Householders did not feel it necessary to lock their doors. The harvests were so plentiful that 1 *dou* of rice (equivalent to about one-tenth of a *dan*) cost only 3 or 4 *qian*. People traveling from the capital to Lingbiao or from Shandong to Canghai did not take food with them, as they could always get supplies on the way."

The administration of justice in the Zhenguan Period aimed, above all, at being humane, and punishment was seen as being of secondary importance. According to Emperor Taizong: "the dead cannot come back to life and so the principles followed when applying the law must be leniency and simplicity" (*Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Criminal Law – Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Xing Fa*). The Zhenguan Period saw the establishment of the rule whereby the death penalty could not be carried out until the emperor had been petitioned three times. By the fourth year of Zhenguan (630 AD), order had been restored in the empire, inaugurating an era of peace and contentment. The *Old Book of Tang: Records of Taizong* (*Jiu Tang Shu: Taizong Ji*) records: "This year twenty-nine death sentences were passed, but almost all of them were commuted. From the coastal area in the east to the mountains in the south outer doors were left unlocked and travelers would not bother to take grain with them on their journey."

Another feature of Emperor Taizong's rule worth mentioning is his policy towards nationalities. At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, the Turks (*Tujue*) became a major power threatening the Central Plains, and not long after Taizong's accession, the Turkish Jieli Khan led his troops to the gates of Chang'an, forcing the emperor to sign the so-called Bianqiao Treaty. From the third year of Zhenguan (629 AD), the emperor gave Li Jing[19] and other commanders, at the head of a large

[19]Li Jing (571–649 AD) was, along with Li Shiji (594–669 AD), one of the two most high profile generals of the Tang Dynasty. He is remembered for his victory against the odds over the Eastern Tujue. For more about this subject and his theories on tactics, see Chap. 8.

army, the task of pushing back the Eastern Turks. They won an overwhelming victory. Later, imperial troops defeated the Tuyuhun (a nomadic tribe living in the Qilian Mountains and upper Yellow River valley), conquered the oasis city of Gaochang on the northern rim of the Taklamakan Desert, repelled the Xueyantuo (a Khanate in Central and Northern Asia), and set up the Anxi Protectorate in the Buddhist kingdom of Qiuci, situated along the northern edge of the Taklamakan Desert. Together these actions brought the western regions under control and created the conditions under which the Silk Road, which started from Chang'an, would enter the most prosperous period in its history. But Emperor Taizong's policies towards the ethnic minority groups on the empire's frontiers were not solely military. They also sought to foster peaceful relations. For instance, alliance by marriage between a member of the imperial family and a foreign chieftain was a common means of pacifying the frontier. An outstanding example of this was the marriage of Princess Wencheng to the founder of the Tibetan Empire Songtsän Gampo.[20] Summarizing his policies towards other nationalities, Emperor Taizong once said: "[s]ince antiquity it has been usual to honor the ethnic Han people and despise the barbarians. But I mean to treat everyone alike" (*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government, Volume 198 – Zhenguan Twenty-First Year, Fifth Month*). It is from Emperor Taizong's time that the institution of *jimifuzhou* first became widespread in the ethnic minority areas controlled by the Tang. This term refers to a system of administrative units which was supervised by the central authority but which was allowed to maintain their local methods of government and social customs.[21] They did not form part of the household registration system, were exempted from taxation and corvée labor, and enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. It was these policies that won Emperor Taizong the support of all the nationalities and earned him the title *Tian Kehan* ("Heavenly Khan").

Of course, the Zhenguan Period did not leave behind an entirely unblemished record. In his later years, Emperor Taizong was less successful in his appointments and less ready to listen to advice, as he became increasingly arrogant and had given over to luxurious living. He himself was well aware of this. Shortly before his death, he warned the crown prince: "Since I came to the throne, there has been much that has been wrong. The Court has ceaselessly accumulated treasures and fine silks and satins. Many palaces and pavilions have sprung up. I have traveled long distances accompanied by my horses, dogs, and hawks, and this has caused trouble for all those having to cater for me. I acknowledge these as my faults and you should try

[20]Songtsän Gampo (lived for around 32 years, perhaps 617–49 AD) was said to have brought Buddhism to Tibet. He relocated the capital to Lhasa and ordered the creation of a script for the Tibetan language, in effect allowing for the creation of a local literary culture. Princess Wencheng (*c*. 605–50 AD) was actually one of the five women to whom he was married.

[21]The literal meaning of *ji* is "horse bridle." The literal meaning of "mi" is cattle rein. The word *jimi* means "restriction." There were over 300 prefectures in the Tang Dynasty, whereas the *jimi* prefectures numbered over 800, and had a profound influence on the territory of Tang Dynasty. More specific information can be referred to Liu Tong, *Studies on Jimi Fuzhou in Tang Dynasty* (Northwest University Press, 1998).

and avoid them. On the other hand, I have delivered my people from suffering. This has benefited them greatly. And I have created an empire with a vast territory, which is greatly to my credit. Because the good in me outweighs the harm, my people are not resentful, and because my merits outweigh my faults, my achievements will not perish. However, they fall short of perfection and this makes me feel ashamed" (*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government,* Volume 1984 – *Zhenguan Twenty-Second Year, First Month*). It was this clear insight on the part of Emperor Taizong into his own qualities as a ruler that secured the continuation of the Zhenguan Age of Order.

On the death of Emperor Taizong, Emperor Gaozong (649–83 AD) succeeded to the throne. Although he was a weak character, he basically pursued the same enlightened policies of the Zhenguan Period, at the same time correcting to some extent the mistakes made by Emperor Taizong in his later years. As a result, the economic development and population growth which had marked the Zhenguan years were maintained. As recorded in the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government,* Volume 199*, Yonghui First Year, First Month*: "in Yonghui (the first period of Emperor Gaozong's reign) the people continued to enjoy the legacy of peace and prosperity from the Zhenguan Period." Soon after, however, power fell into the hands of Empress Dowager Wu Zetian. Gaozong's successors Zhongzong (personal name Li Xian) and Ruizong (personal name Li Dan) were emperors in name only, while Wu Zetian exercised effective power in her capacity as Empress Dowager, until she took the step in 690 AD of proclaiming herself emperor and changing the dynasty name to *Zhou* in what old histories refer to as the "Wu Zhou Revolution" (*Wu Zhou Ge Ming*).

In fact, the "Wu Zhou Revolution" merely represented a transfer of power within the dynasty. Its impact on the upper levels of officialdom was quite considerable, but it did not touch the lives of ordinary people very much. During Wu Zetian's reign, the Li family's loss of imperial power provoked a palace power struggle and rebellion on the part of some members of the royal family but led to no major social upheaval. In order to consolidate her rule, Wu Zetian attacked the old guard and the nobility and encouraged the promotion of talent from the lower social classes. She initiated a system of secret police and informers and placed ruthless officials such as Zhou Xing[22] and Lai Junchen[23] in important positions

[22]Zhou Xing (d. 691 AD) was in effect the head of the secret police, charged with stamping out the remnants of the influence of the Li family.

[23]Lai Junchen (d. 697 AD) was an associate of Zhou Xing. When Zhou was accused of abetting in the crimes of the executed felon Qiu Shenji, Lai forced a confession from him by threatening him with a method of torture which Zhou himself had devised. This entailed placing the suspect in a large ceramic urn and starting a fire beneath it. This is said to have been the inspiration for the proverb "invite the gentlemen into the urn" (*qing jun ru wen*). The saying means to punish a person by their own trap. Zhou's honesty led to his sentence being commuted to exile, though he was murdered by his enemies on his way there. The sadistic and unpopular Lai was himself later executed when Wu Zetian learned that he was intending to frame members of her family for treason.

so as to strengthen her control of the bureaucracy. Her promotion of favorites like Xue Huaiyi,[24] Zhang Yizhi, and Zhang Changzong[25] undermined morale among the official class, and her grand program of palace building, the construction of the *Mingtang* (an audience hall used for the awarding of prizes, announcement of punishments, and issuing of instructions), and the favoritism she showed towards Buddhist monks and priests created additional problems. At the same time, however, she attached great importance to the development of agriculture, taking various measures to encourage and oversee farming activities and sericulture, thus bringing about an improvement in the economic situation and contributing to social stability. The histories characterize Wu Zetian's reign as a period of "chaos at court, but order in society." At the beginning of Gaozong's reign, there were a total of 3.8 million households throughout the empire. In the latter years of Wu Zetian's reign, the number had increased to 6.15 million.

The peak of prosperity in the Tang Dynasty was reached in the Kaiyuan Period of Emperor Xuanzong (personal name Li Longji). Emperor Zhongzong, with the support of Chancellor Zhang Jianzhi and other officials, had resumed the throne in 705 AD and restored the Tang dynastic title. Following Zhongzong's death in 710 AD, Empress Wei and Princess Anle conspired to seize power and place his juvenile son Li Zhongmao on the throne. However, Li Longji, the third son of Emperor Ruizong, together with Princess Taiping staged a coup, put Empress Wei to death, and restored Emperor Ruizong to the throne. During the latter's reign, a conflict broke out between Crown Prince Li Longji and Princess Taiping. Emperor Ruizong abdicated in favor of Li Longji as Emperor Xuanzong. In 713 AD there was a plot by Princess Taiping to overthrow the emperor, but this was thwarted by Xuanzong. Following a succession of attempted coups, Xuanzong overhauled the bureaucracy, reorganized the imperial guard, and restored political stability in the empire. This marks the beginning of the Kaiyuan Period.

In this period Emperor Xuanzong deliberately set out to bring the Tang to a high level of prosperity. Both the emperor and his ministers looked back at the Zhenguan Age of Order as a model and aspired to imitate it. The influential *Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period*, written at this time by the official historian Wu Jing (670–749 AD) and dedicated to Emperor Xuanzong, was offered as a paradigm for good government. However, because of the changed times, there were differences between the Kaiyuan and Zhenguan Ages of Order.

Emperor Xuanzong's first priorities were to ensure that due care was given to the selection of ministers and that these were given the respect due to their

[24]Xue Huaiyi (d. 694) was a former Buddhist monk who became Wu Zetian's lover. She placed him in charge of overseeing a number of construction projects, but his jealousy led him to commit ever more serious acts of destruction, including arson. Wu eventually ordered his murder and had his blood mixed with mud which was used to construct a pagoda.

[25]Zhang Yizhi and Zhang Changzong were brothers who eventually became lovers at the same time to the aging Wu Zetian. They encouraged her love of decadent display at Court and were widely despised. Both were executed in the coup that brought about the end of Wu's reign. Their decapitated heads were put on public display.

office and to establish some stability in the organization of the team performing the office of chancellor (*Xiang*). Owing to the political changes that had taken place since the time of Emperor Gaozong, problems had arisen over the system of collective chancellorship. There were too many chancellors serving simultaneously and too many changes of appointment, and this was impacting negatively on the operations of government. Under Xuanzong the number of chancellors was reduced to three, with one of them given prime responsibility. This concentrated the power of the chancellorship. With the emperor taking a backseat, the conduct of government was made more effective and the role of chancellor was allowed full play. The two famous officials of the Kaiyuan Period, Yao Chong (650–721 AD) and Song Jing (663–737 AD), owe their reputations to this measure. As the historian Sima Guang wrote in the *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, Volume 211*, Kaiyuan Fourth Year, Twelfth Month*: "Yao Chong and Song Jing became chancellors in succession. Yao Chong excelled at acting in response to changing circumstances, whereas Song Jing was known for his adherence to the law and sticking to his principles. Despite the differences in their aspirations and moral attitude, they worked towards the same goals of reducing taxation, lightening the burden of corvée labor, mitigating the severity of the penal system and making ordinary people more prosperous. The outstanding chancellors of the early Tang were Fang Xuanling and Du Ruhui and those of the later period were Yao Chong and Song Jing." Nevertheless, the reduction in the number of the chancellors and the institutionalization of this system sowed the seeds of the later monopoly of power acquired by Chancellors Li Linfu[26] and Yang Guozhong.[27]

Emperor Xuanzong was well aware of the principle that to govern the people, it is necessary to first govern the officials. On coming to power he immediately did away with a large number of those officials who since Emperor Zhongzong's time had entered office not through the normal examination and assessment system, but by the backdoor procedure of exploiting special relationships in order to secure an informal edict of the emperor. In the second year of the Kaiyuan Period, he overturned many such appointments that had been made outside the official channels under Empress Wu and Emperor Zhongzong merely so that the incumbents could enjoy the privileges of office. These measures restored some integrity to the bureaucracy. As a corrective to the habit that had become embedded since the beginning of the Tang whereby officials at the capital enjoyed greater prestige than local officials, Xuanzong improved communications between the capital and provinces and paid particular attention to the selection of provincial governors and magistrates. In the

[26]Li Linfu (d. 753 AD) was chancellor under Emperor Xuanzong for 18 years. He accumulated great power, eventually had numerous concubines and reputed 25 sons and 25 daughters, and required 100 bodyguards to protect him from assassination attempts. His adeptness for creating schemes for dispatching with rivals was legendary. For instance, he goaded Li Shizhen into proposing that the emperor should sink a gold mine at Mount Hua and then personally warned Xuanzong that desecrating a Taoist holy site might jeopardize his life.

[27]Yang Guozhong (d. 756 AD) was a rival of Li Linfu and plotted for several years to reduce the power of Li.

fourth year of Kaiyuan, he personally inspected the newly appointed magistrates and failed 45 of them. As a consequence the two civil servants with overall responsibility for the selection of candidates, Lu Congyuan and Li Chaoyin, were demoted. In the thirteenth year of the Kaiyuan Period, Emperor Xuanzong, having personally selected some distinguished central government officials to serve as provincial governors, gave them a farewell banquet at which he presented them with poems in their honor. As is recorded in the *New Book of Tang: On Criminal Law* (*Xintangshu: Xing Fa Zhi*): "From the time Emperor Xuanzong ascended the throne he devoted himself to affairs of government. He often personally selected prefects and magistrates and cautioned them against wrongdoing. As a result good officials proliferated throughout the prefectures and counties to the great benefit of the people."

In the Kaiyuan Period, Emperor Xuanzong promulgated a large number of edicts encouraging agriculture and sericulture and providing disaster relief and reception facilities for refugees and migrants. In the prefectures north of the Yangtze and Huai Rivers, granaries were systematically set up in order to regulate food prices and store grain against future natural disasters, for the benefit of both officials and the general community. History describes the economic situation after the eighth year of Kaiyuan in terms of "bumper harvests and an abundant supply of goods such that the people had no worries." More than 30 water conservancy projects were completed throughout the empire.

The Tang Dynasty's achievement in the area of lawmaking culminated in the systematization of existing Tang Law that took place in the Kaiyuan Period under Emperor Xuanzong's direction. Laws, decrees, and regulations were either recast anew or revised, resulting in a vast and comprehensive compendium of legislation.

The Tang Golden Age reached its peak in the Kaiyuan Period. The *New Book of Tang: On Food and Commodities* (*Xintangshu: Shi Huo Zhi*) states: "At this period the whole country was prosperous. The cost of 1 *dou*[28] of rice was 13 *qian*, but in some places like Qingzhou and Qizhou it was only 3 *qian*. A roll of silk was sold for 200 *qian*. Roadsides were lined with shops, providing food and wine for passersby. Donkeys were available for hire at inns, and travelers even on very long journeys did not need to carry weapons for self-defense." The Tang history known as *Miscellaneous Talks on Heaven Opening* (*Kai Tian Chuan Xin Ji*) paints the following picture: "The Yellow River is clear and calm. The country enjoys peace and harmony. Goods are abundant and people are honest. Kingdoms like Anxi have submitted to, and were ruled by, the Tang. To the west of the Kaiyuan Gate in Chang'an, over country stretching for tens of thousands of *li*, tax and corvée were levied under the jurisdiction of the Hehuang area. The contents of the storehouses were mountains high, too abundant to keep count of. Everywhere enjoyed bumper harvests and the people were prosperous. There were over ten million households across the country. One could buy a *dou* of rice for only three or four coins. Young

[28]The exact quantity represented by 1 *dou* has changed over time, but generally it has always been equivalent to around 10 L (metric).

men in the prime of life carried no weapons. No one would pick up and keep other people's property on the road. Travelers would not take food with them for their journey." As a Western historian has written, "It was an era of consolidation, imperial authority wisely exercised, of restraint, and above all an era without costly and ambitious foreign adventures."[29]

However, the Kaiyuan Age of Order was not to last long. In the following Tianbao Period, Emperor Xuanzong started to show signs of complacency. "With prolonged peace and stability the emperor gave himself over to a life of pleasure, becoming estranged from upright officials and inclining towards the company of evil men." For example, he appointed successively the "honey-tongued, but malevolent" Li Linfu and the upstart Yang Guozhong as Chancellors. His naïve trust in Military Governor-General An Lushan and his infatuation with the concubine Yang Guifei[30] caused great harm to the country. In the early years of Kaiyuan, the emperor was still ready to accept advice, but by the time of Tianbao, he had virtually stopped listening to other people's opinions. Thanks to the accumulated wealth of the country, he was able to finance grandiose building projects, including the Xingqing and Huaqing palaces, as well as Daoist temples all around the country with statues of Laozi and himself. In the area of foreign policy, he conducted many wars against the Tufan people in northern Tibet and the southern kingdom of Nanzhao. The *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, Volume 216*, Tianbao Eleventh Year, Eleventh Month* comments: "Owing to the abundance of material wealth the emperor treated gold and fine silks as chaff and showered them on his favorites." By contrast with the extravagance and luxury of the privileged class, life for the common people became increasingly difficult. When the poet Du Fu (712–70 AD) wrote: "Inside rich men's doors wine and meat went to waste, while frozen corpses littered the roadside," he was crying out against the growing polarization in social conditions (Du Fu, "Song of the Road – Going from the Capital to Fengxian" – *Zi Jing Fu Fengxian Xian Yonghuai Wubaizi*).

In the Tianbao Period, Chancellor Li Linfu, now with a firm grip on power, eliminated all opposition, thus upsetting the system of checks and balances between chancellors. However, compared with what was to come, Li still kept within bounds and showed prudence in the management of affairs. The *Old Book of Tang: Biography of Li Linfu* (*Jiutangshu: Li Lin Fu Zhuan*) describes him as "overly cautious in the conduct of day-to-day business, orderly in all his dealings,

[29]Denis Twitchett (editor), *Cambridge History of China*: Volume 3, *Sui and Tang China* (Cambridge University Press, 1979).

[30]Yang Guifei (719–56 AD) was one of the so-called Four Great Beauties (*Si Da Mei Nü*) from Chinese history and the second cousin of Yang Guozhong. She was admired for her curvaceous figure and artistic depictions of her depict her beauty putting the flowers to shame. She was assassinated because of her association with the schemes of her relative. Her tomb is at Mawei Junction, near Xinping, Xianyang, though she is also memorialized at the Huaqing Spring to the east of Xi'an. It was the waters of this place which were said to have enhanced her beauty. Yang's short and tragic life is dramatized in the poem *Song of Everlasting Regret* (*Chang hen ge*) by Bai Juyi (772–846 AD).

in extending or amending the law, while the transfer or removal of officials was carried out according to the rules." After Yang Guozhong replaced Li Linfu, the moral environment of court politics rapidly deteriorated. "Yang Guozhong was adept at sophistry, impetuous and lacked all dignity. He would get rid of any government official for whom he had no use" (*Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government,* Volume 216*, Tianbao Eleventh Year, Eleventh Month*). In particular, a power struggle between frontier commanders and the central administration reached a crisis point. Since the Kaiyuan Period, in order to deal with the problem of nomad incursions across the border, military governors had been appointed to take charge of frontier defense. However, their power was not adequately controlled. Here lay the seeds of the An Lushan Rebellion,[31] which had such a disastrous effect on the dynasty. An Lushan had been appointed military commander of three regions including Fanyang, Pinglu, and Hedong and had at his disposal some 200,000 troops, with which he launched his rebellion on the pretext of punishing Yang Guozhong, an event which marked the end of the Golden Age of the Tang Dynasty.

3.3 The Golden Age of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong

After the founding of the Qing Dynasty, the great efforts made by Emperors Shunzhi, Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong led to another age of prosperity for China, which old history books call the "Golden Age of Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong" (*Kang-Qian Sheng Shi*). Contemporary historians saw the reign of Emperor Yongzheng as playing an important transitional role and providing continuity between his predecessor and his successor. Many measures were taken to maintain the empire's prosperity and to reinforce the system established in the early years of the Qing. Thus, it would be wrong to overlook Yongzheng's contribution to the successes of the early Qing, and it would be more appropriate to refer to the "Golden Age of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong" (*Kang-Yong-Qian Sheng Shi*).

Emperor Kangxi, whose full name was Aixin-Jueluo Xuanye, was 61 years on the throne (1661–1722), making his the longest reign in Chinese history. His successor,

[31]The An Lushan (or An-Shi) Rebellion is widely seen as a turning point, marking the beginning of the decline of the Tang Dynasty. An Lushan was possibly the son of a Sogdian father and a Tujue mother. In late 755 AD, having been a favorite of the emperor, he rose up in rebellion and seized Luoyang, the eastern capital of the Tang. He proclaimed himself the Emperor of Northern China and announced the foundation of his own Yan Dynasty. The following year, aided by the incompetent military strategies of his rival Yang Guozhong, he seized Chang'an in one of the bloodiest altercations in Chinese history. Emperor Xuanzong was forced to retreat to Sichuan, and it would take 7 years (and the murder of An Lushan at the hands of his own son) for the Tang to recover Chang'an. The huge death tolls and destruction, especially in and around the capital, had a profound impact on the dynasty.

Emperor Yongzheng, reigned for a relatively short time, from 1722 to 1736, while Emperor Qianlong, after a reign of 60 years from 1736 to 1796, abdicated in favor of Emperor Jiaqing.[32] Ostensibly the golden age lasted for over 130 years. But in fact it should be regarded as starting from the year 1681, when Emperor Kangxi succeeded in suppressing the Revolt of the Three Feudatories (*San Fan Zhi Luan*). A serious decline set in during Emperor Qianlong's later years, which were marked by the monopoly of power enjoyed by Heshen (from about 1775), while the outbreak of the White Lotus Rebellion (*Bai Lian Jiao Qi Yi*) in Sichuan, Shaanxi, and Hubei Provinces announced the end of the Golden Age of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong, which can thus be reckoned as having lasted somewhat less than a hundred years.

In the early years following the Qing army's capture of Beijing via the Shanhai Pass, the Qing made great efforts to reverse the maladministration that had characterized the latter period of the Ming Dynasty. They straightaway abolished the "Three Army Provisions" (*San Xiang*), a general term for the three forms of taxation imposed by the Ming government (*liaoxiang*, *jiaoxiang*, and *lianxiang*). But the early part of Emperor Shunzhi's reign was marred by political instability owing to the marked ethnic hostility between the Han Chinese and their Manchu masters. Among the reasons for this were the land enclosure policy and the severity of the measures taken against the so-called escapees (*tao ren*), which seriously undermined social stability. Under the land enclosure policy, "uncultivated land without owners" (*Wu Zhu Huang Di*) was allocated to generals and soldiers from the Eight Banners (*Ba Qi:* the organizational units of the Qing army). In practice, in addition to the royal villas of the Ming, much farmland belonging to ordinary citizens was seized. And, in particular, in order to prevent the intermixing of the Hans and Manchus, the land enclosure policy was followed by a land exchange movement, whereby land owned by the Hans adjacent to Manchu-owned land was exchanged for land without owners elsewhere in order to ensure the segregation of the two races. This caused great distress to the people living in the north, especially in and around Beijing. The Escapee Law (*Tao Ren Fa*) targeted slaves who served in the Eight Banners. Before the Qing army gained control of the Central Plain of China, they often took the Hans captive and made them slaves, while the Hans who voluntarily became slaves were called *touchong*. Severe punishment was meted out to those who gave shelter to or concealed runaway slaves. After the Qing army entered the Central Plain, many Han slaves deserted, and the Qing government ruled that anyone harboring them, together with his whole family, would be made slaves of the original slave master and their neighbors would suffer banishment. The slaves themselves, however, as the property of their master, would not be prosecuted. Many families who gave refuge to runaway slaves suffered in this way. Moreover, there were even cases of people seeking to extort money from rich families by passing themselves off as escapees and threatening to denounce these families to the authorities as harborers (*wozhu*).

[32]Qianlong's abdication was an act of filial respect. He did not wish to deprive his grandfather the renown of being the longest-reigning Emperor of China.

A further problem arose owing to Emperor Shunzhi's favoring of Han culture and hence his tendency to place Han officials in important positions, thus incurring the resentment of the Eight Banner aristocracy. On the other hand, ordinary people and the *literati* of Han ethnic group, especially those living south of the Yangtze River, had experienced firsthand the brutality with which the Qing army suppressed the Southern Ming regime on first entering central China and maintained a strong sense of the superiority of Han culture over other cultures. These remained strongly opposed to Manchu rule. The challenge of how to resolve the conflicts between the Han people and Manchus, restore a stable political order, and especially win the support of the Han-populated regions at large was one of the legacies that Emperor Shunzhi left to Emperor Kangxi.

Emperor Kangxi, who ascended the throne at a very early age, was assisted by four regents (including Sonin).[33] But his career as emperor only really began after he personally took over the reins of power and got rid of the regent Oboi,[34] who had been manipulating state affairs to his own advantage. The emperor's first important strategic decision then was to quell the Revolt of the Three Feudatories (*San Fan*). This laid the foundations on which the prosperity of the following years was built.

The Three Feudatories emerged during the period when the Manchus entered China proper. At the time when Ming and Qing forces were locked in a stalemate in Liaodong (a northeastern area in today's Liaoning and Jilin Provinces), three of Ming General Mao Wenlong's (1579–1629) subordinates, Kong Youde (1602–1652), Geng Zhongming (1604–1649), and Shang Kexi (1604–1676), surrendered to the Manchu ruler Hong Taiji. And when the Qing army entered China proper, the General of the Shanhai Pass, Wu Sangui (1612–1678), also capitulated. From then on these generals who had gone over to the Qing took the lead in the campaign to pacify the country, especially the power base of the Ming remnants in the south. In Emperor Shunzhi's reign, the Qing Court granted General Kong Youde the title of Prince Pacifier of the South (*Ding Nan Wang*) and installed him in the Guangxi area, although his base was later destroyed by a Southern Ming force under Li Dingguo. Geng Zhongming (*Jing Nan Wang*) and Shang Kexi (*Ping Nan Wang*) were given similar titles and installed in the Guangdong area. The former later moved to Fujian and his title passed in turn to his son Geng Jimao and grandson Geng Jingzhong. Wu Sangui was made Prince Pacifier of the West (*Ping Xi Wang*) and installed in the Yunnan area. By the time Emperor Kangxi came to the throne, order had been restored in the empire. However, the Three Feudatories had accumulated

[33]Sonin (1601–1667) was the senior of the four individuals appointed to serve as regents while Kangxi came of age (the others were Oboi, Suksaha, and Ebilun). He came from the Heseri Clan and was considered of great value, not least because he was a fluent speaker of Mandarin, Manchu, and Mongolian.

[34]Oboi (*c*. 1601–1669) instigated tyrannical acts such as persuading the young Kangxi to order the execution of Suksaha and his family. Since Ebilun was easy to control, Sonin proved his chief rival. Oboi was sentenced to death, though this was commuted to imprisonment, probably because of the loyalty he had shown to the past generation of Kangxi's family. He was posthumously pardoned by the aging Kangxi in 1713.

considerable power and controlled massive military forces. The annual pay for these forces alone amounted to 20 million *taels* and was a source of concern to the Qing government. In the twelfth year of Emperor Kangxi's reign, Shang Kexi requested permission to retire to Liaodong, and Emperor Kangxi decided to take this opportunity to dismiss the feudatories, an act that provoked the outbreak of the rebellion.

Wu Sangui was the most powerful of the Three Feudatories. At the beginning of the rebellion, Wu's troops carried all before them, while Geng Zhongming and Shang Kexi rose in armed response to Wu. Between them they controlled the regions of Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangdong, Guangxi, Sichuan, and Hunan. The war, also spreading to Shaanxi, Gansu, Hunan, Hubei, Fujian, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang, engulfed half of China. The Qing sent forth generals and troops who, advancing with caution, began the long drawn-out struggle with the rebels. It took 8 years of war before Emperor Kangxi finally put down the rebellion.

During the pacification process, Emperor Kangxi laid stress on political reform, modifying his philosophy of government and overall policy. First of all, in order to learn from the experience of past rulers' strategies and draw on the wisdom enshrined in the Confucian theory of government, Emperor Kangxi made a point of organizing and attending daily lectures by his ministers on the Confucian Classics (*Jing Wan Ri Jiang*) and of examining and discussing important issues as a moral and intellectual discipline. This routine was not suspended even when the emperor was beset by military preoccupations. Secondly, in order to resolve the problem of Manchu-Han relations and win the support of the Han *literati*, Emperor Kangxi issued an edict, in the very midst of war, to the effect that Chinese of proven talent and integrity would, upon the recommendation of a third-grade official, be sent to the capital to be examined by the emperor face to face and if passed by the emperor would be given an official post. At that time many scholars regarded non-Chinese cultures as barbarian and for that reason were unwilling to serve the Qing. As a result of Emperor Kangxi's orders to local officials to make recommendations to the Imperial Court, a number of Han intellectuals, after being examined in some very simple subjects, were given important posts. Even some who refused to take the exam were given a title and rank. This led to a significant change in the attitude of Han intellectuals towards the Qing.

With peace restored after the Revolt of the Three Feudatories, the empire saw the first signs of an age of order in the making. Emperor Kangxi made important changes in his approach towards the selection and appointment of officials. Emperor Shunzhi had mainly relied on Manchu nobles to govern the country. But once Emperor Kangxi began to govern in his own right, he showed a strong appreciation of Chinese culture and employed intellectuals learned in the Confucian Classics in important positions. This brought about a fundamental change in the political atmosphere. Among the celebrated intellectuals employed by Emperor Kangxi were Wei Xiangshu (1617–1687), Xiong Cilü (1635–1709), and Li Guangdi (1642–1718). During Emperor Kangxi's reign, many intellectuals served as officials and became role models for their generation, such as Lu Longqi (1630–1692), Tang Bin (1627–1687), and Zhang Boxing (1651–1725). Distinguished for

their personal integrity, they were honored by their images being displayed in Confucian temples. Likewise, Yu Chenglong (1617–1684), Chen Pengnian (1663–1723), and Zhao Shenqiao (1644–1720) gained universal renown for their honesty and incorruptibility.

In his economic policy, Kangxi called a halt to land enclosure and focused on developing production. He issued many edicts to recruit people to work on land reclamation and paid particular attention to Yellow River flood control measures, always a priority for the Qing administration. During Shunzhi's reign, eminent officials, such as Yang Fangxing (d. 1665) and Zhu Zhixi (1622–1666), had both been named governor-general with special responsibility for flood control, a task which they carried out with considerable success, to the great benefit of the Yangtze and Huai River regions. Zhu Zhixi even came to be worshipped by local people as a river deity, and Emperor Qianlong, during an inspection of river control engineering, bowed to popular demand by giving him the title "Marquis of Eternal Peace and Bringer of Peace and Protection" (*You An Zhu Shun Yong Ning Hou*). Soon after he had assumed personal responsibility for his rule, Kangxi was faced with a series of challenges. Not only did he have the Revolt of the Three Feudatories to deal with, as a consequence of neglect, the Yangtze and Huai Rivers burst their banks, causing widespread devastation and distress. Kangxi called the Revolt of the Three Feudatories, flood control, and water transport the "Three Great Issues" (*San Da Shi*), and he wrote these characters on a pillar in his palace. In the sixteenth year of his reign, Ren Jinfu was appointed General Director of Waterways with overall responsibility for the Yellow River, canals, and the Huai River. His work had essentially been completed by the eighteenth year of Kangxi's reign. In Kangxi's latter years, in response to the improvement in the country's finances and economic situation and the rapid growth in population, the emperor promoted a policy of "no increases in taxation." An edict of the fifty-first year of Kangxi's reign stated: "[w]ith the peaceful development of the nation over many years, the number of households and the population have multiplied, and it would be inappropriate to subject the current population to an increase in the land tax. Although the population has grown, there has been no increase in farmland. Therefore, the provincial governors should maintain the number of households at the level recorded in the current census and keep the land tax at a fixed rate, with no increase or reduction. Those people born after the census was taken are to be exempt from tax. The actual increase in the population that has taken place by the time the tax report is compiled should be reported separately to the Qing authorities" (*Archives of the Qing Period Named Shengzu*, Volume 249 – *Qing Shengzu Shi Lu*). Thus, the foundation was laid for the reform under which the farming land tax replaced the poll tax.

However, despite the good governance that characterized Kangxi's reign, it was already suffering from a high level of corruption. Many highly placed officials were lacking in integrity. Xiong Cilü and Li Guangdi, for example, became bywords for hypocrisy. Xu Qianxue (1631–1694) and Gao Shiqi (1645–1704) were notorious for the abuse of power and for taking bribes. They were the subject of popular ballads that satirized Xu Qianxue's wealth "piled up to the sky" and Gao Shiqi's jewelry and other gifts received "from ten thousand countries." More especially, the famous

scholar Mingzhu (1635–1708) openly took bribes, relying on the protection of the emperor, who continued to hold him in high regard. In the latter period of Kangxi's rule, institutional breakdown and official corruption became steadily more serious. Added to this, the disruption that resulted when two princes were deprived of their position, leading to open conflict and a concealed power struggle between all the emperor's sons, tended to undermine political stability.

Leaving aside his attack on dissidents and the persecution of his brothers, Kangxi's successor Emperor Yongzheng (whose personal name was Yinzhen) made a determined effort to bring about political reform and introduced new measures to clean up the local bureaucracies. This to some extent overcame the long-standing abuses of Kangxi's later years.

In order to resolve the conflicts over imperial succession, Yongzheng abolished the institution of the crown prince, which had been in existence since Han times. In its place he introduced a system of secretly naming the emperor's successor. On the occasion of an appeal for troops in the northwest, he set up a Grand Military Council, with the aim of adjusting the relationship between the emperor and his ministers, further enhancing the emperor's own authority. He also issued an edict, with immediate effect, raising standards throughout the civil service. A large number of corrupt officials were executed and many had their homes searched and their property confiscated. The Qing historian Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801) commented, in praise of Yongzheng's anticorruption measures: "[t]here was a complete overhaul of the government machine, malpractice was stamped out and corruption was punished. This kind of thing happens only once in a thousand years. As a consequence, senior officials turned into loyal and honest servants and junior officials did their duty conscientiously. None of those corrupted dare reform themselves thoroughly under such a social context, which is the call of the age. Now, by reading the inscription on the tablet, I know that in Yongzheng's reign, the government officials ranking from the provincial level to the county level rejected any presents or gifts, eliminating the long-standing malpractice and extra allowances. The content was almost the equivalent to that of the biographies of the honest and upright officials" (***On Literature and History:*** *Wen Shi Ton Yi: Nei Pan Wu, Gu Wen Shi Bi*).

In order to tackle the problem of official corruption at its root, Emperor Yongzheng introduced an "honesty incentive" (*yang lian yin*) system. The historical origins of this measure lie in a phenomenon that dates back to the Ming Dynasty. Tax was payable in silver pieces, and the silver handed over by taxpayers was cast into silver ingots before being passed on to the higher authorities. For a long time extra tax had been charged in order to compensate for the wastage resulting from the casting process which is named *Huo Hao*. Once the correct amount of tax had been handed over, the remainder went to the local government (*haoxian*), but that part that was not used to finance public expenditure customarily became the local officials' personal property. However, since senior officials above county level all the way up to those in the capital were without this source of additional income, the local officials would allow them an equal share in the form of gifts. These gifts were known under many names: Money passed on in the summer was called an "ice

offering" (*bing jing*) (because it was meant to be used to buy ice in the summer heat), while in the winter, it was referred to as a "coal offering" (*tan jing*) (for heating). A "festival offering" (*jie jing*) was sent on the occasion of a public festival, a "good wishes offering" (*zhu jing*) in celebration of a senior official's birthday, and a "New Year offering" (*nian jing*) at the time of the Spring Festival. A "respect offering" (*zhi jing*) accompanied a visit to one's teacher or superior. An official leaving the capital was presented with a "farewell offering" (*bie jing*). But they were all regarded as underhanded practices. The *Draft History of the Qing: Biography of Nuo Min* (*Qing Shi Gao: Nuo Ming Zhuan*) says that county officials used to levy the extra tax for the very purpose of sharing it with their superiors and as an excuse for indulging in peculation, while their superiors would connive in the practice, which is why these long-standing abuses needed to be curbed. From the second year of Emperor Yongzheng, provinces were required to turn over to the state treasury the whole annual amount of this extra tax (*hao xian gui gong*), which would be used for designated purposes. The same year also saw the introduction of the "honesty incentive" system, under which all the funds were allocated to local officials, in order to put an end to random and unauthorized taxation.

Emperor Kangxi had laid down as a state policy "no increases in taxation." While this policy was in force, some officials proposed substituting a land tax for the poll tax, and towards the end of Kangxi's reign, this idea started to be put into effect experimentally in Sichuan and Guangdong Provinces. After Yongzheng's accession to the throne, it began to be generally applied in accordance with the terms of a memorial submitted by Li Weijun, Governor of Zhili Province (*Zhili Xunfu*), and others. By the seventh year of Yongzheng's reign, it was being implemented everywhere except in Shanxi, Fengtian, and Guizhou. This replacement of the poll tax by a land tax (*tan ding ru mu*) represents one of the most important tax reforms in Chinese history. It changed the nature of taxation for the Chinese people. By charging tax on land instead of by head of population, it benefited peasants who owned little or no land and resulted in a more rational distribution of the tax burden. At the same time, because land is a relatively stable asset, the source of taxation was placed on a firmer footing. Following this reform the official population statistics showed a rapid increase. In the fiftieth year of Kangxi's reign, the figure had stood at 24 million. By the sixth year of Qianlong, it reached 140 million, and in the fifty-eighth year of Qianlong, it stood at 300 million.

Building on the achievements of his two predecessors, Emperor Qianlong brought China to a new stage, both culturally and militarily (*wenzhi wugong*). During the early part of his reign, Emperor Kangxi had been faced with the fallout from long years of war, a distressed countryside, economic depression, and serious ethnic conflicts. So his first priority had been to bring relief to the people, gain their support, and end the hostility between the Hans and the Manchu people. This probably explains the generally tolerant and lenient nature of his administration. By contrast, owing to the breakdown of discipline and the prevailing culture of corruption and negligence in the bureaucracy, the early years of Emperor Yongzheng's rule were mainly directed to reforming the civil administration, punishing corruption, and restoring discipline, which is why he was perceived as

ruling with harshness and severity. Emperor Qianlong, on his accession, emphasized the need to exercise a combination of generosity and strictness. In this way he managed to maintain peace and prosperity.

Soon after Qianlong ascended the throne, he accepted the inclusion of the descendants of Yunsi and Yuntang[35] into the royal genealogy and set free Yun'e and Yunti,[36] thus defusing the conflicts within the imperial clan that were a legacy of Emperor Yongzheng's rule. At the same time he exonerated or reinstated officials who had been unjustly dismissed or imprisoned in Yongzheng's time. Among these were the famous scholars Li Ba, Cai Ting, and Xie Jishi, whom Emperor Yongzheng had accused of forming a cabal in the affair of the impeachment of Tian Wenjing. Emperor Qianlong soon gained political capital from these measures.

In the area of economic policy, Qianlong prohibited the practice whereby officials provided inflated figures for the amount of wasteland brought under cultivation in order to boost their own reputation. He also waived the tax on grain that had been falsely reported. At the same time he continued to encourage genuine land reclamation in order to feed the rapidly rising population. He sought to prevent fraudulent claims by ruling that isolated and scattered pieces of land that had been brought under cultivation should be exempt from tax. From Qianlong's second year, in order to reduce grain wastage, a ban on alcohol production came into effect in five provinces in North China. His reign saw a number of large-scale water conservancy projects carried out, among them the famous Yellow River diversion project at Maocheng Pu Township, a scheme to divert the Huai River to Jiangshuidao, the Jinshajiang waterway project, and the Haitang project in Zhejiang Province. The ban on the opening of new mines that had been in force under Emperor Yongzheng was lifted, and the mining industry developed rapidly. Thanks to the improvement in state finances, from Qianlong's tenth year, each province in turn was granted exemption from the land tax for a period of three years at a time. Later, in the emperor's thirty-fifth, forty-second, and fifty-fifth years, the whole country enjoyed a tax holiday. In Qianlong's thirty-first year, there was a general exemption from the tax on grain transported by water, which was repeated in his forty-third and fifty-ninth years.

There had already been considerable cultural advances under Kangxi. His reign saw the completion of the celebrated encyclopedia *Grand Compendium of Ancient and Modern Books* (*Gu Jin Pu Shu Ji Cheng*). Yongzheng and Qianlong carried forward the work of Kangxi, the most representative achievement being the *Complete Collection in Four Treasuries* (*Si Ku Quan Shu*), a vast repository of Chinese scholarship, which took over 300 collaborators 10 years during Qianlong's

[35] Yunsi (1681–1726) and Yuntang (1683–1726) were the eighth and ninth sons of Emperor Kangxi and half-brothers to Emperor Yongzheng. Shortly before their deaths, the pair was thrown out of Court on suspicion of corruption and for being incompetent. Yunsi was forced to adopt the humiliating title of "Akina" (the transliteration of the Manchu word for "pig") and Yuntang "Seishei" (meaning "dog").

[36] Yun'e and Yunti were other royal princes who also fell from grace but lived long enough to be released from prison by Emperor Qianlong.

reign to compile. It consists of 36,000 volumes, made up of 79,016 chapters, and brings together the contents of 3,470 books. It is the most important such collection in Chinese history.

However, by contrast with Emperors Kangxi and Yongzheng, who were both very frugal in their habits (Yongzheng would even criticize officials for using silk as wrapping for their memorials to the throne, recommending paper instead as being more economical), Qianlong enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle. His extravagance is best illustrated by his six grand tours to the South of China, where he indulged his passion for beautiful scenery. Whereas Kangxi's main object in visiting the south had been to inspect flood control and engineering projects, Qianlong merely used this as a pretext for his main interest, namely, sightseeing. Late in life he admitted: "In my almost sixty years on the throne I have not failed in virtue, except for those six excursions to the south, which did more harm than good to the people" (Liang Zhangju, [37] *Discussions*, Volume 3 – *Liang Zhangju: Langjicongtan, gang san*). Moreover, in order to achieve the "ten military feats" (*shiquan wugong*) which he liked to boast about, he launched several disastrous wars, especially in Burma and Annam (present-day Vietnam), in which ordinary Chinese people as well as the hapless soldiers suffered greatly.

A further important constituent of the golden age of the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong was their handling of the frontier regions. The concept of homeland is inseparable from territory. The Chinese for "homeland" is *zuguo*. The original meaning of the character *zu* is "ancestor," while that of *guo* is "territory." The latter character, as it appears in the earliest Chinese writing on bones or tortoise shells (used for divination) or inscribed on Shang and Zhou bronze objects, contains a hieroglyphic image of a person carrying a weapon to defend territory (*Shuo Wen*). What constitutes China's territory was formed and has evolved gradually over the country's long history, with the Han, Tang, and Qing Dynasties playing an especially important role in this process.[38] In the Western Han Dynasty, the expansion took place mainly along the Hexi Corridor (west of the Yellow River in present-day northwestern Gansu) and in the southeast and southwest. Under the Tang activity was focused on the area east of the Liao River in Northeast China, Lingnan (present-day Guangdong and Guangxi), the great desert in the region of Dunhuang, and the western regions. Describing the national territory in the Tianbao Period of the Tang Dynasty (742–756 AD), the *Geographical Survey* in the *Old Book of Tang* (*Jiutangshu: Di Li Zhi*) states that it reached "Andong Prefecture in the east, Anxi Prefecture in the west, Rinan County in the south and Chanyu Prefecture in the north. From north to south it stretched for about as far as it had covered under the Han. Eastwards its extent was less than under the Han, but to the west it well outdistanced the Han's territory." However, in Tang times the prefectures governed by institutions for controlling ethnic groups were very different from the regular

[37]Liang Zhangju (1775–1849) was a Qing Dynasty writer, historian, and art critic whose origins lay in Fujian Province.

[38]Tan Qixiang, *Historical Atlas of China (Zhongguo Lishi Dituji)* (Sino Maps Press, 1982)

prefectures, whereas under the early Qing, the national territory expanded following the line of the regions inhabited by ethnic minorities such as the Mongols, Hui (in present-day Xinjiang), and Tufan (in present-day Tibet), thus laying the foundations for the map of modern China.

The recovery of sovereignty over Taiwan during Kangxi's reign marked the beginning of the Qing's push to settle China's frontier questions. During the Yuan and Ming Dynasties, an inspection department was set up in the Penghu Islands (Pescadores) to run Taiwan affairs. But Dutch colonists took advantage of the upheavals at the end of the Ming Dynasty to invade and occupy Taiwan. In the eighteenth year of Emperor Shunzhi, Zheng Chenggong (1624–1662) (sometimes known in the west as Koxinga), who was loyal to the Southern Ming, expelled the Dutch and established one prefecture and two counties in Taiwan. His rule accompanied a rapid development of the island and his plan was to make the islands of Jinmen (Quemoy) and Xiamen (Amoy), the Penghu Islands, and Taiwan a base for a movement to oust the Qing and restore the Ming. Not long after, however, Zheng Chenggong died and was succeeded by his son Zheng Jing in Xiamen. A power struggle then developed between Zheng Jing and his uncle Zheng Shixi, after which, in the third year of Kangxi, Zheng Jing gave up Jinmen and Xiamen, retreated from the coastal area, and stationed himself on Taiwan. With the settlement of the Revolt of the Three Feudatories, Emperor Kangxi appointed Shi Lang admiral of the Fujian navy and set about actively planning the recovery of Taiwan. Following Zheng Jing's unexpected death, a struggle for the succession between his sons Zheng Kezang and Zheng Keshuang was stirred up by their subordinate officers, and this resulted in internal chaos. In the twenty-second year of Kangxi's reign, Qing troops launched a full-scale attack on Taiwan, in which the main force of the Zheng navy defending the Penghu Islands was wiped out. Taiwan was thus recovered in a single operation. The Qing established a prefectural government on Taiwan, with troops stationed there.[39] At the same time, as peace began to return to the coastal areas, the law, which had been introduced as a security measure at the start of Kangxi's reign, requiring people living on the coast to migrate inland, was repealed. In a poem written by the emperor himself and entitled "Hearing the Good News from the Sea on Mid-Autumn Day" (*Zhong Qiu Ri Wen Hai Shang Jie Yin*), Kangxi described the new situation thus: "[f]or so long the coastland has known hardship, but now farming and plowing are unified within the whole country."

The situation in Mongolia was very complex. The Horqin region (in what became Inner Mongolia) had already submitted to the Qing before the latter entered the

[39]There were discussions over whether or not to abandon Taiwan. After repeated discussions, the Taiwan Prefecture was established under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province, governing Taiwan County, Fengshan County, and Zhuluo County. Penghu was directly under the jurisdiction of Taiwan Prefecture. One commander in chief and two assisting officials were established with 8,000 soldiers stationed. In Penghu, only one assisting commander was established with a stationed troop of 2,000. This was the first time that the central government established institutions and stationed troops on Taiwan Island. Official positions were given to the surrendered military leaders Zheng Keshuang, Feng Xifan, and Liu Guoxuan, and residence was granted to them in the capital city.

Shanhai Pass. Various groups of Khalkhans (in Outer Mongolia) had done so by the time of Emperor Kangxi. However, the Zunghars alternated periods of allegiance and rebellion and were at war with the Qing on and off during the reigns of Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. In Kangxi's time, the Zunghar leader, Galdan,[40] attacked Khalkha and then invaded Inner Mongolia but was defeated by Qing troops, after which other Mongol groups in Qinghai went over to the Qing. Late in Kangxi's reign, after Galdan's death, his nephew Tsewang Rabtan,[41] perpetually at odds with the Qing, restored Zunghar fortunes. While Yongzheng was on the throne, during a confrontation between the Qing and the Zunghars, the Qing put down a rebellion of Qinghai Khoshut Mongols led by Lobsang Danjin.[42] After the death of Tsewang Rabtan, his son Galdan Tseren[43] continued to resist the Qing troops, and it was not until Qianlong's reign that the Zunghars were decisively defeated and at last a peace settlement was negotiated, under which the remaining tribes joined the Khalkans and the Qinghai Mongols.

In order to oversee the administration of Outer Mongolia, Emperor Yongzheng created the post of Deputy General for Pacifying the Frontier in Uliastai to take charge of military affairs in Tannu Uriankhai and to govern four Khalka tribes and other subordinate tribes such as the Olots and Khoids, 86 banners in all. The area administered was equivalent to present-day Outer Mongolia, parts of Russia, Kazakhstan, and the northern part of the Altai region of Xinjiang and was collectively referred to as Outer Mongolia by the Qing government. At the same time an official was sent to Kulun (present-day Ulan Bator), who was later given the title of Executive Minister in Kulun, with the task of overseeing commercial relations between Kyakhta and Russia and governing the tribal domains of Tushiyetu Khan and Sechen Khan. In the twenty-sixth year of Qianlong's reign, the posts of Advisory Minister and Executive Minister were created in Kobdo (the present-day Mongolian city of Khovd, capital of Khovd Province) to govern the Zakhchins (a Zunghar tribe that had submitted to the Qing), the Myangads, the Kobdo Olots, and the Altai Uriankhais and to administer collectively the Dörbets

[40]The full name of Galdan (1644–1696) was Choros Erdeniin Galdan and his title was Galdan Boshugtu Khan. He was the fourth son of the founder of the Zunghar Khanate, Erdeni Baatur Hongtaiji, and as a child was sent to study to become a lama under the 5th Dalai Lama. Upon hearing of the murder of his elder brother (and father's successor), Sengge, at the hands of their half-brother, he gave up his religious studies and embarked on his military campaigns.

[41]Tsewang Rabtan (d. 1727) planned a disastrous campaign to capture the 7th Dalai Lama and return him to Lhasa. In spite of defeating the Qing troops at the Battle of the Salween River in 1718, his troops nevertheless lost the city of Lhasa to the Qing 2 years later.

[42]Lobsang Rabtan led a force of 200,000 troops. This was defeated in 1723.

[43]Galdan Tseren (d. 1745) realized more effectively than his predecessors the need to develop a technological base for his troops and to gain an economic foothold. For instance, he made use of the captured Swedish soldier and cartographer Johan Gustaf Renat, who helped Galdan's artillery cast metal cannons. He also gained considerable capital from the Tea Route between China and Russia.

and the subordinate Khoids, the New Torghuts, and the New Khoshuts, 31 banners in all.

After the pacification of Qinghai, Emperor Yongzheng reorganized the Mongols in Qinghai as the Zasakh Banner. In the first year of Yongzheng's reign, a post of Executive Minister was created in Xining to govern the tribes in Qinghai and Mongolia. In Emperor Qianlong's twenty-seventh year, following the quelling of a rebellion of Uighur tribes led by Hojijan and Burhad ad-Din, a post of Commander of Yili was established. This official was responsible for the military administration of the northern and southern districts of the Tianshan Mountains and for governing the Hui and Olot tribes of the Tianshan area. The forty-eighth year of Qianlong saw the creation of the post of Governor of Urumqi with responsibility for the military administration of the Urumqi area. A Deputy Governor was appointed in Tarbagatay, an Advisory Minister in Kashgar, and Executive Ministers in Yengisar, Yarkand, Hotan, Aksu, Wushi, Kuqa, and Karasahr to administer local affairs.

Under the Yuan (Mongol) Dynasty, Tibet was governed by an organ known as the Political Council, which had three subdivisions known as Pacification Commissions. Under the Ming, Ü-Tsang and Duogan (Mdo-khams) were the capital cities of Tibet from where the Commissions were supervised. From the seventh year of Chongde (1642), before the Qing forces had entered China proper, Tibet had already begun to pay tribute to the Qing Court. But the internal affairs of Tibet continued to be administered under the Diba regime (*Diba* was the name of the official in charge of political and religious affairs). However, in the last years of Kangxi's reign, the Qing abolished this regime in Tibet (or "Tangut" as they called it) and appointed three temporary officials known as Kaluns to administer Tibetan affairs. In the fifth year of Yongzheng, following the quelling of an internal rebellion, military forces began to be stationed in Tibet and a post of Resident Commissioner, known as *Amban*, was created. In Qianlong's fifty-seventh year, the Qing Court reorganized the administration of Tibet and established the so-called *Jinbenba* system, whereby a Golden Urn was used for drawing lots as a means for identifying *tulkus* or reincarnated lamas.[44] From that time on the "living Buddha" (*huofo*) tradition was supervised by the central government. According to a rule introduced in Qianlong's fifty-ninth year when the governorship of Anterior Tibet (the region covering Lhasa and Shannan, also known as Lhoka) fell vacant, the new appointee was to be elected jointly by the Amban and the Dalai Lama, while a vacancy in Posterior Tibet would be filled as the result of an election conducted by the Amban and the Panchen Lama. The Khenpo (Senior Monk) of each temple was to be elected jointly by the Dalai

[44] *Jinbenba* was also known as *jinping* (the "golden bottle"). The leaders of Tibetan Buddhism included the Dalai Lama (stationed in Lhasa) and the Panchen Lama (stationed in Shigatse). Their subjects included 18 *Khutughtu* and 12 *Shabulong*. They were living Buddhas who were reincarnated. The *Jinbenba* system was used to confirm the reincarnation of the Buddha. When one living Buddha died, the people who were born at the same time of the Buddha's death would be sought out and their names and birth times will be put into a bottle. The one picked by the *Amban* was announced as the reincarnated Buddha, named *Hubilehan*.

Lama, the Amban, and the Lama Resident in Beijing sent to Tibet. Also, all Tibet officials, whether religious or secular, were to be supervised by the Amban.

China has always been a multi-ethnic country. Ethnic minority groups were distributed over all the provinces during the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, there were many local chieftains and officials. The position of local official was hereditary and normally filled by the head of the local ethnic group. However, appointments and the succession to a hereditary title had to be ratified by the central government. Civil officials ranged from local prefects and local subprefects to local police commissioners and the local officials responsible for official hospitality. Military officials ranged from the Commander and Pacification Commissioner to local district magistrates and local police magistrates, from third rank to ungraded. These local officials were under the supervision of the provincial and county governors and local customs were observed only in the administration of domestic affairs. Among the provinces where this system of local officials was in place were Sichuan, Gansu, Yunnan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Hunan, and Hubei. From the beginning of Emperor Yongzheng's reign, a new policy (*gaituguiliu*) was introduced in the ethnic minority regions of the southwest, under which those who had been local officials under the existing system became regular prefectural or county officials appointed by the Qing Court with the appropriate rank and on a nonhereditary basis. Under Emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong, this reform was implemented throughout Hunan and Hubei Provinces and in most of Yunnan and Guizhou, and it played a positive role in promoting the development of these regions.

Northeast China was the place of origin for the Qing. But invaders from Tsarist Russia pushed into the Heilongjiang river valley area, setting up bases in Nerchinsk and Yaksa (Albazin), plundering local Daur villages and posing a serious threat to China. From the twenty-first year of Emperor Kangxi, the Qing, under a carefully devised plan, started to send troops to force back the Russian invaders. By the beginning of Kangxi's twenty-third year, after many minor battles, the small Russian military encampments had all been overcome. In Kangxi's twenty-fourth year, Qing troops attacked at Yaksa where a large Russian force was concentrated. In this engagement over a hundred Russian soldiers were killed and over 700 surrendered. The Qing army released the captives under a guarantee that they would not return and, having burnt the city of Yaksa, retired to quarters in Aihui. However, after the Qing troops had withdrawn, the Russians immediately put together a force of over a thousand men plus twelve cannons and returned to Yaksa, erected a city wall, and established ten military camps so as to strengthen the city's defenses. In response to the Russians' breaking of their pledge, the Qing resumed their attack on Yaksa in Kangxi's twenty-fifth year. They dug trenches, built forts, and adopted a siege strategy, repeatedly beating off Russian counteroffensives. In the course of these engagements, the Russian Commander Aleksei Tolbuzin lost his life. Following this, the Russian government sued for peace and only then did the Qing raise the siege. Under the Treaty of Nerchinsk, the two parties agreed that Russia's eastern border should be defined by the rivers Kerbichi and Argun and the Stanovoy Range. In Yongzheng's time the Treaty of Kyakhta fixed the central border. Over the

following one and half centuries, this region witnessed no serious armed conflicts or border disputes between the two countries.

Unlike during the earlier golden age periods, the rule of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong took on the nature of an absolute monarchy, which explains why the practice of emperors soliciting and accepting advice lapsed during this period. Policy tended to be conducted by the emperor as autocrat. This trend was accentuated by the barriers that existed between the Manchu and Han peoples and by the controls exercised on thought and speech, which were more severe than under earlier dynasties. Literary censorship was especially harsh under all three emperors. Scholars who fell foul of the censorship authorities suffered imprisonment or execution, often together with their relatives. The harm caused by this so-called literary inquisition was considerable. Emperor Qianlong had many books banned and burned, and in the course of the compilation of the *Four Treasuries* (*Si Ku Quan Shu*) collection, many past literary works were suppressed and even destroyed. This did considerable damage to the early Qing's ability to lead the country on the path of progress.

By the middle of Qianlong's reign, the Golden Age of Qing's rule was already at an end. In Qianlong's thirty-ninth year, as social tensions became acute, an anti-Qing uprising of the Pure Water (*Qinshui*) Sect led by Wang Lun[45] broke out in Linqing, Shandong Province. An imperial attendant named Li Shufang submitted a memorial to the emperor in which he said: "Rioting mobs have gathered, driven by cold and hunger, and people with their whole families are fleeing to the outskirts of the capital. Watches have been placed at Lugouqiao Bridge to stop these refugees from moving northwards" (*Draft History of the Qing: Biography of Li Shufang – Qing Shi Gao: Li Shu Fang Zhuan*). Emperor Qianlong, however, disagreed with Li Shufang's reading of the situation and accused him of making excuses for the mobs in order to preserve his good name. As social tensions accumulated, the emperor, blinded by the reverence paid to him after so many years on the throne, allowed power to slip into the hands of the corrupt official Heshen,[46] whose increasingly autocratic ways soon spelled the end of the golden age. In his latter years, while Qianlong basked in his own reputation as a "paragon of all the virtues" (*shiquanlaoren*), the whole country was blighted by rebellions, both minor and major. With the outbreak of the White Lotus Rebellion (*Bai Lian Jiao*) in Sichuan, Shaanxi, and Hubei Provinces, the Qing Dynasty entered its terminal decline.

[45]Wang Lun's (d. 1774) sect upheld a belief in the immanent coming of the Buddha Maitreya. In order to prepare themselves for this, they followed a strict regimen, which included fasting, meditation, yoga, and drinking only pure water. Their initial successes in altercations with the Qing forces were interpreted as a sign of the righteousness of their cause.

[46]Heshen (1746–1799) rose rapidly through the Court and was even responsible for hosting the Macartney Embassy (the mission of visiting British diplomats) to the Imperial Court. His corruption was widely known, though he was spared by Emperor Qianlong. Upon the death of Qianlong (who had by then been retired from the throne for 3 years), his successor sentenced Heshen to death by slow slicing (*lingchi*), one of the most painful and horrific Qing punishments. However, the Jiaqing Emperor decided to show mercy and allowed him to commit suicide.

3.4 Overview of the Golden Ages

Besides the Western Han, Tang, and early Qing, other dynasties also had their golden ages and ages of order, even if they were not so emblematic as those that have been discussed here. The restoration and recovery under Emperor Guangwu (25–57 AD) of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the reigns of Emperors Renzong and Xuanzong (1424–35 AD) of the Ming Dynasty can be cited as examples. Even some less well-known dynasties, during which the country was divided and suffered from the upheavals of war, had relatively short periods of peace and prosperity, such as under Fu Jian (357–85 AD) of the Earlier Qin Dynasty in the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms in North China. Fu Jian appointed a scholar Wang Meng as his advisor and created conditions of sound governance and relative prosperity. Similar periods of comparative stability were enjoyed under the later Zhou and Southern Tang during the period of the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms in the tenth century. However, from a general historical perspective, the periods of upheaval outnumbered the periods of prosperity. Even in such long-lived dynasties as the Han, Tang, and Qing, the golden ages represented only a short period of their occupation of the imperial throne.

People may dream of living in a golden age, but certain historical conditions need to exist for a golden age to come about.

Traditionally, the system of government in China always rested on the principle of the "rule by men" (*renzhi*), as opposed to the "rule of law" (*fazhi*), and from Qin and Han times, this system was an absolute monarchy. Therefore, the first prerequisite for a golden age was an enlightened monarch. A broad interpretation of history will lead us to the conclusion that the ruler's moral character and abilities have been a decisive factor. The Wen-Jing Age of Order under the Western Han Dynasty had much to do with the personality of Emperor Wen, whose reputation for frugality makes him stand out among emperors down the ages. According to a story told about him in the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*), at one time he was planning to build a terrace and asked a craftsman to estimate the cost. When told it would cost one hundred gold *taels*, he replied, "One hundred gold *taels* equals the wealth of ten middle class households. I had the privilege of receiving my palace from my forefathers and am afraid to bring shame on them. So why should I build?" The plan was abandoned. Emperor Wen himself used to wear ordinary clothes, and it was a rule at his court that his concubines' dresses should not reach the ground and no embroidery was allowed on draperies and curtains. Han emperors were in the habit of building magnificent mausoleums for themselves. But Emperor Wen, exceptionally, had his tomb sited at the foot of a mountain with no artificial grave mound. His funerary objects were all made of pottery rather than gold, silver, bronze, or tin. The Zhenguan Age of Order can to some extent be attributed to Emperor Taizong's ambition to go down in history as a great ruler. When his authority was challenged by advisers like Wei Zheng, he would, for the sake of his reputation, suppress any anger he may have felt and tolerate criticism, and so he managed to maintain a harmonious relationship with his ministers. Emperor

Kangxi's profound learning and understanding of Confucian culture was a major factor in the creation of the early Qing Golden Age. Kangxi prided himself on his knowledge of the Confucian Classics, and his profound knowledge of the historical principles underlying good and bad government had a hugely beneficial effect on his rule.

The ability to make a sober estimate of their own achievements is one of the attributes of an enlightened emperor. In spite of the mistakes committed by Emperor Taizong of Tang in his later years, his summing-up of his own reign, namely, that he had conferred many benefits and done little harm with some major successes and minor errors, is sound. In the Qing Dynasty, Emperor Kangxi, after putting down the Revolt of the Three Feudatories, refused to let this go to his head. To a request from his ministers that he take an honorific title, he replied that although the rebels had been beaten, the damage and losses incurred had not yet been repaired and it was more appropriate that the ruler and his ministers should examine their own conduct, support the soldiers and people in their efforts to recover from the traumas of war, encourage the spread of virtue, and work honestly together in pursuing the path of peace and prosperity. It would be shameful, he told his ministers, for them to take credit for this success and to insist on him taking an honorific title. When the ministers, thinking that the emperor was simply declining the proposal out of courtesy, continued to plead with him, Kangxi rebuked them, saying that at the start of his revolt, Wu Sangui had, by spreading false information, incited both soldiers and civilians to rebel one after another and this had been due to a breakdown in morality. Now that peace and stability had happily been restored, the only cause for concern was the frequent occurrence of droughts, floods, and other natural disasters. The troops were worn out with campaigning, the wounded had not yet recovered, and others were still suffering privations. Meanwhile, the army was inadequately supplied and officials' salaries had not yet returned to their prewar level. The mere thought of these failures, the emperor went on, made him feel sick at heart. However, provided that officials of all ranks remained honest and free from corruption so that ordinary people could live clean and civilized lives, the facts could be left to speak for themselves even if he did not accept any honors. Moreover, if there was no improvement in the political situation, what use were honors anyway? As emperor he would have nothing to do with such empty titles![47]

Without this emperor's self-awareness and clear insight into the political realities of the time, there would have been no Qing Golden Age. By contrast, Emperor Wu (personal name Sima Yan) of the Western Jin Dynasty, who reigned from 265 to 290 AD, provides a counterexample. Having restored the unity of the empire in 280 AD, thus laying the foundation for a return to order and good government, he thereafter gave himself up to pleasure-seeking. As is stated in the *Book of Jin*: "[t]he whole country witnessed such prosperity that the written language was unified, the length of the axles of carts were standardized to facilitate transport, horses and cattle

[47]Cited from Meng Sen, *Lecture on the History of the Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Zhonghua Book Company, 1982), p. 419.

spread out all over the fields, excess grain occupied a large area, therefore there it was said that throughout the country there were no poor people. Though it might be very appropriate to name it an era of peace, it is safe to say that under such social circumstance the officials act in accordance with law and order and common people enjoyed a happy life" (*Book of Jin: Annals of Emperor Wu – Jinshu: Wudi Ji*). However, Emperor Wu indulged himself in complacency. His extravagance and sensuality plunged him into another round of social destabilization. As is described in the same book: "after the conquest of East Wu, the whole country was at peace and uneventful. Then Emperor Wu was found to be negligent in his rule and concentrated on feasting. His favoritism towards noble families led to the over-empowerment of his relatives."[48] The result was a new period of chaos called "War of the Eight Princes" (*Ba Wan Zhi Luan*).

In addition to self-knowledge, a wise ruler also needs an understanding of other people and, furthermore, of how to employ them effectively. All golden ages in history have relied on a large number of honest officials serving the administration. "When upright persons are appointed to office, good people will all come forward to offer advice, but if undesirable people are appointed, bad people will jostle for position." So says *Essentials of Government of the Zhenguan Period: On Selecting Officials* (*Zhen Guan Zheng Yao: Ze Guan*). After Emperor Wen of the Han succeeded to the throne, he was careful to cultivate the support of the many senior officials who had helped to found the dynasty and thereby gained their loyalty. The origins of the Zhenguan Age of Order under the Tang can be traced back to the days when the future Emperor Taizong, as Prince of Qin, first began to actively recruit men of talent. After he ascended the throne, he continued to appoint solely on the basis of ability, without regard for personal relationships. Also, in order to give full play to individuals' strengths, he took great care to maintain a balance, firstly, between those who had been his supporters in his early struggles and those who had supported his rival, Prince Li Jiancheng; secondly, between scholars from the mid-west (present-day Shaanxi and Gansu Provinces) and those from the east coast area (Shandong); and, thirdly, between scions of noble families and those of humbler stock. Qing Emperor Kangxi did not balk at employing special measures to gain the support of the Han literati, such as the simplified exam system. Some scholars who were compelled to go to the capital but were unwilling to take the exam were excused and sent back home with official honors. Some renowned scholars like Yan Shengsun, who deliberately failed to complete the exam questions, were still accepted. Fifty were admitted to the prestigious *Hanlin* Academy where, out of consideration for their nostalgia for the Ming, they were set to work on compiling the history of the Ming Dynasty. This proved a very successful strategy in winning over the Han scholars.

For a golden age to come about, it is also necessary that those in charge of the government should be able to draw lessons from earlier dynasties and remain on the alert for potential trouble even in times of peace. In all the golden ages discussed

[48] *Ibid.*

here, ruler and ministers always sought to learn from their predecessors' political mistakes. Emperors Wen and Jing of Han, for example, were particularly mindful of what had brought about the collapse of the Qin. Even more so, when the early Tang rulers set about their political reforms, they saw the fate suffered by the preceding Sui Dynasty as a warning. Emperors Shunzhi and Kangxi of the early Qing likewise made special efforts to eliminate the abuses that marred the reigns of the late Ming emperors. The ruler's awareness of the causes and effects of past failures is one of the prerequisites of a golden age.

Another requirement is that appropriate systems are securely in place. In the Wen-Jing Period of the Western Han, these two emperors gradually introduced an array of innovations, such as the recommendation and interview system for recruiting potential government talent, and these came to be very influential. The Zhenguan Period under the Tang saw significant achievements in the setting up of a wide range of new systems. Even more impressive were those of the Kaiyuan Period. The major system reforms of the Qing mostly took place during the reigns of Emperors Kangxi and Yongzheng. However, since the chief responsibility for implementing these systems rested with the officials, it was also essential to ensure the quality of the civil service. In a golden age, therefore, high ethical standards are of equal importance as the systems under which people live, and these standards need to be cultivated so as to preempt the problem expressed in the traditional Chinese saying that "when there are too many laws, the vice of luxurious living is encouraged" (*fa ling zizhang, qiaoshi mi dui*). If we compare the Han and Tang Golden Ages with the Qing Period, we find that the former struck a healthy balance between "rule of law" and "rule of virtue," the one complementing the other, whereas the Qing was less successful in this respect because Emperor Kangxi's emphasis on the rule of virtue came at the expense of systems and rules. On the other hand, Emperor Yongzheng's emphasis on systems and rules led to a falling-off in ethical standards. This had implications for the continuance of the Qing Golden Age.

The literary inquisition conducted under the early Qing emperors should be regarded as a serious blemish on the record of the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong Golden Age. A golden age has need of intellectuals who are allowed to criticize government abuses and whose frank advice is valued. However, the civilian rule of these three emperors was premised on the principle of preserving an absolute monarchy. Under the pressure of the literary inquisition, scholars were afraid to discuss the political issues of the day in case they made a single remark that might offend the Imperial Court. All they could do was retire to their studies and immerse themselves in the past, making sure not to stray outside the permitted bounds. This mostly meant concentrating on academic research on ancient texts, the results of which, they hoped, would win them the admiration of their fellow scholars. Characteristic of China's traditional culture, especially Confucian culture, was the belief that by cultivating one's personal character and maintaining stable relationships within the family, one could successfully govern the country and eventually bring peace to the whole world. Advice was offered to the ruler on this basis. The Qing literary inquisition severed this link between traditional

Confucian culture and contemporary politics, and as a consequence, the theoretical underpinning of the moral criteria for political activity was lost. This led to an undermining of standards in society generally and widespread moral decline. The ethos of the bureaucracy suffered accordingly. In the judgment of the *Draft History of the Qing: Biography of Xiong Cilü* (*Qing Shi Jao: Xiong Cilü*): "Officials held their tongues and looked around warily. They claimed that they were being mature and acting out of prudence, but their real motive was to preserve their salaries and keep themselves out of harm's way, while those who felt genuine concern and anger at abuses were accused of being officious." Here we see clearly the gulf that was emerging between ethical standards and politics during the Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong Golden Age.

The basic question to ask when assessing whether a given period of history was a golden age or not is: Did it guarantee or change for the better the standard of living of the people? If ordinary people were not able to live peaceful and happy lives, then talk of a golden age is meaningless. The famous golden ages in history all share certain features, namely, a reduced tax burden for ordinary people, population growth, and social and political stability. Economic development is an important component of a golden age. And yet history has no lack of examples where in times of economic growth life for ordinary people was full of hardships. The Qin Dynasty, for instance, was outwardly a success, but since the vast majority of people found it impossible to make a decent living, it fell far short of being a genuine golden age. In the Jiajing (1522–66 AD) and Wanli (1573–1620 AD) Periods of the middle to late Ming, economic output was also growing, but the exploitative attitude of the feudal government combined with the rapacity of the officials at the same time as the imperial treasury went on accumulating wealth led people all over the country to flee their homes and take up armed resistance in a succession of uprisings. In a golden age, therefore, fundamental consideration must be given to the people. If this is done, the government will be rewarded with their support. The Qing showed sound sense when from Kangxi's reign it decided to abandon repairs to the Great Wall and instead rely on popular support for its protection. While all dynasties encouraged agriculture and sericulture, some treated these sectors mainly as a source for exorbitant taxation, but others saw them as the basis for improving the life of the people. That is what makes the difference between a golden age and an age of chaos.

A golden age also needs a long gestation period and is generally the work of several generations. A succession of Han emperors (Gaozu, Hui, Wen, Jing, and Wu) was required before that dynasty's Golden Age reached its peak. Similarly under the Tang, the work of Emperors Gaozu, Taizong, and Gaozong, Empress Wu, and Emperors Zhongzong and Ruizong was needed before it culminated in the Golden Age of Emperor Xuanzong. Despite the long reigns of Emperors Kangxi and Qianlong, the efforts of several earlier generations were essential to the emergence of the Qing Golden Age. While a golden age is still in its formative stages, policies will be subject to adjustment and revision, but the guiding principles and basic strategy must have a single unifying concept. Without a stable and sustained state policy, a golden age is unlikely to arise. And under the system in place in traditional China, whereby supreme power was passed on by inheritance, there could be no

guarantee that whoever succeeded to the imperial throne possessed any talent to govern. This is one of the reasons why golden ages are so rare in history, and this problem was, of course, irresolvable under the ancient system of absolute monarchy.

In a feudal society, the historical limitations inherent in the governing class make it impossible for a golden age to endure over a prolonged period. All historical golden ages in their later years suffered from worsening social conflicts, the steady moral degeneration of the governing class, and a continual deterioration in living conditions for ordinary people. These problems would be the prelude to a new period of disorder. Furthermore, in the later history of feudal society, the speed at which this regression from order to disorder took place accelerated. For traditional feudal dynasties, the replacement of an age of order by an age of disorder became an inevitable cyclic process, a law of history allowing for no exceptions and determined by the very nature of the society of that time.

Questions

1. Compare the differences of the golden ages in Han, Tang, and Qing Dynasties.
2. How do you perceive these golden ages in ancient China?

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Chapter 4
Transportation Systems and Cultural Communication in Ancient China

The evolution of transportation is an important aspect of Chinese history. At every stage of a growing civilization, progress in transportation can always be observed. The conditions of transportation determine the geographical scope of a civilization and affect its contacts with other civilizations.

Cultural communication in ancient times, whether it was material, social, or spiritual in form, could not be accomplished without a transportation system. If there were no Silk Road, grapes and carrots would never have been introduced to China. Without Columbus's discovery of the new continent of America, corn and potatoes would not have become part of the European and Asian diet. Similarly, without Xuanzang's journey to India and the voyage of Jianzhen to Japan in the seventh century, great volumes of books about Buddhism would not have been brought to China and Japan, and thus the wisdom of Buddhism could not have been absorbed by Chinese civilization.[1] In short, the progress of a society is interconnected in numerous ways with the contemporary transportation system.

4.1 Traffic Construction in Ancient China

Some fables such as "The Foolish Old Man Removed the Mountain" (*Yu Gong Yi Shan*), "Five Men Opened A Road" (*Wu Ding Kai Dao*), and "Kuafu Chases the Sun" (*Kua Fu Zhu Ri*) can offer a glimpse into how difficult it was for the ancestors of the Chinese people to build roads.

[1]For further details about Xuanzang, see below. Jianzhen (688–763 AD) was originally a native of Yangzhou, Jiangsu Province. From 743 to 754 AD, he made six attempts to cross the sea to Japan in order to propagate Buddhism there. Only the last one – undertaken when he had already gone blind – found him reach his intended destination.

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Owing to his contributions to the establishment of transportation, the Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi*) later became known as *Xuanyuan Shu* or *Xuanhuang* or *Xuandi*. Chapter 772 of the Song Dynasty *Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia* (*Taiping Yulan*) states that the Yellow Emperor was the inventor of carts, so he was named "Mr. Xuanyuan" (*Xuanyuan Shi*).[2] Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian* records that the lords of all states worshiped Xuanyuan as the Son of Heaven, thus he was called "the Yellow Emperor," and if there were rebels, he would subdue them even going so far as to "cut through mountains to create roads and [to] lead his chariots to crackdown on them" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of the Five Emperors – Shiji: Wudi Benji*). The Yellow Emperor's legendary deeds demonstrate the progress of the transportation situation at that time. The book also recorded certain deeds of Shun. Shun went into the mountains, forests, rivers, and lakes and experienced storms, winds, thunder, and rain. However, he "did not lose his direction." Da Yu (or "Yu the Great") "built roads to connect places," "worked outside for thirteen years and never went back inside his own house, even though he would pass by its door" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Xia – Shiji: Xia Benji*). The establishment of their lordships was therefore to some extent the result of their achievements in improving the transportation system.[3]

In the excavated tombs of the Shang Dynasty (c. 1700–1100 BC) in Anyang, Zhengzhou, and Hui County in eastern Henan Province, archaeologists discovered great quantities of jade that was mined in Xinjiang together with shells from the South China Sea. The *Commandments on Liquor* in the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu: Jiuhao*) recorded lyrics like "draw the cows and drive the cart, and trade for goods in a faraway land." These demonstrate that the people of Shang had extended their trade boundaries to rather distant places. The oracle bones unearthed from Yin Xu (the ruins of the Yin or Shang Dynasty) feature the old Chinese character "车" (*che*) (meaning "vehicles"), a figure which in many ways resembles the two-wheeled carts of ancient times. Also, chariots and horses were buried in great tombs as sacrifices. At that time, the number of chariots symbolized the military might of a state. This set relatively high requirements for the road system. Similarly, the old Chinese characters "舟" (*zhou*) (meaning "boat") and "凡" (*fan*) (meaning "sails") both bear a resemblance to the real-life objects of that period. This implies that people had already harnessed the winds as a means of propelling boats and were using boats as a common means of transportation across water.

The Royal Court of the Zhou Dynasty (divided into the Western Zhou and the Eastern Zhou Periods: 1100–771 BC and 770–256 BC, respectively) granted vassals and made use of the political and military fortresses built in their kingdoms to uphold the rule of the central regime. This political system compelled the vassals in various areas to maintain a close relationship with the central Court. Chariot troops, which formed the major force of the then armies, also required smooth roads

[2] *Xuanyuan* can be translated into English as "carts."

[3] For further information on these mythical or semi-mythical rulers, see Chap. 1 of the present book.

for various deployment missions. Writings from the Zhou, such as inscriptions on bronze wares and the *Book of Poetry: Lesser Court Hymns, Decade of Xiao Min, Dadong* (*Shijing: Xiaoya, Xiao Min, Zhi Shi, Dadong*), show that the emperors of this dynasty built two road systems called the "Zhou Road" (*Zhou Dao*) and the "Zhou Passway" (*Zhou Xing*) linking the whole country and that the Zhou Road was "as smooth as a grindstone and as straight as an arrow in flight." These comments expose the rationale behind the original design and the seriousness with which the construction was executed.

The Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC) witnessed great progress in transportation. Even in the Taihang Mountains[4] and the Qinling Mountains,[5] people began to communicate by means of plank roads. In the second chapter of *Discourses of Zhou*, a section within an old Chinese history book called *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu: Zhouyu Zhong*), it is recorded that Duke Shanxiang, while serving as an envoy to the State of Chu, prophesied that soon after he had passed through the State of Chen and observed the broken roads and worn-out courier hostels, the state would collapse. This anecdote expresses how the quality of a country's transportation system represented its administrative capability. *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*) observes that Zichan, the statesman of Zheng, criticized the ruler of Jin because he left the country's roads and courier hostels unattended.

In this historical period, logistical services were built along the roads as well. For example, it is stated in the *Rites of Zhou: Offices of the Earth, Left* (*Zhouli: Diguan Situ, Yi Ren*) that on the main highways connecting the cities with the countryside, a booth known as a *lu* was set up every 5 km to provide travelers with food; a "night lodging" or *su* erected every 15 km to provide accommodation, food, and hay for horses and cows; and a "market" or *shi* established every 25 km, which had better conditions and provisions for travelers. Besides this, the individual states also built wayfarers' stations along the roads and prepared carts and horses and assigned full-time staff to manage the roads. In case of emergency, orders and messages could be passed on quickly. Confucius said: "[t]he flowing process of virtue is more rapid than the transmission of Royal orders by stages and couriers" (*Mencius: Gong Sun Chou, Book One – Mengzi: Gong Sun Chou, Shang*). This means that administration through virtue was more popular and even faster and swifter than the transmission of Royal orders through the postal communications network. From this we can see that at that time the postal road was greatly advanced, this being demonstrated by the swift transmission of communications.

Zuo's Commentary also records that in the ninth year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu (485 BC), the State of Wu built a canal at a place named "Han," which linked the Yangtze River and the Huai River, and that the canal was called the *Han Gou*, which was a creative construction in ancient China (*Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and*

[4] A Chinese mountain range extending north to south along the eastern edge of the Loess Plateau in Shanxi, Henan, and Hebei Provinces.

[5] A major east–west mountain range in southern Shaanxi Province.

Autumn Annals: Duke Ai of Lu, ninth year – Zuo Zhuan: Ai Gong Jiu Nian). In a geographical sense, it connected northern China and southern China, facilitating the cultural integration of the whole nation. Subsequently, Fu Chai (reigned 495–473 BC), the last king of the State of Wu (mostly located at the south bank of the lower Yangtze River), extended the Han Canal (*Han Gou*) to the north in order to achieve hegemony over the other states which lay across its northern borders. As a result of this, rivers to the north of the Huai River were connected as well. *Discourses of the States: Discourse of Wu* (*Guoyu: Wuyu*) records that Fu Chai led his troops northward and dug deep channels which connected the Yi River and the Ji River, located respectively in the states of Song and Lu. The Hong Canal (*Hong Gou*), completed in c. 360 BC (the tenth year of the reign of King Hui of the State of Wei), was another contemporary canal that connected the Yellow River and the Huai River, bringing about closer communication between the North and the South of China.

A tax waiver certificate (*e'jun qi jie*) from the Warring States Period (403–221 BC) has been excavated in Shou County, Anhui Province. This artifact reveals that ships sailed through 11 cities along the banks of the Yangtze River together with its vast branches – the Han River to the west, the Han Canal to the east, and the Xiang, Zi, Yuan, Li, and Lu Rivers to the south.

Also completed in this period, the famous ancient geographical book the *Tribute of Yu* (*Yu Gong*)[6] describes the scope, directions, and the capacity of the contemporary water and road transportation systems, as well as various local products. The impression is that by that stage such knowledge had become widely recognized by the common people.

Significant progress was made in the construction of transportation systems in the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC) and the Han Dynasty (202 BC–220 AD). This laid the basic outline for the transportation systems in many dynasties to come.

In terms of constructing road networks, the most accomplished project of the Qin Dynasty was the construction of the "Speedy Road" (*Chi Dao*), which was started only 1 year after Qin Shihuang, the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, unified China in 221 BC. A writer of the Western Han Dynasty, named Jia Shan, records the shape of the "Speedy Road" (*Chi Dao*) as follows: it was "as wide as fifty *bu*, every nine *bu* trees were planted, the outside edge was thickly-built with a solid rammed base, with pine trees planted along each side of the road." This is to say, that the road was 50 strides (approximately 69 m) wide. One interpretation of the passage reads the detail about trees being planted "every nine *bu*" as denoting the demarcation of special lanes for the chariots of emperors along the center of the road. The alternative interpretation states that to plant trees every nine *bu* along both sides of the road and having the "outer edges" "thickly built" means that the base of the road must have been solid and there were slopes leading downwards. As for the "solid rammed base," this would mean that the base must have been rammed

[6]The *Tribute of Yu* is actually one section of the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*). It describes the deeds of Yu the Great carried out through the nine provinces: Ji, Yan, Qing, Xu, Yang, Jing, Yu, Liang, and Yong. Although it was purportedly a product of the Shang Dynasty, the fifth century BC now appears a more plausible date for composition.

with metal tools. The "pine trees planted along each side of the road" signifies that the trees planted along the road were mainly pines. Jia Shan also records that the "Speedy Road" built by the emperor of the Qin Dynasty stretched as far as the states of Yan and Qi in the east and as far as Wu and Chu in the south, so that even the temples alongside the lakes and the beaches were connected (*History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Jia, Zou, Mei and Lu: Biography of Jia Shan – Hanshu: Jia Zou, Mei, Lu Zhuan: Jia Shan Zhuan*). In fact, the "Speedy Road" was the backbone of the entire road network and formed an expressway different from other kinds of roads. The "Speedy Road" was divided into three lanes and was the earliest multilane highway in China.

In addition, Qin Shihuang ordered that another type of road, the *Zhi Dao* (the name means "Straight Road"), be built from Jiuyuan (located to the west of Baotou City in present-day Inner Mongolia) to Yunyang (northwest of what is now Chunhua County in Shaanxi Province). *Records of the Grand Historian: Biography of Meng Tian* (*Shiji: Meng Tian Liezhuan*) states that the "Straight Road" was 900 km long. The "Straight Road" did not utilize the old roads of the Warring States Period; it was built from nothing and connected the north and the south of the country. The relics of the "Straight Road" can still be identified today in some counties of Shaanxi Province, such as Chunhua, Xunyi, Huangling, and Ganquan. Several remnants of the "Straight Road" which have been discovered are 50–60 m wide.

The bronze chariots unearthed from the tomb of Emperor Qin Shihuang express the highest craftsmanship of the Qin Dynasty. Research into two of the excavated bronze chariots has revealed that their performances surpassed those of the previous ones. In the designs of these two chariots, attention was paid to improving the structure of the wheel so as to increase the driving speed. From the aspect of the form and size of the wheels, the designers narrowed the width of the wheels in order that the chariots could run properly along muddy roads and also made use of centrifugal force to reduce the resistance between the wheels and the road surface. In addition, the hubs could hold extra lubricant so that the wheels turned more swiftly.

With the progress in vehicle making in the Qin and Han Dynasties, new types of carts with different functions emerged and spread across the country. These included four-wheeled carts (*si lun che*), two-wheeled carts (*shuang yuan che*), and one-wheeled handcarts or wheelbarrows (*du lun che*), which had an obvious influence on the shape and structure of vehicles in later generations. The promotion of two-wheeled and one-wheeled carts in particular was of great significance to the development of transportation.

In the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (141–87 BC), the horse-raising industry prospered because of the war against the northern Xiongnu tribes. The increase in horse numbers enhanced the capacity for transportation. Meanwhile, a great number of Western domesticated animals of "special" (*qi chu*) kinds, such as donkeys, mules, and camels, were also introduced into China for loading and dragging burdens. These naturally enriched the life of the nation as well.[7]

[7]Wang Zijin, *The Script of History of Transportation in the Qin and Han Dynasties* (Party School Press of the Central Committee of CPC, 1994), pp. 28–37, pp. 99–125, and pp. 132–66.

In the Sui and Tang Dynasties (581–907 AD), ancient Chinese civilization reached another of its peaks.

Even before the army of the Sui Dynasty crossed the Yangtze River to unify the country, the emperor had already ordered that the old *Han Gou* – the canal between the Huai River and the Yangtze River – be renovated. He later had it straightened between the cities of Shanyang (now Huai'an) and Jiangdu (now Yangzhou) so that shipping would be diverted over to Lake Sheyang. In 584 AD, Emperor Wen of Sui (reigned 581–604 AD) ordered a diversion of the Wei River into the Yellow River so that the country's major supply chains would no longer be affected by the seasonal fluctuations in the flow rate of the river. In March 605 AD, Emperor Yang of Sui (reigned 604–18 AD) mobilized millions of people in Henan and Anhui to dig the Tongji Canal (*Tongji Qu*) which would link the Yellow River with the Huai River. Meanwhile, more than 100,000 people living to the south of the Huai River participated in the project of renovating the Han Canal so that it would once again link the Huai River and the Yangtze River. In 608 AD, Emperor Yang ordered over one million laborers living to the north of the Yellow River to dig out the Yongji Canal (*Yongji Qu*). One year later, he ordered that another canal be excavated, which was called the "Jiangnan River Canal" (*Jiangnan He*), because it was to the south of the Yangtze River. The canal was more than 400 km long and over 30 m wide. It connected Jingkou (now Zhenjiang, Jiangsu Province) and Yuhang (present-day Hangzhou, the capital city of Zhejiang Province). During the reign of Emperor Yang, the canals in China were made to connect the major rivers in his territory. Transportation via the rivers could reach Zhuojun to the north and Hangzhou to the south, thanks to the 2,000 km Grand Canal (*Da Yun He*), the longest canal in the world. A major water transportation network around the capital city, Luoyang, took shape and played an important role in social and economic development.

Trade prospered in the Tang Dynasty. A famous poet of that time, Bai Juyi (772–846 AD), described in his poem "The Salt Merchant's Wife" (*Yanshang Fu*) how "East and west, north and south, we have homes everywhere/ Wind and water are our neighbors and boats our houses." Another Tang poet, Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD), wrote in "The Merchant's Song" (*Jia Ke Ci*) that "merchants travel all about/ All their travels are aimed at profit/ There are pleasures to be had in travel and rest." Each of these lines vividly describes the lives of merchants who journeyed thousands of *li* and doggedly pursued their business. The active exploits of the merchants created a special traffic phenomenon in big port cities like Ezhou (today's Wuhan City), through which ships carrying merchandise passed in all directions. According to *The Old Book of Tang: Annals of Daizong* (*Jiu Tangshu: Daizong Ji*), in December of 763 AD, a fire broke out in a boat on the Yangtze River, which went onto destroy 3,000 ships. This demonstrates just how busy the trade situation was on the Yangtze River at that time.

During the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD), technology for the design and building of ships was elevated to a new level. One example of this was the emergence of the so-called wheeled ships (*che chuan*). The *History of the Song Dynasty: Biography of Yue Fei* (*Songshi: Yue Fei Zhuan*) records that in 1135 AD, during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of Song (1127–62 AD), General Yue Fei

fought a war against the rebellions headed by Yang Yao on the Dongting Lake and that the uprisings used ships "propelled by turning wheels that were as fast as if they were flying on the water." The *Old Book of Tang: Biography of Li Gao* (*Jiu Tangshu: Li Gao Zhuan*) records that the inventor of this ship was Li Gao. It states that Li Gao designed a kind of war vessel and that both sides of the vessel were equipped with wheel-shaped oars that soldiers pedaled and turned the wheels to drive the ship, which moved as fast as sailboats at full speed. Today, nobody knows the exact shape and structure of the Tang Dynasty wheeled ships, but the use of this technology during the Song Dynasty is recorded in many ancient books.

The achievements of the Song Dynasty shipbuilding industry can be attested to by the overall improvements in shipbuilding technology. In Volume 8 of his *Collection of Painted Pots* (*Hua Man Ji*), Zhang Shunmin of the Song Dynasty wrote about a kind of river-borne ship called the 10 000-*dan* boat (*dan* is an old Chinese measurement for capacity; 1 *dan* is equal to 100 L) which could carry a load consisting of 200,000 *guan* of coins (1,000 coins strung together was called 1 *guan*) and 12,000 *dan* of rice. This kind of ship was broad in the middle and narrow at the aft and stern, so it was steady and had a large ship's hold, and stood fast on the water. Owing to the relative shortness of the boat, the wood used in its construction benefited from reduced bending force, and thus the ship was sturdier than other kinds of ships. Today, we can see the shape of this kind of ship in the famous old Chinese painting *Along the River during Qingming Festival* (*Qingming Shanghe Tu*).[8]

The Song Dynasty and the Yuan (Mongolian) Dynasty (1271–1368 AD) witnessed the most prosperous period for sea trade in ancient China. Later, Chinese shipbuilding technology had a positive influence upon European nations and other countries of the world.

Owing to the massive territory of the Yuan, the governance of the whole realm, military control, and cultural and economic activities were heavily dependent on the postal system. The postal system of the Yuan Dynasty holds a very important position within the historical development of the Chinese and the global postal systems. Although the exact mileage of the Yuan postal network is unknown today, it is estimated that its scale and scope significantly exceeded that of the territory of the Song, covering the areas previously governed by the Han and Tang as well. Centered on the capital city of Dadu (what is now Beijing), the Yuan transportation network reached as far as the delta area of the Heilong (or Amur) River in the northeast, the upper reaches of the Yenisei River in the north (present-day northern Mongolia and the Central Siberia region of Russia), and the Tibetan area in the southwest. It covered an unprecedented area.[9]

[8]Zhang Zeduan's (1085–1145 AD) famous depiction of the annual festival as it appeared in Bianjing (now known as Kaifeng).

[9]Lou Zuyi, *The History of Chinese Post Development* (Chinese Publishing House, 1940), pp. 205–88.

In the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), geographical works about trade routes emerged on the domestic book market. A merchant from Fujian Province named Li Jinde compiled the *Merchant's Guide* (*Ke Shang Yi Lan Xing Mi*). Another merchant Huang Bian from Anhui Province wrote a book named the *National River and Land Road Map* (*Tian Xia Shui Lu Lu Cheng*). Works like this charted the progress of domestic transportation.

In the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), the domestic transportation network and its efficiency were far superior to those of earlier dynasties. The backbones of the road system were called the "Official Road" (*Guan Lu*) or "Official Horse Road" (*Guan Ma Da Lu*). The nexus of such official roads lay at the capital. It was divided into four parts, which were the "Official Horse Northern Road" (*Guan Ma Bei Lu*), the "Official Horse Western Road" (*Guan Ma Xi Lu*), the "Official Horse Southern Road" (*Guan Ma Nan Lu*), and the "Official Horse Eastern Road" (*Guan Ma Dong Lu*). The Official Horse Roads generally had better driving conditions. Take the "Gaolan Official Road" (*Gaolan Guan Lu*) as an example. Historical books record that in the reign of Emperor Tongzhi of Qing (1861–1875), General Zuo Zongtang (1812–1885) employed a great labor force to repair the Gaolan Official Road in order that his army might accomplish its crackdown on the rebellion in Xinjiang. The width of the road foundations ranged from 3 to 10 *zhang* (a *zhang* was equivalent to 313 m, so in other words this measured 939–3,130 m) and could reach 30 *zhang* (9,390 m) at the widest point. The two sides of this road were dotted with smaller stone blocks every 2.5 km and bigger stone blocks every 5 km. This official road ensured that the supplies of the army could be transported efficiently.

4.2 Standardization of Vehicles and Roads and Unification of Languages

Progress in transportation was one of the cornerstones for the construction of ancient Chinese civilization.

Confucius said: "[n]ow throughout the land under the heaven, carriages have all wheels, of the same size; all writing is with the same characters; and for conduct there are the same rules" (*Book of Rites: Doctrine of the Mean – Liji: Zhongyang*). However, for Confucius, who always maintained an earnest focus on the so-called Land under Heaven (*Tianxia*), what he presents here is only an ideal cultural blueprint. Against the historical background of that time, the scale of "whole world" was limited and the level of unification among cultures, compared with that of present-day China, should not be overestimated. Confucius' idealistic view of the world of his time reveals his insight into the concept of civilization. That is to say, he recognized that establishing uniformity in various aspects of social life was one of the important premises for social progress.

Political stability, economic development, and cultural unification are all closely correlated with transportation conditions. The Qin and Han Dynasties were both

unifying eras, and their territories experienced dramatic expansion. To maintain an effective administration, the rulers had to exert great efforts to improve the means of transportation. The realization of "the same ruts for carriages" (*Chetonggui*) improved administrative efficiency, facilitated trade across the whole country, and eliminated barriers to cultural exchange as well. To a considerable extent, the political stability, the economic prosperity, and the cultural development of the Qin and Han Dynasties were based on the continuous maturation of their transportation systems.

When one reflects on the development of Qin and Han transportation, one finds that this was the period which saw the emergence of a system that connected the regions of the Yellow River, the Yangtze River, and the Pearl River. Both the design and production of vehicles and the development of the transportation force had reached an unprecedented level. The organizational and operational forms of transportation reached maturity as well. Some connections with foreign civilizations were, moreover, initiated during this period. Hence, the Han cultural mindset, formed on the basis that the Han comprised the majority and other ethnic minority peoples existed around them, came into being.[10]

The First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, Qin Shihuang, established his rule on the basis of an administrative system of prefectures and counties in 221 BC. He divided the country into 36 prefectures and initiated a national project, called for the construction of "Speedy Roads" (*Zhi Chi Dao*), forming the transportation network across the country, serving as the foundation for the policies of "stabilize the frontier in every direction" (*Zhou Ding Si Ji*) and "manage the domestic affairs" (*Jing Li Yu Nei*). According to *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang* (*Shiji: Qin Shihuang Benji*), the basic laws openly declared by the Qin Dynasty included "the same ruts for carriages" (*Chetonggui*) and "the same script for writing" (*Shutongwen*) as the basic law of the whole nation.

The emperors of the Han Dynasty emphasized the importance of transportation as well. In the *History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Wu* (*Hanshu: Wudi Ji*), it is written that the emperor opened the new road to southern China (*Nan Yi*) and renovated the old one to the north and the western one to central and eastern China. The *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Rivers and Canals* (*Shiji: Hequ Shu*) records that Emperor Wu himself decided that several channels were to be opened. He also implemented policies on the management of the Baoxie Road, a famous plank road almost 300 km in length which winds among the Qinling Mountains in Shaanxi Province linking the Hanzhong Basin in the south and the Guanzhong Basin in the north. The latter place was where the imperial capital (Chang'an) was located. Other emperors of the later Han Dynasty made repeated efforts to maintain the efficiency of the road or built other similar ones to link the southern and the northern sides of the Qinling Mountains. These facts demonstrate that in history the planning and organization of transportation projects were always overseen by the Imperial Court – the most powerful organization of the empire – and

[10]Wang Zijin, *The Script of History of Transportation in the Qin and Han Dynasties*, pp. 6–7.

often served the ambition of the emperor to extend his territorial frontiers. Contact between the Central Asian countries and the Han Dynasty was made by means of continuous envoys and missions in peacetime as well as through conflicts in periods of war (*History of the Han Dynasty: Traditions of the Western Regions, Part Two – Hanshu: Xiyu Zhuan, Xia*). Emperor Wu of Han significantly increased the number of the war horses the empire raised, ensuring the needs of his cavalry and the supplies for his army. In this way, he defeated the northern Xiongnu tribes which lingered on the border of the central dynasty. The achievements in transportation paved the way for a powerful rule of unprecedented scope.

Progress in transportation also ensured the effective governing of the whole country. Policies from the Court were able to reach the lower levels of government within a short space of time. And in case of emergency, the postal system could, with the assistance of an efficient transportation network, quickly pass messages and information about the country. Such a mechanism ensured that the unified feudal empire could sustain its rule for a long time.

The progress in transportation promoted other economic developments as well.

The Leftover Documents of Zhou: The Solution of the Crown Prince Jin (*Yizhoushu: Taizi Jin Jie*) mentions the ideal that if "barriers are demolished transportation will be without limits."[11] This ideal was also realized after the foundation of a national centralized power in the Qin and Han Dynasties. At that time, owing to the completion of a national road network, trade prospered across the whole country. Merchants drifted all around the nation seeking out profitable opportunities. Production and consumption greatly exceeded the barriers previously imposed by geography. The so-called agricultural, industrial, and commercial transactions were based upon the achievements in transportation of that time (*Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization – Shiji: Pinghuai Shu*).

The authorities could use the road networks to better understand the conditions of agriculture and to implement necessary planning and guidance policies. When there was a natural disaster, they could swiftly mobilize organized relief and aid operations. Sometimes the authorities also took advantage of the road network to relocate homeless people or to organize cultivation of the frontier or the wasteland areas of the country.

The promotion of economic development on the basis of the Qin and Han achievements in transportation is further reflected by the dynamic commercial traffic which enhanced to a great extent the exchange of goods and brought about a prosperous economic situation. Nongovernmental free trade on the basis of busy transporting activities broke through the barriers of repressive trade policies

[11] *The Leftover Documents of Zhou* (or more literally the *Lost Book of Zhou*) is a fragmentary historical compendium of documents dealing with the Western Zhou Period. Its textual history is contentious leading it to be labeled as "unofficial history" (*zashi*) – meaning it was excluded from the canon of the 24 other dynastic history books. Another spurious tradition, which no doubt contributed to its maligned status, was the anecdote that consists of those Zhou documents which Confucius deemed to be of such dubious provenance that he excluded them from the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*).

implemented by the central government and was of historical importance to the economic prosperity in the Qin and Han Dynasties.

The opening of the Grand Canal by Emperor Yang in the Sui Dynasty had the effect of relocating the national center of economic and cultural activities from Central China to the southeast – namely, the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. The fertile soil of the Guanzhong Basin nurtured the capital city of the Tang Dynasty, Chang'an. However, the basin was not large enough to feed the populous city. The emperor had to order a supply of grain to be transported from the southeast by means of the canals (*New Book of Tang: Treatise on Food and Money, 3 – Xin Tangshu: Shi Huo Zhi, San*). A poet of the Tang Dynasty named Li Jingfang wrote that "the River Bian connecting with the River Huai brings more profit/ It brings good as well as harm/ For the forty-three prefectures in the east and south/ this river absorbs the flesh and blood of the people all around" ("The Boats go directly to the River Bian" – *Bian He Zhi Jin Chuan*). Owing to the transportation of the Grand Canal, the central government received the powerful economic support of the prefectures in the south and east. Even so, a Tang geographical book *The Maps of the Prefectures and Counties: Henan Section* (*Yuan He Jun Xian Tu Zhi: Henan Dao Yi*) stated the significance of opening transportation by canal in the period of Emperor Yang of Sui thus: "[t]he official canals were utilized by both governments and private entrepreneurs for transportation. People in the Sui Dynasty made great efforts to build while later generations benefited greatly."

By the end of the Tang Dynasty, some parts of the Grand Canal had become silted up over time, and they were dredged soon after the establishment of the Song Dynasty. The Song, Jin, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties all established their political center along the canal because the canal connected the prosperous region between the Yangtze River and the Huai River.

The development of the unified national culture of China was reliant on this progress being made in transportation.

During the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD), the famous scholar Xu Shen (c. 58–c. 147 AD) (Xu compiled the first Chinese dictionary named *Shuowen Jiezi*, literally *Explaining and Analyzing Characters*) commented on the various different cultural forms across the seven states of the Warring States Period. He said that the seven states were using different land measurements, wheel gauges, laws, clothing, and languages, both spoken and written. When Emperor Qin Shihuang united the seven states, he ordered that his ambition for cultural unification be inscribed on stones while he was touring a place named Kuaiji (now called Hangzhou) in Zhejiang Province. He declared that the people, regardless of distance and class, should obey the same customs and rules in all cultural aspects (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang – Shiji: Qin Shihuang Benji*). This declaration presented his resolution to create a unified cultural principle. The political situation of national centralized power in the Qin and Han Dynasties offered the conditions for exchange and communication and mergers among different regions. The rapid changes in transportation in the Qin and Han Dynasties, especially the developments in transportation during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, created the necessary foundation for a new cultural community.

In fact, the process of cultural integration accelerated in the Han Dynasty, particularly in the reign of Emperor Wu, when there emerged another peak in the construction of transportation after Qin Shihuang.

Emperor Wu opened up previously inaccessible mountains in many places and lifted transportation by water to a new level. He also inaugurated roads along the western and northern borders and thus established or spread the reputation of the Han Dynasty to Central Asia. The emperor even sent fleets of many-storied ships (*lou chuan jun*) to search for overseas trade lines. This was considered to be a heroic undertaking within the history of transportation. It was during the reign of Emperor Wu of Han that the subcultures such as Chu, Qin, and Qilu started to integrate and that the Qin writing style – a form of Chinese characters called *Qin Li* – was accepted as the orthodox style of writing. Emperor Wu also adopted Confucianism as the state ideology; other schools of thought were suppressed, marking a new era of Chinese cultural history (*History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Wu – Hanshu: Wudi Ji*). From that time onwards, many young scholars made their way to seek out the knowledge of Confucianism in the hope of being chosen as Court subjects by the emperor.

The achievements in constructing transportation links during the reign of Emperor Wu provided better conditions for integrating a unified Chinese culture. However, when observing the records in Sima Qian's *Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Usurers* (*Shiji: Houzhi Liezhuan*), we discover that there is still evidence of variation in customs between different regions. Nevertheless, these variations were less prominent than before.

From the late Western Han Dynasty (202 BC–9 AD) to the Eastern Han Dynasty, the drainage area of the Yellow River had already been divided into two basic cultural zones, *Guan Dong* and *Guan Xi*. Due in part to the obstacles in cultural exchanges, people in the two areas developed some unique characteristics. For instance, the *History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Zhao Chongguo* (*Hanshu: Zhao Chongguo Zhuan*) records that "Shandong produced premiers, while Shanxi produced generals" (*Shandong chu xiang, Shanxi chu jiang*), alternatively given as "Guanxi produced generals, while Guandong produced premiers" (*Guanxi chu jiang, Guandong chu xiang*) in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Yu Yi* (*Hou Hanshu: Yu Yi Zhuan*). After the rise of the Eastern Han Dynasty, cultural integration accelerated owing to wars and the migration of people.

In his book *Regional Speech* (*Fangyan*),[12] a famous Han Dynasty scholar, Yang Xiong (53 BC–18 AD), enumerated some of the differences in regional vocabulary and dialects. Later in the Jin Dynasty, when the scholar Guo Pu (276–324 AD) compiled *Annotations to Regional Speech* (*Fangyan Zhu*), aspects of the local language became common words to both regions. In fact, the dialects of Guan Xi and Guan Dong became blended and the differences between them gradually diminished. China's basic cultural division remained until the Wei and Jin Period

[12]The full title of the work is *Youxuan shizhe juedai yu shi beiguo yangfan*, translatable as *Local speeches of other countries in times immemorial explained by the light-carriage Messenger*.

(220–589 AD), which was replaced by the northern region (*Jiangbei*) and the southern region (*Jiangnan*), the boundary separating the two being the Yangtze River. The evolution of such a cultural division in China was certainly due in part to the progress in transportation.

China's cultural divisions have varied throughout history. Later there emerged the division between the north (*Beifang*) and the south (*Nanfang*). In more recent years, the division has once again been renewed, this time being drawn between coastal China (*Yanhai*) and the inland regions (*Neidi*) or eastern China (*Dongbu*) and western China (*Xibu*). The eastern region has benefited from maritime trade and has become relatively advanced in social and economic conditions owing to its advantages in transportation, especially where sea trade links are concerned.

4.3 Zhang Qian's Camel Caravan and Zheng He's Voyage to the Western Oceans

Chinese knowledge about the vast areas including Xinjiang and Central Asia dates as far back as the Warring States Period (475–221 BC). Evidence of this can be found in ancient literature such as *The Biography of King Mu* (*Mu Tian Zi Zhuan*), the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan Hai Jing*), and *The Leftover Documents of Zhou* (*Yizhoushu*), which show the preliminary understanding of landscapes and local customs of those regions. This kind of knowledge of remote areas also reflects the historical phenomenon of transportation development. The cultural communication between the Central Plains and the Altay (or Altai) Prefecture[13] is supported by many archaeological finds.

The Biography of King Mu records how King Mu[14] and his officials were taken by chariots, pulled by eight horses, and driven by the best driver, named Zao Fu, from Zongzhou through Hezong, Yangyu Zhishan, Xixia Shi, Heshou, and Qunyu Shan, and traveled west to the territorial state of the Queen Mother of the West (*Xi Wang Mu*).[15] They exchanged friendly addresses with the Queen Mother of the West at the banquet, climbed amountain together, and inscribed stones at the summit.

[13]Located in what is now northern Xinjiang. It forms a part of the Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture, being the only prefecture in modern-day China in which the majority of the population belongs to the Kazakh ethnic group.

[14]King Mu (reigned 976–922 BC), who reigned during the peak of the Zhou Dynasty, reportedly traveled some 90,000 km to the west and lived to 105.

[15]The Queen Mother of the West eventually became an important deity in Taoism, even though references to her go back as far as the Shang Dynasty. She is an important celestial figure characterized as being female, powerful, and from the west. Association with her (as in the case of King Mu and Yu the Great, who is said by some sources to have been her pupil) has been seen to confer legitimacy (specifically the Mandate of Heaven – *Tian*) upon a ruler.

King Mu continued to travel west, hunting on the vast plain, and then they drove the thousands of miles back to Zongzhou. The return journey of about 35,000 *li* took almost 2 years.

Diverse views have been expressed about the nature of *The Biography of King Mu*. Most scholars regard it as being a set of historical records and have divided it according to different categories, such as "Records of Emperors" (*Qijuzhu Lei*), "Privately-Compiled Histories" (*Bieshi Lei*), and "Biography" (*Zhuanji Lei*). Nevertheless, the *Complete Library in the Four Branches of Literature* (*Si Ku Quan Shu*), of the Qing Dynasty, characterized it as being the works of "novelists" (*Xiaoshujia Lei*). Many scholars have noticed that materials and systems recorded in *The Biography of King Mu* conform to the content of ancient ritual books. The mode of recording matters and words is similar to the "Records of Emperors" which record the everyday words and deeds of emperors of later generations. Thus its contents are believed to be trustworthy. For this reason, the *Four Collections* (*Si Bu Cong Kan*) and *Collections of Great Chinese Classics* (*Si Bu Bei Yao*) still categorized *The Biography of King Mu* among the "Historical Books" (*Shibu*). In fact, the journey of King Mu to the West is traceable through other historical classics. *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals: Duke Zhao of Lu, twelfth year* (*Zuo Zhuan: Zhaogong Shier Nian*) mentions the deeds of "King Mu's Travels across the Nation." The *Bamboo Annals* (*Zhushu Jinian*), which was found in the Ji Tomb (*Ji Zhong*) together with *The Biography of King Mu*, also records the exact words of King Mu's western expedition. In the chapters of the *Records of the Grand Historian* entitled *Annals of Qin* (*Shiji: Qin Benji*) and *Genealogy of the House of Zhao* (*Shiji: Zhao Shijia*), Sima Qian set down the story of how Zao Fu drove King Mu westwards and how King Mu met the Queen Mother of the West and drove back to put down the rebellion of King Xu Yuan. In the Preface to *Complement of the Biography of King Mu* (*Mu Tianzi Zhuan Bu Shixu*), Liu Shipei (1884–1919) stated that the names of places and peoples and materials used for rituals and ceremonies in this work were in accordance with those in other ancient books, which reflects the fact that there had been cultural communications between the Central Plains and the West since the Western Zhou Dynasty.[16] Some scholars see *The Biography of King Mu* as being a work of the Warring States Period when the cultural situation was active to an unprecedented extent.[17] Some also see it as a work of the State of Wei.[18] Still others believe that the northwestern region of Emperor Wuling of the State of Zhao formed the background to the writing of *The Biography of King Mu*.[19]

[16] *The Complete Works of Liu Shipei*, Volume 2 (Party School Press of the Central Committee of CPC, 1997), p. 542.

[17] Wei Juxian, "The Research on *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*," *The Study of Ancient History*, Volume 2 (Commercial Press, 1934).

[18] Miu Wenyuan, "What Kind of Book Is *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*?," *Chinese Literature and History*, 1985 (11).

[19] Gu Jiegang, "*Mu Tianzi Zhuan* and Year of Its Composition", *Literature, History and Philosophy*, Volume 1, No. 2, July 1951.

The Biography of King Mu details King Mu of Zhou's journey to the West before the Qin Dynasty. The book details how the monarch banqueted at the "Xuan Chi Lake." Liu Shipei identified the lake as actually being the Aral Sea of Central Asia. "Ku Shan" and "Huang Shu Shan" – as will be mentioned in the paragraphs which follow – are located even farther to the west.[20] Another scholar called Gu Shi (1878–1956) considered that the destination of the journey was near Warsaw in Poland. This demonstrates that even before Zhang Qian's journey to the West, there had been contacts between China and the other civilizations on the Eurasian continent. Gu Shi also recalled his conversation with Dr. Sun Yat-sen.[21] In that conversation Dr. Sun said that he found that the Southeast Asian port city of Langa and a place in the Persian Gulf called Linga both had names which were virtual homonyms for Lang Ya, the coastal region of Shandong Province, and that these could be the traces of sea trade contacts between civilizations of the East and the West.[22]

Lang Ya was located in the south of the Shandong Peninsula. During the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods, people from the State of Yue moved there and built a port called Lang Ya. The First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty inspected the place on three separate occasions. It was here that he asked the local alchemist Xu Fu (born 255 BC and went missing 210 BC) about his sea journeys questing after the elixir of life and dreamed about fighting the sea gods.[23] Emperor Wu of Han also went to the port during his reign. For those who lived on the mainland, such information from the sea seemed mysterious. What is more, these intricate ties between the emperors and the sea reflected their longing to become acquainted with the unknown world and the relentlessness of their political spirit. The exploits of Qin Shihuang and Emperor Wu show that Lang Ya had long been a famous port in history and it inevitably had an influence upon the history of waterborne transportation. Nonetheless, few investigations and little research have been conducted into the situation of sea boats sailing from Lang Ya to the south and west, and the name "Lang Ya" was used for some port cities in the south and west.

Numerous unearthed pottery and bronze utensils have also revealed evidence of the cultural exchanges between China and the West in ancient times. In tombs of the Altay (or Altai) Mountains – where the borders of China, Russia, Kazakhstan, and Mongolia meet – archaeologists have discovered silk artifacts dating back to fifth century BC, that is to say, from the approximate time of the Spring and Autumn or

[20] *The Complete Works of Liu Shipei*, Volume 2, p. 546.

[21] In China, Dr. Sun is usually referred to by the name Sun Zhongshan. For more details of his career, see Chap. 14.

[22] Gu Shi, "Ten Points on Reading *Mu Tianzi Zhuan*: *Mu Tianzi Zhuan* Discovered the Artery between the East and West in Ancient Times", *Lectures on the Westward March in Mu Tianzi Zhuan* (Commercial Press, 1934, Chinese Bookstore, 1990), pp. 23–4.

[23] Qin Shihuang was fanatical in his fear of death. Believing in the Taoist legend, he thought that the elixir of life could be obtained from Mount Penglai, located on a mysterious island somewhere in or beyond the Bohai Sea. Xu Fu took 3,000 virgin boys on his final journey to find that place, from which he did not return. One explanation contends that they did not perish, but landed in Japan, where they helped to establish early civilization.

the Warring States Periods of Chinese history. A typical example of the silk works unearthed from such tombs included one specimen embroidered with a phoenix from Pazyryk Barrow No. 5.[24] In the same tomb, a unique four-wheeled horse cart was found. Archaeologists reckoned that it originated from China. In tombs dating from fourth century BC to third century BC in this region, they found bronze mirrors of the Qin style which belonged to the cultural styles of Guanzhong. Many ancient Greek sculptures and colored pottery seem to depict ancient Greek people wearing garments that are silk-like in appearance, so archaeologists have surmised that even before 500 BC, silk had become a favorite fabric among the Greek upper classes.[25]

Nonetheless, these cultural phenomena did not arouse the interests of ancient Chinese historians, so they are not found in the official history books until Zhang Qian (200–114 BC), the Court envoy, set out to the west during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. This was officially recorded by Sima Qian in his *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Dayuan* (*Shiji: Dayuan Liezhuan*).[26]

During the Western Han Dynasty (206 BC–25 AD), the Central Asian area including what is today the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region was called Xi Yu, which meant "place in the west." In this vast area lived several nomadic races, including the Xiongnu, Da Rouzhi, Dayuan, Kangju, Wusun, and Daxia. Emperor Wu of Han considered a converging attack after learning that the Da Rouzhi wanted to revenge its old rivals, the Xiongnu; so the emperor sent his envoy, Zhang Qian, to the Da Rouzhi to initiate collaborative negotiations in 139 BC. Unfortunately, on his way to the Da Rouzhi, Zhang Qian was captured by the Xiongnu and was held in custody for 10 years before he escaped and resumed his mission. He continued his journey to the west, across the Pamir Mountains in Dayuan (mostly in what is now Fergana Valley on the border of the Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan) and Kangju (mainly the middle reaches of the Syr Darya River in the present-day Republic of Kazakhstan). Finally, he found the people of Da Rouzhi on the northern bank of the Amu River, and they conquered Daxia (now the northern part of Afghanistan) and established their country as a land of prosperity and peace. When Zhang Qian put forward his proposal, the ruler of Da Rouzhi showed no interest in seeking vengeance. Zhang Qian had to go back and was again captured by the Xiongnu. Finally in 126 BC, he returned to Chang'an with an escort – 13 years after his departure and having lost almost all his more than 100 companions. Zhang Qian brought back firsthand information about the Xi Yu states and reported his findings to Emperor Wu. After this journey, the Han people enriched their minds

[24]The Pazyryk Valley in the Ukok Plateau of the Altay Mountains in Siberia contains a number of burials dating back to the Iron Age and belonging to nomads. Barrows number 2–5 were excavated in 1947–1949 by Sergei Ivanovich Rudenko, an archaeological project that was considered groundbreaking in that it confirmed the great mobility of the Pazyryk people.

[25]Shen Fuwei, *The History of Cultural Exchanges between China and the West* (Shanghai People's Press, 1985), p. 22.

[26]The Dayuan, as described in *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*, is generally taken to correspond to the Fergana Valley on the border of the Kyrgyz Republic and Uzbekistan.

concerning the Xi Yu states through the knowledge brought back by Zhang Qian, and conversely, the Xi Yu states learned about the Han Dynasty.

Later, Zhang Qian suggested to Emperor Wu that the empire should call for a coalition with Wusun (predominantly made up of the inhabited region around the Ili River) to attack the Xiongnu. The emperor accepted Zhang's suggestion and sent 300 people led by Zhang to Wusun. When they arrived, Zhang sent his deputy to Dayuan, Kangju, Rouzhi, and Daxia to build relations. The friendly king of Wusun sent people to escort Zhang's return to Chang'an and presented horses as tribute to the Han emperor. The Han people and the Wusun became kindred through their intermarriage, and together they defeated the Xiongnu. Zhang Qian concluded his political and military mission successfully this time, but it was his preference that through Chinese history he should be remembered as a cultural ambassador.

After the Han army had defeated the Xiongnu, the obstacles to reaching the Xi Yu were removed. In 119 BC, Emperor Wu of Han sent Zhang Qian to Xi Yu again in an attempt to persuade the Wusun to move eastward. Thus the tie between the Han Dynasty and the western region (Xi Yu) was further strengthened. Exchanges among the people and trade flourished. Fifty Xi Yu states had various noble titles bestowed upon them by the Han emperor. 376 kings, princes, and marquises accepted seals conferred by the Han emperor. The path to the Xi Yu region pioneered by Zhang Qian has been an important bridge of cultural exchange between the East and the West ever since and was called "the Silk Road" (*Si Chou Zhi Lu*).

In the Eastern Han Dynasty, another individual named Ban Chao (32–102 AD) made similarly historic contributions to communication between the East and the West.

Ban Chao was born into a poor family. When he grew up, he had to transcribe official documents for a living. He must have been inspired by Zhang Qian, as he gave up the transcription work and joined the army to seek military exploits. Soon he was found to be a gifted military leader and became a general. At that time, in 90 AD, the Guishuang Empire (located in what is now Pakistan, Afghanistan, and western India) dispatched an expeditionary force of 70,000 soldiers to attack the Han people and its friendly neighbors. They crossed the Altay Mountains and came close to the border of the Eastern Han Dynasty. General Ban ordered an evacuation. When the Guishuang expeditionary force arrived, they could take nothing for supplies, so they tried to seek help from Qiuzi (an ancient state located in the region between the Tianshan Mountains and the Taklimakan Desert). Instead they were ambushed by Ban Chao. Finally, the invaders retreated having suffered great losses. In 94 AD, General Ban led a force of 70,000 coalition troops from eight states including Qiuzi[27] and Shanshan[28] (an oasis state on the eastern rim of the Taklimakan Desert) to attack the rebellious Yanqi State[29] (also an oasis state on the northern rim of

[27] Also known as Kucha or Kuche. It was a Buddhist state.

[28] Shanshan was situated close to Lop Nur, the once huge inland salt lake, which is now largely dried up.

[29] Yanqi was also known as Karasahr. It was a Buddhist state.

the Taklimakan Desert). The king of Yanqi surrendered quickly. General Ban Chao earned fame for pacifying the uprisings among the Xi Yu states and had the title Marquis of Dingyuan conferred upon him by the emperor of Eastern Han. To show their loyalty to the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Xi Yu states sent their princes as hostages.

In 97 AD (during the reign of Emperor He of the Eastern Han Dynasty), Ban Chao dispatched an officer called Gan Ying to visit Daqin (this is what the ancient Chinese called the Roman Empire or at least the eastern part of the empire in what is present-day Syria).[30] The delegates of the Eastern Han Empire reached what is now Iraq and were told by the Persians that even with a fair wind, it would take 3 months to sail across the dangerous sea but 2 or 3 years when unpredictable circumstances occurred and that many people had died on that voyage. Upon hearing this, Gan Ying abandoned his journey. Some historians have been skeptical about the honesty of the Persians and consider that they must have been lying because they wanted to monopolize the silk trade between the East and the West. Later, a famous Chinese scholar Liang Qichao (1873–1929) was to express regret about this lost opportunity:

> Ban Chao conquered Xi Yu and this made it possible for Gan Ying to sail to Daqin. However, the Persians prevented them from reaching their destination by saying that the journey across the sea was full of dangers. Thus Gan Ying gave up and the opportunity for communication between the East and the West was lost. This is a great regret to us who read history books.

Accidents in history are decided to some extent by inevitable rules. As Liang Qichao also pondered "the character of the Chinese people was determined by the fact that they live mainly on the eastern Asian continent, which is rich in natural resources and could provide an abundance of food and other things necessary for living. Hence, there was less motivation to explore overseas civilizations and thus sailing technology was not sufficiently developed."[31]

Gan Ying did not arrive at Daqin, but he was still the individual in Chinese history who as an official envoy had reached the farthest west, and this record was left unbroken for more than 100 years until the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. A poet of the Tang Dynasty named Du Mu (803–52 AD) later mentioned Gan Ying's long march west thus: "Gan Ying traveled west to a distance of 40 000 *li* from Luoyang."[32] "40 000" (*Si wan*) refers to the distance from Luoyang to the western border of the Han Dynasty.

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[30]The historian John Foster described the *Daqin* as "the Roman Empire, or rather that part of it which alone was known to the Chinese, Syria" (John Foster, *The Church in the Tang Dynasty* (London: SPCK, 1939), p. 3). Somewhat confusingly, the characters *Da* and *Qin* are the same as those that can be used for the "Great Qin Empire" of China.

[31]Liang Qichao, "Biography of the Great Chinese Navigator Zheng He," *Ice-Drinking Room Collective Works*, Volume 3; *Selected Materials of Research on Zheng He* (People's Transportation Press, 1985), pp. 20–8.

[32]Du Mu, "Drinking Alone at Junzhai," *A Complete Collection of Poetry of Tang*, Volume 520.

Gan Ying's reluctance to officially sail to the Roman Empire was truly a regretful matter in Chinese history, but as for ordinary Chinese traders, they were never hesitant about conducting business wherever possible. In his encyclopedic work *Natural History*, the famous Roman scholar Pliny the Elder (23–79 AD) wrote about the situation of how Chinese silk was made and delivered to the Roman noble households:

> (Chinese) silk is produced from the forests and is renowned across the world for its quality. Raw silk is drawn from tree leaves, soaked in water and then spun into thread. The thread is woven into textiles and then sold to Rome. Women from upper-class and wealthy families have it made into splendid clothes. It is very hard to send it from the eastern end of the world to the western. Chinese people are mild and generous but lack contact with other people. They wait for merchants to come while never seeking out trade opportunities.

The name of the Silk Road (*Si Chou Zhi Lu*) originates from his book as well. Many historical excavations have revealed that the Middle Kingdom had long-standing connections with Western Asia, Africa, and Europe. Stone carvings of the Western and Eastern Han Dynasty show that people already knew that the giraffe inhabited the African continent. Moreover, according to archaeologists, the naked figures on precipices of this period found in Shandong Province and Jiangsu Province suggest that the authors borrowed ideas from contemporary Greek sculptors.[33]

The first official contact between ancient China and the Roman Empire dates back to 166 AD, during the reign of Emperor Huan (146–68 AD) of the Eastern Han Dynasty. The Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (ruled 161–80 AD) sent his envoy to Luoyang (the capital city of the Eastern Han) and paid tribute to the Han emperor.

The success in foreign relations in the Han Dynasty can be characterized by "broad vision" (*Bo wang*) and "stabilization" (*Ding yuan*). The Tang Dynasty did not send large delegations abroad, even though it was one of the major powers in the world at that time. Instead, many foreign countries sent their delegations to Chang'an (*Wanguo chao weiyang*) and paid tributes to the Tang emperors (*Wanguo bai hanyuan*).[34] Ambassadors from Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asian countries all visited and stayed in Chang'an as well.[35] Nongovernmental trade exchanges also prospered with this development. Consequently, overseas trade between these countries boomed, and the "Maritime Silk Road" (*Hai Shang Si Chou Zhi Lu*) emerged.

In fact, even before the Tang Dynasty, sea-line transportation had been one of the better means for foreign exchange. The *Treatise on Geography* from the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu: Dili Zhi*) recorded the mileages to the Southeast Asian

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[33]Shen Fuwei, *The History of Cultural Exchanges between China and the West*, pp. 70–2.

[34]Li Shimin, "Meeting the Cabinet on the Right Day," *A Complete Collection of Poetry of Tang*, Volume 1.

[35]Cui Lizhi, "Looking at the Censer of Hanyuan Palace Hall", *A Complete Collection of Poetry of Tang*, *A Complete Collection of Poetry of Tang*, Volume 347.

countries and the names of those countries. And in the section entitled *Traditions of the Western Regions* of the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Hanshu: Xi Yu Zhuan*), a history book of the Eastern Han Dynasty, it was also recorded how the ancient Indian states that sent people through established sea routes to visit China. The peoples of what is now Indonesia and Myanmar often sent their commercial delegates to trade for Chinese silk, which was another route for silk to be traded to the West. In 238 AD, a queen of ancient Japan sent people to pay tribute to China and met Emperor Ming (Cao Rui) of Cao Wei (226–39 AD), and the emperor gave delicate silk products as gifts. This was the earliest recorded instance of Chinese silk products being sent to Japan by a Chinese emperor.

By the Tang Dynasty, ambassadors from Japan and Korea had established trade exchanges by paying tribute to and accepting grant from the Tang emperor. For instance, in 802 AD, the 18th year of Zhenyuan (the regnal title for Emperor Dezong), Japan sent a delegation of 270 people to China, and everyone was granted five *pi* of silk, giving a total quantity of 1350 *pi*. This was, in fact, an exchange of one commodity for another. Nongovernmental maritime trade also grew prosperous. For example, Korean people from Xinluo settled down in Chuzhou (what is now Huai'an) and ran maritime transport businesses in China. These served as an important bridge for cultural exchanges between China and Japan and China and Korea. A Tang Dynasty geographer named Jia Dan (730–805 AD) wrote that the sea passage from Guangzhou (Canton) to the Persian Gulf took about 3 months. This sea passage connected China with Southeast Asia (represented by Sri Vijaya, now Sumatra), South Asia (represented by Tianzhu, now India), and the Arabian region (represented by Dashi, now Iran, Iraq, Syria, and so forth) through the maritime silk trade. In the Song Dynasty, a businessman called Li Chong in Quanzhou (a port city in present-day Fujian Province) bought a ship and carried all kinds of goods including silk and China porcelain to Japan for trade. To manage the sea trade business, the Tang Dynasty established a government body called *Shibo Si* (Bureau of Maritime Trade). During the Song Dynasty, this bureau became the main source of national income. The tax revenue from sea trade amounted to 20 % of the total national income in 1128 AD (Jianyan 2nd year), during the reign of Emperor Gaozong of the Southern Song (1127–62 AD).

During the reign of the Yongle Emperor (1402–24 AD) of the Ming Dynasty, society was relatively stable and the nation was powerful. The central government was committed to foreign relations and overseas trade and carried out large-scale diplomatic and commercial activities. Under this circumstance, there occurred Zheng He's voyage to the Indian Ocean, a well-known episode in the history of Chinese sea exploration and that of the world.

At that time the eunuch general of the Imperial Court, Zheng He (1371–1433 AD), made a great breakthrough in Chinese navigational history. Seven times in the period 1405 AD (Yongle 3rd year) to 1433 AD (Xuande 8th year), Zheng He led his Royal Fleet, consisting of over 60 large- and medium-sized ships, and sailed to the Indian Ocean from the South China Sea. Zheng He's fleet traveled to over 30 countries and regions in Asia and Africa. This magnificent event was 83 years prior to Bartholomew Diaz's discovery of Cape of Good Hope, 87 years

prior to Columbus's discovery of the new continent, 93 years prior to De Gama's discovery of the new sea route, and 116 years prior to Magellan's arrival at the Philippines. According to Wu Han: "[i]t was earlier than any of the sea explorations of world-famous navigators. Zheng He can be regarded the earliest, greatest and most achieved navigators in history."[36]

The navigating delegation led by Zheng He consisted of about 28,000 people on each voyage. The main body of the fleet generally consisted of 63 great ships (62 in other references) – large- and medium-sized ships. The large-sized ships of his fleet were about 148 m (44 *zhang* and 4 *chi*) long and 60 m (18 *zhang*) wide. The medium-sized ships were 123 m (37 *zhang*) long and 50 m (15 *zhang*) wide. The great ships and other types of ships such as battle ships and supply ships constituted the great fleet. Every time Zheng He's fleet embarked, there were about 100 escort ships. On the first voyage, Zheng He's fleet comprised 208 ships.

Zheng He's extraordinary feat was unprecedented. Ma Huan wrote in his "Poem of Journey" (*Jixing Shiwhen*) that "[t]here is no limit and everything we see are subjects of our Emperor/The unification and achievements of our Emperor are unprecedented." However, the significance of Zheng He's mission is not limited to the promotion of the power of the emperor and the strength of the Ming Empire. Those important crew members in Zheng He's delegation described in detail the different landscapes and cultures of foreign countries they passed by in their collections of works such as Ma Huan's *Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores* (*Yingya Shenglan*), Fei Xin's *Overall Survey of Foreign Lands as seen from a Wooden Boat* (*Xingcha Shenglan*), and Gong Zhen's *Records of Foreign Countries in the West* (*Xiyang Fanguo Zhi*). The achievements of Zheng He's navigating career lie not only in the fact that he enriched the overseas knowledge of Chinese people but also that he allowed dozens of countries and regions in Asia and Africa to glean a basic understanding of China. Zheng He's nautical routes linked Chinese civilization with other civilizations of the world.

Even so, Liang Qichao, the great Chinese scholar of the late Qing Dynasty, lauded Zheng He's voyage in his article "The Biography of the Great Navigator Zheng He" (*Zuguo Dahanghaijia Zheng He Zhuan*) and outlined the background of the world history for Zheng He's navigational career at the very beginning. He pointed out that "at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, every nation across Europe which had a coastline engaged in competition on the seas." Then there were Don Henry, Columbus, Vasco Da Gama, and Magellan who gained success out of their sea voyages. Liang Qichao continued: "[f]rom then on, the transportation between the old and new continents and between the East and West Oceans was opened, which transformed all countries in the world into neighbors. That was the greatest era in history. Looking back to our empire at that time, we have a great man Zheng He who can be named 'the Light of Chinese History.'" In terms of

[36]Wu Han, "The History of Ming Dynasty," *Lectures on the Ancient Chinese History*, Volume 2 (Qiushi Press, 1987), p. 382.

the position of Zheng He's voyage in world navigational history and the fact that Chinese navigation declined after Zheng He's period, Liang then wrote that

> there are few in world history of navigation who can be compared to Mr. Zheng He. His first voyage occurred sixty years earlier than Columbus's discovery of America and seventy years earlier than De Gama's finding of new route to India. Why did Westerners' achievements open up a new era for the whole planet while the success of Zheng He faded after his death? Though Chinese navigators accomplished some achievements after Zheng, these were incomparable to those made by Zheng He. There were other 'Columbuses' and 'De Gamas' after Columbus and De Gama. However, we never had another 'Zheng He' after he died. This is so regrettable, yet it is not Zheng He's fault.

Columbus led his fleet to make landfall on the American continent in 1492. Magellan reaped the success of his voyage around the world in 1521. The major continents of this planet were connected and the world entered into a truly global market. The direct symbol of "the historical arena of the world" was the era of great sea explorations precipitating geographical discoveries. Although "the first voyage of Zheng He" was prior to this and was of certain scale and boldness, it had cultural differences with "the historical arena of the world" and limitations in historical periods.

Why could Western countries take advantage of their unprecedented success in navigation and push history to a new period? The discovery of the American continent and the voyage along the rim of African countries made the "world market" (*Shijie Shichang*) possible, and the economic activities of these countries then became global. However, not long after that, the policy of "a culturally closed nation" was implemented in China. This was characterized by a "restricted nation on the seas" (*Hai Jin*). The comparison between Chinese and Western sea transportation gives us cause to reflect on the cultural progress and history. The reason underlying this inequality was China's autocratic and feudal system of rule, which was so introverted and self-contained that it impeded any modern development. Zheng He's voyage had nothing to do with the market and commercialism; it was rather a display of power. Therefore, after Zheng He, Chinese overseas transportation could not break through the cultural limitations and political restrictions of the feudal system.

4.4 Contacts with Foreign Civilizations in Ancient China

Transportation plays an important role in the evolution of a civilization, and the scope and the level of a civilization are often limited by its transport conditions. The level of civilization achieved in different cultural circles is also limited by transport conditions.

Through transportation industries and trade routes, the influence of a civilization can reach beyond its borders, and it can assimilate new elements of other cultures as well. Such cultural communication is bilateral. Chinese silk affected what the fashionable Westerner wore, just as the products and music of the West affected

Chinese habits and musical styles. Chinese Confucianism exerted a great influence upon Japanese and Korean philosophies, and Buddhist ideas from South Asia had a huge impact upon Chinese Confucianism. During the Han and Tang Dynasties, the Chinese people were open to foreign cultures and willing to assimilate and digest them, so the society of the two dynasties reached a new level of prosperity. It is likely that Chinese culture was spread to other South Asian countries in the Tang and Song Dynasties, which facilitated the development of these countries. Cultural exchanges across borders promoted the positive development of the ancient world. Even so, some ancient civilizations of the world declined and fell or died off because they blocked themselves off from other civilizations.

After Zhang Qian's exploration of Xi Yu, the western region of China, many countries in this area set up formal relations with the Han Empire. Thus, Zhang Qian had a very high reputation in the western regions. Later, Chinese ambassadors also styled themselves as *Bowang Hou* (Zhang Qian's title) in order to gain trust from those nations. It was believed that many Western products such as grapes, clover, pomegranates, walnuts, and linens were introduced to China by Zhang Qian. This might not be in accordance with the historical facts. Nevertheless, Zhang Qian should be credited with the formal opening of Silk Road which allowed foreign cultural factors to influence mainland China. During the two Han Dynasties, people from very distant states in Xi Yu such as Kangju, Da Rouzhi, Anxi (what is now Iran), Jibin (what is now Srinagar in Kashmir), and Wuyi (what is now Kandahar in Afghanistan) frequently visited China and exchanged goods with Chinese people. It is said that those nations all "sent their specialized products to China" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Treatise on the Western Regions – Hou Hanshu: Xi Yu Zhuan*) and "foreign materials were circulated across China" (*Study of Salt and Iron: Working Hard in the Fields – Yantielun: Ligeng*).

When Zhang Qian was in Daxia in Central Asia, he learned that there was a route to Shendu (now India) from the southwest region of China because he saw bamboo sticks and Sichuan cloth in Daxia. Shendu, also referred to as Tianzhu, Xiandou, and Sundu, are various translations of the name for India according to pronunciations. At that time there did indeed exist a route to India, and then further west to Iran, from Sichuan and Yunnan. So in the first year of Yuanshou (122 BC), Emperor Wu of Han sent people to the southwestern borders of China, namely, what are now Sichuan and Yunnan Provinces in order to realize a transportation link between China and the Xi Yu. The cultural relations between Han Empire and tribes in the southwestern region such as Dian and Yelang (called *Xinan Yi*, southwestern ethnicities) thereby gradually grew closer. This was called the "Southwestern Silk Road" (*Xinan Sichou zhilu*). Many daily utensils dating from the Han Period have been excavated in Jinning, Yunnan, and these articles in many ways resemble Indian styles. Other archaeological materials like these proved that the historical fact that this road connected southwestern regions of China with areas of India and Burma at that time. The Southwestern Silk Road was once very smooth in history. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, acrobats from the Western Asian countries (*Haixi Huanren*) often came to Luoyang, the capital of Eastern Han via the Southwestern Silk Road.

Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Dayuan (*Shiji: Dayuan Liezhuan*) recorded how Emperor Wu of Han was eager to seek good war horses from Xi Yu. After Zhang Qian's return from the West, he brought back the horses the king of Wusun gave as tribute to Emperor Wu. They were faster and stronger than all the horses that the emperor owned. Emperor Wu was so fond of this kind of horse that he called them "the Far West" (*Xi Ji*). Later, the emperor acquired some Akhal-teke horses which were the fastest and strongest of them all, so he named them "the Heavenly Horse" (*Tian Ma*). After he gained horses from the Xi Yu, Emperor Wu had occasion to compose "The Song of Heavenly Horse" (*Tianma Ge*) to salute to this major event: "[t]he tribute *Tianma* is so precious: it has red sweat and can run very fast like a dragon." In the fourth year of Taichu (101 BC), after Emperor Wu obtained Akhal-teke horses from Dayuan, he composed another song entitled "The Song of the Far West Heavenly Horse" (*Xiji Tianma Ge*) in which he recorded: "[t]he heavenly horse came afar from the West and now belongs to the empire. It is sent to us as a tribute of foreign countries and shows the respect from them." It can thus be seen that Emperor Wu's longing for "the heavenly horse" did not derive from his own love for precious stuff but his lofty ideal of traveling to the far West and conquering its foreign countries.

The reign of Emperor Wu, when the "Heavenly Horse" (*Tian Ma*) came from afar, is the historical period in which governors who pioneered communications between China and the West gained great successes. At that time, according to the *History of the Han Dynasty: Traditions of the Western Regions, Second Part* (*Hanshu: Xi Yu Zhuanxia*), "precious materials came from different regions" and "tribute was paid to the Han from 10 000 *li*." When evaluating the significance of the Silk Road in this period, some overseas Sinologists state that "it is of no less importance to Chinese history than discovering America was to European history."[37] The so-called Heavenly Horse has been a cultural symbol which characterized the historical progress in communications between China and the West in that era. It has also retained long historical memories of the achievements in transportation between China and the West in the Western Han Dynasty. The characters "climbing high and gazing far" (*Denggaomingwangsihai*), which features on a piece of Han Dynasty brocade excavated in Lop Nor, Xinjiang, embodies the grand mind of the Han culture when facing the whole world. Lu Xun once praised highly the cultural style of the Han Dynasty, saying: "when reflecting on the Han culture, we always have the feeling that the Han people were so bold and unconstrained." Through our exploration into communications between China and the West, we can gain a deeper understanding of the "open and grand style" (*Huodahongdazhifeng*) as one of the national spirits of that time.[38]

[37]By Russian scholar Вичурин, see *The Ancient World History*, trans. Ri Zhi (Teaching Materials Compiling and Examining Section, Ministry of Higher Education Central People's Government, 1954), p. 224.

[38]Lu Xun, "Reflections on Looking at the Mirror", "Grave", *The Complete Works of Lu Xun*, Volume 1 (People's Literature Press, 1981), p. 197.

In addition to the material things that were introduced to China, spiritual aspects derived from the Xi Yu were met with openness by the Han people. One such example was Buddhism from India.

There are several opinions about when Buddhism was introduced to China. One states that it was in 2 BC (the first year of Yuanshou, the regnal title of Emperor Ai of Han), as was recorded by the *Records of the Three Kingdoms: Book of Wei – Biographies of the Wuhuan, Xianbei, and Dongyi* (*Sanguozhi: Weishu – Wuwan, Xianbei, Dongyi Chuan*), when the Court teacher Jing Lu wrote down the Buddhist scriptures known as the *Futu Jing* according to a Da Rouzhi envoy's oral instruction. This was the first such scripture introduced to mainland China. Many scholars believed that this was the most convincing proof of the earliest time when Buddhism came into China.[39] Another opinion holds that it was during the reign of Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han Dynasty (58–75 AD). One day, Emperor Ming told his Court officials that he had dreamed about a person flying around his Court and smiled benevolently, radiant with beaming light. He asked who this person was, and his Court Official Fuyi said that the person could be the Buddha from India, who was immortal. After he heard this, Emperor Ming sent 12 people to India to collect copies of the 42 Buddhist scriptures. The third opinion considers that it was in 67 AD that Cai Yin and people of the Eastern Han met two Buddhist monks (Shamen Jiaye Moteng and Zhu Fa Lan) in Da Rouzhi and were given the Buddhist scriptures, which they carried back to Luoyang using white horses. For this reason Emperor Ming built the White Horse Temple at the outskirts of Luoyang. It is said that Moteng and Zhu Fa Lan stayed at the temple and translated the scriptures into Chinese: Forty-Two Chapters of Scriptures (*Sishier Zhang Jing*).

According to the Buddhist sculptures discovered at Kongwang Shan, Lianyungang, Jiangsu Province,[40] some scholars speculated that the Buddhist arts at Kongwang Shan was introduced from over the seas on the basis of the historical records that Buddhism was popular in the East China Sea region of the Eastern Han Dynasty. The introduction of Buddhism into China might not only have occurred via the route from Central Asia.

At first, most of the worshipers of Buddhism were the royal families or the nobles and lords such as King Liu Ying of Chu and Emperor Xiaohuan of Han, and their understanding of Buddhism was similar to Taoism, with such sayings as "to keep modest and idle and to reduce the libidos of the body so as to return to simplicity" (*Qingxu wuwei, shengyu qu she*) finding favor. For the purposes of worship, many Buddhist idols and a sculpture of Laozi were constructed together. The *History of the Later Han Dynasty* records much detail about the later emperors of the Eastern Han keeping Buddhist idols and a sculpture of Laozi in the sacred place within the royal house. For instance, Liu Ying stated that they would "recite Laozi's works

[39]Zhang Qizhi ed., *The History of Chinese Thoughts* (Northwest University Press, 1993), p. 196.

[40]Lianyungang City Museum, "Reports on Moyan Images, Kongwang Mountain, Lianyungang," *Cultural Relics*, 1981 (7); Yu Weichao and Xin Lixiang, "The Investigation of Years of Moyan Images at Kongwang Mountain," *Cultural Relics*, 1981.

and worship Buddhist in temples" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of Ten Princes of Guangwu – King Ying of Chu – Hou Hanshu: Guangwu Shiwang Liezhuan – Chuwang Ying*). Emperor Xiaohuan also "built temples to worship Buddhist idols and Laozi" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Xiaohuan of Han – Hou Hanshu: Xiao Huandi Ji*) and "kept Buddhist idols and the sculpture of Laozi at the Royal Palace" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty – Biographies of Liang Yi and Xiang Kai – Xiang Kai – Hou Hanshu: Liang Yi Xiang Kai Liezhuan – Xiang Kai*). Tang Yongtong,[41] a contemporary Chinese scholar, once said, "Taoism originated from the beginning of the Han Dynasty, and became popular in Shandong and the eastern coastal regions of China, where Buddhism also became prevalent, and thus Taoist thought was influenced by Buddhism. Meanwhile, Buddhism was reinforced by the prevalence of Taoism."[42]

Precise accounts of the times during the last years of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the Three Kingdoms Period when Buddhist temples were built and Buddhist practices established were made. *Records of the Three Kingdoms: Book of Wu – Biography of Liu Yao* (*Sanguozhi: Wushi – Liu Yao Zhuan*) recorded that in 193 AD (Chuping 4th year of Emperor Xian of Han), a local despot called Zerong made a great fortune by illegally retaining official supplies on the rivers for his own interest and with this fortune he built temples, erected Buddha sculptures, and recruited many monks for various religious activities among the public. Nearly 5000 people came as worshipers. This was the earliest record of erecting Buddhist sculptures and building temples in history. It also demonstrated that Buddhist belief had gradually become accepted by the general public and was no longer an exclusive creed among the nobility.

In 627 AD, the first year of the reign of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty, a Buddhist monk called Xuanzang (c. 602–64 AD) decided to go to India to study at the fountainhead of Buddhism. Being unable to obtain a travel permit, he left Chang'an by stealth. On his journey he traveled north of the Taklimakan Desert, passing through such oasis centers as Turfan, Karashar, Kucha, Tashkent, and Samarkand and then beyond the Iron Gates into Bactria, across the Hindu Kush (mountains) into Kapisha, Gandhara, and Kashmir in northern India. From there he journeyed along the east and west coasts of the subcontinent and visited famous monasteries and perfected his knowledge of Sanskrit and Buddhist philosophy. After an absence of 16 years, Xuanzang returned to Chang'an in 645 AD, passing through northern Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Wakhan Corridor, and the southern edge of the Taklimakan Desert (now Hetian and Qiemo in Xinjiang) on the way.

Xuanzang's journey to India took more than 10 years and covered 50,000 *li*. The journey was very difficult and challenging and has become a significant event

[41]Tang Yongtong (1893–1964) was one of the earliest Chinese to receive a university education in the USA. Together with Wu Mi and Chen Yinke, he became known as one of the "Three Outstanding Persons of Harvard."

[42]Tang Yongtong, *The History of Buddhism in the Han, Wei, Western and Eastern Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties*, Volume 1 (Chinese Publishing House, 1983), p. 42.

in Chinese cultural history. After the journey and through his unique practice of transportation, he not only became an honorable master of Buddhism but also made a great contribution to the cultural communications between Central China and Western countries. Xuanzang composed the *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (*Da Tang Xi Yu Ji*) (see picture 9), the great record of the history, culture, natural products, and folk customs of the 138 countries, states, and regions he passed through during his journey. This is still an important reference book for modern historical research. Even modern scholars who carry out archaeological excavations in Central Asia and India still attach great significance to its guidance.

After Xuanzang's return to Chang'an, he organized knowledgeable monks to translate the Buddhist scriptures that he brought back from India. He translated about 74 (75 in other reference books) Buddhist items and 1335 volumes. From then on, the influence of Buddhism over Chinese culture reached a greater level. *The Biography of Xuanzang of the Great Ci'en Temple* (*DaCi'en Si Sanzhang Fashi Zhuan*) recorded his life story and achievements. Due to the cultural contributions of his pilgrimage, he even became an immortal character in later history. The pilgrimage of Xuanzang demonstrates the openness and acceptance of Chinese culture to foreign civilizations at that time.

Other religions imported from Western Asia included Zoroastrianism, Nestorian Christianity, and Islam. As some scholars pointed out, at that time, "the tolerance of the Chinese government allows its neighboring nations to worship their own religions and the government would never express its intolerance when treating them."[43] Owing to this religious tolerance on the part of the government, foreign religious beliefs were introduced to China and were allowed to spread.

Tang society was in many ways influenced by *Hufeng*, the ancient Central and Western Asian cultures. Many art forms of the Tang showed a strong interest in things foreign. Tang poems and paintings often displayed a theme of splendor, which was representative of a strong and confident society.[44] Sciences such as astronomy, mathematics, and architecture introduced from India, Arabia, and the Byzantines greatly enriched people's minds during the Tang Dynasty. In fact, the success of ancient Chinese dynasties is often attributed to their assimilation of the positive aspects of other foreign civilizations. The open and emancipated attitude towards foreign civilizations helped the prosperity of Chinese culture to be accomplished.

In the Song and Yuan Dynasties, Buddhist culture had great influence over local Chinese culture. The most representative is the reconstruction of China's mainstream philosophy, Confucianism, according to the permeation of Buddhist culture into society. The speculative philosophy and logical thinking of Buddhism was assimilated into Confucianism; thus, the idealist school of Confucianism (*Li*

[43] A. Mazallieri, *The Silk Road: History of Sino-Persian Cultural Communications*, trans. Geng Yi (Chinese Publishing House, 1993), p. 162.

[44] Edward Schafer, *Golden Peaches of Samarkand: A Study of T'ang Exotics*, trans. Wu Yugui (Chinese Social Science Press, 1995), pp. 47–66. Originally published in English by the University of California Press, 1963.

Xue) was formed. In the Ming Dynasty, Wang Shouren (1472–1529 AD) reformed the idealist school of Confucianism by introducing Buddhist disposition theory (*Xinxing zhi shuo*) and intuitive epiphany (*Zhijue dunwu fa*), and thus he became the founder of the Disposition School of Confucianism (*Xin Xue*). These are good examples of how foreign civilizations affected Chinese civilization.

Even in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, maritime trade conducted by the common folk continued, although the central government had then adopted the "maritime trade ban" (*Hai Jin*) policy. After Zheng He's Great Sea Voyage, commercial trade on the Maritime Silk Road grew day by day. Some Chinese merchants and poor peasants sought their fortunes on the sea and settled down in Southeast Asian countries and other parts in the world, becoming the forefathers of today's overseas Chinese migrants. They too played a special role in keeping cultural and business ties with the world.

All in all, throughout this long history, Chinese civilization was never enclosed but ever-changing and renewing through its contact with other civilizations. Alternative lifestyles, modes of thinking, beliefs, and customs influenced China and vice versa. China began to know the outside world through such mutual influences and exchange, and the outside world knew China in the same way. The cultural differences imparted new ideas and helped to break down barriers in knowledge. In this way, the Chinese people learned to renew their own culture and to enrich their knowledge of the rest of the world.

Questions

1. Briefly illustrate the relationship between the development of Chinese ancient transportation and the comprehensive timeline of Chinese history.
2. Briefly introduce the main methods of foreign communications of ancient Chinese culture.

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Chapter 5
Ethnic Relations in Chinese History

China has long been a country of many ethnic groups, and more than 50 ethnic groups at present with their ancestors have lived on this land for thousands of years. Except for Russians and several other ethnic groups with smaller population, most ethnic groups are native ethnic groups exclusively from China, and their history can be traced back in written history some 2,000 years ago, which is unique and different from many Western countries.

Unlike most Western countries, all the Chinese ethnic groups have been living in a unified state for a long time. As early as 2,000 years ago, China was unified as an imperial dynasty containing many ethnic groups.[1] Although Chinese people have experienced a number of dynastic changes, for the greater part of two millennia unity has always been the norm, and the larger the scope of unification, the more stable the society.

The unity of China and the grand territory was founded and developed by the ethnic Chinese people. Chinese culture and history were also created by 56 Chinese ethnic groups and their ancestors over thousands of years. Among them ethnic Han people were nearly always dominant and each ethnic minority group made its own contribution.

5.1 Geographical Environment and Ethnic Relations

The direction of the historical process has always been closely related to the geographical conditions of China. The enduring unity and integration of ethnic groups in China benefited, to some extent, from the natural environment of eastern Asia. Owing to its natural geographical features, China has been separated into

[1] China's territory was first unified in the Qin Dynasty in 221 BC.

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a semi-closed and isolated region. On the one hand, this environmental situation hindered the communication with the outside world, but on the other, this ensured the close contact between different ethnic groups of people within this territory. Despite early separation and division, China finally realized full unification, and each time after reunification, the territory of China remained roughly unchanged. This was mostly due to the geographical environment. The special geographical situation of China has promoted the birth of a culture of great diversity and also enabled this diversified culture to develop towards unity.

In the North of China lies the Grand Mongolia Plateau, and across the plateau, the prairie is the main landscape. The prairie is divided into Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia by the Great Desert, the Gobi Desert, and the Yinshan Mountains. To the north of the Mongolian Plateau, there are mountains stretching for thousands of kilometers from east to west; to the north of these mountains lies the cold regions of Siberia. The mountains of southern Siberia, which border with the Mongolian Plateau, were home to a few ancient tribes, such as the Dingjing and Xiajiasi, scattered across the sunny mountain slopes and valleys. Year after year and generation after generation, they tried their best to migrate to the south, towards the grandeur and the fertile soils of the Mongolian Prairie. On the prairie, there already existed nomadic tribes such as the northern Di, the Huns, the Xianbei, the Turks, the Huihe, and the Mongolians. They were nomadic peoples who lived on horseback. They longed for the prosperity to be found on the inner side of the Great Wall and the culture of Central China and were always seeking to relocate to the south.

Northeast China borders with the Mongolian Prairie on the west and stretches to the Pacific Ocean on the east, then on the north lies the Outer Xing'anling Mountains, which separates eastern Siberia from Northeast China. Here lies the Grand Plain and hills. These thousands of square miles of fertile and heavily forested lands were suitable for hunting in the north and farming in the south. Successively there were many tribes such as the Dong Hu (the eastern Barbarians), the Sushen (the ancestors of Manchu), the Wuhuan, the Xianbei (the ancestors of the Xibo), the Shiwei (the ancestors of the Mongolians), the Khitan, and the Jurchens, who settled there at different times.

A long narrow mountain passage lies between the northeast of China and the northern China Plain, along the coastline of the Bohai Sea. This is guarded by the Shanhai Pass. For thousands of years, ethnic groups such as the Xianbei and Shiwei, who originated from the northeast, crossed the Xing'anling Mountains and entered into the Mongolian Prairie, while many more groups moved down south along this passage to the warmer, wealthier, and more fertile regions of Central China.

Northwestern China was called the "Western Regions" (*Xi Yu*) in ancient times, a name which refers nowadays to the Xinjiang autonomous region and Middle Asia, on the east and south of Lake Balkhash. A series of insurmountable mountains and deserts form a natural barrier in Xinjiang. In the north, the Tangnu Mountains and Altai Mountains resist the cold blasts from Siberia. The Congling Mountains and Pamir Plateau with altitudes above 4,000 m lie to the west. The Karakorum Mountains in the south block off the transportation to the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau.

Thus, it can be plainly observed that China is a region surrounded by mountains to the south, north, and west and is only open to the eastern sea.

To the northeast is the entrance to the Mongolian Prairie. To the southeast along the Gansu Corridor, one can reach Gansu, Qinghai, and the fertile middle plain of Shaanxi (Guanzhong). Many tribes in ancient times settled here in succession, such as the Sairen, the Usun, the Yuezhi, the Huns, the Turks, the Huihe, and the Mongolian Zhungar. Some tribes came from the Mongolian Prairie (the Huns, the Turks, the Huihe, and the Mongolians), some from Gansu Corridor (the Usun and the Yuezhi), and after they settled down, all of them endeavored to move into the Central Plains of China and the Mongolian Prairie.

The Middle Asian Hezhong area to the west of the Congling Mountains (what is now Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) was included among the territory of China at least as early as the Qing Dynasty. It lies between the Amul River and Syr Darya River, both of which enter into the Aral Sea. This area is composed of basins and oases and were inhabited by the Sogdian people who lived on trade and farming. Due to the dry desert conditions in the west and north, this area was dominated by Sogdian nomads, and in order to conduct trade and maintain military protection, the Sogdian people were compelled, since ancient times, to move around the Mongolian Prairie and the Central Plains of China.

The southwest boundary of China is connected with the Himalayan range and the Hengduan Mountains, which form the most insurmountable natural barrier in the world. In ancient times, this area suffered from having the poorest transportation. In the Qinghai-Tibetan Plateau and Yunnan-Guizhou Plateau, there lived dozens of ethnic groups, such as the Tubo (the ancestors of the Tibetans), the Menba, the Qiang, the Bai, the Miao, and the Dai. Owing to the natural barrier to the south and the attraction of the Central Plains, these tribal groups also longed to move to the middle of China.

In the southeast of the mainland lies the coastline stretching over 10,000 km, which was regarded for a long time as being the ends of the earth.

The Chinese geographical environment, with its great diversity of climate and natural resources, had a deep impact upon all the ethnic groups, providing both great cultural diversity and socioeconomic disparities. These groups included the nomads in the north, hunting tribes in the northeast, desert oasis cultures to the south of the Tianshan Mountains, and the plateau culture of the tribes who practiced mixed agriculture in the southwest. On the other hand, the water networks across the country, the natural passages on the prairies, and more and more advanced transportation routes all helped to link all of these ethnic groups closely together.

The ethnic minority groups who settled around the exterior of the Central Plains found migration difficult owing to the natural barriers and environment. Nevertheless, they were strongly attracted by the mild weather and fertile lands of the Central Plains. Therefore, for thousands of years, all the important political, economic, and military activities of the ethnic minority groups were all directed towards the Central Plains – that is to say the Yellow River Basin and the lower

reaches of the Yangtze River. Thus, over thousands of years, the geographical environment discussed above gave rise to a tendency towards cohesion within the Chinese nation.

5.2 "Middle Kingdom" and "Land Under Heaven"

Nowadays China covers a grand territory of 9.6 million km^2 and the nation is composed of 56 ethnic groups. This has been a factor through thousands of years of development. The word "Middle Kingdom" (*Zhongguo*) was used as early as the Shang and Zhou Dynasties some 3,000 years ago. However, the connotations of the term "Middle Kingdom" in ancient times were different from nowadays. The earliest territory referred to by this name was the middle reaches of the Yellow River area controlled by the Yao, the Shun, and other tribes (*Mencius: Duke Wen of Teng, I – Mengzi: Tengwengong shang*). It referred to the central area of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties. Later, although the dynasties changed and the territory was enlarged, the area referred to by "Middle Kingdom" also grew bigger though was still focused on Central China. So, the question arises of whether or not the areas outside of Central China, especially the areas where the ethnic minority groups settled, also belonged to the "Middle Kingdom." Actually, the answer is "yes." It is therefore necessary to clarify the connotations of the word "Middle Kingdom." Only then can one understand how since ancient times China has always been a multiethnic country.

The term "Middle Kingdom" (*Zhongguo*) was used as a name for the country of China after the Xinhai Revolution.[2] Before that, the country was named after the different dynasties which held power at the given time, such as the "Great Tang" (*Da Tang*), the "Great Song" (*Da Song*), the "Great Yuan" (*Da Yuan*), the "Great Ming" (*Da Ming*), and the "Great Qing" (*Da Qing*).

In ancient times, the "Middle Kingdom" was not conceived of as a country, but as a region. This region was not the entire territory of the country, but the central part of it. For example, in the S*pring and Autumn Annals: the Commentary of Mao* (*Chunqiu. Maozhuan*), it is recorded that "[t]he Middle Kingdom, is where the capital city resides." That is to say, in Shang and Zhou Dynasties, the Middle Kingdom referred to the place where the emperor lived, and that was designated as the capital city. In the *Book of Poetry: Greater Odes of the Kingdom, Labor* (*Shi: Daya, Minlao*) it states "[l]et us cherish this middle kingdom, to secure the repose of the four quarters." The idea is that the Middle Kingdom is here being contrasted with four quarters, meaning it was responsible for the controlling and comfort of the "four quarters" (*sifang*). So to what does the four quarters refer?

[2]The Xinhai Revolution (*Xinhai Geming*), also known as the Revolution of 1911 or the Chinese Revolution, was a revolution that overthrew China's last imperial dynasty, the Qing (1644–1912). For further details, see Chap. 14.

Wang Shaolan (1760–1835) points out in *The Supplementary Notes for the Literary Theories* (*Shuowen duanzhu dingbu*): "the capital serves like a head, the feudalists like hands, the four frontiers like the feet; that is why we are called the people of Middle Kingdom." That is to say, the "four quarters" covered the smaller kingdoms conferred by the King of Zhou and the frontier ethnic minority groups administered by the King of Zhou.

So, in the thousands of years before the Xinhai Revolution, how did the ancestors of the present-day Chinese refer their country?

In the ancient times, the whole country was addressed with titles such as "Land under Heaven" (*Tianxia*), "four seas" (*Sihai*), and "Within the Sea" (*Hainei*). These words were used interchangeably with the title "Middle Kingdom" at the same time.

For example, in the *Book of Changes: Copulative* (*Zhouyi: Xici Xia*), it states "in the ancient times, there was a person named Baoxi who ruled the land under heaven." In the *Classic of History: Canon of Yao* (*Shangshu: Yaodian*), "the Emperor Yao enlightened the land under heaven." In the *Analects: Taibo* (*Lunyu: Taibo*), "Emperor Shun had five ministers, and the land under heaven was well governed." In the *Classic of History: Counsels of the Great Yu* (*Shangshu: Dayumo*), "Suddenly you possessed all within the four seas, and became ruler of all lands under heaven." In *Mencius: King Hui of Liang* (*Mengzi: Liang Hui Wang Shang*): "As soon as Tang began his work of executing justice, he commenced with Ge. The land under heaven had confidence in him." In the *Book of Rites: Doctrine of the Mean* (*Liji: Zhongyong*), King Wu "once buckled on his armor, and got possession of the land under heaven."

The ancient Chinese also had many clear arguments about the different connotations of "Land under Heaven," "Within the Sea," and "Middle Kingdom."

Mencius said:

> ... it was by benevolence that the three dynasties gained the throne, and by not being benevolent that they lost it. It is by the same means that the decaying and flourishing, the preservation and perishing, of States are determined. If the sovereign be not benevolent, he cannot preserve the throne from passing from him. If the Head of a State be not benevolent, he cannot preserve his rule. (*Mencius: Li Lou I – Mengzi: Li Lou Shang*)

He also said: "The root of the kingdom is in the State. The root of the State is in the family. The root of the family is in the person of its Head" (*Mencius: Li Lou I – Mengzi Li Lou Shang*). Moreover, "[t]here are instances of individuals without benevolence, who have got possession of a single State, but there has been no instance of the throne's being got by one without benevolence" (*Mencius: Jinxin II – Mengzi: Jinxin Xia*). Here it is plain to see that "Middle Kingdom" is just the capital of the emperor, whereas "the Land under Heaven" is the whole country. They are two different concepts.

These thoughts and concepts which originated in the pre-Qin Period later become the tradition of different dynasties. For example, in the time of Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty (626–49 AD), the ruler frequently discussed relations with the surrounding ethnic minority groups with his ministers. In these discussions, he said: "the middle kingdom is like the root, while the four barbarians are like the branches

and leaves" (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Volume 193, Year 4 and Year 21, Zhenguan – Zizhi Tongjian*). Moreover, "if the middle kingdom maintains stability, the barbarians from four directions will naturally surrender. The Middle Kingdom is the root; the barbarians, the branches and leaves."[3] After defeating the Turkish Khanate, Chancellor Wei Zheng told Emperor Taizong , "[s]ince the Turks were defeated, the people within the sea will all enjoy the peaceful life."[4] Meanwhile, people from the tribes of the Turks and the Tiele said to Emperor Taizong, "[n]ow we are Tang people, so we come here to meet you like we are meeting our parents." Therefore, the "Middle Kingdom," the "Tang Dynasty," and the "Land under Heaven" or "within the seas" were perceived to be three different concepts. "Middle Kingdom" at that time referred to the area within the Great Wall. The "Tang Dynasty" covered a larger area than that of the "Middle Kingdom." It included the Western Regions (present-day Xinjiang and Middle Asia), Monan (now Inner Mongolia), and the Khitan and the Xi tribes in the northeast. The Tang government established the Anxi frontier command and the Beiting frontier command. In the south of the desert, the government established Shun, You, Hua, Chang, Dingxiang, and Yunzhong – altogether six frontier commands – and in the northeast, the Andong frontier command was established. However, the "Land under Heaven" was even larger than the "Tang Dynasty." It included Tubo, Nanzhao, and the Turks where there were no administrative sections established. Emperor Taizong of Tang often said: "[a]s long as I'm alive, I will bring them peace if there is no peace in the lands under heaven, and I'll bring them happiness if they are not happy" (*New Book of Tang: Story of Huihu II, Xue Yantuo – Xintangshu: Huihuzhuan Xia. Xueyantuo*). In people's minds, the emperor was responsible for administrating and stabilizing the country.

For the ancient Chinese, the term "Land under Heaven" not only included Central China but also the surrounding ethnic minority groups. Therefore, "Land under Heaven" in the ancient time was equivalent to what the "Middle Kingdom" means at present. After the Xinhai Revolution, the Republic of China was founded, and the word "Middle Kingdom" began to bear the meaning of a modern country. We cannot, therefore, equate the "Middle Kingdom" in ancient times squarely with Central China, nor did it correspond to any single dynasty established in Central China. The ancient "Middle Kingdom" included all the geographical areas inhabited by ethnic groups, and, politically, it included the central and local governments.

By reviewing the connotations held by and the evolution of the expression "Middle Kingdom," one can realize the ridiculousness of the assertion made by some Japanese that "Manchuria and Mongolia did not belong to China in ancient times." Now, a few Western scholars, together with some Chinese separatists, only address the Han people in ancient China as being "Chinese," and they only consider the government founded by the Han people to constitute the "Middle Kingdom." They still circulate views to the effect that "the land to the north of the Great Wall

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

does not belong to China," and "ancient Xinjiang did not belong to China." Such statements fly in the face of historical evidence and leave a person who advocates them open to accusations of having an ulterior motive.

5.3 Boundary Between Han Chinese and Barbarians and Their Unification

The unification of ethnic groups has existed through thousands of years as an ideological tradition in Chinese history. Early in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties, there was a doctrine which stated that "Under the wide heaven, all is the king's land. Within the sea-boundaries of the land, all are the king's servants" (*Book of Poetry: Minor Odes of the Kingdom, Decade of Bei Shan – Shi: Xiaoya, Beishan*).

In the geographical classic the *Tribute of Yu* (*Yu Gong*), the country was divided into nine states, and each state was divided into several smaller kingdoms:

> There are nine states (*jiu zhou*) within the sea; each state covers thousands of miles. In each state, there are 30 kingdoms, each one covers a hundred square miles, 60 kingdoms each one covering 70 square miles, and 50 kingdoms each one covering 50 square miles; altogether there are 210 kingdoms in a state. (*Tribute of Yu – Yu Gong*)

The *Tribute of Yu* clearly described the geographical location, the landscape, and the local products of the nine states, the latter being a clear geographical concept. The nine states included not only Central China but also the surrounding ethnic minority groups.

The ancient Chinese assumed that the responsibility of the emperor was to "unify the nine states" (*hunyi jiu zhou*) and "rule over millions of kingdoms, establish the law, and deliver the command" (*he wan guo er jun zhi, li fa du, ban hao ling*). If an emperor could not achieve these goals, he was considered to be unqualified. Therefore, Sima Guang, the chancellor of the Song Dynasty, said: "I humbly think that if an emperor cannot unify the nine states, he only has a name but no quality" (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Volume 69, April, the second year*).

For thousands of years, the rulers of the different dynasties in Central China, no matter whether they were Han people or other ethnic minority groups, all harbored the doctrine of "unifying the nine states."

Within the Sea and inside the nine states, there was the distinction between Huaxia[5] and Barbarian, as well as a policy of ethnic discrimination. For instance, the rulers of the Han always advocated: "if they are not my people, their minds must be different" (*fei wo zu lei, qi xin bi yi*). In much the same way, the ruling class of Mongolia also divided people into different classes in terms of nationality. In addition, the Manchu ruling class always kept caution towards Han people. Still, for thousands of years, there existed the idea that "Barbarians and Han people

[5] See Chap. 2 for the derivation of the term *Huaxia*.

are of a family," and "[c]ompared with the creatures, the king serves like the heaven and earth, who is able to bear anything without exceptions" (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Volume 193, April, the Fourth year, Zhenguan*). The concept of one family always paralleled with ethnic discrimination and became the theoretical basis for policy-making. For example, Emperor Taizong of Tang said: "the barbarians are also human; their emotions are the same with us. It's not necessary to be suspicious of the different people. If we bring them fortune, all lands within the sea can be a family" (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Volume 198, May, the twenty first year, Zhenguan*). He also said "[s]ince ancient times, the Han people were valued, while the barbarians were discriminated against, but I just regard them as equal."

All of these opinions and policies were established as models by the later emperors for ruling the ethnic minority groups. For thousands of years, the rulers of different dynasties more or less implemented the policy of appeasing the ethnic minority groups. It was definitely not because of the benevolence of the emperor, but arose out of the necessity of maintaining the rule of law. After all, the territory of every dynasty in Chinese history included many ethnic minority groups. In the times of the ancient Shang and Zhou Dynasties, there existed ethnic groups like the Rong, the Di, the Yi, and the Yue. In the time of Spring and Autumn Period, the Yi, the Man, the Rong, and the Di, all apparently settled down inland. During the time of Han and Tang Dynasties, the territory was largely expanded, to encompass what is now Xinjiang, Middle Asia, Outer and Inner Mongolia, three provinces in the northeast, and Yunnan and Fujian. If there was not an appropriate ethnic policy, it would be difficult to maintain such a large territory, especially for those dynasties founded by the ethnic minority groups. Even within the regional governments of the ethnic minority groups, a multiethnic coexistence was quite common. For example, in the Western Liao Dynasty founded by Khitan in Middle Asia and Xianjiang in 1125, the inhabitants within its territory were mainly Huihe, Shute, and Tartar. Even in the Tubo Kingdom, many Han, Qiang, and Bai peoples were to be found living there. In the late Ming Dynasty, the Manchu Houjin government occupied the three provinces in the northeast, which commanded the military troops of tens of thousands of soldiers and horses, and "[h]alf of them were Han people" (*Collection of Memorial to the Liao Emperor, Volume 43 – Chou Liao Shuo Hua*). Among the people in eastern Liao, Han people accounted for 70 % of the population and Korean people and Jurchen people the other 30 % (*Records of Liao Dong, Volume 1 – Liao Dong Zhi*). Nurhaci, the chieftain of the Manchu, said: "the emperor of a grand nation bestowed upon by Heaven, should be the king over all the lands under the Heaven; is he just the king of me myself?" (*Records of the Taizu Emperor of the Qing Dynasty – Qing Taizu Shi Lu*).

The exchanges and communications between different ethnic groups over thousands of years, especially when ethnic minority groups dominated Central China, gradually diluted the distinction between the Han people and other ethnic minority groups. Meanwhile, the doctrine of the unification and unity of all ethnic groups became deeply rooted. After the Opium War in 1840, Chinese people suffered invasion, looting, and bullying from foreign imperial powers. Faced with the fall

of the nation and invasion from other countries, uniting the whole nation to fight against the enemy became the national ideology, and the "Middle Kingdom" (*Zhongguo*) finally replaced the dynasties and other names like "Land under Heaven" (*Tianxia*), "Four Seas" (*Si Hai*), "Within the Sea" (*Hai Nei*), and "nine states" (*Jiu Zhou*), to become the name of the country shared by all Chinese people.

5.4 Unified Economic Base

In the history of the world, there existed many great empires with large territories. The Macedonian Alexandrian Empire in Greece (fourth century BC) ruled a territory which started from the Indus River in the east, reaching to the Nile River and Balkan Peninsula in the west. The Roman Empire (30 BC–476 AD) started from Mesopotamia in the east, reached to Spain in the west, the Danube River in the north, and North Africa in the south. The Mongolian Empire (thirteenth century AD) started from the Yellow River in the east and reached to the Iranian Plateau and Eastern Europe in the west. These empires were founded with the military invasions, which conquered territory across the Eurasian Continent, and experienced their heydays for a period, but none of them lasted for long as a unified nation.

Ancient China forms a striking contrast with the empires mentioned above. China has long covered a grand territory with a great diversity of geographical environments. The topography, soils, and climates of different regions vary remarkably, which in turn has produced a significant divergence and disparity across economies and cultures. In different natural environments, people have to develop and make use of different natural resources; therefore, their production, ways of life, and products differed accordingly. Thus, since ancient times, China has displayed multiethnic and multicultural features. Different cultures enjoy mutual benefits as well as contradictions. Therefore, for the sake of survival and development, these different ethnic groups kept close economic ties regardless of natural barriers.

The ethnic minority groups in China were mostly scattered around the remote frontier areas. Compared with Central China (the Yellow River area and the middle lower reaches of the Yangtze River), these areas possessed dissimilar geographical environments. The mild climate and fertile plains of Central China are generally suitable for farming. The northern frontier is cold and dry and mostly covered by grassland, desert, and forest, making it suitable for animal husbandry and hunting. The southern frontier is characterized by high temperatures and humidity and is mostly covered by mountains, hills, rivers, and lakes, making it suitable for farming and fishing. Compared with other areas, Central China flourished with the most abundant resources and advanced civilization. Owing to the demand for a better livelihood and development, the frontier ethnic minority groups had the urgent desire to conduct economic exchanges with other regions especially Central China. Through this economic trade, Central China gained a large supply of livestock. These kinds of exchange were both intergovernmental and nongovernmental, with diverse manifestations such as tributes, rewards, and trade. This economic

connection formed a natural cohesive force, which initiated the ethnic minority groups' aspirations to move towards Central China, and formed the basis of close relations among different Chinese ethnic groups. The nomads of the north were particularly active in trade with Central China, due to their dependence on agriculture and craft products.

In history, the nomadic groups which settled down on the Mongolian Prairie were the Huns, the Xianbei, the Rouran, the Gaoche, the Turks, the Huihe, and the Mongolians. Due to the reliance of the nomadic economy on a single product, the daily necessities of the herdsman, such as grains, cloth, metal tools, and other crafts, were acquired by trade with Central China. The nomadic economy was thus heavily dependent on trade. For thousands of years, the demands of trade impelled them to go back and forth along the trade routes of the Mobei Prairie and the Great Wall. The cultural and political exchange with Central China therefore became stronger and stronger with this background of exchange. The forms of exchange included trade, tribute, reward, sending envoys, and intermarriage. Many tribes gradually moved closer to the trade route along the Great Wall. They learned farming skills and led a lifestyle which was now based on a mixture of farming and nomadic practices. When there was a chance, they would swarm across the Great Wall, enter the wealthier central regions of China, and finally integrate with the Han people.

When the communication between the nomads and the inhabitants of Central China went smoothly, the peaceful relationship could be maintained. Moreover the harmonious environment and exchange of commodities would promote the prosperity of both sides, especially the nomads. However, when difficulties in communications were encountered, it would have a severe impact upon life and production on the prairie. With their superior military power, the nomads would impose pressure on Central China. A traditional saying goes: "The wicked always disturbed the frontier" (*shi xiao ru dao bian*). They would then demand trade and even wage war down south.

During such times, they would swarm incessantly into Central China like the surges of the sea. Some of them even founded their own governments. For instance, the states of Beiliang, Xia, Liuhan, and Qianzhao were founded by the Huns, Beiwei was founded by the Xianbei, and Yuan was founded by the Mongolians. Later on most of these ethnic groups were integrated into the Han people. Although these ethnic groups were changing constantly, for thousands of years the southward movement never stopped. This is also one of the important factors behind the growth in population as well as the development of a dynamic culture within Central China.

The earliest nomadic government on the Mongolian Prairie was founded by the Huns. According to the records "Huns loved the silk products, cotton products and grains of Han people" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Xiongnu – Shiji: Xiongnu Liezhuan*). When both sides maintained a peaceful relationship through friendly trade and intermarriages, "Chanyu and his people were all pro-Han, and entered Central China often."[6] In a typical year, the number of heads of

[6]Ibid.

livestock for trading down south could exceed 10,000. It is recorded that "[d]onkeys, mules, and camels walked one by one with each mouth biting the former tail" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Treatise on the Southern Xiongnu – Hou hanshu: Nanxiongnu Zhuan*). This exchange greatly alleviated the shortage of livestock in Central China. In the early Western Han Dynasty, during the reigns of Gaozu (202–195 BC), Wen (180–157 BC), and Jing (156–141 BC), the horses for the emperor numbered only "about a hundred" (*History of Han: Biography of Wang, Gong, two Gongs and Bao – Biography of Gongyu – Hanshu: Wang, Gong Liang Baochuan, Gong Zhuan – Gongyu Zhuan*). Meanwhile, in the time of Emperor Wu (141–87 BC), it was found that "on the south of the Great Wall, horses and cattle crowded on the prairie" (*Study of Salt and Iron: Western Regions – Yantielun: Xiyu*). These larger livestock could be used for transportation or farming, which was rather conducive to the development of the economy in Central China. The Huns traded livestock for textiles, grains, metal tools, swords, musical instruments, and books. And each year, they received large amounts of gold, silver, and hard currency. It was said they even made "hundreds of millions" in currency (*Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Xiongnu*). At the time of Huhanxie Chanyu[7] (reigned 48–55 or 56 AD), a lot of Huns moved down south, scattering around the Great Wall, and demanded the local Han residents to surrender. Then the Han government set up counties along the Great Wall, and more than 5,000 Hun households settled down and "coexisted with Han people." In the time of the Caowei, Huns along the Great Wall "pervaded the north desert" and gradually entered Fen River Basin, Shanxi Province. In the time of the Western Jin, about 19 groups of Huns entered areas within the Great Wall and "co-inhabited with Jin people" (*Book of Jin: Story of Barbarians, Huns – Jinshu: Si Yi Zhuan: Xiongnu*). After the decline of the Western Jin, the Huns successively established the states of Beiliang, Xia, Liuhan, and Qianzhao in Central China.

There were some other Hun tribes which maintained a rivalry with the Han, such as the northern Huns. Their frequent conflicts cut off the political, cultural, and economic ties with the Han. Finally, they had to move to the cold and dry land of Mobei, leading the nomadic life without the supply of farming products and crafts from Central China. "The soldiers suffered exhaustion and the tribe became poorer" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Traditions of the Xiongnu, Part 1 – Hanshu: Xiongnu Zhuan shang*). Finally up until the first century AD, the tribe had to move and remain to the west.

2000 years after the Huns, the nomads on the Mongolian Prairie repeated their precedent. At first, they shifted their economic and political focus to the south of the Yin Mountains in order to maintain a peaceful relationship with Central China, and then their governance was strengthened and they became prosperous. This finally unified the Mongolian Prairie, and eventually they conquered Central China. But some tribes only confined themselves to the desert, which made it hard to carry out effective exchanges with Central China, and consequently they could only sustain

[7]Chanyu was a name for rulers of the nomadic peoples in Middle Asia. It can be translated into English as "Heaven, Child, immense appearance."

a single nomadic economy. The vulnerability of the nomadic economy weakened such regimes greatly. Once there was a natural disaster, the government collapsed immediately. The people either scattered in all directions or moved to the far west.

The Xianbei was another ethnic group which conquered the Mongolian Prairie after the Huns. The relations between Xianbei and Han people were closer; therefore, they developed more rapidly.

Originally the Xianbei people lived along the Ali River in the Daxinganling Mountains. The densely forested environment greatly hindered transportation. Therefore, they mobilized people to move south, first reaching the eastern Mongolian Prairie. They settled down to feed the livestock and hunting was what they relied on. Soon they moved south again to the Inner Mongolian Prairie on the south of the Yinshan Mountains. Here they actively traded and encouraged intermarriage with the Caowei and Western Jin and had titles conferred upon them to show their loyalty to the central government. Both sides were busy with recruiting, inquiring and trading, and keeping unbroken close contacts. The Xianbei transported numerous livestock to Central China, and the Caowei and Western Jin gave Xianbei tens of thousands of articles of gold, cloth, and silk. Thereafter, the Xianbei strengthened rapidly. They first conquered the whole Mongolian Prairie and decided to settle Yushengle (south of Hohhot), then entered into Central China, and conquered nearly half of a China to the north of Huaihe, founding Beiwei as the capital of its regime. In 494 AD, they relocated the capital to Luoyang, and its people settled down at each corner of Central China.

For the Turk and Huihe tribes in the times of Sui, Tang, and Mongolian regimes after Yuan, the reasons why they would rise or fall depended on whether they could maintain a normal economic exchange. In 522 AD, the Turks founded the Khanate state on the Mongolian Prairie. Soon its territory expanded to the west of Liao Hai Sea (nowadays the Bohai Sea) in the east, to the West Sea (nowadays the Aral Sea) in the west, to the northern boundary of the desert in the south, and the North Sea in the north (nowadays Lake Baikal). Once there was the Turkish king in eastern Asia. There was an important economic factor for making the Turks, a nomadic Khanate, and a strong and powerful kingdom. First, it controlled the farming oases in the south of the Tianshan Mountains when Central China was in a turbulent period. The people there were forced to pay taxes with cotton and grains. Second, both of the two regimes, Bei Zhou and Bei Qi, competed to make peace with the Turks by marriage. In each year, they paid tribute to the Turks, such as silk, grains, steel tools, and hard currency. The government and people of both sides maintained unimpeded trading.

After the Sui unified Central China in 581 AD, the Khan of the Turks surrendered to the Sui, and a large-scale official trade was carried out in the form of tributes and bestowing gifts. For example, in 592 AD, all of the Turks paid tribute to the Sui, including 10,000 horses, 20,000 sheep, 500 camels, and 500 cattle. In return, the Sui bestowed gold, silver, coins, textiles, and grains upon the Turks. In one instance in 606 AD, Emperor Yang of Sui (604–18 AD) bestowed upon the Turkish Khan 12,000 pieces of textile, as well as 200,000 articles made from silk (*Book of Sui: Story of the Turks – Suishu: Tujue Zhuan*). To meet the demands of the Turks,

the Sui established towns along the border, and authorized markets were also set up in Youzhou, Taiyuan, and Yulin; there the private trade was permitted and the local officials had no right to ban it (*Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau: Section of Outer Official – Cefuyuangui: Waichenbu*). This kind of free trade attracted the herdsman on the prairie to move down south along the Great Wall. In 601 AD, 90,000 Turkish people moved down south. Two years later, more than ten tribes, including the Sijie and the Pugu, went down south. Therefore, "men, sheep, and horses were all scattered in the valley" alongside the Great Wall.

Even up to 618 AD, in the time of the Tang Dynasty, a part of Turkish tribes still maintained large-scale trade. For instance, in 736, the Turks sent 14,000 horses, and in return, the Tang bestowed 500,000 textile items (*Collection from Qujiang, Volume 6 – Qujiang Ji, 6*). The Tang people much admired their horses because "the Turkish horses possess the proper bone structure for riding, while horses in China used for farming and hunting are not comparable with them." Thus, the Turkish horses became quite necessary for transportation and military troop facilities in Central China.

The historical records therefore state that "the armed soldiers took rest and the mutual trade continued," and "both sides benefited greatly" (*Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau: Section of the Outer Official, friendly relations keeping*). This economic exchange again encouraged many Turks to enter Central China and finally settle down. In the time of Emperor Taizong of Tang, numerous Turkish people served as admirals and generals in the Chinese government. There were more than 100 above the rank of 5, "the number which was equal to the officials." Also, some other Turkish people moved to Inner Mongolia and the areas which are now Shanxi and Shaanxi provinces and began farming. In 697 AD, the Tang government gave them 40,000 *hu*[8] of grain seed, 50,000 items of silk, 3,000 farming tools, and 40,000 *jin*[9] of steel.

Some Turkish nobles were hostile to the Tang, especially the Late Turk Khanate, starting conflicts with the Tang over several decades. At that time, the Tang controlled the whole Western Regions and shut off the pass and markets to the Late Turks, enforcing an economic blockade until the Late Turk Khanate finally declined.

The rise and development of Huihe Khanate (744–848 AD)[10] during the Tang Dynasty obviously benefited from the prosperous economic exchanges with Central China. In the early Tang Period, Huihe and other groups asked Emperor Taizong to build a "Khan's Road" (*Can Tian Ke Han Dao*) between Yazhang, Huihe, Mobei, and Monan, which would cover a distance of 300 miles. Along the road, 66 post houses were built, including room and board accommodation, horses, and carts. Trading caravans and envoys traveled back and forth along this way.

[8] A unit of measurement originally equal to 10 *dou* (roughly 100 liters) but later equal to 5 *dou* (roughly 50 liters).

[9] Again, the value of 1 *jin* has changed somewhat over time, but it has always been roughly equal to 500 grams or 1 Chinese pound.

[10] Also known as the Uyghur Khanate (ancestors of the modern-day Uyghurs).

Some caravans consisted of thousands of people, and the herdsmen on the prairie, "young or aged, all took the local products" to trade down south regardless of the long distance (*Prime Tortoise of the Record Bureau: Section of Emperors, Accomplishments I*). On account of these friendly relations, businessmen from Huihe could freely enter Central China. At that time, the Huihe businessmen could be seen in many cities like Chang'an, Taiyuan, Luoyang, and even some southern cities. Thousands of Huihe envoys and merchants lived permanently in Chang'an. They were conducting investment, setting up the shops, and making profits from the markets (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Vol 225, July 14th year of Dali*).

In the time of the Huihe Khanate, years of peace on the prairie promoted the development of animal husbandry. The Huihe hoped the Tang would buy more and more livestock, as many as 200,000 horses a year. At first, the Tang government did not have such purchasing power, but in order to thank the Huihe cavalrymen for helping to crack down the internal disorder, the Tang government satisfied their demand to the best of their ability and even "emptied the national reserve" and "collected taxes from the government officials." From this deal alone, the Huihe could acquire a million pieces of silk each year. In 773 AD, the Huihe in one instance transported back more than 1,000 carts full of silk. Actually, the Huihe people "wore leather and ate meat," so most of the silk was transported to the west for sale. In the market of eastern Rome, 1 oz of gold traded for 1 oz of silk, so the price was inflated to hundreds of times what it was in China. The Huihe gained a great amount of profit from this deal, and from then on, the Huihe Khanate quickly rose in power. Many nobles undertook trading business and gave up their nomadic life, finally settling down on the prairie. Consequently, many new towns were established on the grassland, and the ruins of more than 20 city wall are visible even today. The largest one covered the area of 25 km^2. Inside the town, there were palaces, a market residential area, temples, and government offices. In all these town ruins, many coins, metal tools, and silk fragments from Central China were excavated.[11]

During the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), the northern Mongolian regime kept a peaceful relationship with the Ming Empire. This, once again, reflected the mutual importance of normal economic relationship for both sides, especially the northern nomads. In the early Ming period, Mongolian nobles retreated to the outside of the Great Wall. Politically they hoped to be conferred by the Ming government, and economically they longed for free trade. The economic exchanges were eventually developed through large-scale advancement of "tribute" (*tonggong*) and "mutual trade" (*hushi*). According to the statistics, from 1403 to 1570 AD, Mongolian nobles paid tributes to the Ming Empire on more than 800 occasions, and each time the tributary envoys are comprised of thousands of people. Usually "the successive envoys followed in while the previous ones had not returned yet," and it was witnessed that "the team of envoys threaded on the way with camels and horses carrying the tributes," as "the gold-gilded wares and clothes were carried in an

[11] Yang Shengmin, *History of Huihe* (Jinlin Education Publishing House,1991), Chap. 1.

endless stream." The expenditure for treating the envoys totaled up to 100,000 oz of silver (*Records of Emperor Ming Yingzong, Volume 136 – Mingzong Shi Lu*). Even so, the Ming regime only considered this economic exchange as a way of maintaining the stability of the frontier and controlling the Mongolians. The Ming government set many limitations on the trade, such as the "fixed day for opening the market and limitations on the commodities." The market was opened just a few times, which was far from the expectations of the Mongolian nomads. Not only was the military weapon trade prohibited but also the trade in cooking wares and tea, and the private trade was seriously banned. Consequently many herdsmen often had "no pans to cook and no clothes to wear" and even "no tea to drink" (*Records of Emperor Wanli's Accomplishments, Volume 8 – Wanli wugong lu*). Also the soldiers and people of the Ming regime suffered from the shortage of horses, livestock, leather, and clothes. As a result, there were constant violations and private trading was conducted continuously. The Mongolian nobles even waged a 30-year war against the Ming government, and both sides suffered great loss. Emperor Zhengtong of Ming (reigned 1435–49 AD and 1457–64)[12] was once captured. When the war finally ceased and the free market reopened, the Mongolian Anda Khan uttered a sigh of relief, stating that "with our population increased, we are suffering the shortage of clothes. Since the trade ceased, we had no clothes and daily necessities, and our animal skins could not drive off the summer heat and the silk was so difficult to find. Every time I was enticed by the treacherous official Zhaoquan, provoking the conflicts along the border, and although we could plunder something our troops were often injured. In this year, both sides frequently sent troops to kill the families, and plunder the horses. The wild grass was all burnt off, so our people and livestock will find it hard to get over this chilly winter" (*Collections of Xuanlan Pavilion, Volume 1 – Xuanlan Tangcongshu, gang yi*).

The wars and trade ban thus caused unbearable miseries to both sides, and the constantly strengthening economic and political ties soon brought about permanent demands for the social economic development. The interdependent and mutual economic exchange thus laid the foundation for maintaining the peaceful relationship between the frontier ethnic groups and Central China. It was like a strong tie that connected Central China with other frontier ethnic groups. The history of the relations between the northern nomads and Central China only confirms this principle. It also provided the economic basis for China as a unified multiethnic country for thousands of years.

Looking back on the history of the relations between the northern ethnic groups and Central China, it can be lucidly seen that the process of China's unification as a multiethnic nation began with the economic exchange among the different ethnic groups. This exchange could be intergovernmental or nongovernmental. It was seldom that any unification began from a military invasion. The occasional military conflicts which happened during the economic exchange were usually caused by

[12]He was subsequently deposed by his brother, the Jingtai Emperor, for seven years but later returned to the throne, hence the hiatus between 1449 and 1457.

some barrier in communication. When these barriers were broken down and the economic tie was rejuvenated, the political alliance would be brought to the stage. This alliance was usually dependent on the relationship with Central China. The successful political alliance was set up voluntarily and promoted by the economic interest. The regimes of different ethnic groups often waged many wars of invasion. These included Central China's territorial expansions into the frontier and also the attacks from the frontier to Central China. The goal of the wars was usually to create larger-scale unification. The end result of the wars thence further strengthened the economic, cultural, and political ties and the integration of different ethnic groups.

5.5 The Political System of Diversity and Unity

China, today a unified country with many ethnic groups, was the same as other ancient cultures in the world, having gone through all the vicissitudes of a growing nation. She has witnessed civil wars, natural disasters, and conflicts among ethnic groups, especially the looting and bullying from the imperial powers in more modern history. Nonetheless, China maintains its territory even to the present, and most of the ethnic groups not only never became fragmented but have become more integrated, which is a rare phenomenon in world history, particularly compared with other ancient cultures. Besides the many factors like geographical environment, economy, and culture, the Chinese political systems have, over thousands of years, also contributed to the continuous unification of this multiethnic country.

Under a system of central power, one of the main features of Chinese traditional political systems has been to permit the coexistence of many types of social economic and cultural systems and many types of management systems within the state. This is also the key factor that has allowed more than 50 ethnic groups with great disparity and diversity to be unified under a grand nation.

Most of the ancient nations in the world have gone through the era of feudal society, but each with different systems. Some countries adopted republicanism; the power was distributed to several representatives of a landlord class. Nevertheless, over thousands of years, the monarchical system has been the mainstream of the Chinese political system; the governmental power was under the sole control of the emperor. The emperor had the absolute and ultimate power. Meanwhile, for a number of ethnic groups along the frontier, autonomous and semiautonomous powers were conferred along with a vassal state system. The conferring and vassal state system, like the central power system, was the basic political system that passed through 2,000 years of history. No matter which ethnic group controlled the power and how the dynasties shifted, this system persisted. It was conducive to bridging the gap between different ethnic groups and to stopping disintegration among different regions. This, moreover, aided the formation of a cohesive political force among different ethnic groups and regions. This also formed the political basis for the unification of the Chinese people.

The central power system in ancient China reached its maturity in the Qin Dynasty. This was discussed in Chap. 2 of the present book. In 2000 years after the Qin, every dynasty practiced this system without any exception. Even during the times of disintegration, like the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties, or the period of Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms, as well as the Song, Liao, Xia, and Jin Periods, this system was put into practice, at least in the local government. No matter which group or local government unified the country, this system would carry on. After each large-scale cycle of disintegration, the country would later witness a larger-scale and higher level of unification.

Over thousands of years, there was economic, cultural, and social divergence among different ethnic groups. Differences can mean conflicts in another sense. If there are ethnic differences, there would inevitably be ethnic conflicts. So in a multiethnic nation, only by acknowledging these differences and making the correspondent policy could a government maintain any unification. During China's long history, the conferring and vassal state system implemented in the frontier among ethnic minority groups was the policy that acknowledged such differences.

The original meaning of "vassal" (*Jimi*) is "the bonding of the livestock." *Ji* means "head stall of horse." *Mi* means a "halter of cattle." In *Official Rites of Han* (*Han Guanyi*), it says that "the head stall of horse and the halter of cattle implies that governing barbarians is like manipulating the livestock" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biography of Sima Xiangru, Index – Shiji: Sima Xiangru Liezhuan, Suoyin*). The meaning of *Jimi* could be extended to mean "the appeasement." The system of vassal state was a policy to govern the ethnic minority groups so as to maintain unification. From the time of the Western Han Dynasty, the vassal state system evolved through three stages: the Frontier Prefecture System (*Bianjun Zhi*), the Vassal State and Conferring System (*Jimi Fuzhou yu Ce Feng Zhi*), and the Headsmen Heredity System (*Tu Si Zhi*).

The Frontier Prefecture System refers to the prefectures along the frontier newly established by the Western Han government. This was different from the county governments in Central China. First of all, most of these counties belonged to the ethnic minority groups. After the Middle Kingdom occupied these areas, the prefecture was set up in the previous territory which maintained the native chieftain and ethnic traditions. In the *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization* (*Shiji: Pinghuai*), it states that "[t]he Han had been at war for three years, and successively defeated the Qiang, the Nan Yue, the Fanyu and the Shu Nan in the west. 17 prefectures were set up and administered with their own tradition and tax exemption." The central government set up two bureaucratic systems in each prefecture. One was the same as the inland counties, including a governor, a magistrate, and head, which were appointed and removed by the central government, called a floating bureaucracy (*liu guan xi tong*). Second, the officials were also appointed by the central government and were issued with gold, silver, and bronze seals. Still, all of the officials came from the local ethnic hereditary leaders, thus they also belonged to the native bureaucracy. The original tribes and people were all governed by the native officials without taxation. They only paid some local tributes to the central government in order to show their respect.

As for the Vassal State and Conferring System, it came into being after the Tang Dynasty defeated the Turkish Khanate, which had dominated the prairie for half a century. The territory of the Tang expanded greatly. The Tang leaders summarized the experiences from the previous dynasties and acknowledged that if they depended on military power alone, it would be hard to conquer the ethnic minority groups, and those regions already conquered, which relied heavily on military power, would find it difficult to maintain any effective long-term governance. They therefore adopted the policy of "desisting from armament and promoting culture and education" (*yan wu xiu wen*). In the main, the Tang government appeased the ethnic minority groups through dispatching envoys, intermarriage, conferring, and trading. These were sometimes supplemented by military threats. Overall, the goal was that "the ethnic groups would surrender to a peaceful China" (*Zhongguo ji an, si yi zi fu*). In the time of the Tang, except for the large-scale attacks against the Turks who often marched down south, very few of the frontier ethnic groups gave the Tang government cause for using military power. For the stronger Tubo, Huihe, and Nanzhao regimes, the Tang formed the so-called "uncle and nephew" (*sheng jiu*) relations and dependent states (*shu guo*) relations.

For example, the Tang emperors had made 23 marriages with the kindred of the leaders of ethnic minority groups. Nearly half of the 19 daughters of Emperor Gaozong of Tang (reigned 649–83 AD) married the leaders of ethnic minority groups. In the history of the relations between Tang and Tubo, royal marriage was a political affair to which was attached great importance. Respectively, Tang emperors married Princess Wencheng and Princess Jincheng, to the Zanpu (King) of Tubo, which promoted the friendly relations between both sides. From then on, the Zanpu of following generations called the Tang emperor "uncle" (*jiu*). For instance, in 729 AD, Tubo Zanpu stated "I'm your close kinsfolk, my dear uncle emperor, and now I was bestowed the Princess Jincheng, so we are now united together as a family. All the people in our country are now blessed with peace and happiness" (*Old Book of Tang: Story of Tubo, I – Jiutangshu: Tubo Zhuan Shang*). In addition, formal liege and dependent state relations were established with the Huihe, Nanzhao (the regime of the ethnic Bai and Yi), and the Bohai Kingdom. The Tang conferred to the leader of the Nanzhao as the King of Yunnan and the leader of Bohai Kingdom as the King of Bohai, while the Khans of Huihe could only ascend to the throne when conferred by the Tang. Those conferred leaders and regimes should present tribute with an obligation. And their troops should be dispatched only by the Tang. In 738 AD, Nanzhao unified the Erhai region, whose leader was then conferred as the King of Nanzhao, and from then onwards, it was required that every successor should first go to Chang'an to pay a respective visit and be conferred. The Tang government set up the office of Yunnan Appeasing Commissioner (*Yunnan Anfu Shisi*) in Nanzhao. The King of Nanzhao was obliged to be under the custody of the appeasing commissioner. In 698 AD, the head of the Bohai, Dazuorong, established a regional regime in Jinlin, and he was conferred as the King of Bohai prefecture under the custody of the Anbei frontier command (*Anbei Duhufu*). More than ten generations of Bohai kings were conferred by the Tang and paid tribute to Chang'an

with their local products. In return, the Tang emperor bestowed silk, gold, silver, and some other necessities. During more than 200 years of Bohai Kingdom rule, they had paid tribute to the Tang 132 times.

The Huihe (modern Uyghur) developed a strong military power, and the Tang government dispatched Huihe cavalrymen many times when they were involved in wars. In 657 AD, the Huihe sent tens of thousands of cavalrymen from the Mongolian Prairie to the upper reaches of the River Syr Darya, where they helped the Tang defeat the West Turks. After 756 AD, twice they sent troops to help the Tang suppress the Rebellion of An Lushan and Shi Siming. The Tang emperor thence married off several princesses like Mingguo, Taihe, and Xianan to the Khan of Huihe, and each year the Tang bestowed abundant silk upon the Huihe. Both sides kept a liege relationship for a long time.

Besides using the conferring system as a way of keeping a friendly or liege relation with some powerful ethnic group regimes, the Tang government set up many vassal states in other ethnic regions. In the Western Regions, the Northeast, Lingnan, and Outer Mongolia, the Tang set up nearly 1,000 vassal states and counties, such as 29 states and 90 counties among the Turks, Tangut, and Tuyuhun; 51 states and 198 counties in Kucha, Khotan, Karasahr, Kashgar, and Sogdia; 14 states and 46 counties in Khitan and Mohe; 92 counties in Lingnan; and 261 counties in Qiang.

The governors of states and counties were served by leaders of local ethnic groups. Meanwhile, the Tang government set up frontier commands and military governors to command those vassal states and counties. These included the Anxi and Beiting frontier commands (*Anxi Beiting Duhufu*), the Andong frontier command (*Andong Duhufu*) in the Northeast, the Yanran frontier command (*Yanran Duhufu*) in Outer Mongolia, the Anbei frontier command in Inner Mongolia, and the Jiannan military governor (*Jiannan Jiedushi*) who controlled the Tubo, Man, and Liao ethnic groups.

These regional ethnic regimes and vassal states and counties possessed the following features. Firstly, they were managed by the hereditary rule of the local leaders, so the internal affairs were managed according to their own tradition. Secondly, the local regimes maintained a range of relationships with the central government, such as nephew and uncle, monarch and its subjects, superior and subordinate, central and local. In military affairs, they were compelled to follow the dispatch of the central government. Thirdly, the ethnic minority groups in these areas were not included among the taxpayers. They did not have the obligation to pay tax but rather just some local tributes.

The Song, Liao, and Jin Dynasties, which followed after the Tang, basically maintained this system in the surrounding ethnic areas.

The Headmen System came into being in the following way. After the Yuan[13] united the whole country, the previous half-independent or independent frontier ethnic regimes were eliminated, and the province system was implemented across

[13]The empire was established by Kublai Khan and was the first foreign dynasty to rule over all of China (1271–1368).

the country. The central power was thereby strengthened. Meanwhile, the Headmen System was instituted in the frontier area. The office of headmen was called *Xuanwei* (appeasement) envoy office, *Xuanfu* (appeasement) office, *Anfu* (appeasement) office, *Zhaotao* (commanding) office, and *Zhangguan* (commander) office. Among them, all except for the officials in the highest rank of the *Xuanwei* office were appointed by the central government. Others were all local hereditary officials. The central government did not interfere with the areas managed by the local leader and did not levy taxes there. Nevertheless, the local leader had the obligation of paying tribute "once every three years or once a year." In return, the emperor would bestow upon the headmen rewards according to their different ranks. The successor to each headman had to be conferred by the central government. The records state that: "the successor must be conferred, although maybe he is thousands of miles away, he must return to the capital to accept the post" (*History of the Ming Dynasty: Story of Headmen, Preface – Mingshi: Tusi Zhuan*). Owing to this reinforcement of the central power, the numbers of areas where the Headmen System was established shrank greatly compared with the number of vassal states in the Tang Dynasty. Thus, the control over these regions was far more forceful.

In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the Headmen System continued. In the time of the Ming, there were 209 officials below the governor. In the Qing Dynasty, on account of the policy of shifting local officials into being floating officials, the number of the local headmen diminished. According to the statistics, there were 112 headmen in Yunnan, Sichuan, Guizhou, and Guangxi,[14] which was much fewer than that in Ming Dynasty.

In order to adapt to the system of vassal states and counties implemented among the ethnic minority groups, some articles about the ethnic minority groups were added to the laws of the Tang. For example, in the *Ranked First* section of the *Tang Code* (*Tang Lü: Mingli diyi*), there was an article that said "the conflict inside one ethnic group should be dealt with according to its tradition and custom. The conflict among different ethnic groups should be dealt with according to the law of the Tang government." Moreover, there were other articles related to ethnic minority groups, such as laws regarding worshipping, herding and marketing. When it came to the enforcement of laws, the headmen of ethnic groups were usually dealt with leniently. For instance, the Turkish Jieli Khan disturbed the frontier area many times with his troops. He ought to have been sentenced to death according to the law. But when he was captured and escorted to Chang'an, his death penalty was exempted and his "family returned, accommodated in the hotel and served well" (*New Book of Tang: Story of Turks, I – Xintangshu: Tujue Zhuan, shang*). Consequently, his subordinates were greatly appeased. Since then the Tang, Song, Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties all followed this policy.

When looking back to the vassal states policy implemented among Chinese frontier ethnic minority groups, despite the diversity in forms, the focus was always

[14]Wu Yongzhang, *History of Chinese Headman System and its Development* (Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House, 1998), p. 166.

on practicing autonomous or semiautonomous governance in order to adapt to the special socioeconomic and cultural conditions of the ethnic minority groups. They were never forced to conform entirely with Central China. The main objective was to enable the frontier ethnic minority groups to acknowledge the core status of the central government. The combination of the vassal states policy and central power system enabled all of the ethnic groups to develop their own economy and culture independently and to conveniently communicate with each other, in order to finally realize the integration and unification of the dynasty.

5.6 Process of Unification and National Integration

Since ancient times, China has been a country of multiple ethnic groups, and as early as 2,000 years ago, China was a unified multiethnic country. The Chinese territory, history, and culture were developed and created by the people of all these 56 ethnic groups and their ancestors in their history of thousands of years.

For example, the *Huaxia*[15] people first developed Shaanxi, Gansu, and the Central Plains area of the Yellow River Basin; the Dongyi people first developed the coastal area; the Miao and Yao people first developed the Yangtze River, the Zhujiang River, and the Minjiang River areas. The Tibetan and Qiang people first developed Qinghai and Tibet. The Yi and Bai people developed southwestern China; the Manchu, Sibe, Evenki, and Oroqen people developed Northeast China; the Huns, Turks, and Mongolians developed the Mongolian Prairie; the Li people developed Hainan Island; and the Gaoshan people first developed Taiwan.

With its long history, Chinese civilization flourished as a brilliant and outstanding blossom within the world. Its origin came about from the joint creation and invention of all these ethnic groups. For example, the Han people invented paper-making, printing, the compass, and gun powder; the Uyghur and Li people first discovered how to grow cotton and spin; the Hui Architect Yeheidie'erding (died 1312 AD) planned and designed the Yuan Capital (what is Beijing), laying the foundation for that city as a modern metropolitan area. Two great Buddhist classics from Tibet (*Bkah!-h!gyur* and *Bstan-h!gyur)* are treasures of Chinese culture; the phonetic characters of Mandarin were developed under the influence of the Mongolian language, and so on.

One can discern from the history that for thousands of years, the integration and unification of the Chinese people has been centered upon Central China. Central China gradually developed and expanded.

Early in the mythical era, some 4,000 to 5,000 years ago, the ancestors of different ethnic groups were living in eastern Asia. At that time, the Xia people (the ancestors of the Han ethnic group) lived in the Yellow River Basin, the Dongyi lived in the area between the Hui River and Taishan Mountains, the San Miao

[15] See Chap. 2 for further details.

lived in the south of the Yangtze River Basin, the Qiang people lived in Northwest China between the Yellow River and Huang River, and the Hunyu people lived on the Mongolian Plateau. Thus, from ancient times, the Xia (Han) people had close contacts with all these surrounding ethnic groups.

According to the written records, through the times of the Xia (twenty-first century to sixteenth century BC), the Shang (sixteenth century–eleventh century BC), the Zhou (eleventh century to 771 BC), the Spring and Autumn Period (771–476 BC), and the Warring States Period (476 BC–221 BC), communication among the ethnic groups continually grew closer. In the Yellow River Basin, there dwelt the Xia, Shang, and Zhou; in the east, there were the Yi group, the Sushen (the ancestors of the Manchu); in the northeast, north, and northwest, there were the Di (ancestors of Turks), Rong, and Qiang; and in the south, there were the Man and Yue. During this period of time, the Xia, Shang, and Zhou, by absorbing the characters from Yi, Qiang, Di, Miao, and Man, finally evolved as the *Huaxia* (meaning "civilized") people and established the early Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties in succession. The larger their territory expanded to be, the more ethnic groups were included.

During the time of the Qin and Han Dynasties (221 BC–220 AD), the *Huaxia* people absorbed more qualities from other ethnic groups and developed into the present-day Han people. The territory of the Han Dynasty stretched to the sea in the east, covering all of the ethnic groups in what is now Xinjiang in the west. It united the southern Huns and controlled Inner Mongolia in the south, and its government sections were set up over Wuling (present-day Fujian, Guangxi, and Guangdong) and finally reached down to Hainan Island.

Continuing until the time of Sui and Tang (581–907 AD), the territory of the central empire further expanded. The ethnic minority groups played an important role in the Sui and Tang Dynasties, as the officials from Xianbei accounted for a large proportion of the Sui Court. In the early Tang, nearly half of the high-ranking generals came from the Khitan, the Turks, Huihe, and Korea. Relying on the cavalrymen from the northern ethnic groups, the Tang held control of the area stretching from the Heilongjiang River and Lake Baikal in the north to Lake Balkhash and Mesopotamia in the west. All of the regions and ethnic groups highlighted on a current map of China, with the exception of Tibet, were integrated as part of the Tang Empire.

In the time of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD), the territory was even "larger than that of Han and Tang" and so was the population. By then all of the ethnic groups including the Tibetans were united under a central government. From then until the time of the Qing Dynasty, the unification was further reinforced.

For thousands of years, these processes of close communication, reunion, and unification among all the Chinese ethnic groups were also processes of a grand integration. After the continuous immigration, coexistence, intermarriage, and other forms of communication, all the ethnic groups had learned from each other's cultures, became mixed in blood, and thus developed a bond that is both multi-faceted yet inseparable. Consequently, the geographical boundaries among these ethnic groups have become indistinct, while the common culture and ideological characteristics of the Chinese people have finally taken shape.

The formation of the main body of Chinese people, the majority Han people, is the result of the integration of all Chinese ethnic groups. In the pre-Qin time, there existed five grand ethnic groups known as the Huaxia, Dongyi, Beidi, Xirong, and Baiyeu. It was said that the legendary ruler Shun came from Dongyi, and that Wenwang King of Zhou came from Xiyi (*Mencius, Li Lou II*). Therefore, Huaxia people developed from the integration of Yi and Xia. It has been verified that the chancellor of the State of Qi, Guanzhong, came from the Yi. In the time of the Spring and Autumn Period, the Di people scattered to the north of the Yellow River, and there are many records about the intermarriage between Di and Han people. For example, the mother of the king of the Jin Kingdom came from Di. Many Yue people settled down in the kingdoms of Wu and Yue. By the time Emperor Qin Shihuang united the whole country, the ethnic groups like the Yi, Di, Rong, and Yue had been integrated into the Huaxia people.

Since the Han Dynasty, especially when the ethnic minority groups took control of Central China, they would comprehensively integrate into the Han people. For example, in the late Western Jin Dynasty, the Xianbei, Jie, Di, Qiang, and Hun entered Central China by taking advantage of the turbulence and set up a couple of kingdoms, respectively, which is known as the "Five Barbarians and Sixteen Kingdoms" (*Wu Hu Shiliu Guo*) (303–439 AD). After more than 100 years, these ethnic minority groups were assimilated into the Han people.

After the kingdom of Jin was set up by Jurchen (1115–1234 AD) and controlled the Yellow River, millions of Jurchen people moved to Henan, where finally they were all assimilated by the Han. The Manchu, who originally lived in the northeast, moved to the south of Shanhai Pass after the foundation of the Qing Dynasty. By the end of the Qing, all of the Manchu had abandoned their language and used Chinese, and their social life also had little difference with the Han people.

Some of the ethnic minority groups, who entered Central China, actively learned from the Han people. These included Emperor Xiaowen of Beiwei (471–99 AD), who issued an order requiring all Xianbei people to learn the Chinese language, wear Han clothes, give themselves Han names, and promote marriage with Han people. These measures accelerated the integration of the Xianbei and the Han. However, some other ethnic minority groups opposed integration into the Han. For example, Emperor Shizong of Jin (reigned 1161–1689 AD) prescribed that "Jurchen are not allowed to have Han names and wear Han costumes, and the offenders will be punished for such a crime" (*History of the Jin Dynasty: Records of Emperor Shizong, II – Jinshi: Shizongji xia*). Emperor Qingtaizong (reigned over the Qing 1636–1643 AD) also issued the following orders, that "imitating Han people and giving up archery is prohibited" and the "hairstyles of the Han, foot-binding and Han costume are all heavy offenses of law" (the *Draft History of the Qing: Records of Emperor Taizong, II – Qingshigao: Taizongji er*). Intermarriage between Han people and Manchu people was also banned. The Manchus were not allowed to conduct business and farm and even blocked off the three provinces in the northeast against the Han people.

Nonetheless integration proved to be a trend through the historical development and progressive phenomenon, especially for those ethnic minority groups which

suffered lower levels of social economic development. Once they stepped into the Yellow River Basin, the cradle of Han Culture, they would be eventually absorbed into this enormous sea. Friedrich Engels said "the savage conquerors, under most conditions, have to adapt to the 'higher economic situation' after their invasion. They are assimilated by the conquered, and most of them have to adopt the language of the conquered people."[16] Every one of the ethnic minority groups who at some time or another invaded Central China had this same result.

The Mongolians in the Yuan Dynasty also followed suit. The Yuan rulers always implemented a strict policy of segregation. Therefore, some scholars asserted that "The Yuan government pursued Mongolianism, while Han culture and Han people were not respected."[17] But the fact is that, in 1233 AD, in order to meet the needs of ruling, Mongolian rulers set up a national school in Yenching for Mongolian children to learn Chinese. Kublai Khan even ordered his princes and the children of his close ministers to learn from the Confucian Classics, and all of the princes received a bilingual education. Some scholars have verified that the Imperial Examination had been conducted 16 times, some 1,139 presented scholars were selected, and among them there were more than 300 Mongolians.[18] Tens of thousands of Mongolians concentrated their energies into studying the Chinese Classics and sat the Imperial Examination.[19] The Yuan government also granted Confucius the title "King of Almighty and Ultimate Holiness" (*Da Cheng Zhi Sheng Wen Xuan Wang*); for Qu Yuan, "Saint of Loyalty and Purity" (*Zhong Jie Qing Lie Gong*); for Liu Zongyuan, "Saint of Wisdom" (*Wenhui Zhaolinggong*); and for Du Fu, "Saint of Literature" (*Wenzhen*). Therefore, one can easily see that the Yuan valued Confucianism very much. At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, many Mongolians changed their names into Han names and followed Chinese traditions. After the perdition of Yuan, the Mongolians had lost their superiority and were soon integrated into the Han people.

From the Han Dynasty onwards, many monks, businessmen, and military soldiers came to Central China. Scholars have made research on 130 peoples found in the written records. It has been verified that all of them eventually accepted the Chinese culture,[20] including the Turpan people, the Hetian people, the Kuche and Jimusaer people, and also the Uzbekistanis, the Arabians, and the Persians to the north of the Congling Mountains. In the ancient documents, there are records about hundreds of people who traveled to Central China from the Western Regions. For

[16] *Anti-Dühring, Selected Works of Karl Marx and Engels,* Vol. 3 (People's Publishing House, 1972), p. 223.

[17] Haneda, *Collection of Historical Articles by Dr. Haneda, History,* Vol. 1 (Kyoto: The Society of Oriental Researches, 1957), p. 670.

[18] See Chap. 6 for further details of the evolution of the Imperial Examination.

[19] Xiao Qiqing, *On Chinesization of Mongolians in Yuan Dynasty*; Peng Wei, *Science of History, Chinese Ancient History,* Vol. 2 (Lanzhou University Press, 2000).

[20] Chen Yuan, "Study on Chinesization of People in Western Regions," *Chinese Philosophy Quarterly,* No 4, Vol. 1, 1923; Y*enching Journa*l, 2nd edition, 1927.

example, in the time of Emperor Ling of Han (168–89 AD), there was a man named Fadu from Da Yuezhi who "led hundreds of people from his country to Central China." And in the Tang Dynasty, in the north of Liquan County, Yongzhou, "there was a mountain named Wensuling, because there was a group of Wensu people (nowadays Aksu in Xinjiang) who settled down there during the Han Dynasty" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Traditions of the West Regions, II – Hanshu: Xiyu Zhuan xia*). During the Tang Dynasty, the Yutian Kingdom even sent a troop of 5000 soldiers to Central China to help the Tang suppress the An-Shi Rebellion, but later there was no message about their return. It can be seen from the record that they were assimilated into the society of Central China. The General Yuchi Jingde (585–658 AD) in the Tang Dynasty originally came from Yutian, but for more than 1,000 years, he was still remembered as a door god (*men shen*) in Chinese folk art.[21]

For thousands of years, there have been many examples recording Chinese integration with ethnic minority groups. For example, Emperor Qin Shihuang sent 500,000 migrant people from Central China to Nanyue (nowadays Guangdong and Guangxi), and among them, many people were assimilated into the Yue people. At the end of the Sui Dynasty, during the war in Central China, many Han people escaped north or were captured and enslaved by the Mobei Turks. In the time of Tang, the emperor sent envoys to redeem them back with money and silk, and successively tens of thousands of people were redeemed. In addition, there are many records about businessmen and envoys from the Huihe, the Tubo, the Sute, and the Turks, who, when they arrived in Central China, got married with the local women. In 787 AD, the Tang government documented 4000 Hu people (businessmen from the western regions) who married with Han women (*Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government*, Volume 232, June, Second year of Zhenyuan). On top of that, there were Han people who were looted and conquered by the ethnic minority groups and were thus assimilated by them.

5.7 Several Issues About Ethnic Relations

Unification and disintegration is the primary issue of ethnic relations.

It has been said that since ancient times, China was a unified multiethnic country. This is simply a general and sweeping conclusion. Throughout its long history, this unified multiethnic country has continued on unchanged. Her unification and territory have developed over a long process.

[21] A door god is an image traditionally hung on by a doorway to prevent evil spirits from entering the household. The likeness of Yuchi Jingde is usually displayed by a double outer door, opposite that of Qin Shubao (d. 638 AD), another loyal general to Emperor Taizong. A single door may be guarded by a picture of the Tang Chancellor Wei Zheng (580–643 AD) or Zhong Kui, the mythical figure who was said to have 80,000 demons at his command.

Firstly, Chinese unification was consolidated and extended gradually. The earliest nation in Chinese history was the Xia Dynasty in the twenty-first century BC; its territory included nowadays Henan, Shanxi, and Shaanxi. In the time of the Tang Dynasty, its dominance stretched from the Heilongjiang River and Lake Baikal in the north to Lake Balkhash and Mesopotamia in the west. From the time of the Yuan Dynasty onwards, all the areas including Tibet and all ethnic groups were unified under one central government.

Secondly, through thousands of years of Chinese history, unification has always been the trend. The civilizations of China have disintegrated many times through history, and sometimes it was even split up into several smaller kingdoms and local regimes. However, the periods of unification far exceed in length the times of disintegration, and unification was the mainstream phenomenon in Chinese history. In the communications among the different ethnic groups, many wars occurred, but peaceful relations were always the main theme. What was the reason for this? It is because nearly all of the ethnic groups expected unification. The Han people have made great efforts throughout history to make it a reality, as have the other ethnic groups like the Huns, Turks, Xianbei (Bei Wei regime), Di (Qianqin regime), Khitan (Liao), Mongolian (Yuan), and Jurchen (Jin and Qing dynasties). This is one of the primary reasons why China is traditionally a unified and multiethnic country. Among these ethnic groups, the Han Chinese, the Mongolians, and the Manchus have made especially great contributions to this unification process.

Thirdly, Chinese territory in history has not only included the central monarchy and other territories controlled by some ethnic regimes but also the area and territories dominated by some local regimes. All of the ethnic groups, no matter whether they were under the control of the central government or they set up their own independent government, no matter whether they existed in a time of unification or disintegration, were all considered Chinese ethnic groups. This includes the Huns in pre-Qin times, the Turks in the Tang Dynasty, the Western Liao (1125–1211 AD) founded by Khitan, and the Kara Khan (840–1211 AD) founded by the Huihe. The governments they established all belonged to regimes of different groups. Still, in the times of disintegration, these different regimes were considered as a foreign country. But if one takes a look at the long-term history, this disintegration is just temporary. Their historical relations are the relations among different groups, the relations of different regimes, but not the relations between China and other foreign countries. Their histories are all an important part of Chinese history.

What viewpoints we should take about the contribution of different ethnic groups is also an important issue of ethnic relations.

In a class society, the relations among different classes are not equal, and the relations among different regimes are also unequal. These unequal relations have filled up the world history and Chinese history as well. But one must analyze these ethnic relations with the principle of "all ethnic groups are all equal."

Chinese unification and territory and Chinese history and culture were created and developed by all Chinese people. Chinese history is the sum of the history of all ethnic groups in Chinese territory. When observing and analyzing the historical activities of different ethnic groups, one must follow the principle that all ethnic

groups are equal. This refers to the equal rights of all people. As a historic issue, one should adopt the same measure and standard to evaluate the historic activities. But this does not mean that all ethnic groups have made equal contributions in the history.

In Chinese history, when Central China stepped into the era of the developed feudal society, some ethnic minority groups in frontier areas were still stagnated as societies which practiced serfdom, and there were areas which even had slaves or existed around the clan unit. Due to differences of location, development, and population, their functions and contributions were definitely varied. Among them, the majority Han people always played a dominant role.

The Han people's dominant role in history lies not only in their being the largest in terms of population but most importantly in their advanced productivity and their developed economy and culture. This remained unchanged even when the Han were conquered by other people. Marx said "the barbarian conquerors are always conquered by the higher level civilization of the conquered people, which is an eternal law of history."[22] In Chinese history, the Han people were conquered successively by the Xianbei (Beiwei), the Khitan (Liao), the Jurchen (Jin), the Mongolians (Yuan), and the Manchus (Qing). Before these groups invaded Central China, their development remained at the lower level compared with that of Central China. Therefore, when they entered Central China, they were unable to change the existing production and culture, rather they were assimilated by the more advanced Han culture. A prominent historian Jian Bozan has said: "I think even during the time when half of China was controlled by Xianbei, Khitan and Jurchen, and when the whole of China was ruled by Mongolians and Manchus, the Han people still played a dominant role in Chinese history."[23]

How to correctly evaluate the ethnic wars and ethnic heroes is also an important section of this ethnic relations study.

There were many wars which occurred among the different ethnic groups in Chinese history. War is unquestionably an important phenomenon in ethnic relations. Even so, it should be clear that over thousands of years, the dominant mode of relations among the ethnic groups was peaceful coexistence and normal exchange in economy, culture, and politics. Historians in ancient times, owing to their parochial nationalism, often overemphasized ethnic wars but neglected to record normal daily life and communication, as well as its significance to the gradual integration and unification among ethnic groups. In fact, the time of peaceful coexistence was far longer than that of wars. Historically, war has always been a second choice to peace, at least among the common people. When it was impossible to maintain the peace because of the ethnic conflict, war broke out.

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[22] *The Future Results of British Rule in India*, *Selected Works of Karl Marx and Engels,* Vol. 2 (People's Publishing House, 1972), p. 90.

[23] Jian Bozan, *Selected Articles on History by Jian Bozan* (People's Publishing House, 1980), p. 114.

Although the wars among different ethnic groups in Chinese history could be considered as civil wars, their characters varied. There are certainly distinctions between just and unjust wars, invasion and anti-invasion, oppression and resistance, conquest and resisting conquest, unification and disintegration. How to evaluate and distinguish the characters of wars is an important and complicated issue. When one is evaluating these wars, first, it is important to try to abandon the biases of parochial nationalism. One should neither stand on the ground of Han chauvinism nor the ground of any ethnic minority group, but on the unbiased perspective of a unified multiethnic country.

To judge the character of a war, first one should know who launched the war, for what reason, and what exactly brought about that policy. Ethnic wars are usually the outcome of the class society, because these wars were either launched by the ruling class of each ethnic group or stimulated by the oppression and exploitation policy of the ruling class. In order to control more lands and people and gain more wealth, the ruling class of each ethnic group often waged the wars against other people.

For example, when the nomadic groups like the Huns, Xianbei, and Turks launched wars against Central China and the Western Regions, Emperor Wu of Han embarked upon a punitive expedition against Dayuan (nowadays Uzbekistan). The Jin launched a war against the Southern Song, and the Mongolians began a war to conquer Central China, Western Asia, and Europe; these wars were all unjust and invasive wars. By contrast, the defensive actions of ethnic groups, regions, and countries which found themselves under attack were the just wars of resistance staged to safeguard their homes and people.

In history, some leaders of the frontier ethnic minority groups, in order to protect the privilege of the ruling class for exploiting the people, often opposed the unification and launched the war of disintegration even with the support from the foreign power; these wars were definitely reactionary wars. The wars against these powers should be considered just wars, in accordance with the interests of the local people, and also beneficial to the unification.

Although the purpose of the wars launched by the ruling class was to expand their privilege, there were some wars whose results and objective effects were not identical with the ruling class who waged the war. Lenin said "there were such wars in history, although they brought disasters, violence, catastrophes and agony like any other wars, that could still be called progressive wars, that is to say, these wars are conducive for the human development, for destroying the reactionary systems (like an autocratic or serfdom system), and destroying the most savage autocratic system (such as in Turkey and Russia)."[24] Some ethnic wars in Chinese history also destroyed the reactionary system and promoted the unification and integration.

Many outstanding leaders emerged from the ethnic wars in the history and were also beloved by the local people. Some of them united the scattered tribes into a unified nation through the war, which promoted the development of its group, such as the Mongolian Genghis Khan (reigned 1206–27 AD) and the Manchu Nurhaci

[24] *Socialism and War, The Collected Works of Lenin,* Vol. 21 (People's Publishing House, 1956).

(reigned 1616–26 AD). Some of them resisted the offense from other ethnic groups in the anti-invasion wars and protected their homeland and properties for the local people, such as Yue Fei (1103–42 AD) and Yu Qian (1398–1457 AD) of the Han. They are all considered the heroes of their people.

In Chinese history, there have been other heroic figures who made great contributions in resisting the invaders and protecting the Chinese nation, such as Qi Jiguang (1528–88 AD), who fought against Japanese invaders during the Ming Dynasty; Zheng Chenggong (or "Koxinga") (1624–62 AD), who recovered the lost Taiwan from Dutch invaders during the Ming Dynasty; and Lin Zexu (1785–1850) during the Opium Wars. They are considered heroes by members of all Chinese ethnic groups and are beloved by the Chinese people as a whole.

The national heroes mentioned above, their bravery, wisdom, and bold spirits are engraved in Chinese history and inspire Chinese people of all ethnic groups to strive on.

Questions

1. Why do we say that China has been a multiethnic country throughout its long history?
2. Why do we say that unification is the mainstream trend in Chinese history?
3. From the perspective of world history, what are the features of Chinese ethnic relations?

Reference

Jian Bozan. (1980). *Selected articles on history by Jian Bozan*. Beijing: People's Publishing House.

Chapter 6
The Systems of Politics, Law, and Selecting Officials in Ancient China

With the development of society in ancient China, there came into existence complete systems of politics, law, and selecting officials. Even the source of this system was enormously different from those of Western civilizations. During the process of evolution from a primitive society to a class-based society, a system of patriarchal politics came into being in the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties, known as the Three Dynasties (*San Dai*) which still bore most of the features of tribal rule. After more than 1,000 years in gestation, a political system with a centralized authority was born in the Warring States Period. With the founding of the monarchical feudal states of the Qin Dynasty and the Han Dynasty, Chinese society began to be ruled by a system of bureaucratic politics which operated on behalf of the absolute monarchy. This type of government endured until the end of the Qing Dynasty. Bureaucratic politics improved gradually through the course of successive dynasties until Western civilization posed a challenge to it during the late Qing Dynasty.

In the Three Dynasties, the rule of rites (*Li*) began to form the core of the political system. According to this, rites and punishments were both implemented to govern society. The punishments became the main body of the laws in the Warring States Period. The tight and ruthless criminal code, known as the *Qin Law* (*Qin Lü*), was laid out in the Qin Dynasty. After the Han Dynasty, the emperors would establish their absolute authority in the first instance. In the second instance, they would consolidate their reigns by standardizing the criteria for rites and morality for their own sake. It was through the blending of the rule of rites with the rule of punishments that the Chinese legal system emerged. The representative statutes of the historical Chinese legal system are the *Nine Chapters Code* (*Jiu Zhang Lü*) from the Han Dynasty, the *Tang Code* (*Tang Lü Shu Yi*) from the Tang Dynasty, and the *Grand Qing Code* (*Da Qing Lü Li*) from the Qing Dynasty.

The system of selecting officials was a distinctive part of the ancient Chinese bureaucratic system. The Chinese system of selecting officials evolved through

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several stages which included the recommendation system in the Han Dynasty, the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system for selecting officials in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, the Southern and Northern Dynasties, and the Imperial Examination in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. By the Qing Dynasty, the Imperial Examination had developed into a format in which an eight-legged essay (*ba gu wen*) with a rigid form and meaningless content had to be composed by candidates in order to pass the examination. The Imperial Examination functioned influentially as an avenue by which commoners could access high society and provided the guarantee of a stable society within the Chinese political system.

6.1 Patriarchal Consanguinity and the System of State (the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties to the Spring and Autumn Period)

The earliest states of ancient China developed on the base of primitive society, whereby ties of blood and affinity were the essential social relationships. This kind of social construction mostly remained in place after the emergence of political states. Therefore, the earliest states in ancient China (the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties) derived from tribal states whose politics, laws, and system of selecting official were replete with tribal characteristics. The Western Zhou Dynasty maintained a typical system of patriarchal consanguinity in which the enfeoffment system formed the basic mode of governance, and awarding hereditary titles and salaries formed the basic method of selecting officials.

Extant historical resources reveal less information about the Xia Dynasty (twenty-first century–sixteenth century BC) but demonstrate that a mature system of consanguinity had developed in the Shang Dynasty (sixteenth century–eleventh century BC) and had reached its peak in the Western Zhou Dynasty (1046–771 BC). The system of consanguinity was a tribal political system by which the social classes were divided. It was founded on the basis of blood relationship and affinity. The structure of society in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties was known as a "bond of relatives and nobility" (*Qingui heyi*). The political power and clan power were combined into one authority with the nobility forming its executive. The social classes consisted of the great clans and the small clans – the so-called the system of *Zhao Mu*.[1] The highest governor was called the "king" (*Wang*). Beneath him, those with political status were divided into seigniors (*Zhu Hou*), lords (*Shi Da Fu*), and commoners in descending order. The masses, who did not belong to a clan, were called "barbarians" (*Yeren*).

The Shang and Zhou Dynasties established a system of enfeoffment with the purpose of governance. According to the historical records, there were more than

[1] See Zhang Guanzhi, *The Bronze Age of China* (SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1983).

3,000 "states" (*Guo*) at the beginning of the Shang Dynasty and more than 1,800 "states" in the earlier part of the Zhou Dynasty. In contrast to modern states, the states in these two dynasties were actually polis in which the governors reigned over the city directly. The kings' jurisdiction did not extend very far. As Mencius said, "the King of Tang City owns seventy *li*, and the King of Wen Wang owns one hundred *li*." [2] These states did not in fact extend beyond their "capitals." The surrounding fields were called *Ye* or *Bi* ("countryside") and were where the slaves worked. The sovereignty for the wider countryside beyond the jurisdiction of the king was held by the seigniors according to the enfeoffment system. For example, the King of Shang enfeoffed the tribe of Ji Zhou, whose head was called Xi Bo, to govern the Wei Shui river valley. The saying "magnificent seigniors was setting up by enfeoffment in order to protect the State of Zhou" indicates how the system of enfeoffment in the Western Zhou Dynasty had been developed. Historical records state that the King of Zhou set up the 71 states as the political structure of the Western Zhou Dynasty. Of these states, 53 were governed by the tribes of Ji. Noble titles were conferred to seigniors through a special ceremony which represented the corresponding honor. Meanwhile, the titled seigniors had to shoulder the obligation to yield supplies and regularly show their presence at the Court. The seigniors were supposed to fight for the king and to involve themselves in particular rites such as sacrifices, celebrations, and funerals. The King of Zhou had the power to arbitrate in disputes or conflicts between seigniors and to punish or launch punitive expeditions.

In tandem with enfeoffment, the hereditary system (*Shi Qin Shi Lu*) was the basic method for selecting officials in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties. In contrast with the professional officials in modern society, the governors of the states in the Three Dynasties came from noble families. For example, in the Zhou Dynasty, the title of "king" was inherited by the monarch's eldest son, a senior peer of the realm; other sons would be authorized to set up princely "great states" (*zhu hou guo*) and receive the titles of duke (*gong*), marquess (*hou*), earl (*bo*), vicomte (*zi*), and baron (*nan*), respectively. The "great states" were inherited by the monarch's eldest son as well. Other sons were authorized to set up feoffs (*Jia Yi*) and to bestow lordships. Lordships were also inherited by the father's eldest son, and other sons were authorized to own the land and keep the title *Shi*. The *Shi* were inherited by the eldest son and other sons would be commoners (*Guo Ren*). Anybody outside the bribe would be enfeoffed according to the distance of the relationship of affinity with the tribe. The hereditary system was substantially different from the system of selecting officials according to their perceived virtue and quality, which came to be applied later on in China. The hereditary system provided a means by which the inheritable positions in government would be held by the nobles, corresponding to their inherited status ranging from the duke down to *Shi*.

Several individual cases of officials being selected according to virtue and quality – flying in the face of the whole hereditary system – occurred in the era of the Three Dynasties. King Tang of Shang, for instance, appointed Yi Wu to

[2] *Li* is an ancient unit for measuring length in China. One *Li* is now about half a kilometer.

a very important position in his government. King Wuding of Shang, who as the twenty-third King of Shang revived the state to begin a thriving period, promoted Fu Yue. King Wen of Zhou appointed Jiang Shang as prime minister. He would go onto become the most meritorious minister from the Zhou Dynasty.[3] These occasional examples of appointment by virtue and quality still could not break the basic principle of the hereditary system.

During the Three Dynasties, the officials who were in charge of local civil services were selected or recommended directly by the villagers (*Xiangju Lixuan*).

The legal system of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou consisted of two parts: rites (*Li*) and punishments (*Xing*). The mature rites system came into being during the Three Dynasties, specifically in the Zhou. The rites system provided a very useful standard by which the social classes were ranked and thereby the nobles were protected by the governance of the dynasties. The convention whereby the system of punishments constituted the core of criminal law was formed during the same period. However, the rites and punishments, which had functioned separately to one another, were mixed into one system at that time. Rites were used to adjust the internal relationships between the nobility, while punishments were used to control the lower-working classes; as it was said: "Punishments would not be implemented up to the Lords; Rites would not be implemented down to the commoners." There were Five Rites and Five Punishments in the historical records of the Western Zhou Dynasty – far more than in the Xia and Shang Dynasties. In those eras, only the *Punishments of Yu* (*Yu Xing*) in the Xia Dynasty and the *Punishments of Tang* (*Tang Xing*) in the Shang Dynasty were written down. According to historical records, the Five Rites includes the Rite for feting Heaven (*Tian*) and Earth (*Di*) (known collectively as *Ji Li*), the Funerary Rite (*Xiong Li*), the Rite for Events of International Communication (*Bin Li*), the Rite for Military Events (*Jun Li*), and the Rite for Coronations and Royal Weddings (*Jia Li*). The Five Punishments included the tattooing of the face (*Mo Xing*), the cutting off of the nose (*Bi Xing*), the cutting off of the feet (*Yue Xing*), the cutting off of the genitals (*Gong Xing*), and death by severing the body at the waist (*Da Pi*). More than 3,000 sub-provisions for the Five Punishments were recorded. One piece of evidence which records the punishments of the Western Zhou is an image cast on an ancient cooking vessel with tripods. This depicts a slave as gatekeeper being executed by having his feet cut off. The artifact was unearthed in Fufeng, Shaanxi Province, in 1976 and is housed in the Shaanxi History Museum.

Despite the organized appearance of the enfeoffment system, the control exercised by kings over the dukes of princely "great states" and likewise the control exercised by the dukes over the lords of Jia Yi dwindled as time went on. The balance between the "great states" had been broken, with some weak states rising

[3]The story of *Tu Bu Wo Fa* tells that Duke Zhou, the son of King Wen of Zhou, showed his respects to the ethical and capable Jiang Shang by stopping eating immediately even spitting the food out he had ate or stopping washing his hair even it was still soggy if Jiang Shang needed to meet up with him.

up, while some strong states fell down. This is exemplified by a phrase in *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*): "a mountain goes down to valley, while a valley up straight to a mountain." During the Spring and Autumn Period (772–479 BC), the powerful feudal lords had launched wars to achieve hegemony by holding the King of Zhou hostage and acting in his name. The changes in social life shook the foundations of the political and legal system. From then on, the old ritual system began to fall into decline.

While the Zhou Royal Court sank into a weak state in the Spring and Autumn Period, several large princely "great states" started to launch wars and hold rituals by themselves without the authorization of the King of Zhou (the so-called "Son of Heaven"). According to the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), various feudal states had given their homage 33 times to the three princely "great states" of the Qi, Chu, and Qin, rather than to the King of Zhou, who they honored only three times. In the "great states," some powerful lords controlled the regime – for example, Lord Tian of Qi and Lords Han, Zhao, and Wei of Jin. In the late Spring and Autumn Period, the legal system had reached a turning point – provisions of punishments changed into a systematic code, which came to be recorded on two occasions: the State of Zhen had the penal code prepared by Zi Chan inscribed onto bamboo tablets (536 BC); the State of Jin had the penal code prepared by Zhao Yang inscribed onto tripods (513 BC). In respect to selecting officials, the appointment of capable and talented people emerged as a trend in the Spring and Autumn Period. For example, following the advice of Pao Shuya, Duke Huan of Qi appointed Guan Zhong who had tried to shoot him to death during the unstable political situation prior to his coronation. Guan Zhong had been appointed prime minister to take charge of the important affairs of state and the military. During his tenure, the State of Qi became a very significant and strong eastern hegemony. Another example is Duke Wen of Jin who while he was in exile for 19 years assembled a long tried and tested group of assistants around him. This group helped him to realize his dream of hegemony. Duke Mu of Qin was known for being adept at selecting officials and was not limited to one type. His recruitment of all kinds of capable people was one critical factor which helped him to establish his hegemony in western China. To give several examples of this, Pi Bao came from an enemy state, You Yu came from an ethnic minority group, and the slave Bai Lixi was exchanged for five pieces of goat skin. The State of Chu became the strongest hegemony in the Central Plains when Duke Zhuang of Chu extended his dominion to the Yellow River with the assistance of a commoner, Sun Shuao. Wu Zixü who was exiled from the State of Chu was appointed as a minister by Duke Helü of Wu and assisted the latter in the destruction of the State of Chu. With the purpose of seeking revenge, Duke Gou Jian of Yue slept on the brushwood and tasted the gall by which he endured hardships to accomplish his ambition to crack down on the State of Wu. He did this with the assistance of his Ministers Fan Zhi and Wen Zhong. During the whole Spring and Autumn Period, stories of talented people being appointed became widespread among all the kinds of historical records. However, the methods by which officials were selected and appointed on the basis of their moral and capable features were

a part of rule of men. This was likened by Bo Le to judging horses.[4] Although this posed a challenge to the hereditary system, it was not to form a new institutionalized system of selecting officials.

6.2 The Naissance of the Central Authority and the Absolute Monarchy (the Warring States Period and the Qin and Han Dynasties)

By the time ancient China entered the Warring States Period (475–221 BC), the regional central authority – an unprecedented regime – had hatched out from the enfeoffment system. The extensive political reforms that took place in the seven most powerful states – the Seven States (*Zhan Guo Qi Xiong*) – led to the transition between the two political systems.

A significant transition which occurred during the Warring States Period was that the enfeoffment system was replaced by the provinces and counties at local government level. During the Spring and Autumn Period, the powerful states such as Qin and Chu set up a new administrative system of provinces and counties in each of the places they conquered through wars of annexation. In general, counties were based in the center of the state, while provinces were based in the outlying areas. The governorships of the provinces and counties were no longer hereditary positions. Rather governors were appointed and dismissed directly by the kings or lords. These governors in the provinces and counties comprised the first bureaucracy in Chinese history. The replacement of the enfeoffment system with the system of provinces and counties impacted upon ancient Chinese society in two ways: first of all, in terms of regime, early tribal states were succeeded by geographical states as relationships of blood were replaced by geographical relationships in ancient Chinese society; secondly, in terms of administration, aristocratic politics was transformed into bureaucratic politics as the hereditary seigniors were replaced by professional bureaucrats.

Another significant transition in Chinese society occurred during the Warring States Period: the regional central authority started to emerge. For example, in the State of Qin several dukes, such as Xiao (in power 361–38 BC) and Yinzheng (in power 246–210 BC) strengthened their authority and exerted their control over the scholar bureaucrats. On this foundation, an aristocratic empire started to be established.

In order to satisfy the demand for more than one new type of official, the system of Military Exploits (*Jun Gong Zhi*) and Maintaining Scholars (*Yang Shi Zhi*) were introduced in the Warring States Period as the new methods for selecting officials.

[4] In Chinese legend, Bo Le was skilled in selecting fine horses.

According to the system of Military Exploits, government posts and lands were assigned to soldiers based upon their military successes. The Marquess Wen of Wei (d. 396 BC) appointed Li Kui to take charge of legal reform in the State of Wei. They introduced the standard of "grant[ing] supplies and salary according to the military merits" (*Garden of Stories: Principles of Politics – Shuo yuan: Zheng li*).[5] Lord Zhao Wang of Yan announced that the positions and salaries were "not rewards for someone whom the governors were fond of or have blood relationships with, [they recognize nothing] other than their exploits or capacity" (*Strategies of the Warring States: Strategies of Yan 2 – Zhan guo ce, Yan ce er*). Lord Shang Yang, who initiated political reform in the State of Qin, clarified that "the members of the royal clan could not be ranked in the royal family unless they achieved battlefield successes" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biography of Lord Shang – Shiji: Shang jun liezhuan*). The State of Qin implemented thoroughly this principle. As Lord Shang said: "there was no exception from the standard of official ranking and titular honors coming from military merits" (*The Book of Lord Shang: Rewards and Punishment – Shang jun shu: Shang fa*). The system of Military Exploits included detailed provisions for the methods of promotion and standards by which to assess and rank officials.

The system of Maintaining Scholars referred to how high-ranking officials employed a group of capable and skilled persons – the so-called *Shi* – as their prime ministers, who would assist them in their pursuit of hegemony. These capable persons became a distinct social group and the main source of professional high-ranking officials who were able to have influence over the hegemonic policy. "Four lords" (*Jun Zi*) became well known and were praised by Jia Yi in his famous work *An Analysis of the Downfall of Qin Dynasty* (*Guo Qin Lun*): Lord Meng Chang of Qi, Lord Ping Yuan of Zhao, Lord Chun Shen of Chu, and Lord Xin Ling of Wei. They embraced all the virtues that a worthy minister was supposed to possess: intelligence, loyalty, kindness, and respect to the king and other gentlemen. The prime minister of Qin, Lü Buwei, employed more than 1,000 scholars, among whom Li Si was the most illustrious and later became the influential minister within the Qin Dynasty. In some states, the authority established a special institution to employ scholars. The *Ji Xia* Academy (*Ji Xia Xue Gong*) organized by the State of Qi was the most famous of these.

Owing to the challenge of the system of Military Exploits and the system of Maintaining Scholars in the Warring States Period, the hereditary system had been broken down. Compared to the case-by-case method of selecting officials by virtue and capacity in the Spring and Autumn Period, these two systems of selecting officials depended on systemic competitions instead of the "finding a fine horse" by chance approach. A so-called "wise lord would not choose his ministers and reward them by laws instead of his discretion." The system of Military Exploits made no significant impact upon the improvement of the competency of the states

[5]This was a collection of anecdotes compiled and annotated by Liu Xiang (77–6 BC), a Confucian scholar and relative of Liu Bang (later Emperor Gaozu), the founder of the Han Dynasty.

and their military might. When Xunzi (*c*. 312–230 BC) compared the military forces of the various states in the *Chapter of Military* (*Yi Bin*), he said that "the technique of Qi in weaponry could not compare with the mighty soldiers of Wei who were, however, less fierce than the warriors of Qin." The mightier the military was, the more thoroughly they implemented the system of Military Exploits. The thorough implementation of the system of Military Exploits is the reason why the Qin army enjoyed the reputation of being an army of tigers and lions and why the effective organization and administration of the Qin distinguished it among the Seven States. The system of Maintaining Scholars broke down totally the patriarchal consanguinity because it introduced a class of bureaucratic scholars in spite of the former strict patriarchal relationships and these men frequently served foreign states. The latter situation is reflected in a Chinese saying which goes "serve the Qin in the morning, serve the Chu in the evening." However, the "exploits" in the system of Military Exploits and the quality that administrative positions require were unlikely to be the same thing. The system of Maintaining Scholars easily engendered influential groups. Therefore, these two systems fell out of use from the beginning of the unified China.

Going with the tide of absolute monarchy, Legalism was broadly implemented in the three states in the area of Jin (Zhao, Wei, and Han) and Qin in which the punishment-oriented written legal systems had been formed. One example was the *Book of Law* in six chapters (*Fa Jing*)[6] written by the minister of Wei, Li Kui (455–395 BC). Based on the principles of the *Book of Law*, the Legalist Shang Yang codified the provisions for punishment into an enforceable code and laid out a political policy of "educating by the laws, teaching by the officials" (*Yi Fa Wei Jiao, Yi Li Wei Shi*). From then on, the Qin continued to add new provisions to the laws, making them into among the most ruthless and tightest codes in the Chinese history.

Having conquered all of China, the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC) was the first unified imperial dynasty. Its founding emperor, King Yinzheng of Qin styled himself as *Shihuang Di* – the "First Emperor of Qin." The title of "emperor" was adopted by the rulers of the Han Dynasty and continued to be used in China for 2,000 years. Since the Qin and Han Dynasties, imperialism had been the core position of the ancient Chinese political system.

In order to deify the emperors, the Qin and Han Dynasties formulated a special series of names for the monarch's everyday particulars, such as food, clothing, housing, and travel. Cai Yong, a scholar in the Eastern Han Dynasty, described in his *Du Duan on Ceremonial* that an emperor called himself *Zhen*, he was called *Bi Xia* by his officials and by commoners, and his words were known as *Zhi Zhao*. The records written by Official Historians were called *Shang*; the emperor's clothing,

[6]The six chapters of the *Book of Law* include the laws on burglary (*Dao*), battery (*Zei*), prison (*Qiu*), investigation (*Pu*), comprehensive statutes on a series of wrongdoings (*Za*), and enforcement (*Ju*). The *Book of Law* is regarded as the first code in feudal China, and it signifies that the system of the punishments was codified completely in Chinese history, while the penal codes being inscribed on the bamboo slips in the Spring and Autumn Period signify the beginning of this procedure of codification.

horse and carriage, and other accoutrements were known as *Cheng Yu*; the place where he stayed was called *Xing Zai Suo*; the place where he lived was called *Jin Zhong*; the empress was titled *Sheng Zhong*; the place where he went was called *Xing*; and the food he ate was called *Yu*. The emperor's orders were named in one of four ways: *Ce Shu*, *Zhi Shu*, *Zhao Shu*, and *Jie Shu*.[7] From the Han Dynasty, every emperor possessed their own temple name, posthumous name, and era name. In terms of the temple name, the suffix *Zu* implies the founder of a dynasty and *Zong* is used in all other emperors. Less elaborate accomplishment characters were used for the posthumous name of an emperor, for instance, Wen, Wu, Ming, Zhuang, and so on. Emperor Wu of Han (141–87 BC) is regarded as being the First Emperor to declare an era name which had a literary meaning or which reflected characteristics of the political landscape at the time, such as Jian Yuan, Yuan Ding, Jian Wu, Yong Ping, and so on.[8] In modern times, the emperors of the Han and Jin Dynasties have been referred to by their posthumous names, for example, Emperor Wen of Han (180–157 BC), Emperor Yuan of Han (48–33 BC), and Emperor Wu of Jin (265–90 AD); the emperors in Tang and Song Dynasties are known by their temple name, for example, Emperor Gaozu of Tang (618–26 AD), Emperor Taizong of Tang (626–49 AD), and Emperor Renzong of Song (1022–63 AD); and the emperors of the Ming and Qing Dynasties are known by their era name, for example, Emperor Hongwu of Ming (1368–98 AD),[9] Emperor Yongle of Ming (1402–24 AD), and Emperor Kangxi of Qing (1661–1722).

With the purpose of guaranteeing succession, the rulers of the Han Dynasty set up a system of crown princes after having learned their lessons from Qin Shihuang. At the time of his sudden death, Qin Shihuang had not anointed his eldest son Fu Su, and this discrepancy enabled his eunuch Zhao Gao to persuade the emperor's youngest son, Hu Hai, to falsify the emperor's will. From then on, the crowned prince was called the "root of state" (*Guo Ben*). The main principle of the crown prince was that "the empress's eldest son would be crowned even though he was not the eldest or virtuous son of the emperor." In the Han Dynasty, when an emperor was too young to handle the state affairs, the dowager empress (*Tai Hou*) would hold Court. Hence, the conflict between the dowager empress and the emperor became the lurking peril. The dowager empress's holding court enabled her consort clans to control the state affairs, while the emperor only obtained the support from the eunuchs who readily had the opportunity to be close to the emperor. Reflecting

[7] *Ce Shu* was the special documents by which the emperors appointed important high officials; *Zhi Shu* refereed to the documents that the emperors enacted the laws or other regulations; *Zhao Shu* is the public documents issued to the commoners; and *Jie Shu* was issued specially to the high officials as a kind of warning.

[8] Jian Yuan and Yuan Ding mean the beginning of an era of reign; the name of Jian Wu reflects that the military of the state was the most important factor to build the reign; Yong Ping refers to a peaceful period of reign.

[9] Actually, the Chinese also refer to Hongwu as Emperor Taizu of Ming or by his personal name Zhu Yuanzhang.

the conflict between the emperor and the dowager empress, the reigns of dowager empresses' consort clans were marked by the intervention of eunuchs in politics.

The place that emperor lived and worked was called the Forbidden Court (*Gong Jin*, or *Gong Sheng*); the offices of the Three Councilors and the Nine Ministers (*San Gong Jiu Qin*) were based outside of the Forbidden Court, in the so-called *Fu Si*. Thus, on behalf of the formal central government, the Three Councilors and the Nine Ministers were called the "outside court." For the convenience to the emperors, there were several offices in the Forbidden Court, called *Tai Ge*, among which the Secretary Chancery (*Shang Shu Tai*) and Historiographer (*Lan Tai*) were the two most famous. In addition, an emperor was able to entitle the officials whom he trusted in the outside court and let them deal with state affairs in the Forbidden Court. The kind of titles bestowed included *Shi Zhong*, *Zhong Chang Shi,* and *Gei Shi Zhong*. Despite the fact that it was initially a flexible and informal arrangement, the additional entitled *Tai Ge* gradually became the powerful group of policymakers. These were called *Zhong Chao*, because they were close to the emperors. As the formal cabinet, the Three Councilors and the Nine Ministers were based far away from the emperors, and their roles thereby evolved according to the administrative institutions. This structure, with its competing interests of the Forbidden Court and the "outside court," had an important impact upon subsequent Chinese regimes. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, the Secretary Chancery replaced the former office of chancellor and was placed in charge of administration; the Imperial Supervising Institution (*Yu Shi Tai*) took the place of the previous Supervising Institution (*Yu Shi Da Fu Fu*) and was in charge of censorship. The Grand Commandant (*Si Li Xiao Wei*) was chiefly in charge of the military and shared many of the same censorial powers with the head of Secretary Chancery (*Shang Shu Ling*) and the Imperial Supervising Censors (*Yu Shi Zhong Cheng*). These three posts were the most important roles in the central government – the so-called Three *Du Zuo* (*San Du Zuo*).

In terms of local government, in the Qin Dynasty and the Western Han Dynasty, the whole empire was divided into two political units: the prefecture (*Jun*) and county (*Xian*), in order of size. The province (*zhou*), as a higher level above the prefecture and county, was added into the structure of the empire in the Eastern Han Dynasty. The provinces were headed by inspectors (*Ci Shi*); the head of a prefecture was called a prefect (*Tai Shou*), and the head of a county was named magistrate (*Xian Ling*). At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, some kingdoms were granted to nonrelatives in return for their services to the emperor. Later the conflict between the kingdoms and the central government of the empire became serious, finally causing the insurrection of the seven kingdoms. After cracking down on the insurrection of the seven kingdoms,[10] the kings' powers were removed to the officials appointed

[10]The insurrection of the seven kingdoms took place in 154 BC against the Han Dynasty to resist the emperor's attempt to further centralize the government. During the reign of Emperor Wen of Han, these kingdoms were still setting their own laws, but in addition they were minting their own coins (albeit with Emperor Wen's approval) and collecting their own taxes. Many princes were effectively ignoring the imperial government's authority within their own principalities. Emperor

directly by the central government, called *Xiang* who were responsible up to the emperors. Following the policy of weakening kingdoms (*Xue Fan*) pioneered by Emperor Wen of Han and Emperor Jing of Han, Emperor Wu of Han resolved the problem of expanding the powers of kingdoms by introducing the policies of Bestow Favors (*Tui En*) and the Donation (*Zhu Zhou*). According to the policy of Bestow Favors, the emperor granted the right of inheritance of the fiefs to all the princes. The central power of kingdoms was thereby disintegrated. By the policy of Donation, the kings were asked to donate gold to sacrifice. If the emperors found a king to be disobedient in this, the marquessate would be abolished with the excuse that the quality of the gold they donated was not good enough. With these reforms, the kingdoms were degraded to being the normal form of local government from the reign of Emperor Wu of Han onwards.

A complete system for selecting officials, which included the Quota System (*Cha Ju*), Anointing (*Zheng Zhao*), Appointment (*Pi Chu*), Privilege (*Ren Zi*), and Requirement of Property (*Zi Xuan*) came into being in the Han Dynasty.

The most important system for selecting officials in the Han Dynasty was the Quota System. As a system for recommendation, the review system was set up in the period of Emperor Wen of Han and Emperor Wu of Han. To put this in detail, the Three Councilors of state and the Nine Ministers in central government and the governors and administrators in the local governments recommended the nominees who were competent for the demands of state. Through the whole Han Dynasty, the review system was divided into two categories: regular and irregular. The regular recommendations took place annually through the reports sent to the capital by the inspectors and administrators in the local governments. The recommendations covered two aspects: recommending the persons noted for their filial piety (*Xiao Lian*) and recommending the scholars who were certified (*Mao Cai*, changed from *Xiu Cai* by Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han [reigned 25–57 AD], whose personal name was Liu Xiu). The irregular recommendations were in the charge of the emperors who issued the special requirements for the nominees and chose the subjects to be examined, such as honesty and integrity (*Xian Liang Fang Zheng*), and good literature (*Xian Liang Wen Xue*). The Recommendation of *Xiao Lian* took place much more often than the other recommendations in the two Han Dynasties, so the term "Recommendation of *Xiao Lian*" was used to refer to the whole Quota System. Four criteria for recommending *Xiao Lian* were recorded: virtue and honesty, intelligence and profound erudition, accomplishments in laws and judgments, and high levels of sanity and competence. *Xiao Lian* who was recommended by his local government would generally be appointed to an unofficial post in the central government. After training in officialdom, he would be posted as a substantial official according to his actual capability.

Jing's key advisor Chao Cuo suggested, using as excuses offences that the princes of the kingdoms had committed which had generally been ignored by Emperor Wen, that he cut down the sizes of the principalities to make them less threatening. It triggered the insurrection of seven kingdoms.

It order to make the recommendations effective, the Han authority stipulated that the inspectors in provinces and prefects in counties had the responsibility to recommend the qualified nominees to the central government. "Refusing recommendations was held a grave offence and even resulted to a dismissal" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of Emperor Wu – Hanshu: Wudi Ji*). The referee would be held jointly liable when nominees were found to be below par. In general, there was a formal examination called *Dui Ce*.[11] For instance, the famous *Haven and Human Being Dui Ce in Three Chapters* (*Tian Ren San Ce*) was authored by Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC), a Han Dynasty scholar.

The Anointing (*Zheng Zhao*) referred to a special way of selecting officials by which the emperors chose and appointed particular officials on his own. The Anointing emerged in the era of Qin Shihuang. Shusun Tong, for example, was enlisted because of his literary talent. Nevertheless, in the Han Dynasty, most of the nominees of the Anointing were well-known scholars and paragons of morality. To show respect to the nominees, the Court would hold a ceremonial reception in which comfortable official carriages decorated with black and pink (the noble colors) were used. However, the Anointing was an occasional event designed to select officials. It was not used in the period of the Xin Dynasty of Wang Mang (9–23 AD).

In the Han Dynasty, the local governors who were appointed by the central government had the power to personally post their underlings. This method of Appointment was called *Pi Chu*. According to the regulations, officials with a salary above 200 *Shi*[12] were appointed by the central government, while those with a salary of less than 200 *Shi* were appointed by their governors. This regulation applied to all officials whoever they were. It covered from the Three Councilors and the Nine Ministers at the top down to the inspectors and prefects at the bottom. The officials posted by their governors had substantial administrative power and were connected with their governors through joint liability. By contrast, officials posted by the central government lacked substantial administrative powers even though their positions were of a higher level.

A privilege was granted on the sons of the high officials (*Ren Zi*). In the Han Dynasty, an official with salary of more than 2,000 *Shi* had the privilege to appoint a son to an unofficial post when the father had been on duty for at least 3 years.

The rulers of the Han Dynasty advocated the theory that one who has real property has the virtue of perseverance. This was why that they stipulated that the amount of family property should count as one of the criteria for being appointed an official. At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, the bottom line of required property was ten *Suan* (*Suan* was the unit of tax; one *Suan* equals 10,000 *Qian*). In the era of Emperor Ji of Han, this was reduced to four *Suan*. As a result, the sale of official posts and titles (*Na Zi*) started to occur in the era of Emperor Wu. As a supplement

[11] The questions were written down on the bamboo slips and the candidates' answer was written on the bamboo slips too.

[12] *Shi* is the measurement of food in ancient China. The amount of food was used to measure the officials' salary.

to the system of selecting officials in ancient China, the sale of official posts and titles at the beginning of the Han Dynasty overrode the rule that merchants were not able to serve as officials.

As the main organ for selecting officials in the Han Dynasty, the Quota System and Appointment emerged when the systems of Military Exploits and Maintaining Scholars were found to be unsuitable for the new situations after the Warring States Period. Through abandoning the policy of the claiming the world by force (*Ma Shang Duo Tian Xia*) as well as ruling the world by force (*Ma Shang Zhi Tian Xia*), the regime had signaled a complete transformation from the period of wars to the period of peace. More importantly, the rule of Confucianism had become the essential principle for the value standards of officials from the time of Emperor Wu of Han onwards. Hence, an array of professional scholarly oriented officials suited to ruling a grand unified state started to predominate in the Chinese administrative system. This system, nevertheless, had its defects. As a method of recommendation which operated from the bottom to the top, the Quota System and Appointment meant that the power of choosing officials moved down to a lower level of the government. For the time being, the power of the central government was challenged by locally powerful political groups which were formed by rich and influential families and by governors in local government. The saying "Disciples were everywhere" reflects that situation. In addition, in the light of preference to the examination of the nominees' reputation instead of their real quality, the Quota System and Appointment caused the fishing for underserved fame more and more. A folk rhyme in the later Han Dynasty says that recommended scholars knew nothing about *Four Books* and that most of those who were recommended as *Xiao Lian* (who were supposed to be filial-hearted) did not even live with their father; selected officials and cowardly generals committed deeds of corruption (*Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity: Examination Promotions – Bao Pu Zi: Shen Ju*).

In respect to the legal system, the Qin Dynasty upheld the rule of law. A tomb excavated in the Shuihudi, Yunmeng County, Hubei Province, in December 1975 was found to contain a large number of bamboo slips inscribed with details of the laws of the State of Qin. From the quantity of the names of provisions in the *Qin Law* (*Qin Lü*, called *Yunmeng Qin Jian* as well) recorded on the bamboo slips, it is no overstatement to say that the *Qin Law* was "dene and tight as bitty cream."[13] The *Qin Law* inscribed on the bamboo slips covers broad fields ranging

[13]There are more than 1,000 slips of the Shuihudi Qin bamboo texts which cover ten class fields such as the substantial provisions in *Qin Lü, Xiao Lü, and Qin Lü Za Chao*; the legal explanations in the *Fa Lü Wen Da*; and the legal procedures in *Feng Zhen Shi*. The statutes cover very broad fields such as the law on plowland, the law on stable, the law on barn, the law on currency, the law on market, the law on state-owned handicraft workshop, the law on handicraft workshop, the law on officials of Si Kong, the law on military merits, the law on measurement, the law on food supplement, the law on delivery of public files, the law on supervision of the officials in the capital, the law on the duty of the official of the Court Attendant, the law on the ethnic minority groups, the law on appointment of officials, the law on the persuasive talkers, the law on heritage of the official posts, the law on the salary, the law on the official storage, the law on hunting, the law on flocks and herds, the law on pension, the law on military station, the law on criminal investigation,

from politics, the military, agriculture, the handicraft industry, the management of marketing, currency circulation, transportation, administration, the appointment of officials, hearing cases to the litigation procedure. In terms of the implementation of laws, the Qin Dynasty placed emphasis on meting out severe punishment for minor offenses. The death penalty could take the forms of tearing a person asunder by five carts (*Che Lie*), drowning (*Ding Sha*), beating (*Pu Sha*), splitting the body (*Jie*), burying alive (*Keng*), being beheaded (*Zhan Shou*), decapitating and placing the severed head on public display (*Xiao Shou*), chiseling off the skull (*Zao Dian*), putting into boiling oil in tripod (*Huo Peng*), being beaten with bamboo (*Chou Xie*), being cut into two at the waist (*Yao Zhan*), and being put in a bag and beaten (*Nang Pu*). Brutal laws intensified social conflicts so that the Qin Dynasty collapsed before very long.

At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, with lessons having been learned from the Qin government, the cruel and complex components of the Qin Law were abolished and a less cruel and brief *Nine Chapters Code of Han* (*Jiu Zhang Lü*)[14] was compiled by Chancellor Xiao He. The traditional ruling principle was changed from "letting things take their own course," so-called inactivity (*wu wei*) to activity (*You Wei*). Emperor Wu of Han appointed Zhang Tang and Zhao Yu to amend the laws and regulations which thereby gradually developed into being complicated and dense. According to the *Book of Han* "The core articles in the *Nine Chapters Code of Han* consist of three hundred and fifty nine chapters. Thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy two actions would commit felony to death penalty among which one thousand eight hundred and eighty two actions would commit felony to death penalty by cutting in four hundred and nine articles" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Punishment and Law – Hanshu: Xing Fa Zhi*). The *Nine Chapters Code of Han* consists of four forms: statutes (*Lü*), edicts (*Ling*), statutes inherited from previous dynasties (*Ke*), and precedents and commentaries (*Bi*). The *Nine Chapters Code of Han* emphasized the imperial power which was the source of laws and nothing could exceed beyond, as a Court officer said, "the previous emperors and current emperor had power to add new provisions and change the old provisions according to their intention" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biography of Cruel Officials – Shiji: Ku Li Liezhuan*). In the Han Dynasty, argumentation of the Confucian Classics became the foundation of jurisprudence. This mixed Legalism with the theory of ritual. As for the essential principle of the legal system, Confucianism insisted that the virtue and moral education should go in front of the punishments that were regarded as the subsidiary tool of the reign. By consolidating rites and punishments into a whole system, the integrative frame of ancient Chinese

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the law on border defense, and so on. "The Qin Law is even denser and tighter than the autumn thatch and bitty cream" (*Study on Salt and Iron: Hen Kuan – Yantielun: Hen Kuan*). For details, see *Shui Hu Di Qin Bamboo Texts* (Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1978).

[14] *Nine Chapters Code of Han* has not survived. On the base of the *Book of Law*, the three chapters on the household registration (*Hu*), corvée (*Xing*), and arrestment (*Jiu*) were added besides the six chapters on the *Dao*, *Zei*, *Qiu*, *Pu*, *Za*, and *Ju*.

legal system was founded under the Han. Yan Fu, a scholar of the late Qing Dynasty, commended that our country henceforth possessed the Han Law which was the most detailed statute since the Three Dynasties, as was good enough to be regarded as the counterpart to the Roman Laws in Europe (*The Spirit of the Laws [Chinese version], the preface in volume 6 – Fa Yi, Juan Liu An Yu*).[15] In terms of the categories of punishments, some forms of corporal punishment were abolished. For instance, branding, the amputation of the nose, and the cutting off of toes were replaced by imprisonment, being beaten with bamboo, and the death penalty. This reflected the development of the judiciary in the Han Dynasty.

6.3 The Rise and Fall of Family Politics (the Wei and Jin Period and the Southern and Northern Dynasties)

In the Wei and Jin Period (220–420 AD), family politics increasingly emerged. Family politics referred to the political situation whereby the powerful and influential families penetrated into political affairs and controlled the central government. After the Sima Clan overthrew the Cao Wei Dynasty, the powerful families known as *Shi Zu* became renowned for holding the important posts in the central and local governments within their grip. In the Western Jin Dynasty, the reigning emperors had to rely upon *Shi Zu* in order to balance the power of royal families and rein in bureaucracy. In the era of the Eastern Jin, the expanded powers of some families periodically began to challenge the imperial authority. A folk song claimed: "Wang and Ma share the state." This reflects the political relationship between the Wang family, which was a representative of the *Shi Zu*, and the emperors of the Sima Clan.

In terms of their political system, the Wei and Jin mistakenly carried on the feudal system of landholding which had emerged in the Han Dynasty. On the grounds that the feudal kingdom system of the Han Dynasty brought about a separatist regime, Emperor Wen of Wei strictly limited the powers of the royal family in order to avoid chaos in the Court. However, this limitation led to nonroyal families being able to control the central government. In order to avoid the mistake that the Cao Wei Dynasty had fallen into, from the time of their succession the emperors of the Sima Clan granted land and titles to the members of the royal family. Unfortunately, placing military, political, and fiscal powers into the hands of princes resulted in the War of the Eight Princes (*Ba Wang Zhi Luan*). It was not until the era of the Eastern Jin, when the malpractice of the enfeoffment system was gradually corrected.

With the rise of family politics, the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system (*Jiu Ping Zhong Zheng Zhi*) became the sole method for selecting officials in the Wei and Jin and the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The Nine-Rank system, created by Chen Qun, the minister of the Ministry of Personnel, remained in place until

[15] Yan Fu was the first person to translate C. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws* into Chinese.

the era of Emperor Wen of Sui (581–604 AD). According to this system, the central government established a post named *Zhong Zheng* in each local government area, including the provinces and counties. However, as an unofficial post, the *Zhong Zheng* was only authorized to be in charge of personnel evaluation and could not deal with any administrative affairs. The standards of evaluation covered two aspects: family and behavior. The *Zhong Zheng* would himself inspect each candidate family's merits and reputations as well as the candidate's moral behavior and personal competence, respectively. Integrating these two aspects, the candidates were ranked into nine grades. Without the power to make the appointment himself, the *Zhong Zheng* had the duty to report his evaluations and suggestions in the form of a reference to the central government. As a matter of fact, the central government had to appoint officials according to the evaluation of the *Zhong Zheng* without discretion. The *Zhong Zheng* and the personnel officials therefore created a kind of diversion and were bound up together. This method was to some extent effective in curbing the powers of powerful groups and corrected the system of selecting officials which proved too-cumbersome-to-be-effective (*Wei Da Bu Diao*) in the late Han Dynasty. The officials in local government would be assessed every 3 years by native *Zhong Zheng* who had influence over the examination and promotion of these officials.

The implementation of Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system, on the one hand, prevented the emergence of separatism from the late Han Dynasty onwards. However, on the other, it also had the effect of separating the power of appointment from the responsibility of appointment. *Zhong Zheng* would not be held responsible for choosing the wrong person for a job; at the same time, the hands of the central government were tied by the evaluation of the *Zhong Zheng*. As Ma Duanlin (1245–1322 AD) observed of the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system – one person did the evaluation, the other made the appointment. The latter was unable to depart from the evaluation presented by the former. If the wrong person were appointed, the evaluator would not be responsible for it either. In the light of two systems operated on its own trail irrelatively, playing favoritism inevitable took place (*Comprehensive Investigations Based on Literary and Documentary Sources, Election 1 – Wen Xian Tong Kao, Xuan Ju I*). During the implementation of the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system, departing the original way that the two prongs family and behavior went along with each other in the evaluations, the family prong was increasingly overwhelming. Meanwhile, the posts of *Zhong Zheng* were controlled by the powerful families. It dictated that "the members of the noble families would be the high officials whatever they were virtuous and capable; one from lower families would have no opportunity to be appointed as high officials." The selection of officials depended mostly on the situation of the family. The family-oriented appointment benefited by associating together with the family politics, fostering the control of political power by the *Shi Zu*. Nonetheless, the family politics of this period only formed an interlude within the prevailing climate of imperialism. It was essentially different from the hereditary system of the early Qin which was an aristocratic form of politics.

As an effective system of selecting officials, the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system is not worthy of praise because it was family-oriented in nature. Liu Yi, the scholar of the Western Jin, criticized this system in a memorial he presented to the emperor. From then on, intelligent court officials continued to pass comment on it. For the sake of the reign, the Quota System and Appointment were retained in the Han Dynasty. However, there was a slight change in the Quota System in the Han Dynasty in that it now focused on the *Xiao Lian* and *Xiu Cai*. The Cao Wei Dynasty amended and improved the Quota System and the Appointment system to make them more systemic and more practicable. The main improvement derived from combining the recommendations with the examinations whose standards had later been fixed as *Dui Ce*. The examination for the *Xiao Lian* laid particular emphasis on arguments from the Confucian Classics, while the examination for the *Xiu Cai* placed more emphasis on literary talent. Both examinations played a more and more important role in the Southern and Northern Dynasties and became a herald for the Imperial Examination in the Sui and Tang Dynasties.

In the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589 AD), fierce conflict between the noble families (*Shi Zu*) and imperial power arose. Rotten noble families were gradually regarded as parasites upon the society. They clambered after fame but scorned its responsibilities even though they had been appointed to the important posts which had a high social status without actual duties. Some of them were even too weak to ride or walk without the support of other peoples' hands: "their fragile bones were not able to bear walk; cold winter and hot summer would make them pant." As most of the founder emperors in the Southern Dynasties came from lower-status families, they tended to appoint and promote officials who were also born into lower-status families to important posts. Their purpose was to exclude noble families. In the central government, even though members of the noble families still assumed policy-making posts, such as the Executive Secretary (*Zhong Shu Ling*) in the Executive Secretariat (*Zhong Shu Sheng*) and the Court Attendant (*Shi Zhong*) in the Chancellery (*Men Xia Sheng*), persons who came from lower-status families gained the posts of Secretary (*Zhong Shu She Ren*) or Supervising Secretary (*Gei Shi Zhong*). After the War of Hou Jing (reigned over the southeast of China in 552 AD), the noble families were greatly undermined and the family style of politics fell.

The legal system in this period developed. On the base of the *Nine Chapters Code of Han*, Chen Qun, the Minister of Ministry of Personnel, was appointed by Emperor Ming of Wei (226–39 AD) to compile the *Wei Law* (*Wei Lü*), which consisted of 18 chapters. The name of the first chapter was changed from "Codified Legal Provisions" (*Ju Lü*) to "Punishment" (*Xing Ming*). This structure of statues was retained for later eras. The Western Jin Dynasty launched an amendment to the law which was led by Jia Chong (217–82 AD), Yang Gu, and Du Yu (222–85 AD). Abolishing the cruel provisions and keeping the simple and clear provisions, the *Jin Law* (*Jin Lü*) (20 chapters) was laid out on the basis of the *Nine Chapters Code of Han* and *Wei Law*. Meanwhile, Zhang Pei and Du Yu made commentaries on the *Jin Law* as an official explanation holding equal validity with the *Jin Law*. The Southern Dynasties continued to implement the *Jin Law* without significant changes. Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei (471–99 AD) compiled

the *Northern Wei Law* (*Bei Wei Lü*) (20 chapters) on the basis of laws of the Han, Wei, and Jin Dynasties. Chen Yinke,[16] a scholar in modern times, commented that the *Northern Wei Law* completed this achievement because they absorbed the good components of previous comprehensive laws on the one hand and upheld the foundations of the legal system on the other (*A Brief Introduction to the Origins of Institutions of Sui and Tang Dynasties – Sui Tang Zhidu Yuanyuan Lue Lun Gao*).

6.4 The Improvement of Bureaucratic Politics and the Founding of the Imperial Examination (the Sui and Tang Dynasties)

The Sui Dynasty (581–618 AD) reunified China after a period of division. Following this reunification, the Sui Dynasty inherited the political system of the Northern Dynasty and began to reconstruct it in various respects. Coming after the Sui, the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD) continued to strengthen the imperial power by improving systems such as the chancellor system, the institutions, the selection system, the system of formulating laws, and so on.

In the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Grand Councilor (*Cheng Xiang*) was the assistant to the emperor. Afterwards, the Chief Imperial Secretary replaced the position of the Grand Councilor. In the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Executive Secretary and the Court Attendant were called "chancellor." This was reformed into a system of collective chancellors in the Sui and the Tang Dynasties. By dividing the power of the chancellor, the system of collective chancellors prevented conflict between the power of the emperor and the power of the chancellor, making each chancellor subordinate to imperial authority.

The post of chancellor was given various names in different dynasties, such as Grand Councilor or Three Councilors in the Qin and the Han. This referred to the head of the government who simultaneously assisted the emperor. There were six chancellors under the system of Three Departments: two Deputy Directors (*Shang Shu Pu She*) in the Department of State Affairs (*Shang Shu Sheng*), two Executive Secretaries (*Zhong Shu Ling*) in the Secretariat, and two Court Attendants (*Shi Zhong*) in the Chancellery (*Men Xia Sheng*). Meanwhile, other titles and positions were introduced, which shared the duties of the chancellor – for example, the *Can Zhang Chao Zheng*, the *Ping Zhang Guo Ji*, and the *Tong Zhi Zheng Shi*. The new positions of *Tong Zhong Shu Men Xia Ping Zhang Shi* and *Tong Zhong Shu Men Xia San Ping* gradually became equal to that of the chancellors on the one hand. On the other hand, the heads of the Three Departments were excluded from the group of collective chancellors. The place where the chancellors worked was called the

[16]Chen Yinke (1890–1969) was a sinologist and member of the Academia Sinica. Together with Wu Mi and Tang Yongtong (see Chap. 1 of this book), he was known as one of the three "Outstanding Persons of Harvard."

Court of Administration (*Zheng Shi Tang*). By virtue that the chancellors discussed and decided the state affairs collectively, the imperial power of the emperor was strengthened. The situation whereby a mighty chancellor controlled the levers of governance – as had occurred in the Han Dynasty and the Wei Dynasty – never transpired again, except for in the era of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang (712–56 AD).

Emperor Taizong of Tang assigned a number of scholars as councilors who assisted in dealing with state affairs. Emperor Gaozong of Tang officially instituted the *Bei Men* scholar who could share power with the chancellors. A special council called the *Hanlin* Academy was introduced to the Imperial Court for the emperor's convenience by Emperor Xuanzong of Tang. At the outset, the scholars in the *Hanlin* Academy simply drafted documents for the emperor, taking the place of the Executive Secretariat. Gradually, though, the *Hanlin* Academy became the influential policy-formulating institution which functioned in place of the chancellors. Hence, the scholars in the *Hanlin* Academy were called inner chancellors from the Zhen-Yuan era (the collective name of the Zhen Guan era of Emperor Taizong of Tang and the Kai-Yuan era of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang [785–805 AD]).

The Three Departments and Six Ministries system was adopted as the form of the central government in the Sui and Tang Dynasties. The Three Departments referred to the Department of State Affairs, the Secretariat, and the Chancellery.

The Department of State Affairs was the highest executive institution of the imperial government. Developing from the *Shang Shu Tai* in the Eastern Han Dynasty, the name *Sheng* was inherited even though the institution was now removed from the Imperial Court. The head of Department was known as chancellor but was often absent. The Right and Left Deputy Directors actually shouldered the duties. Beneath the Deputy Directors were the Right and Left Assistant Clerks (*Zuo You Cheng*) who had the Right and Left Excellency (*Zuo You Si Lang Zhong*) to assist with their daily work and were in charge of the Six Ministries. The general office of the Department of State Affairs was called the *Dou Sheng*.

The Department of State Affairs controlled the Six Ministries, which included the Ministry of Personnel, the Ministry of Revenue, the Ministry of Rites, the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of Justice, and the Ministry of the Public Works. The Minister and the Vice Minister took charge of each Ministry. The Six Ministers were part-time roles appointed to high officials who had another position in the central government. For instance, the chancellors would assume the most important and powerful posts of the Ministers of the Ministry of Personnel and Ministry of the Public Works. After the An-Shi Rebellion, the posts of the Six Ministers transferred to the added titles of the regional military governors. The Vice Ministers in fact undertook the main duties of the Six Ministries. Beneath each Ministry were four *Si*, each of which was headed by an Assistant Attendant (*Lang Zhong*) who was assisted by two Assistant Clerks (*Yuan Wai Lang*).

The Secretariat was the highest policy-formulating agency which was responsible for proposing and drafting all imperial decrees. The head of the Secretariat was called the Official Historian (*Nei Shi*); in the Sui Dynasty, this was changed to the Executive Secretary who was assisted by the Secretary (*Zhong Shu Shi Lang*). The

six special Secretaries (*Zhong Shu She Ren*) in the Secretariat were assigned to draft all official imperial decrees with the responsibility of reviewing the reports delivered to the emperor. In addition, the six special Secretaries had the duty of supervising officials and making judiciary decisions.

The Chancellery was the highest deliberative institution. It had the main function of reviewing the summonses of the emperor and the petitions of the officials. The name of the head of Chancellery, *Na Yan* in the Sui Dynasty, was changed to Court Attendant (*Shi Zhong*) in the Tang Dynasty. This office-holder assisted the Secretary in the Secretariat. The Secretaries were responsible for deliberating over all the documents sent as communications between the emperor and his officials. Specifically, having the power to block and rebut, the four Supervising Secretaries took on the duty of reviewing the summonses to the Court and the petitions to the emperor which were probably disproved or rewritten even amended by the Chancellery. Similar with the Secretaries in the Secretariat, the Supervising Secretaries were responsible for supervising officials and for making decisions about the judiciary as well.

A number of expostulating officials, such as Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary (*San Ji Chang Shi*), the Senior Expostulator (*Jian Yi Da Fu*), and the Locator for Omissions (*Shi Yi*, *Bu Que*), were instituted beneath the Secretariat and the Chancellery. The expostulating officials were divided into two categories: the right side in the Secretariat and the left side in the Chancellery. The expostulating officials were able to dispute state affairs in the Imperial Court or discuss them directly with the emperor. As is written in the *Old Book of Tang*: "[a]ll the important edicts and commands could be discussed by the expostulating officials in the court, while less important affairs could be discussed to the emperor" (*Old Book of Tang: Officials, 2 – Jiu Tang Shu: Zhi Guan, 2*). The expostulation had been institutionalized since. In addition, there were groups of senior recorders called the *Ju She Ren* and the *Qi Ju Lang* who had the duty to record the daily actions of the emperor and to compile the *Qi Ju Records* (*Qi Ju Zhu*) as the material sources for historical research.

Besides the Three Departments, there was the Special Secretariat (*Mi Shu Sheng*), the Palace Administration (*Dian Zhong Sheng*), and the Department of Inner Service (*Nei Shi Sheng*). Beneath the Special Secretariat were two bureaus: the Books Bureau (*Zhuzuo Ju*) and the Historian Bureau (*Taishi Ju*), which had the responsibility for editing the four Confucian Classics and the chronometer and calendar study. The main function of the Palace Administration was to take charge of the emperor's daily life, including food, medicine, clothing, housing, transportation, and his sedan chair. The Department of Inner Service took charge of the palace services provided by eunuchs and maids-in-waiting.

In general, the old institutions from previous dynasties would be kept on even when new ones had been instituted. The Nine Ministers system in the Qin and Han Dynasties was transferred to the Nine Service Agencies (*Jiu Si*) and the Five Offices (*Wu Jian*) in the central government of the Tang Dynasty. Overlapping with the Six Ministries functionally, these service agencies were the imperial institutions tasked with dealing with the daily administration under the charge of Six Ministries. For instance, the Ministry of Rites presided over the administration of culture and

education in parallel with the *Tai Chang* Agency, which was in charge of fetes and musical ceremonies. The *Guang Lu* Agency was in charge of food supplement, the *Hong Lu* Agency was in charge of welcoming ceremonies and funerary ceremonies, and the Imperial Academy (*Guo Zi Jian*) oversaw the administration of schools.

The dominance of the eunuchs was a serious political problem in the Tang Dynasty. With the strengthening of the imperial power, the eunuchs who were close to the emperor became a significant tool for the emperor to control the Imperial Court and state affairs. From the reign of Emperor Xuanzong of Tang, the eunuchs began to play a more and more crucial role in imperial governance, since they presided over services inside the palace and supervised the military outside. During the An-Shi Rebellion, the eunuchs started to become involved in state affairs. Emperor Daizong of Tang (762–79 AD) appointed eunuchs to take charge of communicating documents and announcing summons – functions which had previously been the mainstay of the Privy Council. During the reign of Emperor Dezong of Tang (779–805 AD), the eunuchs were sent on a mission as the grand general of the *Shen Ce* army, one of the armies of imperial guards which were raised for the fight against the separatists of the regional military. Even the decision to promote or demote the crown prince fell under the control of the eunuchs. The dominance of the eunuchs arose because the emperors appointed eunuchs to the posts of the officials. This had nothing to do with the Department of Inner Service. Among them, the Right and Left Cardinal Privy Council were responsible for communication between the emperor and chancellors. These were the most crucial positions, together with the Right and Left *Shen Ce* lieutenants who led the *Shen Ce* army. Collectively these were known as the "four nobles" (*Si Gui*) and formed the political center of the Tang Dynasty.

By combining the provinces and prefects in the local governments, the central government in the Sui and Tang Dynasties started to govern the provinces in a direct way without intermediaries. In the Tang Dynasty, the territory was divided into ten circuits (*Dao*; there were 15 *Dao* from the Kai Yuan era onwards) as the administrative districts in which the central government could supervise the provinces. However, the gradual rise of the system of the regional military governors (*Jie Du Shi*) impacted significantly on the politics of the Tang Dynasty. At the peak of the Tang Dynasty, in order to defend against invasion from the northern nomads, the nine regional military governors were set up at the northern frontier towns (Pinglu, Fanyang, Hedong, Shuofang, Beiting, Anxi, Hexi, Longyou, Jiannan) stretching from Liaoning Province in the east to Jiannan. In order to make launching military actions more convenient, the regional military governors gradually took the charge of the appointment and dismissal of local officials and other administrative affairs in their jurisdiction which were originally the duty of *Zhi Du Shi* and *Ying Tian Shi*. They grasped hold of the powers of the military, administrative, civil service, and fiscal powers in spite of already having control of a strengthened and well-trained army. Finally, the autonomous power and authority accumulated by the regional military governors went beyond the control of the central government. An example of this is An Lushan, who was appointed as *Jie Du Shi* of three regions: Fanyang, Pinglu, and Hedong. He was able to initiate the An-Shi Rebellion

which brought to an abrupt end the golden age of the Tang Dynasty.[17] Even after the difficult suppression of that rebellion, the regional military governors retained their powers on the grounds that more *Jie Du Shi* were appointed in the inner countryside – the so-called *Fang Zhen* or *Fan Zhen*. Until the Yuan He era of Emperor Xianzong (805–20 AD), there were 48 such towns through the whole country. Separatism thus came into being.

One of the famous legacies that the Tang government left behind was the Imperial Examination. From the reign of Emperor Wen of Sui, the power of the appointment by the local governments and the Nine-Rank of *Zhong Zheng* system had been abandoned. All the officials up to the first level (*Yi Ping*) would be appointed by the central government. Afterwards, three subjective criteria for the Trained Scholar Examination (*Xiu Cai*), Illuminating the Classics Examination (*Ming Jing*), and Presented Scholar Examination (*Jin Shi*) gradually formed the material content in the examination. The Tang Dynasty maintained the Imperial Examination of the Sui Dynasty but widened the subjects. Besides the regular examination, which included *Xiu Cai*, *Ming Jing,* and *Jin Shi*, less-esteemed subjects such as law (*Ming Fa*), calligraphy (*Ming Zi*), mathematics (*Ming Suan*), history (*Yi Shi*, *San Shi*, and *Shi Ke*), ceremony (*Kai Yuan Li*), and Taoist philosophy (*Dao Ju*) were added. There were five *Jing*, *Xue Jiu Yi Jing*, *San Li*, *San Chuan,* and so on underneath the *Ming Jing*. In the three most important subjects, *Xiu Cai* was suspended from the reign of Emperor Gaozong of Tang owing to the fact that its graduates were too few. Hence, the two subjective criteria of *Ming Jing* and *Jin Shi* retained their functions within the Imperial Examination.

In contrast to the Quota System in the Han Dynasty which was a recommendation method of selection with a supplementary examination, the Imperial Examination was a form of draft which was centered on examination with self-recommendation, as historians say: *Huan Die Zi Ju.* Two types of candidates could attend the Imperial Examination: the students who attended the state-run schools being based all round the country and the commoners who came from a decent family and were approved by the preexamination censor. Prostitutes, entertainers, factotums, culprits, and monks were forbidden from taking the Imperial Examination. Officials were able to attend the less-esteemed tests other than the regular examination. The Assistant Clerk (*Yuan Wai Lang*, known as Vice Ministers from the Kai Yuan era onwards) in the Ministry of Personnel was in charge of the Imperial Examination. In order to avoid cheating, despite checking the identity by authority, the candidates should guarantee the real identity for each other (*Jie Kuan Tong Bao*) and frisked before entering the examination hall.

With the further development of the syllabus in the Tang Dynasty, the *Jin Shi* tested the candidate's general knowledge of a broad variety of texts from the Confucian Classics (*Tie Jing*), their literary ability in writing an essay-style response to the questions on matters of governance and politics (*Shi Wu Ce*), and their composition of original poetry (*Shi Fu*). The composition of original poetry was

[17] See Chap. 3 for more details of the golden age of the Tang Dynasty.

comparatively difficult; *Ming Jing* focused on the study of interpretation and the elaboration of Confucian Classics beyond the basic knowledge and literary talent. The subjects that were less esteemed tested specialist knowledge, for example, *Ming Fa* tested candidates on the statutes and regulations; *Ming Zi* tested them on the content of *Explaining and Analyzing Characters* (*Shuowen Jiezi*)[18]; and *Ming Suan* tested ten mathematics classics (*Shi Bu Suan Jing*). The *Ming Jing* was the easiest test therein.

The Tang Imperial Examination not only tested the performance of the candidates within the examination compound but also reviewed the essays that candidates had been written previously. Prior to the examination, the candidate should compile their original essays and send them to the well-known scholars or the high officials who might serve as the referees. This was called *Xing Juan*. The candidates could send the compiled volumes of essays to the examiners in the Ministry of Personnel as well. This was called *Na Juan*. There is a story about *Xing Juan*. When the famous poet Bai Juyi (772–846 AD) sent his poem to the poet Gu Kuang (*fl.* 757 AD), the latter joked about the forename of the former, saying that the price of rice is so high that the living is not easy.[19] However, as Gu Kuang read the line of Bai's poem "no prairie fire can destroy the grass, it shoots up again with the spring breeze blows," he sighed that it was not hard at all for someone who is able to create such line of poem (*Chronicle of Tang Poetry, Volume 65 – Tang shi Ji Shi, Juan 65*). Other references would be considered in the examination such as *Tong Bang* – this label referred to a friend of the chief examiner – when making a decision of the result of the examination. *Gong Jian* was the name given to a reference from well-known scholars and high officials. An episode which once occurred during the Tang Dynasty Imperial Examination concerns Wu Wuling. Wu, a scholar in the Imperial Academy, gave the highest praise to *Prose on A Fang Gong* (*A Fang Gong Fu*) written by Du Mu (803–52 AD) and recommended that he should be the champion (*Zhuang Tou*) of the examination. The examiner, Cui Yan, finally ranked Du Mu fifth.

The number of graduates in the subject of *Jin Shi* of the annual Tang Imperial Examination could sometimes amount to a couple of persons and 50 or 60 at other times. The figure was typically around 30 from the middle of the Tang Dynasty. Du You's *Comprehensive Institutions* (*Tongdian*) recorded that the rate of graduates of *Ming Jing* was 10 % – more than the *Jin Shi* which was passed by 1 or 2 % of candidates. There was a folk song in the Tang Dynasty which related how those who graduated in *Ming Jing* in their 30s were very old, while those who graduated in *Jin Shi* in their 50s were still young. The *Jin Shi* graduate was regarded as a glorious individual and could even become known as the Minister in White (*Bai Yi Gong Qin*). The happy and emotional moment when somebody graduated as *Jin Shi* is reflected in the couplet of poetry which reads: "[s]uccessful, faster runs my

[18]Compiled by Xu Shen in the Han Dynasty and one of the earliest works to explain the form and meaning of Chinese characters.

[19]The forename of Bai Juyi literally means "easy living."

horse in vernal breeze,/ I've seen within 1 day all flowers on the trees."[20] However, graduating in the Imperial Examination just meant that the graduate was qualified to be appointed to a state bureau in the local or central governments. It was the Ministry of Personnel which decided on the actual appointment.

Apart from these esteemed examinations, there were also less renowned examinations which took place irregularly at the time chosen by the emperor. In addition to examinations in the arts and literature, there were archery examinations including feats such as shooting at long distance (*Chang She*), shooting from a running horse (*Ma She*), and shooting (*Bu She*). Even so, the archery examination was not the main method for selecting officers.

The Imperial Examination system had a significant impact upon the society of the Tang Dynasty. As the selection methods employed in previous dynasties – which allowed the power of appointment to be devolved to the local governments – were abandoned, the Imperial Examination strengthened the central regime of the Tang Dynasty by converging power into the hands of selecting officials. Emperor Taizong of Tang proudly declared that "all best talents in China are in my government." As it broke down the monopolies exercised by noble families who were dependent on their wealth and social position, the Imperial Examination was open to the all the landlords and commoners who hitherto had no channel by which they could enter the government. The Imperial Examination functioned as a new political intermediary to connect the grassroots and the high society. The Tang rulers thereby expanded the social foundations of the regime. No intellectual from anywhere in the country could regret spending all his life attending the examination, since graduating in that examination held open the hope that a commoner could enter the Imperial Court. A line of a folk song says that "Be a farmer in the morning and enter into the Imperial Court in the evening" (*Zhao Wei Tian She Lang, Mu Deng Tian Zi Tang*). Integrating the education system into the system for selecting officials, the bureaucracy became intellectualized and cultivated by a social morality which was combined with the dominant moral requirements. The Imperial Examination thereby obviously impacted upon social stability. Imperial rulers from the Tang Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty attached much importance to the Imperial Examination which was the one of most significant legacies from ancient China.

Besides the Imperial Examination, two modes of selection played a role in the political system of the Tang Dynasty. The first one was the so-called *Men Yin* by which the sons of officials of the fifth rank or higher were granted a privilege to be officials after providing a period of civil service and passing a special examination. The second was called *Liu Wai Quan* or *Za Pin Ren Liu* which was set specially for so-called *Liu Wai Guan* or *Li Yuan* who were the clerks underneath any rank of officials in local governments. The achievements of the *Liu Wai Yuan* would be examined annually. After three examinations as such, theymight be promoted

[20]From "Successful at the Civil Service Exam" (*Dengke Hou*) by Meng Jiao (751–814 AD). Translated by Xu Yuanzhong.

step-by-step. A would-be promoted *Liu Wai Yuan* must be judged by a particular examination before becoming an official (see thereafter). Most of the lower officials in the Tang Dynasty came through the channel of the *Liu Wai Quan*.

A graduate who had qualified through the Imperial Examination or by *Men Yin* and *Liu Wai Quan* had to be judged before he was appointed. This was called the *Quan* selection. The *Quan* selection in the Tang Dynasty was divided into the scholastic arts prong over which the Ministry Personnel presided, and the military arts prong over which the Ministry of Defense presided. In addition, if an official had held onto a position beyond the fixed number of years, he must be reappointed by *Quan* selection. The criteria of *Quan* selection involved four skills and three aspects. In respects of four skills, the candidate's skill of deportment and appearance (*Shen*), speech (*Yan*), level of skill in calligraphy (*Shu*), and capability of judgment and commentary (*Pan*) would be judged and reviewed. If the candidates were equal in all aspects of the four skills, then their morality would be judged; if the candidates were equal in the aspect of morality, then their competence would be judged; if the candidates were equal in the competence, then their achievements would be judged. This was called the three *Quan*.

Among the four skills, the most emphasis was placed on the capacity for judgment and commentary. *Pan*, an analogy of the examination of case study in modern times, asked the candidates to analyze and comment on a particular case or civil affair. Ma Duanlin stated that the *Pan* was the most crucial of the four skills upon which the ministry judged. His reasoning was that judgment and commentary were the key abilities which related to the daily lives of the masses and politics. A capacity for logical thinking, legal reasoning, and a sense of what is right and wrong could be discerned from the commentary that the candidate wrote (*Comprehensive Examination of Literature, selection 10 – Wen Xian Tong Kao, Xuanju Shi*). A commentary with logical reasoning and literary talent must be regarded as excellent *Pan* (*Long Jin Feng Sui*) which was widely read with admiration. The judgment of *Pan* was so important that the name of candidate on the answer sheet had to be covered, so as to avoid revealing the identity of the individual; the signature of candidate also had to be checked in the examination court. In the *Quan* selection of the officials, any official below the fifth rank did not need to attend the judgment *Pan*. Upon passing the *Quan* selection, the candidate would be appointed according to his rank and the absence of post. Han Yu (768–824 AD), a *litterateur* in the Tang Dynasty, was said that had to become a member of staff in one of regional military government after he had failed the *Quan* selection. This was in spite of the fact that he had even graduated *Jin Shi*.

With the improvement of the system for selecting officials, the official assessment went further in the Tang Dynasty. From the Wei and Jin Dynasties, a number of emperors who were capable of outstanding achievements had endeavored to build a system of official assessment. For example, Emperor Ming of Wei assigned Liu Shao, a Cavalier Attendant-in-Ordinary, to compile the regulations on official assessment, which included 72 articles; Emperor Wu of Jin ordered Du Yu to compile the regulations on official assessment; Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei set up an edict of assessment which took place every 3 years; and Su Chu,

who was appointed as the Executive Secretary both in the Western Wei and the Northern Zhou Dynasties, created the six summonses with which to manage officials. However, none of these initiatives within the system of official assessment were institutionalized until the Tang Dynasty. On the basis of these experiences in the previous eras, the detailed criteria for classification and a rigorous procedure for official assessment were formed in the Tang Dynasty.

The *Kao Gong Si* under the Ministry of Personnel presided over the annual assessment; at the same time, a Secretary and a Supervising Secretary under the Chancellery invigilated the assessment. The criteria of assessment were "Four Goods and Twenty Seven First-Classes" (*Si Shan Ershiqi Zui*). "Four Goods" (*Si Shan*) were the common requirement for all of officials, which meant that an official must have a good reputation for morality, incorruptibility, fairness, and diligence. "Twenty Seven First-Classes" (*Ershiqi Zui*) meant that all officials were categorized into 27 groups, each of which had a first-class standard in the behavior assessment. In the assessment, the governors announced the records of official's achievements and deficiencies that had occurred during the whole year. It was according to these that the officials would be ranked after the public discussion. The result of the assessment would be reported to the Department of State Affairs to review. The final ranked result would have an influence over the salaries of the official. The ranked results in the four assessments would determine which officials were to be promoted and which ones were to be dismissed.

A standardized and meticulous system for official ranking was another legacy of the Tang Dynasty. The official ranking system of the Tang had nine ranks, each of which was divided into two grades: *Zheng* and *Cong*. There were two subgrades from the fourth rank of *Zheng* upwards: *Shang* and *Xia*. Hence, the official ranking system of the Tang actually had nine ranks and 30 grades in total. The most important initiative in the Tang Dynasty was that the professional titles of officials (*San Guan*) were differentiated from the posts of officials (*Zhi Shi Guan*). The former signified an official's identity and his ranking – both of which belonged to the official himself – while the latter signified the official's post which referred to the duty of the official. The professional title and the post had their own respective grades. In fact, the grade of the professional title might not be the same as the grade of his post. The situation whereby an official with a high professional title was appointed a low post was called *Shou*; the reverse situation was called the *Xing*. This system indicates that the mature feudal bureaucratic system had commenced. In addition, the virtuous officials were differentiated from mean officials – different requirements of qualification and promotion were applied to each. This to some extent optimized the bureaucracy.

In respect to the legal system, Emperor Wen of Sui assigned Sui Wei to compile the *Kai Huang* Law, which included 12 chapters and 500 articles. This carried forward past traditions and opened up a way for those who followed. In the Tang Dynasty, Emperor Gaozu ordered Pei Ji (570–629 AD) and Xiao Li to compile the

Wu De Law on the basis of the *Kai Huang Law*.[21] They edited the edicts (*Ling*), punishments (*Ge*), and procedure (*Shi*) in parallel with the statutes (*Lü*), which founded the four forms of the *Tang Law*. The *Wu De Law* was adapted into the *Zhen Guan Law* after 10 years of comprehensive amendments under the aegis of Chancellors Fang Xuanling (579–648 AD) and Zhangsun Wuji (d. 659 AD) in the era of Emperor Taizong of Tang. According to the *Old Book of Tang* "[t]here was a number of articles amended in which the most too complex and cruel provisions were deleted" (*Old Book of Tang, Punishments and Laws – Jiutangshu, Xing Fa Zhi*). In the era of Emperor Gaozong, Zhangsun Wuji, Li Xun, and Yu Zhining (588–665 AD) presided over the compilation of the *Yong Hui Law* which was promulgated in a parallel format with a detailed legal explanation for even every article. The *Yong Hui Law* and its official legal explanation were named *Tang Lü Shu Yi*. They were regarded as the representative of *Tang Law.* Moreover, Emperor Xuanzong of Tang took charge of compiling the *Tang Six Code* which is regarded as the earliest administrative code in ancient China. The *Tang Six Code* ushered in a new situation in which the code and statute were to be stipulated separately as in modern times.

On the high level of the legalized rule of rites, the Tang Law followed the tradition of combination of ritual and Legalism which had been in existence since the Han and Jin Dynasties, stipulating the "virtue and ritual were the foundation of politics and education, while punishments formed the aids." The four components of the mature structure of the Tang Law functioned respectively and interactively. "*Lü* focused on the substantial criminal law; *Ling* provided the regulations that regulating actions in daily life; *Ge* deterred the wrongdoing; and *Shi* was the procedure of litigations." In terms of the punishment, the new system of Five Punishments in the Tang Law had come into force as a result of amendments since the Han and Wei Dynasties. Blows with bamboo (*Chi Xing*) had five grades corresponding to the numbers of blows (from 5 to 50); beating with board (*Zhang Xing*) had five grades corresponding to the numbers of beats (from 60 to 100); imprisonment (*Tu Xing*) had five grades corresponding to the number of years (from 1 to 3 years); exile (*Liu*) had three grades corresponding to the distance (from 2,000 *li* to 3,000 *li*); and the death penalty would take the form of execution by hanging or beheading. The Tang rulers emphasized that the laws should be implemented prudently. In order to avoid the abuse of judicial power, the Tang Dynasty set up a system of review into death sentences by which a death sentence that has been passed by a lower court should be reviewed before the execution was allowed to take place.

The Tang Dynasty inherited the legal supervision system of the Han and Jin Dynasties and developed the Department of Imperial Supervision (*Yu Shi Tai*). The Imperial Supervisor took charge of supervision and controlled three bureaus: the *Tai* Bureau, headed by the Imperial Supervisor who was in charge of judiciary supervision; the *Dian* Bureau, headed by the Imperial Supervisor in Court who was in charge of supervising the ceremonies undertaken in the Imperial Court and

[21] *Wu De* was the era name of Emperor Gaozu of Tang; *Kai Huang* was the era name of Emperor Wen of Sui.

for making inspection tours within the capital; and the *Cha* Bureau, headed by the Supervisors had the duty to make inspection tours around the local governments and to impeach. As to the judicial supervision, a case would be heard by the Da Li Temple – the Supreme Court – and appeals made to the Ministry of Justice under the supervision of the Imperial Council. These Three Departments were called the "Three Legal Institutions" (*San Fa Si*). If a case was rendered unfair, a Secretary in the Secretariat, a Supervising Secretary in the Chancellery, and a Supervisor in the Department of Imperial Supervision would jointly take charge of the appeal case. This was called "Three Legal Institutions in Charge" (*San Si Shou Shi*). Disciplining officials was the main duty of the Department of Imperial Supervision.

6.5 The Consolidation of the Imperial Authority and the Perfection of the Imperial System (the Northern and Southern Song Dynasties)

Ending the upheaval of the Five Dynasties (907–60 AD), the Northern Song Dynasty (960–1127 AD) unified China once again. Although the Song Dynasty inherited all the systems and institutions of the Tang Dynasty, it paid much more attention to being precautious and mindful of small matters when it dealt with the internal and external problems which the state had to confront. Emperor Taizong of Song claimed that "the state always faced the internal problems as well as the external problems. The latter kind – defense at the frontier being the most onerous – could be prevented, while the internal problems came from the officials' corruptions that the rulers should worry about" (*Extended Continuation to the Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government, Volume 32, Ding Hai August, Second year of the Era Chun Huan – Xu Zi Zhi Tong Jian Chang Bian, Juan San Er*). The Song Dynasty, therefore, underlined that even the regulations on small matters should be improved and perfected in order to strengthen the control and supervision over officials.

By dramatically removing military positions on a fete,[22] Emperor Taizu of Song (960–76 AD) built a foundational policy whereby the civil service was emphasized on the one hand and the military was restricted on the other hand. In order to strengthen the imperial authority, the Northern Song developed the collective chancellors system of the Tang Dynasty and formed a new system according to which the part of power of the chancellors (*Tong Ping Zhang Shi*) was cut down and transferred into the hands of the administrators (*Can Zhi Zheng Shi*) in the Secretariat and the Chancellery who held the power of administration and the Privy Council which was in charge of military (different from the Privy Council in the Tang Dynasty, for the latter was a eunuch institution). Moreover, the *San Si* took over financial powers.

[22]Emperor Taizu feted the military officers, and on the fete the latter were threatened to transfer the military authority to him. The story is called *Bei Jiu Shi Bing Quan*.

The expostulation system was changed drastically in the Song Dynasty. The Department of Imperial Supervision was granted the new duty of expostulation, despite being originally responsible for supervision. A special post of Expostulating Supervisor (*Yan Shi Yu Shi*) was set up in the era of Emperor Zhenzong. From the time of Emperor Taizong of Song (976–997 AD) to the time of Emperor Zhenzong (997–1022 AD), the Chancellery had adopted an expostulating bureau in which the head of the expostulating officials was appointed directly by the emperor instead of by the Secretary. With the tradition that the chancellors and expostulating officials would never be sentenced to death, the expostulating officials in the Song Dynasty became so powerful that they even criticized officials without any limitation. The expanded power of expostulating officials had hampered the function of the chancellors since Emperor Renzong. Su Shi (1037–1101 AD),[23] an official and famous poet, reviewed it in one of his petitions, stating that "the expostulating official's commentaries as to the daily life of emperor made the emperor unhappy, while the commentaries as to the state affairs even put the Chancellors in a disadvantageous situation [...] the Chancellors had to act under the expostulating official's will." Through this system, the ability of the emperor to manipulate chancellors had, on the one side, been strengthened. Simultaneously, though, the capacity of the chancellors to govern was weakened on the other side.

Overlapping and redundant personnel were a feature of the political system in the Song Dynasty. Almost all the institutions in the central government which had been set up since the Sui Dynasty were preserved intact. Also many new bureaus were established to reinforce the power of the central government. The old institutions became the sinecure for most of the elder officials.

The levels into which local government in the Song Dynasty was divided were not much different from those in the Tang Dynasty, except for the existence of supervisory district circuits (*Lu*), which were similar to the *Dao* district system of the Tang Dynasty. Under this new arrangement, the whole of China was divided into 15 *Lu* (rising to 23 in the era of Emperor Shenzong of Song [1067–85 AD]). Situated in the middle – between the agency of the central government and the local governments – the *Lu* had the responsibility of supervising instead of administering. Institutions named Supervision Bureaus (*Jian Si*) were set up in each *Lu* district. Named according to their functions, the Supervision Bureaus included the Governance Bureau (*Shuai Si*), the Transportation Bureau (*Cao Si*), the Justice Bureau (*Xian Si*), and the Storage Bureau (*Cang Si*). All the Supervision Bureaus had the duty of supervising the provincial governments on behalf of the central government. No Supervision Bureau of a *Lu* district had jurisdiction over another district, but they still held the others to task. In the provincial government, the Song Dynasty set up a special post, called *Tong Pan* or *Jian Zhou*. Just as its name implies, its main duty encompassed almost all of the affairs which took place in the provincial government. The documents issued by theprovincial government would

[23]For more details about Su Shi's literary work, see Chap. 11.

take effect after having been reviewed and signed by the *Tong Pan*. Under the system of *Jian Si* and the system of *Tong Pan*, the central authority of the Song consolidated its authority through local government.

The Imperial Examination that was created in the Sui and Tang Dynasties was gradually perfected and became virtually the main means for drafting officials into government. It had been amended several times from Emperor Taizong of Song to Emperor Zhenzong of Song. Taking place every 3 years, the Imperial Examination had three levels: the Provincial Level Examination (*Zhou Shi*), the National Level Examination (*Sheng Shi*), and the Imperial Court Examination (*Dian Shi*), the latter being under the personal charge of the emperor. The scale of the Imperial Examination under the Song increased from that under the Tang Dynasty. This can be witnessed in the number of examination graduates and candidates. The number of candidates who graduated in the Provincial Examination amounted to 20,000 in each examination. The subjects of the Imperial Examination in the Tang Dynasty were kept until Emperor Shenzong, who abandoned all of the subjects except for the Presented Scholar Examination (*Jin Shi*). The number of graduates in each subject varied from three or four hundred to seven or eight hundred. According to the statistics in the *Historical Records of Successful Imperial Examinations Candidates* (*Deng Ke Ji*), the number of graduates in the two Song Dynasties was 50,000.

The content of the Song Imperial Examination had been changed since the beginning of the Dynasty. At the beginning of the Song, following the Tang Dynasty, the Presented Scholar Examination tested for skill in composing original poetry, the essential knowledge of the Confucian Classics, and the candidates' literary abilities in writing and reviewing political matters. Later on, laws were added into the content of the text. In the era of Emperor Shenzong, the examination on poetic composition of was replaced by the examination on the commentary on the arguments of the Confucian Classics. However, poetic composition was restored into the content of examination once again in the era of Emperor Zhezong. The dispute as to what should be the content of examination – poetic composition or commentary, or both – did not stop from the late Northern Song to the Southern Song. Even so support for poetic composition was overwhelming through most of this dispute.

In a break from the Tang Imperial Examination, the Song Dynasty completely abandoned systems of recommendation such as *Xing Juan* (the candidate sending his compilation of previous essays to high officials) and *Gong Jian* (high officials recommending candidates to the examiners). The result of examination depended only on the essay the candidate wrote on the answer sheet at the Examination Court. The Song Dynasty stipulated a more restrictive and rigorous procedure and a method of examination which guaranteed fair examination in procedure and substance.

During the Provincial Examination, if candidates were found cheating on the examination sheets that were handed out with the government stamp, they would be asked to leave the Examination Court immediately. The officials and the candidates who came from other provinces attended the Special Examination Court instead of the Provincial Examination Court, which was presided over by Supervisors in the Supervision Bureau of each *Lu* district. After the Provincial Level Examination, the answer sheets and the number of the candidates, graduates, and also-rans should

be reported to the *Gong* Bureau of the Ministry of Rites for double checking. The examiners and the invigilators were liable to be punished if any cheating was found.

The Capital Examination took place in *Gong* Bureau of the Ministry of Rites, presided over by the temporary examiner and the vice examiner, called *Zhi Gong Ju* and *Tong Zhi Gong Ju,* respectively. These were assigned by the emperor from among the ranks of the high officials such as the Six Ministers, Vice Ministers, the *Hanlin* scholars, or the Supervising Secretaries. Once appointed, the examiners would have to be isolated from the outside in the *Gong* Bureau. This was called the *Suo Yuan*. Despite all identities having been checked before candidates had entered the Examination Court, their names on the answer sheets still had to be covered until the examiners completed the marking. This was another method for overcoming cheating. A more restrictive system appeared in the era of Emperor Zhenzong. In order to prevent the identity of the candidate being revealed by his handwriting, every answer sheet had to be copied by an amanuensis. The examiners read only the copy of the answer sheet until he finished marking. If any unfair situation was found in the Capital Examination, there might be a retrial. This would also take place when any son of high officials attended the Imperial Examination.

The retrial evolved to being an examination in the Imperial Court in the era of Emperor Taizong of Song. In general, the content of the examination in the Imperial Court was simpler than the other examination testing the composition of a poem, a piece of prose, and an essay. The answer sheets were collected by the eunuchs and sent to the editing officials who were responsible for sealing and copying. The answer sheets were sealed again after the examiners had completed their marking. After retrial by the special examiners, the answer sheets were delivered to the emperor for the final review. The principle of elimination was abolished in the era of Emperor Renzong. The graduates in the examination in the Imperial Court were called *Jin Shi*. These had three ranks: the highest level was called *Jin Shi Ji Di*; the lowest level was called *Tong Jin Shi Chu Sheng*; and the middle level was called *Jin Shi Chu Shen*.

There was a special provision for older candidates who had passed the Provincial Examination, but failed to pass the Capital Examination despite several attempts. The emperor had the power to grant them the title of *Jin Shi Chu Shen*.

The graduates in the Imperial Examination would be appointed to a position in government without the *Quan* selection. Graduating at the highest level of the Imperial Examination, *Jin Shi Ji Di* would generally be appointed as magistrates in local government. Although they were appointed to a lowly post at the beginning of their career, their experience of having attended the Imperial Examination placed them in much better stead for future assessments and promotions than the others who had not. The overwhelming proportion of officials in high positions was, therefore, drawn from among the graduates of the Imperial Examination.

Owing to the fact that the number of the candidates was too few, the less-esteemed subject examination was less important than the esteemed examination. The former became an alternative for current officials who wanted to change their position.

The rulers of the Song Dynasty emphasized the construction of schools which were the main source of the candidates for the Imperial Examination. One of the new polices in the Wang Anshi Reform[24] in the era of Emperor Shenzong was to replace the Imperial Examination with examination in the schools.

The Song Dynasty inherited and expanded the Han and Tang system of *Ren Zi* and *Men Yin* by which the sons of high officials were granted the privilege of being appointed without attending the Imperial Examination. *Men Yin* in the Song Dynasty covered not only the sons and grandsons of high officials but also their relatives or underlings who were the main source of the redundant officials. However, the candidates for *Men Yin* must have attended a special examination which involved the law, the composition of poetry, commentary, and so on.

The Tang *Quan* selection was kept in the Song Dynasty, but only for officials. With the purpose of assessment and promotion, civil officials were categorized into *Xuan Ren*, *Jing* officials, and *Shen Chao* officials (the latter two were combined as *Jing Chao* officials). The officers were categorized into three: *Shi Chen*, *Zhu Si Shi* Officer, and *Heng Ban. Xuan Ren* referred to the officials with a low grade of professional title. They were appointed to a post in local government after a review into their skills in deportment, appearance, speech, calligraphy, commentary, and so on. They would be promoted to positions in the central government as *Jing* officials if a referee could be found, after a period of service in local government. A *Jing Chao* official was regarded as being in a promising position for his future political career. According to the channel of being promoted, the duty on the post assigned to graduates *Jin Shi* was more important than that assigned to the candidates of *Men Yin*. Nevertheless, the post of the latter would be more important than those of *Liu Wai* clerks in the local governments.

However, *Quan* selection was not important in the Song Dynasty system of appointment. The Tang system of dispatch was developed into a main method of appointment in the Song Dynasty. As its name suggested, the Song officials were actually dispatched to substantial positions in order to strengthen the reign of the imperial authority. The *Jing* officials were dispatched to the position of governors in the provincial governments. They were titled as *Zhi Fu* which meant that *Jin Chao* officials had the privilege of becoming involved in local affairs. The method of dispatch was implemented within the most of important counties. Otherwise, the prefects in deserted counties were appointed instead of being dispatched. In the central government, the system of dispatch was implemented very often. This was known as *Quan Zhi*, *Pan*, *Ti Ju*, or *Guan Gou*. For example, even though the official head of the Privy Council was the Cardinal Privy Council (*Shu Mi Shi*),

[24] As chancellor in 1070–1074 and 1075–1076, Wang Anshi (1021–1086) attempted a far-reaching series of reforms aimed at reducing nepotism and creating a system more comprehensively based on merit and ability. He believed, among other things, that agricultural land should be transferred from the hands of the rich (who tried to evade taxes) to the government in order to reduce the exploitation of the poor, that corvée should be replaced with paid labor work, and that monopolies and private speculation should be smashed. He met with resistance from the conservative faction in the Court and was eventually overthrown.

a special official would be dispatched to take on the duty of the Cardinal Privy Council instead. He was titled as the *Zhi Shu Mi Yuan Shi*. The system of dispatch strengthened the emperor's control over the officials and at the same time weakened the power of the Ministry of Personnel and the Ministry of Defense.

The *Song Criminal Law* (*Song Xing Tong*), compiled by Dou Yi in the era of Emperor Taizu, retained most of the legal system of the Tang Dynasty. The most important development was that the summons (*Chi Ling*), a new form of law, appeared. The summons was used to offset the gap between old laws and the new situation. The *History of Song* states that the "Song law maintained the Tang Law, but added or deleted some provisions by summons of the emperor" (*History of the Song Dynasty: Punishment – Songshi: Xing Fa Zhi*). In legal practice, "any disputes beyond the scope of the laws would be decided by summons." Thus, summonses became the most significant component and source of the Song Law since the era of Emperor Shenzong who even replaced the statutes (*Lü*) by summonses which was put in the first forms of laws in order. At the peak of legal authority, the emperor's summonses had consolidated the imperial power in the legal system. In terms of punishment, two punishments – the death by skinning (*Lin Chi*) and exile with branding on face (*Ci Pei*) – were added into the criminal law.

6.6 The Features of the Political and Legal System in the Liao, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties

The Liao, Jin, and Yuan Dynasties were the empires founded by minorities in northern China. The rulers of the Three Dynasties to some extent adopted the political system and social practice of the Northern and Southern Song. Meanwhile, their traditional social and political customs challenged the moribund components of Han Chinese political systems.

The Liao Dynasty (907–1125 AD) was an empire found by the Qi Dan ethnic minority which had been headed alternatively by the chieftain (Khan) and the governors of the eight constituent tribes until the Great Khan Yelü Abaoji[25] set up an imperial system. However, the succession of throne retained the customs in Qi Dan tribe. Due to the very close relationship between the Yelü royal family and the Xiao Clan to which the empress's family belonged, the latter had a superior position in the Liao's political system. Sinicization was undertaken within a very limited scope in the Liao Dynasty. To be specific, there were two parallel governments. The northern administration governed the Qi Dan areas following the traditions of the Qi Dan, while the southern administration governed areas with large non-Qi Dan populations adopting traditional Chinese governmental practices (*History of the Liao Dynasty: Officials 1 – Liaoshi: Bai Guan Yi*). The titles of northern officials (*Bei Mian Guan*)

[25]He reigned as Emperor Taizu of Liao (907–26 AD).

in the northern administrative area could be inherited by their sons according to the traditional ethnic minority hereditary, while southern officials (*Nan Mian Guan*) were chosen by the Imperial Examination.

The Liao Dynasty started its Imperial Examination in the sixth year of Tong He (the regnal title for Emperor Shengzong of Liao [reigned 982–1031 AD]). The Imperial Examination of the Liao was set up for the Han Chinese rather than the Qi Dan Clan and retained most of the system of the Song Imperial Examination. Taking place every 2 or 3 years, the Liao Imperial Examination was divided into three levels: County Level Examination (*Xiang Shi*), Provincial Level Examination (*Fu Shi*), and National Examination (*Hui Shi*). The Imperial Court Examination was added later on. In terms of the content, the examination tested the composition of original poetry and the Confucian Classics at the beginning. Upon the removal of the Confucian Classics, the composition of poetry became the main subject and the laws became a secondary subject.

The Jin Dynasty (1115–1234 AD) was founded by the Wanyan Clan of the Jurchens. The tribal council – the so-called *Bo Ji Lie* – remained for a while after the foundation of the empire. Emperor Xizong of Jin (1135–50 AD) did his best to promote the policy of Sinicization by abolishing the tribal council and established the system of crown princes as the essential succession policy. Adopting the political system of the Tang, Emperor Xizong set up the Three Departments: the Department of State Affairs, the Secretariat, and the Chancellery. This reform was called the New Policy of Tian Juan (*Tian Juan Xin Zhi*). However, lacking the essential function of balance which had characterized the traditional Chinese political system, the divergent powers between the departments in the central governments disappeared when the Secretariat and the Chancellery were abandoned later on by the Jin Dynasty.

The Imperial Examination took place once every 3 years on four levels: the County Level Examination (abolished later on), the Provincial Level Examination (*Fu Shi*), National Examination (*Hui Shi*), and the Imperial Court Examination (*Dian Shi*). The Jurchen people attended an examination which separate from the Examination Court of the Han Chinese. The "commentary and review" (*Ce Lun*) – the only content of examination for Jurchen candidates – was easier than the composition of poetry and the Confucian Classics texts that the Han Chinese candidates had to complete. The Imperial Examination in the Jin Dynasty functioned with much more influence upon the politics than that in the Liao Dynasty. This was owing to the much higher level of Sinicization in the former.

The Yuan Dynasty (1205–1368 AD, previously a dynasty of Great Mongolia) was founded by the Mongolians after series of conquering wars. Although Emperor Shizu of Yuan (better known as Kublai Khan) (1260–94 AD) accepted the Han Chinese political systems, the Yuan Dynasty maintained the "tribal council" (*Hu Li Tai*) of the tribal alliance. An example of this was that the crowned prince did not assume the throne until he had been accepted by the tribal council. In the light of applying informal procedure of administration, the system of Imperial Council in which the state affairs would be discussed among the high officials never formed. Therefore, in the Yuan dynasty, the chancellor had too much power and it was the

powerful officials that governed the nation. The emperor's companions (*Qie Xue*) which was the main source of most high officials played an important role in politics. The Secretariat was in charge of administration, the Privy Council controlled the military, and the Supervision Secretariat constituted the central government of the Yuan Dynasty. The crown prince was the nominal Executive Secretary in the Secretariat and the Cardinal Privy Council, while the Right and Left Secretaries and Minister (*Ping Zhang Zheng Shi*) under the Secretariat took charge of state affairs as the de facto chancellors. The superlative power of chancellor in the Yuan Dynasty can be seen in the system whereby the chancellor often was appointed to the post of Secretary of the Privy Council and the Senior General of safeguarding army. In local governance, the distinguishing development was the setting up of administrative provinces (*Xing Zhong Shu Sheng*) by which the territory of the Yuan Dynasty was divided into the Central Region (*Fu Li*) as the duchy of the Secretariat and eleven provinces under control of various "Branch Secretariats" (*Xing Sheng*).

At the beginning of the Yuan Dynasty, the highest rulers refused to reintroduce the Imperial Examination. This was because the recruitment of examination-drafted officials ran contrary to the traditional Mongol reliance on military institutions and offices. This situation persisted until 1313 AD – the second year of Huang Qing (the regnal title for Emperor Renzhong). Without the proviso that the current officials could not attend the Imperial Examination, the Yuan Imperial Examination took place in the county, capital, and imperial courts, respectively. The procedure and content of the Yuan Imperial Examination did not change very significantly compared with that of the Song, except for the deletion of some details in procedure as well as limitations in the content of the test only on the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*.[26] The unique feature of the Yuan Imperial Examination was discrimination. The candidates were divided into four classes in order of privilege: Mongols, various sorts (*Se Mu*), Han Chinese, and Southerners. Despite the different contents of examination for the different classes of candidates, a quota allocation was applied throughout. The number of each class of candidates was one quarter of the graduates in the Imperial Court Examination. For example, 300 graduates at the County Level Examination consisted of four groups of graduates. Of these, 75 were Mongols, 75 were *Se Mu*, 75 were Han Chinese, and 75 were Southerners. The 100 graduates at the Provincial Level Examination consisted of four groups of graduates – 25 for each. The number of graduates in the Imperial Court Examination varied from 30 to 80. Besides the champion of the Imperial Examination, the other graduates would be appointed to the positions from the seventh to eighth rank in government.

In the Yuan government, most officials were drawn from among the officers employed for the safeguarding the army or the clerks who had no official ranking

[26]The *Four Books* were *Great Learning (Daxue), Doctrine of the Mean (Zhongyong),* the *Analects* of Confucius *(Lunyu), and Mencius (Mengzi)*. The Five Classics refers to *Classic of Poetry (Shijing),* the *Spring and Autumn Annals (Chunqiu), Classic of History (Shangshu), I Ching (Yijing, the so-called Zhouyi), and Book of Rites(Liji).*

titles. In addition, on the grounds that graduates of the Imperial Examination were discriminated against politically by the Mongols, the former had no advantage in the bureaucratic system. Greater emphasis was laid upon the clerks, who occupied the greater number of positions in the bureaucratic system of the Yuan Dynasty. According to the historical records, "only one percent of officials were from the group of graduated *Jin Shi*, while the ninety percent of the high officials were promoted from the clerks" (*New History of the Yuan Dynasty: Biography of Han Yong – Xin Yuan Shi: Han Yong Zhuan*). In respect to the assessment and promotion of the clerks, there were examinations, by-elections, and annual tribute systems.

In ancient Chinese government, the tension between the scholar-officials (*Ru*) and the non-scholar staff (*Li*) developed to its peak in the Yuan Dynasty even though this had begun to appear in the Qin and Han Dynasties. In general, the scholar-officials were recruited into the government by passing the rigorous Imperial Examination which required that the young candidates had been cultivated by the Confucian Classics for many years. The scholar-officials, therefore, had the moral advantage but lacked practical skills. The non-scholar staff performed day-to-day tasks of governance so that they were well-trained clerks but lacked moral fortitude. From the Han Dynasty to the Tang Dynasty, the highest rulers combined these two groups of officials in their government in order to draw on the strong points of each one and to compensate for the other's weak points. As Liu Yan (*c*. 715/6–80 AD) in the Tang Dynasty commented, "most of the *literati* did not become involved in corruption because they heavily emphasized reputation rather than financial benefits; while the non-scholar staff easily became corrupted because they attained hardly any benefits from eschewing corruption" (*Comprehensive Examination of Literature, selection 8 – Wen Xian Tong Kao, Xuanju Ba*). In the Song Dynasty, the scholar-officials occupied most of the high positions in bureaucracy system. Even though a number of officials famed for their morality emerged during this era, the system would result in the incompetence of the government. However, owing to the fact that the rulers despised the scholar-officials who were recruited through the Imperial Examination, the Yuan Dynasty appointed non-scholar staff and bodyguards to important positions in government. Serious corruption in bureaucracy was the inevitable outcome of this situation even though civil affairs were performed in an efficient manner by the skilled clerks and military staff. A one-sided but sensible description from a later time read that "the Song fell because of scholar officials, while the Yuan collapsed because of non-scholar staff."

Primitive features remained in the legal systems of the Liao, Jin, and Yuan despite the fact that these were assimilated from the Tang and Song Dynasties. It was said that "[a]t the beginning of the Jin, the light and simple legal system which was implemented over all people without discrimination proved to be a temporary feature of the new empire instead of being able to stand for long period" (*History of the Jin Dynasty: Punishment – Jinshi: Xing Fa Zhi*). Some uncompleted regulations and edicts had been stipulated since Emperor Xizong of Jin. It was not until the Tai He era of the late Jin Dynasty that Emperor Zhangzong ordered to codify the systematic *Tai He Laws* (*Tai He Lü Yi*). But the edited version of Jin Laws did not develop much beyond the Tang Law. There was no edited regulation in the

early Yuan Dynasty until Emperor Shizu of Yuan (Kublai Khan) compiled the *Zhi Yuan New Punishments* (*Zhi Yuan Xin Ge*). Emperor Yingzong of Yuan ordered the compilation of two codes: the *Collection of Laws of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuan Dian Zhang*) and *General Regulations of the Great Yuan Dynasty* (*Da Yuan Tong Zhi*). Following the structure of the *Tang Six Code*, the former collected all the edicts, summonses, cases, and regulations from Emperor Shizu to Emperor Yingzong into 373 provisions in 60 volumes with ten subjects. The latter focused on the legal events since Emperor Shizu, including summonses, punishments, and judgments, arranging them into 2,539 provisions. Paying less attention to their inheritance from their predecessors, the rulers abandoned most of the content of the Tang and Song Laws and depended mainly on the traditional Mongolian judgments (cases). In terms of punishments, most corporal punishments were restored in the Yuan Dynasty.

6.7 The Further Consolidation of Imperial Authority and the Disadvantages of the Political System (the Ming and Qing Dynasties)

During the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD) and the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), the imperial authority was consolidated and developed further.

In politics, the rulers of the Ming and Qing Dynasties strengthened their dictatorship (*Gang Qian Du Duan*). Emperor Taizu of Ming (Zhu Yuanzhang or Emperor Hongwu) intensified monarchical control over all aspects of government, so that no other group could gain sufficient power to overthrow him. He abolished the chancellor system and led the Six Ministers himself. However, this strengthening of imperial authority resulted in institutional inefficiency and corruption. From Emperor Yongle of Ming onwards, the most incompetent emperors of the Ming Dynasty such as Emperor Wuzong (also known as Zhengde) (1505–1521 AD) and Emperor Xizong (also known as Tianqi) (1620–1627 AD) rendered the affairs of state as child's play; some of them such as Emperor Shizong (also known as Jiajing) (1521–1567 AD) and Emperor Shenzong (also known as Wanli) (1572–1620 AD) even frequently quarreled with their ministers over political issues. As a result, the seizure of power by tyrannical high officials or the eunuchs caused political collapse in the Ming Dynasty. By diligent participation when dealing with state affairs, the Qing emperors devoted themselves to resolving the problem of the eunuchs which had remained from the Ming Dynasty. Nonetheless, the tyrannical dictatorship still continued.

Crisis in the crown prince system emerged at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. Having outlived his first successor, Emperor Taizu (1368–1398 AD) anointed his grandson, but this ended in failure when the Jiannan Rebellion broke out.[27] Emperor

[27]Emperor Jianwen, the grandson of Emperor Taizu (Zhu Yuanzhang, or Hongwu), attempted to restrain his powerful uncles and led to Emperor Yongle's successful rebellion.

Wanli's intention to crown the son who was born to his favorite concubine flew in the face of the traditional primogeniture. This led to a clash between him and his ministers and the relationship between them worsened over the following 14 years. Influenced by traditional Chinese Culture, Emperor Kangxi of Qing (1661–1722) restored the crown prince system. However, the weak and incompetent enthroned prince was not able to satisfy the expectation of his emperor father who was depressed by the cruel fight for the throne which happened later on in the Court. Learning from past experience, Emperor Yongzheng of Qing (1722–1735) set up a crown prince system in secret. According to the new system, the emperor would write down the name of crowned prince in two secret imperial edicts, one of which would be hidden behind the horizontal board inscribed with four characters *Zheng Da Guang Ming* which was hung at the gate of Qianqing Palace of the Forbidden City. The other would be kept by the emperor himself. The imperial edicts would not take effect until after the emperor had died. The secret system of crown princes guaranteed the competence of the enthroned princes. This was one of the reasons why most of the emperors of the Qing Dynasty possessed comparative capability and intelligence.

In the Ming Dynasty, the conflicts between the emperors and the ministers can be seen in the "Great Rites Controversy" (*Da Li zhi Zheng*). When Emperor Wuzong of Ming suddenly died without an heir, his nephew Zhu Houcong, son of late Lord of Xing Xian, was chosen to succeed to the throne by the ministers. This led to an intense dispute as to the traditional rites. Custom dictated that a successor who was not an immediate descendant of the previous emperor ought to have been adopted by his predecessor, to maintain the unbroken line. Such a posthumous adoption of Zhu Houcong by Emperor Wuzong was proposed by a group of ministers, represented by Chancellor Yang Ting; but Zhu Houcong refused, preferring instead to have his father declared emperor posthumously. This conflict, known as the "Great Rites Controversy," caused serious instability in the reign. Confronting the collective resignation of his ministers, Emperor Jiajing prevailed. Hundreds of his opponents were banished, physically beaten in Court or executed. Afterwards, Emperor Jiajing stayed behind the wall of the Forbidden City and remained out of the sight of his ministers for 40 years. Ignoring state affairs, he began to pay excessive attention to his Taoist pursuits. The counterattacks between the sovereign and the ministers in the eras of Emperor Wanli and Emperor Jiajing reflected the fact that the consolidated imperial authority alienated the emperors from their imperial role. Left free of restraints, the emperor prioritized his own private affections above the affairs of state. This caused political conflicts which the old systems could not resolve.

The Ming Dynasty introduced a system whereby a cabinet had the duty of drafting the emperor's responses to the memoranda (*Piao Ni*). Through this means, the emperor took charge of handling state affairs. However, the eunuchs had started to restrict the performance of *Piao Ni* of the cabinet since Emperor Yizong of Ming. Relying completely upon the advice of the eunuch Wang Zhen, Emperor Yingzong of Ming directed and lost the battle of Tu Mu Fortress against the Mongols during his first reign. Later, with the eunuch's help, he reinstated his reign by means of a palace

coup, after which the tyrannical eunuch power dominated the Imperial Court of the Ming Dynasty. By reading memoranda and commanding ministers, the eunuchs and not the emperor handled the affairs of state and became the intermediaries between the aloof emperor and his officials. With the purpose of gaining control over the officials, the emperor appointed eunuchs to manage spying institutions such as the *Dong Chang*, *Xi Chang*, and imperial military secret police (*Jin Yi Wei*). The expansion in the powers of these spying institutions indicates how the excessive and tyrannical control of the eunuchs had reached its peak. The Qing emperors resolved the problems of tyrannical eunuch power by communicating directly with the officials. In the Qing Dynasty, the spying institutions, as a means of eliminating political opponents through assassinations and legal prosecutions, were disbanded. In order to collect intelligence, Emperor Kangxi of Qing introduced the system of secret memoranda by which some high ministers who the emperor trusted were granted the privilege of communicating with the emperor without the intermediary of the secret memoranda. In the informal memoranda, the ministers could talk randomly about any events, ranging from state affairs to civilian gossip which had transpired in the Court or palace. The secret memoranda became the material avenue by which the emperor obtained intelligence about society and officials.

Following the execution of Chancellor Hu Weiyong (d. 1380) at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, Emperor Taizu abolished the Secretariat and prohibited his successor from appointing a chancellor. Regarding this rule as a traditional custom, any official who suggested the appointment of a chancellor would be executed. The Grand Secretariat – originally a secretarial institution that assisted the emperor with administrative paperwork – was instituted. The Grand Secretariat drew its members from the *Hanlin* Academy. The Grand Secretary (*Shou Fu*), a top-ranking, nonfunctional civil service post, was the head of the Grand Secretariat. Considered as part of the imperial authority in the era of Emperor Jiajing and Emperor Wanli, the Grand Secretary, according to Emperor Jiajing, "performed as the minister even though it was not ministerial one." For example, Yan Song (1480–1567 AD) who served in the reign of Emperor Jiajing and Zhang Juzheng (1525–1582 AD) who served in the reign of Emperor Wanli were influential secretaries. Nevertheless, the Secretariat was a coordinating agency and different from the Secretariat in previous dynasties.

The Grand Secretariat remained but lost its importance and by the Qing Dynasty had evolved into an institution which was only in charge of routine matters for the emperors. The head of the Grand Secretariat, as the nominal chancellor, was renamed *Dian Ge*, or called in general *Zhong Tang*. The nominal vice chancellor was called the Assistant Secretary (*Xie Kui*). The actual core of administration was the Grand Council which was built at the beginning of the Qing Dynasty and renamed *Jun Ji Chu* by Emperor Yongzheng. From the foundation of the *Jun Ji Chu*, the Grand Secretariat was not allowed to touch the important documents of the Imperial Court except for the public files.

The Grand Council was dominated by the Manchu nobility and was abolished later on by Emperor Qianlong. Emperor Kangxi appointed the officials in the Grand Secretariat to balance the power of the Grand Council. The core institution, *Jun*

Ji Chu, emerged in the reign of Emperor Yongzheng as a body charged with handling Qing military campaigns against the Mongols. It took over all the military and administrative duties and served to centralize authority under the crown. The Grand Councilors (*Ju Ji Da Chen*) were assigned by the emperors and assisted by Vice Councilors (*Jun Ji Zhang Jing*). Without the use of intermediaries such as amanuenses, the Grand Councilors communicated directly with the emperors every day and drafted the important files by themselves or occasionally by the Vice Councilors. In contrast to the public files handled by the Grand Secretariat (called *Ming Fa*), the files sent to the emperors by the Grand Councilors (called *Ting Ji*) had to be sealed. The emperor would be always accompanied by the Grand Councilors when he took tours around. Even though the Grand Councilors had the power to offer advice on military and administrative matters, the emperors personally made the decisions. Thereafter, the central structure of the imperial authority finalized its design.

The Ministries, headed by a Minister and run by Directors, remained under the control of the emperor until the end of the Qing Dynasty. The Ming and Qing Dynasties inherited the Six Ministries with several slight changes. The Ministry of Personnel was the most important. The Ministries of Personnel, Rites, and Defense controlled four bureaus which were instituted by their functions, respectively. The Ministries of Revenue, Justice, and Works supervised the bureaus which were instituted in every provincial government. Paralleling the Six Ministries, there was *Li Fan Yuan*. This was an institution established to supervise the administration of all ethnic minority groups living in or around the empire under Qing governance. The heads of the Six Ministries were called Minister (*Shang Shu*) and the Vice Ministers (*Shi Lang*), customarily *Tang Guan*.

In addition to the Six Ministries, there were several important institutions. The *Hanlin* Academy was responsible for editing and proofreading history books and materials. In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the *Hanlin* Academy had the unique duty of training the qualified officials. Most of high officials ranging from the Ministers, the Grand Secretaries, to the Grand Councilors were promoted from the *Hanlin* Academy. It was said that nobody could enter into the *Hanlin* except for those who had graduated as *Jin Shi* in the Imperial Examination, while nobody could enter the Grand Secretariat except the scholars in *Hanlin* Academy. Similar to the *Hanlin* Academy, the *Zhan* Bureau was established to educate the crowned princes in the Ming Dynasty. Despite the fact that the crown prince system was abolished in the Qing Dynasty, the *Zhan* Bureau remained and took on the duties overlapping with those of the *Hanlin* Academy. In addition, there were six Supervising Secretaries in the central government and the Imperial Supervisors who were sent to each of 13 supervision districts (there were 15 in the Qing Dynasty, and this number was increased to 20 in the reign of Emperor Guangxu of Qing [1875–1908]). The Administrative Bureau (*Tong Zheng Si*) emerged in the Ming Dynasty and was responsible for submitting petitions and memoranda to the emperors and later for drafting the abstract of the memoranda (*Tie Huang*) and the contents on the cover or the package of the memoranda (*Yin Huang*). Owing to the control which was exerted over communications with the emperors, the gradually expanding power of

the Administrative Bureau was nonetheless restricted and degraded to just checking the procedure of submission in the Qing Dynasty. Meanwhile, the Grand Secretariat took over the duty of submitting memoranda. The important memoranda were even handed in to the emperors without the transfer by the Grand Secretariat. The Da Li Temple was the judicial institution which tried the cases on the appeal that had been heard and decided by the Ministry of Justice or the judiciaries of provincial government. The three judicial institutions of the Ming were the Da Li Temple, the Ministry of Justice which was responsible for hearing the important cases, and the Supervision Institution (*Du Cha Yuan*) which had the duty of supervising the judiciary. The Six Ministers in the Six Ministries, the Imperial Supervisors in the Supervision Institution, the head of the Administrative Bureau (*Tong Zheng Shi*), and the Ministers of Da Li Temple were the so-called the Nine Ministers (*Jiu Qing*) in the Qing Dynasty.

Copying the model of the Yuan Dynasty, the territory of the Ming was divided into 13 provinces and the two metropolitan areas attached to Nanjing and Beijing. As it reached its fullest extent, the Qing Dynasty set up special administrative districts, respectively, in the Northeast area, Inner Mongolia, Outer Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet, besides 18 provinces, which included a metropolitan one attached to Beijing. In the late Qing Dynasty, Xinjiang Province, Taiwan Province, Fengtian Province, Jilin Province, and Heilongjiang Province were established successively.

The Ming provincial bureaucracy contained three divisions (*Si*): the Command Division (*Du Zhi Hui Shi Si*, or *Du Si*) for the military, the Administration Division (*Cheng Xuan Bu Zheng Shi Si*, *Bu Si*, or *Fan Si*) for civil affairs, and the Punishment Division (*Ti Xing An Cha Shi Si*, *An Si*, or *Gao Si*) for surveillance. Without having jurisdiction over one another, these three divisions fell under the control of the central government. In the middle and later stages of the Ming Dynasty, the provincial administrations were monitored by the Circuit Governor (*Xun Fu*), who was dispatched by the central government to avert the conflicts that might arise between the three divisions. With the development of the system of the Circuit Governors, the Administration Division and the Punishment Division evolved gradually to the subdivisions of the Circuit Governors. In addition, the Ming central government dispatched the Governors-General (*Zong Du*) to coordinate local military governance.

The eight Governors-General dispatched by the Qing central government became the highest rank in the eight regional viceroys in China proper, including Zhili (Hebei Province), Liangjiang (Jiangsu and Jiangxi), Minzhe (Fujian and Zhejiang), Huguang (Hunan and Hubei), Shaangan (Shaanxi and Gansu), Liangguang (Guangdong and Guangxi), Sichuan, and Yungui (Yunnan and Guizhou), each of them usually took charge of provincial civil administrations and military governance (*Zhi Tai*, or *Tang Bu*). Besides the eight Governors-General, two special Governors-General were appointed to govern the rivers and the waterborne transportation of grain to the capital, respectively. The highest provincial administrators were the Circuit Governors (called *Fu Tai* or *Zhong Cheng*) who were one component of the provincial government. Beneath the Circuit Governors, the Administration Division

and the Punishment Division were the other two parts of the provincial government. In the Ming and Qing Dynasties, the Governors-General and the Circuit Governors had been dispatched and controlled strictly by the central government. Until the rise of the Xiang Huai Army which was established to crush the Taiping Rebellion[28] in the late Qing Dynasty, the relationship between the central government and the provincial governments had been altered by the swelling power of the Governors-General and the Circuit Governors.

The Imperial Examination was the major mechanism by which the central government and local governments captured the elites during the Ming and Qing eras. The Ming and Qing Imperial Examination took place every 3 years and had three levels: the Provincial Level Examinations, the National Level Examinations, and the Imperial Court Examinations. Every Provincial Level and National Level Examination was, respectively, scheduled for three rounds including four questions on the *Four Books* and five questions on the *Five Classics* in the first round; one essay on the arguments of the Confucian Classics, five commentaries, one memorial, or mandate in the second round; and five commentaries on political issues in the third round. In the reign of Emperor Qianlong, the composition of a poem was added in the first round and five questions on the *Five Classics* became the subjects in the second round.

Compared with the Song and Yuan Dynasties, the biggest difference was that the eight-legged essay (*ba gu wen*) had to be mastered in order to pass the Imperial Examination during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Requesting that the candidate should write an eight-legged essay (so-called *Zhi Yi* also), the examination tested only the topics in the specified version of the *Four Books* and *Five Classics* that had been annotated by the Confucian scholars in the Song Dynasty. For example, the *Four Books* and the *Classics of Poetry* interpreted by the Neo-Confucian sage Zhu Xi (1130–1200 AD), Three Commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo's Commentary*, the *Commentary of Gongyang*, and the *Commentary of Gu Liang*[29]), and the *Commentary of Hu Anguo* were standardized as the Confucian classical texts. The eight-legged essay was formulated around a rigid, artificial structure which included opening (*Po Ti*), amplification (*Cheng Ti*), preliminary exposition (*Qi Jiang*), initial argument (*Ti Bi*), central argument (*Zhong Bi*), and final argument (*Hou Bi*). The candidates were asked to write an essay in a uniform manner and a

[28]The Taiping Rebellion was an ultimately unsuccessful large-scale revolt which occurred in the South of China between 1850 and 1864. The rebel leader Hong Xiuquan (1814–1864) audaciously declared that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ and had been sent to establish his Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in Nanjing and spread this outwards, crushing the systems of Confucianism, Buddhism, and indigenous folk religion. In spite of its strong religious overtones, it has been perceived as first and foremost a rebellion against the feudal system of China. Hong failed the Imperial Examination several times and upheld radical policies which were unthinkable in Qing China, such as equality for women.

[29]Although the *Commentary of Gu Liang (Guliang Zhuang)* may be based in part on oral traditions from as early as the Warring States Period (475–221 BC), the first references to the work appear in the Han Dynasty, and the peak of its influence was the first century BC.

serious tone after the manner of the sages. To pass the Imperial Examination, an eight-legged essay must be written to cover the following factors: parallel sentences to broach the topic, an elaboration upon and clarification of the theme, proper wording and phrasing, a fictitious and a realistic comparison, a right comparison and wrong comparison, cadence, diction, and sentence-making.[30] The eight-legged essay tested not only the candidates' knowledge but also the candidates' intelligence and comprehension.

The first examiners and the second examiners, collectively called Inside-Curtain Officials (*Nei Lian Guan*), of the Provincial Level Examination were appointed by the emperor. The inspectors and invigilators, collectively called Outside-Curtain Officials (*Wai Lian Guan*), of the Provincial Level Examination were assigned by the governors of the Administrative Division and the governors of the Punishment Division, respectively. The inspectors and invigilators of the National Level Examination were occupied by the presidents of the bureaus under the Ministry of Rites and the Supervising Secretaries and Supervisors in the central government, respectively. The Imperial Examination was held according to a very strict procedure. The inspectors and invigilators would close the door of the examination compound as soon as the examiners had entered. No candidate could enter or leave without permission. No materials would be allowed to be taken into the compound without first being checked by the inspectors and invigilators. The candidates in the Provincial Level Examination would be physically searched one by one when they entered the compound. This search procedure was incorporated into the National Level Examination during the reign of Emperor Jiajing. Any accoutrements must be searched. For example, a cap, the sole of a shoe, and an ink stone would not be allowed in if they were deemed to be too thick. In order to avoid cheating in the examination, the stem of a brush pen had to be solid, all solid food had to be sliced up, and charcoal must not be longer than two *Cun* in length.[31] The answer sheets would be collected and registered by the collecting staff. After that, the answer sheets would be sealed and numbered in order by the sealing staff. The copying staff would recopy the answers in red ink in order to prevent the candidates' calligraphy from being recognized. The red-inked answer sheets would be identified with the black-inked answer sheets before they were sent to the second examiners for marking and review. The marked and reviewed red-inked answer sheets were recommended to the first examiners to review. The marked red-inked answer sheets would be identified with the original black-inked answer sheets in the public court. The rank of the scholars would be published afterwards. Having just one round of examination, the Imperial Court Examination was simpler than the Provincial and National Level examinations. The Imperial Court Examination was examined by the emperor who ranked the candidates by himself and the result was sent to the Grand Secretariat to publish via a poster on yellow paper.

[30] See He Huaihong, *The Selection Society and Its End* (SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1998).

[31] *Cun* was a unit of length in ancient China, one *Cun* equals about 3 cm.

From the Ming Dynasty onwards, the number of the candidates in the Provincial Level Examination had been limited to around 100 in the big provinces and 10–20 in the small provinces. This number was increased in the Qing Dynasty. A graduate of the Provincial Level Examination was called the "recommended man" (*Ju Ren*). The *Ju Ren* who ranked first was generally called *Jie Yuan*. The number of graduates of the National Level Examination numbered around 300, increasing beyond that in some years. There were subsidiary ranked graduates paralleling the official ones in the era of the Qing. The question paper in the National Level Examination had forms aimed at the northern and southern divisions of the country. With the purpose of recruiting imperial officials from across the whole country, the candidate quota was applied to the National Level Examinations, in numbers roughly proportional to the population of the north and south. The *Ju Ren* who ranked first in the National Level Examination was called *Hui Yuan*. There was no failure in the Imperial Court Examination. The graduates of the Imperial Court Examination were called *Jin Shi* and were divided into three classes. The graduates who ranked in the first class in the Imperial Court Examination were granted the title of "imperial scholar" (*Jin Shi Ji Di*). The *Jin Shi* who ranked first overall was called *Zhuang Yuan*; the *Jin Shi* who ranked second overall was called *Bang Yan*; and the *Jin Shi* who ranked third overall was called *Tan Hua*. The graduates who ranked second class in the Imperial Court Examination were granted the title of *Jin Shi Chu Shen*, immediately after the *Tan Hua*. The remaining graduates in the Imperial Court Examination were named as *Tong Jin Shi Chu Shen*.

The *Ju Ren* would be appointed immediately. The *Jin Shi* would also be appointed immediately except for some of the able imperial scholars who were chosen as *Shu Ji Shi* to enter into the *Hanlin* Academy. The *Shu Ji Shi* were trained as would-be high-ranking officials. After 3 years of training, the qualified *Shu Ji Shi* who ranked in the first class in the examination (*San Guan*) would be appointed as the editing officials in *Hanlin* Academy. The *Shu Ji Shi* who ranked in the second class in the examination would be appointed as the Supervisors or Supervising Secretaries in the central government. The others would be appointed in the institutions of supervision districts, provincial, or county governments. The *Shu Ji Shi* had the more advantageous situation when it came to future promotion and transfer than the other *Jin Shi*.

The Imperial Examination developed to its peak in the era of the Ming and the Qing and had an almost uniformly rigorous and standardized form. The test of the eight-legged essay was the inevitable outcome of the standardized examination. Yet the set format of the eight-legged essay stifled original thought and along with the rigidity of the political system promoted resistance to change. Its inefficiency and the uselessness and impracticality of what the candidates were expected to learn were criticized drastically. It was finally abolished as it hindered the change of Chinese politics in the turbulent era of the late Qing. However, its reasonable procedure of examination could be used for reference to merit attention.

In the Ming Dynasty, the selection of civil service officials was administered by the Ministry of Personnel and the selection of military officers was administered by the Ministry of Defense. Civil service officials would not be recruited by

governments until after the selection held by the Ministry of Personnel. In general, those who graduated as imperial scholars (*Jin Shi*) were appointed to the sinecures in the central government or to the busy positions in local governments. Those who graduated as the recommended man (*Ju Ren*) were appointed to the positions in deserted counties. Following the four standards of deportment, speech, calligraphy, and commentary formulated in the Tang Dynasty, there was the interview system presided over by the invigilators in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. In order to prevent bribery, the drawing of lots was introduced into the selection of officials in the Qing Dynasty. The names of the qualified candidates for a position and the name of this position were inscribed, respectively, on the bamboo slips. The administrators drew lots to decide who would be appointed to the position. The experience of attending the Imperial Examination gave the graduates of the examination a greater advantage in the selection. As the formal way of entering civil service, the Imperial Examination functioned as a guarantee of the essential quality of the bureaucracy group much better than other methods.

In terms of personnel management, the Ming Dynasty founded a strict and rigorous system of assessment including two sections: annual assessment (*Kao Man*) and the assessment for punishment and recommendation (*Kao Cha*). The former applied to all officials whose assignment period had expired with the purpose of promotion or transfer. The latter was used either to disqualify the officials who were wrongdoers or to recommend the officials who had overwhelming achievements. The *Kao Cha* was divided into two subsections: one took place every 6 years and targeted officials in the central government, and the other took place every 3 years and targeted the local officials when they presented themselves in the Imperial Court. The officials who obtained good results in the *Kao Cha* would be promoted gradually, while the officials who were corrupt, cruel, fickle, incapable, aged, sick, weak, or imprudent (the Eight *Fa*) would be dismissed, put on probation, retired, or transferred. The Eight *Fa* remained with the slight changes in the Qing Dynasty and evolved to the standardized system of Four *Ge* and Eight *Fa*. Four *Ge* referred to the four aspects according to which an official was scrutinized, including quality, honesty and integrity, political achievements, and age. Each of these was divided into three ranks, for example, superior, adequate, and inadequate in the quality, integrity, and achievements, and when it came age, they were either old, middle-aged, or young. If they were graded as superior, then they were promoted; if they were graded as adequate, then they retained their ranks; and if they were graded as inadequate, then they were demoted one rank.

The Qing Laws were based in the Ming legal system, which was kept largely intact. In the thirtieth year of his reign, Emperor Taizu of Ming (Zhu Yuanzhang or Hongwu) oversaw the compilation of the *Laws of Great Ming* (*Da Ming Lü*) including 30 volumes, 460 articles which were categorized by the institutions of the Six Ministries. The regulations (*Li*) were first of all added into the code. An administrative code, the *Code of the Ming Dynasty* (*Da Ming Hui Dian*), was laid out in the fifteenth year of the era of Emperor Xiaozong of Ming. It was edited and glossed many times from Emperors Zhengde and Jiajing to Wanli. The edited version of the *Code of the Ming Dynasty* from the reign of Emperor Wanli still

survives. On the base of the *Laws of the Great Ming*, the *Qing Code* (*Da Qing Lü Li*) was stipulated in the fourth year of Emperor Shunzhi of Qing and continued to be edited in the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong. The final version was promulgated in the fifth year of Emperor Qianlong. The great five administrative codes including the *Code of Kangxi* (*Kang Xi Hui Dian*), the *Code of Yongzheng* (*Yong Zheng Hui Dian*), the *Code of Qianlong* (*Qian Long Hui Dian*), the *Code of Jiaqing* (*Jia Qing Hui Dian Shi Li*), and the *Code of Guangxu* (*Guang Xu Hui Dian*) had been compiled from the era of Emperor Kangxi based on the *Code of the Ming Dynasty.* It is worth noting that the Qing Dynasty had stipulated several regulations such as the *Xinjiang Law* (*Hui Lü*), the *Tibet Law* (*Fan Lü*), the *Mongolian Law* (*Mong Gu Lü*), the *Xining Punishment Regulations* (*Xi Ning Fan Zi Zhi Zui Tiao Li*), and the *Yunnan Law* (*Miao Li*), which were implemented in the ethnic minority areas, respectively.

With the development of the feudal legal system, the regulations played a more and more important role in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Emperor Taizu laid great emphasis upon the *Code of the Great Ming* which must be intact as they were the traditional laws (*Zu Zhi*). Therefore, the regulations had been stipulated eventually in order to offset the loopholes in the traditional laws since Emperor Xiaozong of Ming. As the subordinate statutes at the beginning, the regulations gradually broke away from the codified articles. The regulations in the *Qing Code* had been compiled even in its first version and finally exceeded up to 1,892 sub-statutes after reediting in the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, Qianlong, Jiajing, and Daoguang. As a result, the authority of the regulations had started to go beyond the code itself in the Qing legal system. In terms of the punishments, besides beating, imprisonment, exile, strangulation, and decapitation, the forced labor in armies as accession punishment, the exile to the frontier armies and forced labor, the two punishments, bearing the cangue, and death by slow slicing were added. In respect to the enforcement of the laws, the legal supervisions governing the officials were too severe in the Ming Dynasty, while they were too lenient in the Qing Dynasty.

In order to avoid the malpractice of the reign of the Yuan Dynasty, Emperor Taizu applied the legal principle of utilizing cruel criminal laws and harsh punishments to achieve the social order. Despite the *Code of the Great Ming,* the *Grand Edicts* (*Da Gao*)[32] was laid out as the formal legal authority by which the emperor's summonses and edicts achieved systematic position in the Chinese legal system. In ancient China, the emperors' summonses and edicts were always a significant source of legal authority, and it was according to these that cases were decided.

[32]Being stipulated by Emperor Taizu of Ming on his own, the *Grand Edicts* had the same legal authority as the *Code of Great Ming.* It consists of four sections: the Grand Edicts (74 articles), the Grand Edicts Continuance (87 articles), the Second Continuance of Grand Edicts (43 articles), and the Grand Edicts on Military Officers (32 articles). The content of the *Grand Edicts* covers the broad cases in which the summons instead of the laws had been implemented. Besides the cases, there were warnings and the penalties in the *Grand Edicts* which were much tighter than the *Code of Great Ming*. In the thirtieth year of Hongwu (the regnal title of Emperor Taizu of Ming), the *Grand Edicts* was renamed the *Authorised Grand Edicts* as the continuance of *Code of Great Ming*.

Emperor Taizu expected everyone to obey his rule and was infamous for killing many people by his summonses during his purges and elimination of the historical posts. In the Hu Weiyong and Lan Yu cases, he ordered the execution of the founding members of the empire who were allegedly trying to usurp the throne. It was not only the conspirators themselves who lost their lives but also their relatives and associates – more than 4,000 people in total. In the case of Guo Huan,[33] most of the Ministers of the Six Ministry were killed simply on account of the corruption of Guo Huan. In the Official Documents Case,[34] all of the provincial and prefectural governors and their underlings involved were decapitated or exiled because the emperor doubted the veracity of the financial documents handed up from local governments. In addition, the Ming Dynasty invented the punishment of flaying in the Court – a penalty inflicted upon those who dared to criticize the emperors. More than one official suffered this cruel and shamed punishment in the Ming Dynasty. As the self-esteem and dignity of the officials had been destroyed, corruption within the bureaucracy worsened each time the legal enforcement was allowed to slacken even a little. The scholar and jurist Shen Jiaben[35] (1840–1913) of the later Qing Dynasty commented that "punishment is like using medicines and stone needles for acupuncture to deter wrongdoing, while the kindness and righteousness is like providing fine and healthy food for people. Governance by the punishments instead of kindness and righteousness – like giving people the medicines and stone needles instead of food – would make imprudent reign" (*Ji Yi Collection, Volume 6 – Ji Yi Wen Cun, Juan Liu*).

The Qing Dynasty had recourse to a lenient judiciary which was based on the principle of "cultivating people by morality, educating people by punishments." Even the so-called tyrant Emperor Yongzheng showed his cruel and heartless personality in the wars against those who fought for throne rather than the dealing with the affairs of state. Owing to the estrangement between the Han Chinese and the Manchus, the Manchu officials and the Han Chinese scholars confronted the different situations in Qing's judiciary. Since they did not want to incite the Han Chinese towards rebellion, the Qing rulers had been very cautious towards the Han Chinese scholars who upheld traditional Confucian values which challenged the authority of the Manchus. In contrast to the attitude of lenient law enforcement directed the Manchu officials, the Qing authority strictly and ruthlessly enforced the laws against the Confucian authors who were imprisoned or executed for writing materials considered offensive by the Imperial Court.

[33]Guo Huan, the vice minister of the Ministry of Personnel during the reign of Emperor Taizu of Ming, committed acts of corruption by stealing and selling public food supplies. This case involved more than 100 officials from the central government to local governments.

[34]Emperor Taizu of Ming found that some local official accountants had committed fraud by making false reports to the central government. More than 100 officials were punished in this case.

[35]Shen was in charge of abolishing several barbaric punishments, such as the "slow slicing" (*lingchi*).

In respect of legal supervision, the Department of Imperial Supervision (*Yu Shi Tai*) was renamed the Supervision Institution (*Du Cha Yuan*). Its jurisdiction was expanded to oversee the Supervising Secretaries beneath the Six Ministries in the central government. From the Ming and the Qing eras onward, the Supervision Institution, headed by the Imperial Supervisor, thereby became the most critical agency for legal supervision since it combined the functions of supervision and expostulation. The Supervision Institution was responsible for overseeing the judiciary and for hearing important cases with the coordination of the Ministry of Justice and Da Li Temple. This judicial system was so-called the Hearing by Three Agencies (*San Si Hui Shen*). If a case could not be decided after the Collective Hearing by Three Agencies, the appeal would be to the Nine Ministers (*Jiu Qin Hui Shen*). Beneath the Supervision Institution which had the duty of official scrutiny, there were 13 Imperial Supervisors and six Supervising Secretaries who both had a comparatively independent supervising authority. The 13 Imperial Supervisors (increased to 15 in the Qing Dynasty) were dispatched to impeach the provincial officials, supervise tours of the capital, censor files, preside over the imperial examination, inspect the barns, oversee ceremonies, and expostulate. The Supervising Secretaries in each of Six Ministries were responsible for scrutinizing memoranda sent from the Six Ministries, the supervision of administration in the bureaus of the central government, rectifying inefficiency, and expostulation. The official files could not be executed until the Supervising Secretaries sighed.

Regarding the imperial authority as the basic source of laws, with no civil code separate from criminal law and no independent judiciary separate from the administration, the ancient Chinese legal system developed its unique features in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The Ming and Qing legal system reached its peak of development when it became obvious that it lacked the internal mechanism to adopt itself to modern times. Despite the several amendments to the laws made when the later Qing rulers faced pressures from the incursion of Western countries, the ancient Chinese legal system never had the opportunity to go to the way of democratic legislation and independent judiciary as Western countries did.

After experiencing improvements throughout the long history of China, the extremely intricate Chinese political, legal, and selecting official systems formulated comprehensive self-consistency. The mature political and legal systems served to some extent to restrict the discretion of the rulers. From the perspective of technique, the significant systems functioned very efficiently to maintain the stability of the imperial authority by forming a quality bureaucratic society which incorporated the elites into the hierarchy. Some methods and measures such as the one by which the administrative power was delicately allocated and balanced, and the procedure of the Imperial Examination, can be used as reference points for modern times.

On the whole, however, the Chinese political and legal systems adapted to the "home world" monarchy which fiercely conflicted to the rule of law, which is the legal principle rooted in Western jurisprudence. In contrast to the rule of law, the ancient Chinese Legalism, as the rule of man, essentially advocated the utilization of

codified laws to achieve social order. The scholar Yan Fu (1854–1921)[36] of the later Qing Dynasty noticed this discrepancy when he translated the C. Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*, stating that Chinese scholars should be cautious about the different translating versions of the term *law* in English because four meanings – reason, etiquette, punishment, and institution – can be seen in it (*The Spirit of the Laws [Chinese version], preface of volume 1 – Fa Yi, Juan Yi An Yu*). In fact, the concept of a legal system in modern society is different from the concept of Chinese Legalism which referred to the system of edicts and punishments. The latter integrated the monarchy as a complete tool to rein in the people and even the laws themselves. On the basis of the modern concept of rule of law, Yan Fu commented that "so-called autocratic monarchy described the emperor's reign without laws." The principle of rule of law requires that "everyone whoever you are – emperor or commoner – must obey the laws." However, the "Chinese legal system which evolved from the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty was just a tool of punishments by which the ruler reined in their people instead of himself. The ruler was able to take advantage of laws and to change the laws according to his will. Thus the laws were nothing but autocracy" (*The Spirit of the Laws [Chinese version], the preface of volume 2*). As a result, if there were a true legal system and it was implemented by different rulers, it could have brought about diverse outcomes if it was implemented by the different rulers. Having emerged in the Qin Dynasty, the structure and content of the Chinese legal system was retained in the Han, Tang, Song, Ming, and Qing Dynasties without essential changes. Even so the outcomes of legal matters were drastically different because of the different rulers who enforced the laws. This can be gauged from the fact that Chinese history is marked by alternating eras of peace and upheaval. Even within the same dynasty, the same legal system gave rise to different social situations.

As to the essence and deficiency of the Chinese political and legal system, Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), a philosopher active during the latter part of the Ming Dynasty and into the early part of the Qing Dynasty, pointed out that

> The laws of later times (after the Three Dynasties) have safeguarded the world as if it were something in the (emperor's) treasure-chest. It is not desired that anything beneficial should be left to those below, but rather that all blessings be gathered up for those on high. If the emperor employs a man, he is immediately afraid that the man will act in his own interest, and so another man is employed to keep a check on the other's selfishness. If one measure is adopted, there are immediate fears of it being abused or evaded, and so another measure must be adopted to guard against abuses or evasions. All men know where the treasure-chest lies, and so the prince is constantly fretting and fidgeting out of anxiety for its security. Consequently, the laws have to be made tight, and as they become tighter they become the very source of disorder. These are what one calls un-lawful laws. (*Waiting for the Dawn: On Law – Ming Yi Dai Fang Lu: Yuan Fa*).

With the essential purpose of serving the autocratic monarchy, the Chinese system of institutions in effect protected the absolute imperial authority exerted over society but ignored social governance. Yan Fu criticized this, stating that it was safe

[36]For further information on Yan Fu's translation work, see Chap. 14.

to say that in an autocratic state, 90 % laws are cruel and unfair for their people, while just 10 % laws are good for the state and its people (*The Spirit of the Laws [Chinese version], the preface of volume 1*). Comparing the Imperial Examination to the Civil Service Examination in modern China, they are different in essence even though they share more than a few common aspects in their procedure and technique. The purpose of the Imperial Examination was to select the officials who would be loyal to the rulers and the monarchy, whereas the purpose of the modern Civil Service Examination is to select public servants. Ignoring this difference would lead to a partial evaluation. We learn from history. History provides us with very useful experiences about the techniques and measures of administration and legislations. Even so, these techniques and measures took effect within the context of essentially different political systems.

Questions

1. How did ancient China intensify the power of the emperor through institutional systems?
2. Write an evaluation of the Imperial Examination system.

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Chapter 7
Agriculture, Handicraft, and Commerce in Ancient China

Agriculture was the dominant economic activity in ancient China, and well-developed agricultural techniques and a complete system of management became the outstanding characteristics of the rural economy in those days. The handicraft industry represented an important supplement to the agricultural economy through history. Under strict regulation, the handicraft industry made marked progress over time. Although it brought economic vitality to society, the growth of commerce in ancient China was restricted by policies which gave preferential treatment to agriculture over commerce.

7.1 The Development of Ancient Agriculture

Ancient China was world-famous for its advanced cultivation culture. China made remarkable contributions to world civilization through its agricultural development.

The early development of agriculture in ancient China established a solid foundation for the growth of Chinese civilization. Chinese characters like *he*, 禾, "grass"; *dao*, 稻, "grain"; *shu*, 黍, "broomcorn"; *mai*, 麦, "wheat"; *ji*, 稷, "millet"; *mi*, 米, "rice"; and so forth have been found in oracle bone inscriptions, and these reflect the various crops cultivated at that time. The appearance of the character *zhen*, 畛, ("paddy soil") among these shows that techniques of irrigation and drainage had already been applied to farming fields in those days. The written form of the character *lin*, 廩, ("barn") evokes the spectacle of a good harvest of grain being piled up. About 1,000 fragments of used stone reapers were found in a cellar on an excavation site studied by archaeologists in the Yin ruins. These have provided some clues as to the unique form of organizing cultivation practiced in those days.

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Ancestors in the Zhou Dynasty paid enormous attention to developing cultivation.[1] The *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Zhou* (*Shiji: Zhou Benji*) records that:

> Qi showed extraordinary abilities when he was a child. He enjoyed planting hemp and flax as a game with other children. After he grew up, Qi became the expert in cultivation and farmland evaluation and local people nearby followed him voluntarily. The ancient tribal Emperor Yao heard about Qi's talent and appointed him as Agriculture Master. Since then, the whole country benefitted from Qi's excellent performance of cultivation and later he was rewarded and titled as *Hou Ji*.

Through other works of literature like the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), we are able to understand the achievement of cultivation in the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BC). During the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC), the cultivation industry continued to develop steadily with the introduction of ironware and the emergence of cattle farming.

As early as prehistory, well-developed agricultural areas and unique cultivation systems had already come into shape along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River. However, the economic and social development in the Yellow River Basin was more advanced than that in the Yangtze River Basin. Besides the differences between the types of farming tools applied in the two areas (the south and the north), and the spread of techniques and the density of population, there were other factors associated with variations in natural environment, which help to explain this unequal development. These included climate, geology, landscape, hydrology, biology, and soil quality. From the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC) to the Western Han Dynasty (202 BC–6 AD), fishing and hunting dominated the economy along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River. Hence, the social economy in that time still exhibited primitive characteristics. It was not until the later period of Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD) that, when influenced by natural and social factors, the economic growth along the middle and lower Yangtze River finally entered into a new stage.

From the Qin Dynasty to the Western Han Dynasty, the construction of a new economic area in the north started to receive more and more attention from the central government. At the same time, a land reclamation project organized and supported by the central government expanded northwards the area of land given over to cultivation, decreasing the amount of land used for grazing livestock. Migration to the north started from the period of Emperor Qin Shihuang (259–210 BC). During the Western Han Dynasty, several waves of planned migration were organized in order to increase the population of the north. A wooden model of cattle farming dating back to the Western Han Dynasty was excavated from the No. 48 Han Tomb located in Mozuizi, Wuwei City, Gansu Province. This discovery shows that cattle farming had been widespread across the northern area in the Western Han Dynasty. A large-sized plowshare was also discovered in the archaeological site of the Western Han village located in Sandaohao, Liaoyang City. It is assumed

[1] Tang Qiyu, *Chinese Agricultural History Manuscripts* (Agricultural Publication, 1965), pp. 21–2.

that several cattle would be needed to pull such a sizable plowshare and strike a ditch in a farming field.[2] This farming tool illustrates how important irrigation and drainage were in the northern area back in the Western Han Dynasty.[3] According to the *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Xiongnu* (*Shiji: Xiongnu Liezhuan*), after a critical success, the Western Han military completely defeated the Huns, driving them far away into the northern desert. The Han people crossed the Yellow River and reached its northern bank, dominating the land from Su Fang (to the south of Wulateqianqi, in what is now Inner Mongolia) to Lin Ju (to the west of Yongdeng City, in what is now Gansu Province):

> [T]he population was about fifteen to sixteen thousand people including the administration department and civil servants. They set up the irrigation systems and enlarged the agricultural areas as far as the northern border of the territory of the Huns.

As is revealed on the Juyan Bamboo Slips dating from the Han Dynasty, the names of administrative positions included "farmland administrator" (*tianzu*) and "irrigation administrator" (*zhiquzu*). These words likely stand as the relict of the military cultivation style in the north. At the same time, the development of the southeastern area of China precipitated another new historical achievement. During the Qin and Han Dynasties, the geographical area encompassed by the agricultural economy reached an unprecedented size: stretching to the ocean in the east, reaching the desert in the north, touching upon the plateau in the west, and crossing the Tropic of Cancer in the south.

In the *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization* (*Shiji: Pinghuai Shu*) – a detailed illustration about the economic situation at that time – an overview of the domestic economic power and of the wealth of individuals is given: during a period of around seventy years in the Han Dynasty (206–141 BC), the whole country had been free of political disputes and natural disasters. Every level of society, from the ordinary people up to the royal family, enjoyed the prosperity which had been brought about by decades of successful development and rapid accumulation. Granaries everywhere in the country were filled with good harvests, and the state finances showed a stable year-on-year increase. In the capital city, the state treasury was packed with so many coins that it was impossible to count them all. Some of them were even left there to be ruined by rust and dirt. The national granary overflowed, so much so that grain and cereal had to be piled up outside the full warehouses and left out in the air to rot. Raising horses to demonstrate the wealth of a family became such a popular practice that organized horse riding activities were often seen in suburban areas and fields. Within a short space of time, horse riding had become one of the criteria by which to gauge an individual's social class and the strength of their wealth. For instance, merely riding a mare would not qualify a person to be invited to social events in countryside. The price of grain

[2]Gansu Provincial Museum, "Brief Report on Discoveries of Three Han Tombs in Wu Wei Mo Zui Zi," *Relics*, 1972, Vol. 12.

[3]Huang Zhanyue, "Two Recently Excavated Iron Tools from the Warring State Period," *Acta Archaeologica Sinica*, Vol. 3, 1957.

decreased dramatically owing to good harvests and the booming development of agriculture that lasted for decades.[4] At the time of the Chu-Han War (206–202 BC), it was recorded that "50 kilos of rice was priced at 10 000 *qian* (the unit of ancient currency)." But at the time of Emperor Wen of Han (202–157 BC) – as is stated in Volume 35 of the *Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia* (*Taiping Yulan*), quoting from *New Discussions* (*Xin Lun*) by Huan Tan (23 BC–50 AD)[5] – the price of the same quantity of rice dropped to 10 *qian*. Similar records were found in *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Bells* (*Shiji: Lü Shu*).[6]

Besides the development and popularity of metal tools and cattle farming, significant progress was also made in the construction of water conservancy during the Han Dynasty, bringing direct benefits to the agriculture industry. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han (156–87 BC), many canals were excavated in the Guanzhong area, including the Cao Canal, the Bai Canal, the Longshou Canal, the Liufu Canal, the Linzhi Canal, and the Chengguo Canal. The water supply network was connected with all the canals to "feed a big population in the capital city and the adjacent areas." Other famous water conservancy construction projects were also gradually completed in Northeast China at that time. Counties like Sufang, Xihe, Hexi, and Jiuquan started to rely on the water supply diverted from the Yellow River and the Sichuan Valley. Donghai County was connected to the Juding River, and Mount Tai County received its water supply from the Wen River. Each of the construction projects successfully irrigated thousands of acres. In various cities and villages, small-sized projects of water diversion became too numerous to count. In 109 BC, Emperor Wu of Han issued an order and 10,000 laborers were engaged at Huzi (near Puyang City in present-day Henan Province), to restore the dam on the Yellow River which had been damaged by flooding. Emperor Wu of Han even paid a personal visit to the building sites, issuing another order to ask all the fellow civil servants ranked lower than generals to participate in the building project by carrying wood. From the completion of this dam restoration project, all the nearby residents and their properties were well protected over the following eighty years.

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[4] *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization* (*Shiji: Pinghuai Shi*): "Over seventy years have passed since the Hanxing Period and it is now dozens of years since His Majesty came to the throne. The country enjoys peace and stability. All the people lead happy and contented lives unless there is a drought or a flood. The central and local governments have surplus riches and the quantity of grains is so abundant that some have to be placed outside the granaries where they become rotten and inedible. Groups of horses gather in the lanes in between fields. People visit one another on horseback."

[5] *Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Usurers* (*Shiji: Houzhi Liezhuan*): "Qingyao is between the State of Chu and the State of Han. People cannot cultivate the land. Thousands and thousands of *dan* of rice was needed." *History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of the Emperor Gaozu* (*Hanshu: Gaodi Ji*): "In June of the second year of the Emperor's reign a great famine occurred in the Guanzhong Plain. Thousands and thousands of *qian* of money was needed."

[6] The literal English translation of the title of this volume is perhaps misleading. It is largely concerned with harmony and measurements.

While Emperor Zhao of Han (94–74 BC) focused on national economic recovery, Emperor Xuan of Han (92–49 BC) continued to take "agriculture as the foundation for development" (*nong zhe xing de zhi ben*) as his main political policy. For instance, as is stated in the *History of the Han Dynasty: Annals of the Emperor Xuan* (*Hanshu: Xuan Di Ji*), homeless citizens were encouraged to go back to their hometown where they would gain necessary support and coverage of basic living conditions – such as "rental for fields, seeds and food" – from the local government. Better still, relevant policies were implemented which offered tax deductions and exemptions. On the other hand, the central government increased investment in areas which suffered from natural disasters and wars. At the same time, in order to keep local residents motivated, tax reductions and a lower price for salt supply were applied in these areas too. In 61 BC,[7] General Zhao Chongguo defeated rebels and looters in the Qiang area. In 52 BC,[8] the Huns suffered from a series of internal disputes between different tribes, and Hu Hanye Chanyu finally surrendered to the Han Dynasty in Kuansai City. In the subsequent years, local residents living on the border frontiers enjoyed a peaceful life and received tax reductions. All of these factors helped to accelerate the development of agriculture. Until the Yuankang Period (65–62 BC), the price of 50 kilos of grain dropped to 5 *qian*. Even in remote areas of Northeast China, Jinchen (the county located to the northwest of Yongjing in present-day Gansu Province), and Huangzhong (near Xining City in modern-day Qinghai Province), the price of 50 kilos of grain was no more than 8 *qian*. That fact created a new precedent for the lowest grain price since the establishment of the Western Han Dynasty.

Although rich in mineral resources and forests, the South of China (or *Jiangnan*)[9] contained undeveloped areas. Up until the period of the Western Han, the agriculture industry in the South of China was still embryonic and cultivation skills were limited. Sima Qian, the author of *Records of the Grand Historian*, commented as follows on the economic development of the South of China: "poverty, rice, fish, broad land and little population." When discussing cultivation skills, people in South China were solely reliant on fire and water. First of all, they set light to grasslands to clear the vegetation. Then they flooded the land with water in order to plant rice. Sima Qian addressed the fact that on account of its excellent natural environment for plants and aquiculture, the South of China had not suffered from famine. Although "nobody was starving" in the South of China at that time, it lacked the "wealth and prosperity" of the North. As is recorded in the *History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Wang Mang, Second Part* (*Hanshu: Wang Mang Zhuan, Xia*), during the period of Tian Feng (14–19 AD), Fei Xing, the administrator of Jinzhou County, said that most residents chose to reside by forests and alongside streams because they had to "scrape a living from fishing and picking fruit" (*yi yu cai weiye*). Similar

[7] Also given the regnal year *Shengjue Yuannian*.

[8] Also given the regnal year *Ganlu Ernian*.

[9] *Jiangnan* literally means "south of the Yangtze River."

views were expressed by Yan Shigu (581–645 AD).[10] Yan explained that *yu* referred to fishing and *cai* referred to picking fruit. Until the end of the Western Han Dynasty, fishing and hunting still played key roles in the economy south of the Yangtze River. Compared to the advanced cultivation areas in the Central Plains, the South of China was left far behind.

According to the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of Upright Officials – Wei Sa* (*Hou Hanshu: Xunli Liezhuan – Wei Sa*), Emperor Guangwu of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–57 AD) appointed Wei Sa and Ci Chong as administrators in Guiyang. They brought advanced cultivation skills from the Yellow River to the Yangtze River. This became a critical turning point for agricultural development in the South of China. Besides there being "more and more farmland created," the construction of water conservancy projects was being completed (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of Upright Officials – Wang Jing – Hou Hanshu: Xunli Liezhuan – Wang Jing*). In Volume 6 of the *Taiping Imperial Encyclopedia*, quoting from the Kuaiji Record (*Kuaiji Ji*) in 140 AD, the administrator of Kuaiji, Ma Zhen, started a construction project called "Mirror Lake" (*Jing Hu*) which was located between two counties, Kuaiji and Shanyin. Depending on the volume of natural rainfall, the local government decided to release or fill the "Mirror Lake" so that the farmlands had sufficient water supply. This water storage project benefited more than 9,000 acres of farmland around the "Mirror Lake." At that time, this represented a truly grand construction project of water conservancy. Smaller-scale water supply projects were becoming a more and more common sight in the South of China. Strong evidence of this also comes from the excavated Han Tomb, in which numerous water storage and supply models were found.

At the beginning of the reign of Emperor An of Han (94–125 AD), residents in "Yang County and Jing County" endured starvation due to alternating floods and droughts which lasted for several years. Local authorities issued related policies to help rebuild local people's lives (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Fan Huai – Hou Hanshu: Fan Huai Zhuan*). Records found in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Annals of Xiao'an* (*Hou Hanshu: Xiao'an Di Ji*) show that rice was loaded and sent to the North of China as emergency aid to counties affected by natural disasters in 107 AD and 113 AD. It has been suggested that agricultural development in the South of China had gradually gained an advantageous position when compared to some areas in the North. In *Records of the Three Kingdoms: Book of Wu – Lu Su Volume* (*Sanguozhi: Wu Shu – Lu Su Zhuan*), Pei Song cited the *Book of Wu* (*Wushu*) to describe the tough situation caused by endless wars and tribute conflicts around the Huai River and the Si River. Lu Su told his followers that the Central Plains were in chaos and that in the eastern area "there was fertile farmland, wealthy residents and strong military power." He asked whether they would like to move to "live peacefully in the safe place and wait for changes" along with him. All of his followers agreed. According to the *Records of the Grand Historian: House of*

[10]A notable Tang Dynasty linguist from Shaanxi who wrote commentaries on works such as the *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*.

the Five Clans (*Shiji: Wuzong Shijia*), "undeveloped wetlands" in the Qin Dynasty (221–206 BC) and the Han Dynasty (202 BC–6 AD) had become "rich fields which brought prosperity to local residents." *Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity: Outer Chapters – The Failings of Wu* (*Bao Pu Zi: Wai Pian – Wu Shi*) conjured up a beautiful picture of the biggest plantation in Wu. The owners were so powerful and so rich that they enjoyed an extremely extravagant lifestyle, which included "houses decorated with pure gold, hundreds of servants, thousands of acres of farmland, the accumulation of luxuries, and so forth." When taken together with other historical records created in the Eastern Han Dynasty, we can gain a glimpse into the living standards of high-profile families along the Yellow River.

From the Han Dynasty onwards, the South of China started to develop rapidly, particularly in agriculture and the cultivation industry. As has been stated by other researchers, "the focus of the economy began to migrate from the South of China to the North. Two traditional economic areas in ancient China – the Guanzhong Plain and the Huabei Plain – started to gradually decline. This was a critical turning point in the historical development of China."[11]

The first record of double-cropping in the Lingnan area can be dated back to the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD).[12] A set of pottery models found at an excavation site in Foshan (Lan Shi), Guangdong Province, reflects farming and cultivation at that time. Different pottery figures represent well-organized and busy scenes of double-cropping. Dedicated patterns standing for seedbeds provide evidence to explain that farmers had adopted double-cropping and seedling cultivation at that time. Also, a pottery model reveals that it was very popular to have fertilizer storage for farming areas.[13] This piece of relic demonstrates that agricultural techniques had become very well developed around the Lingnan area in the Eastern Han Dynasty. As is stated in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of Good Officials – Ren Yan* (*Hou Hanshu: Xunli Liezhuan – Ren Yan*), Ren Yan, the local governor in Jiu Zhen (currently Thanh Hoa, Vietnam), issued orders to make metal tools and to teach local residents to farm instead of hunt in the traditional way. "Good harvests" brought local residents "prosperity and happiness." One of the critical factors which sped up local economic and cultural development was the introduction

[11]Fu Zhufu, *The Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society* (People's Publishing House Ltd., 1982), Vol. 2, p. 25.

[12]*Record of Rarities or Exotic Things*: a collection of writings by Yang Fu concerning oddities, important facts, and cultures of the regions bordering China. It was written during the time of the Han and Tan Dynasties, but later edited by proceeding generations. There are no known existing copies of the unedited original version. According to references in other books, this book recorded that in Jiaozhi, crops mature twice a year in summer and winter.

The Beginning of Learning (*Chuxueji*) cited in Volume 27 of Yang Fu's *Record of Rarities or Exotic Things* states: "Before winter rice was harvested and farmers planted the fields again." The *Rural Records of the Taiping Period* (*Taiping Yulan*), quoted in Volume 839 of the same work states: "Then in the summer time they planted and harvested again."

[13]Guangdong Province Relics Administration Committee, "Brief Report on Excavating a Han Tomb in Jiaonang Shidong, Foshan, Guangdong," *Archaeology*, Vol. 9, 1964.

of agricultural skills and cultivation techniques. Owing to famines and droughts caused by wars around the Yellow River at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, a large population of immigrants moved "down to the south to escape from wars and famine," carrying advanced cultivation techniques to the Lingnan area. Even the northern warlord, Liu Bei, thought about moving down to the south to Cangwu (currently Wuzhou, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) to join Wu Ju who was the local governor (*Records of the Three Kingdoms: Book of Shu – Biography of the Former Lord – Sanguozhi: Shu Shu – Xian Zhu Zhuan*). Another warlord called Sun Quan also tried to get permission from Cao Wei, who was the most powerful warlord in China, "to spend rest of his life quietly in the South of China" (*Records of the Three Kingdoms: Book of Wu – Biography of Wu Zhu – Sanguozhi: Wu Shu – Wu Zhu Zhuan*). Once treated as a remote area, during that time the South of China became closer and closer in character to the developed farming areas of the Central Plains.

Looking at the agricultural history of China, one can observe that cultivation always developed steadily within a peaceful society, when it was supported by equitable policies.

At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD), the agricultural economy reached another peak.[14] A stable political environment created positive conditions for the development of economy and society. During the Kaiyuan Period (713–41 AD), the quantity of undeveloped land dwindled. During that prosperous time, the population started to grow, and production simultaneously started to increase. Du You's *Comprehensive Institutions* (*Tongdian*)[15] illustrated that "during the Kaiyuan Period, the prices of rice, corn and cloth, kept on falling due to an abundance in supply." Until the Kaiyuan Period of Tang Dynasty (723 AD), there were 7.86 million households (at the peak it was to reach ten million) with a population of 45.43 million in China. The population doubled compared with how it had stood at the beginning of the Tang Dynasty. As was addressed by some economists, the central government continued to "carry on farmland development in Tang Dynasty," in particular in the South of China. "In the Tang Dynasty, the farmland development expanded from the northern to the southern territories."[16] With successful development having occurred in Southern China, the national economic center migrated completely to the southeastern areas. The Grand Canal (*Da Yun He*) was the lifeline for the Tang Dynasty, providing a sufficient food supply to the capital city, which was then located in the middle part of China. The Tang Dynasty relied heavily on agricultural products from southeastern China (*New Book*

[14]Cao Guang, *The Economic History of Chinese Agriculture* (Chinese Social Science Publication Ltd., 1989), p. 440.

[15]*Tongdian* by Du You is a Chinese institutional history and encyclopedia text. It covers the panoply of topics from high antiquity to the year 756 AD, whereas a quarter of the book focuses on the Tang Dynasty.

[16]Fu Zhufu, *The Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society* (People's Publishing House Ltd., 1986), Vol. 4, pp. 227–35.

of Tang: On Food and Commodities – Xintangshu: Shi Huo Zhi San). As is recorded in a poem by the famous Tang Dynasty poet Li Jingfang, "the River Bian connecting with the River Huai brings more profit. It brings good as well as harm. For the 43 prefectures in the east and south, this river absorbs the flesh and blood of the people all around" ("The Boats Go Directly to the River Bian," *Bian He Zhi Jin Chuan*). With the transportation power of the Grand Canal, the central government gained strong financial support from southeastern China.

The Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD) was the peak period for the construction of water conservancy projects since the Han Dynasty. "In other words, the Song Dynasty marked the apogee for the development of water conservancy in ancient China." At that time, not only were new development programs being successfully undertaken, but old ruined tunnels were also being repaired and unblocked. "The nationwide development and maintenance programs improved the efficiency of farmland irrigation and increased agricultural production." At the same time, new techniques for cultivation and the design of farming tools rapidly promoted the agricultural economy in ancient China. It was recorded that the "[a]gricultural industry made more magnificent progress in Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD) based on the foundations developed in previous dynasties."[17]

That the Qing Dynasty made significant progress in agriculture is mainly indicated by its ability to maintain increasing food production to sustain the fast-growing population. During his reign, Emperor Kangxi (1661–1722) adopted some policies aimed at easing the contradictions between social classes and at developing the economy to great success. At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, national production was very low, and when Emperor Shunzhi (reigned 1644–1661) tried to reward people for cultivating wasteland, he did not have much success. Kangxi adhered to the philosophy that control should be loosened over the civilians and paid special attention to recovering and developing agricultural production. He gave orders to stop aggregating land. To encourage cultivation, he changed Shunzhi's policy to give more rewards to people who cultivated wasteland. He also announced that officials could be promoted for getting more people to cultivate wasteland and penalized or demoted them for failing to do so. He implemented a policy called "field renaming" (*Geng ming tian*), allowing common people to cultivate land left behind by nobles from the previous dynasty and, moreover, to own the cultivated land. Furthermore, he made tax exemptions to wasteland cultivation activities, to disaster-hit and famished regions, and to general production. Between the twenty-sixth and twenty-eighth years of his reign (1685–1687), Kangxi waived taxes for nine provinces for one week. In 1711, he further announced that he would waive a one-week tax for each province in turn in every three years. These measures had rarely been seen in prior dynasties. In 1712, he announced that he would "fix the amount of head count tax levied once and for all," so as to reduce the tax burden on peasants. After decades of effort, the area of cultivated land increased from

[17]Fu Zhufu, *The Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society* (People's Publishing House Ltd, 1989), Vol. 5, pp. 201–76.

550 million acres in the late Shunzhi Period to over 800 million acres in the late Kangxi Period. Agricultural production underwent unprecedented development, and the population grew fast, so much so that China entered a prosperous period of its history called the "Kang-Qian Golden Age."[18]

7.2 Achievements of Agricultural Theories

As agricultural production has been considered important at all times, many books have been compiled which summarize the experience of agriculture. Agricultural achievements formed some outstanding parts of Chinese cultural achievements.

Wang Yuhu classified Chinese agricultural treatises into fourteen categories: (1) general agricultural theories; (2) agricultural climate; (3) cultivation and irrigation; (4) cultivation tools; (5) large field crops; (6) bamboo, wood, and tea; (7) prevention and treatment of insect pests; (8) general gardening theories; (9) vegetables and wild potherbs; (10) fruit trees; (11) flowers; (12) silkworms and mulberry; (13) farming and veterinary; and (14) aquatic products. Wang's book includes a paper entitled "On Chinese Agricultural Books" (*Guang Yu Zhong Guo Nong Shu Lun*), in which he states that "overall the various books on agricultural studies can be summarized into the following paradigms": (1) comprehensive agricultural theories, (2) climate and cultivation, (3) various specialized disciplines, (4) silkworms and mulberry, (5) veterinary, (6) wild potherbs, (7) solutions to locust problems, (8) agricultural calendars, and (9) Neo-Confucianist books relating to agriculture.[19]

It is mentioned in the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yi Wen Zhi*) that "agriculturalists[20] were mostly officials engaged in overseeing cultivation – for instance, Hou Ji – and they mostly advised people to grow crops and raise silkworms so that they would have sufficient food and clothes to live. These two mainly advocated policies linked to food and materials. Confucius believed that the priority in pursuing agriculture should be to provide food for the people." A number of works by agriculturalists have been lost to history, and the earliest theories we can see today are the four chapters on agriculture found in Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Lüshi Chunqiu*): "Advocating Agriculture" (*Shangnong*), "Utilizing the Land" (*Ren Di*), "Soil and Cultivation" (*Bian Tu*), and "Climate and Timing" (*Shen Shi*). A researcher has surmised that these four chapters were extracted from a lost text, the *Hou Ji Agriculture Book* (*Hou Ji Nong Shu*), as they were written within a very short timeframe. "Advocating Agriculture" focuses on discussing policies on agriculture, and the other three chapters are dedicated to

[18] See Chap. 3 for further details.

[19] Wang Yuhu, *Bibliography of Chinese Agricultural Works* (Agriculture Publication Ltd, 1964), pp. 1–2, 303–22, and 346–7.

[20] In Chinese *Nong Jia Zhe Liu*, literally translated to refer to a thought school advocating peasant utopian communism and egalitarianism.

particular agricultural techniques.[21] These three chapters are probably the earliest papers on agricultural theories in China.

The meaning of the four chapters on agriculture in Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* is discussed in a specialist book, *The Agricultural Theories in the Warring States Period Reflected from Master Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals* ("*Lü Shi Chunqiu" suo fan ying de Zhan Guo Shi Qi Nongxue*). The chapters include "theories on fine cultivation," namely, "1. man is the primary factor in cultivation; 2. fine cultivation is man's weapon to fight against nature; 3. cultivating in good time is critical to fine cultivation. There are also theories on how to utilize land, namely: 1. the significance of utilizing land; 2. growing crops and land utilization; 3. resting and complex techniques in utilizing land. Theories on preparing land are also included: 1. requirements on land by ancestors in the pre-Qin period; 2. theories and techniques of land preparation. "Ridge-separated Field Cultivation" (*Qi Zhong Fa*) is the earliest known cultivation theory in China: (1) how to arrange and design field layout; (2) requirements on preparing the land; (3) requirements for young crop plants; (4) how to use plows in fields."[22] Some researchers have pointed out that these four chapters are the most systematic work on agriculture from the early Qin Period, which reflect the emphasis the then government placed upon agriculture. These articles presented the great importance Lü Buwei and the Qin government attached to agricultural issues, which stressed agriculture first and then industry and commerce, and represented significant difference from the policy "agriculture as the lowest and business profits [are] more important" as advocated by Shang Yang.[23]

The Book of Fan Shengzhi (*Fan Sheng Zhi Shu*) is the most classic agricultural work from the Western Han Period, and *Monthly Order for Four Professions* (*Si Min Yue Ling*) is the most classic agricultural work from the Eastern Han Period, documenting much of the experience of agricultural production and management in the format of monthly calendar.[24] The first book is about agricultural experience in the Guanzhong region, while the second book concerns the Luoyang region.

In the Northern Wei Period, Jia Sixie wrote a book called *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People* (*Qi Min Yao Shu*)[25] summarizing the experience of

[21] Xia Weiying, *Annotations to the Four Agriculture Chapter of Lüshi Chunqiu* (Agriculture Publication Ltd., 1979), p. 2.

[22] *Chinese Agricultural History*, *Chinese Agricultural Academy and Office of Chinese Agricultural Heritage of Nanjing Agricultural Academy* (Science Publication Ltd., 1959), Vol. 1, p. 77–102.

[23] Mou Zhongjian, *Studies on Thoughts of Lüshi Chunqiu and Huai Nan Zi* (Qilu Book Publication, 1987), pp. 30–1.

[24] *Book of Sui*, also called "Monthly Order for Four Professions."

[25] *Principle Techniques for the Welfare of the People* is the most completely preserved of the ancient Chinese agricultural texts and was written by the Northern Wei Dynasty official Jia Sixie. The book is believed to have been completed in 544 AD. The text of the book is divided into ten volumes and 92 chapters and records 1,500-year-old Chinese agronomy, horticulture, afforestation, sericulture, animal husbandry, veterinary medicine, breeding, brewing, cooking, storage, as well as remedies for barren land. Since the publication of the book, historical Chinese governments have long attached great importance to it.

agricultural practice in regions along Yellow River. It is also considered to be one of the greatest works on agriculture.[26]

A Japanese researcher, Tianye Yuanzizhu, compiled a book *Review on Ancient Chinese Agriculture* (*Zhong Guo Gu Nong Shu Kao*), which can be taken as a supplementary work to Wang Yuhu's *Bibliography of Chinese Agricultural Works* (*Zhong Guo Nong Xue Shu Lu*). Due to the fact that "the author regarded books that were easily seen as research objects," the first book encompassed 240 agricultural works, slightly fewer than the second book.[27]

As to reviews of ancient agricultural works, Hu Daojin published *A Bibliography of Rare Agricultural Works* (*Xi Jian Gu Nong Shu Lu*)[28] and *A Supplement to a Bibliography of Rare Agricultural Works* (*Xi Jian Gu Nong Shu Bie Lu*),[29] both of which have been collated together into a single book, *Agricultural Works: Analects of Agricultural History* (*Nong Shu: Nong Shi Lun Ji*).[30] The book also collated other important works such as the *Four Season Summary* (*Si Shi Zuan Yao*), the *Meng Xi Forgotten Record* (*Meng Xi Wang Huai Lu*), *The Appearance of Grass and Trees in Nan Shan* (*Nan Fang Cao Mu Zhuang*), *Must-Know in Cultivation* (*Zhong Yi Bi Yong*), *Mulberry Cultivation* (*Nan San Ji Yao*), *On Planting Trees* (*Shu Yi Pian*), and *Summaries of Agricultural Studies* (*Nong Xue Ji Cheng*). Another important article collected in that book is *A Profile of Ancient Chinese Agricultural Development and an Overview of Agricultural Documents* (*Wo Guo Gu Dai Nong Xue Fa Zhang Gai Kuang He Ruo Gang Gu Nong Xue Zi Liao Gai Shu*), which provides an overview of the writings on ancient agriculture and discusses "some new discoveries in ancient agricultural literature."

7.3 The Administration of Agriculture in Historical Dynasties

The section of Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* entitled "Twelve Almanacs" (*Shier Ji*) emphasizes that agricultural practice should be formulated according to a twelve-month calendar, which was compiled from long-term records of cultivation. "Advocating Agriculture" in Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* stresses that governors should take agriculture as their principal issue and attributes the successful leadership of the previous great kings to the particular attention they paid to the agricultural economy. Cultivation was said to not only let people gain food

[26]Miao Qiyu, *Annotation to Qi Min Yao Shu* (Agriculture Publication Ltd, 1982).

[27]Tianye Yuanzhizhu, *Review on Ancient Chinese Agriculture*, trans. Peng Shijian, and Lin Guangxin (Agriculture Publication, 1992), p. 15.

[28]Originally published in Archaeology, Vol. 3, (1963), later collected in *Agriculture Book-Agricultural History Analects* (March 1979).

[29]Originally published in *Library*, Vol 4, 1962.

[30]Agricultural publication Ltd., 1985.

from the land, but also to help them to form a good mind and a good spirit. Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* put forward influential agricultural principles and specifically stressed that cultivation is not only beneficial to the economy but also "beneficial to people's mental and spiritual lives." It further explains the three main purposes of agriculture policy, namely, that "1. cultivation keeps people honest and makes them easy to govern; 2. cultivation keeps people focused on production and obedient to the law; and 3. cultivation endows people with private property and discourages them from moving around." The first two purposes offered inspiration to central government, advising the rulers on how to govern the whole country.

Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* was the last major cultural achievement during the Warring States Period and is a milestone that characterizes the culture as it entered into a new age. The thoughts of Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals* had a significant influence over the Qin Dynasty's policy of governance.

Historical materials relating to the economy of the Qin Dynasty are quite limited, and owing to the fact that it was a short-lived dynasty, it has received cursory criticism. In 1975, a Qin Dynasty tomb was discovered in Shui-hu-di in the Yunmeng region of Hubei Province, which contained some documentation of the economy at that time. These documents supplied more information on the economic activities of the Qin Dynasty.

The discovered documents were collated and named as *Eighteen Qin Laws* (*Qin Lü Shi Ba Zhong*). It seems these documents represent some parts of, but not the whole of, the laws. The authors of the documents only extracted the parts of the laws which were pertinent to their own needs.

The *Eighteen Qin Laws* concerns a wide range of rules. For instance, "Field Rules" (*Tian Lü*) specifies that if it rains in a suitable time and the crops germinate in good conditions, every local region should report in writing how many fields have germinated crops and how many fields are fallow this year. When the crops have seeded and have received rainfall, it should be reported how much precipitation there has been and upon how many fields the rains fell. If hazards like droughts, gales, floods, or insect attacks caused damage to crop production, the local regions – either those close by or more remote from the disasters – needed to report this to the central government by the end of August. On the basis of these rules, the central government could monitor the agricultural situation, examine the progress in current cultivation, accurately estimate the likely crop yields for the year, and therefore govern its economic activities accordingly. "Stable Rules" (*Jiu Yuan Lü*) specifies that the appraisal of cows over one year in age should take place in April, July, October, and January and outstanding peasant keepers should be awarded with wine, meat, and other taxing duties. If the cows had lost too much weight while helping to turn the fields, keepers would be reprimanded with ten lashes. There were also other rules such as if a borrowed iron cultivating tool was damaged before it was lent out, it could be returned with no penalty. If any cow or horse died, the corpse should be properly examined and reported to the higher authority within a specified time limit. Every year there should be appraisals of cows which were used for transportation. If too many cows died while serving transportation duty, local officials would be held responsible.

Many policies for boosting agriculture were implemented in the Han Dynasty. For instance, after the *war* ended, the first emperor of the Han Dynasty discharged many soldiers so that they could participate in the cultivation activities. This decision largely reflected the common will of the society to pursue peace and to have the economy recover. A large proportion of soldiers had been peasants before serving in the war, and their return to agriculture would help to facilitate the fast recovery of agriculture. Liu Bang, the first Han Emperor (reigned as Emperor Gaozu), announced that soldiers would be "apportioned land and fields based on their contribution during the war." This policy in effect rewarded the soldiers with land and encouraged them to settle down as civilians, helping to consolidate a stable society. In the meantime, these "soldiers," "with their property and land," would form a solid class of land owners which would be loyal to the emperor. Liu Bang made two further announcements that (1) "people's private property and social status were to be respected and would be reclaimed if lost during the war" and (2) "people who were forced to become slaves would regain their civilian status." These two announcements helped a large number of people to be rehabilitated under the government administration, and these people became farmers with great enthusiasm.

At the beginning of the Han Dynasty, the sovereign inaugurated policies to ease the burdens of duty and tax upon the populace, which in turn greatly helped the economy to recover and develop. The *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money, First Part* (*Hanshu: Shi Huo Zhi, Shang*) states that in the reign of Emperor Wen of Han, a minister named Jia Yi suggested that coercing people to become involved in cultivation would consolidate the economy of the empire and enable people to live off the fruits of their own labor. He had a vision that agriculture could help to "generate wealth and pacify the society." This vision was transformed into reality during the period of Emperor Jin of Han. The *Early Han History: Wen Emperor 2nd Year* (*Qian Han Ji: Wen Di Er Nian*) records that in a typical family of five persons, two would be working directly on the field, and they could cultivate up to 100 acres and harvest up to 300 stones of grain. Modern-day researchers now estimate that "the production efficiency would be about 281 *jin* per acre."[31]

In the later period of his reign, Emperor Wu of Han realized that the development of agriculture was more important in making a prosperous country than strengthening military forces. He made it clear that "building people's wealth" was the focus of his policy and that "the government's task was to improve agriculture." He commissioned his minister to promote an advanced cultivation technology "Alternating Cultivation Method" (*Dai Tian Fa*). According to the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money*, the cultivation technology was gradually introduced from the capital to more remote regions and significantly improved the production rate.

At the beginning of Eastern Han Period, Emperor Guangwu of Han introduced tax reductions to boost cultivation. Taxes on cultivation provided the major source

[31] Wu Hui, *Research on Grain Production Rate in Chinese Dynasties* (Agriculture Publication Ltd., 1985), p. 111.

of government income from the peasantry. The tax rate could largely determine how enthusiastically people would attend cultivation work and in turn largely influence the social stability. Guangwu clearly realized this point and took measures to ease the potential conflict between the government and the people. In 30 AD,[32] Guangwu announced that the tax rate on cultivation was to be reduced down "from one-tenth to one-thirtieth." This reduction was possible because the previous state of war had ended, and more soldiers were available to attend to the task of cultivation. This new tax rate reflected the eagerness of the highest governing group to prevent social instability arising out of an overly high tax rate.

Throughout all of the dynasties, agriculture policies mainly concerned the cultivation of land and the tax rate. The purposes of many agricultural reforms in history were to improve the economic relationship between the parties engaged in agriculture and to boost the agricultural economy by reforming land and tax policies.

A typical initiative within historical agricultural reform was to limit land aggregation so that the government could retain a firm control over the agricultural economy. Small and equal apportionment of land was a good incentive for encouraging people to attend to cultivation work. Among all the reforms, some succeeded and some failed. Overall, a judicious land management policy could meet the demands of agricultural development.

There are two typical cases of agricultural reforms on improving agricultural economy: the "Dual Tax Law" (*Lian Shui Fa*) of the Tang Dynasty and the "Head Tax Merged into Acre Tax" (*Tan Ding Ru Mu*) policy of the Qing Dynasty. [33]

Prior to the Tang Dynasty, the duty levied upon the people was derived mainly from three criteria: "field tax" (*tianzu*), "head tax" (*renkoushui*), and "labor work" (*yaoyi*). For example in the Han Dynasty, production from the field was taxed by one-thirtieth, and every individual aged 15–56 had to pay an annual tax of 120 *qian*.[34] Those aged 7–14 had to pay an annual tax of 20 *qian*. An adult man had to complete at least two years of military service during his lifetime and do 1 month of labor work for the government every year. In 204 AD, during the period of Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties, Cao Cao ordered that "every acre of field be taxed by four liters of grain, and in addition every household should submit two kilograms of silk and cloth." In the Tang Dynasty, tax was based on the head count. Every man must pay two stones of grain per year and a certain amount of silk and cloth and undertake 20 days of labor work. However, as more and more land was merged, many people started to drift around rather than settling down in one place. This reality made it very difficult to implement the tax law. Thus in

[32] Also known by the regnal year *Jiang Wu Liunian*.

[33] Zhao Lisheng, *History on Chinese Land Policies* (Qilu Book Ltd., 1984); Cheng Shoushi and Lin Ganquan, *Manuscripts on Chinese Ancient Land Relations* (Shanghai People's Publication, 1984); *History on Chinese Feudal Land Policies* (Chinese Social Science Publication Ltd, 1990); Li Shan, *The History on Land Nationalization in Ancient China* (Yunnan People's Publication, 1997).

[34] By this period, 50 g of gold was equivalent to 1000 *qian*.

780 BC,[35] Emperor Dezong of Tang was advised by his prime minister, Yang Yan, to announce the reform policy: "Dual Tax Law" (*Liang shui Fa*). The underlying principle of this policy was to impose tax based on land and property rather than the head count. The particular details of the policy are as follows: (1) All previous tax items were combined into one. (2) The all-in-one tax was then assigned to each household according to land area and household status. (3) Tax was charged twice a year in June and November, respectively. The dual tax meant that the tax was concerned with two factors: land and household. (4) Merchants who drifted around would be ordered to pay tax amounting to one-thirtieth of his income to the region in which he lived. (5) All previous tax items were waived, but the record of the head count was maintained. The "Dual Tax Law" tidied up the previous rather messy taxation system and widened the range of taxation while reducing normal people's duty.

In the Qing Dynasty, a major tax reform known as the "Head Tax Merged into Acre Tax" (*Tan ding ru di*) was passed. The key change introduced by this policy was to merge tax on head count into the tax of land, also referred to as *Tan ding ru mu*, *Di ding he yi*, *Ding sui di qi*, collectively known as "Head and Acre" (*Di ding*).

At the time when the Qing Dynasty was established, the household registration records were no longer extant, having been destroyed in the preceding war. Larger landowners with superior social status tried to pass the tax duty down to the poor peasants whose social status was far lowlier. This social reality became the source of much social instability as well as creating difficulties in the collection of taxes. The traditional tax system was based on two standards: the amount of land (known as "land tax" – *Di yin*) and the number of residents (known as "head tax" – *Ding yin*). Thus, in the fiftieth year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1712), the sovereign announced that the national tax on head count would be fixed according to the count made in that year, and all people born after this year will be free of head count forever. By fixing the head count, this policy stabilized the tax burden on people and eased conflicts between the different social classes. This policy signifies an important shift of "taxation from head count to income." It abolished the head count tax that had been in operation for a long time through history, standardized tax bands, simplified taxing methods, and eventually helped to weaken the peasantry's attachment to the land and the land owner.

7.4 The Characteristics of the Development of the Handicraft Industry

Chinese handicrafts have an ancient origin. Clay modeling, spinning, and jade carving in ancient China exhibited a high level of artistry, with notable examples being the Banpo basin with its human face and net texture and jade articles from

[35] Also known by the regnal year *Jiang Zhong Wunian*.

Longshan. However, it was not until the Shang and Zhou Period that handicraft became an industry independent from other economic sectors and became known as the "Hundred Crafting" (*Bai Gong*). During the Shang and Zhou Period, the art of crafting articles from jade and casting bronze ware reached a level without parallel in history. During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, ironware crafting became an important part of the handicraft sector, and iron weapons played an unprecedented role in the wars of that period. Iron tools were also widely used in production and daily living. The development of the bronze ware sector climbed up to an even higher peak. Clay modeling remained as the biggest part of the handicraft industry of that period, while significant progress was made in spinning, lacquer work, salt refining, and brewing. The economic prosperity of the Han Dynasty was signified by the rise of puddling, iron casting, steel manufacturing, silk knitting, lacquer work, and papermaking. During the period of Sui, Tang, and Five Dynasties, rapid progress was made in the casting industry. The invention and use of gold and silver alloys, wax pattern casting, copper hydrometallurgy, and carburizing steel each significantly improved the art of metal casting during that period. Techniques such as cutting, polishing, jointing, riveting, casting, scribing, and chipping were widely used in crafting. The masterpieces of that time include the "Sky Pivot" (*Tian Shu*) of Wu Zetian's reign (690–705 AD) and the "Iron Lion" (*Tie Shi*) of the late Zhou Period. Tangible progress was achieved in other handicraft sectors too. To take the textile sector as an example, according to existing documentation, the volume of cloth per annum amounted to up to 172.1 million square meters during the Tianbao Period (742–56 AD) of the Tang Dynasty. Many regions had their own reputed textile products, such as cloth from Guilin, felt from Xizhou, woolens from Lanzhou, and brocade from Sichuan. Meanwhile, clay modeling techniques were further advanced also. In the Sui Dynasty, clay work was mainly accomplished in celadon, and in the Tang Dynasty, ceramic whiteware became the mainstream material. In the Song Dynasty, the handicraft industry was characterized by its larger scale of production, by its greater degree of specialization, and by more and better craft work being produced. Mining and metallurgy are worthy of special mention here insofar as coal was not only widely used in metallurgy and clay modeling, but also provided a reliable, staple fuel for people's daily living. Porcelain making stands out as one of the greatest highlights of the Song Dynasty, mainly because of the breakthrough achieved in making enamelware. Four famous kilns – the Ding, Jun, Ru, and Guan – were located along the Yellow River Basin. The Jingdezhen Kiln, which was established in the Tang Dynasty and prospered in the Song Dynasty, became a famous kiln in southern China. It was celebrated for its porcelain wares which are thought to "resemble jade." Book printing was also an outstanding industry, even though it only emerged after the invention of the typography technique. *Jian Ben* and *Fang Ben* are among the best examples of printed work from that time. The cotton textile industry made the most representative progress among the handicrafts in the Ming Dynasty. Among all the handicraft sectors, the cotton textile industry achieved the greatest volume of production and sales. Iron casting was another strong sector in that time. The iron furnace discovered in Zunhua, Hebei, measures 12 ft in depth, and it could

hold a capacity of 1,000 kg of iron ore, was capable of producing 100 kg of iron from one firing, and could produce 600 kg of iron in one day. During the Qing Dynasty, the handicraft industry entered into a highly developed stage, becoming an important factor in the social and economic prosperity of the time. In fourth year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1745), the textile authority of the southern Yangtze River possessed 1863 spinning machines and employed 7,055 workers. The Jingdezhen Kiln could ship eighty to ninety thousand units, with annual production of up to 100,000 units. The divisions within the industry became further refined so that porcelain making alone had over ten specialized work divisions.

Historically, the Chinese handicraft business was mainly regulated by the government and had its own particular system of administration.

The "Law on Money and Property" (*Jin Bu Lü*) found among the *Eighteen Qin Laws* discovered at Shui-hu-di mentions some rules for the financing of government handicraft business. It was required that "all merchandise should be given a stipulated price for sale." Any vendor who retailed products must put the money received straight into a clay container immediately. It was also required that "all products of a same type needed to be made in a standard size, length and width." The "Law on Work" (*Gong Lü*) required that all rulers for measurement, barrels, and liter vessels needed to be recalibrated every year. The "Law on Workers" (*Gong Ren Cheng*) defined the hierarchy of slave assistant, artisans, and officials.

There was also a "Rules of Efficient Labor Use" (*Jin Bu Lü*), which embodied the principle of having every worker utilize his best skills. Slaves who were adept at craftwork did not have to undertake the tasks of carriage driving and cooking. A new artisan needed to finish half of an experienced artisan's work in the first year and the same the second year. When learning to perform a new craft, an experienced artisan needed to finish the training in a year, and a junior artisan needed to finish it in two years. Those who finished their training ahead of schedule would receive prizes, and those who were late would have their names recorded in a file.[36]

Judging from the *Eighteen Qin Laws* discovered at Shui-hu-di, the government had full control over economic activities, and the rules on handicraft production were tight and detailed.

During the Sui-Tang Period, the handicraft sector run by the government was controlled according to a very tight and detailed system. From the central government down to local regions, there was a large-scale administrative system based upon the fine division of the handicraft industry. Even a plant in which textiles were dyed could contain up to 25 different types of workshop specializing in different operations.

In the Song Dynasty, the governmental handicraft authority no longer required that artisans should do their work out of obligation and started to give them payment. The system still combined elements of "duty and payment." Artisans were registered

[36] *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art* (*Jiuzhang Shuanshu*) "Business Application, in the Han Dynasty": People have different tasks to fulfill in the winter and summer so the two seasons have different lengths of day and night.

in the authority's log book. When the government had incomplete crafting projects that required finishing, artisans were obliged to serve, but would be paid for their work. This slightly different treatment of their service indicates that artisans in the Song Dynasty had a somewhat improved social status, compared with their counterparts in earlier historical periods.

The artisan's social status continued to improve with the advent of the Ming Dynasty. In the twenty-first year of the reign of the Chenghua Emperor (1485 AD), the government allowed artisans to pay money in lieu of undertaking duty work. In the forty-first year of the reign of Emperor Jiajing (1562 AD), with the wide use of silver currency, all artisans were required to pay tax money "instead of doing work out of duty." After the introduction of the "Head Tax Merged into Acre Tax" law in the Qing Dynasty, the artisan registration system was finally and completely abolished. Government-run handicraft authorities began to shrink, and the handicraft articles they need would be purchased from the private market.

Although the system of governmental authority dominated the traditional handicraft industry in ancient China, private handicraft industry gradually developed also.

The "Field and Farm Economy" (*Tian Zhuang Jin Ji*) of the Eastern Han Dynasty reported that the nation had a "self-inclusive market," that agriculture fell into subdivisions, and that there were "wonderful handicrafts" and a self-sufficient market and economy. The typical economic activity of farms was cultivating grain, but also included growing vegetables and fruit. Farms also had detailed plan and arrangement for tree planting, herbal medical collection, alcohol and vinegar distillation, spinning, and arms production.[37] It is obvious that an individual farm was a miniature but complete society.[38]

During the period of Sui and Tang Dynasties, the private handicraft sector further developed, albeit in a slight way. In populous cities, small handicraft workshops began to emerge. These were mainly concerned with papermaking, bronze casting, silk knitting, and dying. Workshop owners were called "master" (*zhanglao* or *shi*). Industrial associations started to take shape, but these were small and mainly served to coordinate the relationship between the government and the private workshops. Thus, these were more like low-level governmental authorities operating within the handicraft industry.

The main period of development for the private handicraft industry started in the Song Dynasty and accelerated especially in the Ming Dynasty. In the middle of the Ming Dynasty, owing to a strong demand from the private market, the scale of private textile industry largely exceeded that of the governmental textile industry. The Songjiang region, in the Ming Dynasty, witnessed a prosperous scene in which "ten thousand *pi* of cloth was produced per day." Hence, the famous saying: "endless cloth from Songjiang and yarn from Weitang." Huge breakthroughs were made in manufacturing technology. By using treadmills, production efficiency was improved

[37] Shandong Museum and Archaeology Institute of Shandong, *Collection of Shandong Portraits in Han Dynasty* (Qilu Books Ltd, 1982), picture 341.

[38] As above, picture 181.

by three or four times. In any family, cotton knitting was one of the chief tasks, second only to cultivation. Private workshops began to hire workers to take on work.

With the implementation of the "Head Tax Merged into Acre Tax" law in the Qing Dynasty, artisans became free and independent within the labor market. This freedom helped the private handicraft industry to thrive. To take the silk-dying sector as an example, in the fifty-ninth year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1720), there were 64 dyeing houses in Suzhou and 450 in Changmen. In the fifth year of the reign of Emperor Qianlong (1740), there were over 10,000 small families in eastern Suzhou engaged in the spinning business. With the mushrooming of the private handicraft industry, the business operations also started to change. As more workshops opened, and more artisans were hired by workshops, the conflicts between owners and artisans, assistants, and apprentices became intense and deep. In the fifty-fourth year of the reign of Emperor Kangxi (1715), some decorating artisans in Suzhou proposed that they should establish their own artisan association, but their proposal was eventually suppressed. The industrial association at the time not only adjusted production and sale and restricted external competition and controlled internal competition, but also helped workshops to control the time worked by and salaries paid to artisans. The industrial association was mainly a tool for protecting the employers' interest and for exploiting artisans. During this period, the development of artisan hiring and workshop signified the climax of the traditional handicraft industry. It also indicated the maladjustment of the traditional socioeconomic system, leading to the eventual collapse of that system.

7.5 The Preference for Agriculture over Commerce in Chinese History and the Difficult Development of Commerce

In traditional Chinese society, merchants had a very low social status. Commerce was regarded as the "lowest industry" (*mo ye*) and for a long time was the subject of discrimination and suppression.

During the reign of the First Emperor of the Qin Dynasty, "Merchants" (*Gu Ren*) were the first to be dispatched to remote borderland for military service (*Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Qin Shihuang – Shiji: Qin Shihuang Benji*). As long as someone was registered as a merchant, his family would lose personal independence for three generations and will be first recruited to fight in wars (*History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Chao Cuo – Hanshu: Chao Cuo Zhuan*). In the early stages of the Han Dynasty, merchants were forbidden to wear silk clothes, banned from keeping weapons, banned from using carriages and horses, banned from becoming civil servants, and banned from purchasing land.

Although subject to severe restrictions, merchants could still make a fortune in this environment and society. They played an important role in socioeconomic development. The reason for this was that production and consumption had

exceeded local geographical boundaries in an economy in which transactions were now made with money. "Widespread and frequent trade activities had drawn all small economic regions into a common national circuit of currency and goods" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Usurers – Shiji: Huozhi Liezhuan*). The economic situation was such that it came to be called a "circuit among agriculture, industry and commerce," which was based on the extensiveness and intensity of commercial activities at the time (*Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization – Shiji: Pinghuai Shu*). Wide-ranging and frequent commercial activities pushed each economic region into an economic community in which "wealth and goods were circulated and every region had the same amount" (*Study of Salt and Iron: Tong You – Yantielun: Tong You*). In terms of economy, the situation of "a whole community inside the nation" was finally formed (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Usurers*).

In the Qin and Han Dynasties, trading greatly boosted the economy and played a major role in facilitating the circulation of goods and materials. "Peasants and merchants traded for profit," and the economy was more vibrant than ever (*Study of Salt and Iron: Tong You – Yantielun: Tong You*). In that period, "wealthy merchants travelled around the country and were seen in almost every local region" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Huainan and Hengshan – Shiji: Huainan Hengshan Liezhuan*); "wealthy merchants travelled afar and there were a lot of carriages on roads" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money, First Part – Hanshu: Shihuo zhi shang*); "boats, carriages, merchants and vendors travelled all around" (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biographies of Wang Chong, Wang Fu, Zhongghang Tong – Zhongchang Tong – Hou Hanshu: Wang Chong Wang Fu Zhongchang Tong Liezhuan – Zhongchang Tong*); and "they traveled everywhere, using their intelligence and talents to trade" (*History of the Han Dynasty: Biographies of Wang, Gong, Two Gongs and Bao – Gong Yu – Hanshu: Wang Gong Liang Gong Bao Zhuan – Gong Yu*). This private trading between civilians breached the barriers established by the government and largely contributed to the economic prosperity of those times.

The *Monthly Order for Four Professions* (*Si Min Yue Ling*) from the Eastern Han Dynasty contains some material pertaining to when to "trade grains," when to "buy cloth," when to "buy shoes" for winter, and when to "buy sacrificial goods." All of these contents reflect how active trade was in rural areas. However, these contents did not involve markets but already specified seasonal trading activities. This point was reflected in the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Cui Yin* (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Cui Yin – Hou Hanshu: Cui Yin Liezhuan*), which relates the story of a man who sold all his property in order to bury his father. Afterwards, he had to live off trading brewed wines and was criticized by others. Nevertheless, he ignored these disrespectful responses and carried on his trading business. His attitude towards handicrafts and commerce was that although agriculture is the foundation of society, trade and handicraft products are also. This approval represented some positive significance, and this positive recognition was based on the economic development at that time.

Nonetheless, the "Preference for Agriculture over Commerce" principle derived from Confucianism remained the dominant rule in governmental policy making. The Han Dynasty had some strong and effective policies for suppressing commerce based on this principle as well as some policies based on real situations.

The state monopoly over salt and iron was one of such commerce-suppressing factors that had given the Han Dynasty an unprecedented economic foundation. Government-run salt and iron meant that the government set up authorities in the salt and iron-producing areas and carried out unified production and sale with profits taken by the government. This form of salt and iron industry enabled the government to dominate and profit from the two critical industries. These profits helped to maintain the high expenses of royal families and military actions while not increasing tax and duty to civilians. Even so, this inevitably had a negative influence on society and people's livelihood. Not least of this was because government-sold salt and iron tools were of poor quality.

During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, a minister named Shan Hongyan introduced two new governmental economic policies: "Even Transportation" (*Jun Shu*) and "Market Stabilizing" (*Ping Zhun*).

"Even Transportation" was mainly concerned with appointing transportation officials across the whole country. These officials would manage the transportation of governmental materials, such as grain within their local administrative region. This policy helped largely to reduce the logistical costs that were generated mainly by much unnecessary repetitive transportation of materials, transportation over overly long distances, and back-and-forth transportation.[39] "Market Stabilizing" was about regulating the market. The central government would appoint dedicated officials to manage government-run industries so as to stabilize prices, to adjust supply and demand, and to regulate the market. These two policies reflected how the government of the Western Han Dynasty had improved their administrative management of the economy.

The government monopoly over salt and iron, "Even Transportation" and "Market Stabilizing" were not only promoted with the intention of gaining economic interests but also served to suppress private commerce. During the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, the government announced "Coin String Calculation" (*Suan Min*) and "Coin String Report" (*Gao Min*) to directly clamp down on wealthy merchants.

The "Coin String Calculation," carried out in 119 BC,[40] required every merchant, handicraft tradesman, and loan lender to report his property, and for every 2,000 coins worth of property, he needed to pay 120 coins, that is to say one *suan*. A *suan* would also be taxed on every 4,000 coins of selling self-made products, or for every carriage, or at double the rate for every merchant-owned carriage, or for every boat of over 50 ft in length. Any merchant who hid or underreported his property

[39] *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art* (*Jiuzhang Shuanshu*), "Even Transportation, in the Han Dynasty": This reflects how the organization and the management of government transportation were planned strictly and in detail. These were strictly executed.

[40] Also known by the regnal year *Yuanshou Sinian*.

would be sent to serve in the remote borderlands for a year and would have all his property confiscated. In 113 BC,[41] Emperor Wu of Han announced the "Coin String Report" to encourage people to inform on merchants who disobey the "Coin String Calculation" policy. In return informants would receive half of the confiscated property of the merchants. So under this "Coin String Report" movement, the government confiscated property worth billions, thousands of slaves and maids, and millions of acres of land. Most of the merchants with medium-sized and larger assets were informed on and became bankrupt.

After carrying out these two policies, the government treasury had refilled its coffers, but private merchants had been severely hit. The autocratic centralized government had gained strong financial safeguards. These two policies had a direct effect on easing the financial crisis of the government and on suppressing the merchant class which almost possessed enough financial strength to undermine the government. However, this had set a bad precedent in history, namely, encouraging the forceful confiscation of civilians' property to line the government treasury. The political success of Emperor Wu of Han inspired many subsequent governments in later Chinese history to shape such an administrative habit. Since Emperor Wu of Han, the governmental preference for agriculture over commerce had become a fundamental policy in all later strong dynasties.

Among the series of new policies pursued by the Wang Mang government, there were the "Five Even and Six Controls" (*Wu Jun Liu Yuan*), which attempted to regulate commerce in the cities. The "Five Even and Six Controls" policies attempted to improve the administration of government finance and handicraft industries. In particular, these policies strove to regulate six economic activities, namely, the monopolistic sale of salt, iron and wine, the monopolistic minting of currency, the taxation of natural products, and government-backed loans. At that time, six cities implemented these policies: Chang'an, Luoyang, Handan, Linzi, Wan, and Chengdu, known as "Five Even Cities" (*Wu jun shi*). Wang Mang appointed dedicated authorities and officials in these cities to control and regulate the involved market and trading.

At that time, the government intended to limit the exploitation of peasants by merchants and to stop loan sharks' illegal pursuit of profit. The purpose was to repair the system of the economy and to adjust the socioeconomic balance. Notwithstanding, these policies lacked practicality and were boycotted by handicraft artisans and merchants. The policies, therefore, only caused strong social and economic chaos.

The "Five Even and Six Controls" policies were used for over 10 years without having the intended effects. In 21 AD,[42] these policies were about to be abolished, just like many other policies made by Wang Mang. However, the government of Wang Mang was quickly overthrown in the following year.

[41] Also known by the regnal year *Yuanding Sinian*.

[42] Also known by the regnal year *Wang Mang Dihuang Ernian*.

Some researchers have pointed out that "from the Western Han Dynasty to the Three Kingdoms Period, the trend of commercial development was not curtailed after all. Even though the scale of the national market was hampered rather by a system that was centered upon agriculture, and even though commerce was attacked, suppressed, and prohibited by many governmental policies, commerce has found its own way to survive and to buy low and sell high to make big profits."[43]

In later history, commerce developed with great prosperity. For example, in the Tang Dynasty, Yao He described the commercial boom in his poem "Walking in the Country" (*Zhuang Ju Ye Xing*):

> [w]alking all over in the country, all the doors of the houses are closed. When I ask where all the people have gone, I am told they have gone to do business [. . .] People travelled to the east and west. The roads have even started to run through the fields [. . .] People have gone to the mountains and valleys for jade. They have gone to the rivers and waters for pearls.

Of the busy lives of the merchants who traveled thousands of *li*, it was also said that "every year they traveled east and west for profits." This situation was vividly depicted in Zhang Ji's poem "Merchant's Joy" (*Gu Ke Le*):

> [f]rom Nanjing to the west there are many merchants. They grew-up on boats and love to meet winds and waves. With ambitions they harbor their boats near to the port, worshiping the gods with wine at the head of their ships. They put down their cups, talking about the long journey they are going on to the State of Shu and the barbarian states far away. Most of them are high-ranking businessmen. Every night they go to bed late because they stay up calculating the tax they must pay.

Bai Juyi's (772–846 AD) poem "The Salt Merchant's Wife" (*Yanshang Fu*) described how "[e]ast and west, north and south, we have homes everywhere/ Wind and water are our neighbors and boats our houses." Another Tang poet, Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD) wrote in "The Merchant's Song" (*Jia Ke Ci*) that "merchants travel all about, All their travels are aimed at profit, There are pleasures to be had in travel and rest." All these poems perceptively describe the busy and high lives of the merchants who traveled back and forth thousands of *li*. Yuan Zhen's "Businessmen's Joy" (*Gu Ke Le*) contains an even more lifelike description of contemporary merchants. He wrote:

> The merchants have no friends. They travel as long as there are profits. Out of their door they beg to join a party. Inside their door they say goodbye to their parents and brothers [. . .] They went to the great sea for pearls and went after jade in the great mountains [. . .] In the north they buy horses from the minorities. In the west they capture eagles [. . .] They have fire parties in the south and have silk made in the State of Shu [. . .] The girls in the south have tender flesh. The boys in the north have bright eyes [. . .] They just calculate the cost of clothes and food. They never consider whether the journey will take them far or near [. . .] They travel all over the country, but at last come to the city of Chang'an.

[43]Fu Zhufu, *The Economic History of Chinese Feudal Society* (People's Publishing House Ltd., 1982), Vol. 2, pp. 400–1.

Although their business was versatile, they followed only one principle, namely, "wherever there is a profit to be had, merchants will go." They were unafraid of the hardships presented by the northern sea and the southern mountains.

The busy activities of businessmen had resulted in particular traffic phenomenon. A big city often had congregations of boats coming from all directions. As recorded in the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping Guangji*), a traveler named Xiao Dongxuan traveled to Yangzhou where he saw all the boats crowded in a dock and passengers were fighting each other to get through. He recorded:

> [t]housands and thousands of boats jammed the waterway, but the passage was narrow. All of them fought to get through. The boat swung up and down, being stuck for a long time. All the men on the boats tried their best to squeeze over. When I saw one boat capsize and a crewman's arm was broken in the press, it made the onlookers tremble.

According to the *Old Book of Tang*, one day in December 763 AD, owing to strong winds in Erzhou (what is now Wuhan), "a fire started in the center of a busy river and then spread to burn over 3000 boats" (*Old Book of Tang: Annals of Daizong – Jiu Tangshu: Daizong Ji*). That one fire on the river could engulf 3,000 boats indicates how centralized transportation had become in larger port cities. One paragraph in Volume 86 of the *Institutional History of Tang* (*Tang Hui Yao*)[44] describing the situation of transportation at that time states: "[e]very important port city across the country was crowded with a large number of sailing boats, bound for Sichuan in the west, to Fujian and Guangdong in the south, to Henan in the north, and to Huaihai in the east. Tens of thousands of big boats come back and forth every day to carry cargoes."

In the *Supplement to Tang History* (*Tang Guo Shi Bu*), written by Li Zhao, it states that "the biggest boat would not support over ten thousand stones." However, it was recorded in later times (766–804 AD) how a big boat, called *Yu Da Niang*, was so large that a passenger could "live all of their life and conduct every activity onboard the vessel, including giving birth, being buried, and having a marriage ceremony." The deck was huge enough to plant vegetables on and the whole crew amounted to several hundred workers. This super-boat could make a round trip between North and South of China during the course of a year and make a good deal of profit. Its load greatly exceeded 10,000 stones.

Business transportation overland prospered too. Businesses facilitating trade and transportation like small hotels, restaurants, and carriage-hire services were in great demand. Many officials even became involved in these businesses and the central government had to issue edicts prohibiting officials from running these types of businesses. According to the *Old Book of Tang: Annals of Xuanzong, second part* (*Jiu Tangshu: Xuanzong, Ji xia*), Emperor Dezong of Tang announced in July 779 AD that "all government officials were banned from operating hotel or accommodation businesses."

During the Song and Ming Dynasties, commerce developed to an unprecedented degree. A great writer Feng Menglong (1574–1645) recorded many stories which

[44]Consisting of 100 volumes of records and compiled by Wang Pu, this work was presented to Emperor Taizu of Song in 961 AD.

reflect the commercial prosperity of his age. In Volume 1 of his work *Illustrious Words to Instruct the World* (*Yushi Mingyan*), a recently married young man called Jiang Xing remembers that "his father used to have some business in Guangdong before he passed away. The young man decided to continue his father's business and against his will left his wife to take the road to Guangdong." In Volume 18, a man named Yang Balao, "who did not have much successes in the Imperial Examination finds his family is running out of money and then decides to travel away to do business." In Volume 12 of Feng Menglong's *Stories to Caution the World* (*Jinshi Tongyan*), a businessman's background was described thus: "owning a big boat, collecting cargoes from other clients and delivering to other provinces, and making a lot of profits from this cargo transportation business." This indicates that cargo transportation was emerging as a new business sector.

Merchant's Guide (*Ke Shang Yi Lan Xing Mi*) was a book written by traveling merchants and published in 1635 AD.[45] This describes things to which merchants should be pay particular attention in the process of conducting business. The list includes fund seeking, customer acquisition, setting prices, weighing goods, dispatching goods, collecting payments, and legal lawsuit. The book reminded merchants in particular that when traveling and transporting goods, they should observe geographical and climatic changes, choose appropriate dates for leaving and returning home, be mindful of swindlers, be alert as to personal safety and property security, and avoid all sorts of accidents. The book was written in the form of maxim, with short and parallel sentences. The work also attached much practical information on calendars and specific dates. All of these reflected how busy the business traveling was at that time.

A merchant from Anhui, named Huang Bian, compiled a volume in 1570 AD called *National River and Land Road Map* (*Tian Xia Shui Lu Lu Cheng*). This is a comprehensive traveling guide across the whole country. The book illustrated the details of the main rivers and roads connecting to and from big cities. It also introduced diverse knowledge related to the main routes taken, such as local produce, regional public order and security, accommodation and restaurants, and transportation prices. Another book, *National Routes Diagram* (*Tian Xia Lu Cheng Tu Yin*), collected 100 main routes for inland traveling and detailed stations and stops along each route. For each stop, there was information about local produce, conventions, and tourist sites. For example, the book described how to travel from Anqing to Tuanfeng town. "One needed to take a boat from Zhu Paitou pier, travelling for eighty miles to Taihu County, and then change for direction to Cangxia for a further fifty miles. Once there one travelled a further thirty miles to Tuanfeng town." The information was so detailed and complete that it must have been derived from a merchants' firsthand experience. The fact, that all of this information was compiled into a book, reflected how commerce and business transportation had reached a very mature level.

[45] Ascribed to Li Jinde and written *c*. 1635.

Questions

1. What were the main characteristics of the historical development of Chinese agriculture?
2. Briefly explain the effect and influence of the policies which gave preferential treatment to agriculture over commerce in historical China.

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Chapter 8
The Military Thought and Military Systems of Ancient China

War is both a social and a historical phenomenon. Wars can be divided into justified wars and unjustified wars. In the history of China, there have been many great wars which were launched to fight against insults and oppression. These represent the cream of national history. Much may, nevertheless, be gleaned from unjustified wars. These can still disclose a mature and complete system of military ideology and institutions, which are worthy of attention.

8.1 The Military Thought of Ancient China

It is generally believed that the military thought of ancient China originated in the Spring and Autumn Period, with the book Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* (*Sunzi Bingfa*) being its representative. Actually this is not borne out by history. As a seasoned book discussing military tactics, that work came to be regarded as the canonical treatise on the subject by tacticians of the subsequent dynasties, even though the thoughts it expressed were not the oldest ones.

The *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*) is the earliest extant work that reflects ancient military thought.[1] These military thoughts were derived from the practice of war. The period of transition from the Shang Dynasty to the Western Zhou Dynasty

[1] As early as the Southern Song, the famous scholar Wang Yinglin said in his book *Example a Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Tongjian Da Wen*): "In the *Book of Changes*, the military tactics was all included in it." The same opinion was shared by the modern well-known scholar Guo Moruo in his "Study On Chinese Ancient Society," printed in *On History*, the first volume of *Guo Moruo's Complete Works* (People Publishing House, 1982), by Li Jingchi in his *Interpretation of the Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi Tongyi*) (Zhonghua Book Company, 1981), and by Gao Heng in *Current Interpretations of the Ancient Book of Changes* (Zhonghua Book Company, 1984).

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witnessed a series of wars, which are noted in the *Book of Changes*. Generally speaking, what the *Book of Changes* attaches the highest value to is peaceful coexistence and a situation in which those who abuse their power to bully the weak are put to shame. As is stated by the sequence of nine Chinese characters which forms the bottom line of the "Dui Hexagram" (*Dui Gua*): "[h]e [who] treats people amiably will enjoy good fortune." *Dui* means "harmony." The harmony between nations can invite great fortune. The sequence of nine characters in the second line of the "Dui Hexagram" follows on with "[h]e [who] treats people amiably with good fortune his regret will disappear." The sequence of six characters in the third line of the hexagram says: "[h]e [who] pleases others to seek amiability, he will have troubles." It can be seen that misfortune will befall a nation which takes advantage of its power and imposes its will on the other nations. Reading certain descriptions of war in the *Book of Changes*, it may be discerned that the author of the book was strongly antiwar. The nine characters in the fourth line of the "Li Hexagram" (*Li Gua*) state: "he [who] is violent and brutal as a sudden fire burns all things into ashes, thus he is discarded by people." This could be referring to a swift attack which causes disaster for the attacker. The sentiments of the author are therefore pacifist, and what he was seeking was a peaceful world in which "the rulers rule the nation mildly, and every nation is in peace." This is in accord with the political thought of the rulers of the Western Zhou – "[w]e launch wars to protect our people" and "[b]e benevolent to all the people and treasure their property." These thoughts were repeatedly promoted.

While the *Book of Changes* advocates a peaceful approach when dealing with disputes between nations, it does not object to justified war where sufficient reason exists. The six characters in the top line of the "Qian Hexagram" (*Qian Gua*) say: "[h]e shows his modesty and sympathy, but it is not quite effective, he has to resort to arms to solve disputes within his states." It is vital for a ruler to win moral support before he launches a war, for that support may help him to survive the war. The nine characters in the top line of the "Meng Hexagram" (*Meng Gua*) tell us: "[h]e punishes the ignorant, violence will bring hostility; proper measures enable both sides to cooperate against dense ignorance." This means that to actively invade other nations will prove unprofitable for one's country, whereas wars of defense will be profitable. The *Book of Changes* reiterates that one has to be prudent with warfare and must lay emphasis on the preparation and planning for a war before it breaks out. One should never launch a war ignorantly. This much can be gleaned from the words of the "Yu Hexagram" (*Yu Gua*): "[i]t is a favorable time for the king to establish his vassal and go on a campaign." Military affairs and national events require our careful consideration and comprehensive preparation. Once troops have been dispatched, the discipline and the rules by which they are governed are of profound consequence to the outcome of the war. The sequence of six characters in the bottom line of the "Shi Hexagram" (*Shi Gua*) maintains that "the army must be strictly disciplined in its military operations; otherwise there will be misfortune." For an army without strict discipline, victory will prove to be as elusive as a castle in the air. The *Book of Changes* also talks about the guiding principle behind wars. The first principle is to be brave and resolute when attacking. As is said in the

sequence of nine characters in the fourth line of the "Jin Hexagram" (*Jin Gua*), "[h]e makes progress like a greedy and timid rat. If he persists, he will meet with danger." Timidity will inevitably meet with failure. The second principle is to seize the fortress and to defeat one's enemy with a single blow. The sequence of nine characters in the third line of the words of the "Tongren Hexagram" (*Tongren Gua*) reads as follows: "[t]he troops hide in ambush in the grass, he climbs up the high hill to keep a close watch on the enemy. For three years, he dares not attack the enemy." Sometimes, one battle will be sufficient to cripple one's enemy so they will be unable to recover for several years.

If one esteems the military thoughts in the *Book of Changes* as a piece of valuable jade, then Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* may be seen as a precious pearl. Regarded as the "originator of oriental strategies," that text served as a guidebook for the military thoughts and practices of later dynasties. No book emerged in subsequent times which could exceed its breadth and depth.

Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* was written by Sun Wu (544–496 BC), who was a famous general in the State of Wu. The book consists of thirteen articles, each dealing with a particular topic. Collectively, these topics form a complete system of ideology.

Sun Tzu was always prudent where war was concerned. This prudence towards war can be witnessed in all of his articles. He said: "[t]he art of war is of vital importance to the State. It is a matter of life and death, a road either to safety or to ruin. Hence it is a subject of inquiry which can on no account be neglected" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*: *On Laying Plans – Ji Pian*). War matters much to the existence and the life of the people. Thus, we have no choice but to handle it with care. Sun Tzu was for "prudence in war," but he was not afraid of war. He thought that when choosing to go to war or not, the core criterion should be whether or not this served the national interest. As it is written:

> Unhappy is the fate of one who tries to win his battles and succeed in his attacks without cultivating the spirit of enterprise; for the result is a waste of time and general stagnation. Hence the saying: 'The enlightened ruler lays his plans well ahead; the good general cultivates his resources.' Move not unless you see an advantage; use not your troops unless there is something to be gained; fight not unless the position is critical. No ruler should put troops into the field merely to gratify his spleen; no general should fight a battle simply out of pique. If it is to your advantage, make a forward move; if not, stay where you are. Anger may in time change to gladness; vexation may be succeeded by content. But a kingdom that has once been destroyed can never come again into being; nor can the dead ever be brought back to life. Hence the enlightened ruler is heedful and the good general full of caution. This is the way to keep a country at peace and an army intact. (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Attack by Fire – Huo Gong Jian*)

Any war – whatever form it takes and whatever strategy it uses – must be closely related to the interests of politics and the economy. Thus, we can see that "interests" (*Liyi*) is the broadest and the most common expression for the purpose of war.

In this vein, Sun Tzu decided to generalize the factors that affect a war into five aspects: "The first is the Moral Law, the second is Heaven, the third is Earth, the fourth is the Commanders, and the fifth is Method and Discipline" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Laying Plans*). Among the five factors, the Moral Law (*Dao*) is the

most important. He states that "The Moral Law is to make the people and their lord be of one mind," so it means to win the support of the people. Factors such as the heaven (*Tian*), the earth (*Di*), the commanders (*Jiang*), and the method and discipline (*Fa*) follow on from this. The "Heaven" signifies *Yin* and *Yang*, cold and heat, times and seasons; the "Earth" comprises high and low distances, far and near, broad and narrow, great and small, danger and safety, open ground and narrow passes, the chances of life and death; "the Commanders" vary in wisdom, faithfulness, benevolence, courage and strictness; "Method and Discipline" are different in *quzhi* (military formation), *guandao* (responsibilities of the officers), and *zhuyong* (supply). These summaries laid foundation for the strategic analysis.

The highest goal guiding warfare in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* is that "the skillful leaders subdue the enemy's troops without any fighting," which means that he can achieve his strategic goal of "self-defense and winning outright" through launching deterrents. He states that:

> In the practical art of war, the best thing of all is to take the enemy's country whole and intact; to shatter and destroy it is not so good. So, too, it is better to capture a regiment, a detachment or a company entire than to destroy them. Hence to fight and conquer in all your battles is not supreme excellence; the supreme excellence consists in breaking the enemy's resistance without fighting. Thus the highest form of generalship is to balk the enemy's plans; the next best thing is to prevent the junction of the enemy's forces; the next in order is to attack the enemy's army in the field; and the worst policy of all is to besiege walled cities [. . .]. Therefore the skillful leader subdues the enemy's troops without any fighting; he captures their cities without laying siege to them; He overthrows their kingdom without lengthy operations in the field. With his forces intact he will dispute the mastery of the Empire, and thus, without losing a man, his triumph will be complete. This is the method of attacking by stratagem. (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Attack by Stratagem – Mo Gong Pian*)

Sun Tzu believed that the best policy in military affairs was to win through strategy; the second best was to win through diplomacy; the worst was to win through war; to besiege a city was even baser still than the worst policy.

Nevertheless, "[t]o subdue the enemy's troops without any fighting" is a goal that is hard to achieve. Hence, Sun Tzu placed greater emphasis upon how to pursue a war in reality. He put forward a number of guidelines to help people conduct wars. For instance, "[i]f you know your enemy and yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles." Also, "[t]he clever combatant imposes his will upon the enemy, but does not allow the enemy's will to be imposed on him." These two quotations signify that one should be positive in the war, so that one will not be led by the enemy. Sun Tzu went on to write that "[h]e who can modify his tactics in relation to his opponent ... [can] ... thereby succeed in winning." This means that one should be swift in adapting one's methods according to a change in one's enemy. This is the same point as is being imparted in the clause "just as water retains no constant shape, so in warfare there are no constant conditions." To be stubborn is the last resort. He tells us: "[i]n war, then, let your great object be victory, not lengthy campaigns." The economy lays the material foundation for the war, for as it states in the book:

> In the operations of war, where there are in the field a thousand swift chariots, as many heavy chariots, and a hundred thousand mail–clad soldiers, with provisions enough to carry them a thousand *li*, the expenditure at home and at the front, including entertainments of guests, small items such as glue and paint, and sums spent on chariots and armor, will reach the total of a thousand ounces of silver per day. Such is the cost of raising an army of 100 000 men. (Sun Tzu, *The Art of War: Waging War – Zhou Zhen Pian*)

War is so costly that no nation can withstand a lengthy campaign. Thus, Sun Tzu suggested that "[i]n the war, let your great object be victory, not … [a] … lengthy campaign," for he had realized that "if the campaign is protracted, the resources of the State will not be equal to the strain" and the consequences would be awful.

There are many multisided theories in relation to defense and attack in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*. The rule for offsetting the army is:

> [i]f our forces are ten to that of the enemy, to surround him; if five to one, to attack him; if twice as numbers, to divide our army into two. If equally matched, we can offer the enemy; if slightly inferior in numbers, we can avoid the enemy; if quite unequal in every way, we can flee from him. (Sun Tzu, *The Art of War: Terrain – Xing Pian*)

The commander should know well how to deal with the relationship between defense and attack. The book notes this in the following way:

> The good fighters of the old times first put themselves beyond the possibility of defeat, and then waited for an opportunity of defeating the enemy. To secure ourselves against defeat lies in our own hands, but the opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself. Thus the good fighter is able to secure himself against defeat, but cannot make certain of defeating the enemy [. . .]. Security against defeat implies defensive tactics; ability to defeat the enemy means taking the offensive. (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Tactical Dispositions – Jun Xing Pian*)

The positive element of defense is always in your hands, while the opportunity to attack is provided by the enemy's error and negligence. As it states in the book: "[t]he general who is skilled in defense hides in the most secret recesses of the earth" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Tactical Dispositions*). Also, he will robustly and secretly defend himself. In addition, in attack, he "flashes forth from the topmost heights of heaven." Moreover, he will surprise the weak and avoid the strong. Meanwhile, he will launch a sudden attack on the area where the enemy is unprepared. These factors all contribute to the mystery of the war.

Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* is also very particular about the distribution of military forces in war. It records:

> The control of a large force … [follows] … the same principle as the control of a few men: It is merely a question of dividing up their numbers. Fighting with a large number army under your command is nowise different from fighting with a small one: it is merely a question of instituting signs and signals. To ensure that your whole host may withstand the brunt of the enemy's attack and remain unshaken—this is affected by direct and indirect maneuvers. (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Energy – Shipian*)

This means that in order to command an army which is great in number, one should depend on the appropriate distribution of military forces and groups. If one wants the whole of the army to act as one and to fight to their best, then one should rely on proper commanding (the use of "signs and signals" – *Jinqi,*

Jingu); if one wants one's army to be in a position of constant victory, one should turn to the application of "direct and indirect maneuvers" (*Qizhen*). "Direct and indirect maneuvers" are military terms that were widely used in ancient China. This contained two sides: in the distribution of military forces, the side responsible for attacking the enemy openly was the "direct" one; the side responsible for surrounding and outflanking was the "indirect." The side for clamping down on the enemy was the "direct" one; the side for striking was the "indirect." Fighting with the enemy with formations on the battlefield was "direct"; taking flexible military actions was "indirect." As for the method of war, attacking openly was "direct"; a rapid strike was "indirect." To fight according to common ways was "direct"; to use an element of surprise was "indirect." Sun Tzu writes: "[i]n all fighting, the direct method may be used for joining battle, but indirect methods will be needed in order to secure victory" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Energy*). According to this, we may see that a skillful commander must be adept at the use of both "direct" and "indirect" maneuvers. As it states in the book: "[i]n battle, there not more than two methods of attack—the direct and indirect; yet those two in combination give rise to an endless series of maneuvers" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Energy*). Commanding a war is a matter of using of direct and indirect maneuvers. The direct attack between troops always meets their victory by the use of indirect maneuvers, which include flank attack, outflank, sudden attack, surrounding, and so on. The combinations of direct and indirect maneuvers are endless, as is the military distribution (the military energy and battle formation). Consequently, the commander should not be too stubborn.

Sun Tzu once said: "[i]f you know both your enemy and yourself you need not fear the result of a hundred battles." "Knowing your enemy" (*Zhi Bi*) is being able to obtain information about your enemy, which is of direct consequence to the outcome of the war. As is demonstrated in the book, "... what enables the wise sovereign and the good general to strike and conquer, and achieve things beyond the reach of ordinary men, is foreknowledge." Now knowledge cannot be elicited from spirits, it cannot be obtained inductively from experience, nor deduced by any calculations. Knowledge of the enemy's dispositions can only be gleaned through spies. Sun Tzu attached special importance to the use of spies, upon whose intelligence the whole troop could base their actions. Meanwhile, Sun Tzu pointed out that "spies cannot be useful[ly] employed without a certain intuitive sagacity. They cannot be properly managed without benevolence and straightforwardness. Without subtle ingenuity of mind, one cannot make certain of the truth of their reports." When using spies, one has to be wise, resolute, and careful in order not to be taken in by the enemy. As is said in the book, "[i]f you know the enemy and know yourself, your victory will not stand in doubt; if you know Heaven and the Earth, you may make your victory complete" (Sun Tzu's *The Art of War: Terrain*). Closeness, a narrow horizon, and self-approbation will never lead to victory.

The Warring States Period witnessed a series of wars (picture 12), which provided military thinkers with rich materials. Sun Bin's *Art of War* (*Sun Bin Binfa*) stands as its representative, revealing all the features of the military thoughts of that era.

Sun Bin's *Art of War* was written by Sun Bin and his followers. Sun Bin was a man of the State of Qi in the Warring States Period.[2] Containing thirteen articles, the book is regarded as the inheritance and promotion of the military thoughts recorded in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*.

Fundamentally, Sun Bin's *Art of War* continued the thoughts of "prudence towards war" (*Shen Zhan*) found in Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*. The book held that the results of war determine the fate of a nation. The result will determine whether the nation will bloom or fade. For this reason, we are required to tread with care: "Victory will ensure the survival of a nation; while losing a war will make your lands decrease and endanger your state. Thus it is indispensible for the one who is to launch a war to think completely" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: On Meeting Wei Wang of Qi – Jian Wei Wang*). To launch a war requires the support of abundant materials and that of justice. He writes: "[i]f you guard against the enemy without material storage, you fight not for justice, you will never become safe and strong" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: On Meeting Wei Wang of Qi*). Besides, the essential factor that will enable one to win a war is man himself. He states: "[i]n the whole world, nothing is more precious than man" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: Yue Zhan*). Generally speaking, this means one has to "gather the saints and the wise men." Here, "gather the saints" means to select skillful generals. Sun Bin believed that an excellent general should embody virtues such as "righteousness, benevolence, virtuousness, faithfulness, and wisdom." He claimed that "[w]ithout justice, a general cannot be strict with his soldiers, being not strict makes a general fail to be stately, then the soldiers will not be willing to die for him"; also "[n]ot being benevolent makes the army unable to win, as a result of this, there will be no military glory"; moreover, "[being] … [i]n need of virtue deprives the army of its fighting capacity, this will nor lead the army to benefit"; and "[b]eing unreliable puts obstacles in the way for those who are going to carry out your order, which eventually makes command ineffective and the army cannot achieve fame" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: The Righteousness of the General – Jian Yi*). Sun Bin attached much importance to the "wisdom" (*Zhi*) of the general. He thought that a general who was in need of wisdom would always be ignorantly self-conceited and very stubborn, for as he wrote "[w]hen an unwise general commands the army, he will trust his own wit" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: Eight Formations – Ba Zhen*). A general who is both wise and brave should at least "not to look down upon his enemy who is inferior to him in number, not [be] forced by the enemy, and keep cautious from the beginning to the end of the war" (Sun Bin's

[2] *Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Sun Tzu and Wu Qi* (*Shiji: Sunzi Wuqi Liezhuan*) records the following: "[a] hundred years latter of Sun Tzu's death, there was a tactician called Sun Bin." The *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yiwen Zhi*) describes Sun Bin's *Art of War*, which it calls *Sun Tzu of the State of Qi* (*Qi Sun Bin*), as being lost. Since the Northern Song Dynasty, ancient classical writers became so skeptical that someone held that the author of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* was Sun Bin, while the book Sun Bin's *Art of War* never actually existed. The copies of Sun Tzu's *The Art Of War* and Sun Bin's *Art Of War* recorded on bamboo, which were discovered in the Han Tombs on Mount Silver Bird, Linyi, Shandong in 1972 quashed those doubts.

Art of War: Virtuousness – Jian De). "To select the good" is the criteria used for choosing the soldiers. Their quality will greatly affect the fighting capacity of the troops. The general should not only be strict with the selection of the soldiers but also with how he trains them. Sun Bin describes how "[t]he victory of the soldiers lies in the selection, the courage lies in their strict disciplines, the tactic in fighting lies in proper commanding, the strong fighting force depends on the faithfulness of their commanders, the virtues of the soldiers comes from the instructions from the generals" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: On Selecting the Soldiers – Chuan Zui*). The quality of the soldiers includes a political aspect, to which Sun Bin paid great attention. For it is written in the book: "[v]irtuousness lays a profound foundation for launching a war" (Sun Bin's *Art of War: On Selecting the Soldiers*). This should also form the base for building the troops.

Secondly, compared with Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*, Sun Bin's *Art of War* made new progress in the advanced thought of attack theory, especially in the study of the rules for attack. An example of this is the suggestion that "if it is necessary to attack, one should never guard," which means that one should deal a fatal blow to the part where the enemy is unprepared or where he is unable to guard. Another example is the principle of attacking a few enemies with numerous soldiers and attacking numerous enemies with a few soldiers. Sun Bin believed that if we are superior to our enemy in quality and quantity, we are the *zanshi* (a troop which seeks a decisive battle against the enemy). While being eager to engage the enemy in warfare is not the best approach, the superior one is to "pretend to disorder your troops to cater for the enemy's will of winning, lure him to fight, and then take advantage to defeat him." If the enemy has the upper hand, one's first resort should be *rangwei*. That means that one should evade the enemy when he is in a dominant position and then "[make] a sudden attack on where he has not prepared." Sun Bin made a detailed study into the forms of battle used in the period of Cold Weapons (*Leng Bing Qi Shi Dai*) (Sun Bin's *Art of War: Ten Formations – Shi Zhen*). In those studies, he talked about the variety and method of fighting for military formations and created the theory that the infantry should take the lead and the cavalry and the charioteers should fight as the backup. This theory laid the foundation for the military formations of the following ages. The military formations in the period of Cold Weapons were all devised within the principles and methods of Sun Bin. The formations in the later dynasties were little else than the development of Sun Bin's ten formations.

The period from the Qin and Han Dynasties to the Sui and Tang Dynasties was an era in which Chinese feudal society continued to evolve. The Han and Tang Dynasties, in particular, have been called a "heyday" by historians. As for military affairs, these blossomed as well, for the two periods had witnessed a plethora of excellent generals, who drew connections between the past military thoughts and latter-day ones. They forged a host of breakthroughs in this field. Wu Zi's *Art of War* (*Wuzi*) and Li Jing's *Art of War* (*Li Jing Bingfa*) are fine demonstrations of this.

It has been said that Wu Zi's *Art of War* was written by Wu Qi (440–381 BC) who lived at the beginning of the Warring States Period. The text that is available to us today may be an apocryphal work, which was compiled in the early days of the

Western Han Dynasty and had the name "Wu Qi" appended to it.[3] The book reflects the military achievements and thoughts of that time.

Wu Zi's *Art of War* contains six articles. *Controlling a Nation First* (*Tu Guo Diyi*) puts forth the author's opinions about war in the first instance. The writer believed that both "focusing on moral and abolishing armed forces" and "fearlessly seeking to prevail over others by his power and masses" are totally unacceptable. War is neither a means upon which one can freely depend nor a recourse from which one can easily escape. The very attitude one should adopt is to "promote morals internally and externally." Compared to Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*, Wu Qi's *Art of War* is more innovative, for it maintains that:

> To win is easy, while to keep your achievement is difficult. Thus we say that launching war hastily would be a waste of money and people's energy, what's more, it would weaken the nation and pull people into poverty. It even invites woes for the nation. Then it is rare to see that a nation become the strongest through constant wars, on the contrary, many nations will perish for this reason.

To be frank, this is the development of the maxim: "[i]n the war, let your great object be victory, not lengthy campaigns." Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* points out that a lengthy campaign would prove too costly even to the winners.

The second article in Wu Zi's *Art of War* is *Estimation of the Enemy* (*Liao Zhuan Di Er*), which discusses how to judge the enemy and how to defeat him. It has the same meaning as "[m]ake judgments on your enemy and pull him in a dangerous position." To be familiar with both your enemy and with yourself is a precondition for winning. It is further stated that "[t]here are eight ways to predict the enemy and fight with him, under those conditions, one need not use divination." Moreover, "[t]here are six situations in which one should evade without divination." When the enemy is in trouble, one should seize the opportunity to defeat him rapidly. When the enemy is strong and in a favored position, one should struggle to flee from the final fight. That is to say: "... advance forward when you are allowed to, and sit back when situation becomes tough." When discussing the problem of "predicting the enemy," he listed 30 situations in the battlefield, which seemed to be numerous and lacking in focus. While the conclusion reached by Wu Zi is brief and specific, it is obvious that this represents a development in military thought in a new period.

The third article is *Governing the Army* (*Zhi Bin Di San*) which discusses the building of the troops. The author attaches much importance to "gain[ing] victory through proper governing" rather than to the quantity of troops one has at one's disposal. How then does one gain victory through proper governing? The first step is to build the army into one body as if "they are fathers and sons." In other words, the army ought to do whatever they are ordered. The well-ruled army acts thus:

> [w]hen stationed in a place, they would behave according to their rules. When they take action, they do it powerfully. There will be nobody who can resist their attack, nor can anybody chase them when they withdraw. The left and right flanks will act in

[3]The detailed evidence could be found in *The Military History of China*, Volume 4: *Military Tactics* (PLA Publishing House, 1988), pp. 140–1.

> correspondence with each other. Although they withdrawing, they maintain their formation. The officers and the soldiers will withstand weal and woe. An army like this will keep united all the time. It would survive after constant wars, and whoever it fights with, it will keep on winning.

This means that a well-ruled army, which is well-trained, united, and of one mind, will find no force to match it on the battlefield. The second step is to "teach the soldiers what they should not do." This includes their basic training in military affairs and their preparations for war. The third step is to cultivate the general's resolve. Many practices for war indicate that the general's willingness to seize the opportunity and to make a wise decision in accordance with the situation will greatly affect the troop's actions and the result of the war. In Wu Zi's *Art of War*, a general, when commanding a war, is required to be cautious and calm as if "he was sitting in a leaking boat, or was under a burning house." After having made a decision, he should carry it out rapidly. His action ought to be so rapid that it "leaves the wise no time to think out a countermove, and the brave find no time to express their fury." As the famous saying goes, "[w]hat brings [the] biggest disaster to the commanding of war is hesitation, and the whole troop would suffer from distrust." This truism has lasted from generation to generation and still has much wisdom to offer.

The fourth part is *Requirement and judgment of the Generals* (*Lun Jiang Di Si*). In this part, the author discusses the standards and duty of the general. A general should embody the military qualities such as "Five cautions" (*Wu Shen*) and "Four swiftnesses" (*Si Ji*) and so on. The "Five cautions" are reason, preparation, resolution, taboos, and rules and regulations. The general is required to have the gift of "commanding the numerous as if he rules the soldiers in small number"; he should have the cautious idea of "set[ting] out as if he is to meet the enemy"; he should have the spirit of sacrifice. Caution means that he should be vigilant even when he has won the battle; he should make regulations when commanding the army. The "Four swiftnesses" as explained by Wu Zi are the four key points to be observed when commanding an army: The first is to raise the morale, the second is to take advantage of the terrains, the third is to apply the stratagems, and the last is to strengthen oneself.

The fifth part is *Solutions to the Various Changes* (*Ying Bian Di Wu*). In this section, the author talks about military thoughts and how to apply them when dealing with changes in the war. First of all, he states that whatever the situation may be, the troops should obey the commander. That is to say, "[i]f all the troops respect the general for his dignity, and all the soldiers obey his orders, then there would be no undefeatable enemy, nor there is any battle that he cannot win." The author then discusses, respectively, various military methods in different situations. He puts forward a series of principles such as attacking in mountainous land, attacking on the water, attacking a guarded city, and defense against sudden attacks.

The sixth part is *Reward the Contributors for More Glory* (*Li Shi Di Liu*). This part emphasizes the importance of raising the morale by rewarding those who contribute to the war. The morale, in other words, is the power of spirit, which plays a vital role in the war. If a nation can achieve this goal, "[i]ts people will be pleased to do what they are ordered to. When [they] set out for war, [the] people will

be willing to fight for their nation and dare to offer sacrifice in war." In this case, how can such a force not defeat others?

Wu Zi's *Art of War* offers a full reflection of the reality of war in the time from the later Warring States Period to the Qin and Han Dynasties. This era was notable for the use of cavalrymen in large groups. The military thoughts and principles put forward by this book are a fresh development of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* based on the situation changing times. They are therefore of considerable value.

Li Jing (571–649 AD) was a famous general during the early stages of the Tang Dynasty. As assistant to Emperor Gaozu (the founder of that dynasty) and Emperor Taizong (his successor), he withstood a series of wars, including those he fought against the ancient Tujue ethnic minority to the north and against the Tuguhan ethnic minority in the west. In ancient China, he was regarded as a military genius. His military works – named Li Jing's *Art of War*, or *Reflection on the War* – consisted of three volumes which are now all lost. However, some extracts from the work were apparently preserved in Dou You's book *Comprehensive Institutions* (*Dou Yu Tongdian*), which was edited in the Tang Dynasty.[4]

In terms of strategic thoughts, Li Jing carried on the traditional attitude – prudence towards war – which was relayed by Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*. He comments that:

> A strategy that makes you win a war requires you to do as follows: to know officers' talents, to familiarize yourself with the weak points of your enemy, to judge whether you are favored by the terrain and the opportunity, when you have well guarded the place where you defend and you are confident that you will win. This is the way for one to win without fail. (*Comprehensive Institutions*, Volume 150 by Li Jing)

The preparations before war, the analysis of the war, and how to grasp opportunities should all be taken into consideration. Consideration of these should always obey Sun Tzu's principle that "[i]n the war, let your great object be victory, not lengthy campaigns." Li Jing originated the theory of "strategic persistence." He said that:

> The commanding of troops favors speed, which requires one to take actions before the enemy is prepared. While if the enemy's general is wise, the soldiers are united and are willing to obey the general's order, their weapons are very sharp and their gussets are very tough, they are in high morale and energetic, shall we make rapid attack on him? (*Comprehensive Institutions*, Volume 154 by Li Jing)

Under this proviso, one "should keep one's self in high morale and wait for the enemy's prostration" and try to fight the enemy in a long-term way. One can only wait to defeat the enemy when the advantage turns one's way. Li Jing also carried forward the thought outlined in Wu Zi's *Art of War: Estimation of the Enemy*, which

[4]Li Jing's *Art of War* had been lost by the middle of Northern Song Dynasty. Emperor Shenzong once ordered his subjects to edit the book according to the *Comprehensive Institutions*, while they had no other source. It was not until Qing Dynasty that one could gain a general knowledge of Li Jing's *Art Of War* by reading *Fragment of Wei Gong on the Art of War*, which was discovered by Wang Zongyi, who compiled the book with the help of the book *Comprehensive Institutions*.

stated that "one should gain victory by making an estimation of the enemy." This principle is explained in an alternative way:

> Estimating the enemy requires one to know both the enemy and one's self, then come up with a good plan, then, one can dispatch your troops and seek military glory. While before you take action, you should consider which side the generals and the beadles enjoys a more harmonious relation, which side enjoys more ease, whose gussets are stronger, whose weapons are sharper, whose training is more professional . . . ." (*Comprehensive Institutions*, Volume 150 by Li Jing)

Holding onto the idea that "we can take attack in these fifteen situations," he added something new to Wu Zi's thought – "[u]nder these conditions, we could take attack and defeat the enemy." He thereby suggests that one can take advantage of the enemy's mistakes in order to defeat him.

Li Jing's strategic thoughts reflected the reality of the Sui and Tang Dynasties. He paid special attention to the use of the "wedge form" (*Zhui Xing Zhen*). This form is one of the ways to attack, which could easily break the enemy's formation. Before this idea was formulated, the general would invariably employ the "square matrix form" (*Fang Zhen*) to attack. Li Jing's application of the wedge form is thus an innovation which also serves as a good demonstration of his brave, aggressive spirit in breaking his enemy. Beyond this, he initiated a theory of column tactics (*Zong Dui*). This theory was used especially to break down the enemy who was favored by defensible terrains. Meanwhile, Li Jing complemented the ways of gradual defense and reciprocal cover in retreat. Having combined his proficiency in the ancient art of warfare and his rich experience of war, Li Jing left behind a splendid page in the history of ancient Chinese military thought.

The Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD) represents a watershed between the earlier and later stages of ancient Chinese autocratic society. It was a critical period in which Chinese society underwent a transition from its former period to the latter one. Compared with the past autocratic dynasties, the Song Dynasty was notable for its highly centralized regime. This was mainly manifested in the following aspects: Firstly, its military deployment was centralized in the capital and little attention was paid to the frontier regions; secondly, its administrative system was also highly centralized, which made the capital outweigh in importance the other cities; thirdly, the ruler controlled the *literati* and officialdom by the use of carrots and sticks, thereby drawing the attention of society away from national defense and towards civil administration. Strategic military thought, being affected by the politics of the times, was reduced to a negative defense mechanism. This strategy, along with the political attitude which "[a]ttach[ed] more importance to the civil administration than that to defense," led to this epoch being classified as the "Weak Song Dynasty" (*Ruo Song*)." Nevertheless, that dynasty enjoyed a boom in civil administration and saw the compilation of the first comprehensive military book to blend military theory and technology – *Collection of the Most Important Military Techniques*

(*Wujing Zongyao*).[5] The dynasty also witnessed the birth of the first military series – *Seven Military Classics [of Ancient China]* (*Wu Jing Qi Shu*).[6] Even so the prosperity of the dynasty could not alter the fate of the Song, which was obsessed with the Liao and Western Xia, and was conquered by the Jin and the Mongols.

The *New Book Recording Effective Techniques* (*Ji Xiao Xin Shu*), which was written by Qi Jiguang (1528–88 AD), the national hero of the Ming Dynasty, was the most valuable work in the latter period of Chinese feudal society. Qi Jiguang was a famous general who fought against the Japanese in the middle of the Ming Dynasty. The *New Book Recording Effective Techniques* drew conclusions from his experience of war and helped to advance ancient tactics.

The book consists of 18 volumes. On the basis of the past war formations and the method of fighting, Qi Jiguang creatively put forward the "Mandarin Duck Formation" (*Yuan Yang Zhen*) (involving 12 people) and "The Three Talents Form" (*San Cai Zhen*). These were designed to deal the problem in terms of the enemy (in his case the Japanese pirates), the terrain (the water network of the southern part of Yangtze River), and the firearms of that time. His new opinion on battle formations was rather close to that of modern times. For instance, he advocated a group of scattered soldiers or lines of scattered soldiers. This clearly suggests how in that period cold weapons and firearms coexisted. As for the method of war, some modern methods were outlined, such as advancement, deployment, how to attack in field operations, siege warfare, gradual resistance (mutual cover), and some innovative services for war such as marching, camping, reconnoitering, guarding, and supplying material. All of these innovations were based on the tactics of the former dynasties. In particular, the thoughts on military training had eternal values which outlasted the time in which they were formulated. For instance, the volume which focuses on motivating soldiers to have the spirit to participate in training insists that the officers should take the lead. The book says:

> [b]eing a general require[s] one to be the first–doer all the time, it does not only mean that the general should only lead his soldiers in the battle, but also means that he should be the first one to taste hardships; be of the same feeling with the soldiers including when times were hard, but also on the common days. (*New Book Recording Effective Techniques: Instruct Soldiers –Ji Xiao Xin Shu: Yu Bing Pian*)

[5]The *Collection of the Most Important Military Techniques* (*Wujing Zongyao*) was made in 1047 AD, in the seventh year of Qingli, the regnal title of Renzong of the Northern Song Dynasty. Its editors included Zeng Gongliang and Ding Du, and it contained 40 volumes relating to the military theories, techniques, training, and equipments.

[6]*Seven Military Classics [of Ancient China]* (*Wu Jing Qi Shu*) was made in the third year of Yuanfeng (1080 AD) in the reign of Shenzong of the Northern Song Dynasty. Its editors were Zhu Fu and He Qufei. It is a collection of the seven famous military books; these books are Sun Tzu's *The Art Of War*, Wu Zi's *Art Of War*, *The Marshal's Art of War* (*Sima Fa*), *Wei Liaozi*, the *Three Strategies of Huang Shigong* (*Huang Shigong San Lue*), *Six Secret Teachings* (*Liu Tao*), and *Questions and Replies Between Tang Taizong and Li Weigong* (*Tang Taizong Li Wei Gong Wen Dui*).

Military training should be carried out according to the practice of war. Formalism was the last resort, for:

> [i]f the soldiers learned everyday [. . .] the same as what are required by the war, then, when the war comes, the soldiers just do what they learned before. A day of practice must be considered a useful day, a weapon mastered skillfully has its advantages. (*New Book Recording Effective Techniques: On Training – Cao Lian Pin*)

The *New Book Recording Effective Techniques* was conspicuous for its practical approach. As Qi Jiguang wrote in the preface: "when we say 'effective techniques,' it means the book is not meaningless words; by saying 'new book' we mean to make it clear that we rise above the method, and not tied to it. We should take appropriate measures to achieve this." This practical mode of thinking remains valuable in modern society.

8.2 Famous Cases of Warfare from Ancient China

In the history of China, there have been numerous wars between different political groups. These wars were launched for diverse purposes, for example, with the aim of uniting the nation, suppressing foreign invaders, relieving national oppression, and overthrowing tyranny. Many important wars have been critical for the advancement of the history in their own particular period. Wars have also determined whether a nationality, a country, and its political groups would go on to perish or prosper. The commanders in the wars left behind some valuable experiences for those who came afterwards.

The following section will present several case studies of famous wars and analyze them. These wars are the Battle of Changping (*Changping zhi zhuan*) between the Qin and the Zhao, the War between the Western Han and the Huns (an ancient nationality in China), the Battle of Red Cliffs (*Chibi zhi zhuan*) (a famous war from the period of Three Kingdoms), the Battle of Fei River (*Feishui zhi zhuan*) of 383 AD fought between the Eastern Jin and the Qian Qin (a nation from before the Qin Dynasty), the Anti-Huns War (or Anti-Xiongnu War) fought in the Tang Dynasty, and the War between the Song and the Jin fought on the Heshang Plain (Heshang is a place name meaning "monk"). Among the ancient Chinese wars, the aforementioned are typical examples. The Battle of Changping did not only determine whether or not the Qin could unite the whole country, but it also had great influence over military practices, such as strategy, the use of spies, and the alternation of tactics. The fight between the Han and the Huns witnessed the use of fighting on horseback as a strategy. It turned out to be a miracle whereby an agrarian society defeated a nomadic people. Both the Battle of Red Cliffs and the Battle of Fei River were prime examples of how only a few soldiers could defeat a force greater in numbers. Each of these wars was critical to the political situations which followed, but they were very different from each other. Cao Cao of the Kingdom of Wei failed in the techniques and methods of war, while the Qian Qin was defeated

because it lost the support of the masses. The Anti-Huns War in the Tang Dynasty was a good case study for the long-range raid. Meanwhile, the War between the Song and the Jin on the Heshang Plain gave full expression to the importance of using indirect troops in dense formations.

The crucial war in the process of Qin unification was the Battle of Changping between the Qin and the Zhao. The Zhao rapidly became powerful and prosperous because of the military and political reforms carried out by King Wuling (reigned 325–299 BC). These made the Zhao a strong enemy standing in the way of the Qin's entry into the Central Plains and blocking the unification of the whole country. In 260 BC, the fiftieth year of King Nan of the Eastern Zhou (reigned 314–256 BC), the Qin troops under the leadership of General Wang He, attacked Changping (the northwestern part of Gaoping in Shanxi), a place that was actually under the dominion of the Zhao. The Zhao general, Lian Po, who was skillful and of great seniority, strengthened the defenses and hid all the materials that might be utilized by the Qin enemy. He waited for the Qin troops to become exhausted and then tried to strike a fatal blow upon the enemy. Hindered by this policy, the Qin troops had no way out. In order to realize his strategic goal, the Duke of Qin adopted Fan Ju's plan and used mercenaries to win the support of a powerful Zhao minister through giving him a large sum of money. The minister spread rumors that the person most feared by the Qin troops was Zhao Kuo, the son of the well-known general Zhao She. Having grown dissatisfied with Lian Po's war strategy, the king appointed Zhao Kuo to command the troops instead of Lian Po. Sensing that victory was now impending because discord had been sown among the enemy, the Duke of Qin reassigned Bai Qi as the Chief Commander and prohibited the whole troop from leaking this news. He decided to lead the final fight against the Zhao himself.

After assuming office, Zhao Kuo abandoned the policy of strengthening the defenses and waiting for the enemy to become exhausted. He stirred up great dissatisfaction among the troops because he replaced a lot of the officers who had supported the former policy. He ordered an attack upon the Qin troops, and when they pretended that they were in the losing position, he was drawn into their trap. When the Zhao troops arrived at the Qin barracks, they met with unexpected resistance. At that point, the Qin general Bai Qi ordered two groups of soldiers to outflank the Zhao troops, with one group cutting off their route of retreat and another attacking from the side. As a result, the Zhao troops were effectively surrounded. As soon as the Duke of Qin received the information that the Zhao troops were trapped, he enlisted all of the men aged over 15 from his nation to go and fight in Changping, which transformed this into a nationwide event. Owing to their superiority in military strength, the Qin successfully kept the Zhao relief troops and supplies at bay. After being surrounded by the Qin for 40 days in Changping, the Zhao ran out of food and failed to break the siege. At the end, Zhao Kuo personally led selected troops to attempt a break out, but he was killed and all 400,000 of his soldiers surrendered to Bai Qi. In order to completely ruin this enemy and frighten the other six nations, Bai Qi had all of those who surrendered buried alive.

The Battle of Changping was one of the largest scale altercations in the process of Qin unification. There were several factors which can explain the victory of the Qin.

Firstly, the Qin had correctly chosen its enemy. In the latter period of Warring States, only the Zhao could be regarded as the Qin's rival in military affairs. To defeat the Zhao would remove the biggest obstacle in the way of the Qin unification. This was of great importance to breaking the martial spirit of the other six states. Secondly, the Qin technique of sowing discord among the enemy and pretending to be weak led the Zhao policy-makers to follow the wrong path. Lastly, with the appointment of the skillful general Bai Qi, the Qin ruler correctly judged the strategic intent of the Zhao. By taking advantage of the Zhao's eagerness to win, the Qin lured the Zhao to attack and defeated the latter in separate sections. This broke the efficacy of the troops on which the Zhao depended in their fight with the Qin.

The Huns were nomadic people who lived in Northern China from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties to the Qin and Han Dynasties. During the War between the Chu and the Han (206–202 BC), which was fought for the control of the throne between Liu Bang (later known as Emperor Gaozu [reigned 202–195 BC]) and Xiang Yu (lived 232–202 BC), at the end of Qin Dynasty, the Huns invaded the fertile Hetao Plain and gained unparalleled power. During the early times of the Western Han, Emperor Gaozu (the founder emperor of the dynasty) had to adopt the policy of *He Qin*. This was the policy by which the rulers used arranged marriage as a means of seeking peace with rulers of the ethnic minority nationalities in border areas. Emperor Gaozu tried to achieve peace by using the hand of a princess of Han and amounts of wealth. Until the time of Emperors Wen (180–157 BC) (a king of great knowledge who favored civil obedience) and Jing (157–141 BC) (a king of deliberation and mercy), this policy had been pursued for over 70 years, but it could do nothing to prevent the Huns from staging constant attacks. When Emperor Wu (141–87 BC) (a king capable of quelling rebellions) was in power, the whole nation was strong and prosperous. It was high time to strike back at the Huns. In 129 BC, the sixth year of Yuanguang (the second regnal title of Emperor Wu), the Western Han Dynasty sent out troops to fight with the Huns, thus beginning the large-scale Anti-Huns War.

The war between the Western Han and the Huns in the Hetao Plain (in what is now Henan) and the war in Monan (in what is now Inner Mongolia) were the first round in the Anti-Xiongnu War staged by the Han. In 127 BC, the second year of Yuanshuo (the third regnal title of Emperor Wu), the Xiongnu invaded Shanggu (to the southeast of what is now Huailai in Hebei Province) and Yuyang (to the southwest of what is now Miyun in Beijing). Emperor Wu avoided the spots where the Huns had fled from and the places where the ethnic minority group was well prepared and attacked where they were not on their guard. He ordered Wei Qing to command troops and attack the Hetao Plain (called "Henan" then), which was occupied by the Huns. Wei Qing led the troops northward and launched a sudden strike against the Huns. As a result of this, he regained the Hetao Plain. He then established Shuofang and Wuyuan prefectures there. He directed 100,000 immigrants there to open up the wasteland and grow food as well as to guard the frontier regions. What he had done laid a foundation on which he struck back at the Huns.

From then on, the Worthy Prince of the Right (You Xianwang) of the Huns launched constant attacks on Shuofang County with the objective of retaking the fertile lands. In 124 BC, the fifth year of Yuanshuo (the third regnal title of Emperor Wu), Wei Qing and his troops set foot into Monan to hit back at You Xianwang. Meanwhile, in order to aid Wei Qing, Li Xi sent troops to Peiping (now the southwest of Ningcheng County in Inner Mongolia) to entrap Chanyu (the king of Huns) and You Xianwang. Wei Qing broke the effective strength of the Huns by leading 30,000 cavaliers six or seven hundred miles away from frontier to strike the dominant region of You Xianwang at night. The next year saw Wei Qing, along with 100,000 soldiers, traveling to the north to strike a heavy blow against the Huns in Dingxiang (now in the northwest of Helingeer, Inner Mongolia). The Huns suffered greatly and retreated to the northern part of Mongolia.

The Henan War and the Monan War laid the foundations for the Western Han Dynasty to wipe out the seedbed of martial uncertainty along the northern frontier. The wars were notable in three aspects: First of all, the Hetao Plain is abundant in water and grasses, which made the place a strategic point for both sides. There were fierce fights over this zone. It was once regarded as a launchpad from which the Huns could invade the Central Plains. Thus, regaining control of this plain represented a good starting point for the Anti-Huns War of the Han. Secondly, after having retaken the Hetao Plain, the Han troops actively attacked You Xianwang and built upon their victory, driving the enemy leader away from Han territory and breaking the connection between the right and the left flanks of the Huns. This made it easier for the Western Han Dynasty to govern respectively. Thirdly, the Han troops avoided the left part of Huns (the part that was powerful) and wisely attacked the weaker part – the Hetao Plain. This can be seen as a fine application of the principle of making sudden attacks on the enemy in the places where they are still unprepared.

In 121 BC, the second year of Yuanshou (the fourth regnal title of Emperor Wu), Huo Qubing (140–117 BC), the general of the Agile Cavalry of Han (*Han Biao Qi Jiang Jun*), sent troops out to Longxi (the southeastern part of present-day Gansu Province), with the aim of slicing off the right arm of the Xiongnu troops. Climbing over Mount Yanzhi (now Shandan in Gansu), they marched thousands of miles westward towards the territory of the Xiongnu and annihilated over 10,000 adversaries. In the following year, Huo sent troops to Beidi (the northwest of present-day Qingyang, Gansu), and after having crossed the Juyanze (now Juyan Lake in Inner Mongolia), Huo struck westward towards Mount Qilian and defeated the Huns. He captured over 30,000 Huns. After this battle, the Huns in Hexi suffered so greatly that Lord Hunye surrendered along with his 40,000 followers.

The reason for the Han victory in the Hexi War lay in their correct choice of a strategic offensive object. Since the defeat of the Huns by the Han in the Monan War, the Huns had been compelled to move their main force to the northern part of Mongolia. As a result of this, the threats from the east and west increased, though that from the west was considerably weaker. As for strategy, because the Han had established their nation in the Central Plains, a greater threat was posed from the western side. By choosing the western side as its strategic offensive object, the Han laid waste to the enemy in Hexi, thereby building upon the achievements of the

Monan War. Meanwhile, the Han wiped out the threat from that region. In terms of tactics, the Han combined the use of attacking and outflanking, which left the enemy unable to make adequate preparations and thereby helped the Han troops to fulfill their task.

In 119 BC, the fourth year of Yuanshou (the fourth regnal title of Emperor Wu), the emperor decided to launch military action on an even greater scale against the Huns. He sent troops deep into Mobei (now within the territory of the Republic of Mongolia) in order to destroy the main force of the Huns. The Great General Wei Qing and the General of the Agile Cavalry Huo Qubing both led 50,000 cavaliers as their principal force, with another 100,000 infantrymen and battle steeds to provide backup. Divided into two groups – the east and the west – they marched northwards and were determined to fight against the Huns in Mobei.

Wei Qing sent troops to Dingxiang, and finally, after having marched thousands of miles to the north, he encountered Chanyu, the king of the Huns. He defeated the Hun troops and annihilated over 20,000 men. He then drove them away to Mount Zhiyan (now part of the Khangai Range in the Republic of Mongolia). On the eastern side, Huo Qubing marched 2,000 miles deep into that territory and fought with the Worthy Prince of the Left (Zuo Xianwang) of the Huns. Having ruined his opponent's handpicked forces, he drove his adversary to Mount Langjuxu (to the east of what is now Ulan Bator in the Republic of Mongolia). There he massacred 70,000 of his enemy before returning triumphantly.

In the War of Mobei, the Han troops adopted the strategy of using long-term raids to destroy the main military force of the Huns. Knowing the flexibility of the Hun armies, the Han troops adopted the strategy of long-term raids consisting of large cavalry regiments and the strategy of outflanking. By taking advantage of the Huns' false impression that the Han troops dare not march deep into Mobei, the Han troops made sudden attacks, sparing no effort to defeat the Huns.

In the last years of Eastern Han, the Central Plains suffered from uncertainty. Following the tide of that period, Cao Cao (155–220 AD) grew in strength and gradually defeated the other warlords until he had united the northern regions. In the thirteenth year of Jian an (the regnal title of Emperor Xian of the Eastern Han), namely, the year 208 AD, Cao Cao sent large numbers of troops to the south with the intention of unifying the country. His targets were Jingzhou (a place in what is now the south-central part of Hunan) and the eastern side of the Yangtze River. This action aroused joint resistance from Liu Bei (the governor of Jingzhou) and Sun Quan (the ruler of the eastern part of the Yangtze River). The two sides launched a great battle against Cao Cao at Chibi (meaning "red cliffs") which is situated on the middle reaches of the Yangtze River.

Also in the thirteenth year of Jian an (208 AD), Cao's troops marched down the Jiangling River (Jingzhou, Hubei), accompanied by his infantry which traveled across the land. He met with resistance from Liu Bei and Sun Quan at Chibi. At that time, Cao Cao commanded 200,000 soldiers, while Sun and Liu commanded fewer than 50,000. After a long march, Cao's troops were tired out. As the saying goes: "[t]he last power of a strong arrow cannot even penetrate thin silk." His troops were in low spirits. The Allied Forces, especially the navy of Eastern Wu, had kept up

their training, and thus they were very strong in battle. As this war was critical to the fate of Sun and Liu, the troops were determined to win the battle and compensate for their numerical weakness. Cao Cao's side met with difficulty in the first fight and he ordered them to set up camp in Wulin (on the northern bank of the Yangtze River) and to wait for the decisive fight.

Cao Cao gave the order for his troops to "connect the[ir] boat[s] end-to-end in a stable fashion" so that they might overcome the fact that they were not accustomed to fighting on water. On observing this, Huang Gai – an official under Zhou Yu (the commander of the Allied Forces) – proposed to his leader that they should attack by fire. To carry out this plan, Zhou Yu asked Huang Gai to pretend to surrender to Cao Cao. Cao Cao took this ploy to be true and made an agreement on the time when he would surrender and the signals he would use to indicate this. Huang Gai marched towards Cao's camp, followed by ten warships which were full of dry and oil-soaked wood concealed behind the screens which bore the flags of surrender. It was at that time that a southeasterly wind blew, thus causing the warships to move fast and smoothly, so that they reached Cao's camp in no time at all. Huang Gai ordered the soldiers to set the warships alight and then they jumped onto the adjacent dinghies and fled. Aided by the wind, the fire soon devoured Cao's boats and swung around onto the shore and engulfed the camp there. The whole camp was in great disarray, with numerous soldiers and steeds being burned to death. The Allied Forces of Sun and Liu launched an attack and defeated Cao Cao. The loser led his troops in retreat to Jiangling, being followed all the way by both the infantry and navy of the Allied Forces. Suffering from hunger and disease, Cao had lost half of his troops by the time he had reached Jiangling. He had no choice but to return back to the north.

The key reason for Cao Cao's failure in the Battle of Red Cliffs lay in the manner in which he underestimated his enemy and was too eager to fight. His troops were weak when it came to maritime warfare. By attacking his opponent's strength through his weakest part, he was running in the face of established tactics. His mistake was exploited by the Allied Forces of Sun and Liu, who miraculously managed to use a weak side to beat a strong enemy. The Battle of Red Cliffs was critical to the coexistence of Three Kingdoms. Cao Cao was weakened by this. Sun Quan held onto his eastern side of the Yangtze River, and Liu Bei added to the four counties he occupied in Jingzhou by gaining control of Yizhou – the so-called Land of Abundance. All of these factors contributed to the situation of the Three Kingdoms.

Among the nomadic kings in the Wuhu Period (or the period of the Sixteen Kingdoms) (304–439 AD), Fu Jian, the king of Qian Qin (known formally as Emperor Jingming), was a capable ruler. The Wuhu was an era in which the nomadic people (including the Huns, Jie, Xianbei, Qiang, and Di) gained in power. Fu Jian united the northern regions by defeating the warlords and by making use of the talents of wise and able people. He was adept at military affairs. In 383 AD (the eighth year of Taiyuan), Fu Jian declared war against the Eastern Jin.

In 382 AD (the seventh year of Taiyuan), Fu Jian's proposal to fight against the Eastern Jin met with opposition from many of his subjects. The opposition was headed by Prime Minister Fu Rong (the king's younger brother), his concubines,

and his ministers. He even met with dissent from the eminent monk Shi Daoan. Notwithstanding, Fu Jian did not abandon his intention. He was stubborn enough to go his own way and declared that "I have so many soldiers that if they were to throw their whips into the river, they would stop the river" (*Book of Jin: Records of Fu Jian – Jinshu: Fu Jian Zaiji*). This is a prime demonstration of his pride and conceit.

In 383 AD (the eighth year of Taiyuan), Fu Jian ordered the conscription of soldiers from around his nation and collected food for the war effort. The arrangements for the war were planned as follows: Fu Rong, the prime minister and the grand general for conquering the south, would lead 250,000 infantry troops as the vanguard to march towards Shouyang (present-day Shou County in Anhui). The soldiers from Youzhou and Jizhou counties would assemble in Pengcheng Town (now Xuzhou in Jiangsu). Yao Chang would lead the troops from Liang and Yi counties to go downstream along the Yangtze River. Fu Jian himself would lead the main force commencing from Chang'an to pass through Xiangcheng (present-day Shenqiu in Henan) and march on towards Shouyang. His several legions of troops, amounting to one million soldiers, were described thus: "[t]he line of the troop is ten thousand miles long, both infantries and navies." They seemed to engulf the Eastern Jin on the southern side of the Yangtze River.

Confronted with the threat from the Qian Qin, the Eastern Jin made detailed arrangements. Xie An, the prime minister, would work as the central controller. Heng Chong would govern the military forces along the middle regions of Yangtze River, at places such as Badong and Jiangling. He was also asked to take charge of the upstream area of the Yangtze River. Xie Shi, who was the great general (*Da Dou Du*), with Xie Xuan as his vanguard general (*Xian Feng Dou Du*) took 80,000 Beifu Soldiers to fight against the Qian Qin troops in Huainan (to the north of central Anhui). Beifu Soldiers were the soldiers from Jingkou in Zhenjiang, renowned for their toughness and bravery. At that time, Jingkou was called "Beijing," hence the reason why the soldiers were known by this name. When the autumn came, the vanguard of Fu Rong had arrived at Yingkou (in the town of Zhengyangguan, Anhui Province), while the other two troops were in the way. The middle troop advanced, while its flanking troops were slow behind. The Qin's advantage in power was scattered. At that time, Fu Rong's vanguard had surrounded a portion of the Jin troops which were stationed in Xiashi (on the north bank of the Huai River in what is now Shouxian County in Anhui Province). Gratified to know this, Fu Rong personally led 8,000 cavaliers to go to Shouyang and ordered Zhu Xu to persuade the Jin troops to surrender. Zhu Xu – the officer of Xiangyang within the Eastern Jin – was captured by Fu Jian. Out of love towards his motherland, Zhu Xu urged Xie Shi to make rapid attacks on the Qin troops before they had time to assemble. This would break the morale of the Qin and be of great help to the Jin in their attempt to defeat the enemy. Thus, Xie Shi abandoned his former plan to wait until the Qin had become exhausted and decided to attack straightaway. Moving westward along the Huai River, he managed a series of victories against the Qin troops. At last, he set up camp on the eastern bank of the Fei River, whereas the Qin troops were based on the other side. Fu Jian climbed to the top of the Shouyang city wall and surveyed

the Jin troops. Observing that the Jin troops were laid out in neat formation, and mistaking the waving trees and grasses on Mount Bagon (on the south back of Huai River) for the Jin ambushers, Fu Rong started to feel frightened. The Jin troops had to cross the river as the Qin forces were encamped close to the bank. Xie Xuan sent someone to the Qin camp to request that they retreat some distance for battle. Fancying that he would defeat the Jin troops while they were crossing the river, Fu Jian agreed to do as the Jin troops required. By that time, the morale of his troops was low. On hearing this order, they took the chance to desert, causing turmoil. Zhu Xu and other people shouted loudly that "[t]he Qin has failed!" words which the rear portion of the Qin troops took it for true. This made them eager to run away and in turn threw the Qin forces into chaos and offered a great advantage to the Jin troops. Consequently, the Jin troops met with their biggest victory, while the Qin experienced great suffering. Fu Rong died in the war and Fu Jian had only a narrow escape with great losses.

In the Battle of Fei River, the Eastern Jin deployed 80,000 Beifu Soldiers to defeat the Qian Qin who declared that they had a million soldiers. The root cause was the support they received from the troops and the masses. The military strategy and the commander's performance in war were also of great importance. First off, Fu Jian was too proud and self-conceited. He stubbornly spared no effort to launch war before everything was ready, both domestically and externally. Secondly, he was hesitant as a military commander. When he stationed his troops in Shouyang, he was reluctant to launch attacks on the Jin troops. Instead, he pinned his hopes on the Jin surrendering. Finally, he lost his nerve in the face of counterattacks, something which stirred up his troop's fear towards the Jin forces before the Battle of Fei River. It was this fear that led to the inevitable setbacks experienced by the Qin troops in that war. Seizing this opportunity, the Jin defeated the Qin in one fell swoop, leaving for the history books a classic case of the few conquering the many.

The Tujue (or "Göktürks") was an ethnic minority group in ancient China. During the time of the Sui and Tang Dynasties, it grew in strength, with its territory expanding eastwards to Liaodong (the region to the east of the Liao River) and west to Xiyu (the western region – actually to the west of Yumenguan and Yangguan). There were disagreements among the Tujue in the Sui Dynasty and it fragmented into two parts: the Eastern and the Western. When the Tang had established its nation, the greatest threat posed to it came from the Eastern Tujue. The situation became so severe that Emperor Gaozu of Tang even planned to relocate his capital. In 626 AD (the ninth year of Wude), Xieli, the Khan of the Eastern Tujue, took advantage of the "Xuanwu Gate Incident" (*Xuanwu Men Zhi Bian*)[7] and made sudden attacks on the Central Plains using 100,000 cavaliers. They even camped

[7]This was the coup d'etat in which Prince Li Shimin (the second son of the Gaozu Emperor) assassinated his older brother Prince Li Jiacheng and his younger brother Prince Li Yuanji in an ambush by the said gate. Li Jiacheng had been tasked with guarding the frontier against the Tujue. The family power struggle reached its climax when 60 days after the slayings Gaozu abdicated to pave the way for Li Shimin to ascend to the throne as Emperor Taizong.

on the bank of Wei River (the main branch of the Yellow River, in the central part of Shaanxi). The Tang troops were stationed on the other bank, bringing them close to an unprecedented threat.

To solve this problem, Emperor Taizong adopted a series of political and economic reforms in order to strengthen his nation. Meanwhile, he made active preparations for war by cultivating a handpicked troop. By 630 AD, the fourth year of Zhenguan (the regnal title of Emperor Taizong), arrangements had been made to fight back. The Great General Li Jing and Li Shiji (594–669 AD) led troops to attack the Tujue. Li Jing made sudden attacks on Dingxiang (to the northwest of Pinglu District in Shuozhou, Shanxi). This gave Xieli the impression that all of the Tang forces had been deployed, so Xieli hastily moved his camps to Qikou (present-day Shandinghulaer in Inner Mongolia). At that time, Li Shiji started out from Bingzhou County (present-day Taiyuan in Shanxi), and after having crossed Yunzhong (now Datong in Shanxi), he defeated the Tujue and joined forces with Li Jing there. The two planned to attack under the cover of night to leave no chance for the Tujue to break free. The vanguard led by Su Dingfang advanced towards the Khan at night and went unnoticed by the enemy until they were only seven *li* away from Xieli's camps. Xieli escaped and Li Jing's troops arrived soon afterwards. Li Jing then defeated the Tujue troops by annihilating over 10,000 of them and capturing 100,000 more. Fleeing to Lingzhou (present-day Lingwu in Ningxia) by night, Xieli found no place to go and no other option to take. He surrendered together with all of his followers. From then on, the Eastern Tujue disappeared. The breaking down of the Eastern Tujue was unprecedented. The removal of this thorn from the northern part added to Emperor Taizong's stateliness, for which he was honored by the minorities as "the Khan under Heaven" (*Tian Ke Han*).

The reasons why the Tang Dynasty was able to vanquish the Eastern Tujue were various. With its recovered economy, stable political situation, and power, it possessed a base for launching aggressive feats. With the most skillful general Li Jing as their commander and Li Shiji as his associate, they made sudden attacks on the enemy, leaving them with no other choice but to surrender.

The Nüzhen was an ancient nationality which lived in the northeast of China. It experienced a boom in the twelfth century (establishing a regime named "Jin"). Following its defeat of the Liao (a regime formed by the Khitan, another nationality in ancient China, and in existence between the years 907 AD and 1125 AD), it turned its eyes to the Northern Song and defeated them. From 1127 AD, the first year of Jianyan (the regnal title of the founding emperor of the Southern Song Dynasty), the Jin marched southwards to ruin the faltering Southern Song. In the autumn of 1130 AD (the fourth year of Jianyan), having altered its method from full-scale attack to the strategy of defending the east and attacking the west, Wanyan Zongbi (the fourth prince of the King of Jin) led his 100,000 soldiers westward towards Shaanxi. He tried to take Shaanxi and then crossed Mount Ba (in the western part of China). He would then go onto capture Sichuan and occupy the upstream section of the Yangtze River. This would lay the foundation for him to outflank the Southern Song from the right wing. Taking Fengxiang prefecture (now part of Baoji in Shaanxi) as their base for attack, the Jin troops marched towards Heshang

Plain (the Monk Plain), through which they would enter Sichuan. In 1131 AD (the first year of Shaoxing), Wanyan Zongbi led 100,000 selected soldiers to make a fierce attack on the Heshang Plain. The general Wu Jie ordered soldiers to defend themselves with strong arrows, creating a hail as intense as the heavy rains. Wu Jie lured the Jin troops to fight when the latter were at breaking point. He then cut off the supply routes to the Jin troops and arranged an ambush on the Jin as they retreated. When the Jin troops passed that way, they met with sudden attacks from ambushers and were decimated. Wu Jie struck at the Jin at night, driving the Jin troops away. It was recorded that "[t]he captured soldiers and officers numbered almost ten thousand. Injured by two arrows, Zongbi met his biggest failure since he stepped into the Central Plain. He narrowly escaped from being captured" (*The Important Annual Records since Jianyan – Jianyan Yilai Xinian Yao Lu*). Wu Jie's success in this battle lay in his tactical proficiency. As Sun Tzu stated:

> In all fighting, the direct method may be used for joining battle, but indirect methods will be needed in order to secure victory. Indirect tactics, efficiently applied, are as inexhaustible as Heaven and Earth, unending as the flow of rivers and streams [. . .] In battle, there are not more than two methods of attack – the direct and the indirect; yet these two in combination give rise to an endless series of maneuvers. The direct and indirect lead on to each other in turn. It is like moving in a circle – you will never come to an end. Who can exhaust the possibilities of their combination? (*Sun Tzu's The Art of War: Energy*)

The terrain favored the Song, who combined their defense with flank attacking. This enabled the Song side to destroy their enemy and to protect the key strategic position from being occupied by their opponents.

8.3 Military Systems of Ancient China

The military institutions of ancient China can be dated back to ancient times. From the time of the Xia, Shang, and Zhou (the first three dynasties in ancient China) to the Spring and Autumn Period, there were no clear distinction between politics and military affairs. At that time, war involved the widespread use of chariots arranged into "divisions" (*Shi*). When the Warring States Period came, bringing with it the switch from relying upon charioteers to the use of infantry, the system of military leadership experienced changes. These were as follows: Those who were in charge of the troops were called "generals", and these were divided into different ranks – general, major general, and great general. The Qin Dynasty called the general *Daliangzao* (the highest position responsible for political and military affairs), while in the reign of the Ying Emperor, the highest military officer was called the *Guowei* (a title). In the State of Chu, the highest military officer was called *Zhuguo* (a general, also called the Upper *Zhuguo*, was responsible for the security of the capital and later became the highest-ranking military officer).

The Warring States Period saw the creation of a complete system of officers below the rank of general, with the Left *Sima* (a position responsible for both political and military affairs, there usually being two – the right one and the left

one), and *Duwei* (lower than the general), and the Sima in the State of Qi. The Qin, Qi, and Chu all created a position named *Langzhong* (the attendants of the king), and all the states created *Duwei* to garrison the state, while the Qin raised *Zhongwei* to guard the capital.

The basic feature of military leadership in the Warring States Period was that every state built its own unified body of troops, with the king as its paramount leader. Power was highly centralized so that the king was in charge of the formation, movement, and deployment of the troops. The institution of *Hufu* (a tiger-shaped tally issued to generals in connection with troop movements) exemplifies the centralized nature of military power. Conscription was seen in every state, and this policy implemented was in the counties. The age for service ranged from 15 to 60. Some states built their troops by way of selecting warriors. For example, there were the *Wuzu* ("selected infantries") in the Wei, the *Ruishi* ("elite soldiers") in the Qin, the *Jiji* ("skilful warriors") in the Qi, and so forth. This method was regarded as the beginning of the system of enlistment.

Compared with the Spring and Autumn Period, charioteers were fewer in the Warring States Period and enjoyed less importance. However, they were still a major component in the composition of the troops. As time went by, the infantry took its place as the main power. The cavaliers developed into an independent arm, which had great attention paid to it by all the other lords since King Wuling's military reforms had built a group of strong cavaliers. From then on, the cavaliers became an important arm of the military.

In the Warring States Period, all the states possessed their own permanent troops. To improve their fighting capacity, they all carried out strict training and inculcated discipline. At the same time, they applied the method of reward and punishment. For instance, the State of Qin divided military titles into 20 levels and claimed that all who had gained military glory, whether humble or honorable, should be rewarded according to their achievement. The *Book of Lord Shang: Among the States* (*Shang Jun Shu: Jing Nei*) recorded that "[i]n the battle of besieging a city, the one who had annihilated 8000 would get a reward. In field operations, the one who had annihilated 3000 would get a reward." The system of "getting reward" (*yinlun*) entailed rewarding the soldiers according to requirements of the 20 levels of titles to which they could be promoted. If a soldier retreated out of fear of combat, he would be sentenced to the penalty of *Qing* (a punishment whereby tattoos would be imprinted on the face of the convict as a sign of crime) and *Yi* (cutting off the convict's nose). In a word, the Warring States Period possessed a complete series of military regulations, including maintaining the laws of the battlefield, the institution of *Lianbao* (which meant that when serving in the army, soldiers were ordered to keep an eye on each other; if one broke the rules, his companions would be punished), guarding among the barracks, the rights of officers at each level, the marshaling of soldiers in war, the use of flags and badges, and the implementation of orders. These regulations, detailed and strict as they were, suggest that the military institutions of that time were comprehensive.

The Qin Dynasty was the first unified nation state, which was autocratic and centralized. Its institution of centralized military leadership had great influence on later dynasties.

The coronation of the emperor installed him as the highest commander in charge of military affairs. Neither the movement of troops nor the appointment of officers and generals could be completed without the emperor-issued *Hufu*. This was a bronze artifact crafted in the shape of a tiger, with an epigraph on its back. These were cut into two halves. One remained in the hands of the emperor, while the other was offered to the general who was in charge of the troops. No troops could be given orders until the half *Hufu* retained by their commander had been examined by the minister sent by the emperor, who was custodian to the other half.

The highest military position in the central government was named *Taiwei*. Before the union, the *Taiwei* was also called *Wei* or *Guowei*. This was second only to the *Daliangzao*. When the title of *Daliangzao* was abolished, the *Taiwei* became the highest-ranking military officer, according to the *Sangon* (the three vital positions in ancient China; that is to say, the highest three ministers in support of the emperor). The *Taiwei* was normally just in charge of the troops, but not their movement. When he was about to deploy troops, the emperor would appoint a general to command the forces. The centralized military leadership was suited to the political system of prefectures and counties. There were officers in charge of political and military affairs in prefectures, counties, and townships. In prefectures, there was a *Junwei* (commandant), who was in charge of conscription, the assignment of troops, the production and storage of arms, and regional security. In the counties, there was a *Xianwei*, who was in charge of the political and military affairs of the place. In townships, there was a *Youjiao* (patrolmen), who fulfilled the same role as *Xianwei*, but in a smaller place.

In the Qin Dynasty, charioteers still played an important role in warfare. In attack, they led the charge and broke the enemy's formation. In defense they guarded against enemy attacks. Their formation was the same as that in the Warring States Period, and their soldiers were divided into three kinds: the chariot drivers, the warriors standing on the chariots, and the infantrymen who followed the chariots.

The infantry was the most common type of soldier and was known as *Caiguan*. The infantrymen came in two kinds: the lightly equipped infantry and the heavily equipped infantry. The lightly equipped infantrymen wore no armor, and in the war, they would use arrows to shoot enemies in the distance. The heavily equipped infantrymen wore armor, and they would used daggers, axes, spears, *yue* (an ancient Chinese battle-ax), and *shu* (an ancient weapon made of bamboo), to fight against the enemy. The division was determined by the equipment and the situation of the battle, which marked a great progress in the history of the military system.

In the Qin Dynasty, most of the generals employed a mixture of charioteers, infantrymen, and cavaliers. The mixed armies could make full use of the advantages presented by each kind of soldier. Meanwhile, having different kinds of soldiers could compensate for the disadvantages of each individual type. Studying the form of the sculptures in the Terracotta Army, it can be observed that within a one-thousand-strong body of troops, there were infantrymen with spears and *yue*

(the ancient Chinese battle-ax) in their hands, charioteers driving chariots, and the cavaliers standing alongside their steeds. All of the kinds of soldier were present to perform their own duty, and they cooperated well with each other.

The Qin Dynasty carried out the policy of widespread conscription, which meant that all men of service age should register on a specially made list and begin to undertake conscripted labor, known as *Fuji*. Such men ranged from 17 to 60 (those who had noble titles did this to the age of 56). Those who were conscripted into *Fuji* service usually performed this for 2 years – 1 year in their native county and the other in the capital or on the frontiers. These men were all called *Zhengzu* ("fixed soldiers"). Apart from those 2 years, every adult male had to undertake a 2-month-long period of labor in his native county, being employed in the tasks of city construction, road building, transport improvement, and so on. They would be regularly replaced by newcomers; hence, they were called *Gengzu* (meaning "replaceable soldiers"). This nationwide conscription according to the age greatly affected the dynasties which followed.

The Western Han Dynasty both learned from the Qin Dynasty and created its own innovations. The emperor still held the highest status as the leader of the military. He controlled the entire army through the central command of the two main military leading organizations. These two organizations were the central guarding organization made up of *Langzhongling* (a kind of officer), *Weiwei* (officers), and *Zhongwei* (a title of an officer). These were the guardian body of the central government. The highest military administrative organization was composed of the *Taiwei*, the *Jiangjun*, the *Jiang*, the *Wei*, and others.

The central garrison group could be divided into the Imperial Palace guards and those who guarded the capital city. The Imperial Palace guards were called *Nanjun* ("the south soldiers"), with *Langzhongling*, being the name of the leading officer. They were led by the *Weiwei*. The capital guards were called *Beijun* ("the north soldiers"), with *Zhongwei* as their principal component. They were responsible for the safety of the capital, excluding that of the palace. In order to control all of the troops, the emperor made the highest military leading organization, with the *Taiwei* as its head. As the head of that position, the *Taiwei* had the right to administer the troops, but he could neither deploy the troops as he saw fit nor could he lead the troops. In the Western Han Dynasty, Emperor Wu (141–87 BC) established the office of the great general, which gradually took the place of the *Taiwei* and gained power over the troops, surpassing in power even the prime minister. Meanwhile, in the later years of the reign of Emperor Wu, the power of the great general was reduced. Thus, it can be observed that the real power of the general varied over time between each successive holder of that office.

The regional administrative system was based around the prefecture and the county. The prefecture head was called *Taishou*, and his deputy was called *Duwei*. The former was in charge of political and military affairs, whereas the latter was responsible for all kinds of military affairs within the prefecture and could directly lead the regional troops. That function enlarged the power of the *Duwei*. The county-level organization of military leadership was similar to that of the prefecture. The *Xianling* was in charge of political and military affairs, while the *Xianwei* was

responsible for all kinds of military affairs. The main duty of the latter was to catch the thieves and pirates and to guard the whole place. All of these functions made him more independent than the *Xianling*. In the townships, there were *Youjiao* (the Head), and below at the village level, there were officers called *Tingzhang*, this being the primary level of regional organization.

From the time of Emperor Wu, those minorities which surrendered or came under imperial authority were known as "dependent states" (*Shuguo*). The *Shuguoduwei* was the highest official of the dependent states, charged with dealing with both military affairs and civil affairs. This was another characteristic of the military system of the Han Dynasty. To enhance military control over the dependent states and the frontiers, the central government would dispatch some provisional officers, named *Chijieduhu*. These included *Xiyuduhu* (officers sent to the western regions) and *Huqiangxiaowei*, whose status was similar to the *Taishou* in the imperial heartland. This constituted a unique regional military leading organization as well as a special means by which the central government controlled the frontiers.

In the Western Han Dynasty, there was no clear-cut distinction between service in the army and serving as a laborer – both were called *yaoyi* ("service labor"). Every adult male was ordered to undertake service labor. In the first year, he should serve in his own prefecture as a *Chejicaiguanzu* and receive military training in order to gain the necessary military skills. He would then go back to the country to work on a farm and become a retained soldier. When the nation called, he would become a *Shuzu* (a soldier who performed service labor on the frontiers) or a *Weizu* (a soldier who guarded the capital). When all this came to an end, he ought to undertake a one month of service labor in his homeland. In this capacity, he was called *Gengzu* (a regularly replaced soldier), whose main tasks were constructing camps and barracks, digging for flint, building palaces, imperial mausoleums, and river embankments, assisting with transportation, and so forth.

Before the reign of Emperor Wu, the charioteers and the cavaliers were counted as being of equal importance. As time went by, the cavaliers took the place of charioteers and became the main arm of service. The critical wars between the Western Han and the Huns demonstrated the importance of cavaliers. This transformed the cavaliers into a strategic species of arms bearers and elevated them to being the main force within the military.

The formation of Western Han army was called the *Buqu* system. Below the general, there was a hierarchy including the *Bu*, *Qu*, *Tun*, *Dui*, *Shen*, and *Wu*. *Bu* was the highest rank, whose head was called *Xiaowei*. He was of equal status with the *Taishou*. When he went out, he would be under the leadership of the general who was in charge of leading the army. The *Qu* was second only to the *Bu*, and its leader was *Junhou*, similar to the *Xianling*. There was a *Tunzhang* who was in charge of the *Tun* and the *Duishuai* was in charge of the Dui. The *Shen* and the *Wu* were the primary organizations of the army. This system was kept all year round, and in wartime, the Imperial Court would appoint the general to take the troops out for battle.

The most characteristic military system was that of Sui Dynasty and Tang Dynasty. The military might of Tang Dynasty benefited from having a comprehensive and well-run military system.

The military power of Tang Dynasty was centralized in the hands of the emperors. As a ministerial branch, the Ministry of War (*Shang Shu Sheng*) was the permanent organization for dealing with the daily military affairs of the nation, and its head was Minister of War (*Bin Bu Shang Shu*). In the tenth year of Zhenguan (636 AD), the government made great adjustments to the *Fubing* system which had been in place since the Northern Dynasties. These were as follows: *Fubing* (soldiers who in the Wei and Jin Dynasties had belonged to a certain mansion or certain generals) were made the permanent troops for the nation. In normal times, they were led by the 12 guards and the six officers of the prince. The *Youwei* and *Zuowei* (the "right guards" and the "left guards") commanded 60 *Junfu* ("military units"), the other guards for 40–50, and the rest of the *Junfu* was in the command of the six leaders of the prince. Every *Wei* (force of "national troops") had a great general and two generals, and every *Shuai* (force of troops owned by the prince) had a leader and two associates. Those leaders would be responsible for dealing with matters such as the rest and the duties of the *Fubing*, while in wartime they would obey the emperor's orders and lead their troops to go to the battlefield. Thus, it was written: "[i]f there should be any uncertainties, the emperor would ask them to set troops out. When the affairs are over, the troops would be dismissed, with the soldiers go back to the homeland and the general return to the court" (*New Book of Tang: The Records of Soldiers – Xin Tang Shu: Bin Zhi*). Important military affairs would be decided by the meeting of the leading ministers together with the emperor. The Ministry of War would be responsible for affairs such as the assessment and removal of officers, the formation and shifts of the troops, the weapons, the care of steeds, and the storage of military books.

The *Fu* was also called *Junfu*. This was the primary military unit before the middle of the Tang Dynasty. Its method of combining military matters and agriculture was highly praised. During the reign of Taizong, the *Junfu* were known as the *Zhechongfu*, and the units which contained over 1,200 troops were named *Shangfu* ("upper *Fu*"), units of 1,000 were named *Zhongfu* ("middle *Fu*"), and units of 800 were named *Xiafu* ("lower *Fu*"). Every *Fu* was installed with an officer named *Zhechongduwei*, who had two associates – the Left and Right *Guoyiduwei*. During its boomtime, the whole nation contained 634 *Fu*, amounting to a total of 600,000 troops. Those soldiers were mainly distributed through the political centers such as Guanzhong (the region where through which the Wei River flows), Longyou (the western part of the loess plateau), the Central Plains, and elsewhere.

The *Fubing* were drawn from the farmers, the landowners, and the poor peasants. The rule stated that every three years, there would be a selection, and men over 20 were eligible for selection. The criteria for selection were wealth, ability, and the number of family members. When equally rich, the rich would be chosen; when equally able, the stronger would be chosen; when equally rich and equally able, the one who had the most family members would be chosen. Once chosen, one could not be released until the age of 60. The *Fubing* himself was free from the *Zuyongdiao* (a

kind of tax), while his family members did not enjoy that favor. When the heyday of Tang Dynasty was over, the number of wars increased and the promises made to the soldiers always remained as nothing more than promises. The status of the soldiers became degraded. As the resentment of the rich towards service increased, and land mergers became more acute, the *Juntianzhi* (a system which allocated land to the people according to the number of members in the family, whereas nobles received land according to their ranks) was dismantled. The materials for the military were not stable, and the *Fubing* system was replaced by a mercenary system, which was used in a large scale by the tenth year of Kaiyuan (the regnal title of the Tang Emperor Xuanzong). The mercenaries had low qualifications, were weak in fighting, and would flee if attacked. They also bullied the common people. Military expenditure was transferred to civil society, which increased the social burdens. This was one of the reasons why the Tang Dynasty faltered. It was also the root cause of the loss of the spirit of the worship of the martial arts in the later period of traditional Chinese society. When at its peak, the Tang Dynasty sent *Jiedushi* to the frontiers to control the troops in those places. By that time, the soldiers had become professionalized. The principal component of the troops was the cavalier, and thus they enjoyed a strong fighting capacity. These troops could easily be utilized by the long-serving generals, a factor which eventually caused the *Anshizhiluan* (a rebellion led by two *Jiedushi*, An Lushan and Shi Siming).

In the Song Dynasty, it was the emperor who directly handled the construction, movement, and command of the troops. As for the branches, there were three which shared the military power among them. The *Shumiyuan* ("Ministry of Important Issues") was the highest military political organization, which made strategic decisions, dealt with daily affairs, and raised and moved the army, with the *Shumishi* as its head. The Three *Ya* (a government office in ancient China) had the highest power over commanding the troops. Each *Ya* had a *Zhihuishi* as its head. The status of the three *Ya* was inferior only to that of the *Shumiyuan*. The *Shumiyuan* had the right to deploy the troops, while the three *Ya* had the right to control the troops, thus keeping their authority in balance. Having command of his troops in peacetime, the general would be provisionally appointed by the emperor during war. When the battle was over, the troops were returned to the three *Ya*. A person who lived during that dynasty commented that:

> The ancestors made the rule for controlling the soldiers like this, all the soldiers belonged to *Shumiyuan*, which had the right of deploying troops but could not hold soldiers; all the troops were in the hands of the three Generals, who had the power of holding the troops but could not send them off. This kept a balance and nobody would have the sole right to command troops. Thus there were no mutinies in the previous thirteen decades. (*History of the Song Dynasty: On the Official Position – Songshi: Zhi Guan Er*)

This institution decreased the war woes caused by the Tang military governor and contributed to social security, while it also invited inefficiency.

There were three kinds of troops in the Song Dynasty: "Formal Soldiers" (*Jinbing*), "Local Soldiers" (*Xiangbing*), and "Village Militia" (*Xiangbing*). On the frontiers, there were also "Minority Soldiers" (*Fanbing*). The Formal Soldiers constituted the regular army of the nation, whose main task was guarding the capital

and fighting or garrisoning on the frontier counties. The Local Soldiers formed the regional troops. Their actual purpose was to undertake service labor. These belonged to every county and some organizations of the central government. They were responsible for work such as constructing city walls and moats, building roads and transportation links, and so on. They did not receive very much training.

Unofficial as they were, the Local Soldiers were also militiamen and gained a strong fighting capacity through the practice of defending their homelands.

The Formal Soldiers and Local Soldiers of the Northern Song Dynasty were all conscripts. "The strong and energetic" were made into Formal Soldiers, while "the weak and short" were made into Local Soldiers. Once registered, his family member could live together with him on the camp, while he himself had to get his face tattooed and his arm blackened. These were signs that he could not escape halfway through his service and should instead serve throughout his life. If the troops were lacking in numbers, the children of the soldiers would be co-opted. They would be severely punished if they ran away or committed crimes. When years of famine came, the government would conscript bankrupted farmers on a large scale. This caused the dynasty to be afflicted by an abundance of redundant soldiers and over-expenditure on the military. When badly in need of soldiers, they would even turn to thieves and brigands, consequently lowering the quality of the troops.

The military institution of the Ming Dynasty was innovative, for the government adopted the *Wei-so* system. On the condition that the emperor retained the highest power in political and military affairs, every place should set several military units called *Wei-so*. A county set was called a *So*, with several counties being named *Wei*. The latter contained 5,600 soldiers. *So* were classified into two types: *Qian-hu-so* and *Bai-hu-so*. The former led thousands of soldiers and the latter led hundreds. The troops of the whole nation were enrolled into the *Wei* and *So*. The officers and soldiers of the *Wei-so* were attached to *Du–zhi–hui–shi–si*, which in turn were members of the *Zhong–yang–wu–jun–du–hu–fu* (the Central Army Council of Five – the five troops being the middle, the left, the right, the front, the back). The *Duhufu* was the highest military officer, in charge of all the *Wei-so* round the nation. The conquering, guarding, and the training of these were all placed in the hands of the Ministry of War, which would deploy the troops at the request of the emperor and appoint the commanders to lead the troops out for battle. When the war had finished, the commander went back to the Court and the troops were sent back to the *Wei-so*. This institution guarded the separation of the right to command and the right to deploy troops, which in effect prevented the general from seizing power and from staging revolts.

Ming troops were divided into three groups: the *Jingjun* (soldiers in the capital), the *Difangjun* (regional troops), and the *Bianjun* (frontier troops). The *Jingjun* were the elite troops, who guarded the capital during peacetime. When wars came, they would be the main fighting force. During the time of Emperor Chenghua of Ming (1464–1487 AD), there were 72 *Wei* in *Jingjun* and three officially set camps called *Wujun*, *Sanqian*, and *Shenji*. The *Wujun* was mainly occupied with the formation of troops, the *Sanqian* with patrolling, and *Shenji* with firearms training (Picture 13). The regional troops were guards stationed in towns of strategic importance in the

interior. The *Bianbing* were installed in the nine towns from the Yalu River in the east to the Jiayuguan Pass (five miles to the west of Jiayu City, Gansu), the so-called Jiubian (nine frontier towns). Zongbing was the chief officer. In addition, there were militiamen who guarded the security of the regions.

The soldiers of the *Wei-so* were rooted in the system of *Shibing* (being soldiers by hereditary succession), and it was the same with the officers within the *Wei-so*. Once registered, one would be transferred to the barrack, called *Junhu*, which was in the charge of the *Duhufu*, and free from the regional administrative officials. When a soldier died, his son continued in his footsteps, and thus people would serve as soldiers for generation-after-generation. Having a low status and living alongside criminals lowered their personal qualities and led to frequent escapes. Consequently, in the middle of Ming Dynasty, the government adopted conscription, which became the main source of the troops, while creating huge expenditure which drained and weakened the country.

In the former times of the Qing Dynasty, there had been a Grand Ministry of State (*Jun Ji Chu*) in the central government, which was in charge of the political and military affairs at the emperor's will. The troops were comprised of *Baqibing* ("Eight Banners") and *Lüying* ("Green-camp" Soldiers). The *Baqi* was assigned eight kinds of banner, namely, the *Zhenghuang* (pure yellow), *Xianghuang* (yellow with red edges), *Zhengbai* (pure white), *Xiangbai* (white with red edges), *Zhenghong* (pure red), *Xianghong* (red with white edges), *Zhenglan* (pure blue), and *Xianglan* (blue with yellow edges). *Qi* was a social organization, by which the Manchus unified the soldiers with the peasants. It was in charge of the functions related to military affairs, politics, the economy, and so on. Each *Qi* had its own hereditary head. Emperor Taizong of Qing (1636–1643) added Mongolian *Baqi* and the Hanjun *Baqi*. After having unified the whole country, the *Baqi* became a political and military organization free from the burdens of labor. It belonged to the nation but no longer to the head. They were divided into *Jinying Baqi* (made up of three units called the *Zhenghuang*, *Zhengbai*, and *Xianghuang*) and *Zhufang Baqi* (guarding troops). The *Zhufang Baqi* was sent to guard the vital passes all over the country. The *Lüying* (Green-camp Soldiers) were made to follow the suit of the Ming Dynasty's system of *Wei-so*, and all of its soldiers were Han people. With the green banner as their insignia, these troops made the camp their basic unit, and the soldiers were divided into cavaliers, infantrymen, and guards. The officers were appointed by the Ministry of War, and every province had its *Lüying*. The main general was called *Zongbing*. His superiors were *Tidu* (a kind of officer), placed in charge of the *Zongbing* and *Xunfu* of one or more provinces. Meanwhile, the *Zongdu* (a kind of officer) had the power to lead the *Tidu*.

The Manchus excelled at horsemanship and archery, and they were at an advantage when fighting on the plains. The Han, by contrast, were good at using firearms, which helped them gain military success when besieging cities and fighting on the water. The government granted the *Baqi* favors and special care for their contribution towards establishing and securing the Qing Dynasty. As time went by, the *Baqi* became demoralized, and since the breakout of the War of Kangxi's Pacification towards the Revolt of the *Sanfan*, their dependence upon the *Lüying*

camp increased. The *Sanfan* were three lords of the Ming Dynasty (Wu Sangui, Shang Kexi, and Ge Jingzhong), who surrendered to the Qing and were elevated to lordships in Yunnan, Guangdong, and Fujian. Their vital role in strategy was replaced by the *Lüying*.

Questions

1. Summarize the key military thoughts of Sun Tzu's *The Art of War* and describe the historical value of the book.
2. Discuss the changes made to the institution of conscription in ancient China.

Chapter 9
The Rich and Colorful Social Life in Ancient China

"Social Life" is a meaningful concept in the study of any society and can be generally understood in both a broad and a narrow sense. In the broad sense, social life includes both the physical and mental activities of a whole society. Alternatively, in the narrow sense, social life can signify simple day-to-day life, that is, focusing on such things as attire, diet, housing, and family life, as well as transportation and general social interests.

Chinese historians have placed an emphasis on social life in China from ancient times onwards. Records of physical and nonphysical aspects of life from various social stratums throughout history can be found in written documents such as the *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*), which was collected and edited by Confucius during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC), as well as in official history books written in both a biographical and a special-categorized style. Other historical sources can be found concerning the aggregation, distribution, and migration of different ethnic tribes; their social organizations; their attire, diet, residence, and transportation traditions; their labor activities and marriage customs; their rituals and ceremonies for worshiping gods and ancestors; and their traditional customs as well as entertainment and education habits. Research into the history of social life from a modern scientific perspective did not start until after the Xinhai Revolution of 1911–1912. In the decades following the Revolution, monographs, research papers, and reams of documents on social lives and its research history in ancient China were published. Research which focused on the history of social life became a major academic phenomenon in the 1930s and 1940s. These advancements in research made efforts to restore the understanding of social life in ancient China, especially the daily lives of the typical citizens, based on both original archives and newly unearthed documents through modern methodological approaches. This new wave of research has deepened our understanding about Chinese history.

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9.1 Life in the Ancient Age

How people in ancient times fought against hazardous natural environments in order to survive and develop themselves has always been steeped in mythology and legend. China is no exception. According to legend, the earliest humans in ancient China lived in caves or lodged in wooden-beamed structures. As typical hunter-gatherers, they consumed raw vegetables, fruit, and even raw animal meat, drank the blood of the wild animals, and dressed in their furs. According to legend, the people in ancient times did not learn how to cook their food with fire until Suiren[1] discovered how to create fire by kindling wood. These ancient legends in most cases appear to correspond with the actual lifestyle of ancient human beings. For instance, according to archaeological discoveries, the ancient people who lived near the Zhoukoudian region of Beijing did not master the skill of utilizing fire until the early Paleolithic Period (710,000 BC to 230,000 BC). The ancient people tried to preserve natural fire by fueling it with leaves and branches of trees, shrubs, and herbage in order to cook food, to fight against the cold, to provide a source of light, and to protect themselves from wild beasts. Since the people of this ancient period were only capable of producing simple instruments by hammering stones, their tools were by no means sufficient for them to hunt large animals. Consequently, they had a very limited supply of meat and were only able to hunt herbivores such as deer. Foraging was the prevalent method for obtaining food. As such, their major food sources were fruits, seeds, and the leaves of hackberry, walnut, Chinese catalpa, oak, hazelnut, rose, buckthorn, pine, and elm trees, as well as grains and leguminous plants. According to legend, sexual relations among these primitive tribes were quite open compared to more modern Chinese culture. Sexual contact was only prohibited between parents and their offspring or between grandparents and grandchildren. Group marriages and marriages among blood-related siblings were, however, not taboo and indeed quite common.

Chinese society advanced during the Paleolithic Period (50,000 BC to 40,000 BC), as new manufacturing techniques resulted in more advanced stone instruments. With the number and sophistication of stone tools increasing, hunting became the major method for gathering food, and people also mastered how to create fire. Marriages also became more civilized, as sexual relations between direct and indirect siblings were barred. As a result, group marriages between non-related individuals from different tribes evolved. One tribe typically contained 30–50 people in which men and women, even though married, lived separately in the tribes where they were born. They were also buried separately after they passed away. Children from such relationships belonged to their mother's tribe. By this method loose relations began to form between tribes.

The transition of Chinese society from the Paleolithic Period into the Neolithic Period began around 10,000 years ago. The latter period lasted for more than 6,000 years. The first 4,000 years were considered the prosperous period of tribal

[1] According to ancient Chinese legend, Suiren was the discoverer of fire.

life known as the Matriarchal Clan Communal Society (*Mu xi shi zu she hui*). Foraging, fishing, and hunting still played a significant role in socioeconomic life of the matriarchal society, yet crop farming also emerged. Accordingly, due to environmental differences, the middle and upper reaches of the Yellow River produced millet (known as *Setaria italic*) and the lower reaches of the Yangtze River produced rice (*Oryza sativa*). The three major types of farming tools (for planting, harvesting, and processing) were created. Archaeological digs show the quantity of farming tools, which were made from stones, bones, shells, and wood, exceeded the amount of tools used for fishing and hunting, indicating that farming had become the most common means of providing food. During this period, domestic animal breeding emerged and was quickly developed. Pigs, dogs, chickens, and cows were widely raised by individual households. Early pottery production also began around this time. People created various types of utensils including bowls, alms bowls, basins, jars, urns, pots, vats, bottles with a small mouth and a sharp bottom, bottles with a small mouth and a flat bottom, and bottles with a big mouth and a sharp bottom. These Neolithic ceramics were used for dining, storage, water storage, and cooking. The temperature of the pottery making kilns was generally between 900 and 1,000 °C. As such, the earthenware normally presented a base color of red with decorative black patterns due to adduction. This type of earthenware was known as painted pottery ware (*cai tao*). Weaving skills had also developed into a substantial stage, as different woven patterns can be found in this period such as diagonal intertwining and checkerboard.

Residential units in the Matriarchal Clan Communal Society were classified into three levels: single houses, housing groups, and single tribes. The population of each tribe was around 300 people.[2] Each tribal site contained both residential areas and graveyards, with some tribes even possessing an independent area dedicated to pottery production. In each tribe, the center of its residential district would consist of a central plaza that was surrounded by houses facing it. The houses in a tribe could be subdivided into groups. The whole tribe was composed of a group of blood-related people. The relationships among the people who lived in a single subset of houses were closer than the people from another different group within the tribe. Moreover, the people who shared a house held an even closer bond than the rest of the people from the same group. At the final level, people living in the same room would typically be a married couple consisting of a woman, her children, and her non-blood-related but sexually involved men. The graveyards followed a similar organizational structure which can be classified into three levels, multi-burial tombs, groups of tombs, and tribes of tombs. Hence, several multi-burial tombs would form a group of tombs, and a group of tombs together would be the tribe of tombs. The sexually related couple would be buried respectively in the tribe where they were born after they passed away.

In the last 2000 years of the Neolithic Period (6000–4000 BC), the society experienced the most profound revolution in Chinese human history. The tribes along

[2]Wang Zhenzhong, *A Comparative Study of the Origins of Chinese Civilization* (Shaanxi People's Press, 1994), pp. 66–7.

the Yellow River and the Yangtze River gradually transformed from the prevailing Matriarchal Clan Communal Society into the Patriarchal Clan Communal Society (*Fu xi shi zu she hui*). Agriculture became the prevalent social manufacturing system in patriarchal society. The production of stone tools reached its peak with the development of stone shovels, a tool used for large-scale farming. Simultaneously, plows alongside other earth-breaking and weeding tools were also invented in the lower reaches of the Yangtze River. All of these factors facilitated the rapid growth of farming and increase in efficiency. With the development of farming, animal husbandry was also improved. Horses, cows, sheep, chickens, dogs, and pigs were now domesticated and bred. Earthenware also became more sophisticated. During this period, multiple sorts of clay bowls, basins, jars, pots, urns, bottles, goblets, and oil lamps were utilized. The quality of pottery was durable and long lasting. Most of them were painted with gray and black color. An excavated egg-shaped ceramic black goblet was one of the sophisticated items found to date back to this period. Lacquerware manufacturing techniques also progressed. Stone axes, adzes, and chisels used as carpentry tools were not only delicately polished but also sharp and practical. Carpentry skills, such as board cutting and squaring, mortising, seaming, and polishing, were well advanced. In order to achieve a higher aesthetics standard, wooden containers were often decorated with various colors and patterns. Textile products could be categorized into two types, flax and silk, in the Patriarchal Period. The density of horizontal and vertical threads increased from 12 pieces by 12 pieces per square centimeter into 30 by 30. Also numerous jade and bronze utensils from this period have been excavated.

Residential divisions were still based on three gradually higher levels which included a single house, house groups, and tribes in patriarchal society. However, the core concept had changed fundamentally. Firstly, the center oriented and closed layout was transformed. The original function of the central plaza had been replaced by clan temples and subsidiary plazas, located within smaller housing groups. The houses were mostly arranged in parallel rows. Each row was generally inhabited by a clan, with each clan consisting of several families. In addition, each family would reside in two or three adjacent or neighboring houses. These findings gave evidence to the theory that some families' grown-up children would live independently in separate rooms. Also, adjacent rows of houses could form a patriarchal clan. In addition, graveyards were partitioned along clan divisions. Rows of tombs belonged to the same family. Then several family tombs formed a clan. It is worth mentioning that social status and fortune possessed by elders and other family members started to be differentiated in this period. A disparity in wealth between clans also emerged at this time. Farming clans which had initially been equal slowly developed into a differentiated clustering society. Some citizens both exceeded the rest of their clan in fortune and were privileged with an exalted social status.[3] The leaders of superior

[3] Yan Wenming, "An Investigation into the Shape of the Settlements in the Chinese Neolithic Period," published in *A Festschrift Celebrating Su Bingqi's Fifty-five Years in Archaeology* (Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1989).

clans did not only rule their own tribe members but also controlled people from other less-developed clans. The number of cities which were fenced by rammed earth or stone walls rose between 3,000 and 2,000 years ago along the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers. The emergence of cities altered the previous formation of clan tribes. According to the legends, clan liaisons were elected to solve conflicts among themselves.

During the Patriarchal Clan Community Period, the practice of worshipping nature, totems, and ancestors (*chong bai zi ran, chong bai tu teng, chong bai zu xian*) started to formalize into traditions and customs which were differentiated by the tribes. These traditions and customs exchanged and merged with each other alongside increased communications between tribes. Ritual ceremonies for worshiping heaven, earth, and patriarchal ancestors played a more and more significant role in social lives. Large-scale altars of this period have been unearthed in the Yellow and Yangtze River regions.

9.2 Social Activities in the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties

During the Xia and Shang Dynasties, cities were the political centers and military fortresses for the central imperial state and noble. Defensive facilities such as high city walls, deeply dug moats, and intentionally utilized natural environments were designed for each city. The most important buildings within the city were normally palaces for royal and noble families and the temples for worshiping ancestors (*gong dian shen miao*). Civilians all resided and were buried within their own family units, which reflected the characteristic of a clan society structure. The handicraft workshops which were to be found in the cities were normally categorized in a sophisticated way.

Monogamy (*yi fu yi qi zhi*) was the dominant rule for marital custom during the Xia and Shang Dynasties. However, polygamy (*yi fu duo qi zhi*) was very common among the noble families. Political matrimonies were an additional feature of noble marriages. During the Xia and Shang Periods, imperial families would frequently marry a noble woman from another tribe or would send a royal woman to marry a person from a different clan in order to establish political relationships.

In the Xia and Shang Dynasties, all utensils could be divided into three types according to their functions: those used for cooking, those used for drinking, and those used for dining. *Ge* (cooking tripod with hollow legs), *Ding* (vessel with two loop handles and three or four legs), *Yan* (vessel which combines the function of cooking and steaming), *Guan* (cooking jar), and *Zeng* (earthenware utensil for steaming rice) were used for cooking and steaming food. *Jia* (round-mouthed and three-legged liquor cup), *Jue* (liquor vessel with three legs and a loop handle), *He* (liquor mixing vessel), *Gu* (liquor vessel, with trumpet-shaped top and bottom, thin waist), and *Bei* (cup) were used for drinking, especially for drinking liquor. Common dining utensils included *Gui* (round-mouthed food vessel with two or four loop handles), *Dou* (stemmed cup or bowl), and *Bo* (earthenware bowl), to name just

a few. Earthenware was widely used in the Xia Dynasty, but bronze vessels became more widespread in the Shang Dynasty. People in those periods mainly took food with their hands, but these were supplemented with knives, spoons, and chopsticks. The major food in the Shang Dynasty included millet, white millet, wheat, and rice. Meat was generally derived from two sources; one was from domestic breeding animals, such as cows, sheep, pigs, dogs, horses, and chickens. Wild animals were counted as the second source. One remarkable feature of the Shang Dynasty was the prevalence of the social consumption of alcohol. Members of all social classes – be they from imperial or noble families or middle or lower class citizens – imbibed Chinese spirits. Alcoholism and negligence of state affairs undeniably contributed to the end of the Shang Dynasty.

People in the Xia and Shang dynasties highly respected their gods. They regarded the material world as "the lower world" (*Xia Jie*), while the world in which gods lived was "the upper world" (*Shang Jie*). There was an ultimate "emperor" (*Di*) or "god" (*Shang Di*) in "the upper world," which ruled all other gods. These gods controlled the sun, the moon, the stars, the wind, the cloud, and the thunder in the sky, as well as the soil, the mountains, and the rivers on the earth. These gods were capable of governing the transition from one season to another as well as the fortune and misfortune of people in "the lower world." People in the Shang Dynasty were in the habit of utilizing turtle shells (*gui bu*) as the instrument to consult the gods about their fortune. No matter if the issue was tiny or significant, whether giving birth, burying the deceased, initiating a war, appointing government officials, hunting and farming, marrying a new couple, or worshiping ancestors, all affairs required consultation with the gods before action was taken. Moreover, it was believed that deceased ancestors were able to influence their offspring's fortune. However, the deceased ancestors were just considered as intermediaries between the gods and the human emperors, which were less important than gods.

The structure of the nation in the Western Zhou Dynasty (c. 1046–771 BC) displayed an unequal liaison between the central imperial state (*zhou wang chao*) and subsidiary royal states (*zhu hou guo*), which was different from the Xia and Shang Dynasties. This type of liaison was established on the basis of blood or marriage relations. Hence, the bonds among the central states and the subsidiary royal states were closer and more stable than the relationship among the central and noble states' liaisons in the Shang Dynasty.

Cities remained the political, military, and cultural centers of the central imperial state and the subsidiary royal states in the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BC). Thanks to the close vertical relationships among central and subsidiary royal states as well as the intimate horizontal relations among the subsidiary royal states, the layout of the cities was rather unified, and the hierarchical classification was rather obvious. In the terms of scale, the imperial capital city was larger than the feudal royal ducal cities (*zhu hou du cheng*), and the scale of the feudal ducal cities varied based on their rankings. Palaces and temples were still the most important buildings in the city. Their locations in the city followed one simple rule as "A palace must be in the middle of a city, and a temple must be in the middle of a palace." Trade was active in all cities and handicraft workshops were located within each city.

There was not much difference when it came to marriage customs in the Western Zhou Dynasty compared with the previous Xia and Shang Dynasties. The only difference was that wedding ceremonies became unified into systematic rituals in the Western Zhou Dynasty. Hence, all wedding ceremonies were conducted under standardized ritual rules.

The social status of citizens in the Western Zhou Dynasty was distinguished by their daily attire. Differences in social status could be discerned from the material, shape, size, color, and decorative patterns of their costumes. There were strict rules about how the emperor (*tian zi*), feudal dukes (*zhu hou*), and senior officials (*qing da fu*) should dress. Two types of daily attire were worn by the emperor as well as by many ordinary citizens. One was known as *xuanduan* which was a costume that consisted of two separated garments – an upper and a lower. The other one was a type of one-piece, long dress known as *shenyi*.

Dining etiquettes were also formalized during the Western Zhou Dynasty. Detailed and different dining principles were developed for various dining occasions. People in the Western Zhou Dynasty refrained from drinking Chinese spirits. A severe prohibition against alcoholic drinks was established at the beginning of Western Zhou Dynasty. However, the prohibition had softened by the middle of the Western Zhou Dynasty, and drinking became a social phenomenon once again.

9.3 Changes to Social Life in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods

The Spring and Autumn Period (c. 771–476 BC) was labeled as a great revolutionary era of ancient Chinese society. Cities experienced magnificent transformation. The number of cities that rose increases rapidly during the Spring and Autumn Period. Numerous records of newly built cities can be found in historical archives. Even the fairly weak State of Lu, which had very limited territory, undertook more than 20 projects such as city construction, city wall renovation, and city enlargement within its 200 years of existence. Information about the abovementioned projects can be found in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*) and *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo zhuan*) which were compiled from the reign of the Duke Yin of Lu (722–712 BC) to the reign of the Duke Ai of Lu (494–468 BC). From the example of the State of Lu, readers should be able to imagine how other stronger states would construct their cities. This increase in the number of cities indicates that political, military, and cultural activities were no longer confined within the capital city or several core cities. The layouts of the cities began to be diversified in the Spring and Autumn Period. Some of them followed the traditional Western Zhou Dynasty style and others through the previous restrictions.

The number of cities increased significantly in the Warring States Period (c. 475–221 BC). Groups of major commercial cities emerged as their economic functions became more significant compared with the past. The following cities

became famous metropolitan and commercial centers during that period: Handan (present-day Handan, Hebei Province) and Lin (in the west of present-day Lishi, Shanxi Province) in the State of Zhao; Jimo (to the northeast of present-day Pingdu, Shandong Province), Anyang (in the east of present-day Cao County, Shandong Province), and Xue (in the southeast of present-day Teng County, Shandong Province) in the State of Qi; Xiadu (present-day Yi County, Hebei Province), Zhuo (present-day Zhuoxian in Hebei Province), and Ji (to the southwest of present-day Beijing) in the State of Yan; Daliang (present-day Kaifeng in Henan Province), Anyi (in the northwest of what is now Xia County, Shanxi Province), Wen (in the southwest of what is now Wen County, Henan Province), and Zhi (to the northeast of what is now Jiyuan, Henan Province) in the State of Wei; Zheng (present-day Xinzheng in Henan Province), Yangdi (present-day Yu County, Henan Province), Xingyang (to the northeast of present-day Xingyang in Henan Province), Tunliu (to the south of what is now Tunliu in Shanxi Province), and Zhangzi (to the southwest of what is now Zhangzi in Shanxi Province) in the State of Han; Ying (Jinan City which is in the north of Jiangling County, Hubei Province), Yuan (present-day Nanyang in Henan Province), Shouchun (present-day Shou County, Anhui Province), and Chen (present-day Huaiyang, Henan Province) in the State of Chu; Wu (what is now Suzhou in Jiangsu Province) in the State of Yue; Taoyi (to the north of present-day Dingtao in Shandong Province) in the State of Song; Puyang (to the south of what is now Puyang in Henan Province) in the State of Wei; Yong (in the south of what is now Fengxiang in Shaanxi Province), Xianyang (to the northeast of what is now Xianyang in Shaanxi Province), and Yueyang (in the north of what is now Lintong in Shaanxi Province) in the State of Qin; and Luoyang (what is now Luoyang in Henan Province) of the Imperial Zhou State.[4] Some of these cities even exceeded the capital cities in terms of size during the Spring and Autumn Period. There were specialized commercial districts (*shang ye shi qu*) within each city in the Warring States Period. The commercial districts were surrounded by walls and gates in each direction. In addition, the gates would be closed during the nights and reopened in the mornings. Linzi, the capital city in the State of Qi, was the largest city and the busiest commercial metropolis of that period. The famous political strategist Su Qin[5] once described the prosperity in Linzi thus:

> 70 000 households resided in Linzi, in which there were more than 210 000 adult male residents. All residents were enjoying their daily lives. Multiple entertainment activities, such as playing musical instruments, watching rooster fights, walking dogs, gambling, and playing an ancient form of soccer (*ta ju*) could be seen everywhere in the city. There were numerous carriages running on the roads each day; as a result, accidents happened periodically. The streets were packed with people and carriages. When the front of people's garments connected, they could be used as curtains; when the sleeves of people's clothes bonded, they could provide shade; when all the people perspired it was like it was raining. (*Strategies of the Warring States: Strategies of Qi I – Zhan Guo Ce: Qi Ce*)

[4] Yang Kuan, *The History of the Warring States Period* (Shanghai People's Press, 1980), p. 99.

[5] Su Qin (380–284 BC) was an influential political strategist during the Warring States Period.

Villages in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Period also underwent continuous development. Along with the booming population, iron farming tools were becoming widely utilized and farming skills advanced, so that the natural countryside and unfarmed lands were cultivated and flourished, some even becoming new commercial centers. Wastelands were also cultivated for farming successfully, and new residential regions emerged. In order to reinforce control over the rural areas, counties (*xian*) were added to the political and geographical system among the states. Counties were set up in the territories of newly explored wastelands or the subjugated neighbor cities of another state. The county became the major political and administrative unit used for controlling rural areas. The concept of provinces (*jun*) was also introduced to the governing system in the Warring States Period. Hence, a two-level administrative system – provinces above counties – was put in place for ruling the states. The landholding peasants, who mainly depended on farming but were also engaged in family-run handicraft workshops, became the major labor force in rural areas.

In the Spring and Autumn Period, marital customs still followed the tradition which ruled against marriage between people sharing the same family names. Royal dukes and senior officials were required to marry women from different families but within their own social strata. In addition, a royal princess could marry a royal duke and a royal duke's daughter could marry a senior official. Civilians who were below the *shi*[6] status mostly practiced monogamy. Men normally got married between the ages of 20 and 30, and the marital age for women would be 15–20. It was very common for women to be divorced by their husbands. Furthermore, it was also not abnormal for divorced women to remarry again during those periods.

The styles of clothing varied according to the different geography and climates. Fashions differed in the pluralistic political systems according to status and region. The most remarkable reform concerning attire customs took place in the State of Zhao during the Warring States Period. In 307 BC, King Wuling, while standing firmly against public opinion, implemented military reforms and required all soldiers to wear Donghu,[7] Linhu, and Loufan[8] uniforms in battles. Their uniforms were composed of short jackets, a belt, and a belt buckle. In addition, soldiers were asked to wear boots. This type of clothing enhanced the flexibility of horsemen and

[6] *Shi* was a social stratum in ancient China, between senior officials and the common people. It became a term for scholars and intellectuals after Spring and Autumn Periods.

[7] Donghu, literally meaning "Eastern Foreigners" or "Eastern barbarians," was the name of a Mongolic nomadic tribal confederation that was first recorded from the seventh century BC and was destroyed by the Xiongnu in 150 BC. The Donghu was later divided into the Wuhuan and Xianbei Confederations, from which the Mongols are derived. Hence, in modern linguistic terminology, they are classified as a proto-Mongolic nomadic ethnic group.

[8] The nomadic people who lived in the northern part of China in Warring States Periods were generally called Hu. Linhu and Loufan were two major tribes of Hu which mainly lived in Mongolia those days.

improved the fighting capability of the military on the battlefields compared those who wore Han costumes. This reform was even extended to higher ranking officials later on.

The dining activities for noble people evolved, yet remained quite formal during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods. Bronze dining utensils faded away and were replaced with lacquerware, which was eventually used everywhere in daily life. During these periods, lacquer utensils were well designed, colorfully painted, and delicately decorated. The colorful and exquisite lacquerware brought a feeling of wealth and abundance to the everyday dining experience.

The society in both the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods adored blood and fire. The techniques of warfare and demonstrations of bravery were widely upheld. Each year, in the seasons in which farming was dormant, the kings would call their troops for training and practicing of martial arts. According to the *Commentary of Guliang on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Guliang Zhuan*), teaching and learning warfare skills while hunting were considered a major event in etiquette. During hunting excursions, blades of grass were normally stuck in the fields as hunting field boundaries. One was not allowed to cross these boundaries when hunting. Flags were inserted in erected chariots, and these chariots were used for imitating the gates of a military camp. The size of a military camp's gates should be 13.2 cm wider on each side than the axles of the chariots were. During the process of hunting, if any axle of the chariots touched the camp gate while passing through, the person on the chariot would lose his qualification for hunting and was not allowed to enter the camp, since his chariot driving skills were poor. Another principle for driving a chariot was that the dust which rose due to chariot driving should not scatter further than the tracing rut. In addition, when the horses were galloping, the riders should let the horses run with a reasonable speed and keep a rhythm, so the charioteer could keep the horses' movements in a way that the archers could aim easily. Furthermore, if the prey ran beyond the predetermined boundaries, the hunters were not permitted to chase it anymore. This was based on the same principle that one should not chase the defeated army on a battlefield. If the prey was hurt on the head or in the face, one was obligated to free the captured animal, since it reflected the principle of not killing those who surrendered. One was also supposed to free the small animals, reflecting the concept of not torturing the young. Being a warrior was a social norm and had become an important part of the male role in Spring and Autumn society. People during these times idolized those heroes who mastered splendid archery and defensive techniques while in their military uniforms.[9]

[9]Refer to Pu Weizhong, *A Brief Account of Social Life as Reflected in Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* and *A Festschrift Celebrating Yang Xiangkui's Sixty Years of Teaching and Research* (Hebei Educational Press, 1998), pp. 102–15.

9.4 The Prevailing Social Customs in the Qin and Han Dynasties

The total number of cities increased successively in the Qin and Han Dynasties. Generally speaking, cities were established in places where the provinces and counties had already been created. Overall, the number of cities was equal to the number of counties at that given moment. After the State of Qin unified China (221 BC), the territory of China was unparalleled compared with any time in the past. According to research, the Qin Emperor originally set up 36 provinces outside the capital city, later enlarging this figure to 41, and the number of counties nationwide reached around 1,000. The number of cities reached 1,100 during the Qin Dynasty. Owing to the many wars and mergers, some once prosperous cities in the Warring States Period became desolate. However, Xianyang remained a thriving metropolis and its population totaled above 500,000. The number of cities exceeded 1,500 during the reign of Emperor Ping of the Han Dynasty.[10] The State of Qi was considered to be a powerful state in the east during the Warring States Period. There were around 70 cities in the territory of the State of Qi, and the number of cities within that territory reached 120 by the Han Dynasty. Along with the strengthened control of the central feudal government over northwest and southwest regions, numerous new cities appeared near the borders. For example, Emperor Wu (141–87 BC) set up Wuwei, Zhangye, Jiuquan, and Dunhuang, four provinces in the regions to the west of the Yellow River which was known to be the territory of the Xiongnu. By the end of Western Han Dynasty, these four provinces governed more than 35 counties. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the quantity of the counties in this area kept increasing and reached 43 counties eventually. These types of provincial cities and county cities were originally established as military fortresses. However, with the population booming and economic growth, they gradually became the economic and cultural centers of their regions.

The scale of constructions was continuously growing in each city. Generally speaking, at that moment, a city consisted of city walls, palaces, administrative buildings, streets, markets, residential areas, specially arranged handicraft workshops, and buildings near the city. The city walls that normally surrounded the city were built with rammed earth. The thicknesses and the height of the city walls were determined by the scope of the city. The city walls of Chang'an, the capital city in Han Dynasty, were 16 m thick at the bottom, and the highest remains of the city wall are still more than 8 m tall. The wall had several gates on different sides. Normally, the palaces or the administrative buildings would be considered as the center of the city. The imperial palaces inside of the capital city were surrounded by another layer of walls. Shops were clustered in a designated market within a city and were

[10]Emperor Ping of Han (9 BC–6 AD) was an emperor of the Chinese Han Dynasty from 1 BC to 6 AD. After Emperor Ai died childless, the throne was passed to his cousin Emperor Ping – then a child of 9 years old. Emperor Ping died at the age of 14.

independent from the palace, administrative building, and residential districts. Walls were used for differentiating the markets, and gates were designed for entering and exiting the markets. Every 25 families comprised a basic unit in the residential areas. There were luxury mansions, as well as shabby huts, in each unit. The development of a city would eventually break the restrictions of the city walls, thus buildings including some memorial buildings were constructed outside the city walls.

Plenty of landholding peasants were living and farming in the areas to the north of the Great Wall and to the south of the Lingnan,[11] along with the agricultural sections near the Yellow River, Yangtze River, and Huai, Jing, Wei, and Fen Rivers. These peasants normally resided and clustered by families. As registered national citizens, they were entitled to the right to independently own a certain amount of farming land. In return, they were also required to pay for the rent and head tax as well as serving the military when necessary. Besides the nobles and senior officials in the cities, some groups of regional and tyrannical leaders began expanding their personal powers through cruel farmland merges during the Han Dynasty. Especially during Eastern Han Dynasties, a form of "country estate economy" (*bi men cheng shi*) was presented which meant that landowners could be self-sufficient and they would organize their own commercial exchange within their sphere of influence. According to the *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Zhong Chang* (*Hou Hanshu: Zhong Chang Tongzhuan*), these regional leaders "enjoyed joy and happiness more than the royal dukes and had more powers than the regional official government leaders." This type of phenomenon became a new emerging power in the society which influenced the traditional social norm that one should be noble to be powerful.

The dress code did not become formalized until the reign of Emperor Ming (58–75 AD) of the Eastern Han Dynasty. According to the new etiquette, the emperor should dress in a black-colored upper garment and an ocher yellow-colored lower garment. There were 6 different patterns designed for the upper garment and another 6 for the lower. The sequence of these 12 patterns were the sun, the moon, a star, a mountain, a dragon, *huachong* (a pheasant), *zongyi* (a utensil used for ritual ceremonies), some algae, fire, rice, an ax shape, and a *Ya* shape (亜). The emperor had to wear robes containing all 12 patterns when attending court and religious affairs. Royal princes, dukes, and Three Councilors (*Sangong*) had to wear garments containing 9 patterns which originated from the mountain or dragon, while officials below Nine Ministers (*Jiuqing*)[12] should dress in garments containing only seven patterns from *huachong* when attending formal events. As for casual wear, the style of attire tended to be similar in the Qin and Han dynasties. The *shenyi*, the long full body garment, which was invented in the transitional period during Spring and Autumn to Warring States Periods, was still popular in the Qin and Han Dynasties. In the Eastern Han Dynasty, men normally wore long loose gowns with

[11]Lingnan is a geographic region in southern China. It refers to currently Guangdong, Guangxi, and Hainan Provinces and part of Hunan and Jiangxi Provinces.

[12]For further details of the Three Councilors and Nine Ministers, see Chap. 6 of this book.

open cross-collar garments. The design for female *shenyi* evolved significantly: a garment with single dangling corner at the front was replaced by a symmetrical swallowtail-shaped front garment, and a streamer was added to the clothes as well. In this period, women considered to be beautiful would typically have red lips, pearly white teeth, long neck, fair skin tone with healthy pink reflections, as well as a tall figure. The maid pottery figurine which was excavated from Pit No. 1 of Mawangdui[13] as well as the kneeling maid pottery figurine from the Han Yangling Mausoleum[14] exhibits the best snapshots of how people in the Han Dynasty lived.

The staple diet for people in the Qin and Han Dynasties included broomcorn millet, millet, wheat, rice, and beans. Thanks to the popularization of crop processing tools, such as the stone pestle and mill, ordinary people were able to eat advance-processed grains. Among the most common sources of meat were sheep, pigs, dogs, and chicken. People in the Qin and Han Dynasties also adored eating fish. As a result, the people who ran fishery businesses accumulated much wealth. Drinking liquor was also popular. Food was normally cooked with a *Yan* first and then placed into a *Fu* (square grain receptacle) or *gui* with a knife, before finally being served at the table. Liquor was generally stored in a *Lei* (ancient urn-shaped drinking vessel), decanted into a *Zun* (drinking vessel with a square or round bottom, a long neck, and a round mouth) or a pot and set aside for serving. Then they scooped the liquor up into a *Jue*, *Gong* (liquor vessel made of horn), and *Zhi* (drinking vessel) or cup for drinking. Those vessels had to be set back on the serving table when a person had finished drinking. In daily family life, in order to show respect to the elder and to express the harmonious relationship between spouses, a person had to hold high the serving trays up to eyebrows of the server when serving food as the gesture of inviting the other one to dine. This norm originated in the East Han Dynasty (*History of the Later Han Dynasty*: *Biographies of Hermits, Biography of Liang Hong – Hou Hanshu: Yi Min Liezhuan, Liang Hong Liezhuan*).

According to the *Records of the Grand Historian: Biography of Lord Shang* (*Shiji: Shang Jun Liezhuan*), among all of the reforms implemented by Shang Yang (390–338 BC) and Duke Xiao of Qin (ruled 361–338 BC) was the one that was related to marriage that decreed that if a civilian had two sons, one of the sons must set up an independent family away from his parents. If not, the family had to pay for double amount in taxes. In other words, only the parent and one son were allowed to live under the same roof. When the son reached the marital age, only one grandson was allowed to stay with them. Hence, one family was comprised

[13]Mawangdui, literally "King of Ma's Mound," is an archaeological site located in Changsha, China. The site consists of two saddle-shaped hills and contained the tombs of three people from the Western Han Dynasty (206–9BC). The tombs belonged to the first Marquis of Dai, his wife, and a male who is believed to be their son. The site was excavated from 1972 to 1974.

[14]Han Yangling Mausoleum is the joint tomb of Emperor Jin and his empress. Emperor Jin (188–141BC), named Liu Qi, was the fourth emperor of the Western Han Dynasty. For more details of his reign, see Chap. 3 of this book. Yangling Mausoleum is mainly composed of the emperor and empress' graveyards, southern and northern burial pits, ritual building, the satellite and criminals' graveyards, and Yangling town.

of two generations of married couples. A hundred years later, this regulation was even recorded as articles of law by Qin Shihuang. Qin Shihuang's ideal marital value and ethic protocols were recorded in *Kuai Ji Shi Ke*[15] when Qin Shihuang cruised from the State of Qin to Kuaiji (currently Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province) which used to be the territory of the State of Yue, in 210 BC. Widows in the State of Yue used to be permitted to remarry on her own volition as long as she had a son with the deceased husband. Qin Shihuang believed this norm should be banned. He could not tolerate the idea that women could be allowed to escape from their marriage if they were not satisfied. He believed the people in the State of Yue did not differentiate between family and nonfamily relationship, and that both men and women were always inclined to establish immoral sexual relationships. Consequently, these people should be killed, and the executioner should not be held culpable for killing this type of immoral couple. Qin Shihuang protected monogamy and considered it as a national issue related to peace. He associated monogamy with establishing a centralized authority. He made efforts to unify and standardize the marriage norms. Moving through to the Han Dynasty, although regulations relating to marriage, divorce, and remarriage were loosened, the moral principles enacted in the Qin Dynasty had already been woven into the society. To marry the widow of one's brother or father was frowned upon by society. This custom thus became extinct in the central areas of China. Through social consensus, marriage evolved in the direction of having core monogamous families. Marriages between close relatives were, however, still common among noble families.

A systemic institution for offering sacrifices to gods and ancestors became formalized during the Qin and Han Dynasties. The standard practice of worshiping the heaven in the southern suburbs and offering sacrifice to the earth in the northern suburbs was formed by the time of Emperor Cheng of Han (33–7 BC). Several modifications were made over the years. By the beginning of the Eastern Han Dynasty, the ritual of worshipping the heaven in the south and the earth in the north was finalized. In addition, both heaven and earth would be worshipped when the seasons were in transition or the emperors would pray or express appreciation to the gods for peace and prosperity. During the reign of Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han (58–75 AD), a new rule was added. Different ancestors would be enshrined in different rooms of the same house and the sacrifice ritual should follow the order of ages. Major ancestry sacrificing ceremonies included worshiping ancestors after a royal or noble funeral, seasonal sacrifice, funeral, and tomb sweeping (*sang ji mu ji*). These ceremonies set examples for all of the feudal emperors ever since. National ritual ceremonies all followed the similar rules without significant modification. Ritual ceremonies became the spiritual support for both noble and normal people during those periods.

[15] *Kuai Ji Shi Ke* was a stone tablet carved by Li Si who followed the order from Qin Shihuang when he cruised over China in 210 BC near Kuaiji (current Shaoxing of Zhejiang Province) for worshipping Yu the Great (Da Yu).

Sorcery and demonological activities deeply influenced every aspect of people's daily lives during the Qin and Han Dynasties. An excavated series of bamboo slips named *Rishu* from Hubei Province contained one book about geomantic omens. According to the *Rishu*, 151 days, which equaled to 41.3 % of the year, were recorded as the taboo days. The Chinese people's self-consciousness and freedom were limited under such a superstitious cultural atmosphere. From the time of the Han onwards, the emperors assigned specialist officials to superintend these rituals and sorcery. Witchcraft was active, both in the royal palaces and among the common folk.

Papermaking technology was invented in the Western Han Dynasty, with further innovations being made by Cai Lun[16] in the Eastern Han Dynasty. The invention of papermaking technology was a ground-breaking event in the Qin and Han cultural life. Chinese people would originally record documents and create images by carving on vessels (mainly pottery and bronze), on animal bones (mainly turtle shells and cow shoulder bones), on cloth, or on bamboo slips. The invention of paper totally transformed how Chinese people would record information in history.

From noble families to civilians, people generally expressed a positive and enterprising mindset during the Qin and Han Dynasties. Here are several examples of this: Zhang Qian, who was born in Hanzhong, was recruited by Emperor Wu of Han in 138 BC. He served as a diplomatic envoy to *Da Yue Zhi*.[17] After 10 years of unspoken hardship, he finally assisted Emperor Wu to cooperate with *Da Yue Zhi* and conquered the northwest of China. Honor and faith were highly cherished in the Qin and Han Dynasties. When the Qin Empire was falling, Tian Heng and Liu Bang were both granted to be the king. Later on, when Liu Bang came to the throne, Tian Heng was ashamed of his behavior and committed suicide together with his 800 followers in order to prove his honor and pride (*Record of the Grand Historian: Biography of Tian Dan – Shiji: Tian Dan Liezhuan*). Su Wu,[18] who was sent to serve

[16]Cai Lun was a Chinese eunuch. He is traditionally regarded as the inventor of paper and the papermaking process, in forms recognizable in modern times as paper (as opposed to Egyptian papyrus). Although paper existed in China before Cai Lun (since the second century BC), he was responsible for the first significant improvement and standardization of papermaking by adding essential new materials into its composition.

[17]*Da Yue Zhi* were a nomadic people who used to live in northwest China before second century then moved to Central Asia.

[18]Su Wu (140–60 BC) was an official in the Western Han Dynasty. He served in an important position in Court when Emperor Wu of Han was on the throne. When Su Wu visited the Xiongnu in the first year of Tian Han as an ambassador, Uwei Chanyu (114–105 BC), the supreme leader of Xiongnu, detained him. Although he suffered from brutal torture and temptation, Su Wu refused to surrender and stated his position firmly that he prefer being killed to betraying his country and his people. Irritated by Su Wu's words and behavior, Uwei Chanyu decided to send him to a deserted and isolated place to let him run his own course. Su Wu was exiled to the North Sea (Lake Baikal), where he had only the basics of survival and had to survive through his own efforts. Uwei Chanyu gave him a flock of sheep and said he would not be allowed to return to his own country until the male sheep was pregnant. Su Wu was trapped in North Sea as a shepherd for 19 years without surrendering to Uwei Chanyu. When he came back to Chang'an (the capital of Western

as an ambassador to the Xiongnu, maintained his honor despite all of the tortures he suffered at their hands (*History of the Han Dynasty: Biography of Li Guang and Su Jian – Hanshu: Li Guang Su Jian Zhuan*). Yang Zhen[19] refused to accept bribery in order to maintain his faith. Yang Zhen, though the bribery happened in the middle of the night, believed that bribery would always be seen by the heaven, the earth, the contributor, and the receiver (*History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Yang Zhen: Hou Hanshu: Yang Zhen Liezhuan*). All of the abovementioned examples reflect the positive and enterprising social atmosphere in Han Dynasty.

9.5 Social Life During the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties

The Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties were great eras for ethnic groups to merge and harmonize. The scope of merging and harmonization covered most areas of China including the Yangtze River, Yellow River, and Liao River to the north of Mongolia and Lake Baikal. Most ethnic groups in northern China, such as the Xiongnu, Xianbei, Jie, Di, Qiang, and Lu Shui Hu, established political regimes successively in their own territory. They brought their own social organizational model and cultural customs into central China. In addition, the ethnic groups who used to live in the forests of southern China, such as the Shanyue, the Manzu, the Xiren, the Liren, and the Liaoren, also tried to step out of their own territories and communicate with the Han people.

The harmonization of ethnic groups resulted in intense alternation to the organizational pattern of both northern and southern Chinese societies. Most separatist regimes in northern China had gone through a phase of "Hu and Han differentiated management" (*Hu Han Fenzhi*), which meant that the governors would manage the residing ethnic groups according to their own regulations while governing the residing Hans according to the Han system within their territories. In c. 477 to 499 AD, the Han system was gradually adopted by the northern governors to manage local affairs. By 485 to 486 AD, the governing systems of the "Equal Land

Han Dynasty), he was an old man with white hair. Emperor Wu of Han bestowed many honors upon him, and he acquired a high reputation aiming the people.

[19] Yang Zhen (59–124 AD) had the personal name Boqi. He was born from a noble family whose great grandparent was granted the title of Duke due to the contribution of establishing the Han Dynasty. Yang Zhen has a zest for education; he dedicated most of his life conducting teaching.

System" (*Jun Tian Zhi*),[20] the *San Zhang Zhi*,[21] and *Zhou Jun Zhi*[22] were gradually implemented. According to *San Zhang Zhi*, a *Lin Zhang* (leader) would be appointed for every five families, and these five families would be considered as a *Lin*. Every five *Lin*s will be combined to be a *Li*, and a *Li Zhang* (leader) would be assigned for this *Li*. Then, a *Dang Zhang* (new leader) would be chosen to take charge of every five *Li.* In 486 AD, 38 states were established in the territories of Northern Wei, and the registered residents who lived near the capital city were also reallocated and rearranged. Hence, northern China was brought into the *Zhou Jun Zhi* – three-leveled regional administrative system – since the Qin and Han again. Although the Wei, Jin, and Southern States of Han territories inherited the *Zhou Jun Zhi* and adopted similar social organizational systems as the Qin and Han, a special stratum known as *Men Fa Shi Zu* (political groups formed by powerful families from senior officials, intellectuals, and armed wealthy landowners) emerged due to the expanded influence and power of these noble and regional tyrannical families. After Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei (471–99 AD) implemented his sinicized reforms and revolutions, the *Shi Zu* and their power expanded in northern China as well. The *Shi Zu* possessed abundant land, built their own luxurious mansions, and enjoyed political and economic priorities. Although individual peasants would possess a rather small piece of land, they normally became dependent slaves (*nu bi*) or tenant farmers (*dian ke*) in the end.

The agricultural economy developed significantly in southern China during the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties. Six famous rice-producing areas were formed during this period. They were Jiangnan, an area which included Sanwu, Wannan, and Jinling (currently Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui Provinces) which were the most important rice resource areas for the Southern Dynasty; the Jingxiang-Nanchuan area (currently Hubei, Hunan, and Sichuan Provinces); the Hanzhong-Bashu area (currently the south of Shaanxi Province and Sichuan Province); the Nanyang basin (currently in Henan Province); the Huainan area (currently in the northern part of Anhui Province); and the Jiaoguang and Minguang area (currently Guangdong and Fujian Provinces). These rice-producing areas fundamentally changed the agricultural underdeveloped status of southern China. The density of cities in southern China also exceeded the Qin and Han Dynasties. Cities were mainly located near Yangzhou in Jiangsu Province, Jingzhou in Hubei Province, Yizhou in Sichuan Province, and Guangzhou in Guangdong Province.

[20]This was a historical system of land ownership and distribution in China used from the Six Dynasties to the mid-Tang Dynasty. By the time of the Han Dynasty, the well-field system of land distribution had fallen out of use in China, though reformers like Emperor Wang Mang tried to restore it. The equal-field system was introduced into practice around 485 AD by Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei Dynasty, a non-Han kingdom in North China, during the Northern and Southern Dynasty Period. The system was eventually adopted by other kingdoms and its use continued through the Sui and Tang Dynasties.

[21]*San Zhang zhi*.

[22]*Zhou Jun Zhi* was a regional administrative system that was implemented by the end of East Han Dynasty. *Zhou* (state), *Jun* (province), and *Xian* (county) were three-leveled governing units.

Rice and wheat were staple foods in the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties. Various types of wheat flour delicacies were invented. More than nine types of new flour delicacies were mentioned by the *Bing fu* poems of Shu Xi[23] (263–302 AD). Some of the delicacies were invented by common families during daily life. Some were brought to Central China by the ethnic groups. Nine dominant flavors, including sour (*suan*), sweet (*tian*), bitter (*ku*), spicy (*la*), salty (*xian*), fresh (*xian*), fragrant (*xiang*), volcanically hot (*ma*), and light (*dan*), were introduced to Chinese cuisine. People had mastered the skill of how to produce vinegar with proper yeast by the Han Dynasty. The skills of making vinegar yeast with grains were also well developed in Northern Wei Dynasty. Multiple methods of making vinegar yeasts were recorded in the *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People* (*Qi Min Yao Shu*), and mature vinegar was invented during this period. There was only meat sauce during the Qin Dynasty, but then people in the Han Dynasty learned how to make sauces with beans as well. There was a specialized chapter in *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People* which introduced thirteen ways to make sauces with different flavors. Many numbers of new dishes were introduced by the ethnic groups to Central China. Cheeses, which were a favorite food of the Hui (Muslim) ethnic minority, became a popular supplementary food among the Han people in northern China. Han people also learned how to prepare meat by the methods of *Qiang zhu* and *Mo zhi* from the minorities. According to the *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People*, *Qiang zhu* was a popular dish among the Qiang ethnic group. The Qiang people would cut the pre-boiled deer meat into small pieces and then dip them into tasty mixed sauces. In addition, *Mo zhi* was how the Mo ethnic minority people would roast piglets. When the Mo people roasted a piglet, they would slowly rotate the roasting stick, applying oil and cooking sauces onto the animal layer by layer till the color turned amber. The roasted pig was said to look appetizing, as well as melt instantly in one's mouth.

Tea drinking was a prevalent custom in both Eastern and Western Jin dynasties. A host should serve the guests tea as proper etiquette. Wang Meng (325–75 AD)[24] did not only favor drinking tea personally, he also loved to serve his guest with tea. And some of his guests would even complain about how often he invited his guests to take the tea while visiting him. Tea was also used to indicate a person's character. Lu Na was a senior official of the Eastern Jin Dynasty (317–420 AD), who once invited a famous intellectual, Xie An (320–85 AD), to visit him and offered tea to Xie An during his visit. Lu Na's nephew thought it was too thrifty and simple for such an important guest to just drink tea during the meeting, so he brought meat and Chinese spirits to the meeting room out of his own volition. After Xie An left, Lu Na condemned his nephew for bringing in those items, saying that his honor had been ruined by such a gesture.

[23] Shu Xi was the pen name of Guang Wei, a famous writer in Western Jin Dynasty.

[24] Wang Meng was prime minister to the former Qin Emperor Fu Jian.

Chinese alcohol, made from rice, was another popular drink in those days. According to the *Book of Jin: Biography of Liu Ling* (*Jinshu: Liu Ling Zhuan*), Liu Ling (221–300 AD) was a famous alcoholic figure in history. He could not refrain from drinking even when he was riding a deer carriage. He required the servants who followed after him to carry hoes and instructed them to be prepared to bury him if he expired on the way as a result of his excessive drinking. His family tried to persuade him to abstain. In one instance, he promised them he would, then pray to god and said: "Liu Ling was born to drink; I could drink more than a bottle of liquor each time, and wouldn't even feel a hangover after five bottles. I will not listen to those uneducated women and immature children." Several dozen methods of brewing Chinese spirits were recorded by the *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People.* One of these was for the Chinese spirit named *Ji Mi* (*ji mi jiu*), which tasted delicious but had an extremely high alcohol content and would often give people fatal alcohol poisoning. According to *Principal Techniques for the Welfare of the People*, if *Ji Mi* was to be served, the host must ask how much the guest was able to handle before serving and then offer accordingly. If one did not follow this custom, people might die because they could not stop drinking this wonderful-tasting liquor.

People paid great attention to the aesthetic aspects of their garments in the Wei Jin and Northern Southern Periods. Typical dress would be comprised of upper garments, bottom garments, hats or coronal accessories, socks, and shoes. The fashion of dress changed quickly. According to the *Censoring Muddleheadedness* section of the *Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity* (*Baopuzi: Waipian, Ji Huo*), the fashion of garments could change every month or even every day. "Sometimes long and loose cut was considered fashionable, while other times it could be short and slim cut. The decorative patterns could be wide or thin. There were no standardized rules." Fashions could cross the limitations of social strata. The ethnic minority of Hu's style was very popular. The popularity of Hu clothes was almost equal to Han clothes near the Yellow River area in Sixteen States and the Northern Dynasty. The trend of assimilation to the Hu group did not change until Emperor Xiaowen's reforms.

Hierarchical marriages were the distinguishing feature of matrimonial norms in the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties. The aristocratic families which were politically influential for generations enjoyed priorities in marital choices. They took ancestry, pedigree, and family status as major measurements for evaluating a person's social status and identifying their value. They tried to maintain the purification of the pedigree when it came to establishing marital relationships. Hence, there were two significant characteristics regarding marriages among these politically influential families. The first characteristic was that they paid attention to family status when choosing a family-in-law. Based on political positions, social fame, and family influence, a rather stable social circle was formed among the southern influential families. Marriages among the Wangs in Langya (in Shandong Province) and the Xies and Yuans in Chenjun (near present-day Henan Province) were most common. Although other families, such as the Chus in Henan, the Huans in Qiaoguo (in Anhui Province), and the Yus in Yingchuan (in Henan Province), would marry to the previous three families, the political and family influence of

the latter mentioned families were inferior. Hence, established marital relationships with the first three families were not as frequent as among the last three families. Most families which could marry to the powerful northern Cuis and the Lus also enjoyed a certain degree of renown and became famous for generations in their own provinces.[25] It is therefore that the politically influential families in both northern and southern China drew a clear status division for marriages. The second characteristic of these marriages was their obvious geographical features. The Gus, the Lus, and the Zhangs in Wujun (now Suzhou in Jiangsu Province) would marry the Kongs in Kuaiji (present-day Shaoxing in Zhejiang Province) and the Shens in Wuxing (present-day Huzhou in Zhejiang Province). However, the marriages among the three families in Wujun were more common than the ones with the Kongs and the Shens. The hierarchical marriage also led to early marriages. The prefectural chief of Yulin (now Yulin of Guangxi Province), named Lu Ji, had a daughter who was married to a man named Zhang Zi from the same county at the age of 13. In the Eastern Jin Period, Xun Xian was married to the imperial princess at the age of 15. Emperor Wu of the Liang (502–49 AD) married to one of his concubines surnamed Ding when he was merely 14. Zhou Hongzheng of the Chen Dynasty[26] was married to the daughter of Pei Ziye when he just turned 10 years old. Marrying at an early age naturally led to child-bearing from early on. Hence, the age difference among siblings was even greater than the ones among uncles/aunts and nephew/nieces. As a result, frequent marriage among close relatives from a different generation was another feature of the marriages among these influential families. Eventually, this phenomenon caused all descendants from these families to be weak and unhealthy. They could barely walk and endure the cold or heat by the end of the Six Dynasties (*The Family Instructions of Master Yan: Gain Practical Experience – Yan Shi Jia Cun: She Wu*).[27]

The hierarchical matrimonial customs were similar in both the north and south of China, but there was also a slight difference. The influential southern families were less strict about sequencing the proper orders among wives than the northern ones. The southern families also had fewer domestic family issues. Women held different positions in the south and north as well. Since the northern Han families communicated more with the ethnic groups and were influenced by their customs, women had more chances to contact the world outside of the family and held

[25]Liu Chi, *The Marital Relations between the Cui and Lu Families: An Observation drawn from the Changing Social Hierarchy of the Han Shizu from the Northern Dynasty*, *A Study of Chinese History* (1987), Vol. 2.

[26]The Chen Dynasty (557–89 AD), also known as the Southern Chen Dynasty, was the fourth and last of the Southern Dynasties in China, eventually destroyed by the Sui Dynasty.

[27]This was a book of etiquette and advice written by Yan Zhitui (531–91 AD). Written in old age, it aimed to advise his son about which household matters should be attended to diligently as well as advocated pursuits like calligraphy, which he felt to have a civilizing influence. Among Yan's work is the first known recorded reference to toilet paper, though he was anxious to point out that those who adopted this practice should avoid paper which featured any writings from the classics or sages.

comparatively higher positions. The family organizational form and domestic relationships were also different in the north and the south. In the south, children normally lived independently from their parents and would dine differently even if they lived under the same roof. A story about this type of difference was recorded in *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era* (*Taiping Guangji*). When Lu Sidao (531–82 AD or 535–86 AD)[28] was sent to the Chen Dynasty by the Northern Qi State as an envoy, the dignitaries hosted a banquet for him. During dinner, they teased each other on the southern and northern differences with poems. The Chen Dynasty officials satirized the northern people as donkeys who took elm leaves and grass as food at first. Then Lu Sidao criticized the southern people in that they would eat separately even if they cooked in the same pot (Volume 247 of the *Extensive Records of the Taiping Era*).

People paid great attention to expressing emotions of grief and mourning to the deceased, but not during the funeral rituals as in the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Periods. Wang Rong (234–305 AD)[29] did not restrict himself from drinking Chinese spirits and taking meat when his mother passed away, but these relaxed ritual behaviors did not stop him from mourning his mother and pining away. When famous calligrapher Wang Xianzhi (344–86 AD) passed away, his elder brother Wang Huizhi came to mourn him without weeping even a single tear. Instead, he knew Wang Xianzhi adored playing the zither, so he took Wang Xianzhi's zither from the shelf and started to play in front of the bier. However, he simply could not produce harmonious melodies no matter how hard he tried. So he broke the zither and exclaimed that both his younger brother and the zither had left him. Then he wept loudly with sorrow for a long time (*A New Account of the Tales of the World: Lamentations – Shishuo Xinyu: Shangshi*).

In addition, people took the art of geomancy (*xiang mu shu*), or divination by geographic features, seriously. Guo Pu, Zhang Zigong, and Gao Lingwen were all well-known masters of geomancy at that time. In addition to inheriting the traditional theories of interactions between heaven and mankind, the *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements, the art of geomancy also paid attention to the topographical features of mountains and the locations, alignments, and orientations of the tombs. The topographical features of mountains were the most important elements. It covered aspects such as the run of the mountain ridge, rivers, and woods, since these aspects would show the "appearance" (*xing*), "trend" (*shi*), and "spirit" (*qi*) of the mountain.

People had strong religious beliefs in the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Periods. Both Buddhism and Taoism had numerous votaries. With the exception of a few emperors, the norm of worshipping the heaven and earth that was standardized

[28]Lu Sidao was a famous poet in the end of Northern Period and early of Sui Dynasty.

[29]Wang Rong, style name Junchong, was a politician of the Jin Dynasty Period of Chinese history. Wang Rong served under Jin as the Third East General. Wang Rong participated during the final conquest of Eastern Wu, where he led his army as far as to that of Wuchang (present-day Ezhou). Following this, Wang Rong's army merged with Wang Jun's and they advanced towards the Wu capital Jianye. Later, Wang Rong became very well known throughout the Jin Dynasty for being one of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.

during the Qin and Han was not valued in the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Periods anymore. On the contrary, faith in Buddhism and Taoism steadily increased. Taoism constructed its own unique list of gods. Taoist gods did not exceed the traditional concept of the universe: that heaven and earth; the sun, moon, and stars; and the natural elements of wind, rain, thunder, storms, mountains, oceans, and rivers all constituted the major gods. In Taoism, the appearances of these gods were more fascinating and attractive, yet they were not as onerous as the idols in the national ceremonies. In addition, Taoism believed in immortals (*Xianren*) which lived as human beings (*genren*) and attained their *Tao* after practicing the Taoist doctrines. Most of the immortals, such as Chisongzi,[30] Peng Zu,[31] and Wang Qiao,[32] came from legendary tales. During the Southern and Northern Periods, plenty of Taoist temples were built in famous mountains for worshipping Taoist gods and immortals. Kou Qianzhi (365–448 AD)[33] and Lu Xiujing[34] modified some of the ritual ceremonies for Taoist immortals. The Buddha statues in Buddhism included Buddha, Bodhisattva, Dharmapala, and Buddha's Saint. The ancestry of gods in Buddhism was neither similar to the Confucian immortals nor the Taoist gods. The major celebrating events for Buddhism were Sakyamuni's birthday, the date when Sakyamuni became Buddha, and Nirvana festival along with other daily religious services. Buddhist believers would offer fresh-cut flowers in the previous mentioned ceremonies. Buddhism was against the killing of livestock.

Under the influence of Buddhism and Taoism, nongovernmental sacrifices became diversified and various. Superstitious beliefs in monsters were an important part of people's daily lives. Mountains, woods, stones, beasts, and birds could all be humanized (*cheng jing zuo guai*). Among all of the humanized monsters, people particularly believed in humanized turtles, otters, fish, mountains, foxes, and mice. These monsters could shift into the appearance of a young beautiful girl, an adolescent handsome boy, or an elderly scholar depending on the situation. The varied imagination was the artistic reflection of people's perception of nature under the influence of their religions.

[30]Chisongzi, a legendary figure in ancient China, a god who is in charge of rain.

[31]Peng Zu, is a legendary long-lived figure in China. He supposedly lived over 800 years in the Yin Dynasty (1900–1066 BC). Some legends say that one year was 60 days in ancient China; that made him more than 130 years old. Others say he was over 200 years old or slightly over 500 years old. Another say he was accidentally left off of the death list in heaven. Peng Zu was regarded as a saint in Taoism. The pursuit of eternity drugs by supporters of Taoism was highly influenced by Peng Zu. He is well known in Chinese culture as a symbol for long life, nutrition treatments, and sex therapy treatments. Legend maintains that he married more than 100 wives and fathered hundreds of children in his 800 s.

[32]Wang Qiao, a Taoist legendary figure who gave up his official titles for practicing Taoism. He eventually obtained his *Tao* and rode on a crane to the heaven.

[33]Kou Qianzhi, a famous Taoist representative and master who practiced the Taoist doctrines in Song Mountain in Northern Periods. He initiated reforms in Taoism in northern China.

[34]Lu Xiujing, a master of Taoism in Southern China.

9.6 Characteristics of Social Life in the Sui and Tang Dynasties

The prosperous cities in the Sui (581–618 AD) and Tang (618–907 AD) Dynasties included Chang'an, Luoyang, Taiyuan, Dingzhou, Huazhou, Lanzhou along the Yellow River, Chengdu, Jiangling, Jingzhou, Tanzhou, Yuezhou, Yangzhou along the Yangtze River, Dengzhou, Hangzhou, Quanzhou, Guangzhou, Jiaozhou by the coastal area, Liangzhou in the northwestern region, and Guilin in the southwestern area. Chang'an was the political, economic, and cultural center as well as a well-developed commercial metropolis during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. There were 14 avenues and 11 roads that divided the whole city into 108 sections within Chang'an City. The East Market and the West Market occupied two independent sections within the city which covered an area of 1,000 m^2, respectively. Two south–north roads and two east–west avenues crossed each other and formed a square, hatch-shaped area (#), which was established as the market. Mansions were built outside this square, while shops of all industries were located inside of the square. Shops that exchanged similar goods normally clustered at neighboring areas. Approximately 220 types of business were conducted in the East Market. On the other hand, businessmen who traveled to China from Central Asia would meet and run their business at the West Market. Hence, the West Market was an international commercial center which was as equally developed as the East Market.

Ordinary citizens would reside by families. Most peasant households would consist of three generations. The average population of each household was 5–6 people. The family members who shared the same surname were an important part of each Chinese person's life. Though people would farm and produce independently, there was a generally acknowledged senior family leader, who was responsible for mediating clan affairs and family disputes. Bai Juyi once described in one of his poems that "[o]nly two surnames existed in one village; they would marry to each other generation after generation. No matter whether close or distant among themselves, they always lived nearby their own family members. No matter if they were young or old, when people gathered, they always looked for their own family groups." (Quoted from Bai Juyi, "Zhu Chen Village" – *Zhu Chen Cun*) This poem was the best illustration of the abovementioned family situations.

The matrimonial pattern and customs were similar to previous dynasties. Influenced by the hierarchical marriage norm of the *Shi Zu*, the upper social class also took family status as the highest concern when establishing a marital relationship. The *Shi Zu* families always married their offspring to each other. If someone was not from a *Shi Zu* but would like to marry into one, they had to pay a huge fortune in order to establish the relationship. People in the Tang Dynasty did not emphasize chastity. Generally speaking, the society would not criticize women for getting remarried after divorcing. Historically, there were 23 imperial princesses who had a second marriage and four of them even married four times. The restrictions were even more relaxed among civilians.[35]

[35]Gao Shiyu, *Tang Dynasty Women* (Sanqin Press, 1988), p. 54.

People mainly ate rice in the south and millet or wheat in the north during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. The northern nomadic groups would take mutton, beef, and horse meat as their primary source of food. Dozens of types of vegetables were widely cultivated and used as food. Foreign vegetables, such as spinach and beets, were introduced into Chinese recipes. Some fruits and nuts that were initially nurtured in China, such as the date, chestnut, peach, cherry, plum, apricot, pear, orange, litchi, and banana, were widely cultivated and consumed nationwide. Other fruits and nuts, such as the walnut, pomegranate, and grape, which were imported during the Han Dynasty, were further popularized. In addition, the watermelon was introduced to Central China through northwestern areas by the time of the Five Dynasties. Chinese spirits were still the most important drinks in the Tang Dynasties. Other than traditional Chinese spirits brewing methods, people also learned how to make wine. The Tang military conquered Gaochang (currently located in Xinjiang Province) in 640 AD. Various types of grape and wine-making methods were brought back to Central China from Gaochang. Wine has become more popular ever since. Tea was only popular in southern China before the Sui and Tang Dynasty. Drinking tea as a social custom gradually spread into northern China since the middle of the Tang Dynasty. This trend even spread to the nomadic areas. Hence, the study of different types of tea commenced along with this social trend. Lu Yu (733–804 AD), who was known as the sage of tea, composed a specialized book titled the *Classic of Tea* (*Cha Jing*). It was the first book published in China that concentrated on the study of the origin, character, quality, producing areas, cultivation, collection and processing, brewing, and containing vessels of tea and the proper drinking methods for tea.

Clothes were distinguished between official wear (*guan fu*) and civilian wear (*min fu*), men's apparel (*nan yi*) and women's apparel (*nü zhuang*). There were strict rules about official wear. Fourteen different types of apparel were designed for the emperors, six types for the princes, three types for the empresses, and another three types for the concubines of the princes. The officials were divided into nine ranks in the Tang Dynasty, the ninth rank being the lowest rank. Strict rules and different designs for official garments were assigned to each rank; for instance, the color of the emperor's clothes would be red and yellow, purple was for officials above the third rank, dark red was for officials above the fourth rank, light red was for officials above the fifth rank, dark green was for officials above the sixth rank, light green was for officials above the seventh rank, dark blue was for officials above the eighth rank, and light blue was for officials above the ninth rank. Civilians normally wore white clothes. No matter whether rich or poor, women in the Tang Dynasty normally dressed with three parts of clothes individually named as *Shan*, *Qun*, and *Pei*. *Shan* was the upper long blouse which would be tucked into the bottom long skirts. *Qun* was the bottom skirt which was normally loose, wide, and extended almost to the ankles. *Pei* was an embroidered silk cape that was normally worn over the women's shoulders. The hem of the cape normally reached the women's waists. In addition, since the social customs were influenced by the ethnic minority groups, it was considered fashionable to bear part of their body above their chests. As a result, most noble women would wear delicately designed colorful dresses with a low-cut neckline.

The most significant change in the furniture was the utilization of the chair. Chairs were brought to Central China via northwestern areas since the Han Dynasty. The original chair was called *shengchuang* (literally translated as "roping bed") because there were cushions made of ropes attached to the bottom and back of the chairs. In addition, the legs of the chairs were really low. In time, the roping cushions were abandoned, the legs were extended, and chairs became a daily necessity. The utilization of chairs fundamentally changed people's sitting habits from crossing their legs and sitting on a mat on the floor into sitting in an upright position. Abundant porcelain utensils were widely used in daily lives. The famous tricolor (*Tang sancai* – the colors were green, yellow, and brown) glazed Tang wares were also used as vessels for cooking and dining. The amount of silverware and gold ware also increased during these periods. It was common to see silverware and gold ware among wealthy families.

Ordinary people in the Sui and Tang Dynasties not only respected Buddhist and Taoist gods and ancestors, but they also worshipped natural spirits. The contents and patterns of religious events were rich and colorful, and several new features were demonstrated. Each family placed their ancestor offerings and worship at the center of their religious beliefs. Transcribing sutra, engraving sutra, carving Buddhist statues, building Buddhist temples, cutting grottoes, and providing alms to the monks and nuns, together with organizing and attending Dharma assemblies, were the commonest Buddhist activities. The abovementioned activities were either conducted by individual families or collectively. Taoism, which pursued self-cultivation, self-criticism, Chinese alchemy, elixirs, and traditional Chinese medicines (*xiu shen yang xing, cai er fu dan, xiu lian chang sheng bu lao zhi shu*), was popular among the middle and upper ranks of the social stratum. The believers in Nestorianism, Manichaeism, and Zoroastrianism were mainly merchants from minorities and others from ethnic groups; not so many Han people believed in those religions. Demonology and sorcery were still popular among ordinary people, and the skills of divination (*zhan bu*) and calamity avoidance (*rang zai*) were especially admired.

9.7 An Analysis of Aspects of Social Life in the Song and Yuan Dynasties

The number of cities with more than 100,000 residents exceeded 46 by the middle of the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD). Among these 46 cities, the population of Kaifeng was approximately one million, and more than 1.2 million citizens lived in Lin'an (currently Hangzhou), the capital city of the Southern Song Dynasty under the reign of Emperor Ningzong (1168–1224 AD). The boundaries between residential sections and markets were abandoned. Shops were allowed to be open anywhere in the city, and they were also no longer clustered. Shops, hotels, restaurants and food stores, and even night markets were located scattered within Kaifeng City. There were multiple entertaining places called Wasi in the city as well. Dance performing floors and wine and tea houses were set up within the Wasi.

The well-preserved painting known as *Along the River during the Qingming Festival* (*Qingming Shanghe Tu*) by Zhang Zeduan (1085–1145 AD) is the best evocation of people's daily lives in Kaifeng. As the Song Dynasty was succeeded by the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD), most historic cities remained prosperous. New groups of cities became active and famous due to the reuse of the Grand Canal (*Jing Hang Da Yunhe*) and the opening of oceanic transportation. The temporary markets, which emerged during the Tang Dynasty and were only located close to major cities, became more popular and appeared near all cities and even some villages by the Song Dynasty. These types of temporary markets became necessary goods exchange markets in people's daily lives. Some of these markets stayed permanent and grew into counties, some even cities later on.

The residents who lived in the capital, provincial cities, or counties were titled as *Fang Guo Hu*. The *Fang Guo Hu* were further distinguished between primary households (*zhu hu*) and subordinate households (*ke hu*). The primary households possessed their own real estate and manufacturing materials as the subordinate households could only rent the houses and manufacturing materials from the primary households. The social status of merchants and handicraftsman was enhanced significantly. Their children were allowed to attend state-run schools and participate in the Imperial Examinations.

Land commercialization became inevitable during the inception of the Song Dynasty. The central government could not distribute land according to the equal land system anymore because it did not possess massive land any longer. The central government did not fiercely intervene with the land trade either. The people who resided in rural areas were generally called *Xiang Cun Hu*, which were also distinguished between the primary households and the subordinate households. Similar to the households in the cities, the primary households in the rural areas indicated those people who owned lands and paid land taxes to the central government. The subordinate households were those families who did not possess any land or any necessary farming tools. They were tenants who rented farming lands from the primary households. However, the relationships between primary and subordinate households were no longer personal subordinate relations; rather they were economic relations with rental contracts. This kind of relationship did not change much among the Han people during the Yuan Dynasty.

The *Men Fa Shi Zu* (political groups formed by powerful families from senior officials, intellectuals, and armed wealthy landowners) gradually faded out of the picture in history, and the society enjoyed significant commercial economic development during the Song Dynasty. Hence, there were two important changes to the matrimonial customs in this period. The first feature was that people paid less attention to the family backgrounds when establishing matrimonial relationships. Instead, it was more important to marry someone who had passed the Imperial Examinations. The second feature was that material fortune weighed more than political or family ties. It was commonplace for wealthy merchants to be married to the daughters of politically influential families in the Song Dynasty. Because the Yuan governed a multicultural society, the marital norms varied depending on the ethnic groups and different families.

Generally speaking, there were two major types of garments, the ones for officials and the ones for ordinary people in the Song Dynasty. Official garments were differentiated between the court clothes and daily wear. Court garments were for attending morning Court assemblies, religious events, and other important occasions. The court garments were normally in red color and attached with accessories made of different color and materials. Accordingly, official hats were different as well. The daily wear for officials of all rank had the same design but with different color. The officials above the third rank would wear clothes in purple, red was for officials above the sixth rank, blue was for the officials above the seventh rank, and blue was for the officials above the ninth rank (According to the *History of the Song Dynasty: Official Garments,* 4 – *Songshu: Yufu Zhi Si*).[36] The daily official wear had a round collar with long and loose sleeves. There was a horizontal division line on the front part of the bottom gown. The accessories included the leather belt and kerchief. Officials normally wore shoes made of leather, silk, or flax. According to the regulations, the senior officials who were allowed to wear purple or dark red official garments must attach a silver or gold fish-shaped bag at the same time. Ordinary people were only allowed to wear white clothes. Later on, administrative clerks, intellectuals who passed the Imperial Examinations, and ordinary people could also wear clothes in black. However, the civilians' garments were much more colorful in reality. Women normally dressed in blouses and skirts in the Song Dynasty. Blouses were normally made of light and thin materials. And imperial concubines favored yellow and red colors. Government officials and their family members normally used light green, pinkish purple, silvery gray, and very light blue on their clothes. The pomegranate color and shaped dress was the most popular style at that time. Foot binding also became popular among the noble women by the end of the Song Dynasty.

The dining culture matured remarkably in the Song Dynasty. After unification of the Northern Song Dynasty, the capital city – Bianjing – became the center of exchanging dining skills and recipes between the north and the south. Masses of northern people migrated to the south of China during the Southern Song Dynasty. The catering business also traveled to Hangzhou and other major southern cities along with these migrants. As recorded in the culinary books like *The Eastern Capital: a Dream of Splendor* (*Dongjing Menghua Lu*),[37] *Dreaming Over a Bowl of Millet* (*Mengliang Lu*), and *Old Martial Arts* (*Wulin Jiushi*),[38] the names of Chinese cuisine were too numerous to enumerate. Various menus and an abundance of Chinese spirits were supplied in the high-end large restaurants, such as Renhe

[36]Following the reforms of the Yuan-Feng, the color purple was worn by officers of the fourth rank and above, dark red by officials of the sixth rank and above, and green by officers of the ninth rank and above. The color blue was abandoned entirely.

[37]A memoir written by the exiled Kaifeng native Meng Yuanlao (c. 1090–1150 AD), remembering features of the life of the affluent in his home city.

[38]A similarly nostalgic work of c. 1290 dealing with Lin'an (now Hangzhou), the old Southern Song capital.

Restaurant and Huixian Restaurant in Bianjing and Wulin Garden and Xichun Mansion in Hangzhou. Decorated corridors and individual compartments were designed inside of these restaurants. Guests could dine either in the public hall or in a private room like many formal restaurants in China today. Dancers and singers were employed for entertaining performances. People in the Song Dynasty adored both tea and Chinese spirits. Numerous famous Chinese spirit brands were recorded in the Song Dynasty. More than 100 brands of Chinese spirits in the Northern Song Dynasty were recorded in the book *List of Famous Wines* (*Jiu Ming Ji*) by Zhang Nengchen, as well as another 50 could be found in the *Old Martial Arts*. Generally speaking, four types of liquor were popular, which were millet wine (*huang jiu*), fruit wine (*guo jiu*), medicinal liquor (*yao jiu*), and Chinese spirits (*bai jiu*). The emperors would host banquets to win reliable agents among the officials. The poets would drink liquor for the purpose of finding inspiration for their compositions. Even wedding ceremonies and birthday celebrations could not be joyous without liquor. As for drinking tea, there were also strict rituals in the Song Dynasty. The host had to serve the guests with famous brands of tea which became known as "tea appreciation" (*pin ming*). The students who studied at the highest educational court always held tea parties in order to appreciate tea and exchange ideas on national, economic, cultural, and all sorts of events. This kind of tea party evolved into a sodality in the end. On account of the fashionable status of tea and liquor appreciation, people hired professional chiefs to be in charge of tea and liquor with their special utensils to serve the guests at weddings and funeral ceremonies. Other than that, there were vendors who sold cold beverages in the cities during the Song Dynasties, such as sweet bean soup, pear juice, papaya juice, and lychee juice.

Buddhism and Taoism were still the dominant religions in the Song Dynasty. Most religious ceremonial events in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism were accepted by people as personal life interests. But with the social evolution, new contents were also added to the spiritual aspects of ordinary people. Guan Yu, who was only respected in Hubei and Hunan Provinces before the Middle Tang Dynasty, became a nationally recognized fictional hero during the Song Dynasty. The City God (*cheng huang*) was considered as the tutelary of the whole city, and it enjoyed equal respect with the God of Earth (*she shen*). The oceanic goddess Matsu (*hai shen ma zu*) was worshipped along the northeastern coastal regions such as Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces. Demonology and sorcery were still popular. The skills of choosing a location for a new mansion or a new tomb by divination (*Feng shui*) were highly valued in the Song society.

The people in the Song Dynasty longed for luxury goods and pursued a life of pleasure; even junior officials lived an extravagant life. However, groups of intellectuals advocated carrying on the duties of traditional Confucian doctrines. They actively participated in the activities of reconstructing reality, shifting the political directions, and they strictly followed the codes of ethics and expressed high social responsibilities and independent personalities. Fan Zhongyan (989–1052 AD) and Ouyang Xiu (1007–1072 AD) advocated that intellectuals draw attention to reputation and integrity, as well as displaying vigor. Their ideas of "Bear the hardship and bitterness before others, enjoy comfort and happiness after

others" (*Xian tianxia zhi you er you, hou tianxia zhi le er le*) had a strong influence in Song society. The intellectuals in the Southern Song Dynasty tried to establish a code of ethics through individual moral consciousness by following the idea of "[b]enevolence shall come if one is willing to pursue it" (*Wo yu ren, sir en zhi yi*) from the *Analects* (*Lunyu*). These intellectuals were willing to take responsibility when the nation summoned them at the last minute, including sacrificing their own lives in loyalty to the nation and sacrificing their own family in order to save the nation. According to the *List of Loyal Individuals of the Song Dynasty* (*Song ji zhong yi lu*), more than 500 heroes died in the battle against the Yuan Mongolians in the end of the Song Dynasty. The Mongolians and Semu (general name for the ethnic groups other than Mongolians and Han People) enjoyed priorities in the society of the Yuan Dynasty. They also fixated upon material pleasure and enjoyed instant gratification and happiness. The intellectuals who could not achieve success in political field also followed this trend and only tried to seize temporary happiness. The ideas of Laozi and Zhuangzi were highly appreciated at that moment. The essence of those ideas was a free and easy lifestyle and a spirit of not seeking fame and wealth but rather paying attention to leisure and comfort. This cultural mentality exerted a remarkable influence over the later generations.

9.8 Social Practice in the Ming and Qing Dynasties

By the middle of the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), cities experienced an unprecedented boom in population and development. In the Ming Dynasty, some historic cities from the Song and Yuan Dynasties regained their previous glory and prosperity. The villages and temporary markets rapidly expanded to house hundreds, thousands, and even tens of thousands of residents. A vast network of cities was formed. Among all of the newly built cities, there were not only plenty of commercial cities that functioned mainly as trade centers, but more importantly, towns that specialized in handcraft industries also emerged. For example, Shengze, Puyuan, Jiangjing, Shuanglin, Linghu, Wuzhen, and Nanxun were developed along with the advancement of the silk industry. Fengjing, Zhujing, and Zhujiayong were directly associated with the development of the cotton textile industry. The Shimenzhen in Chongde County, Zhejiang Province, became a famous town with thousands of households thanks to the development of the oil extraction industry. In addition, Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province was well known for its ceramic industry, and Foshanzhen in Guangzhou Province was famous for its ironware manufacturing industry.

There were more than 1,400 county-level cities in eastern, northern, and Central China in the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). The number of county-level cities totaled around 100 in northeastern, northwestern, and Mongolian border areas. The larger cities of Beijing, Suzhou, Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Hankou (now part of Wuhan), and Jiangning (now Nanjing) all had more than 100,000 inhabitants and contained thousands of shops. A pattern was finalized which was that upper-level

cities would govern thousands of medium and smaller cities (*shang ceng cheng shi tong shuai zhong xiao cheng shi*), and medium cities would command thousands of counties and towns (*zhong xiao cheng shi tong shuai zhong xiao cheng shi*). In those economically well-developed areas, several cities normally formed a market circle. For instance, Jiading County, Jiangsu Province, and its governing towns and cities branched out towards the south and west directions, covering a fan-shaped area which contained five layers of markets 3 km apart. The furthest market was 20 km away from the center of Jiading County.

Most cities were divided into four sections by the central cross streets in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Subdivisions (*Fang*) were set as the guiding principle unit within the city. Streets and alleys were set under the *Fang*. Residential houses and shops formed each alley and street. The areas adjacent to the four cardinal directions of the city wall were called *Siguan Xiang*. Merchants and their trade were the most active parts of urban life. One of the significant features of merchants was that they were bonded by hometown fellowships and formed numerous collectivist unions. These merchant collectivist unions would conduct their business nationwide. There were numerous merchant unions (*shang bang*) in the Qing Dynasty. The ten most influential unions were merchants of Shandong, merchants of Shanxi, merchants of Shaanxi, merchants of Dongting, merchants of Jiangyou, merchants of Ningbo, merchants of Longyou, merchants of Fujian, merchants of Guangdong, and merchants of Huizhou. Among the abovementioned ten unions, the merchants of Shanxi and the merchants of Huizhou were the most powerful. The merchant unions built mansions in most of the major cities. Regional union mansions (for merchants based in the same district) and guild mansions (for merchants who were engaged in trading the same type of commodity) were among them. Taking the Shanxi and Shaanxi merchant mansion as an example, the merchants in a single mansion were divided into different groups based either on their regions of origins (such as Taiyuan group, Fenzhou group, Jingwei group) or on their business (such as the Western medicine group, clothing groups, pawnshops groups, and leather and paper groups). Merchants believed in and conducted their business according to the moral code of honesty, trust, benevolence, and justice (*cheng xin ren yi*). Millions of fortunes were accumulated through trade and management. The merchants of Huizhou and merchants of Shanxi, who were involved in the salt trade in Yangzhou during the reign of Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty (1736–1795), accumulated a fortune that was equal to around $3.34 to 3.8 billion USD in the present day[39] and even exceeded the wealth of the central governmental reserve in that day.

The economic pattern in rural areas during the Ming and Qing Dynasties continued to be based on small-scale farming undertaken by individual peasant families. However, the small-scale peasant economy became associated with the

[39]Calculation: 1 *liang* (㘝) silver ≈ ¥300, and $1 ≈ 6.3 RMN (as of February 15, 2012), hence
70000000 × ¥300 ÷ 6.3 ≈ $3.34 billion
80000000 × ¥300 ÷ 6.3 ≈ $3.8 billion

markets more and more. Peasants were not only self-sufficient but also brought their farming products to the market for exchange. Over time the peasants depended more and more on the market. They obtained manufacturing necessities and individual consumer products through market exchange. Except for cultivating grains, the peasants started to plant commercial crops aimed at commercial exchange, such as cotton, sugar cane, tobacco, lychee and *longan* (of the Chinese soapberry family), and even commercial timber. In addition, they also started to offer farming products' processing services. Since commercialization was linked to the farming industry, the peasant economy was gradually dominated by the market. On one hand, this kind of economy would enrich the daily lives of the peasants. On the other hand, their lives became more controlled, as the polarization between the rich and poor deepened. Some of the peasants became *Shangnong* (literally the "upper peasants") if they managed well, while the other landholding peasants became tenant farmers (*dian nong*) or hired laborers (*gu gong*). The tenant farmers still had a low social status. The rental relations between landowners and these tenant farmers were normally based on contracts; the tenant farmers were required to pay the rent by offering a percentage of their crops or a fixed quota, which in a bad crop year would bring these tenant farmers under greater bondage to their landowners.

Administrative systems which were either four leveled (*Xiang* (county), *Du* (town), *Bao* (village), *Zhuang* (group)) or three leveled (*Xiang*, *Du*, and *Zhuang*) or two leveled (*Xiang* and *Zhuang*) were applied by the local government in order to legally administer the rural areas under the county level. In the Ming Dynasty, normally 110 households were considered as a *Li* (an administrative unit). Among the 110 households, the top ten populous and wealthy families were selected to be the leaders for this *Li*. Another 100 households would be divided into 10 *Jia*, and ten leaders would be assigned to each *Jia*. The *Li* and *Jia* leaders were responsible for registering the amount of land and population numbers as well as for collecting taxes. In the Qing Dynasty, other than the abovementioned administrative system, the *Bao-Jia* system was widely implemented. Every 10 households would be considered as a *Pai*. Every 10 *Pais* would be considered as a *Jia*. Every 10 *Jias* would be considered as a *Bao*. A leader would be selected at each administrative level. *Bao-Jia* became the basic public security and educational organization.

In the Ming and Qing Periods, the role of a patriarchal clan could not be underestimated in Chinese social life. Social collectivist organizations which were formed according to patriarchal clans existed in many areas. Administrative institutions were established within each patriarchal clan. The head of the clan, normally the firstborn son, was considered as the principal person in the administrative institutions. Each patriarchal clan would normally construct an ancestral temple. All of the families that belonged to one clan would assemble in the ancestral temple on Qingming Festival (*Qing ming jie*) and the Winter Solstice Day (*Dong zhi*) for clan ceremonies. The head of the clan would normally announce the pedigree of their clans, emphasize the code of ethics of their clan, and read out the ancestors' quotes at the ceremonies. Then the families would gather and dine together in a proper sequence after the ceremony in order to share the luck and fortune brought to the offspring by their ancestors. The ancestral temple was also the place for its

administrative institution to mediate clan disputes, reward excellence, and punish wrongdoings in accordance with the doctrines of the clan. The restrictions were as strict as in the governmental courts.

The design of garments in the Ming Dynasty maintained the previous styles. However, the fabrics of the costumes changed dramatically. It had previously been the tradition that costumes were made out of flax, silk, and even fur, but cotton replaced flax in the Ming Dynasty. Hence, for peasant families, the cotton industry became an indispensable subsidiary business to the basic agriculture. The costumes in the Qing Dynasty were differentiated by hierarchical ranks and enjoyed distinguished ethnological features. The costumes and traditional customs were originally different between the Manchus and the Han people, but after the Manchu military defeated the Han and entered the areas south of the Great Wall, all people were forced to wear the Manchu hairstyle with a bald forehead and braided pigtail or queue (*ti fa gai guan*) at the back. In addition, everyone else was compelled to modify their dress. As a result, the people's sumptuary customs changed totally. By the middle of Emperor Qianlong's reign, a combined attire system which included the Manchu featured costumes and hierarchical Han garments had evolved. According to the regulations, there were now a total of 48 costume designs encompassing from emperor to the civilians. Among the 48 types, 6 types belonged to the imperial families, 35 types were designed for the royal dukes and families, 5 types were tailored for nobles, one was for the officials and their families, and one was for intellectuals and ordinary people. The colors, materials, designs, patterns, and decorations were differentiated according to hierarchical ranks. Long gowns plus vests were typical men's wear in the Qing Dynasty. Typically, the long gowns had tight sleeves and a round collar, and the bottom of the front garment was round. In addition, necks were generally not covered. Vests were normally worn over the gowns, and these could be either long or short. Han women still wore clothes which followed the Ming styles, and most Han women would have bound feet. The small and narrow shoes were considered noble and elegant. These were normally embroidered with golden strings and decorated with jade or pearl beads. Shoes could have either high heels or flat soles. Manchu women normally wore a cheongsam (a form-fitting dress with a mandarin collar and slit skirt). The design of the Manchu cheongsam was a round collar and straight sleeves with loose and wide cut. There were two splits at the bottom on each side of the dress. Also the cheongsam had to be long enough to conceal one's feet. In addition, Manchu women were not required to bind their feet.

During the Ming Dynasty, as in the past, rice was the major foodstuff in southern China, while wheat was popular in northern China. High-yielding products imported from North America, such as maize and sweet potato, were introduced and rapidly promoted in China by the middle of the Ming Dynasty. Maize and sweet potatoes could be easily cultivated. They were not only drought-resistant and high yielding but also represented delicious additions to Chinese cuisine. Moreover, they could be planted in dry land which was not so fertile and in mountainous areas. Thus, the sweet potato became the major supplementary food in Guangdong, Fujian, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu Provinces by the end of the Ming Dynasty, while maize

became the major food crop of the mountainous areas along the upper and middle reaches of Yangtze River, especially near the Han River mountainous areas. Another American continental plant – the peanut – was promoted nationwide in the Qing Dynasty. The dining habits of people from the lower social spheres were no different than the ones from other dynasties. Normally, they would have two meals a day in winter, three meals a day in summer, more solid food when farming, and less solid food when resting. Compared with ordinary people, the nobles and wealthy landholders had a much richer and more abundant diet. Except for the major meals, they would also have numbers of snacks and desserts to choose from. Numerous kinds of snacks and desserts were invented. Since hosting banquets was a major method for establishing relationships, officials, merchants, and middle class families all paid attention to hosting family feasts. Hence, the catering business became well developed accordingly. *Su* (Jiangsu), *Lu* (Shandong), *Chuan* (Sichuan), and *Yue* (Guangdong or Cantonese) cuisines were recognized and popularized nationwide through the process. Other cuisines such as *Huaiyang* (Huai'an, Yangzhou, and *Xiang* (Hunan) were also famous. Even the traditional Manchu roast goat feast (*quan yang xi*) had also developed into a banquet with 120 dishes and 12 types of desserts. As of the so-called Manchu Han Imperial Feast (*Man Han Quan Xi*), this included hundreds of famous dishes from both southern and northern China and was famed for its extravagance.

Tea and Chinese spirits remained the most popular beverages. An abundance of liquor brands were in great demand, such as *Cang jiu* from Cangzhou, *Lu jiu* from Dezhou, Lu jiu from Shanxi, and Ganlu jiu from Shaoxing. The list could go on. Besides several famous brands of green tea (*lü cha*), flower tea (*hua cha*), and semi-fermented Wuyi rock tea (*ban fa jiao wu yi cha*) were developed. As of the beverages for ethnic groups, milk tea (*nai cha*), which was brewed with sheep milk, salt, tea, and cream, was popular among Manchus, Mongolians, and Hui people. Tibetans would drink a buttered tea (*su you cha*) which was mixed with butter, roasted ginkgo barley flour, salt, and tea.

The people in the Ming and Qing Dynasties celebrated similar festivals to their ancestors. Major festivals included the New Year's Day (*Yuan dan*) (first day of the first lunar month), the beginning of Spring Day (*Li chun*) (February 4), the Lantern Festival (*Shang yuan*) (the fifth day of the first lunar month), Birthday of Flowers (*Hua chao*) (twelfth of the second lunar month), Tomb-Sweeping Day (*Qing ming*) (April 5), Buddha's Birthday (*Yu fo*) (the eight day of the fourth lunar month), Dragon Boat Festival (*Duan wu*) (the fifth day of the fifth lunar month), Chinese Valentine's Day (*Qi qiao*) (the seventh day of the seventh lunar month), Hungry Ghost Festival (*Zhong yuan*) (the fourteenth and fifteenth of the seventh lunar month), Mid-Autumn Day (*Zhong qiu*) (the fifteenth of the eighth lunar month), the Double Ninth Festival (*Chong yang*) (the ninth day of the ninth lunar month), the Winter Solstice (*Dong zhi*) (December 22), Laba Festival (*La ba*) (the eighth day of the twelfth lunar month), and Kitchen God Worshipping Day (*Ji zao*) (the twenty-third day of the twelfth lunar month). The celebration of Chinese New Year would commence on the twelfth day of the lunar month and lasted till the eighteenth day of the next lunar month. The festival celebrations in spring would normally be

centered around Tomb-Sweeping Day. In the Qing Dynasty, people would go out for an excursion and sweep their ancestors' tombs on the Tomb-Sweeping Day. Celebrations would surround the Dragon Boat Day in summer. Besides watching or competing in the dragon boat races, people would also wander around the City God Temple on Dragon Boat Day. There were lots of festivals to celebrate in autumn, but the major ones would be Chinese Valentine's Day, Hungry Ghost Festival, Mid-Autumn Day, and Double Ninth Festival. On Hungry Ghost Festival Day, Buddhist and Taoist monks would conduct ceremonies for expiating the sins of the dead ones. The major holiday in winter would be the Winter Solstice Day.

Thanks to a stable society and economic development, the secular culture among ordinary Chinese people flourished magnificently in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Artistic activities, such as traditional Chinese operas, Chinese folk arts, and Chinese folk songs, were appreciated and beloved by the common folk. These could be seen everywhere. Traditional regional operas contained strong regional features and provided a colorful and lively daily atmosphere. Hence, they were deeply adored by ordinary people.

Questions

1. How should we understand the significance of social life in history?
2. Describe the sequences of development experienced in rural and urban areas in ancient China, and how they relate to one another. What underlying issues may this indicate?
3. Try to briefly describe the major changes in costume and cuisine in each historical dynasty.

Chapter 10
The Evolution of Ancient Chinese Thought

10.1 Introduction

The most influential indigenous ideological culture of ancient Chinese thought was mainly derived from Confucianism and Taoism. Confucianism and Taoism competed with and influenced one another during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC) and the Warring States Period (475–221 BC). They became the major philosophical impulse among the "Hundred Schools of Philosophical Thought" (*Zhuzi Bai Jia*) movement. During the Han Dynasty, Confucianism became the orthodox thought and was established as the official curriculum (the major Confucian texts and research based upon them became known as the "Confucian Classics"). Taoism and Taoist thought exerted a deep influence among scholars and the populace. Buddhism was introduced into China during the late Western Han Dynasty (202 BC–6 AD) and the early Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD). It came into conflict with, though was also reconciled with, indigenous thought and cultures. After a long period of conflict and reconciliation, a form of Buddhism with Chinese characteristics emerged. On a deep philosophical level, Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism were further assimilated, leading to the development of "Song Confucianism" (*Song Dai Li Xue*).[1] Later on, the Cheng-Zhu School (*Cheng Zhu Li Xue*)[2] was officially adopted by the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD) and the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644 AD), but over time its vigor diminished. In the early Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), some provincial scholars began to consolidate this past

[1]Song Confucianism is a school of Neo-Confucianism, which is an ethical and metaphysical Chinese philosophy influenced by Confucianism, and was primarily developed during the Song Dynasty and Ming Dynasty.

[2]The *Cheng-Zhu* School was the most dominant school of thought within Neo-Confucianism. It is based on the ideas of Cheng Yi, Cheng Hao, and Zhu Xi.

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knowledge and to envision a new future, which was to constitute an important chapter in the history of Chinese thought. With the dawning of the contemporary age, China gradually sank into being an oppressed nation. Modern Western ideas, especially in the area of political thought, entered into the country. This inevitably led to a collision between Chinese learning and Western learning. Finding a solution to this dispute, and seeking to establish harmony between the competing sides, became the main theme of contemporary Chinese thought.

10.2 Moral Doctrine in Ancient China: Confucian Foundations

In the twenty-first century BC, the first dynasty in Chinese history – the Xia Dynasty (twenty-first century BC to the seventeenth century BC) – emerged along the middle and lower reaches of the Yellow River. This was defeated in the sixteenth century BC by the Shang tribe, which inhabited the lower reaches of the Yellow River. Thus, the Shang Dynasty (seventeenth century BC to the eleventh century BC) became established. During this dynasty the primitive religion, which worshiped ancestors and nature, was superseded by one which maintained a belief in God as a Supreme Being.

In the eleventh century BC, the Zhou people, local to the Wei River region, deposed the Shang Dynasty and founded the Zhou Dynasty (eleventh century BC to 256 BC). The Zhou people propounded some innovative religious ideas. For instance, the religion of the Western Zhou Dynasty (eleventh century BC to 771 BC) upheld the separation of the ancestor god (*Zu Xian Shen*) from the Supreme Being. The Zhou people put forward their own moral and ethical thoughts, formulating defined categories of "morality" (*De*) and "filial piety" (*Xiao*).

The religious thought of the Shang and Zhou Dynasties is associated with the embryonic *Yin-Yang* and the Five Elements Theory. In essence, *Yin* and *Yang* refer to the light and dark phenomena within nature. This *Yin* and *Yang* concept developed into the *Yin* and *Yang* Theory (*Yin Yang Shuo*), which includes the idea of the unity of opposites. This can be clearly seen in the original manuscript version of the *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*).

The blossoming of Chinese thought and culture occurred during the Spring and Autumn Period (770–476 BC) and the Warring States Period (475–221 BC). This time witnessed significant social change (details given in the subsequent chapter). During this same era, "private" schools of thought (*Si xue*) – namely, Confucianism and Mohism – appeared in the region centered upon the State of Lu. They were known as "private" schools because the two major schools were staffed not only by statesmen, and thinkers who worked as *Qing Da Fu* (highly ranking officials) in the government, and hereditary officers, but were drawn from the populace too.

Confucius (551–479 BC) was the founder of Confucianism (see picture 15). He was a thinker and educator of the late Spring and Autumn Period. The founder of Mohism was Mo Di (*c*. 468–376 BC). He proposed universal love and

nonaggression. A succession of new views was added to the "One Hundred Schools of Thought." Among these Taoism followed Confucianism and Mohism. Taoism learned from Confucianism and Mohism, but at the same time presented its own critique of both. Laozi (*c*. 571–471 BC) was the earliest pioneer of Taoism in the late Spring and Autumn Period.

During the Warring States Period, there existed various schools of thinking, known collectively as the "One Hundred Schools of Thought." According to their main tenets, the Han Dynasty historian Sima Tan[3] divided them into six categories, namely, *Yin-Yang*, Confucianism, Mohism, Ming-bian, Legalism, and Morality (see the book *Records of the Grand Historian: Autobiographical Afterword of the Grand Historian – Shiji: Taishigong Zixu*). The *Book of Han: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yiwenzhi*) by Ban Gu (32–92 AD) divided them into nine categories, namely, Confucianism, Taoism, *Yin-Yang*, Legalism, Ming-bian, Mohism, Coalition, Miscellaneous, and Agriculture.

During the Spring and Autumn Period and the Warring States Period, the "Contentions of the One Hundred Schools of Thought" (*Bai Jia Zhengming*) led to the zenith of the blossoming of Chinese culture in ancient history. The following paragraphs briefly address some of the ideas propounded by Confucianism in this period.

Confucius (551–479 BC) was born in Zouyi, Changping, in the Chinese State of Lu (now in Dongnan Qufu, Shandong Province). Qiu was his given name and Zhong Ni was his courtesy name. His father died when he was a small child, so he lived a very poor and humble life. As a youth, he worked as an accountant (*Wei Li*) and as a shepherd (*Sheng Tian*). Confucius started teaching privately in or around his 30s. When he was 34 he went to the State of Qi and there heard the ancient music named *Shao*,[4] which attracted him greatly. He became so intoxicated by the music that for 3 months he grew insensitive to the taste of meat. At the age of 51, he was commissioned as the officer-in-charge of Zhong Dou (*Zhong Dou Zai*), later being promoted to Director of Engineering (*Si Kong*) and then Minister of Justice (*Si Kou*). At 57, he led his disciples to expound his ideas in all the small states within Central China. Then, at 68 Confucius returned to his hometown in the State of Lu, where he dedicated himself to education. To understand Confucius, we should read the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu*). This is a collection of his aphorisms and those of his disciples, compiled by his immediate disciples or by the followers of those disciples, based on their recollections.

Confucius's initial contribution to Chinese thought and culture was the collation of the literature of the Western Zhou Dynasty, which he also used as teaching materials. This was to become the most influential body of ancient literature in China.

What books, then, are included among these teaching materials?

1. The *Book of Poetry* (*Shijing*) is a collection of songs and poems dating from the Western Zhou Dynasty to the Spring and Autumn Period. Confucius edited

[3]The father of Sima Qian.

[4]An ancient classic art combining poetry, music, and dance.

and pared down the original 3,000 pieces down to 305, though they are generally referred to as numbering 300. This collection is divided into three parts according to their genre, namely, *Feng*, *Ya*, and *Song*. *Feng* encompasses the song-tunes of 15 states. The official language of the Zhou Dynasty was known as *Ya*, meaning the "elegant" language. Here *Ya* denotes a collection of the poems from the Royal Palace of the Western Zhou Dynasty. *Song* refers to the hymns and eulogies which accompany sacrificial ceremonies and worship at ancestral temples. Contemporary scholars point out that the sources of the *Book of Poetry* are diverse. Some were collected from folk songs by the music officers; some were presented to the emperor of the Zhou Dynasty by his officials and then handed over to the music officers; some lyrics were composed by the nobles for sacrificial worship or other purposes and had tunes attached to them by the music officers; some were presented by the feudal lords; and still some more were brought to the Zhou Dynasty by the music officers from all the feudal states.

Confucius attached great importance to the *Book of Poetry*. He always motivated his students to read the songs therein because he associated the reading of the songs with learning how to be a human being.

2. The *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*) gathered together the official political and historical materials from before the Spring and Autumn Period. It reportedly contained 100 pieces, but now is said to consist of 28. Confucius contended that the purpose of disciples studying the *Classic of History* was not only to glean more historical knowledge, but more importantly to understand how the previous kings had governed their countries.
3. The *Book of Rites* (*Li*) was also named the *Rites for Common Officers* (*Shili*) and later renamed the *Ceremonies and Rights* (*Yili*). It together with the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*) and the *Record of Rites* (*Liji*) was known as "the three ritual classics" (*Sanli*). Confucius conducted a profound study into the *Rites of Zhou* and was enamored by it, becoming hopeful that he himself could put its ideas into practice. He requested that his students masticate over it and live their lives by it.
4. The *Book of Music* (*Yue*) is a classic collection of music. Confucius paid attention to music because he believed music formed an important part of moral education. Confucius thought that music required perfect harmony in both its content and its form.
5. The *Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi*) is a book of divination. It uses the Eight Trigrams (namely, the Creative, *Qian*; the Receptive, *Kun*; Exciting Power, *Zhen*; Gentle Penetration, *Xun*; the Perilous Pit, *Kan*; the Clinging, *Li*; Arresting Movement, *Gen*; and Joy and Pleasure, *Dui*) to symbolize the natural phenomena of Heaven (*Tian*), Earth (*Di*), Thunder (*Lei*), Wind (*Feng*), Water (*Shui*), Fire (*Huo*), Mountain (*Shan*), and Swamp (*Ze*). These can be consulted to forecast changes in the natural and social worlds. This book also includes life experience and philosophical thought. The *Book of Changes* was compiled during the Shang Dynasty and the Zhou Dynasty. When Confucius studied the *Book of Changes*, he pored over it and was loath to put it down. The *Commentaries on the Book of Changes* (*Yi Zhuan*) is a book that was put together between the Warring

States Period and the Qin and Han Dynasties. It consists of interpretations of the *Book of Changes*. The *Commentaries on the Book of Changes* is otherwise known as *Shi Yi* because it contains ten parts. It is difficult to determine who the author of this work was. Some scholars affirm that Confucius himself was the writer, but there is insufficient evidence to prove this claim. Later on many books appeared to interpret and extrapolate the *Book of Changes*. These books are also known collectively as *Commentaries on the Book of Changes*. To differentiate between the original *Commentaries on the Book of Changes* and those books of interpretation from after the Qin and Han Dynasties, the *Shi Yi* was also styled the *Great Commentaries on the Book of Changes* (*Yi Da Zhuan*).

6. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*) was reportedly compiled by Confucius according to the writings of a government chronicler in the State of Lu. The chronicle was begun in the first year of the reign of Duke Yin of Lu (722 BC) and was finished in the fourteenth year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu (481 BC).

As the *Book of Music* is missing, the *Book of Poetry*, the *Classic of History*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are named as the *Five Classics* (*Wujing*), which form the basis of Confucianism.[5] Confucius's study and collation of the *Five Classics* is one of his major contributions to the history of Chinese thought and culture.

Another of Confucius's major contributions to the history of Chinese thought and culture is that he systematically put forward the "ideology of humanism" (*Renxue*). Confucius had his own understanding of the following issues: how to be a gentleman, how to learn to be a sage, what is the purpose of life, and questions related to people's outlook on life.

Among all those perspectives there is one category named "benevolence" (*Ren*). The books *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*) and *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu*) both indicate that many people were talking about "benevolence" (*Ren*) before and during Confucius's time. The sentence *yan ren bi ji ren*, from the *Discourses of Zhou* (*Zhouyu*), a section of the *Discourses of the States*, can be translated as "speaking about benevolence unavoidably involves human relationships." This paved the way for Confucius's idea of humanism. Based

[5]Confucius regarded the *Five Classics* as historical documents and used them to educate his disciples. Confucianism occupied a dominant position in the Western Han Dynasty. Therefore, those documents that were valued by Confucianism and the relevant research were called the "Study of Classics" (*Jingxue*). Scholars in ancient times had to find evidence in classics no matter they made remarks or wrote compositions, which led to the fact that the number of classics increased gradually. There were *Five Classics* in the Western Han Dynasty, *Seven Classics* (*Five Classics* and *Book of Filial Piety*, *Analects of Confucius*) in the Eastern Han, *Nine Classics* (*Rites of Zhou* and *Li Ji* as the category of *Rites*, *Zuo Zhuan*, *Gong Yang* and *Gu Liang* as *Chun Qiu*, plus the *Book of Changes*, the *Classic of History*, and *Book of Poetry*) in the Tang, and *Thirteen Classics* in the Song (plus the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Classics of Filial Piety*, *Er Ya*, and *Mencius*). The study of classics thus became an important aspect in studies of history of Chinese thoughts because of the rich contents such as history, cultural relics and systems, characters, literature, and philosophy as well as the different kinds of explanations and notes.

upon this, Confucius accepted some ideas though rejected others; he abstracted, summarized, and enriched that concept. This makes benevolence the fundamental category of humanism.

Confucius explained many times what constitutes benevolence when talking to his disciples. Benevolence is not based upon the worship of ancestors, but rather upon the rationality of man; it is not centered upon tribal behavior or group behavior, but upon self-cultivation; it is not based upon sacrificing one side for the benefit of the other, but upon considering each side's needs. All these features are exemplified in Confucius's statement that benevolence means "loving others" (*ai ren*).

When Confucius's disciple named Fan Chi asked him to define what benevolence is, he answered "loving others" (*Analects* XII*: Yan Yuan – Lunyu: Yan Yuan*). To love others means, from one perspective, that "[d]o not impose on others what you yourself do not desire" (*ibid.*). From another, it denotes that "to establish oneself, one should help others to do so, to develop oneself, one should seek to develop others" (*Analects* VI: *There is Yong – Lunyu: Yong Ye*). When these two perspectives are integrated, they form "the doctrine of loyalty and forbearance" (*Zhong shu zhi dao*). In order to reorient the relationship between the emperor and subjects, father and son, Confucius suggested that they adopt an attitude of mutual respect. For instance, if the father requests that the son practices filial piety, he should also treat the son with paternal kindness. If the son dislikes the father's unkind treatment of him, he should practice filial piety. This example can be applied to other kinds of relationship.

Confucius emphasized that in order to become a self-cultivated gentleman, one should start with one's own (*wo*) hard efforts. He said, "if for a single day a man could return to the observance of the rites (*li*)[6] through restraining himself, then the whole Empire would consider benevolence (*ai ren*) to be his. However, the practice of benevolence depends on oneself alone, and not on others" (*Analects* XII: *Yan Yuan – Lunyu: Yan Yuan*). By saying this, Confucius was proposing the revival of the rites of the Western Zhou Dynasty. This is Confucius's political ideal. At the same time, Confucius regarded the moral self-cultivation of the emperor as the fundamental requirement for him to be able to govern and pacify the country. The core value of "Confucius's humanism" (*renxue*), which remained unchanged during the historical development of Confucianism, was the principle that one should begin with self-cultivation.

Confucius talked about numerous important moral standards. As is recorded in *The Analects* XVII: *Yang Huo* (*Lunyu: Yang Huo*):

> Zi Zhang asked Confucius what is benevolence? Confucius answered: "There are five things and whoever is capable of putting them into practice in the Empire is certainly benevolent." Zi Zhang asked for further explanation. Confucius explained: "They are respectfulness, tolerance, trustworthiness, quickness, generosity. If a man is respectful he will not be treated with insolence. If he is tolerant he will win over the multitude. If he is trustworthy he will earn the trust of others. If he is quick he will achieve more. If he is generous his fellow men will be willing to do his bidding."

[6] In Confucius's vocabulary *li* refers to the ethics essential to building an ideal society.

Respectfulness (*Gong*) means having self-respect; tolerance (*Kuan*) means having forbearance; trustworthiness (*Xin*) means being reliable; quickness (*Min*) means being alert – the implied meaning being diligent; consideration (*Hui*) means being kind to others. The *Analects* detail many further categories of moral standards besides these, for instance, gentle (*Wen*), kind (*Liang*), self-respecting (*Gong*), sparing (*Jian*), and modest (*Rang*) (*Analects* I: *Studying – Lunyu: Xue Er*). All these moral standards played an important role in the history of the development of the Chinese nation.

Confucius thought that one should observe moral standards in one's life, giving precedence to the doctrine of morality and justice. In this way, one can lead a rich and fulfilled life. The purpose of life should not be reduced to the pursuit of wealth, though everybody wishes to become wealthy. People's desire to become wealthy should be tempered. This tempering of desire is called the "doctrine of morality and justice" (*daoyi*). We should only obtain wealth in accordance with the doctrine of morality and justice; otherwise, we ought not to have it. People should live for morality and justice instead of for the sake of wealth. In this way life has its real value. From this perspective, Confucius contends that "gentlemen focus on righteousness, base men focus on gain" (*Analects* IV: *Living in Brotherliness – Lunyu: Liren*). Confucius's view elevates the value of the human (*Ren*),[7] and he was the first philosopher in the history of Chinese thought to systematically expound the value of life. Besides this, Confucius went into much in-depth analysis about political and educational ideas. Owing to limitations of space, it is not possible to present all of these analyses here.

Confucius was the most influential thinker and educator to have lived in ancient China. Over the two thousand years since his death, people have expressed commendatory and derogatory views about him. He is unmatched in being the most debated thinker by later generations in the history of Chinese thought.

10.3 Natural Philosophy in Ancient China: Laozian Foundations

Philosophy reflects the spirit of its age and represents the soul of a nation's culture. Ancient Chinese philosophy has profound theoretical thinking and unique forms. The fundamental question within ancient Chinese philosophy was the study of the relationship between the Way of Heaven (*Tian Dao*) and the Way of Humanity (*Ren Dao*).

The Way of Heaven generally refers to the origins and the operating principles of the cosmos, the heaven, the earth, and nature. Meanwhile, the Way of Humanity is concerned with the operating principles of human society and the codes of

[7]The Chinese character here is *ren* (人) as in "man" or "human," rather than *ren* (仁) as in "benevolence."

conduct of human beings. The development of agriculture was one motor for ancient Chinese philosophers' interest in the relationship between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity. China has a long history of agricultural cultivation and farming and thus made great strides forward. A sentence in the *Book of Changes* states that "by observing the stars (*Tianwen*) you will discern the change of the seasons; by observing a society (*Renwen*) you will grasp and be able to guide social mores." Here *Tianwen* refers to the knowledge of seasonal change. *Tianwen* is intended to guide people to practice timely farming; *Renwen* means "civilization in human society," and it mainly refers to the social rules and regulations and to the quality of people. People's knowledge of *Tianwen* and *Renwen* eventually generated discussions and contentions about the interactive relationship between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity in ancient Chinese philosophy.

In the Spring and Autumn Period as well as in the Warring States Period, natural philosophy was eventually established by Laozi through his profound exploration of the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity. His work established a complete theoretical system.

According to the *Records of the Grand Historian*, the family name of Laozi was Li and his given name was Er. He was born at Qu Ren Li in Li Village, Ku County (now in the east of Lu Yi County, Henan Province) under the State of Chu. He occupied the post of archivist (*Guanlicangshu*) to the Royal Library of the Eastern Zhou Dynasty. He read extensively and integrated knowledge of the Way of Heaven with the Way of Humanity and became the most educated philosopher in the later Spring and Autumn Period. He is regarded as the father of Taoism.

Some scholars contend that the books *Laozi* (renamed *Laozi's Five Thousand Words – Laozi Wu Qian Yan*) and *Dao De Jing* were completed during the Warring States Period and were not written by the philosopher himself. Wang Bi from the Three Kingdoms Period interpreted *Laozi*, and his interpretations enlivened the original text and vice versa. Both are philosophically beautiful essays. The later generations regarded Wang Bi's interpretations as the current version. In 1973, the A and B versions of *Laozi*, retained on silk, were excavated from the Han tombs at Mawangdui, Changsha City, Hunan Province. This discovery makes possible the comparative study of the *Laozi* on silk and the current version, in order to further comprehend the essence of the philosophy of *Laozi*. The current version and the version on silk share some common features and there are also differences between the two. In 1993, part of *Laozi* on bamboo slips was found among the other bamboo slips which were excavated from the Guodian No. 1 Chu tomb in Jingmen City, Hubei Province. The study of this bamboo slip version of *Laozi* is ongoing. It is obvious that there are many manuscript variants for *Laozi*.

The leading category in *Laozi* is *Dao*,[8] meaning "the Way." The first chapter about *Dao* serves as the general principle for his philosophy. Laozi regarded *Dao* as the origin of the universe. *Dao* is the unity of Something (*Yu*) and Nothing (*Wu*). He states: "[i]t was from Nothing that Heaven and the Earth sprang; / Something is

[8] An alternative spelling of *Tao*, from which the name Taoism is derived.

but the mother that rears the ten thousand creatures (*wan wu*), each after its kind." What is Nothing? Nothing cannot be literally understood as nothingness, but rather it refers to a void and to emptiness. Another different shade of meaning for Nothing is *Dao*, which is different from ordinary objects. *Dao* cannot be described as a square or as round because it has its uncertainties. As to the original form of "ten thousand creatures" (*Tiandi wanwu*) in the world, we can name this as Something, and from this Something evolves this complex and colorful world.

According to Laozi's philosophy, the Way of Heaven is praised, whereas the Way of Humanity is criticized. According to him, *Dao* evolves naturally into "ten thousand creatures" and the Heaven and the Earth without God's power and without pretentiousness. *Laozi* states that "[t]he ways of men are conditioned by those of earth. The way of earth, by those of heaven. The ways of heaven by those of *Dao*, and the ways of *Dao* by nature" (*Laozi*, Chapter 25 – *Laozi*, zhang 25). The Way of Heaven does not argue, does not speak out, is not proud, and has no controlling desire. It is like a huge, invisible, boundless net, which covers everything yet is permeable. Compared to this, the Way of Humanity appears to be selfish, narrow, and unfair. Thus arises the problem: how can the Way of Humanity be transformed? Laozi replied: "The Way of Humanity should follow the Way of Heaven."

How can the Way of Humanity be made to follow the Way of Heaven? The operating principles and its applications of *Dao* must be analyzed. *Laozi* states "In *Dao* the only motion is returning; / The only useful quality, weakness" (*Laozi*, Chapter 40 – *Laozi*, zhang 25). *Fan* ("returning") refers to the movements in the opposite direction, and when this movement reaches its end, it should return backwards again. This repeated backward and forward movement continues until it has reverted to its original state. Therefore, *fan* encompasses two meanings – one is the contestation and conversion of two opposites, the other is returning to its own origin. According to this principle, Laozi described the contestation and conversion of many opposites, such as strength and weakness, life and death, misfortune and fortune, up and down, front and back. He reminds people that there are so many oppositional phenomena in the world, so how is one to avoid the damage caused by these phenomena upon society and human beings themselves? He proposes that human societies should adopt the natural features of the Way of Heaven. Thus the governors are made "weak" (*rouruo*) and "inaction" (*wuwei*) is practiced. The governors ought to be simple, pure, not self-righteous, and not stubborn. They do not disturb the ordinary people and put themselves in ordinary people's shoes. Only if the Way of Humanity allows itself to be infiltrated by the Way of Heaven can it become invincible. To express this through Laozi's own philosophical language, this denotes "action through inaction" (*wuwei er wubuwei*). Inaction here means to banish willfulness and autocratic action and to avoid acting impulsively. It does not mean to do nothing.

These statements from Laozi about the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity demonstrate the splendid cultural scroll of ancient Chinese dialectical thinking. Those intelligent and insightful statements have exerted enormous influence over the development of ancient Chinese cultural thought. Undeniably, one feature of Laozi's philosophical approach is to use the natural Way of Heaven to negate the

Way of Humanity, which shows a certain bias. However, through history we can observe that whenever feudal governors have implemented and applied some of Laozi's philosophy to a particular locality, these philosophies have been proven to be effective. Laozi's thought is very influential within Western countries as well, and the book *Laozi* has been translated into many languages. Nonetheless, few of these translated versions are faithful to the sentiment of the original.

Here we cannot afford to overlook the profound ecological wisdom of Laozi's thought. At present, local ecological problems have worsened leading to a global crisis. From the early twentieth century, scholars in Western countries have issued repeated warnings about the environment. But the tradition of Christianity is deep-rooted there, and nature is regarded as a resource for human beings, with the mainstream philosophy being circumscribed by Descartes' principle that nature is a pure abundant mechanical object. Even by the middle of the twentieth century, the study of environmental ethics was not accepted by the Western philosophical world. In the 1970s environmental philosophy was established. By contrast, the basic fundamental principle of Confucianism and Taoism is that "the Way of Humanity should follow the Way of Heaven" (*Daofa Ziran*). Both of them refute the human-centered bias. In fact, they contend that human beings and natural things are consistent, that all natural existence has its own profound internal value, and that human beings should respect nature, observe nature, and live in harmony with nature. Laozi depicted the blueprint for the world thus: all things coexist harmoniously, all things follow their destinies, and the whole globe is robust and full of life. This blueprint is congruent with the great aspiration of the ecologically civilized society which the whole world is now striving to achieve.

10.4 The Debate over the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity During the Warring States Period

The "Contentions of the Hundred Schools of Thought" (*Bai Jia Zhengming*) during the Warring States Period originated from different understandings of the relationship between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity. The contemporary representative of Confucianism – Mencius contended that once one understood the Way of Humanity, one will naturally understand the Way of Heaven. It can also be put in this way – the Way of Heaven is a magnified version of the Way of Humanity. Therefore, the major concern of his statements is the Way of Humanity. As for how to govern well, he has his own complete political ideology.

10.4.1 Mencius

Mencius (*c*. 372–289 BC), whose birth name was Meng Ke, was born during the middle of the Warring States Period. He was a fourth-generation student of Confucius. Mencius received a good family education from childhood. When he

reached adulthood, he went around all of the states in Central China to expound his political ideology. During his last years, he returned to his home – the State of Zou (this now refers to Zou County in Shandong Province). There he collated his lecture materials and eventually wrote the book *Mencius* (*Mengzi*), which has seven chapters. A scholar named Zhao Qi (108–201 AD), from the Eastern Han Dynasty, collated this book and divided the seven chapters into two volumes. The current version of *Mencius* that is used today has fourteen volumes. There are many interpretations of *Mencius*, among these the most famous one is *Collected Commentaries on the Book of Mencius* (*Mengzi Ji Zhu*), which was written by Zhu Xi (1130–1200 AD) from the Song Dynasty.

The "Policy of Benevolence" (*Renzheng*) was the main content of Mencius's discussion of the Way of Humanity. This policy is people oriented, which corresponds with Mencius's conviction that "[p]eople should be the top priority, then the state, followed by the monarch" (from *Mencius: Conscientious, II – Mengzi: Jinxin xia*). The primary objective of the Policy of Benevolence is to make the common people well-off (*xiaokang*). The Policy of Benevolence relies on rule by man, namely, the governors' awareness and the measures they adopt. This is quite different from the rule by law of contemporary society, as well as from modern understandings of "people-oriented" (*yi min wei zhuti*) political civilization. What is more, the Policy of Benevolence proposes to govern by ethics. This is also called the politics of administration ethics (*daode jiaohua*).

Mencius was once asked: Why can man practice the Policy of Benevolence? Mencius contended that ethics serves as the foundation to practice that policy. Mencius said that man by nature has four virtues. The first is sympathy (*ce yin zhi xin*), meaning to love. The second is a sense of shame (*xiu er zhi xin*), namely, the ability to feel embarrassment. The third is modesty (*ci rang zhi xin*), namely, being self-deprecating. The fourth is a sense of right and wrong (*shi fei zhi xin*), namely, being able to practice discernment. The natural virtue of sympathy, once augmented, eventually evolves into "Benevolence" (*Ren*); a sense of shame can lift one to righteousness; being modest means knowing how to observe courtesies and rules; a sense of right and wrong means knowing how to differentiate truth from falsehood, which is known as "wisdom" (*Zhihui*).

How can those virtues endowed by nature grow into benevolence, righteousness, courtesy, and wisdom? In response to this question, Mencius placed a great deal of emphasis on diligence and perseverance, stating that in order to achieve their goal, people should realize the necessity of undergoing long-term hardship. "When Heaven is about to bestow upon man a great task, it will first test his mental resolve, and exhaust his muscles and bones with labor, expose his body to hunger, put him to abject poverty and place obstacles in the paths of his deeds, so as to stimulate his mind, harden his nature, and overcome his weakness" (*Mencius*, *Gaozi*, Book II – *Mengzi, Gaozi, xia*). The preceding sentence means that human beings should accumulate knowledge and experience through hardships and cultivate a superhumanly indestructible patience in order to deal with difficulties. None of those who retreat in the face of difficulties can achieve anything great. Therefore, the anxieties and concerns enliven and alert people, making them coolheaded and

to want to strive forward; on the contrary, when people feel self-contented, this will weaken their will, making them befuddled and phlegmatic. This proves that to "thrive in calamity and perish in soft living" (*shengyu youhuan, si yu anle*) is the tried and tested touchstone by which people should live.

Once people have this understanding of life philosophy, they should act according to it, which helps to elevate their spirits and morals, in Mencius's words *yangqi*, namely, "to cultivate the noble spirit" (*Mencius*, *Gong Sun Chou – Mengzi, Gong Sun Chou*). *Qi* refers to one's spiritual character and one's inner being. This *Qi* should be nurtured with righteousness and should not be impaired. Then this *Qi* will be ubiquitous. *Zhengqi*, which was frequently mentioned by the Chinese people with lofty ideas, derives from this *Qi.*

Mencius put forward the concept of *Dazhangfu*, which means the "true man." He also set up the standard for this by saying: "[n]either riches nor honors can lead one astray, not to be shaken or modified by one's poverty or destitution, not to be subdued by force, this is the true man" (*Mencius: Duke Wen of Teng – Mengzi: Tengwengong*). One should not lose his will when he lives in wealth and comfort; one should not alter his personality in humble circumstances and through hardship; one should not discard his moral integrity in danger and when faced by threat. This is the real *Dazhangfu.*

All of the abovementioned are components of Mencius's moral ethical thought. When he talks about "the Way of Humanity," he mainly focused on ethics and proposed to use ethics in politics, this being known as ethical politics. According to him, once one knows that human beings are born with a good nature, one will know the Way of Heaven. To put this in his own words: "[k]now the innate good nature of man, know the Way of Heaven." From this we can further infer that the Way of Heaven means – in Mencius's eyes – the summit of ethics and righteousness. This view is not original. According to *Records of the Grand Historian*: *House of Confucius* (*Shiji: Kongzi Shijia*), the *Book of Rites* (*Liji*) was written by Zisi (*c*. 481–402 BC).[9] There is one sentence from the *Book of Rites: Doctrine of the Mean* (*Liji: Zhongyong*) which states "[s]incerity is the Way of Heaven; to be sincere is the Way of Humanity." This sentence also appears in *Mencius: Conscientious I (Mengzi: Jinxin shang*). This is not unusual because Zisi was Mencius's teacher, and it is common for a teacher and his student to share the same view. Sincerity (*Cheng*) belongs to the category of ethics. The School of Zisi and Mencius (*Si Meng Xuepai*) contended that the Way of Heaven embodies sincerity, while the Way of Humanity exemplifies the Way of Heaven. What differentiates men from animals is men have ethics and practice sincerity. Thus, ethics and sincerity serve as the common ground for the unity of the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity. According to Mencius, the ultimate value, goal, and happiness of life is the unity of ethics and sincerity.

Admittedly, the ethical morals based on the unity of the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity have exerted a major influence upon the development of Chinese nation.

[9]Born as Kong Ji, Zisi was the grandson of Confucius.

10.4.2 Xunzi

Xunzi (298?–238 BC) was the representative of Confucianism during the late Warring States Period. His statement of the relationship between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity differs from that of Mencius.

Xunzi, whose given name was Kuang, and had the courtesy name Qing, was born in the State of Zhao. He went to the State of Qi when he was young. He came to the State of Qin upon the invitation of King Zhao of Qin in 266 BC and was impressed by the simple folk customs and good governance there. In 255 BC, he revisited the State of Chu. The Prime Minister Lord Chunshen of Chu gave him a position as the magistrate of Lanling (now Yi County in Shandong Province). He was dismissed from this position when the prime minister passed away. From then on, he lived, taught, and wrote the book *Xunzi* in Lanling.

Xunzi lived from about 298 BC to 238 BC, when the unification of all the states in Central China was a sweeping subject. He studied the Hundred School of Thoughts and once presided over the *Jixia* Academy of the State of Qi. Here he discussed and learned from scholars from different schools of thought, which enabled him to garner enough materials and develop enormous courage to write his comments on different schools like the masterpiece *Against the Twelve Philosophers* (*Fei Shier Zi*).

What is "Heaven"? What is "Man"? Xunzi wrote the book *On Heaven* (*Tian Lun*), stating at the very beginning of this that "Heaven operates with constant regularity. It does not exist for the sake of (sage-emperor) Yao nor does it not cease to exist because of (wicked king) Jie.[10] Respond to it with peace and order, and good fortune will result. Respond to it with disorder, and disaster will follow." This means that Heaven has its own rules and regulations, which are not influenced by the will of man. If man observes Heaven's laws, he will receive all the sustenance he desires from Heaven (nature). If man acts against Heaven's law, he will be punished. Based on the agricultural and farming experiences passed on through the generations, Xunzi believed that if we keep agriculture as the foundation of society and practice thrift, Heaven cannot impoverish man. As long as he has sufficient resources for living and acts mindfully of the seasons, Heaven will not make man sick. As long as he practices proper farming techniques, Heaven will protect man from calamity. All of this indicates that man is not impotent in the face of nature. To think otherwise would be to misrepresent the real relationship between Heaven and man, relegating man's power so he can only pray for the blessings of Heaven. Xunzi thus concluded that "he who understands the difference between Heaven and Man can be called a perfect man."

The proposition of the separation of Heaven and Man (*Tianren xiangfen*) is itself significant in the history of Chinese thought. Xunzi has in fact stated a truth here. When man grows out from nature and becomes a cognitive subject comparatively

[10]See Chap. 2 for more details on these two figures.

different from nature (this means separation – *xiangfen*), he can become a "real man" (*zhenzhengde ren*) not just a man in the general meaning of the word; this "real man" is not a slave of nature, he has his own ethics and consciousness, all of which makes him a "perfect man" (*zhiren*).

In *On Heaven* Xunzi mainly discussed the difference between Heaven and Man, but does he not overlook the possibility that there are certain areas in which these are reconciled? He thought that in order to understand nature, people should first of all see and recognize each of the differences in nature. Thus different features of Heaven and Man can be identified, and the colorful natural world in front of human beings appears neither monochrome nor monotone. Besides this, we should consider the relationship between Heaven and Man from the perspective of Taoism. That is the unity of Heaven and Man. For Xunzi, "ten thousand creatures" (*wanwu*) was only one side of *Dao*, just like a few constituents form one part of an integral whole. People always regard part of the thing as the whole. People think they have mastered *Dao*. In fact, there is nothing in their hand.

Xunzi makes very profound statements on the Way of Humanity. He vigorously explored the origins of social systems without paying much attention to which one was now the most completely developed system. Owing to restrictions of space, this matter cannot be gone into in much detail here. Xunzi's statements on the Way of Heaven were influenced by Taoism, so he understands Heaven as nature. The Way of Heaven equals the natural principles of nature. Regarding the Way of Humanity, Xunzi retained the views of Confucianism to emphasize rites and the teachings of ethics and morality. Xunzi's theory of the separation of the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity served as a basic foundation for the development of natural science in China and later became an important authority for followers of natural materialism (*Ziran weiwu lun*). For example, Wang Chong (27–*c*. 100 AD) from the Han Dynasty and Liu Zongyuan (773–819 AD) and Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD) from the Tang Dynasty were all followers and developers of the idea of the separation of heaven and man proposed by Xunzi.

10.4.3 Zhuangzi

Zhuangzi is a major representative of Taoism from the middle of the Warring States Period. His statements about the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity are full of profound philosophical resonances.

Zhuangzi (369–286 BC), whose given name was Zhou, was born in the town of Meng in the State of Song (now the northeastern part of Shangqiu, Henan Province). He used to be a low-ranking official in his hometown, in charge of lacquer works. He went on to live the rest of his life like a hermit. He observed all of the things around him from a detached position. However, he made an in-depth study of the One Hundred Schools of Thought. He pondered various issues relating to nature and man and eventually completed the book named *Zhuangzi*. The book has a laid profound theoretical foundation and possesses unique features.

According to scholarly studies, the *Inner Chapter* (*nei pian*) of *Zhuangzi* was composed by the philosopher himself. Meanwhile, the *Outer Chapter* (*wai pian*) and the *Miscellaneous Chapters* (*za pian*) were written by the scholars after him. The *All under Heaven* (*Tianxia*) chapter of *Zhuangzi* is the first in Chinese history to summarize pre-Qin Dynasty thought and preserves the important materials of Yang Zhu (440–360 BC) and the debater Hui Shi (380–305 BC).

Zhuangzi further elucidated Laozi's Natural Law of Heaven (*Daofa ziran*). For him, where *Qi* congregates there will be life and where it disperses death is approaching, there is no maker of humankind, and there is no supernatural God who ordains his destiny. He thought that we should observe life and death according to the natural law. There is no need to feel happy and excited about life, and there is no need to feel heartache about death. Men can be freed spiritually if they can throw off their emotional manacles and view an issue from the natural law of change. For him, when man is alive, man has humanity because he wants to survive – he eats and dresses and also practices agriculture in order to survive – this is the innate nature of man. Zhuangzi believed that Confucianism proposed rites and music which were against human nature. He regarded the natural part of human nature as being the whole human, thus negating the social aspects of human nature. This view is impartial.

The historical achievement of Zhuangzi was to propose some contradictions between the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity from a philosophical perspective. For example, in his view of the Way of Heaven, there is no distinction between creatures. As it is stated in *The Adjustment of Controversies* (*Qiwulun*) chapter from *Zhuangzi*, "[w]hether things are produced or destroyed, *Dao* again identifies them all as one." While from the view of the Way of Humanity, there are many differences among creatures. For example, we can say a blade of grass is big where there is nothing smaller than it; we can also say it is small where there is nothing bigger than it. To take another example, when we see Xi Shi,[11] everyone will say she is beautiful, but when the fish see her, they will swim away because they think she is ugly. We can see that people's recognition of things is relative. Zhuangzi raised a very important philosophical question – that is, relativism and absolutism in recognition. This proved the profundity and sharpness of Zhuangzi's thought. However, he abandoned relativism in favor of absolutism and insisted upon everything being the same and so does not exactly solve this philosophical issue.

Zhuangzi reads another important philosophical problem in *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease* (*Xiaoyao*). That is the relationship between freedom and necessity. He named something that can exist under certain absolute conditions *You Dai*. He realized that everything in real life is *You Dai*. A roc can fly through the canopy of clouds at an altitude of 900,000 *li* from the South Sea to the North Sea with the help of his giant wings and the strong wind. Lie Zi rides delicately along on the wind. So is there anything that enjoys absolute freedom without depending on anything else?

[11] Xi Shi (506 BC–?) was one of the Four Great Beauties (*Si Da Mei Nü*) in Chinese history. A native of the State of Yue, her beauty was such that it was said that when she gazed into the water, the fish would be captivated and forget to swim.

What does Zhuangzi really mean by his *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease*? Here it means absolute freedom or the theory of absolute freedom as defined in *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease*. For Zhuangzi if a man has an official title, he cannot live a life of *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease* because he is preoccupied with his official title and fame and wealth; and a man who does not have these preoccupations cannot live a life of *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease* if he cannot abandon his physical body. Only if a man (*zhiren*) abandons everything and immerses himself in nature can he reach the heaven of *Enjoyment in Untroubled Ease*. How can people gradually enter into a world of freedom? Zhuangzi raised this major problem. It is unnecessary for the later generations to ask him to solve this problem satisfactorily.

The previous parts of this chapter have introduced in comparative detail the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity from the fundamental ideas of Confucianism and Taoism in the Spring and Autumn Periods and the Warring States Period. From a broader perspective, the history of Chinese thought is largely constituted from the further exploration and reconciliation of Confucianism and Taoism.

When talking about the Way of Heaven and the Way of Humanity in the Warring States Period, we cannot afford not to mention another school, namely, the *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements Theory. The founder of this school was the thinker named Zou Yan (305–240 BC) from the middle and later stages of the Warring States Period. This school was highly politicized. The school proposes that the Five Elements (*Wu De*) of metal (*Jin*), wood (*Mu*), water (*Shui*), fire (*Huo*), and earth (*Tu*) are held in opposition and give birth to and restrain each other (the Way of Heaven). This explains the rise, downfall, and succession of dynasties (the Way of Humanity). Zou Yan contended that the order of the succession of dynasties were as follows: earth virtue (Yellow Emperor) → wood virtue (Yu the Great) → metal virtue (King Tang of Shang) → fire virtue (Duke Wen of Zhou) → water virtue (unknown) → earth virtue (unknown). Each dynasty represents one virtue. When one dynasty collapses, it will be replaced by another dynasty which represents the next virtue in the sequence.

The Five Elements Theory (*Wu De Zhongshi*) as formulated by Zou Yan was highly influential. The Qin Dynasty favored black, the Han Dynasty favored yellow. All of this demonstrates its ongoing influence. From the Han Dynasty onwards, the School of *Yin-Yang* and the Five Elements Theory still held considerable social influence. The first emperors of some dynasties invited soothsayers to predict which virtue (*De*) he matched with and which color (*Se*) should be favored. The emperor would then use this as the ground for his authority, saying that "this authority derives from heaven" (*Feng Tian Cheng Yun*).

10.5 Attempts to Reconcile the "Hundred Schools of Philosophical Thought"

The State of Qin defeated six other states and established a unified feudal society in 221 BC. How did Chinese thought evolve and develop during this new historical age?

From the Spring and Autumn Periods and the Warring States Period, finding reconciliation within the Hundred Schools of Philosophical Thought gradually became the dominant philosophical exercise. Many different forms of reconciliation were attempted. Here two will be described. One is centered upon Confucianism and absorbed some aspects from the *Yin-yang* and the Five Elements Theory, as well as Legalism and Taoism. This is represented by the thought of Dong Zhongshu from the Han Dynasty. The other form is metaphysics (*Xuanxue*) from the Wei and Jin Dynasties. This new thought focused on the reconciliation of Confucianism and Taoism.

At the early stage of the Han Dynasty, different schools were temporarily revived. With the exception of Ming and Mohism, the rest of the schools were all revived to different degrees and each had their own representative figure. Confucianism and Taoism were the most popular. Even so, among the overall social thoughts, the mysterious *Yin-Yang* and the Five Elements Theory had a comparatively greater influence. It was not until the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty (141–87 BC), when the centralized government became gradually stabilized, that the balance of power between Confucianism and Taoism shifted. Emperor Wu laid a solid political foundation for the centralized government, and then Confucianism was given priority.

Here the thought of Dong Zhongshu must be mentioned.

Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC) was a Confucian master in the Western Han Dynasty. He had very rich political experiences and persistently examined one of the classical studies of Confucianism, the *Commentary of Gongyang on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu Gongyang Zhuan*). Dong Zhongshu held the position of *Boshiguan*[12] during the reign of Emperor Jing of the Han Dynasty (156–141 BC). When Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty called for talented persons and papers,[13] Dong Zhongshu thrice proposed that Confucianism should be used as a political ideology. What kind of book is the *Commentary of Gongyang*? There have been many interpretations of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* collated by Confucius. The commentary written by Gongyang Gao was named the *Commentary of Gongyang*. This book was published during the Warring States Period. According to the book, although the *Spring and Autumn Annals* are concise, using only a few characters to affirm or negate a person or an issue, it has profound connotations. In other words, the book contains sublime words which have a deep meaning. This commentary explores apparently inscrutable meanings and furthers them. This made it easier for Dong Zhongshu to state his own views. It seems that his views have their origin

[12] *Boshiguan* worked as librarians and pedagogues and had the right to collate and edit books.

[13] *The Five Classics* popular in the Western Han consists of two schools. The classics that were passed on by Confucian scholars from the Warring States Period and written in the official script were called "Current script classics" (*Jinwen Jing*). The Classics that were found in the walls of Confucius's former residence and other places and written in ancient script of the pre-Qin Period were called "ancient script Classics" (*Guwen Jing*). Those that studied *Jinwen Jing* were called "study of *Jinwen Jing*" (*Jinwen Jingxue*), and those that studied *Guwen Jing* were called "*study of Guwen Jing*" (*Guwen Jingxue*). The two schools have their own academic methods and views.

in the *Annals*, but are not entirely derivative from it. His major work is named *Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn* (*Chunqiu Fan Lu*).

In Dong Zhongshu's thought there is a mysterious relationship between Heaven and Man. Heaven governs Man and Man's actions can also move Heaven. Natural calamities and auspicious signs demonstrate God's chastisement or commendation of man (or of the monarch). The monarch must act according to providence; otherwise, he will be punished by Heaven. Dong Zhongshu hoped to use the authority of Heaven to constrain the power of the monarch. Thus he said: "[p]eople should yield to and completely obey their Emperor, so does Emperor to Heaven, this is the profound connotation of the *Spring and Autumn Annals*" (*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn: Jade Cup – Chunqiu Fan Lu: Yu Bei*). Among the different pre-Qin schools of thought, Mohism proposed to use religion to govern a nation and to regard Heaven's will as the basis for the nation's "legal system" (*Fayi*). In this respect, Dong Zhongshu's thought is similar to that of Mohism. However, he placed more emphasis on seeking theoretical evidence from the *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements Theory.

He interpreted the Three Cardinal Guides (*San Gang*) – ruler guides subject (*Jun wei chen gang*), father guides son (*Fu wei zi gang*), and husband guides wife (*Fu wei qi gang*) – as a *Yin-Yang* relationship, that is to say "[r]uler corresponds to *Yang*, and subject to *Yin*; father to *Yang*, and son to *Yin*; husband to *Yang* and wife to *Yin*." But this relationship between *Yin* and *Yang* is not natural; it is a master-slave relationship. Obviously *Yang* is superior to *Yin*, thus "the Three Cardinal Guides of kingcraft comes from heaven." The scope of Dong Zhongshu's illustration of nature was shaped by his use of Taoist materials. However, he did not interpret nature from the perspective of the Natural Law of Heaven but sealed his ideas with the mythical *Yin-Yang Wuxing* and thus, replaced the ethical doctrine of the humanistic spirit evident in the early Confucian school. This indicates that after the Qin and Han Dynasties, those who sought to elucidate ideas and doctrines drew their materials from the pre-Qin Period. These were utilized or distorted, synthesized or disseminated, and then formed into the ideas of that particular era. Dong Zhongshu's ideas are one such representative instance.

As was mentioned earlier Dong Zhongshu's thought is highly politicized. Were there any ideas that were rich in thought theory during the reconciliation of the pre-Qin schools of thought? Yes, there was one, named "metaphysics" (*Xuanxue*) from the Wei and Jin Dynasties.

Society was turbulent during the Wei and Jin Dynasties and the Southern and Northern Dynasties (220–589 AD). Meanwhile, significant achievements were made in science and technology. Through this period, cultural thought gradually shook off the constraints of the Han Dynasty study of the classics and theology and promoted exchange and reconciliation among indigenous ethnic cultures and then the same with foreign culture (here "foreign culture" refers to the Buddhism imported to China from India).

Did the metaphysics of the Wei and Jin Dynasties represent a new system of thought? What is metaphysics? One sentence from Chap. 1 of *Laozi* states: "[o]r rather the 'Darker than any Mystery,' The Doorway whence issued all Secret

Essences" (*Laozi,* 1 zhang – *Laozi*, Chap. 1). Here the "Mystery" (*xuan*) is equal to "to have not" (*wu*); "Secret Essences" (*miao*) is equal to "to have" (*you*). The meaning of this sentence is to explicate how something with form can emerge from something without form. This deals with the profound philosophical problem of the origins and evolution of everything in the universe. The theme of this metaphysics is "to have" and "to have not." It explores the mutual relationship between the opposing categories of "changing" (*bian*) and "constant" (*chang*), "one" (*yi*) and "many" (*duo*), "origins" (*ben*) and "endings" (*mo*), "motion" (*dong*) and "stillness" (*jing*), in order to enable people to better understand the world as well as to endeavor to reveal the essence of the relationship between nature and human beings.

Why do we say that metaphysics as a system of thought is a fusion of Confucianism and Taoism? Its basic ideological origins prove this to be so. The ideological origins of all schools of Chinese metaphysics lie in the *Book of Changes*, *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*. These "three books" are referred to as *san xuan*, meaning the "three mysteries." Some philosophers have said that the concept of change as enshrined by the *Book of Changes* first emerged at the time when the Western Zhou Dynasty was on the cusp of its prosperity. At that time Duke Wen of Zhou was deeply concerned with the complexities and multiple problems of society. Since he understood the concept of change and embraced it when planning his actions, the Zhou Dynasty was able to succeed the Shang Dynasty and flourish. The teleological arguments regarding the changes in nature found in the *Book of Changes*, *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* were not contradictory. Some schools of metaphysics were thus able to fuse them reasonably together. These schools of metaphysics dealt with both the Way of Heaven (*Tian Dao*) and the Way of Man (*Ren Dao*), attempting to explain these profound concepts in a manner that was easy for people to accept and understand.

One school of metaphysics was named the *Guiwu* School, and its representative figures were He Yan and Wang Bi. He Yan (193?–249 AD), whose courtesy name was Ping Shu, was born in Wan County of Nanyang City (in what is now Nanyang City in Henan Province). His surviving books are the *Collected Explanations of the Analects* (*Lunyu Jijie*), *Commentary on the Dao De Jing* (*Dao De Lun*), and *Commentary on the Unknown* (*Wuming Lun*). Wang Bi (226–49 AD) was born in Shanyin (now Jiaozuo City in Henan Province). He was very talented and precocious and died at the early age of 23. His works include the *Commentary on Laozi* (*Laozi Zhu*), *A Guide to Laozi* (*Laozi Zhilüe*), *Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi Zhu*), *Case Studies of the Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi Lüeli*), and *Doubts about the Analects* (*Lunyu Shiyi*). He Yan and Wang Bi observed nature and human life. They regarded all changes as having their origins in *Dao* and believed that *Dao* was distinct from concrete phenomena. The former was formless or intangible and was hidden in deep, profound places. The latter had form which could be traced. From this respect, the formless *Dao* can be named as "to have not." This is the essence of everything as well as the origin of the change of everything. As Wang Bi stated: "[e]verything is formless. All things come back to one thing. Why? Because of 'to have not' (*wu*)" (*Laozi Zhu*, zhang 42 – *Commentary on Laozi*, Chapter 42). Thus emerges a series of opposing categories, namely, "one" (*yi*) and "many" (*duo*),

"origins" (*ben*) and "endings" (*mo*), "ontology" (*ti*) and "epistemology" (*yong*), and "to have not" (*wu*) and "to have" (*you*). The exploration of the relationship between these abovementioned categories by Wang Bi aids people in their ability to understand essences through observing appearances. Wang Bi thought that the "to have not" of the essence of the universe was formless and beyond description in precise language. Thus, this perspective was named as "ineffable" (*yan bu jin yi*).

The various kinds of rites and systems were named as *Ming Jiao*, which Wang Bi believed to belong to the categories of "many" (*duo*), "endings" (*mo*), and "epistemology" (*yong*). *Ming Jiao* should not be and cannot be overlooked because back then they formed the lifeblood of society. Thus Wang Bi proposed that *Ming Jiao* is the exemplification (natural appearance) of the ways human beings behave and conduct themselves in society. Thus it seems that one principle can prove the reasonability of the real-world existence. Therefore, metaphysicians were not betrayers of the real society, but rather the defenders.

Besides, there was another school of metaphysics named the "Natural Growth School" (*Zi Sheng Pai*), which was represented by Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang. Xiang Xiu (227–277 AD), was born in Henei Huai (now Wu She in Henan Province). Guo Xiang (252–312 AD) was born in Luoyang City in Henan Province. Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang were renowned for their interpretations of *Zhuangzi*. They highlighted the inexorable law and took its logic to extremes, separating it from contingency. Thus, their "nature" (*Ziran*) referred to the inexorable result of a mechanism, which actually became one form of the doctrine of predestination (*Su Ming Lun*). They thought that all follows the natural law, and the current system and society are irresistible, so should be observed and not be betrayed or challenged. If everyone understands this, society will be at peace forever. All these factors prove that their interpretations of *Zhuangzi* are quite different from the thought of Zhuangzi himself, who appreciated nature and opposed rites, while Xiang Xiu and Guo Xiang provided theoretical supports for the reasonability of *Ming Jiao*.

It took a considerable length of time for Chinese Confucianism and Taoism to become fused, which was known as "reconciliation" (*Hui Tong*). Ancient philosophers thought that scholars should not confine themselves to one school or theory, but expose themselves to many thoughts, allowing them to become their own flesh and blood. Since this was a process of reconciliation, one must take some things and discard others, never merely copying and replicating what has gone before. It can be proved that the metaphysics of the Wei and Jin Dynasties not only had some theological sources in Confucianism and Taoism but also betrayed some aspects of these sources and also developed original modes of thought.

10.6 Taoism, Buddhism, and Indigenous Chinese Thought

Religious thought is one important constituent of the wider history of social thinking. Within the history of Chinese thought, indigenous Taoism and imported Buddhism have exerted a great influence. Of course, other religions were practiced

in China. Owing to the length of this chapter, these cannot be dealt with here. The relationship between Taoism, Buddhism, and the history of Chinese thought will be briefly explained below.

Taoism is a typical Chinese indigenous religion and the essence of Taoism is *Dao*.[14] According to Taoism, it is possible for everybody to become an immortal (*xian*) through the proper practice of austerity (*xiudao*). As *Dao* is said to be omnipresent, if one practices austerity seriously, one will obtain *Dao*; once one obtains *Dao*, then one will live in harmony with it forever and finally become immortal. To live forever, to be an immortal, is the ultimate objective of the pursuit of Taoism, which is achieved through practicing *Fang Shu*. To practice *Fang Shu* involves regulating diet; promoting *Qi*; following Taoist sexual practices; single-minded devotion; observing the *Wai Dan*, *Nei Dan*, *Zhai Jiao*, and *Fu Lu* rites; and the erudite for exorcism (*jin zhou*). The highest inspiration for Taoism is to live forever as an immortal. Thus various kinds of thoughts and methods have been put forward in order to achieve this. The Taoist thought of Laozi and Zhuangzi is not a religion *per se*, yet the Taoist religion borrowed some propositions from Taoist thought, abstracted them, and transformed them into a religious outlook, which discards nature, in the pursuit of an eternal world.

Taoist religious thought has several sources. The first one is Confucius and Zhuangzi. Taoist thought provided a theoretical foundation the emergence of the Taoist religion in the shape of *Dao*, regimens, and immortal thought. The book of *Laozi* has already mentioned "*Dao* of eternal life" (*changsheng zhi dao*). In the early days of the Taoist religion, the important task was to deify Laozi and Zhuangzi and distort the books *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* into Taoist scriptures. At the end of the Han Dynasty, Laozi was honored as the "Creator of Taoism" (*Tai Shang Lao Jun*), who rules as the hierarch and chief deity.

Another source is the *Huang-Lao* School. The school is thus named in recognition of the thought of the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi) in order to indicate that it possesses a long prehistory. During the Eastern Han Dynasty, the school placed more emphasis on regimen and immortal thoughts. For example, there is one sentence from *Quotations of Laozi* (*Laozi Zhangju*) by He Shanggong: "Eternal life can be reached if people know much about regimen." In the society of the later Eastern Han Dynasty, it was popular to worship *Huang-Lao*, and the school took on more the character of a religion.

Many things besides are related to Taoist religious thought, including Mohist thought, the popular tales about immortals, and the *Fang Tu Fang Shu* in the Warring States Period and the Qin and Han Dynasties. Also related to this are the worship of nature and the worship of god and ghosts in primitive religion, the sorcery concepts found in the country religion, and the *Yin-Yang* and Five Elements Theory. The influence of Confucian thought upon Taoist religious thought is indicated, for example, by the promotion of the virtue of ethics found in early Taoist religion. *The Scriptures of Great Peace* (*Taiping Jing*) from the Eastern Han Dynasty was the

[14]Here it means the source and essence of everything that exists.

early Taoist religious classic. It asks its disciples to be loyal to their monarch and to exhibit filial piety and to respect seniors. For the first time in history, the concepts of Heaven, earth emperor, father, and teacher are elided into one. Ge Hong (283–343 AD) thought that the preconditions to seeking immortality should be loyalty, piety, harmonious living, abstinence, benevolence, and trust. Later versions of the Taoist religion are similar, and they do not seek to overturn the abovementioned ideas.

The early Classic of Taoist religion *The Scriptures of Great Peace* proposed an interpretation of the cosmos in which the congregation of primordial *Qi* (*Yuan Qi*) created the Heaven and the Earth and all creatures. It also proposed the *Cheng Fu* Doctrine, whereby benefits for good deeds and punishments for bad deeds will be visited not only upon an individual, but on subsequent generations, so that a person will receive the reward or punishment for their ancestors' deeds. These kinds of benefits or punishments can be applied to the five previous generations and the five subsequent generations. This explains why people who apparently do good deeds are sometimes punished and those who appear to do bad deeds are sometimes rewarded. Besides, it also proposes doctrines on how to achieve longevity and how to become immortal; the establishment of a peaceful society is a sociopolitical idea. Wei Boyang from the Han Dynasty wrote a book named *The Kinship of the Three, in Accordance with the Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi Cantong Qi*). This work summarized and further developed the established doctrines of regimen and alchemy, emphasizing the symbiotic relationship between the practice of alchemy and the creation of the Heaven and the Earth. The book also maintains that the doctrine of change (*Yidao*) and the doctrine of the practice of alchemy (*Dandao*) can follow a kind of symbiosis, by which means the *Qi* doctrine from the *Book of Changes* is interconnected with the doctrine of the practice of alchemy to nurture internally from the Taoist religion. *The Kinship of the Three* further contends that communion between *Yin* and *Yang* and their inseparability facilitates the creation and change of all creatures; thus, essential *Qi* can be preserved and developed. In order to live an immortal life, the fluctuations of *Yin-Yang* must be observed and the operating principles of the 64 trigrams (*Qiankun liushi si gua*) must be mastered. To practice austerity in this way is known as practice of alchemy. Based upon this, the book also discussed the methods for practicing spiritual alchemy (*Nei Dan*)[15] and physical alchemy (*Wei Dan*),[16] ideas which exerted a deep influence upon the later theory of spiritual alchemy supervisor and physical alchemy supervisor, thus Wei Boyang is nicknamed "The Eternal Master of Alchemy" (*Wan Gu Dan Jing Wang*).

[15]In Chinese pinyin *Nei Dan*, which means internal self-cultivation involving the way of meditation, tranquility, freedom from desire and worry, concentration of mind, purification, and brightness.

[16]In Chinese pinyin *Wai Dan*, which means external self-exercises and denotes the elixir medicines produced through alchemy with lead and mercury. Eating them was intended to produce immortality.

During the reigns of Emperor Shun (125–44 AD) and Emperor Huan (146–68 AD) of the Eastern Han Dynasty, there were two different schools of early Taoist religion, one named Five-*Dou*-Grain Taoism (*Wudou mi dao*) and the other Great Peace Taoism (*Taiping dao*). Each had its own leaders, disciples, Classics, organizations, disciplines, and meeting places. The appearance of the two different schools signifies the formal establishment of the Taoist religion. When the Taoist religion came into being, it possessed two broadly different sects. One concentrated on alchemy in order to make the elixir of immortality (*changsheng chengxian*) and proposed that followers should live a long life as an immortal. This can thus be named as the Cinnabar Sect (*Danding Pai*). The founder of this sect was Zuo Ci[17] from the late Eastern Han Dynasty, and *The Kinship of the Three, in Accordance with the Book of Changes* by Wei Boyang formed its early Classic. The other was the Fulu Sect (*Fulu Pai*), which focused on *Fu Shui Zhou Shuo*. This sect assimilated some sociopolitical ideas from the book *Laozi* and actively carried out activities at the grassroots level. Five-*Dou*-Grain Taoism and Great Peace Taoism were the first two organizations to emerge from this sect.

During the Wei and Jin Dynasties and the Southern and Northern Dynasties, the Taoist religion became more sectarian, its thoughts became more systematic, and it began to undergo the transformation from being a folk religion to a fully codified religion. After this transformation, the Taoist religion matured and reached its peak during the Tang and Northern Song Dynasties. A few rather influential thinkers appeared, and they provided comparatively ripened tenets for the Taoist religion, along with Classics, practice methods, and religious disciplines and rites, which laid a theoretical and regulatory basis for the fully matured Taoism.

From the Sui and Tang Dynasties to the Northern Song Dynasty, all rulers worshiped and upheld the Taoist religion, which led to its burgeoning development. The number of Taoist adherents mushroomed, and Taoist temples became widespread all over the country. From the perspective of philosophy, Taoist scholars sprang up like bamboo shoots, a reservoir of Taoist works came into being, and Taoist theory flourished without precedent.

The Tang Dynasty that was presided over by Li family gave particularly high praise to Taoism as the surname of Laozi was also Li. The edict *Laozi Takes Precedence over Buddhism* (*Xian Lao Hou Shi Zhao*) issued by Emperor Gaozu (birth name Li Yuan) in the ninth year of Wude records that "the proper sequence is Laozi first, then Confucius, then Buddhism (*Shi Zong*)." In 637 AD (the eleventh year of Zhenguan), Emperor Taizong (Li Shimin) issued an imperial decree to stipulate that "Taoist priests are privileged over Buddhist monks and nuns" (*Collections of Decrees of the Tang Dynasty*, Volume I, II, III – *Taoist priests submitted decrees before monks and nuns – Tang Dazhao Ling Ji: Daoshi Nüguan zai Sengni zhi shang Zhao, I, II, III*). Emperor Gaozong (Li Zhi) conferred the "high lord" (*Lao jun*) the title "the Very High Xuanyuan Taoist Emperor" (*Taishang xuanyuan huangdi*) and built temples to worship him; Li Zhi also held *Laozi* in esteem and requested the

[17]Zuo Ci was a legendary figure who purportedly lived to be 300 years old.

princes of the nobility and dukes and officials of different levels to study *Laozi*. It was also the content of Imperial Examinations for successful candidate at the provincial level. Emperor Xuanzong established the "Taoism-worshiping House" (*Chongxuan Guan*), regulated the system of Imperial Examinations so that they should be based on the "four Taoist classics" (*Sizi zhenjing*, that is, *Laozi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Liezi*, and *Wenzi*), and established the post of Doctor of Taoism (*Xuanxue Boshi*). In 742 AD (the first year of Tianbao), he also requested to give the title of Nanhua Immortal (*Nanhua Zhenren*) to Zhuangzi, Tongxuan Immortal (*Tongxuan Zhenren*) to Wenzi, Chongxu Immortal (*Chongxu Zhenren*) to Liezi, and Dongxu Immortal (*Dongxu Zhenren*) to Gengsang Zi. The books written by these four were renamed as "True Classics" (*Zhen Jing*), and *Tao the King* (*Daode Jing*) was put on the top of all classics. The emperors of later generations also continued to support Taoism.

During the early stages of the Tang Dynasty, renowned Taoist scholars like Sun Simiao (d. 682 AD), Cheng Xuanying (608 AD–?), and Sima Chengzhen (647–735 AD) appeared. They assimilated the ideas of Confucianism and Buddhism, further developing Taoist doctrines and disciplines, as well as its practice methods, and promoted the theoretical development of the Taoist religion. The books written by Sun Simiao, such as *Essential Formulas for Emergencies [Worth] a Thousand Pieces of Gold* (*Qian Jin Yao Fang*), summarized the achievement of pre-Tang pharmaceutical medicines and regimen, which contributed significantly to Taoist pharmaceutical medicine. Cheng Xuanying interpreted Laozi and Zhuangzi. He integrated some ideas from Laozi and Zhuangzi and assimilated the *Zhongguanxueshuo* from Buddhism. All of this helped him to interpret "metaphysics over metaphysics" (*xuan zhi you xuan*) from the book *Laozi* as *Chong Xuan* ("duplicate metaphysics"). Sima Chengzhen from the Maoshan School absorbed the thoughts of "sincerity" (*zhengxin chengyi*) from Confucianism and "zen" (*chanding*) from Buddhism and proposed the method of "sit[ting] quietly and forget[ting] everything" (*an xin zuo wang*), requesting to throw away desires and concentrate on cultivating immortality through five steps in order to merge with the doctrines of *Dao* and reach immortality. These thoughts, which misinterpreted *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi* while developing the ideology and method of Taoism, lay the theoretical foundation for the transition of Taoism from *Wai Dan* to *Nei Dan*.

During the Southern and Northern Song Dynasties, great Taoist figures sprang up like bamboo shoots. Chen Tuan (d. 989 AD) and Zhang Boduan (987?–1082 AD) issued new statements on the combination of the three religions and internal alchemy. Chen Jingyuan's interpretation of *Laozi* was a renewed study of duplicate metaphysics. All of these Taoist thoughts exerted major influence over Song learning and Neo-Confucianism. During the Southern Song Dynasty, Taoism became factionalized. One of the factions, the Fulu Sect itself had many sub-sects (*menpai*). In the meantime, a succession of *Tai Yi* Sect of Taoism, *Zhen Da* Sect of Taoism, and *Quan Zhen* Sect of Taoism appeared in the territory ruled by the Jin Dynasty in northern China.

In the middle and later Yuan Dynasty, the Taoist religion was dominated by *Zhen Yi Dao* (this was controlled by the *Fulu* Sect) and *Quan Zhen Dao* (this focused upon internal alchemy). This trend continued after the Ming Dynasty. When the

different sects of the Taoist religion were reconciled, the reconciliation of Taoism with Confucianism and with the teachings of Siddhattha Gotama gathered pace. Internal alchemy became the focal point of Taoist doctrine and principles. The *Quan Zhen Dao* of the Ming Dynasty was very active around the Wudang Mountains in Hubei Province. From the late Ming Dynasty onwards, the political status of the Taoist religion gradually fell, and it remained derisory during the Qing Dynasty and the era of the Republic of China. There were few innovations in Taoist doctrine and principle. The Taoist sects became more scattered and their groups grew smaller, and Taoist temples gradually fell into disrepair. All of these factors indicate the declining fortunes of the Taoist religion.

Now let us turn to Chinese Buddhism.

Buddhism was introduced into China from the end of the Western Han Dynasty and the early part of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Scholars of indigenous Chinese culture studied, modified, and assimilated Buddhism so that later on Buddhism with Chinese characteristics came into being. Some Buddhist ideas and perspectives, especially its method of thinking, were assimilated by Confucianism and Taoism, gradually becoming part of the thought system of Song Dynasty Neo-Confucianism. This process was very long. It took around a millennium.

Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam were collectively known as the three major world religions. Buddhism was founded some time between the sixth and fifth centuries BC by Siddhattha Gotama. Siddhattha was the son of King Suddhodana at Lumbini (now in Nepal). He was revered as "Sakyamuni" by his disciples. His year of death can be calculated as falling roughly some time between 490 BC and 480 BC – either 1 year or 10 years before the passing of Confucius in China. This proves that Sakyamuni and Confucius were near contemporaries. Sakyamuni contended that life was full of various kinds of sufferings and dissatisfactions, originating from the *Ye* and *Huo* of every person. *Ye* refers to sensory activities like the body, mouth, and senses, and *Huo* refers to greed, hate, ignorance, arrogance, doubt, and misconception. So how can people overcome *Dukka*?[18] According to Buddhism, all forms of life are changing, impermanent, and without any inner core or substance and imaginary or *Kong* ("empty"). Therefore, for all human beings who wish to prevail over *Dukka* and find relief must undergo a certain process of practicing austerities, then eventually they can enter into the Buddhist paradise.

According to scholars of Chinese Buddhist history, upon the initial introduction of Buddhism into China, Chinese people understood the religion mainly from their own cultural perspective. For example, people in the Han Dynasty thought the Buddhism and the *Huang-Lao* School of religious Taoism were similar, while during the Wei and Jin Dynasties, Buddhism was understood from a more metaphysical perspective. At that time they had the so-called *Geyi*,[19] which used the concepts and

[18] *Dukkha* is a Buddhist term commonly translated as "suffering," "stress," "anxiety," or "dissatisfaction."

[19] *Geyi* was a kind of way to use the concepts and terms of Chinese philosophy to interpret the profound meaning of the Buddhist scripture.

terms of metaphysics to interpret Buddhism and reduced Buddhism into just one branch of metaphysics. This led inevitably to some eisegeses in explanation.

Buddhism became much more widespread in the Southern and Northern Dynasties. Buddhist temples flourished. It was not until the Tang Dynasty that influential Chinese Buddhist sects like the *Tiantai* Sect,[20] the *Huayan* Sect (or "Flower Garland" Sect),[21] and Zen Buddhism came into being.

Compared with other sects of Buddhism, Zen Buddhism is more typically Chinese. The transliteration of Sanskrit word *Dhyana* is *Chan Na*, abbreviated as *Chan*, which refers to meditative state; the Sanskrit *Samadhi* is transliterated into Chinese as *Ding*. Therefore, *Chan Ding* refers to being focused, dedicated, and having concentration. Only through this may "troubles" (*fannao*) be overcome, according to Zen Buddhism, and can the disciple practice the way of discipline according to the "three practices" or "three studies" (*sanxue*) – discipline (*jie*), meditation (*ding*), and wisdom (*hui*)[22] – and the "six transcendent practices" (*liu du*): "generosity" (*bushi*), "proper conduct" (*chijie*), "tolerance" (*renru*), "diligence" (*jingjin*), "concentration" (*jinglü*), and "wisdom" (*banruo*).[23] Records report that the father of Zen Buddhism, Bodhidharma, was a monk from the south of India who came into China in the period of the later Northern and Southern Dynasties. Zen Buddhism was so named because it practices *Chan Ding*. As time went on, a number of key figures such as Dazu Huike (487–593 AD), Jianzhi Sengcan (606 AD), Dayi Daoxin (580–651 AD), and Daman Hongren (601–74 AD) aided the development of Zen Buddhism, and the religion eventually split into two schools, named the Northern School of Chan (*Beizong*), headed by Yuquan Shenxiu (606–706 AD?), and the Southern School of Chan (*Nanzong*), headed by Huineng (638–713 AD). Comparatively speaking, the Northern School of Chan was more influenced by traditional Indian Buddhism and employed gradual teachings. By contrast, the Southern School advocated that the nature of the Buddha remained innate in all people and that it was unnecessary to petition for this to be infused from outside since once one perceived one's true nature one became a Buddha. In this way, it employed sudden teachings, an innovation which went against tradition. Owing to the great efforts of Shenhui (670–762 AD), the disciple of Huineng, the Southern School gradually replaced the Northern School and became the mainstream. Huineng was posthumously revered as the true founder of Zen Buddhism (*Chanzong*).

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[20]The *Tiantai* School (*Tiantai Zong*) was founded by You Zhi (531–97 AD). It has the doctrine of the *Fahua* Classics (*Fahua Jing*) as its foundation. Thus it has the *Fahua Zong* as its alternative name.

[21]The *Huayan* Sect (*Huayan Zong*) was founded by Fa Zang (643–712 AD), with the doctrine of the *Huayan* Classics as its foundation.

[22]*Hui* ("intelligence") is a Buddhist term, also referred to as *guan*. It refers to the Buddhist religious theory.

[23]Prajna (*banruo*) is a Buddhist term that means the intelligence that is beyond common customs and knowledge.

The Classic of Zen Buddhism is named the *Platform Sutra* (*Tan Jing*). It was dictated to Fa Hai by Huineng and consists of only a single volume. From the *Platform Sutra* we can recognize that the fundamental philosophical doctrine of Zen Buddhism is subjectivism (*Zhuyi yishi lun*), which regards the "mind" (*xin*) as being the root of everything. There is a saying to the effect that "one must quest inwardly for the Buddha and has no need to reach out to find him." A *gatha* (a song or verse) puts this in the following way[24]: "Enlightenment (*bodhi*)[25] is only awakened inside; why bother to look beyond one's self? If practiced accordingly, the Land of Bliss (*Sukhavati*) comes into view." Another verse goes: "If you aspire to become a Buddha, refrain from following all things (*wanwu*); if you have the mind of a Buddha, the underlying principles work; if not, they vanish." Zen Buddhism maintains that everybody has the nature of the Buddha inside themselves. If one can achieve enlightenment and not be influenced by deluded thought, then the nature of the Buddha becomes visible and one is now a Buddha in fact. Overloading one's self with reading the Classics and indulging in excessive practices are of no assistance. Whether one is to become a Buddha or not depends upon one's mental state of enlightenment and not upon time or external factors.

Generally speaking, Buddhism emphasizes the idea of subjectivism, that is to say the power of the mind. Subjectivism has been analyzed in a relatively comprehensive manner. For instance, Xuanzang (*c*. 602–64 AD), the Tang Dynasty Buddhist master undertook all the hardships of a 14-year long mission to find the Buddhist scriptures in India. Two years were spent on the road and the remaining 15 were occupied with seeking the *dharma*. He founded the *Faxiang* School of Buddhism (*Faxiang Zong*) in China. This school developed subjectivism and proposed that there were "eight perceptions" (*ba shi*). The first six perceptions are "seeing" (*yan*), "hearing" (*er*), "smelling" (*bi*), "tasting" (*she*), "touch" (*shen*), and "apprehension" (*yi*). The seventh sense is *Manas* (*mona*), meaning the sense to discriminate and construct, and the eighth is *Alaya* (*alaiye*), denoting the storehouse from which all seeds of consciousness emerge. In fact, the eighth sense means "the mind" (*xin*), which plays a decisive role in all eight of the perceptions. The *Faxiang* School was overly verbose in its explanation of the "eight perceptions," which made it inaccessible to the populace. Although its influence only lasted for a few dozen years, it still possesses theoretical value as being one school of Buddhist thought.

Zen Buddhism and the *Faxiang* School both stressed the centrality of the "mind" (*xin*), and this was to have a profound impact upon Chinese culture and thought. The "philosophy of the mind" (*xinxue*) came into being in the Song and Ming Dynasties and is represented by Lu Jiuyuan (1139–92 AD) and Wang Shouren (1472–1528 AD). Its mode of thought was directly influenced by Zen Buddhism.

[24]Buddhist chant (*Jieyu*), also called *Jiesong*, denotes the hymns sung by Buddhist followers. In the religious philosophy of Zen School (*Chan Zong*), *Jieyu* gradually became question-and-answer mode analects.

[25]Bodhi (*Puti*): a transliteration from Sanskrit *Bodhi*, a Buddhist term, meaning the awareness of "truths" in Buddhism.

The "mind," as stressed by Lu and Wang, refers to the subjective will of virtue. The lasting impact of Zen Buddhism on Chinese culture and thought was to stimulate the spirit of subjectivism and to encourage independent thinking.

The influence of Buddhism was not restricted to encouraging subjectivism. It also helped to shape the perception of ontology. For example, one school of Buddhism – the *Huayan* Sect – proposed the *dharma* realm of one reality (*yizhen fajie*). This regarded all phenomena in the world as being the reflection of the *dharma* realm of the one reality. No human words or thoughts were adequate to express the absolute and real ontology. The *artha* and the principle represented by the *dharma* realm of the one reality coexist harmoniously and are interdependent and complementary. This mode of thought was appropriated and reformed by Cheng Hao (1032–85 AD), Cheng Yi (1033–1107 AD), and Zhu Xi (1130–1200 AD), the Neo-Confucianists of the Song Dynasty. Their revised thinking was further assimilated with Confucianism and Taoism, with the "heavenly principle" (*Tian li* – the spiritualization of virtue) eventually being recognized as the universal, real ontology. However, Neo-Confucianism was not a religion. It was one school of Chinese philosophy, which upheld the power of human virtue. This philosophy was rooted in the indigenous Chinese culture and thought and believed in the present world and the power of human beings. It appropriated some modes of thought from Buddhism and disposed of others, thus developing into a new school of thinking.

Chinese Buddhism is immersed in Chinese indigenous thought and culture, and thus it is different from the early Buddhism in India. Ren Jiyu states that "[e]arly Indian Buddhism proposes that once one becomes a Buddhist monk you should no longer care about earthly issues. Rather one should become completely separated from your family and should not care about national issues, nor see the need to respect your parents. Chinese Buddhism believes that when somebody becomes a Buddhist monk, they still need to respect their family, maintain their loyalty to their monarch, and love their country. Therefore some Taoist temples are named as *Huguo* temple (meaning 'to protect the nation'), and *Baoguo* temple (meaning 'to dedicate oneself to one's motherland'). They think Buddhism nurtures people with great virtues for the nation, this being the ultimate loyalty and ultimate filial piety. When the Buddhist priest Huiyuan (334–416 AD) was preaching at Lu Shan Mountain, he preached according to the Confucian book *Mourning Apparel in Ceremonial Etiquette* (*Sang Fu Jing*), in order to explain how to pay reverence to the deceased. . . . . When the famous Chinese Buddhist scholar-monk Xuanzang came back from India, he visited his elder sister at home, something which would not have been allowed in India. According to Indian Buddhism, once one becomes a monk, it is unnecessary to visit one's parents, let alone one's sister."[26]

[26]Ren Jiyu, "Xuanzang's Pilgrimage for Buddhist Scriptures and *The Journey to the West* and its Significance of Enlightenment to the Modern Times," *Thoughts of the Wise* (National Defense University Press, 2002).

10.7 Innovations and Points of Reconciliation Achieved Between Confucianism, Taoism, and (Siddhattha Gotama) Buddhism

When Buddhism was introduced to China, it came into conflict with and was also reconciled with indigenous Chinese thought. Therefore in each dynasty there were people who had theoretical objections against Buddhism. For example, the famous article *On the Annihilation of the Soul* (*Shen Mie Lun*) by the thinker Fan Zhen (*c*. 450–510 AD) from the State of Southern Qi criticized Buddhism from a philosophical perspective and upheld atheism. As time went on, some scholars with insight realized that when the indigenous thought was compared with Buddhism, this exposed some of the weaknesses and the shortcomings of the former. For example, Buddhism emphasizes its canon and traditions; Zen Buddhism emphasizes most its indebtedness to past masters, while Chinese Confucianism does not do likewise. The more important issue was that Buddhism has its own Buddhist theory of nature and regarded Buddhist nature (*Fo Xing*) as an eternal spiritual embodiment, which is named as real as Buddhist nature (*Zhenru Fo Xing*). Chinese Confucianism focused on the Way of Humanity, while Taoism mainly contended that the Way of Humanity should learn from the Way of Heaven. Although *Dao* is regarded as the source of the universe and Heaven and all creatures, to man it emphasizes that he should understand how "the Way of Humanity should follow the Way of Heaven" (*Daofa Ziran*) and put this truth into practice. To put these into philosophical words, the Taoist philosophy has its own ontology, but Taoist thought does not focus on the discussion of the abstract meaning of the ontology.

It is easy to solve the problem of the dearth of a canon. The writer and thinker Han Yu (768–824 AD) from the Tang Dynasty proposed a solution. His famous articles such as "The Nature of Taoism" (*Yuan Dao*), "The Nature of People" (*Yuan Xing*), and "The Nature of Benevolence" (*Yuan Ren*) contended that Chinese Confucianism has its own orthodoxy which was passed on from Emperors Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, Wen, and Wu, and the Duke of Zhou to Confucius and further down the line to Mencius. The anthology was interrupted after Mencius and then later taken up again by Han Yu.

Confucianism gave priority to practicing moral and ethics, and it lacked abstract philosophical theory, but Han Yu disagreed with this. All the philosophical principles from the *Book of Rites: Doctrine of the Mean* (*Liji: Zhongyong*) are universal. However, in the past the Confucian scholars overlooked this fact. The thinker named Zhang Zai (1020–77 AD) from the Northern Song Dynasty shared Han Yu's view. He said "if scholars are to believe in the veracity of books they should begin with the *Analects* and Mencius .... Although the *Book of Rites* were written by various Confucian scholars it is good for scholars to learn from it. For instance, the *Doctrine of the Mean* and the *Great Learning* (*Da Xue*) – the two chapters from the *Book of Rites* – were undoubtedly written by great sages and its authority should be beyond redoubt" (*The Theoretical Cave: Righteousness*; *Jing Xue Li Ku: yili*). The *Great Learning* makes clear the correct sequence of human ambitions. It explains how

one should first establish a strong resolve, then cultivate one's self, then manage one's own family, then govern the nation, and finally unite the world. It makes the objectives of learning very clear. This indicates that *The Great Learning* should be trusted. The *Doctrine of the Mean* elaborates the *Zhong He* doctrine, which states the fundamental operating principles of the cosmos, of nature, and of man; this is a profound philosophy. This confirms that the *Doctrine of the Mean* should be respected as an authority.

As Han Yu and Zhang Zai pointed out, if the *Analects*, *Mencius*, the *Great Learning*, and *The Doctrine of the Mean* are integrated as a whole, the development of Chinese thought can "cultivate everything" (*Doctrine of the Mean*). This was an enormous and arduous project in thought theory. In the process of establishing Song Confucianism, the thinkers Han Yu and Zhang Zai supplied the basic building materials, and Zhou Dunyi (1017–73 AD) and Cheng Hao, Cheng Yi, and Zhu Xi designed and constructed it. This was a profound assimilation of Buddhism, Chinese indigenous culture, and Taoism. It was no mere coincidence that this assimilation should be completed in the Song Dynasty. The economy, culture, and science were highly developed. According to some academics' statistics, scholars in the Song Dynasty accounted for a considerable proportion of the total population back then. Quite a few of the scholars passed the Imperial Examination and became officials. Academies flourished.

The family of Zhu Xi (1130–1200 AD) originated from Jiangxi in the Southern Song Dynasty and he lived in Jianyang (now Fujian Province). He lectured continuously, but his academic ideas were criticized by the government during his lifetime and branded as "unorthodox" (*wei xue*). Nine years after Zhu Xi died, the government rehabilitated his reputation.

Zhu Xi spent dozens of years painstakingly interpreting the four books, namely, the *Great Learning*, the *Analects*, *Mencius*, and the *Doctrine of the Mean*. His analyses of these four books are known collectively as the *Commentary on the Four Books* (*Si Shu Ji Zhu*). This work is full of Zhu Xi's ideas and quite a few of his original extrapolations of the ancient Chinese characters. During the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties, Neo-Confucianism flourished because of the popularity of the *Commentary on the Four Books*. Zhu Xi was extremely prolific. His letters, prefaces and postscripts, missives, and miscellanies were compiled into one hundred volumes. Together with other ten special volumes, these were known as *The Collected Master Zhu* (*Zhuzi Da Quan*). His teachings were also compiled by his disciples into *Questions and Answers between Master Zhu and his Disciples* (*Zhu Zi Yu Lei*), comprising 140 volumes.

Zhu Xi contended that the *Four Books* should be studied in succession with the *Great Learning* coming first. The *Great Learning* proposed the "Three Guiding Principles" (*San Gang Ling*) and "Eight Entries" (*Ba Tiao Mu*). These ought to be the foundation for learning. The "Three Guiding Principles" states that one should manifest shining virtue (*ming de*), cherish people (*qin min*), and abide in goodness (*zhi shan*). "Eight Entries" refers to investigating things (*ge wu*), extending one's knowledge to its capacity (*zhi zhi*), being sincere in one's thought (*cheng yi*), correcting one's heart (*zheng xin*), cultivating one's personality (*xiu shen*),

regulating one's family (*qi jia*), governing the state (*zhi guo*), and creating harmony within the country (*ping tianxia*). The next book is the *Analects* of Confucius. This is the ground for things. Zhu Xi's general guiding principle is for the reader to experience Confucius's ideas and teachings. The next is *Mencius*, which expounds Confucius's orthodoxy, critiques, and heterodoxies and promotes the innate goodness of human beings. The last is the *Doctrine of the Mean*. Through studying this, one should gain a heightened awareness of Confucius, lifting one's study to a profoundly philosophical level.

In ancient China there was no word that corresponded directly to "philosophy" (*zheli*). However, there was a word similar to it, which comes from *The Commentaries on the Book of Changes: Xi Ci* (*Yi Zhuan: Xi Ci*). This contends that "metaphysics is named as *Dao*; physics is named as *Qi* (the vessel)." This metaphysical *Dao* does not denote general knowledge. It signifies the *Dao* which explores the nature of things. But to what exactly does this *Dao* refer?

Zhu Xi said this *Dao* refers to the rationale for the existence of things. We can use *Li* to describe it. For example, we can ask questions like: Why does the sky never collapse? Why does the earth contain everything? How can a fan be made and used in the way in which it is? Each of phenomena in the cosmos, nature, and society has their own rationale for existing. Scholars should study all of these rationales and explore the reasons for the existence of things. These reasons we call *Li*.

What is the relationship between *Li* and all creatures in the world? Although Zhu Xi had a profound knowledge of the natural sciences of the Song Dynasty, he did not use this to answer the question. He instead followed the perspective of the *Tai Ji* diagram taken from Zhou Dunyi, who was the founder of Neo-Confucianism in the Northern Song Dynasty. According to Zhou, *Wu Ji* existed before *Tai Ji*. Once when he was asked "what is *Wu Ji* and what is its relationship with *Tai Ji*?" Zhou Dunyi surmised that *Wu Ji* transformed into *Tai Ji*, and *Tai Ji* into the *Yin* and *Yang*, and after that the *Yin-Yang* evolved into the Five Elements, and then the Five Elements evolved into all creatures. This is the basic formula from *The Commentaries on the Book of Changes* (*Yi Zhuan*). There is no innovation. Zhu Xi thought that in order to surpass this formula, a more objective and more metaphysical perspective should be adopted. He therefore proposed the universality and particularity doctrine (*Yi Li Fen Shu*) which states that everything originates from the heavenly principle (*Tian Li*). Just as the moon shines upon the landscape, the heavenly principle is manifested differently by everything that exists. This perspective was obviously influenced by *Huayan* Sect.

He was further asked whether the heavenly principle referred to the natural principle or the principle of virtue? Sometimes Zhu Xi would say that it refers to the natural principle; sometimes, he said, it refers to the principle of ethics and virtues. However, he placed emphasis on the latter and regarded the principle of virtues as the true heavenly principle. Its characteristics are that it is invisible, shapeless, and intangible. It does not rely upon anything and it existed on its own. It has no beginning and no ending. It is eternal, all-pervasive, and ubiquitous. The heavenly principle was the only ultimate existence, and the natural principle was just one manifestation of it.

What is the relationship between man and the heavenly principle? To answer this, human nature must be discussed. Zhu Xi contended that the monistic nature of man was the born nature. It is a manifestation of the heavenly principle in man, which can be called "pure goodness" (*chun shan*); on the other hand, the nature of man also consists of temperament (*qi*), also called temperamental nature (*qizhi zhi xing*), which encompasses evil. According to Zhu Xi, human nature is the integration of the born nature with the temperamental nature – the former should be developed, the latter should be constrained. To put this in Zhu Xi's words, "the prevalence of the heavenly principle will extirpate the human desire; the prevalence of human desire will extirpate the heavenly principle" (*Questions and Answers between Master Zhu and his Disciples*, Volume 13 – *Zhu Zi Yu Lei*, gang 13). Accordingly, the scholars must "uphold the heavenly principle and eliminate desire" (*Cun Tian Li, Mie Ren Yu*) (*ibid.*). Zhu Xi explained how under many circumstances the so-called "elimination of desire" does not mean that there is no need for material desire, rather it means the desire for excess should be curbed; also, it does not mean that there is no need for human beings to possess emotional feelings. At the root of human nature is concupiscence (*mie renyu*), and the offshoots are emotional feelings (*ganqing*), which are the manifestations of human nature. Human beings cannot exist without emotional feelings, but these should be kept in check and not be allowed to overflow. To use ethics and virtues to constrain emotional feelings will make one's emotional feelings correspond with these.

Zhu Xi's thought was systematic and he habitually analyzed problems from both sides. Nevertheless, he ultimately always emphasized the heavenly principle. Thus, it is not viable to take a simplistic approach to analyzing his system of ideas. Zhu Xi's thought represents the synthesis of Confucianism, Taoism, and Siddhattha Gotama's teachings. His principles were based on Confucianism, but he also assimilated other schools of thought. Zhu Xi's thought therefore became established as the mainstream philosophy in the latter phase of Chinese feudalism. Its widespread adoption was in part, but not wholly, due to the support it had from rulers and authorities.

Neo-Confucianism was innovative in character owing to its synthesis of Confucianism, Taoism, and Siddhattha Gotama's teachings. The vigor of Neo-Confucianism attenuated through the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. However, knowledge of the *Commentary on the Four Books* by Zhu Xi became the touchstone for scholars to obtain promotion, titles, and benefits. This statistical phenomenon in Chinese thought is known as the "waning of Neo-Confucianism" (*lixue moliu*), which was ruminated over by scholars during the transition from the Ming Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty. Who ought to be held responsible for the transition from the Ming to the Qing? What mistakes were made in the previous thought and culture? How should we evaluate traditional Chinese thought such as Confucianism and Taoism alongside the other philosophies? How should we evaluate the introduction of Buddhism? All of these issues, which touch upon philosophy, compelled scholars to study hard in order to find answers. Therefore, during the early Qing Dynasty (that is to say, the middle of the seventeenth century), a group of thinkers, including Wang Fuzhi, Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), and Gu Tinglin (1613–1682), emerged. They

were rich in ideas and innovation, each of them having a distinctive personality, and all of them were knowledgeable. We can take Wang Fuzhi as an example to briefly explain this.

Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692), whose courtesy name was Er Nong, was born in Hengyang, Hunan Province. His initial engagement in the anti-Qing Dynasty movement failed, and then he found refuge at the foot of Mount Chuanshan to the west of the Xiang River. This is why he has the pseudonym "Chuanshan."

Wang Fuzhi took a holistic approach to summarizing ancient Chinese thought. His commentaries on Confucianism are the *Internal Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*Zhou Yi Nei Zhuang*), the *External Commentary on the Book of Changes* (*Zhou Yi Wei Zhuang*), and the *Discourse on reading the great collection of commentaries on the four books* (*Du Si Shu Da Quan Shuo*); his commentaries on Taoism are the *Extended interpretation on Laozi* (*Lao Zi Yan*) and *Interpretations of Zhuang Zi* (*Zhuang Zi Jie*); his commentaries on the relationship between Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism are *Xiang Zong Luo Suo*, *Commentary on Zhang Zai's zhengmeng* (*Zhang Zi 'Zheng Meng Zhu'*), and *On Chapters of the Book of Rites* (*Li Zhi Zhang Ju*). He wrote *Si Wen Lu*, *E Meng*, and *The Yellow Book* (*Huang Shu*) on social thought. On history he wrote *Comments about History as a Mirror* (*Du Tong Jian Lun*). Wang Fuzhi's works can be divided into about 70 categories and run to over 400 volumes which were later collated as *Chuan Shan's Surviving Books* (*Chuan Shan Yi Shu*). This collected work was produced in a block-printed edition in the reigns on the emperors Daoguang and Tongzhi of the Qing Dynasty. In 1993, a printed edition of this was produced by Shanghai Pacific Ocean Bookstore. In the 1980s, *The Collected Works of Chuan Shan* (*Chuan Shan Quan Shu*) was published by the Yuelu Academy.

Wang Fuzhi did not have any prejudice against indigenous Chinese or foreign cultures. His principle was to look into the sources, attack the materials, discover the fears, and then find out the shortcomings (*Ru qi lei, xi qi zi, bao qi shi, er jian q ixia yi*) (*Preface to Laozi – Laozi Yan. Zi xu*). His approach is to explore different kinds of thought and culture and to discover the weaknesses and shortcomings of each, meanwhile assimilating those elements which were useful according to him. For example, he pointed out that Chinese Buddhism has two categories named *Neng* and *Suo*, the content of which are similar to the Chinese *Ming* and *Shi*. However, Buddhism emphasized the connection between *Ming* and the cognitive subject and named it *Neng* which denotes that "man can understand." Buddhism regards *Shi* as the cognitive object, also associating it with the cognitive subject and naming it as *Suo*, denoting of "to be understood." In this way, Buddhist religious philosophy has developed theoretically. It not only distinguished *Ming* and *Shi*, but also unites them together. This confirms that Buddhism has thought about this matter in minute detail. Nonetheless its shortcomings are obvious. According to Buddhism everything is grounded in one's heart and one's understanding, which in fact disregard the cognitive object and becomes *Neng* based. All this means that personal understanding is everything. Accordingly, the world is to be understood as a "real" existence and can be put to practical use. Thus the world does exist. It also proposes that *Neng* comes from *Suo* and *Neng* must conform with *Suo*. In other

words, the objective existence of things stimulates people's cognitive activity, and one's cognitive knowledge or recognition must be aligned with the real objective world (*Explanations on the Classic of History*, Volume 5 – *Shangshu Yinyi. Juan wu*). From this example we can infer wider points. Wang Fuzhi did not completely negate Buddhism, nor did he affirm it. He drew some lessons from Buddhism and also modified some ideas from it.

Wang Fuzhi adopted the same approach to the *Book of Changes* and Taoism, again drawing lessons and making modifications. Wang Fuzhi questioned the statement "Therefore *Yi* gave birth to *Tai Ji*, which gives birth to *Liang Yi*[27] in succession and which gave birth to *Si Xiang*"[28] (from *Commentaries on the Book of Changes: Xi Ci*). He asked in response to this statement: is *Liang Yi* really created, and are there countervailing pairs in *Tai Ji* like *Yin* and *Yang*? Laozi and Zhuangzi did not talk about *Tai Ji*. They only focused on *Dao*, "*Dao* gave birth to the One, the One gave birth successively to two things, ..." *Dao* does not have *Yin* and *Yang* by nature. Wang Fuzhi disagreed with this and took the stance that "... it is not that *Tai Ji* is like a haughty father and *Liang Yi* is the sons. ... *Tai Ji* does not elevate and isolate itself from *Yin-Yang*" (*Internal Commentary on the Book of Changes*, Volume 3 – *Zhouyi Neizhuan*, gang *san*). Wang Fuzhi's understanding of *Tai Ji* is just the indiffusible movement of *Yin* and *Yang*, which can be called *Yin Yun*. Therefore the relationship between *Tai Ji* and *Yin-Yang* is not like father and son, nor is it like creator and created. *Tai Ji* by nature encompasses countervailing elements like *Yin* and *Yang*. Thus everything in the world has its countervailing elements; *Tai Ji* is no exception. He emphasized that containing countervailing elements is the nature of everything without exception. Everything in nature contains the following elements in opposing pairs: calmness and restlessness, hardness and softness, fortune and misfortune, favor and adversity. As it is stated: "[t]he coexistence of these opposing pairs is the innate nature of *Tai He Yin Yun*"[29] (*Commentary on Zhang Zai's zhengmeng*, Volume 1).

Wang Fuzhi has his own unique perspective on the issue of the motion and stasis of objects. He contended that when *Yin* and *Yang* coexist indiffusibly – "a state known as *Tai He Yin Yun*" – "they are still, by nature, in motion," though this may not be obvious on the surface (*Commentary on Zhang Zai's zhengmeng*, Volume 1). People have observed the stasis and the motion of specific objects, all of which are by their nature in motion, and are the embodiment of the *Tai He Yin Yun*. Thus, Wang Fuzhi focused on promoting the Confucianist doctrine of human nature. He said that "doctrine is the source of ideas; in everyday life it is promoted" (*Lizhe, shengli ye, risheng ze richengye*) (*Explanations on the Classic of History*, Volume 5 – *Shangshu Yinyi. Juan wu*). The development of human nature is a process in perpetual motion, which requires doughty striving. Human nature is renewed each day. Wang Fuzhi inscribed on the wall of each of his dwelling places the couplet:

[27] Here *Liang Yi* refers to *Yin* and *Yang*.

[28] *Si Xiang* refers to the "Four Image" theory in Chinese traditional culture.

[29] *Tai He Yin Yun* here refers to supreme harmony and the coexistence of *Yin* and *Yang*.

"The Six Classics compel me to break a new frontier/ I am seven feet tall and beg the sky to bury me alive." This indicates his willingness to learn from traditional Chinese culture as well as to augment it.

Questions

1. Summarize the main points of Confucius and Mencius's thoughts.
2. Summarize the characteristics of ancient Chinese thoughts.

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Chapter 11
The Treasure House of Ancient Chinese Literature and Art

With distinctive features and generations of renowned artists, ancient Chinese literature and art can boast great achievements and their own aesthetic systems. They occupy a very important position in the global history of ancient literature and art. In terms of literature, there have survived masterpieces in poetry, *ci* (lyrics), *qu* (lyric song), *fu* (the ode), prose, *pianwen* (parallel prose), fiction, and drama that are both profound in thinking and beautiful in form. In the other arts, there have survived treasures of deep intrinsic meaning and a variety of styles, whether we look at calligraphy, painting, music, dance, sculpture, architecture, or craft. To explore the treasures of ancient Chinese literature and art is a project of great significance, and so too is to inherit the fine traditions of literature and art of our own nation, which may increase our national self-confidence. The following chapter takes into account literature, calligraphy, painting, music, and dance when illustrating the great achievements of ancient Chinese literature and art.

11.1 The Long History of China's Literary Heritage

Ancient Chinese literature has a long but pronounced history. Each historical era has its self-contained formal system.

The main literary forms of the pre-Qin Period (before 221 BC) were prose (*sanwen*) and poetry (*shige*). In terms of prose, there remain examples of historical prose (*lishi sanwen*), such as the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*), the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo zhuan*), *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu*), and *Strategies of the Warring States* (*Zhan guo ce*), and the prose of famous pre-Qin philosophers (*zhuzi sanwen*) such as *Laozi*, the *Analects* (*Lunyu*) of Confucius, *Mozi*, *Mengzi*, *Zhuangzi*, *Xunzi*, and *Han Feizi*. Although these two types of prose are not strictly speaking literary

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works, the spirit of recording facts objectively and the style of narration of historical prose served as the basis of ancient Chinese narrative prose and established the basic structure of ancient Chinese narratives. Moreover, the deep thought and vivid expression of this prose are also canonical for the prose of later periods. In particular, *Zhuangzi*, with its fables, historical legends, mythological stories, and make-believe, exerted a profound and lasting impact on the idealism and romanticism of later years. Poetry may be represented by the *Book of Poetry* and the "Songs of the State of Chu" (*Chu ci*). The *Book of Poetry* is a collection of poems composed over more than 500 years, from the Western Zhou Dynasty to the middle of the Spring and Autumn Period. It was originally sung to musical accompaniment, comprising three styles – *Feng*, *Ya*, and *Song*. Among these, the *Ya* includes the substyles known as *Da ya* and *Xiao ya*, while the *Song* includes three substyles: *Zhou*, *Lu*, and *Shang*. The main form of *Feng* is "local feng" (*Tu feng*), that is to say, local or folk tunes, most of which are ballads collected from some 15 nations and regions (mainly from the Yellow River Basin, with others from the Yangtze River Basin and the Han River Basin) by officials called *Xingren* who were sent out by the Court. *Ya* and *Song*, by contrast, are mostly the music of the Zhou Dynasty, created by the *literati*. With the four-character poem (*si yan shi*) as its major form, poetry of this era is rich in content and diverse in expression. Among these, the spirit of realism in *Feng* poems and the awareness of suffering in *Ya* poems were to have the greatest impact on future generations. The "Songs of the State of Chu" was a literary form developed by Qu Yuan (343–278 BC) and Song Yu (*fl.* 298–222 BC) on the basis of the original "Sounds" and "Songs" of Chu. Huang Bosi (1079–1118 AD) of the Song Dynasty said: "the *literati*, such as Qu Yuan and Song Yu, all wrote in the language of Chu, compiled the songs of Chu, recorded issues related to the place of Chu and described objects of Chu. Hence the name *Chu ci*" (Preface to "Editing *Chu ci*," Volume 92, *Reflections on Literature made in the Song Dynasty – Jiaoding "Chu ci" xu: Songwen Jian, juan 92*), emphasizing the local characteristics of Songs of Chu. The representative works are Qu Yuan's "Sorrow at Parting" (*Li sao*), *Nine Songs* (*Jiu ge*), "Nine Chapters" (*Jiu zhang*), and "Asking the Heaven" (*Tian wen*) and Song Yu's *Nine Debates* (*Jiu bian*). Qu Yuan is a world-renowned patriotic poet. The patriotic feelings and lucid sense of right and wrong, the persistent spirit of exploration, the noble ideal of personality, and a wealth of life experience, together with wonderful imagination and beautiful language, constitute the magnificent but graceful style of his work and make it a treasure of literary history.

The Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) is renowned for its achievements in *Fu*, *Yuefu*, prose, and scholarly five-character poems (*Wenren wuyan shi*). *Fu* of the Han Dynasty takes many forms, including the *Saoti Fu* (*Fu* with the style of *Sao*), *Shiti Fu* (poetic prose), *Da Fu* (big *Fu*), and the lyrical *Xiao Fu* (small *Fu*). Of these, the *Da Fu* is the most spectacular. The *Da Fu*, with its broad perspective, majestic momentum, grand structure, beautiful language, and the combination of rhyme and form, depicted many aspects of the capital city, Chang'an. Its scenes of contemporary hunting reflected the grand scene and aesthetic taste of the Han Empire. Consequently, it is referred to as the literature of the Han Dynasty. Poems representative of *Da Fu* in the Han Dynasty include "Seven Shots" (*Qi fa*) by Mei

Cheng (*fl.* second century BC); "Imperial Garden" (*Shang lin*) and "Fiction" (*Zi xu*) by Sima Xiangru (179–127 BC); "Sweet Spring" (*Gan quan*), "Hunting" (*Yu lie*), "Poplar" (*Chang Yang*), and "East of the River" (*He Dong*) by Yang Xiong (53 BC–18 AD); "Two Capitals" (*Liang Du*) by Ban Gu (32–92 AD); and "Two Capitals" (*Er Jing*) by Zhang Heng (78–139 AD). The lyrical *Xiao Fu* is rather special. "Returning to the Countryside" (*Guitian fu*) by Zhang Heng and "On the Evils of the Society" (*Cishi jixie Fu*) by Zhao Yi (122–196 AD) expressed dissatisfaction with the dark reality of the Eastern Han Dynasty by using odd-even-interweaving language and beautiful rhyme and rhythm. *Yuefu* was originally the name of the government office in charge of music during the Qin and Han Dynasties. It was where musicians would sing folk songs collected from across the country and poems written by certain scholars with musical accompaniment. Its lyrics were also known as *Yuefu*; subsequently, *Yuefu* became the name of a poetic genre. On the one hand, *Yuefu* followed the tradition of the *Feng* in the *Book of Poetry* in that they reflected the livelihoods, worries, and happiness of the common people and were mostly in the *Za yan* style (poems of uneven length); on the other hand, it was also the source of the *Gexing ti* ("Song Poem") of future generations. The form of the Han Dynasty prose was richer than the pre-Qin period and included a variety of genres such as political commentary (*zhenglun*), philosophy (*zheli*), letters (*shuxin*), miscellaneous history (*zashi*), miscellaneous biography (*zazhuan*), and biographical prose (*jizhuan*). Among these, it is biographical prose which displays the highest achievements. The *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*) by Sima Qian, with its spirit of objective record that neither falsely praised nor purposefully disguised evil acts, has been acclaimed not only by historians but also by literary writers. The vivid expressions and narratives imbued with deep life experience, together with its strong lyrical style, made it, as Lu Xun suggested, "the Masterpiece for historians and 'Sorrow at Parting' without rhyme".[1] Created in the late Eastern Han Dynasty, *Nineteen Old Poems* (*Gushi shijiu shou*) is representative of the scholarly five-character poem. Despite the number of poems it gathers together being small, these poems became classics and mark the maturation of five-character poetry, having a direct impact on subsequent poetry writing in the Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties.

The Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties (220–589 AD) were a time of literary consciousness. The most prominent characteristic of these times were that each writer reflected his/her own personality in the work, with a unique style. In terms of literary creation, the most outstanding achievement of this period was in poetry and parallel prose. The five-character poem was the major kind of poetry, encompassing an extremely broad variety of themes, which reflected the plight of people, frontier life, description of landscape and pastoral life, celebration of love, elucidation of philosophy, and even pursuit of immortals. There were a number of writers who made outstanding literary achievements – the so-called Three Caos(*San Cao*), that is to say, Cao Cao (155–220 AD), Cao Pi (187–226 AD), and Cao Zhi

[1] See Lu Xun, *Sketches of History of Chinese Literature: Sima Xiangru and Sima Qian.*

(192–232 AD), together with Wang Can (177–217 AD), Cai Yan (born before 178 AD), Ruan Ji (210–63 AD), Ji Kang (223–62 AD), Lu Ji (261–303 AD), Pan Yue (247–300 AD), Zuo Si (250–305 AD), Liu Kun (271–318 AD), Guo Pu (276–324 AD), Tao Yuanming (365–427 AD), Xie Lingyun (385–433 AD), Bao Zhao (*c*. 415–70 AD), Xie Tiao (464–99 AD), and Yu Xin (513–81 AD). Among them, the pastoral and landscape poetry created by Tao Yuanming and Xie Lingyun had the greatest impact. Tao's simple and natural style had a direct influence on the landscape and pastoral poets of the Tang Dynasty and also created the aesthetic realm pursued by later writers. Furthermore, Cao Pi, Bao Zhao, and Yu Xin opened the first road for poets of the Tang Dynasty in terms of seven-character song poems (*qiyan gexing*). In addition to the creation of a *literati*, higher-level achievements were also made through the *Yuefu* folk songs of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. "Parallel prose" – a style of duality in selection of words – paid great attention to the beauty of symmetry, rhythm, rhyme, and diction. Well-known writers such as Cao Zhi, Lu Ji, Pan Yue, Bao Zhao, and Yu Xin created great masterpieces, the highest achievement of which was that of Yu Xin who not only used duality, idioms, and rhetoric techniques very skillfully but also added a profound intrinsic significance to parallel prose. Hence, he is called a master of parallel prose.

Poetry was regarded as the preeminent literature of the Tang Dynasty (618–907 AD). Wen Yiduo (1899–1946) described the Tang Dynasty as the "poetic Tang" (*shi Tang*): "poetic Tang means the Tang Dynasty is a dynasty of poetry."[2] The prosperity of Tang poetry is to be found not only in its number of masters and masterpieces, rich themes, and various styles but in also its range of genres. Tang poetry has three principal genres: "archaic" (*gu ti*), "contemporary" (*jin ti*), and "Sao style" (*Sao ti*). There are two sources for the archaic poems: first, the *Nineteen Old Poems* that formed the so-called archaic style (*gufeng*) with writers' recreation over the Six Dynasties and second, *Yuefu* poetry from the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties that formed the so-called Song Poems (*gexing*), mainly five- and seven-character poems. "Contemporary poems" can be traced back to the "Yongming style" (*Yongming ti*) of the Qi Dynasty, which is characterized by its attention to temperament and has two subcategories: the quatrain (*jueju*) and the octave (*lüshi*). "Sao style" derives from the "Songs of Chu." Poets in the Tang Dynasty attempted a variety of styles.

Wang Wei (699–759 AD), Meng Haoran (689 or 691–740 AD), Gao Shi (*c*. 704–65 AD), Cen Sen (*c*. 715–70 AD), Wang Changling (698–756 AD), Li Bai (701–62 AD), Du Fu (712–70 AD), Bai Juyi (772–846 AD) (Picture 17), Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD), Han Yu (768–824 AD), Li He (790–816 AD), Du Mu (803–52 AD), and Li Shangyin (*c*. 813–58 AD) were all poetry masters. Wang Wei and Meng Haoran elevated pastoral poetry to a very high level as Meng Haoran excelled in five-character poems. Meanwhile, Wang Wei produced masterpieces in both five-

[2]Quoted from Zheng Linchuan, *On Ancient Chinese Literature by Wen Yiduo* (Chongqing: Chongqing Publishing House, 1984), p. 82.

character and seven-character poems. Wang was not only accomplished at writing poetry but also at painting. By merging poetry and painting, his work reached an artistic effect "painting in poetry" (*Shi zhong you hua*) and "poetry in painting" (*Hua zhong you shi*). His landscape and pastoral poems, such as "Autumn Twilight in the Woods" (*Shanju qiuming*), "Zhongnan Mountain" (*Zhongnan Shan*), "Looking to the Wild after Rain" (*Xinqing yewang*), and "Farming Family at Weichuan" (*Weichuan tianjia*), are representatives of "painting in poetry." He had a deep Buddhist edification, and his poetry bore a realm of ethereal quietness and Zen implications, such as "The Dale of Singing Birds" (*Niao ming jian*) and "Deer-breeding Ground" (*Luzhai*) gathered in *The Collections at Wangchuan* (*Wangchuan Ji*). Hence, he is named the "Buddha of Poetry" (*Shi fo*). Gao Shi, Cen Sen, and Wang Changling became famous for their frontier poems (*biansai shi*) with all three of them being skilled at song poems with each employing different styles and syntax. With an untrammeled and romantic character, Li Bai was deeply influenced by the Taoist spirit as his poems were written in a powerful and unconstrained style. Known as the "poetic god" (*Shi xian*), he was at his best in seven-character song poems and quatrains. His masterpieces include seven-character song poems such as "Hard Roads in Sichuan" (*Shudao nan*), "Bringing in the Wine" (*Qiang jinjiu*), "The Hard Road" (*Xinglu nan*), and "Ascending Mount Tianmu in a Dream" (*Mengyou tianmu yin liubie*) and quatrains such as "View of a Waterfall at Mount Lu" (*Wang Lushan pubu*), "Song of the Moon over Mount E'mei" (*E'mei shan yuege*), and "Seeing Azaleas at Xuancheng" (*Xuancheng jian dujuanhua*). Magnificence and elegance are his dominant styles. Du Fu's Confucian-influenced works are filled with a strong concern for the fate of his country and the people. The dominant style of his poems is contemplation and rhythm. His masterpieces are profound in conception and succinct in language, such as "Thought of Five Hundred Words on Leaving the Capital for Fengxian" (*Zi jing fu fengxianxian yonghuai wubaizi*), "Soldier's Song" (*Bingche xing*), "Three Officials and Three Farewells" (*Sanli sanbie*) – namely, "Official in Xin'an" (*Xin'an li*), "Official in Tongguan" (*Tongguan li*), "Official in Shihao" (*Shihao li*), "The Newlyweds' Farewell" (*Xinhun bie*), "The Old Couples' Farewell" (*Chuilao bie*), and "Farewell of One Without a Home" (*Wujia bie*) – "Poem Written When the Thatched Roof Cottage was Ruined by Autumn Wind" (*Maowu wei qiufeng suopo ge*), "Eight Poems on Autumn" (*Qiuxing bashou*), and "Ascent" (*Denggao*). From the perspective of poetic genre, Du Fu was skilled in every form and was thus called a master of synthesis (*ji da cheng*). Yuan Zhen (779–831 AD) said: "As for Zi Mei (Du Fu's courtesy name), he overtook the achievement of the *Book of Poetry* (the Western Zhou to the Spring and Autumn Period) and Qu Yuan (the Warring States Period), surpassed Shen Quanqi and Song Zhiwen in the early Tang Dynasty, stayed close to Su Weidao and Li Qiao in the early Tang Dynasty and surmounted Cao Zhi and Liu Zhen in the Jin Dynasty. His poems discarded the proud loneliness of Yan Yanzhi and Xie Lingyun and continued the grace and elegance of Xu Ling and Yu Xin. His poetry contains a variety of genres from ancient China to the contemporary while assembling the characteristics of each master in the history of Chinese poetry." (Preface to the epitaph of Du Fu, the former official "deputy director" of the Bureau of Construction in the Tang

Dynasty – *Tang gu gongbu yuanwailang dujun mu xi ming bing xu*). His poetry is regarded as the criterion by poets of later generations and he is respected as the "Sage of Poem" (*Shi sheng*).

Bai Juyi was also profoundly influenced by the Confucian school. In his early years, he advocated the idea that "one should show concern about the common people." He thought, "articles are written for the era while poems for reality" ("To Yuanjiu" – *Yu Yuanjiu shu*). His allegorical poems, such as 50 poems in "New *Yuefu* Poems" (*Xin Yuefu*), ten poems in "Chanting in Central Shaanxi" (*Qinzhong yin*), and "Writing poems to reflect the people's livelihood and sufferings" (*Wei ge sheng min bing*) in "To Mr. Tang" (*Ji Tangsheng*), criticized the shortcomings of reality, which aroused the resentment of dignitaries. His sentimental poem "Song of Everlasting Sorrow" (*Changhen ge*) is excellent in both content and language. It describes the love between concubine Yang Yuhuan (also known as Yang Guifei) and Emperor Xuanzong (Li Longji) and helped to spread Bai Juyi's fame throughout the nation. In 815 AD, the 10th year of Yuanhe (the regnal title of Emperor Xianzong of the Tang Dynasty), in response to the assassination of Prime Minister Wu Yuanheng, Bai Juyi, as "officer who tutors the crown prince" (*Taizizanshan Da Fu*), made requests to the Court, asking for an investigation into the case with the hope that this would wipe out the disgrace it had brought upon the nation. However, he was criticized for acting beyond his post and authority and demoted to the post of commander of Jiangzhou (now Jiujiang City in Jiangxi Province) by those in power. The following year, he composed the famous sentimental poem "Song of a Lute Player" (*Pipa xing*) and since then turned to "preserve his own integrity and pay no attention to others" (*du shan qi shen*), writing poems to describe his will and personal feelings. His poetic language is easily understood, which made his poems not only very popular during his time but later helped them to be exported to Japan, Korea, and other countries. The poetic characteristics of other poets – such as Liu Yuxi's heroic spirit, Han Yu's strength, Li He's beautiful sadness, Du Mu's majestic posture, and Li Shangyin's deep emotion – gave a permanent charm to their respective poems.

Besides poetry, prose, romance, *ci*, and popular literature (such as "changed novel," *Bianwen*, and "popular prose," *Su fu*), there were also great achievements in the Tang Dynasty; among these, prose and romance were especially notable. Han Yu and Liu Zongyuan conveyed their discontent at the situation at that time whereby parallel prose only focused on form but ignored content. Thus, they promoted the study of prose of the Qin, Western Han, and Eastern Han Dynasties that were characterized by odd-character sentences and singular lines. They called prose of this kind "classical prose" (*Gu wen*). Their numerous outstanding works include Han Yu's argumentative writings such as "Original Truth" (*Yuan dao*), "Original Destruction" (*Yuan hui*), "On Teachers" (*Shi shuo*), and *Various Essays* (*Za shuo*), Liu Zongyuan's allegory "Abstaining from Three Things" (*San jie*), landscape essay "Eight Essays in Yongzhou" (*Yongzhou baji*), and so on. These works had pushed the development of prose to a new level. Romances such as Bai Xingjian's (776–826 AD) *The Life of a Girl* (*Nüwa zhuan*), Yuan Zhen's (779–831 AD) *The Life of Yingying* (*Yingying zhuan*), Jiang Fang's (*c.* 792–836 AD) *The Life of Huo Xiaoyu*

(*Huo Xiaoyu zhuan*), Li Gongzuo's (*c*. 778–848 AD) *The Life of Procurator Nanke* (*Nanke taishou zhuan*), and Li Chaowei's (*c*. 766–820 AD) *The Life of Liu Yi* (*Liu Yi zhuan*) were considered excellent for their depiction of human emotions, with most of them adapted into dramas in the Ming and Qing Dynasties.

From the mid-Tang Dynasty, *ci* gradually thrived. After the expansion of *ci* made by Wen Tingyun (812–70 AD), Wei Zhuang (836?–910 AD), Feng Yanji (903–60 AD), and Li Yu (937–78 AD) in the late Tang Dynasty and Five Dynasties (907–79 AD), it had turned into the literature of an epoch, that is, the Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD). The term *ci* originated from folk music among the people and from the "song of minorities." The so-called song of minorities and among the people (*Huyi lixiang zhi qu*) referred to the music of the ethnic minorities in the Western Regions and the folk music of the interior of China. Its main accompanying musical instrument was the *pipa*, the Chinese lute. In terms of form, it has long and short sentences with special metrical requirements. According to different rhythms, there is a variety of styles such as *Yin*, *Ling*, *Jin*, and *Man*, among which *Ling* and *Man* were the major forms. Poems in the early Song Dynasty written by poets such as Fan Zhongyan (989–1052 AD), Ouyang Xiu (1007–72 AD), Yan Shu (991–1055 AD), and Yan Jidao (1030–1106 AD, 1038–1110 AD, or 1038–1112 AD) are mostly *Ling ci*. Earlier examples of *Man ci* were created by Zhang Xian (990–1078 AD) and a large number of specimens of *Man ci* originated from the poet Liu Yong (987–1053 AD). Liu's masterpieces "Watching the Sea-tide" (*Wang haichao*), "Eight Sounds in Ganzhou" (*Basheng ganzhou*), and "Song of the Rain" (*Yu lin ling*) either depict the bustling city, the feelings experienced when one is on a journey, or the emotions felt when saying goodbye. Liu's works have complicated forms and deep meanings, manifested by layer upon layer. The mainstream style of Song *ci* possesses graceful and restrained features. Liu Yong, Qin Guan (*c*. 1049–1110 AD), Zhou Bangyan (1056–1121 AD), and Li Qingzhao (1084–1155 AD) are well-known poets of the graceful and restrained school of Song *ci*. Su Shi (1037–1101 AD) wrote *ci* as poems, introducing poetical content, themes, emotions, and techniques into the creation of Song *ci*, which in turn contributed to the diversity of style in Song *ci*. Su's powerful and unconstrained style of writing has a strong and encouraging power, which is presented in his poems "Tune: Charm of a Singer. Meditation on the Past at the Red Cliff" (*Nian nu jiao. Chibi huaigu*), "Tune: Song of River City. Go Hunting in Mizhou" (*Jiang cheng zi. Mizhou chulie*), and "Tune: Prelude to Water Melody. The Mid-autumn Festival" (*Shuidiao getou .Mingyue jishi you*). In terms of graceful and restrained Song *ci*, Su Shi also produced many masterpieces, such as "Tune: Water Dragon Chant. Following Zhang Zhifu's Verse on Willow Catkins" (*Shui long yin. Ciyun zhangzhifu yanghua ci*), "Tune: Song of River City. A Decade between Life and Death" (*Jiang cheng zi. Shinian shengsi liang mangmang*), "Tune: Song of Divination. The Waning Moon Hangs on the Sparse Tung Twigs" (*Bu suan zi. Que yuegui shutong*), and so on. The rulers of the Southern Song Dynasty only retained sovereignty over a diminished part of the country, while heroes at the time had no opportunity to serve their country. Zhang Xiaoxiang (1132–69 AD), Zhang Yuangan (1091–1161 AD), Xin Qiji (1140–1207 AD), Chen Liang (1143–94 AD), Liu Kezhuang (1187–1269 AD), and Liu Chenweng (1233–97 AD) consciously

inherited the powerful and unconstrained style from Su Shi, expressing their deeply patriotic enthusiasm and unconstrained spirit. Xin Qiji's "Tune: Water Dragon Chant. Climbing Shangxin Pavilion in Jiankang" (*Shui long yin. Deng Jiankang Shangxin ting*), "Tune: Joy of Eternal Union. Meditation on the Past at Beigu Pavilion in Jingkou" (*Yong yu le. Jingkou Beigu ting huaigu*), and "Tune: Dance of the Cavalry. A Heroic Song Composed for Chen Tongfu" (*Po zhen zi. Wei Chen Tongfu fu zhuangci yi jizhi*) evoke a broad vision and powerful writing ability. These are harnessed in order to present a complicated feeling of grief and indignation at not being given the chance to exercise his abilities. Deeply moved by his work, later generations regarded him the peer of Su Shi and referred to them as "Su and Xin." Other masters of *ci* in the Southern Song Dynasty, such as Jiang Kui (1154–1221 AD), Wu Wenying (1200–1260 AD), Shi Dazu (1163 AD-1220 AD?), Zhou Mi (1232–98 AD), Wang Yisun (1240–1290 AD), Jiang Jie (1254?-? AD), and Zhang Yan (1248–1320 AD), were all skilled in music and rhyme. They paid much attention to the accuracy of meter, the free and natural style of writing, and the eternal artistic conception for which they were dubbed "masters of metrical school (*Gelü pai*)."

The Song Dynasty also saw high achievements in poetry and prose. In contrast to the poetry of the Tang Dynasty which paid attention to the expression of diverse feelings, Song Dynasty poetry was more particular about the principle and interest. Poetic achievements of the Northern Song Dynasty were represented by Su Shi and Huang Tingjian, while in the Southern Song Dynasty, the most accomplished individuals were Lu You (1125–1209 AD), Yang Wanli (1127–1206 AD), and Fan Chengda (1126–1193 AD). Ouyang Xiu, Su Xun (1009–1066 AD), Su Shi, Su Zhe (1039–1112 AD), Wang Anshi (1021–1086 AD), Zeng Gong (1019–1083 AD), and Lu You were famous prose masters of the Song Dynasty.

Literature of the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368 AD) is "lyric song" (*qu*) that includes "nondramatic lyrics" (*san qu*) and "poetic drama" (*za ju*). Nondramatic lyrics were generated in the Song and Jin Dynasties (1115–1234 AD), which had their origins among the people. Many of the tunes were from the ethnic minorities in the northern parts of ancient China, including Khitan, Nüzhen, and Mongolia. There were two kinds of nondramatic lyrics – short lyric (*Xiao ling*) and song cycle (*Tao qu*). Short lyric refers to a single song, while song cycle consists of two or more songs that have the same tune, generally with an ending. Nondramatic lyrics can also be referred to as long and short sentences. However, a lining word[3] (*chenzi*) can be added to it and its rhyme can be flat, up, or down. In this way, it has a freer and more lively style than *ci*. Poetic drama was a theatrical form that was sung by using northern tunes. Its general system included a play of four highlights and a prologue. There are four major types of role: *dan* (the female role), *mo* (often a middle-aged man), *jing* (the painted face role), and *za* (minor role). Among these, only main characters like *zhengdan* (the main female character) or *zhengmo* (the main middle-aged role) are allowed to sing, while other roles have purely spoken parts. The lyrics sung by

[3] *Chenzi* means word inserted in a line of verse for balance or euphony.

the *zhengdan* are called *danben* and those sung by the *zhengmo* are *moben*. Famous writers of poetic drama in the Yuan Dynasty included Guan Hanqing (*c*. 1241–1320 AD), Wang Shifu (1250–1307 AD?), Bai Pu (*c*. 1226–1306 AD), Ji Junxiang (*fl*. thirteenth century), Kang Jinzhi (dates unknown), and Zheng Guangzu (dates unknown). Guan Hanqing's *Grievance of Dou'e* (*Dou'e yuan*) and *The Single Knife Meeting* (*Dandao hui*), Ma Zhiyuan's *Autumn in the Palace of Han* (*Hangong qiu*), Wang Shifu's *The Romance of the Western Chamber* (*Xixiang ji*), Bai Pu's *Rain on the Plane Trees* (*Wutong yu*) and *On the Wall and Horseback* (*Qiangtou mashang*), Ji Junxiang's *The Orphan of the Zhao Family* (*Zhaoshi gu'er*), Kang Jinzhi's *Li Kui's Apology* (*Li Kui fujing*), and Zheng Guangzu's *A Fair Girl's Soul Departed* (*Qiannü lihun*) are great masterpieces. *A Fair Girl's Soul Departed* uses the tragic fate of Dou'e to expose the cruel reality of the Yuan Dynasty. It features dark officialdom, the rampage of hooligans, and usury and as a whole strongly criticizes the evils of that time. *The Romance of the Western Chamber* dramatizes the pursuit of free love between Zhang Sheng and Cui Yingying. The concepts of family status and parental, which were key to contemporary feudal society, are negated, in favor of the beautiful love ideal of "May lovers be happy couples in the world." *The Orphan of the Zhao Family* is the story of an orphan and the people who tried to save him at self-sacrifice, through which it praises justice and human nature. It was believed by Wang Guowei[4] that "it is no sense of shame even being listed one of the greatest tragedies of the world" (*The Textual Criticism of Traditional Chinese Operas in the Song and Yuan Dynasties – Songyuan xiju kao*). It was also the first Chinese drama that was introduced to the west. Generally speaking, *za ju* writers also wrote *san qu*. For example, the abovementioned Guan Hanqing, Ma Zhiyuan, and Bai Pu were famous *San qu* masters. Their masterpieces include Ma Zhiyuan's "Tune: *Tian jing sha*. The Soul of Autumn" (*Tian jing sha. Qiu xing*) and "Double tune: *Ye xing chuan*. Autumn Thoughts" (*Shuangdiao yexing chuan*), Sui Jingchen's (*c*. 1275–*c*. 1320 AD) "Tune: *Banshe*. Homecoming of the Gaozu Emperor of the Han Dynasty" (*Ban she diao. Han Gaozu huangxiang*), and Zhang Yanghao's "Tune: *Shan po yang*. Meditation on the Past at Tongguan" (*Shan po yang. Tongguan huaigu*).

Xiwen is also an important part of drama in the Yuan Dynasty which had its origins at the end of Northern Song Dynasty and the beginning of Southern Song Dynasty. It came from the Wenzhou area, hence its other names: *Wenzhou za ju*, *Yongjia za ju*, or "southern drama." It was later called "romance" (*Chuan qi*). Its major roles are *sheng*, *dan*, *jing*, and *mo*, all with a free-singing style. The main role is not limited to one lead singer. As performances consist of several sections, the length of a romance is long. The well-known southern drama plays include four legends: *The Romance of a Poor Woman* (*Jingchai ji*), *The Romance of a White Rabbit* (*Baitu ji*), *Worshipping-the-moon Pavilion* (*Baiyue ting*), and *The Romance of Killing Dogs* (*Shagou ji*), as well as Gao Ming's (*c*. 1305–1370) *The*

[4]Wang Guowei (1877–1927) was a notable writer, scholar, and poet. Liang Qichao, Chen Yinque, Zhao Yuanren, and him were known as the Four Great Tutors (*Qinghua sida daoshi*) at Tsinghua University, Beijing.

Romance of the Lute (*Pipa ji*). Among these, *Worshipping-the-moon pavilion* and *The Romance of the Lute* are regarded as representing the highest ideological and artistic achievements.

In the Ming (1368–1644 AD) and Qing (1644–1911) Dynasties – especially the Qing – achievements were made in almost every kind of literary forms, including poetry, *ci*, *san qu*, and *pianwen*. However, the most spectacular of literature at that time was fiction (novels and short fictions) and drama. For novels, there were *zhanghui* (chapters) novels that evolved from "historical narratives" (*jiangshi*) and "popular stories" (*pinghua*) in the Song and Yuan Dynasties. As speakers told stories of a particular duration, each time these naturally formed episodes of equal length. Then it had numbered and titled chapters with features such as a complete form, a serial story, and neat paragraphs. Serial novels with chapters were generally vernacular novels as it generated from folk vocal art forms such as storytelling. Well-known *zhanghui* novels include Luo Guanzhong's (*c*. 1330–1400 AD) *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi*), Shi Nai'an's (*c*. 1296–1372 AD) *The Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan*),[5] Wuming Shi's (*fl.* sixteenth century AD) *The Golden Lotus* (*Jinping mei*), Wu Cheng'en's (*c*. 1500–1582 AD or 1505–1580 AD) *A Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji*), Wu Jingzi's (1701–1754 AD) *Unofficial History of the Literati* (*Rulin waishi*), Cao Xueqin's (1715 or 1724–1763 or 1764 AD) *A Dream of Red Mansions* (*Honglou meng*), and Xu Zhonglin's (d. 1560 AD) *The Legend of Canonization of the Gods* (*Fengshen yanyi*). *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* presents history with a magnificent momentum, evoking vivid figures such as Zhuge Liang (181–234 AD), Guan Yu (d. 220 AD), Cao Cao (155–220 AD), Liu Bei (161–223 AD), Sima Yi (179–251 AD), and Zhao Yun (d. 229 AD). *The Water Margin* reveals the social origins of "chaos that originated from the upper social classes" (*luan zi shang zuo*), creating typical characters such as Song Jiang, Lin Chong, Li Kui, Wu Song, Lu Zhishen, and the three brothers with the surname of Ruan. *The Golden Lotus* is the first text to shift literary creation from the realms of historical romance to daily life. *A Journey to the West* and *The Legend of Canonization of the Gods* pushed the literary imagination of ancient people to the extreme. *Unofficial History of the Literati* incisively criticized the fission of human natures caused by eight-legged essay system (*bagu wen*, meaning "stereotyped writing"). *A Dream of Red Mansions* broke away from traditional writing in various respects, such as characterization, the choice of theme, structure, method of narration, and use of language and pushed the classical novel its artistic pinnacle. Its many characters such as Jia Baoyu, Lin Daiyu, Xue Baochai, Wang Xifeng, Qing Wen, and Tan Chun still exercise an attraction in the present day. They have become immortal classics. Short stories can be divided into two kinds, vernacular novels and novels written in the classical Chinese language. Vernacular novels originated from "script for storytelling" (*huaben*) of the Song and Yuan Dynasties. From the middle of the Ming Dynasty, the *literati* began to emulate vernacular novels and hence the name given to this kind of literature "imitation works of *huaben*." One novel of

[5] Also widely known in English as *The Outlaws of the Marsh*.

this kind generally tells one story with a central theme and a relatively concise and succinct writing style. Well-known *nihuaben* novels include Feng Menglong's (1574–1645 AD) *Three Words* trilogy (*Sanyan*), namely, *Stories to Caution the World* (*Jingshi tongyan*), *Stories to Awaken the World* (*Xingshi hengyan*), and *Stories from Chinese Culture* (*Gujin xiaoshuo*), also referred to as *Illustrious Words to Instruct the World* (*Yushi mingyan*). Also included in this category is Ling Mengchu's (1580–1644 AD) *Two Strokes* (*Erpai*), namely, *Amazing Stories Vol. 1* (*Chuke pai'an jingqi*) and *Amazing Stories Vol. 2* (*Erke pai'an jingqi*). There are 120 novels in *Three Words* and 78 in *Two Strokes*, respectively, most of which reflect the concept of life and values of common city residents at that time. "Lucky Oil Vendor Winning the Pretty Courtesan's Hand" (*Maiyoulang duzhan huakui*) is a love story concerning an oil vendor Qin Zhong and a prostitute Zi Yaoqin. "Courtesan Du Shiniang's Jewel Box" (*Du Shiniang nuchen baibaoxiang*) praises the sincerity and errantry of Du Shiniang and punishes the hypocrisy and unfaithfulness of Mister Li Jia. "Reunion of Jiang Xing with Pearl Shirt" (*Jiangxing ge chonghui zhenzhu shan*) relates the story of Jiang Xing who disregarded the unfaithfulness of his wife and reunited with her.[6] "Lucky Man Encountering Dongting Hong" (*Zhuanyun han yuqiao Dongting Hong*) and "Cheng's Getting Help Abroad" (*Die juqi chengke dezhu*) are both from *Two Strokes* and relate how merchants advanced in life. All have a high ideological and artistic value. The most famous short novels written in classical Chinese language are to be found in Pu Songling's (1640–1715) *Strange Tales from a Lonely Studio* (*Liaozhai zhiyi*). Through stories of fox fairies and ghosts, the collection reflects life in a devious way and expresses the attitude and ideal of the writer. "Ying Ning," "Qing Feng," "Xiao Cui," "Nie Xiaoqian," and "Bai Qiulian" describe the moving romances between young men and women, and each has a strong appeal to this day.

Dramatic forms of the Ming and Qing Dynasties include *zaju*, *chuanqi*, and local dramas. The most famous *zaju* is *Four Apes* (*Sisheng yuan*) by Xu Wei (1521–1593 AD), a playwright of the Ming Dynasty. It consists of four plays: *History of Violent Drum* (*Kuanggu shi*), *Jade Buddhist Monk* (*Yu chanshi*), *Female Mulan* (*Ci Mulan*) and *Female No. 1 in the Imperial Examinations* (*Nü zhuangyuan*). *Female Mulan* is the story of Mu Lan who went to the army for her father, while *Female No. 1 in the Imperial Examinations* introduces Huang Chongjia who, wearing the disguise of a man, managed to win the title of number one scholar. These two stories praise females who are able to wield the pen and the sword as well as their male counterparts. They broadcast the capabilities and personalities of women and challenge the feudal ideology which showed contempt for the female. Romance was divided into two major schools in the Ming Dynasty, namely, the School of Linchuan (*Linchuan pai*) that was represented by Tang Xianzu (1550–1616 AD) (known as such because he came from Linchuan, Jiangxi Province) and the School of Wujiang (*Wujiang pai*) that was represented by Shen Jing (1553–1610 AD) (known as such because he came from Wujiang, Jiangsu Province). The Linchuan

[6]These three stories are all taken from *Three Words*.

school placed more emphasis on the "meaning of song" (the ideological significance of drama) and ornate language, hence its other names such as the "school of literary grace" (*Wencai pai*). The Wujiang school focused on the musicality and entertaining feature of dramas and the acceptability of language. As it valued theatrical effect, it is also became known as the "school of true qualities" (*Bense pai*). The two schools had various emphases, each betokening merit. In terms of achievements in actual creativity, Tang Xianzu is regarded the greatest exponent. His dramas *The Story of the Purple Hairpin* (*Zichai ji*), *The Peony Pavilion* (*Mudan ting*), *The Southern Tributary State* (*Nanke ji*), and *Dream of Handan* (*Handan ji*) are collectively referred to as the "Four Dreams of Linchuan" (*Linchuan simeng*). *The Peony Pavilion* is the story of a young woman, Du Liniang, and her pursuit of love. She died for love and was reborn for love – the sense of absolute love is manifested during the cycle of "born to death and death for rebirth." This is a harsh criticism of the "Neo-Confucianism" that confined human natures. *The Palace of Longevity* (*Changsheng dian*) by Hong Sheng (1645–1704) and *The Peach-Blossom Fan* (*Taohua shan*) by Kong Shangren (1648–1718) in the Qing Dynasty are also masterpieces of romance. *The Palace of Longevity* praises the constant love between Yang Yuhuan and Li Longji. *The Peach-Blossom Fan* discloses reasons for the decline of Nanming Dynasty and expresses the rise and fall of a nation felt by the author through twists and turns experienced in the love story between the courtesan Liang Xiangjun and the *Fushe* writer Hou Fangyu.

From the mid-Ming Dynasty onwards, *Kun* opera was valued for its grace of diction by governors and scholar officials and become the mainstream, referred to as "Graceful Style" (*yabu*), while the local dramas were called "thrumb" or "popular style." During the late Qing Dynasty, *Kunqu* was replaced by emerging *Pihuang xi*, also called "Peking opera." Besides Peking opera, there were four local operas – *Nankun* (southern Kun opera melody), *Beiyi* (northern Yiyang opera melody), *Dongliu* (eastern Liuzi opera melody), and *Xibang* (western Bangzi opera or clapper opera). These four operas generated many local operas that had their own repertoire and rich themes and were widely liked by the masses due to their lively form, rugged style, and plain language.

11.2 An Extraordinarily Diverse Legacy of Calligraphy and Painting

The origin of calligraphy lies in synchrony with the emergence of written words, while the emergence of written words has close connections with painting. The six categories of Chinese characters include pictograms, phono-semantic compounds, ideogrammic compounds, ideograms, rebus, and transformed cognates. Generally speaking, the first four are ways to create words, while the latter two are ways to use words. The pictogram was the earliest way to create words and the basis for the generation and derivation of every word. As pictograms relate to sound and

meaning and serve as the basic method, phono-semantic compounds, ideogrammic compounds, and ideograms are all expanded from pictograms. It has been obvious from the very beginning that Chinese characters are related to pictures.

Calligraphy not only pays attention to the script, the script style, and the stroke but also to the relationship between words, particularly the spacing between words. It is connected with painting because it reveals the subjective emotions and aesthetic concepts of authors through the charm, verve, and testimonies of the script and the general layout. It has, therefore, been repeatedly said – by people ranging from Zhang Yanyuan (*c*. 815–*c*. 877 AD) in the Tang Dynasty to many calligraphic theorists in the Qing Dynasty – that calligraphy and painting share the same origin. Certainly, there are significant differences between calligraphy and painting – written characters continuously develop from the concrete to the abstract, while painting always maintains its figurative characteristics; the subjectivity of calligraphy is confined by the limitation of script itself while the subjectivity of painting is restricted by its objects. These factors inevitably lead to the bifurcation between the two and the fact that different artistic features resulted in different artistic pursuits of the two forms. In addition, the art of calligraphy, no matter how independent it appears to be, hardly escapes its own practical limits since its basic function is to record language. Nonetheless, painting can enter into a purely artistic plane, divorced from any practical functions.

Early writing was created to fulfill a practical purpose and had a strong sense of utility. However, as a kind of creation, there must be the involvement of subjects – the aesthetic trend of an author and even of an era. Pottery artifacts unearthed at Banpo (belonging to the Yangshao Culture)[7] bear patterns of text which are similar to written words, and the makers of these had begun to pay attention to the changes in the graphic lines. Inscriptions on oracle bones from the Shang Dynasty, inscriptions on Zhou Dynasty bronzes, the big seal script (*Da zhuan*), and seal script (*Zhuan wen*) of the Spring and Autumn Period and the official script of the Qin and Han Dynasties all present different features in terms of structure, calligraphic techniques, and overall layout. The various senses of beauty exhibited by these scripts make them represent diverse aesthetic values. Roughly speaking, inscriptions on oracle bones are relatively thin, tough, and elegant; inscriptions on bronze are relatively solid and dignified; seal script is solemn and quaint; official script is tactful and vigorous. All reflect the different fashions and art styles of different periods. Starting from the later Western Han Dynasty, people began the conscious pursuit of the art of calligraphy. The sign of this consciousness was the emergence of the theory of calligraphy. In "Discussions of the Law, Asking God" (*Fayan: wenshen*), Yang Xiong (53 BC–18 AD) stated that:

> It would be difficult if words could not reach one's heart and writing could not express one's feelings. Only saints obtain the key to words and the style of writing[. . .]. Thus, words are said from the heart and calligraphy is drawn from the heart.

[7] See Chap. 1 for further information about Yangshao Culture.

He connected "words" (*yan*) with "calligraphy" (*shu*) with the reasoning that fine words require fine styles in which to record them and that these styles emerge from the choices that the authors have made in their hearts. In connecting calligraphy with the creative spirituality of people, Yang Xiong had realized that the creation of calligraphy could not be separated from one's personal subjectivity. "Calligraphy is drawn by the heart" (*Shu wei xin hua*) thus became the fundamental statement in calligraphic theories.

In the Eastern Han Dynasty, the official script (*Lishu*) was transformed into the cursive official script (*Caoli*) in order to adapt to the speed of writing official documents. During the reign of the Emperor Zhang of the Eastern Han Dynasty (75–88 AD), after the improvements made by the great calligrapher Du Cao, cursive official script turned to be *zhangcao*. The so-called *zhangcao* is not only related to Emperor Zhang but also to the official report made to the emperor and written in *cao* (cursive script), as is stated in "Ode to Calligraphy" (*Shu shu fu*) by Dou Gao, a calligraphic theorist in the Tang Dynasty:

> Du Cao, who styled himself as "Bo Du," was from Jingzhao and died while holding the position of prime minister. Emperor Zhang valued his calligraphy and his official reports that were written in his own style. Hence the name *zhangcao*.

Although the advent of *zhangcao* still came about in response to practical needs, its brushwork was of obvious abstractness as it was created out of certain aesthetic ideas and then it was more of artistic subjectivity. Du Cao's disciple, Cui Ai was also a famous calligrapher. On the basis of his creative practice, he summarized the creation of *zhangcao* from a theoretical perspective and wrote the well-known essay on calligraphy "The Style of Cursive Script" (*Caoshu shi*). The 286 words that have survived from the essay point out the features of cursive script:

> It is square without straight lines, round without rules. Repressing on the left and scattering on the right, it looks like italics but implies flying [. . .]. Every detail of this style is excellent and is designed to its own conditions. (Yan Kejun, *Quan houhan wen* (*Complete Essays of the Eastern Han Dynasty*), Vol. 45)

This is also to say that *zhangcao* is not an orthodox style. With its flying brushwork, it places emphasis upon expressing the emotions of authors. The highest achievements in *zhangcao* were made by Zhang Zhi (died in 192 AD), who came from Jiuquan, Gansu Province, and styled himself as "Bo Ying." He never held any official posts but rather focused solely on calligraphy. He learned to write at an early age by the side of a pool, something which caused the pool to become black. What he learned was the *zhangcao* of Du Cao and Cui Ai, and he was to excel in this genre, reaching a level that was unprecedented and unequaled. Hence, he got his title "Sage of Cursive calligraphy" (*Cao sheng*).

The most successful individual in the genre of official script was Cai Yong (132–92 AD) who was a writer and at the same time, a calligrapher. During the Xiping Period (172–8 AD) (the regnal title for Emperor Ling of the Eastern Han Dynasty), Cai, together with Tang Huodian and Yang Ci, made an official report to Emperor Ling proposing that the seriously inaccurate texts of the *Six Classics* should be corrected and revised. They requested that they should be allowed to engrave

the corrected texts on stone tablets and set them outside the Imperial Academy in Luoyang (the capital of that time) so that all scholars from across the country could follow suit. Their request was approved by the emperor. The actual texts engraved were seven classical books – the *Book of Changes* (*Yi jing*), the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*), *Poems of Shandong* (*Lushi*), *Book of Rites* (*Yili*), the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), the *Commentary of Gongyang on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Gongyang zhuan*), and the *Analects* (*Lunyu*) of Confucius. The script used was the standard official script of the Han Dynasty, written by Cai Yong himself on stone and then engraved by artisans. It represented the highest level of *hanli* in terms of calligraphy. There were 46 stone tablets in total with characters engraved on both sides. These became the renowned Xiping Stone Classics (*Xiping shijing*). However, they were totally destroyed after two upheavals at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty and the end of the Western Jin Dynasty, respectively. One hundred or so fragments of these stone tablets have been unearthed piece by piece since 1922. According to Luo Zhenyu's[8] research, they were probably mended by people in the later dynasties and so were not the originals.

During the Cao and Wei Dynasties, the most famous calligraphers were Zhong Yao (151–230 AD) and Wei Ji. Both were accomplished in a variety of calligraphic genres. "Conferment of General Title to Wei Gongqing Monument" (*Wei Gongqing shang zunhao bei*) by Zhong Yao and "Conferment Monument" (*Shoushan bei*) by Wei Ji both used the official script of the Wei Dynasty but have different styles. The former is elegant, while the latter is dignified. In the second year of Zhengshi (241 AD) (the regnal title of Emperor Cao Fang of the Qi Dynasty), Wei Ji led the engraving of the "Stone Classics in Three Styles" (*San ti shi jing bei*). The three styles were "ancient script" (*Guwen*), "seal scipt" (*Zhuanwen*), and "official script" (*Lishu*). The classics engraved were the *Classic of History* (*Shangshu*), the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), and part of the *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo zhuan*). The number of original stones amounted to 28 pieces and some were unearthed during the reign of Emperor Guangxu of the Qing Dynasty (reigned 1874/1875–1908) and after the liberation which brought about the founding of the People's Republic of China.

Zhong Yao contributed much to the establishment of regular script (*Kaishu*). After the formation of *zhangcao* and the further improvements made by Wang Cizhong, a Taoist priest of the late Eastern Han Dynasty, it was gradually close to the regular script. On the basis of this, Zhong Yao made an official script into the regular script. Those engraved calligraphic manuscripts of Zhong Yao handed down from ancient times include "Celebrations of Victory" (*He jie biao*), "Announcement" (*Xuan shi biao*), and "Recommendation of Ji Zhi" (*Jian Ji Zhi biao*). These are mostly copies or printed versions rather than being the originals.

[8]Luo Zhenyu (1866–1940) was a scholar, philologist, and antiquarian and famous for his attempts to preserve early specimens of writing on oracle bones and bamboo slips, as well as for acting as an advisor to the last emperor Puyi.

With the arrival of the Jin Dynasty (265–420 AD), calligraphy entered into an on the whole prosperous period and a number of calligraphic masters emerged, such as the Wei family represented by Wei Jin (the son of Wei Ji); the Suo family represented by Suo Jing (the grandson of Zhang Zhi); the Lu family represented by Lu Ji and his brother Lu Yun; the Xi family represented by Xi Jian; the Yu family represented by Yu Liang and his brothers Yu Yi, Yu Bing, and Yu Yi; the Xie family represented by Xie Shang and his brother Xie Wan; and the Wang family represented by Wang Xizhi and his son Wang Xianzhi. The earliest and most trusted authentic manuscript of the Jin Dynasty is "Pacification" (*Ping fu tie*) by Lu Ji. It is in *zhangcao* style written with a bald brush and dry ink and is regarded as being among the most precious relics of Jin Dynasty calligraphy because of its powerful brushwork. Qi Gong, one of the most famous contemporary calligraphers, calls it "the King of Calligraphy" (*Mo huang*). The highest achievements were made by the Wang family. The calligraphy of Wang Xizhi (303–361 AD) and Wang Xianzhi (344–86 AD) represented the highest level of calligraphy of the Jin Dynasty. As is recorded in the *Book of Calligraphy* (*Fashu yaolu*) by Zhang Yanyuan of the Tang Dynasty, there were 465 pieces of calligraphic works by Wang Xizhi, among which "On Yue Yi" (*Yue Yi lun*) was written in small regular script, Preface to the "Collection of Lanting" (*Lanting ji xu*) was written in running script, and "Seventeen Posts" (*Shiqi tie*) written in cursive script. The originals of these works do not exist and those versions which survive were copied from the authentic ones by later generations. Besides, the Preface written by Wang Xizhi on Buddhism to the "Collection of Huairen" (*Huairen ji* wang shu shengjiao xu or Shengjiao xu – "Preface to Buddhism" for short) is a collection of Wang Xizhi's calligraphy made by later generations. The Preface to the "Collection of Lanting") (Picture 18) has been praised by calligraphers of every later generation and regarded as the "first running script calligraphy across the nation" (*Tianxia diyi xingshu*). It has natural and smooth lines and demonstrates a smart handling of the brush and a loose layout, being free while obeying the rules. It is soft yet forceful and graceful but rigorous. The work fully shows the artistic personality of Wang Xizhi and the spirit of the Jin Dynasty which so admired charm and manners. Wang Xizhi's calligraphy has been highly valued by later generations and he is known as the "Sage of Calligraphy" (*Shu sheng*). Wang Xianzhi also made innovations. He studied running script but did not only concentrate on this. He broke the limits of regular script and cursive script and created the styles of running and regular style (*Xingkai*) and running and cursive style (*Xingcao*), collectively referred to as "breaking style" (*Po ti*). His representative works include "Mid-Autumn" (*Zhongqiu tie*) and "Twelve Months" (*Shi'er yue tie*). Most of the specimens of calligraphy from the Northern Dynasty that have survived to the present day are stone inscriptions, among which Zheng Daozhao and his son Zheng Shuzu were the most famous contributors. They were renowned for the *weibei* style and the famous extant stone tablets inscribed by them include the "Stele of Zheng Xi" (*Zhengwengong bei*) and the stone inscriptions on Mounts Yunfeng and Tianzhu.

Calligraphers in the Sui and Tang Dynasties can be divided into two groups: one that valued rules and one that valued liberty. The former group included masters

such as Ouyang Xun (557–641 AD), Yu Shinan (558–638 AD), Chu Suiliang (597–658 AD), Xue Ji (649–713 AD), Liu Gongquan (778–865 AD), and Yan Zhenqing (709–85 AD). They were skilled at a variety of styles, but regular script was their main direction. Their typical works are characterized by the fact that while they obey the rules, they also enjoy informality. In this way, they display a majestic spirit, redolent of the manners, and broad mind of the people of the Tang Dynasty. Despite sharing the same style, they each exhibit unique features. Ouyang Xun's calligraphy has a strict word structure, with square bodies but round lines. This is called "Ou style" (*Ou ti*). The "Stele of the Huadu Temple" (*Huadu si bei*) and "Record of the Discovery of Water Spring at the Jiucheng Palace" (*Jiucheng gong liquan ming*) are his representative works. Yu Shinan's calligraphy has both strength and tenderness. On account of the artistic dialectics, it was called "magic brush" (*Juebi*). His representative works include the "Stele of the Confucius Temple" (*Kongzi miaotang bei*). Chu Suiliang's writing was delicate with an inner strength and was referred to as "excellent work" (*Miaopin*). The "Preface of Buddhism at the Big Wild Goose Pagoda" (*Yanta shengjiao xu*) and "The Sutra of Yinfu" (*Yin fu jing*) are his representative works. Xue Ji's calligraphy is rigid and thin, bearing the charm of *weibei* and being very unique in the Tang Dynasty. His representative work is the "Stele of the Buddhist Monk Xinxing" (*Xinxing chanshi bei*). Liu Gongquan's writing has inner power and external edge, with brushwork of strength, and was called "Liu Style" (*Liu ti*). **"**The Diamond Sutra**"** (*Jingang jing*) and the "Stele of the Xuanmi Pagoda" (*Xuanmi ta bei*) are his representative works. Yan Zhenqing's writing, with much steadiness and strict structure, bore beauty out of vigor and elegance out of magnificence. It was the best among all the regular calligraphies in the Tang Dynasty and hence was called "Yan style" (*Yan ti*). This, together with Du Fu's poems, Han Yu's essays, and Wu Daozi's paintings, is referred to as one of the "Four Wonders" (*Si jue*) of the Tang Dynasty. Many representative works survive, and for people who study "Yan style" today, their main models are usually the "Stele of Duobao Pagoda" (*Duobao ta bei*) and "Stele of the Prosperity of the Great Tang Dynasty" (*Datang zhongxing bei*). Those who valued liberty in style included Sun Guoting (646–91 AD), He Zhizhang (*c*. 659–744 AD), Zhang Xu (*fl*. eighth century), and Huai Su (737–99 AD). One feature they had in common was that they neglected fame and wealth, regarding calligraphy as being their lives. They also brought their unique personalities and manners into their works. Their creations were mostly cursive calligraphy as the abstractness and impressionistic feature of cursive script could best express the subjectivity of the authors. Sun Guoting's cursive calligraphy was developed from regular script, with discontinuity between characters and freehand brushwork, though it did not stay far from the rules. It came to be seen as a current cursive style characterized by the changes in script and free style of brushwork (*Jincao*). The most notable of his masterpieces was "Introduction to Calligraphy" (*Shu pu*), which was considered as the introduction to cursive calligraphy for beginners. He Zhizhang and Zhang Xu were renowned for their reckless lives and as love of wine. He Zhizhang styled himself as "the unruly person of Siming" (*Siming kuangke*) and Zhang Xu was called "crazy Zhang" (*Zhang dian*). The "Song of Eight Immortals in Drinking"

(*Yin zhong baxian ge*) by Du Fu lists both of them together with Li Bai in the eight immortals. Although both wrote cursive calligraphy, their styles are different – that of He Zhizhang is looser than Sun Guoting's, but what he has in common with Sun is the discontinuity between characters with a slight *zhangcao* style. Zhang Xu was good at using connectors. This much is related in the same poem by Du Fu where it says that "Zhang Xu, the sage of cursive calligraphy always drinks three cups, even takes off his hat in front of princes but writes his calligraphy like cloud and smoke." His cursive calligraphy, called "wild cursive script" (*kuangcao*), presented feelings of flying momentum and liberty. His title as "sage of cursive calligraphy" (*Cao sheng*), together with Li Bai's poems and Pei Man's sword dance, is referred to as the "three wonders" (*San jue*). Huai Su, a monk, worked very hard to practice calligraphy and wrote on different materials such as leaves of Chinese banana trees and even his own robe. The brushes he used were piled up and buried under mountains, the site becoming known as the "tomb of brushes" (*Bi zhong*). He also had eccentric traits and was thus called the "wild monk" (*Kuang seng*); his calligraphy was named "wild cursive calligraphy" (*kuangcao*), and with Zhang Xu, he shared the monicker "sage of cursive calligraphy" (*Cao sheng*). The two of them were known as "crazy Zhang and wild Su" (*Dian Zhang kuang Su*). However, the two had different styles. Zhang liked using big brushes, while Huai Su preferred thin and bald ones. "The Sutra of Filial Piety" (*Xiao jing*) by He Zhizhang, "Four Ancient Poems" (*Gushi sitie*), "Abdominal Pain" (*Dutong tie*) and "A thousand-character essay" (*Qianzi wen*) by Zhang Xu, and "Monologue" (*Zixu tie*) and "Saint Mother" (*Shengmu tie*) by Huai Su were ancient Chinese calligraphic treasures. A number of famed calligraphic works of running calligraphy were produced in the Tang Dynasty, such as "The Inscription of Hot Spring" (*Wenquan ming*) by Emperor Taizong (Li Shimin), "Essay on Literature" (*Wen fu*) by Lu Jianzhi (585–638 AD), and the "Stele of Lushan Temple" (*Lushan si bei*) by Li Yong.

The rational element was obvious in the artistic works of the Song Dynasty. This is demonstrated by something unique in terms of calligraphy – the calligraphy was free from certain rules and its limitations were personal. The most successful calligraphers were Cai Xiang (1012–1067 AD), Su Shi (1037–1101 AD), Huang Tingjian (1045–1105 AD), and Mi Fu (1051–1107 AD). The four all focused on running calligraphy but had different styles. Cai Xiang's calligraphy was plump and dynamic; Su Shi's was full of manners, being forceful and tender at the same time; Huang Tingjian's calligraphy, full of charms, was mild and attractively clear, being identifiable as running script but also with a slight cursive style; Mi Fu was also gifted at both running and cursive scripts, with his running calligraphy being fine and straight and bearing a sense of agility. Many precious calligraphic works were produced by these four masters, including "Dwelling in the Mountain" (*Shanju tie*) and "Farewell to the Capital" (*Lidu tie*) by Cai Xiang; "The Period of Zhiping" (*Zhiping tie*), "Cold Food Day in Huangzhou" (*Huangzhou hanshi tie*), and "Discussions of Essays with Xie Minshi" (*Yu Xie Minshi lunwen tie*) by Su Shi; "The Story of Fan Pang" (*Fan Pang zhuan*) and "Poems at Songfeng Pavilion" (*Songfeng ge shijuan*) by Huang Tingjian; and "Poems at Taixi" (*Taixi shijuan*) and "Calligraphy on a Kind of Sichuan Silk" (*Shu su tie*) by Mi Fu. Besides, the

thin bronze calligraphy created by Emperor Huizong (Zhao Ji) (1100–1125 AD) of the Song Dynasty is also unique. Its outward appearance is thin and tough, while the interior is rich, elegant, and straight. His masterpiece is "A-thousand-character Essay Written in Shoujin Calligraphy" (*Shoujin shu qianzi wen*).

The most accomplished calligrapher in the Yuan Dynasty was Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322 AD). His regular calligraphy is rigorous and yet beautiful, being known as "Zhao's style" (*Zhaoti*). He enjoys equal fame with Ouyang Xun, Yan Zhenqing, and Liu Gongquan.

There were numerous brilliant calligraphers and famous calligraphic works in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, among whom were Shen Zhou (1427–1509 AD), Zhu Yunming (1460–1526 AD), Wen Zhengming (1470–1559 AD), Tang Yin (1470–1524 AD), Wang Chong (1494–1533 AD), Xu Wei (1521–1593 AD), and Dong Qichang (1555–1636 AD) from the Ming and Fu Shan (1607–84), Liu Yong (1719–1804), Jin Nong (1687–1763/1764), Zheng Xie (1693–1765), Deng Shiru (*c*. 1739/1743–1805), and He Shaoji (1799–1873) from the Qing. The feature they shared in common is that all were adept at learning from their predecessors while at the same time creating new styles and expressing their uniqueness. Masterpieces of "running calligraphy" include *A Collection of Five-character "Regulated" Verse* (*Wuyan lüshi zhou*) written in running script by Shen Zhou, *A Collection of Cao Zhi's Poems* (*Cao Zhi shice*) written in running and cursive calligraphy, Zhu Yunming's *The (Former) Thoughts on the Past at Red Cliff* (*Qian Chibi fu*) written in current cursive calligraphy and *A Collection of Du Fu's Poems* (*Du Fu shizhou*) written in wild cursive calligraphy, Wen Zhengming's *The Biography of Gu Chunqian* (*Gu Chunqian zhuanzhou*) written in small regular calligraphy, Wang Chong's "A Thousand-Character Essay" (*Qianzi wen juan*) written in running and cursive calligraphy and *Poems of Song Zhiwen* (*Song Zhiwen shi*) written in running and cursive with a slight *zhangcao*, Xu Wei's *Poems* (*Shi zhou*) written in wild cursive calligraphy, Dong Qinchang's *On Paintings* (*Lun huace*) written in running calligraphy and *The Art of Letter-Writing* (*Chi du*) written in running and cursive calligraphy, Fu Shan's *Seven-character Poems* (*Qijue shizhou*) written in seal calligraphy and *Five-character Poems* (*Wuyan shizhou*) written in official calligraphy, Liu Yong's *Volume of Small Regular Scripts* (*Xiaokai ce*) written in small regular calligraphy, Jin Nong's *The Standing Volume of Official Script* (*Lishu lizhou*) written in official calligraphy, and Zheng Xie's *Seven-character Poems* (*Qiyan shizhou*) written in running, official, and cursive scripts.

Chinese painting is both realistic and impressionistic, yet attaches more importance to likeness in spirit than likeness in appearance. It has a number of techniques, among which the most basic is the use of lines and colored ink. The themes of Chinese painting vary through different historical periods, with paintings trying to reflect every aspect of social life. Even so, the most common themes are figures, landscapes, animals, flowers, trees and shrubs, buildings, pavilions, and religious stories.

Chinese painting has a considerable history. From the archaeological findings, patterns of ancient painted pottery of the Majia Kiln (Yangshao Culture) and bronze tripod from the Shang and Zhou dynasties are decorative arts and crafts rather than

paintings of independent significance. Paintings on silk, paintings on eaves tiles, frescoes, brick paintings, lacquer paintings, wooden screen paintings, and wooden slip paintings from the Warring States Period to the Qin and Han Dynasties are of high aesthetic value as they depict objects such as animals, plants, people, real scenes, and illusory ones. The most accomplished among these is painting on silk. *Figures with Dragon and Phoenix* (*Longfeng renwu tu*) which was unearthed at the Chenjia Dashan Chu Tomb, Changsha, in 1949, *Dragon Boat Riding Painting* (*Yulong tu*)[9] which was unearthed at the Zidanku Chu Tomb in Changsha in 1973, and the mortuary paintings on silk which were unearthed from the No. 1 Han Tomb of Ruanhou Licang's wife and the No. 3 Han Tomb of his son in Mawang dui, Changsha, from 1972 to 1974, all of these reflect the rich imagination and superb drawing skills of the painters. However, in general, paintings of this period do not seem to completely dispense with utilitarian and decorative features, still bearing the characteristics of art and handicraft articles.

The Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties were a period when the art of painting became self-conscious. This is shown by the fact that contemporary paintings were gradually jettisoning the utilitarian and decorative functions and pursuing independent aesthetic values. Under these circumstances, a large number of outstanding works appeared, together with a fairly systematic theory of painting. At this time, two themes in painting became most striking: figure painting and landscape painting. The most accomplished painter of figures was Gu Kaizhi (*c*. 344–406 AD) of the Jin Dynasty. His masterpieces include *Painting on the Goddess of the Luo River* (*Luoshen fu tu*) and *Painting of Lady Officials* (*Nüshi zhen tu*). Both of these survive only in copies made by later generations and portray figures which are very lively and vivid. Gu Kaizhi had a unique insight into portraits: "For [an] ugly face, there is originally no good ways to draw [it]. However, the vivid portrayal lies in the painting of eyes." He also wrote essays about the theory of painting: "On Painting" (*Hua lun*), "Appraisal of Famous Paintings in the Wei and Jin Dynasties" (*Weijin shengliu hua zan*), and "Records of Painting Mount Yuntai" (*Hua Yuntai shan ji*). The famous painter of this time, Xie He (479–502 AD), was an accomplished portrait painter. As is stated by Yao Zui in "Records of Features of Paintings" (*Xu hua pin lu*), Xie He was "careful with every spot and brush and aim[ed] for an extreme likeness. Each detail of the face such as eyes and hairs [was] not lost." He pursued vivid and realistic drawing when he painted people. Xie He was also an influential theorist of painting. In "Appreciations of Ancient Paintings" (*Guhua pinlu*), he identifies "six rules" (*liu fa*) for painting: "vivacious artistic conception, forceful brushwork, pictographic likeness, different colors according to different types, operating positions and constant copy drawing and writing" (*Yi yue qiyun shengdong, er yue gufa yongbi, san yue yingwu xiangxing, si yue suilei fucai, wu yue jingying weizhi, liu yue chuanyi moxie*). The six rules have formed the classic theories for ancient Chinese painting. The most accomplished landscape

[9]Names of these two paintings were quoted from Wang Bomin, *The History of Chinese Painting* (Shanghai: Shanghai People's Fine Arts Publishing House, 1982).

painters were Zong Bing (375–443 AD) and Wang Wei (415–453? AD). Zong Bing loved landscapes and traveling: "All that he has traveled to is painted in his drawing room" (*Fan suo youli, jie tu zhi yu shi*) (*Book of Song: Biography of Zong Bing – Songshu: Zong Bing zhuan*). He put forward the famous theory "advocacy of spirit" (*Chang shen*) in his Preface to *Landscape Painting* (*Hua shanshui* xu), which stated that landscape creation serves to adjust the relationship between humankind and nature and to explore the spiritual realm of people. The same essay also illustrates the principle of perspective: "closer, bigger; further away, smaller" (*jin da yuan xiao*). Wang Wei's theory of painting is stated in "On Painting" (*Xu hua*). At the end of this essay, he observes that "The spirit of painting is not only using hands and skills but also one's mind." This emphasizes how people should draw with their hearts rather than merely execute techniques.

Painting entered into a prosperous state during the Sui and Tang Dynasties. Paintings of this period feature figures, landscapes, flowers, birds, horses, ghosts and spirits, and buildings as their main themes. A painter was often accomplished in either one aspect or many aspects of painting. For example, Zhan Ziqian (*c.* 550–604 AD), a painter of the Sui Dynasty, had a talent for painting horses and landscape. With the famous painters Yan Liben (*c.* 600–73 AD) and Wu Daozi (680–759 AD), portrait painting reached a very high level. *Emperors of Past Dynasties* (*Lidai diwang tu*) depicts the thirteen emperors from the Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty, describing the spiritual outlook of each according to their characters and achievements. *Pacing Carriage* (*Bunian tu*) represents the scene when Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty receives Lu Dongzan, the envoy from Tibet dispatched to broker the marriage of Princess Wencheng. The different expressions and postures of the receiver and the received offer the viewer a sense of being on the scene in person. Wu Daozi was accomplished at painting religious themes. He produced a great number of temple frescoes among which the most famous is *Hell in Disguise* (*Diyu bianxiang*). It is said that the ghastly horrors of the hell he painted make people fear punishment and sorely repent. His famous painting *The Presentation of Buddha* (*Songzi tianwang tu*), once spread to Japan, is based on the story of the birth of Sakyamuni. Although it is a religious story, the looks and postures of characters are vivid as ordinary people and replete with a human touch. Zhang Yanyuan recorded in the second volume of *Famous Paintings of Past Dynasties* (*Lidai minghua ji*) the words of Wu Daozi: "Everyone is cautious about the likeness of appearance while I diverge from the beaten track." This illustrates that his painting not only seeks after likeness in appearance but also pays great attention to the representation of people's mental state, making efforts to break off from vulgarity and depict novelty. The superb drawing techniques of Wu Daozi won him the title "Sage of Painting" (*Hua sheng*). The most gifted landscape painters were Li Sixun (648–713 AD or 651–716 AD), Wang Wei, and Zhang Zao (*fl.* eighth century AD). Li Sixun's landscape paintings were sketched with lines, colored with green smalt and then with green, and filled with azurite and malachite green, a procedure which had a great influence on later generations and constituted the turquoise school of landscape painting (*Qinglü pai*). The landscape painting of Wang Wei is rated as "poetry in painting" by Su Shi (inscribing *Misty Rain in Lantian – Ti Lantian yanyu*

tu). Sometimes he colored deeply like Li Sixun and at other times, he painted in water ink with a fresh and cool style, something which had a significant impact on the later Nanzong painting school. The painter Dong Qichang of the Ming Dynasty even regarded him as the progenitor of the Nanzong School of Painting (*Nanzong huapai*). The extant *Snow on River and Mountain* (*Jiangshan jixue tu*), *Picture of Shanyin* (*Shanyin tu*), and *Picture of Snowy Brook* (*Xuexi tu*) are believed to have been painted by Wang Wei. Zhang Zao focused on water ink in his painting that was original in terms of techniques. He also had a unique view upon the theory of painting and wrote the book *Mirror of Paintings* (*Huajing*), which has been lost but from which a classic saying remains: "The techniques are learned from teachers while the essential is learned by one's own heart." The master of flower and bird painting in the Tang Dynasty was Xue Ji (649–713 AD), and the masters of horse painting were Cao Ba (704–70 AD) and Han Gan (*c*. 706–83 AD). The sole surviving painting by Han Gan is *The Luminous White Horse* (*Zhaoyebai*). Wei Yan (*fl.* eighth century AD) was a famous painter of oxen, and his sole surviving painting is the *Five Oxen* (*Wuniu tu*). Most of the many frescoes in the Tang Dynasty were made by folk artists, among which the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang are the most representative. The Dunhuang frescoes, though mainly focusing on religious stories, include quite a number of images that reflect the lives of the upper nobility or of civilians. The scenes in some of the frescoes are magnificent and include many characters, with unique designs, rich coloring, vivid figures, and various techniques. They are of significant aesthetic value as well as historical and cultural value.

From the Five Dynasties to the Song Dynasty, portrait, flower and bird, and landscape painting comprised the bulk of paintings. Gu Hongzhong (937–75 AD), a painter of Southern Tang, was a master of portrait painting. His masterpiece *Han Xizai's Evening Banquet* (*Han Xizai yeyan tu*) has enjoyed a long and renowned history owing to the vividly accurate expressions of its characters. Li Gonglin (1049–1106 AD) of the Song Dynasty invented the line drawing method, pushing painting, particularly portrait painting to a new level. The *Picture of Vimalakirti* (*Weimojie tu*), which is believed to have been painted by him, is a fine example of portrait line drawing. Su Hanchen (*fl.* 1130–1160s AD) was adept at drawing children and his masterpiece is the *Picture of Peddlers* (*Huolang tu*). The most accomplished flower and bird painters of the Five Dynasties were Xu Xi (886–975 AD) and Huang Quan (903–65 AD). Xu Xi was a hermit in Jiangnan (along the southern reaches of the Yangtze River). His paintings, mainly based on country life, were mostly painted in water ink and using light colors, with a "wild and handsome" style. Huang Quan, a court painter, based his drawing on the aesthetics of the aristocracy. He often sketched the lines with light ink and colored with dark colors, in a "rich and prosperous" style. Critics therefore differentiate between their styles with the saying "Huang's richness and prosperity and Xu Xi's wildness and handsomeness." There is no authentic masterpiece of Xu Xi, while for Huang Quan, his *Picture of Precious Birds* (*Zhenqin tu*) has survived. Famous flower and bird paintings of the Song Dynasty include *Picture of Peach and Dove* (*Tao jiu tu*) and *Five-colored Parrot* (*Wuse yingwu tu*). Water-ink plum and bamboo painting also reached high levels, for example, in Wen Tong's (1019–1079 AD) bamboo painting

Picture of Ink Bamboo (*Mozhu tu*). Yang Wujiu (1097–1171 AD) was a specialist in painting plums, and his paintings include *Picture of Snow Plum* (*Xuemei tu*) and *Four Plum Blossoms* (*Si meihua tu*). Su Shi was also skilled at painting, and his painting *Picture of Old Tree, Bamboo, and Stone* (*Gumu zhushi tu*) has been passed on. Famous landscape painters of the Five Dynasties include Jing Hao (*c*. 855–915 AD), Guan Tong (*c*. 906–960 AD), Dong Yuan (*c*. 934–*c*. 962 AD), and Ju Ran (*fl*. tenth century). Jing Hao is known for his panoramic landscape painting that has a magnificent style. Guan Tong learned from Jing Hao and they are collectively called "Jing Guan." Their masterpieces are *Chronicle* (*Kuanglu tu*) by Jing Hao and *Waiting at the Side of a Mountain Stream* (*Shanxi daidu tu*) and *Traveling in Guanshan* (*Guanshan xinglü tu*) by Guan Tong. The paintings of Dong Yuan take the coloring of Li Sixun and water ink from Wang Wei, presenting the spirit of landscapes while forming his own style. His masterpieces include *Picture of a Mountain in Summer* (*Xiashan tu*), *Proud People in Longxiu* (*Longxiu jiaomin tu*),[10] *Picture of Hunan* (*Xiaoxiang tu*), and *Cold Woods and Sandbank* (*Hanlin chongting tu*). Ju Ran learned from Dong Yuan and had a similar calligraphic style to Dong, the two of them being collectively referred to as "Dong Ju." Ju explored more deeply the artistic conception of landscape paintings and drew with a "transparent, cool, and bright" style. His masterpieces are *Asking the Way at a Mountain in Autumn* (*Qiushan wendao tu*), *Wind and Pine at Cliffs* (*Wanhe songfeng tu*), and *Painting of Stream and Mountain* (*Xishan tu*). Landscape painters of the Song Dynasty were all influenced by the four masters – Jing, Guan, Dong, and Ju. The famous painters of this time include Li Cheng (919–967 AD), Fan Kuan (*fl*. 990–1020 AD), Guo Xi (*c*. 1020–*c*. 1090 AD), Mi Fu, Mi Youren (1074–1153 AD), Li Tang (1050–1130 AD), Liu Songnian (1174–1224 AD), and Ma Yuan (*c*. 1160/1165–1225 AD). Li Cheng used ink as though it were a precious substance and captured the appearance of mountains and rivers well. *Xiao Temple and Mountains on a Sunny Day* (*Qingluan xiaosi tu*) is said to have been painted by him. Fan Kuan attached importance to the vigor of strokes and was best at painting snow scenes. His masterpieces are *Traveling in Mountain and by Stream* (*Xishan xinglü tu*), *Xiao Temple and Snowy Mountain* (*Xueshan xiaosi tu*), and *Cold Woods and Snowy Scenes* (*Xuejing hanlin tu*). Li Cheng and Fan Kuan are together referred to as "Li Fan." Guo Xi was a court painter, who was at first influenced by Li Cheng and then formed his own style. He excelled at the time in the structure and layout of his painting. His representative works include *Early Spring* (*Zaochun tu*), *The Deep Valley* (*Yougu tu*), *Nest Stone* (*Keshi pingyuan tu*), and *Stream and Mountain in Autumn* (*Xishan qiuji tu*). Mi Fu and his son Mi Youren are collectively called the "Two Mis." Both were capable at using ink, particularly in the dotting drawing style of landscape, which became known as *Dotted Landscape by Mi* (*Midian shanshui*). They are unique among landscape painters of the Song Dynasty with their existing masterpieces including

[10]The name of this painting was mistakenly written as "Long su jiao min tu" and was corrected according to the statement by Mr. Qi Gong. For details, please see Chen Chuanxi, *The History of Chinese Landscape Paintings* (Tianjin: Tianjin People's Fine Arts Press, 2001), p. 86.

Painting of Hunan (*Xiaoxiang tu*) and *Painting of Cloud and Mountain* (*Yunshan deyi tu*) by Mi Youren. Li Tang, Liu Songnian, and Ma Yuan were academic landscape painters and each produced masterpieces that have been passed on.

Among the paintings of the Song Dynasty, *Along the River during Qingming Festival* (*Qingming shanghe tu*) by Zhang Zeduan (1085–1145 AD) is worth mentioning. With a panoramic setting, it truly presents the life and traditions of Kaifeng, the capital of the Northern Song Dynasty. Having broad themes and diverse artistic skills, it surmounts the pinnacle of painting at that time and is of enduring value.

Paintings in the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties bore considerable changes if compared to the previous dynasty. The painting of the *literati* dominated the field. The *literati* were generally poets and calligraphers at the same time who were therefore responsible for combining the trends of both fields. The *literati* liked using literature and painting to express their spirituality, personality, and talent. In this way, freehand painting became the mainstream of this period. In terms of subject matter, landscape painting is a popular choice and many masters emerged, forming the largest school. Flower and bird paintings were the second most numerous and portrait painting the third.

Landscape painters of the Yuan Dynasty include Zhao Mengfu (1254–1322 AD), Huang Gongwang (1269–1354 AD), Wang Meng (1308–85 AD), Ni Zan (1301–74 AD), and Wu Zhen (1280–1354 AD). Zhao Mengfu was also talented at painting portraits, horses, flowers, trees, bamboos, and stone besides landscape painting. Huang, Wang, Ni, and Wu all focused on landscape painting. Zhao Mengfu was responsible for many famous paintings such as the landscape painting *Autumnal Tints* (*Quehua qiuse tu*) and the bamboo and stone painting *Old Tree, Bamboo, and Stone* (*Gumu zhushi tu*). Huang Gongwang focused on observing and sketching real scenes. His paintings are mostly about Mount Yu and Mount Fuchun, with both local features and uniqueness. His achievements are higher than those of Wang Meng, Ni Zan, and Wu Zhen. His masterpieces include *Snow on Nine Mountain Tops* (*Jiufeng xueji tu*), *Rainy Rock* (*Yuyan xianguan tu*), and *Life in Mount Fuchun* (*Fuchun shanju tu*). *Seclusion at Qing Bian* (*Qingbian yinju tu*) and *Life in Mountain in Summer* (*Xiari shanju tu*) by Wang Meng, *Forests and Valleys of Mount Yu* (*Yushan linhe tu*) and *Purple Branches and Cottages by the Mountain* (*Zizhi shanfang tu*) by Ni Zan, and *Water Village* (*Shuicun tu*) and *Fisherman* (*Yufu tu*) by Wu Zhen all possess different characteristics, are great works of the Yuan Dynasty, and were also template paintings for later generations. Paintings of flowers, bamboos, and plums in the Yuan Dynasty mainly employ ink, presenting the spirit and charm of objects with light and dark ink colors. Thus, the expressions "ink flower" (*Mo hua*), "ink bamboo" (*Mo zhu*), and "ink plum" (*Mo mei*) are used. There are many masters such as Qian Xuan (1235–1305 AD) and Wang Yuan (1271–1368 AD) who were adept at painting ink flowers, as well as Li Yan (1245–1320 AD), Gu An (*c*. 1289–after 1365 AD), and Wang Mian (1287–1359 AD) who excelled at ink bamboo and ink plum. Among the paintings of figures produced in the Yuan Dynasty, the example most worthy of mention is the Taoist immortal frescoes of the Yongle Palace in Shanxi. All of the figures it portrays have their own features and are vivid and

lively. It is the treasure among ancient murals, with its value often being compared favorably with that of the Dunhuang frescoes.

There were many landscape painting masters in the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Shen Zhou, Wen Zhengming, Tang Yin, and Qiu Ying (1494?–1552 AD) of the Ming Dynasty were called the "Four Masters" (*Si da jia*); Dong Qichang, Chen Jiru (*c*. 1558–1639 AD), and Lan Ying (*c*. 1585–1664 AD) were also master hands. Landscape paintings by the four monks Hong Ren (1610–63), Kun Can (1612–after 1674), Ba Da Shanren (*c*. 1626–1705), and Shi Tao (1642–1707) are the most unique of the Qing Dynasty. They also drew flowers and birds as well as people besides landscape. Subsequent landscape painters were numerous and followed a variety of different genres. However, while the painters gradually attached importance to learning and copying from previous masters, they neglected the observation and experience of the landscape itself. Landscape painting fell into a trend of steady decline. Therefore, despite the large number of masters at the time and the fact that there are some good paintings, few original paintings appeared which could exceed the achievements of their predecessors. There were many famous exponents of flower and bird paintings and ink bamboo, plum, and orchid paintings of the Ming Dynasty. These included Shen Zhou, Tang Yin, Bian Wenjin (1403–42 AD), Lü Ji (born 1477 AD), Lin Liang (*c*. 1424–1500 AD), Chen Chun (1483–1544 AD), Xu Wei, Zhou Zhimian (1521 AD?–?), and Chen Hongshou (1598–1652 AD). Among these, the most unique and influential is Xu Wei. His *Ink Wreath* (*Mohua quan*), *The Aged* (*Taotie tu*), and *Pomegranate* (*Shiliu*) are extraordinary impressionistic paintings which indeed reach the criteria of "not sticking to rules" (*Buju chengfa*) and "coming out from one's heart with spiritual freedom" (*Duchu xiongyi zixie lingxing*). Thus, they are highly rated irrespective of time. Ba Da Shanren and Shi Tao in the early Qing Dynasty and Jin Nong, Huang Shen (1687–1772), and Zheng Xie, the three from the "Eight Eccentric Painters of Yangzhou" (*Yangzhou baguai*), also created highly personalized works in terms of flower and bird, fish and insect, and plum and bamboo paintings that can reflect the unconventional pursuit of personality and aplomb in the realm of art. Among them, the bamboo, stone, orchid, and grass paintings of Zheng Xie struck a new personal path. Although not perfect in terms of artistic execution, the inner spirit is revealed wholeheartedly by these paintings and they can withstand repeated taste and savor.

11.3 The Flourishing Scene of Musical Dance

Like calligraphy and painting, music and dance also have a very close relationship.

In primitive times, poetry, music, and dance were generally acknowledged to be a trinity. It is recorded in Master Lü's *Spring and Autumn Annals: Record of Midsummer: Ancient Music* (*Lüshi chunqiu: zhongxiaji, guyue*) that:

> The ancient music of *Getian Shi* is played in eight sections with three people holding oxtails – the first section "People" (*Zaimin*), the second section "Swallow" (*Xuanniao*), the third section "Grass and Trees" (*Sui caomu*), the fourth section "Five Cereals" (*Fen*

wugu), the fifth section "The Adoration of Nature" (*Jing tianchang*), the sixth section "The Accomplishments of God" (*Da digong*), the seventh section "The Worship of Earth" (*Yi dide*) and the eighth section "The Summary of Everything on Earth" (*Zong wanwu zhiji*).

Getian Shi means "the music of the ancient mythology." *Zai* has the meaning of "beginning" and *Zaimin* refers to the birth of people. *Xuanniao* means swallow. According to the recordings in the *Book of Poetry: Poetry of Shang, Swallow* (*Shijing: Shangsong, Xuanniao*), it is said that "God has a swallow down to the earth and thus the birth of Shang." This signifies that God sent a swallow to the riverside and it laid an egg. The egg was swallowed by Jian Di (the daughter of E Shi, concubine of Emperor Ku) and then she gave birth to Qi. Qi was the ancestor of Shang people. *Sui caomu* means to wish that grass and trees would be luxuriant. *Fen wugu* is a blessing on the crops. *Jing tianchang* signifies to respect the rules of the nature. *Da digong* is to praise the deeds of God. *Yi dide* is to praise the earth for its virtue of carrying all things. *Zong wanwu zhiji* is to wish that the birds and beasts will breed and that domestic animals should thrive. It can be seen from this that people danced and sung in accordance with their own understanding of nature and humankind. Their purpose was to convey their expectation of good fruits from their labor and their hopes for a better life. Legend has it that the musical dance "Gate to the Cloud" (*Yunmen*) dates from the period of the Yellow Emperor, "Big Chapter" (*Dazhang*) and "Salt" (*Daxian*, also called *Xianchi*) are said to date from the period of Emperor Yao, "Harmony" (*Dashao*, abbreviated to *Shao*) from the period of Emperor Shun, "Summer" (*Daxia*) from the Xia Dynasty, "Desert" (*Damo*) in the Shang Dynasty, and "Great Wu (*Dawu*) from the period of Emperor Wu of the Zhou Dynasty. The most famous musical dancer in Chinese history was Kui. According to the *Records of the Grand Historian: Annals of Xia* (*Shiji: Xiabenji*), when Yu the Great succeeded in controlling floods and Kui played music, "birds flying, [the] phoenix [came] and animals dance[d]." The so-called niaoshou xiangwu and baishou shuaiwu refer to the imitation of birds and beasts in dance (*niaoshou* is also believed to be a tribal totem by some), which reflects the intimacy between people and nature.

According to archaeological findings, the origins of music and dance are rather early. Eighteen seven-hole and eight-hole bone flutes were unearthed in Jiahu, Wuyang County, Henan Province, from 1986 to 1987. These have been estimated to date back eight thousand years. A painted pottery basin belonging to the Majiayao Culture, which was excavated in Sunjiazhai, Datong County, Qinghai Province, appears to date back five thousand years. This features the image of three groups of girls dancing hand in hand, five girls to one group. Other musical instruments unearthed include the drum, chime, set of chimes, bell, sets of bells, sets of cymbals, bone flute, *xun* (ocarina), *yue* (an ancient flute-like instrument), *he* (an ancient instrument like small reed pipe), and so on.

Musical dance became highly developed from the Western Zhou Dynasty to the Warring States Period. A rigorous ritual music system existed in the Zhou Dynasty. An official known as the "Spring Official" (*Chun guan*) was placed in charge of ritual music and other officials had responsibility for musical dance. These included

the "High Musical Master" (*Da Siyue*), "Musical Master" (*Yueshi*), and "Master" (*Dashi*). Folk songs in the *Book of Poetry* were collected by "footmen" (*Xingren*) sent by the government and processed by musical masters by adding music. Among the "six arts" learned by scholars at that time, music was one of them. A variety of musical dances were performed at the time such as "six Dances" taught by Da Siyue (i.e., the abovementioned *Yunmen*, *Daxian*, *Dashao*, *Daxia*, *Dahu,* and *Dawu*), "small dance" taught by Yueshi, *Sanyue* (scattered dance) and *Yiyue* (foreign dance) taught by Maoren, and *Nuowu* (a dance which begs for rain and pleads for deliverance from plague), as well as other musical dances from ethnic groups other than the Zhou. In the private schools run by Confucius at the end of the Spring and Autumn Period, music was also an important part of the syllabus. Confucius was a clever musical performer. Once on his way to learn from Shi Xiang, a famous musician of that time, there was music played on the journey without a break wherever he went, even in the face of danger. Many of his comments on music and dance are recorded in his *Analects*. For example, he says that the dance of *Shao* is perfect while *Wu* is not because it is not as beautiful (*Analects*: *Eight Dances – Lunyu: Bayi*). After hearing *Shao* music, he was so intoxicated that he did "not know how meat tastes for three months" (*Analects: Elaboration – Lunyu: Shu er*). When watching the "Eight Dances" or *Bayi* (which consists of eight lines, eight people to a line, thus making a large-scaled dance of 64 people) performed by Ji Sunshi who was a high official of the State of Lu, he said: "If this can be tolerated, what else cannot?" (*Analects: Eight Dances*). He also commented on the *Book of Poetry* that "beginning from the prelude played by Master Zhi to the ending of *Guanju*, music filled my ears with great joy" (*Analects: Tai bo*). Most of Confucius' disciples could play musical instruments such as zither. Confucianism was learned widely at that time and Confucius's school later contributed greatly to the popularity of music. Besides the Zhou Dynasty, the most accomplished nation in the fields of music and dance was the State of Chu. Chu always had its own music and dances, among which the "Nine Debates" (*Jiu bian*) and "Nine Songs" (*Jiu ge*) from Qu Yuan's *Li sao* and the *Xia li*, *Ba ren*, *Yang e*, *Xie lu*, *Yang chun*, and *Bai xue* from Song Yu's *Asking the Emperor of the State of Chu* (*Dui Chuwang wen*) are all inherently local tunes from Chu. "Nine Songs" by Qu Yuan was also written on the basis of folk ritual music and dance. Music theory had by that time has begun to take shape. There were seven tones, namely, *Gong*, *Shang*, *Jiao*, *Bianzhi*, *Zhi*, *Yu*, and *Biangong* and a classifications for "six positive rhythms" or *Liulü* (*Huangzhong*, *Taicu*, *Guxi*, *Ruibin*, *Yize*, and *Wushe*) and "six negative rhythms" or *Liulü* (*Dalü*, *Jiazhong*, *Zhonglü*, *Linzhong*, *Nanlü*, and *Yingzhong*). There were also a number of musical instruments that can be categorized into eight types (*Ba yin*). The eight types refer to gold, stone, clay, leather, silk, wood, gourd, and bamboo, so are defined by the materials used to make them. Actually these eight instruments include percussion instruments such as the bell, *pan*, drum, and *fou* and orchestral instruments such as the zither, the dulcimer, the reed pipe, the flute, and the bamboo flute. When the tomb of Zeng Houyi was unearthed at Leigudun, Sui County, Hubei Province, in 1978, this shocked the world, because its contents reflected the levelof musical

development of the pre-Qin period. Among the trove was a large-scale set of bells, consisting of 65 bells, and 124 kinds of other musical instruments, including the dulcimer, flute, and zither.

In the Qin and Han Dynasties, there existed a special agency called Office of Music (*Yuefu*) that was in charge of music and dance and was responsible for collecting folk tunes. The *Yuefu* reached its heyday in the period of Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty. It is recorded in the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Rites and Music* (*Hanshu: li yue zhi*) that:

> When Emperor Wu set the ritual for suburban sacrificial ceremony [...] *Yuefu* was established. Poems that were collected from the former states of Zhao, Dai, Qin and Chu are chanted at night. Li Yannian has been appointed as *Xielü duwei* (Commander in charge of music) and dozens of people including Sima Xiangru have been recommended to write poems that can match *Ba yin*. Thus the songs of 19 chapters were made.

There were 1,000 people working on *Yuefu* at that time. The main music genres used by *Yuefu* were the *Guchui* tune and the *Xianghe* song. *Guchui* in a broad sense includes two categories: *Guchui* and *Hengchui*. The former is played by a flute and a whistle both made of reed and the latter is played by drum and horn. *Guchui* is mainly used on occasions such as morning sessions, road ceremonies, and giving and conferring titles, belonging to ceremonial music. *Hengchui* is played on horseback and classified military music. Later, *Guchui* and *Hengchui* were separated into two different kinds with the former being used at banquets and the latter being military music. *Xianghe* song is a kind of *Tuge* without musical accompaniment which originates among the people. It was later developed into *Dange*, whereby one person sang and three others provided the harmony. Other orchestral instruments such as the flute, the reed pipe, the zither, the lute, and the cither and one rhythmic instrument called the *Jie* were added to it. When *Jie* holders sang along with the harmony of the musical instrument, this became known as *Xinghe* song. Moving towards the Wei and Jin Dynasties, this arrangement gradually evolved into a large-scale singing and dancing *divertimento*. Moreover, the "One hundred plays" (*Baixi*) of the Han Dynasty were also related to musical dance. The so-called Baixi include *jiaogu* (also known as theatrical and variety shows), acrobatics, magic, singing, and dance. It is mentioned in "Prose of Two Capitals" (*Erjing fu*) by Zhang Heng and "Prose of Pingle Temple" (*Pingle guan fu*) by Li You. Among them, the sections "Fish and Dragon" (*Yulong manyan*), "Song of Immortals" (*Zonghui xianchang*), and "Huanggong from the East Sea" (*Donghai huanggong*) are considered to refer to singing and dancing.

The Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties witnessed great development in music and dance. At this time, the most important forms of music-making were *Qingshang* music, *Qinqu* (zither tune), and *Gewu xi* (song-dance drama). *Qingshang* music is also called *Qingyue* that includes the old tunes of the Central Plains in Jiangzuo (on the southern bank of the Yangtze River) and the songs of Wu in Southern China as well as *Xiqu* from the Jingchu area. The accompanying instruments included the bell, the musical stone, the zither, the harp, the lute, the *konghou*, the *zhu*, the cither, the section drum, the flute, the bamboo flute, and the

xun (an ancient pottery instrument). The lyrics tended to be paragraphs of four five-character sentences with additional types of harmony called *songsheng* and *hesheng* and tunes which were elegant and melodious. *Qinqu* was popular among the *literati*. At the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty, Cai Yong wrote the *Rules for Playing Zither* (*Qin cao*); Ruan Ji and Ji Kang of the "Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove" (*Zhulin qi xian*) were both good at playing the zither. Legend has it that Ruan Ji created the *Qinqu* "Liquor-mania" (*Jiu kuang*) and Ji Kang was accomplished at "Guangling Story" (*Guangling San*). Later on, Ji Kang was killed by Sima and his "Guangling Story" was then lost. Zhu Quan of the Ming Dynasty recorded these two melodies in *Magic Music* (*Shenqi mipu*) but they should be works of later generations in the name of the abovementioned pair. Ruan Xian, Ruan Ji's nephew, was skilled at playing the lute and composing melodies. The type of lute he played was therefore called *Ruanxian* (abbreviate as *Ruan*) by later generations. The most famous *Gewu xi* from this period is "Ballad of a Walking Woman" (*Taniang yao*). According to *Records of Drama Theatre* (*Jiaofang ji*) by Cui Lingqin, it was a story in which an ugly man beat his wife after drinking alcohol. His wife told their neighbors and the neighbors made fun of him by forcing him to dress in women's clothes and walk about in the busy area. He sang as he walked and after every section he sang, the crowd sang a chorus which went "Singing ballad while walking, the bitter life of the ballad woman!" This piece bore elements of opera which had an important influence over the later formation of operas.

The Sui and Tang Dynasties witnessed the all-round prosperity of music and dance. Sui and Tang palace *Yan* music (*Yan yue*) fell into two systems: multi-section music (including seven-section music, nine-section music, and Ten-section music) and "two-section performance." Seven-section music refers to "*Guo* music" (*Guoji*), "Qingshang music" (*Qingshang ji*), "Gaoli music" (*Gaoli ji*), "Tianzhu music" (*Tianzhu ji*), "Anguo music" (*Anguo ji*), "Guizi music" (*Guizi ji*), and "Wenkang music" (*Wenkang ji*). *Guo* music is the musical dance of Xiliang; Qingshang music is traditional musical dance; *Gaoli* music refers to the musical dance of ancient Korea; *Tianzhu* music refers to the musical dance of ancient India; *Anguo* music is the musical dance of ancient countries in Central Asia; *Guizi* music is the musical dance of ancient Kucha; *Wenkang* music is the mask dance that originated in the Western Jin Dynasty. Nine-section music includes two more musical dances of Kangguo and Shule on the basis of seven-section music. In the fourteenth year of the Zhenguan Period (the regnal title for Emperor Taizong of Tang), "*Gaochang* music" (*Gaochang yue*) was established and the nine sections became ten. Obviously, these types of music came from China's ethnic minorities or from foreign nations, with the exceptions of *Qingshang* and *Wenkang*, which reflected the merging of musical dances from a variety of ethnic groups and countries. "Two-section performance" (*Erbu ji*) refers to "standing performance" (*Libu ji*) and "sitting performance" (*Zuobu ji*). Those who stood in the hall when performing were *Libu* and those who sat on the stage while performing were *Zuobu*. There were different musical dances for each of the two. The poem "Standing performance Poem" (*Libu ji*) by Bai Juyi describes the scene of *Zuobu* and *Libu*:

Libu ji are playing drum and flute and dancing with two swords.
They jump, holding large strings and fall out the long stick.
They have grades that those on the stage are sitting while those in the hall are standing.
Zuobu on the stage are singing with reed pipe;
Libu are playing drum and flute.
One sound of singing attracts everyone while no one listens to a thousand tunes played by drum and flute.

It can be seen from the poem that musical instruments of *Libu* were the drum and flute, and *Zuobu* was singing with reed pipe. *Yanyue* is taken by *Zuobu ji* to be the musical dance used for banquets. "Breaking the Troop by Prince Qin" (*Qinwang pozhen yue*) praises the martial arts of Prince Qin (Li Shimin) and was spread to Japan during the reign of Wu Zetian. Nine compositions set to this tune have been recorded. The *Gewu daqu* of *Yanyue* represents the highest level of the Sui and Tang musical dance. "Big Tunes" (*Daqu*) has a complex structure and many paragraphs such as *Sanxu*, *Sa*, *Paibian*, *Dian*, *Zhengdian*, *Rupo*, *Xucui*, *Shuicui*, *Gunbian*, *Xiepai*, and *Shagun*. "Raiment of Rainbow and Feather Dance" (*Nishang yuyi wu*) adapted by Emperor Xuanzong of the Tang Dynasty according to "Soul of Heroes" of India is a famous *Gewu daqu*. Small-scale dance in *Yanyue* comprised two kinds: the "healthy dance" (*Jianwu*) and "soft dance" (*Ruanwu*). "Healthy dance" is vigorous and bold, with the accompaniment of acute pipe and complex chords. Famous "Healthy Dances" include *Huntuo*, *Jianqi*, *Huxuan*, and *Zhezhi*. "Soft dance" is more gentle and softer with the accompaniment of beautiful and relaxing music. Famous "soft dances" include *Liangzhou* and *Lvyao*. Musical dances of the Tang Dynasty were often reflected in contemporary poetry. For example, "Watching Disciples of Lady Gongsun Wielding Sword" (*Guan Gongsun daniang dizi wu jianqi xing*) by Du Fu is a famous piece that depicts swordplay dance. There was also "Prose on Zhezhi Dance" (*Zhezhi wu fu*) by Shen Ya, "Prose on Viewing Double Zhezhi Dance in Hunan" (*Hunan guan shuang zhezhi wu fu*) by Lu Zhao, and different versions of "Prose Raiment of Rainbow and Feather Dance" (*Nishang yuyi qufu*), respectively, by Shen Lang, Tang Jia, and Shi Ming (anonymously). Frescoes in the Dunhuang Mogao Grottoes depict many scenes of dance, which provide specific and vivid empirical evidence of the Sui and Tang musical dance. Besides, there is also "Canjun Play" (*Canjun xi*) in the Tang Dynasty, which has two comic roles Canjun and Canggu and bears some elements of opera.

The "tune" or *quzi* was very popular from the Five Dynasties to the Song Dynasty. *Quzi* first originated among the common people and later became connected with the *Yanyue* of the Royal Court. Its accompanying musical instrument was the lute. Songs were made according to music, and lyrics were written according to the music. Lyrics were the *ci* of the Song Dynasty. Therefore, the prosperity of *quzi* is synchronized with that of the *ci*. There were a good number of *ci* writers who were also familiar with *quzi* and who wrote lyrics, including Liu Yong, Zhou Bangyan, Jiang Kui, and Zhang Yan. The collection of Jiang Kui's *ci* "Songs of the Taoist Priest Baishi" (*Baishi daoren gequ*) has 17 *ci* compositions, which makes it a precious resource in the history of music.

In the Northern Song Dynasty, there were many brothels and wine shops in the capital in which all kinds of artists and artistic performances were seeking opportunities. This also promotes the prosperity of literature and art. A balladeer named Kong Sanchuan created a large-scale balladry form known as "A Variety of Tunes" (*Zhu gongdiao*). The so-called Variety of Tunes means a short set of tunes taken from Qu tunes (*Qupai*) of the same *gongdiao* music with different short sets then being linked into a long tune with brief narrations in the middle for the purpose of creating and performing long stories. *Zhu gongdiao* is classified into northern and southern varieties with the southern one accompanied by the flute and northern being accompanied by the zither and lute. In this way, northern *Zhu gongdiao* is also called *Xiansuo* or *Qia tanci*. The most complete northern *Zhu gongdiao* is the *Zhu gongdiao* on *The Romance of the Western Chamber* (*Xixiang ji zhu gongdiao*) by Dong Xieyuan of the Jin Dynasty. *Zhu gongdiao* not only promoted balladry art to a new level but also laid a solid foundation for the generation of opera.

In the Song and Jin Dynasties, there emerged *san qu* and *za ju*, collectively referred to as *qu* or *quzi* (both names mean "tune"). *San qu* and *za ju* are different as *san qu* is based on poems that are more lyrical or narrative while *za ju* is drama that mainly narrates a story by performance. However, they share the same musical origin. As was mentioned above, there were two basic forms of *san qu – xiao ling* and *tao qu. Za ju* is divided into folds with each fold meaning a musical passage that actually consists of a *tao qu*. Here we will talk about *za ju. Za ju* had already appeared in the Song Dynasty. The eighth volume of *Records in Bianjing* (*Dongjing menghua lu*) by Meng Yuanlao already mentioned the fact that the *za ju* "Mulian Saves Mother" (*Mulian jiumu*) was performed in the brothels and the wine shops after Qixi (the seventh day of the seventh month) in Bianjing in the Northern Song Dynasty. *Za ju* of the Song Dynasty often consisted of *yanduan* (life scenes with simple plot), *zheng za ju* (long and complex stories, generally of two parts), and *san duan* (a funny show, also known as *zaban* or *zawang*). There were five roles – *Moni*, *Yinxi*, *Fujing*, *Fumo*, and *Zhuanggu*. Their performance was determined by its content – sometimes they mainly consisted of dialogue and sometimes singing together with dance, accompanied by musical instruments. In the Jin Dynasty (the counterpart of the Southern Song), there were *yuanben* which had similar scenarios to *za ju*. Up until the Yuan Dynasty, the structure and form of performance of *za ju* had been basically fixed and its music also had a fixed form. *Gongdiao* (*gong* tunes) generally used by *za ju* is within the range of six *gong* and 11 tunes. The choice of *gongdiao* for performance depends on the content and the dramatic characters needed. In "On Singing" (*Chang lun*) written by the Yuan dramatist Yannan Zhi'an, the features of six *gong* and 11 tunes are described thus:

> The singing of *Xianlü gong* is fresh and floating; that of *Nanlü gong* is lamentful and sad; that of *Zhonglü gong* is fast and waving; that of *Huangzhong gong* is wealthy and melodious; that of *Zheng gong* is vexed and breathtaking; that of *Dao gong* is cool and elegant; that of *Da shi* is distinguished and admirable; that of *Xiao shi* is charming and fascinating; that of *Gao ping* is stubborn; that of *Ban she* is mixed; that of *Xie zhi* is tidy and clear-cut; that of *Shang jiao* is graceful and woeful; that of *Shuang diao* is forceful

and exciting; that of *Shang diao* is mournful and desolate; that of *Jiao diao* is sobbing and remote; that of *Gong diao* is elegant and serious; that of *Yue diao* is cynical.

Nanxi (southern drama) is, in contrast with *Bei za ju* (Northern *za ju*), relatively free in terms of both the form of performance and the way of singing. *Bei za ju* uses seven-sound scale with a fast and energetic rhythm, while *Nanxi* uses a five-sound scale only with a slow and soft rhythm. *Bei za ju* are mainly accompanied by string instruments and the lute is its major instrument. *Nanxi* mainly uses orchestral instruments such as the bamboo flute and the wooden flute with drum. Whether it be *Nanxi* or *Bei za ju*, "singing, speaking, acting, and acrobatic fighting" are considered to be the important means of expression, and these are comprehensive arts which combine music, dance, performance, acrobatics, martial arts, and fine arts together. They all set high artistic requirements for the actors – singing should be accurate and perfect; *Binbai* (spoken parts) should be rhythmic; the performance requires good figure and posture; action should comply with the rules. What runs through these is the principle of music and dance. Once operas emerged, they came to occupy the mainstream stage of ancient Chinese music and dance and none of the other forms of musical dance could be compared to it.

At first, *za ju* ran in parallel to *Nanxi*, but *Nanxi* assumed the dominant position from the Ming Dynasty and *za ju* gradually declined. *Nanxi* was also called "romance" (*Chuanqi*) by people in the Ming Dynasty. There were four romance tunes: the *Kunshan* tune, the *Yiyang* tune, the *Yuyao* tune, and the *Haiyan* tune. Together these are referred to as the "Four Tunes" (*Sida shengqiang*). These four tunes were local tunes as *Kunshan* tune originated from Kunshan, Jiangsu Province; *Yiyang* tune from Yiyang, Jiangxi Province; and *Yuyao* and *Haiyan* tunes from Zhejiang Province. *Kunshan* tune, after alterations made by the musician Wei Liang, developed into "Water Mill Tune" (*Shuimo diao*) with tuneful characteristics – being novel and delicate, the singing of one word altered many times, being soft and graceful, as well as rounded and smooth. Another dramatist Liang Chenyu wrote the romance "The Romance of Hair Washing" (*Huansha ji*) that is sung to the *Kunshan* tune. This helped to make the *Kunshan* tune into the top among the four tunes. It was also called *yabu* and was the most influential version before the mid-Qing Dynasty, known as *Kunqu* (*Kun* opera). *Yiyang* tune was also influential as it was well suited to local dialects and the tunes of other places. It was then formed into the *Gaoqiang* series and played its own role in many local dramas. The *Yuyao* tune and the *Haiyan* tune gradually declined and diminished after a period of popularity. The mid-Qing Dynasty saw the prosperity of Peking operas and the blending of a variety of theatrical forms. In 1790, Emperor Qianlong of the Qing Dynasty imperially ordered the "Four Anhui Teams" (that is to say the "Sanqing team," the "Sixi team," the "Hechun team," and the "Chuntai team") to enter Beijing one after another. These opera teams then communicated with other kinds of operas such as Han opera; gradually there emerged a new form known as *Pihuang xi*, later Peking opera. *Pihuang* opera mainly consists of *Erhuang Diao* ("*Erhuang* tune") and *Xipi Diao* ("*Xipi* tune"). *Erhuang Diao* is relatively deep and graceful, being suitable for expressing feelings of remembrance, contemplation, and solemnity; *Xipi* is loud and

strong, being suitable for expressing feelings of happiness, excitement, and sonority. During the process of development, the emergence of two more tune systems *Fan Erhuang* ("Reverse *Erhuang*") and *Fan Xipi* ("Reverse *Xipi*") brought Peking opera a more intense lyrical and ideographic function. Peking opera belongs to *Banqiang* opera system, having main types such as *Daoban*, *Huilong*, *Yuanban*, *Manban*, *Erliu*, *Liushui*, *Yaoban*, and *Sanban*. To date, Peking opera still holds the dominant position among traditional Chinese operas and has become a veritable "national quintessence" (*guocui*). Evidently, local operas have also been prosperous since the Ming and Qing Dynasties. Moving towards modern times, there have emerged four local opera systems, namely, *Nankun* (*Kun* opera system), *Beiyi* (*Gaoqiang* opera system), *Dongliu* (*Xiansuo* opera originating in Henan and Shandong provinces), and *Xibang* (*Bangzi* opera system). A variety of arts such as folk tunes, song and dance, and ballad singing keep emerging, which together constitutes the blossoming scene of Chinese ancient music and dance.

Questions

1. From the Qin Dynasty to the Qing Dynasty, what were the important literary styles of ancient Chinese literature? What were the main achievements?
2. Which famous scholars and masterpieces are there in terms of ancient Chinese calligraphy and painting?
3. What is the relationship between music and dance? What are the reasons why opera overtook music and dance to occupy the mainstream position which they formerly held?

Chapter 12
The Emergence and Progress of Ancient Chinese Historiography

The Chinese people are aware of how history has been recorded since ancient times. During the Spring and Autumn Period, Confucius composed the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), which marked the formal beginning of Chinese historiography. He accomplished this by collecting and revising the histories which had been recorded by the Official Historians of his mother country. Ancient Chinese historiography falls into three stages of development: the Initiation Period, which lasted approximately from the Warring States Period to the time of the Eastern and Western Han Dynasties; the Period of Great Prosperity, which spanned from around the time of the Wei and Jin Dynasties to the end of Ming Dynasty; and the Summaries and Transformation Period, which lasted from the end of the Ming Dynasty up until the beginning of the Opium Wars. If the development of ancient Chinese historiography is seen in overview, three features may be discerned: attention was paid to both social history and natural history, as well as to the philosophical relations between the two; a set of methodical systems was formed, which were bound up with ancient Chinese modes of thought; and special emphasis was placed upon the practical function of historiography and the moral character and skills training of historians. Ancient Chinese historiography is a precious treasure possessing great cultural and ethical value.

12.1 The Pre-Qin Period: Historiography and Its Characteristics

Chinese historiography possesses a long history and its origins are remote. It is said that the position of Official Historian has been in existence since the period of the Yellow Emperor. Up to the Xia and Shang Dynasties, Official Historians were further subdivided into the posts of *Zuo Shi* and *You Shi*. These were responsible

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respectively for recording the speeches and commands of the king and for taking charge of recording important events. In the Shang Dynasty (c. seventeenth century BC–eleventh century BC), historical books and records which specifically detailed the coronations of kings and queens were compiled. With the advent of the Western Zhou Dynasty (c. eleventh century BC–771 BC), the titles for the Official Historians became more sophisticated. These included *Da Shi* ("Records of Great Events"), *Xiao Shi* ("Records of Small Events"), *Nei Shi* ("Records of Internal Events"), *Wai Shi* ("Records of External Events"), *Shi Shi* ("Records of Men and Ladies-in-Waiting"), *Yu Shi* ("Records of the Imperial Court"), and *Nü Shi* ("Records of Women"). These were either administrators of national decrees and regulations, draftsman of political commands, or caretakers of the political documents of the kingdoms. By dint of long-term practice, a set of methods was developed for recording history and for preserving documents. These can be partially observed on the tortoiseshells discovered in the ruins of Yin[1] and on the inscribed *yi* (bronze wares) of the Western Zhou Dynasty.

However, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* marks the very first historical writings *per se*. These were collected and revised by Confucius. Confucius was extremely interested in history, and by writing historical books, he could actively advocate his political stances. He believed that history is the integration of inheritance and development. Social improvement should be judged by looking into whether or not people had fulfilled their potential and whether or not they had become increasingly civilized. He insisted that the historian should in the first place possess a sharp sense of social criticism, and he attached great importance to conferring moral and value judgments upon historical figures and events. When stating the purposes for writing the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Mencius (a well-renowned Confucian philosopher) once said: "[t]he world is declining in its moral values and vanishing in its general principles, with heresy and atrocity appear[ing], regicide come[s] along with patricide. Unsettled by this climate, Confucius thus wrote the book." From this perspective, Confucius clearly drew a distinction between history and historiography.

Consequently, how one should treat history and what theories lay behind it stimulated prominent discussions during the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States Periods. Laozi and Zhuangzi, who were pioneers and representative figures of the Taoist school, considered history to be the process of unifying the natural world with human society. The mirror for discerning whether or not progress had been made through history lay in observing whether or not a more harmonious society had been achieved. Taoists integrated social history into natural history and regarded the two as a unified entity. They thus raised the question of the ultimate reasoning behind the development of history, which encouraged people to take the exploration of social history to a deeper level.

[1] Yin is an alternative name for the Shang Dynasty as well as being the name of the capital city of the Shang. The ruins of Yin are to be found near to present-day Anyang City in Henan Province.

In the middle of the Warring States Period, after having conducted a concrete study of natural history, Zou Yan (305–240 BC), a *Yin-Yang* scholar, formulated the Five Elements Theory (*Wu De* or *Wu Xing*). He believed that history changes according to certain rules which are determined by nature. The Five Elements – known as gold (*gin*), wood (*mu*), water (*shui*), fire (*huo*), and earth (*tu*) – are fundamental to nature. The principles of "mutual overcoming" (*xiangke*) can be described thus: wood overcomes earth, earth overcomes water, water overcomes fire, fire overcomes gold, and gold overcomes wood. This rule presents itself in natural phenomena, from which people can be inspired and therefore formulate corresponding measures. Reasonable political orders cannot be built without abiding by the evolving rules of nature. This concept of history was tremendously influential at that time.

During the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods, huge progress was made in the methods of recording history. When he was revising the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, Confucius arranged years according to the reigns of the monarchs of Lu and arranged months and days by using the calendar of the Zhou. In this way, four essential factors were combined to retell the historical record, namely: time, place, characters, and events. The chronicle method containing year, month, day, and hour was thus established. *Discourses of the States* (*Guoyu*), on the other side, initiated a style of recording history which attended to individual states. It consists of eight parts and 21 chapters in all: *Discourses of Zhou* (*Zhouyu*) runs to three chapters, *Discourses of Lu* (*Luyu*) runs to two chapters, *Discourses of Qi* (*Qiyu*) is contained in a single chapter, *Discourses of Jin* (*Jinyu*) runs to nine chapters, *Discourses of Zheng* (*Zhengyu*) is contained in a single chapter, *Discourses of Chu* (*Chuyu*) runs to two chapters, *Discourses of Wu* (*Wuyu*) is contained in a single chapter, and *Discourses of Yue* (*Yueyu*) runs to two chapters. *Discourses of the States* stretches over 500 years, starting with the conflict between King Mu of the Zhou Dynasty and the minorities (c. 967 BC) and ending with the demise of Zhi Bo, a high official of the State of Jin (453 BC). It records the schemes and gains and losses of the emperors and officials of the eight abovementioned states. In *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*) in particular, there are to be found summaries and straight narratives dealing with historical events. Furthermore, when recounting important historical events, the causes and effects are given, leaving the impression of clarity and intactness. Scenes of war are depicted full of sound and color and of power and grandeur, which collectively endow the reader with a sense of being on the spot. Although the historical figures are portrayed with a few words, the characters are true to life. All of these features had a profound impact on the way history was recorded through later generations.

12.2 The Eastern and Western Han Dynasties: History Theory and Historical Practice

Throughout the Qin and Han Dynasties, the Five Elements Theory proposed by Zou Yan remained the most influential concept of history. This theory served a crucial role in the political life of the Qin Dynasty. Qin Shihuang believed that his overthrow of the Zhou Dynasty was an example of fire being overcome by water, so he altered the calendar by naming the tenth month of the lunar calendar as the first month of the year, and royal robes and banners and flags were all changed to the color of black, all indicating the element of water. In the meantime, Qin Shihuang expressed his resolve to inherit the traditions of successive dynasties by offering sacrifices to four of the five gods known as the White Emperor (*Bai Di*), the Black Emperor (*Qing Di*), the Yellow Emperor (*Huang Di*), and the Red Emperor (*Chi Di*) in Yong (located in the south of present-day Fengxiang County in Shaanxi Province), which had been the old capital of the Qin territory. He thereby expressed how he wanted to inherit the traditions of all the emperors.

Alongside the Five Elements Theory, there existed another school of historical thought: the Three United Concept (*San Tong Guan*). The Three United Concept was promulgated in the Confucian Classics the *Commentary of Gongyang on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Gongyang Zhuan*), which is one of the series of *Spring and Autumn with Three Commentaries (San Tong Shuo)*. Originating from Zi Xia, one of Confucius' students, the *Commentary of Gongyang* was passed orally from generation to generation by the descendants of Gongyang Gao, a student of Zi Xia. The *Gongyang Commentaries* was first written down by Gongyang Shou and Humu Sheng on textiles and on bamboo slips. Until the time of the Emperor Jing of Han (156–141 BC), this was considered to be the definitive edition. The author of the *Commentary of Gongyang* believed that the summary of the 242 years of history – from the beginning of the reign of Duke Yin of Lu (722 BC) to the thirteenth year of the reign of Duke Ai of Lu (481 BC) – contained in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* included some essential cognitions of historical development. One of the most important among these was the infinite circulation of the Three United. That is to say: the united of black, white, and red concept which is specifically known as the harmony among the people, the earth, and the heaven. The most noticeable evidence of this was that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* placed the State of Lu as the core in narrating history when the emperor of the Zhou Dynasty was still alive. The principles of right and wrong were established according to the standards of Lu. From this it can be ascertained that the *Spring and Autumn Annals* was trying to convey a new political ideal based on valorizing the Lu. However, instead of cutting off relations with the past, the *Spring and Autumn Annals* illustrates a selective critical attitude towards traditional history by depicting the politics and religions of Qi (a descendant country of the Xia Dynasty), of Song (a descendant country of the Shang Dynasty), and of the Zhou Dynasty while excluding details of other states.

After the Five Elements Theory of Zou Yan had risen to prominence, and the Three United Concept initiated by the *Commentary of Gongyang* gained a

foothold, one important issue emerged: that was how to strike a balance between the two theories of history. Following the overcoming of the Five Elements, the Five Elements Theory incorporated the Qin Dynasty into its historical system and deemed the Zhou Dynasty to be fire. As fire can be extinguished by water, the Qin Dynasty, which succeeded the Zhou, should belong to the element of water. Accordingly, Han, the dynasty which followed Qin, should belong to the element of earth. Jia Yi (200–169 BC), a political writer of the Western Han Dynasty, also believed that the Han belonged to the earth. He formulated a set of etiquettes to work in concert with this. Jia enthroned yellow as the orthodox color, and he advocated five as the auspicious number. He also changed the first day of the month together with the first month of the year and ranked official titles. During the reign of the Emperor Wen of Han (180–157 BC), a prediction forecasting that a yellow dragon would appear was spread far and wide. As was expected, this presented itself in Chengji County. Common people then started to believe that the Han belonged to the earth. In 104 BC, the Emperor Wu of Han (141–87 BC) announced a change in the formal etiquettes. In re-designing the calendar, the first month of the lunar year was installed as being the beginning of the year, yellow became the proper color for clothes, carving five characters into officials' seals became the standard practice, and the Emperor Wu was given *Taichu* as his seventh regnal title. Thus the Five Elements became the authorized theory of the official history of the Western Han. On the other hand, Dong Zhongshu (179–104 BC), the most important political philosopher of the Western Han Dynasty, inherited and further developed the Three United Concept. He believed that the Zhou Dynasty belonged to red, and as the Qin Dynasty was affiliated to the Zhou, it was excluded from the Three United. Meanwhile the Han Dynasty belonged to black. Dong also pointed out that the new emperor of a new dynasty must offer imperial titles to the descendents of the last two dynasties and let them inherit their own etiquettes. Furthermore, upon enthronement the new emperor should "move [his] palaces, name [his] reign titles, change the calendar and alternate the color of the royal robes." Nonetheless, the alteration of protocols like the color of robes and banners had nothing to do with the fundamental system of the society. Also, "[c]oncerning social relations, general principles, politics, indoctrination, customs and literatures, nothing has changed. So why talk about change? Kings only changed the titles, however the contents remain intact" (*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn: King Zhuang of Chu – Chunqiao Fan Lu Chu Zhuang Wang*).

Liu Xin (c. 50 BC–23 AD), an expert on the royal household and the Confucian Classics, was, along with his father Liu Xiang (77–6 BC), a pedagogue in this field. They developed the mutual overcoming of the Five Elements into a recycled system of mutual generation (*xiangsheng*) on the basis of reaffirmation. They came to the conclusion that the Han belonged to fire and they rearranged the system of history by considering "the sun rises in the east" – a quotation from *Commentaries on the Book of Changes* (*Yi Zhuan*) – as the origin of the history. According to their arrangements, the Zhou Dynasty belonged to wood, which generates fire, so that the Han (the succeeding dynasty) belonged to fire. They believed that the Qin, which lost its opportunity of ranking within the Five Elements, belonged to

water and should be placed between the Zhou and the Han, which were wood and fire, respectively. As a result, although the Qin was a nation, it was not actually to be regarded as a dynasty because it did not last for long (*History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Sacrifices – Hanshu: Jiaosi Zhi*). From the viewpoint of the Five Elements, on the one hand, this adjustment absorbed advantages from the Three United Concept which upheld the argument of dismissing the Qin. From the viewpoint of the Three United Concept, on the other, the adjustment gave this concept a more reasonable explanation, which could easily be accepted by Han society. That is to say, the Zhou Dynasty was black united, while the Han was red united.

It was not the abovementioned theories of history that made the historiography of the Han so marvelous, but the appearance of two great giants in the world of letters: Sima Qian and Ban Gu. By absorbing the achievements of the historical theories of this period, they further enriched and developed their field from the perspectives of general history and dynastic history.

Sima Qian (c. 145 BC or 135 BC–86 BC) was born in Xiayang County in the Western Han Dynasty (in present-day Hancheng City in Shaanxi Province). During the Jian Yuan and Yuan Feng years of the Emperor Wu of Han, his father Sima Tan (c. 165–110 BC) held the position of *Taishiling*, the official who took charge of historical records. He was interested in astronomy and the theories of Yellow Emperor and Laozi. In his early years, Sima Qian plowed and was a herdsman in his hometown. At the age of 10, he began to learn the Chinese Classics, and at 20 he started to travel throughout the land. Later, he served as *Lang Zhong* (the emperor's attendant) and supervised the office clerks before taking orders for the western expedition. By the third year of Yuan Feng (108 AD), Sima Qian had become the *Taishiling*, inheriting his father's post. He collected books from all sources in order to prepare for the composition of the *Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*). In the first year of Tai Chu (104 AD), he participated in the project of formulating the Tai Chu Calendar (*Tai Chu Li*) and simultaneously began to write the *Records of the Grand Historian*. Six years later, on account of him having spoken out in defense of General Li Ling, Sima Qian was thrown into prison and suffered the punishment of being castrated. Despite all of these tribulations, he still accomplished his masterpiece – *Records of the Grand Historian* (Picture 19).

Records of the Grand Historian contains 12 chapters of annals of the emperors (*Benji*), ten chapters of important issues recorded following the chronological table (*Biao*), eight chapters of treatises of all kinds (*Shu*), 30 chapters tracing noble genealogies (*Shijia*), and 70 chapters of individual biography (*Liezhuan*). This makes 130 chapters in total. It begins with the legendary Yellow Emperor (or Huangdi) (said to have reigned 2697–2597 BC or 2698–2598 BC) and ends with the Emperor Wu of Han (141–87 BC). The whole book spans roughly 3,000 years. It not only records the changes in human society but the variations of the natural world as well. Geographically speaking, Sima Qian's book embraces a catchment area which extends as far west as Central Asia, as far north as the Great Desert, and as far south as to what is present-day Vietnam. In this way, a comprehensive historical pictorial scroll was unfolded in front of the world. Human society, in all

its dimensions, including politics, the economy, culture, science and technology, transportation, nationalities, religions, and customs, and each strata of the society such as emperors, generals and ministers of states, officials, scholars, travelers, diviners, peasants, workers, and merchants are reflected in the book. Sima Qian thought highly of the rule of morality and justice in the progress of history. He pointed out that no matter who a person is, he should abide by morality and the rules of justice. Monarchs should set themselves up as an example to others and use morals to educate the people. By comparing Qin Shihuang with the Emperor Wu of Han, Sima Qian revealed the morality and standards that a wise king should uphold. By comparing honest and upright officials with corrupt ones, he concluded the principles of being a subject. He praised politicians like Zhou Gong and Xiao He (d. 193 BC) who were willing to bring benefits to the people, who knew their own limitations and were ready to sacrifice themselves to their duty. He also extolled *youxia*, a Chinese version of the knight-errant, which derived from the lower parts of the society. *Youxia*, in the eyes of Sima Qian, were characterized as having a host of merits including that they "value[d] friendship, stress[ed] credibility, [were] willing to help, [to] sacrifice their own interests for the sakes of others, [to] promote righteousness, [but] not boast and not ask for returns" (*Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Knights-errant – Shiji: Youxia Liezhuan)*. From his point of view, although these people were base and stemmed from the grassroots, their behavior benefited society and deserved affirmation.

From its own particular angle, *Records of the Grand Historian* attempted to analyze the rules of the economic life of human society. *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization* (*Shiji: Pinghuai Shu*) penetrated the developing course of finance and the economy in the first 100 years of the Han. Within this remit, special attention was paid to the progress of the commodity-money relationship and the success and failure of economic policies. In *Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Usurers* (*Shiji: Huozhi Liezhuan*), the writer recounts rags-to-riches stories about industrialists and businessmen. The chronicles of irrigation works concerned with agricultural production had been included in *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Rivers and Canals* (*Shiji: Hequ Shu*). According to this source, irrigation systems were introduced nationwide from Yu the Great in the Xia Period onwards. Sima Qian further pointed out how manufacturing and business, including agriculture, the mining industry, handicrafts, and commerce, were indispensible to human life and had their own rules of evolution. The writer also analyzed the etiquette-music culture in his book and believed that there existed a close relationship between spiritual outlook and financial situation. He confirmed the saying that "when the country has abundance, its citizens have etiquette; when a person is well-fed, he is well-bred."

Special attention should be paid to the fact that Sima Qian inherited and developed popular ideas about the natural world which had been current since the Spring and Autumn and Warring States Periods. He studied the connection between human history and natural history. In his words this can be described as "the exploration of the relation between man and nature" (*jiu tian ren zhi ji*). Also, special chapters can be found in the *Records of the Grand Historian*, such as

Treatise on Astronomy (*Tianguan Shu*), *Treatise Bells* (*Lü Shu*), *Treatise on Rites* (*Li Shu*), *Treatise on Rivers and Canals* (*Hequ Shu*), and *Biographies of Diviners* (*Guici Liezhuan*), all of which recorded significant astronomical changes and geographical conditions. Sima Qian noticed that the monarchs of each dynasty attached great importance to astrology and calendars because it was believed that there existed mysterious relations between astronomical phenomena and the political climate, the alternation of the dynasties, and the rise and fall of societies. The stars and the five major planets, in particular, influenced to a significant degree the events on earth. Through the study of the rules of the interactions between heaven and mankind from ancient times, Sima Qian therefore endeavored to provide guidance for the secular life.

Sima Qian insisted on a matter-of-fact attitude when researching history. He had a skeptical attitude towards historians who wrote books or formulated a theory based on unproven assumptions drawn from the *Spring and Autumn Annals.* As a result, he was cautious and prudent when collecting historical facts and anecdotes or in making judgments about certain figures. In order to "choose the refined words and gather the lost stories that scattered around the country," Sima Qian started his investigations throughout the land at the age of 20. He went to the Yangtze River and the Huai River and traveled by ship from Jiangling to Changsha in order to pay his respects to Qu Yuan (343–278 BC), a poet who committed suicide by throwing himself into the river in protest against the abuses of his king during the Warring States Period. After that, he traveled across the Yuan River and reached Hunan Province where he investigated the burial place of and stories about Shun, a legendary emperor from ancient times. He then went north to Mount Lu to collect the tale of Yu the Great's water regulation. Afterwards, he crossed Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces, visiting Suzhou City and touring the five famous lakes as well as the relics of Lord Chunshen's (a famous strategist from the Warring States Period) palace. Finally, he crossed the Yangtze River and arrived at Huai'an City to gather the historical facts and stories about Han Xin (died 196 BC), a Western Han militarist. He lingered for a long time in Qufu and Zibo, the hometown of Confucius, "visiting the temples, vehicles, clothes and sacrificial vessels of the Confucius period" (*Records of the Grand Historian: House of Confucius – Shiji: Kongzi Shujia*). He also "explored the Da Liang relics in today's Kaifeng City of Henan Province" (*Records of the Grand Historian: House of Wei – Shiji: Wei Shujia*). These traveling experiences enriched his knowledge, which, in turn, contributed to the creation of the book *Records of the Grand Historian.*

Records of the Grand Historian formulated historical styles known as "annals" (*Benji*), "genealogies" (*Shijia*), "biographies" (*Liezhuan*), and "treatises" (*Shu*) for the later generations. Among these, biographical sketches of emperors acted as the main outline for the book. Within the aforementioned templates, he recorded the affairs of the kingdoms, the commands of the emperors, the appointment and recall of officials, the demise of the crown, the punishment of evil deeds, foreign affairs and the presentation of tributes, and disasters and auspicious occasions. All of these followed the annalistic style (*Biao*). *Biao*, which literally means "important issues," used chronological tables combining ancient and recent events and drawing

information from each state. It may discuss events or about general history. When referring to remote times, it generally uses the century as the timeframe, but for more recent eras, years and months are used. "Treatises" (*Shu*) recorded details about the policies and laws, how the country was divided into different administrative levels, the establishment and abolition of bureaus, civil laws and criminal laws, household changes, economic fluctuations, variations in music and customs, military initiations and abolitions, the blockage and clearance of canals, solar eclipses and the movement of the stars, and so forth. "Genealogies" (*Shijia*) and "biographies" (*Liezhuan*) concentrated, respectively, upon the vassal states and influential figures in history. Zhao Yi, an outstanding historian of the Qing Dynasty once said in his *Notes on the Twenty-Two Dynastic Histories* (*Ershi Er Zaji*) that: "[e]ver since this style was established, subsequent historians have never deviated from its example. Hence the *Records of the Grand Historian* is the summit of history writing."

Ban Gu, styled "Meng Jian," was born in Fufeng, near Anling (Anling is now Xianyang, Shaanxi Province). His father, Ban Biao (3–54 AD), styled "Shupi," was a famous Confucian master during the reign of the Emperor Guangwu of Han (25–57 AD), who was devoted to historical records and composed a dozen papers of *Post-Records of the Grand Historian* (*Taishigong Shu Hou Zhuan*). After his father's death, Ban Gu carried on the cause left unfinished by the previous generation. In the fifth year of Yongping (the regnal title for the Emperor Ming), Ban Gu was falsely imprisoned after being charged with illegally altering the national history. Fortunately, after reading his manuscripts, the Emperor Ming (58–75 AD) was impressed by Ban Gu's talent and appointed him as the historiographer of the Lan Tai Palace to participate in the creation of the *Annals of the Grand Gaozu Emperor of the Han* (*Shizu Benji*) and to oversee the collation program. Later, Ban Gu was ordered by the Emperor to continue his work on the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*). From then on, Ban Gu devoted himself to writing and 20 years later, in the middle years of the Jianchu Period (76–84 BC), finished the preliminary version of the first edition. In the first year of Yongyuan, the Emperor He promoted Ban Gu to be a military officer, subject to Dou Xian, who was general in charge of the chariots and cavalry. He was to embark on an expedition against the northern Huns. In the fourth year of Yongyuan, General Dou was sentenced to death by the emperor on account of his monopolization of power. Ban Gu was once again arrested and died in prison. Eight sections (*biao*) and the *Tianwenzhi* had not been finished. Years later, Ban Zhao, Ban Gu's sister, and Ma Xu gathered together the scattered manuscripts of the *History of the Han Dynasty* and completed the unfinished chapters.

The *History of the Han Dynasty* contained 100 chapters in total, including 12 chapters of annals of emperors (*Benji*), eight chapters of important issues recorded following the chronological table (*Biao*), ten chapters of decrees and regulations (*Zhi*), and 70 chapters of individual biographies (*Liezhuan*). Later generations would divide those lengthier chapters into two or three parts. The work now consists of 120 volumes with eight hundred thousand words in total. The book begins with the first year of the Emperor Gaozu of Han (206 BC) and ends in the fourth year of Dihuang, the regnal title for the Emperor Wang Mang (23 AD). Lasting 230 years, covering

the Western Han Dynasty and the brief Wang Mang regime, the *History of the Han Dynasty* pioneered the practice of delineating dynastic history through a series of biographies.

The *History of the Han Dynasty* opened up new territories and pushed the boundaries of historiography. The ten chapters of decrees and regulations in particular were improved on the basis of the eight chapters of decrees and regulations of the *Records of the Grand Historian*. Ban Gu combined *Treatise on Bells* (*Lü Shu*) with *Treatise on Calendars* (*Li Shu*) in *Records of the Grand Historian* into *Treatise on Rhythm and the Calendar* (*Lü Li Zhi*) in his *History of the Han Dynasty* and *Treatise on Rites* (*Li Shi*) with *Treatise on Music* (*Yue Shu*) into *Treatise on Rites and Music* (*Li Yue Shu*) and changed *Treatise on Equalization* (*Pinghuai Shu*) into *Treatise on Food and Money* (*Shu Hou Zhi*), *Treatise on Religious Sacrificial Ceremonies* (*Fengchan Shu*) into *Treatise on Sacrifices* (*Jiaosi Zhi*), *Treatise on Astronomy* (*Tianguan Shu*) into *Astronomy and Anomaly* (*Tianwen Zhi*), and, finally, *Treatise on Rivers and Canals* (*Hequ Shu*) into *Treatise on Rivers and Canals* (*Gou Xu Zhi*).[2] Besides, Ban Gu created *Treatise on Punishments and the Laws* (*Xin Fa Zhi*), *Treatise on the Five Elements* (*Wu Xing Zhi*), *Treatise on Geography* (*Di Li Zhi*), and *Treatise on Literature* (*Yi Wen Zhi*). *Treatise on Geography* was, for instance, the first monograph which dealt with territorial divisions as its main content. It recounted the course of change and the development of the territories before the Han Dynasty with particular emphasis on the nine prefectures (*Jiu Zhou*) of the country which were described by the books *Tribute of Yu* (*Yu Gong*) and *Bureaucracy* (*Zhou Guan*). And it detailed the areas governed, the scenic spots, specialties and households, and manners and customs of the territory of the Western Han. Information for local districts was outlined through a text with notes. *Treatise on Literature*, which was constructed on the basis of the *Seven Summaries* (*Qi Lüe*) written by Liu Xin, a Confucian scholar of the Western Han Dynasty, was the collective conspectus of books before the Han. It was considered a work of great academic value, albeit one written on a modest scale.

The *History of the Han Dynasty* also made splendid contributions in the aspect of style. As a dynastic history, the *History of the Han Dynasty* reclassified "genealogies" (*Shijia*) into "biographies" (*Liezhuan*) and changed "treatises" (*Shu*) into *Zhi* (another name for "treatises"). Fifty-four chapters were based on the *Records of the Grand Historian*, among which were five chapters of "annals" (*Benji*) of emperors, six chapters of important issues (*Biao*) recorded following the chronological table, three chapters of "treatises" (*Zhi*), and 40 chapters of individual biographies (*Liezhuan*). Adjustments and supplements have since been made to these. For instance, although it followed the example of *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on Equalization*, which covered only the economic system during the time from the beginning of the Han Dynasty to the Emperor Wu of Han, the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Food and Money* included economic

[2] Although the English translations are apparently the same, the Ban Gu version has connotations of water conservancy.

systems from the remote Farmer God (*Shennong*) in Chinese traditional tales to the later years of the Wang Mang regime, from which we can see those missing parts like the land system. Compared with the *Records of the Grand Historian*, the *History of the Han Dynasty* contains more details about the minorities living in the borderlands and neighboring countries. Ban Gu rewrote the *Records of the Grand Historian: Treatise on the Da Yuan*[3] (*Da Yuan Liezhuan*) as *Traditions of the Western Regions* (*Xiyu Zhuan*) by adding the histories of scores of states in the west of Asia and their political contacts and economic and cultural exchanges with the Han Dynasty as well as the histories of Central Asian and Western Asian regions, such as what is now Iran, Lanzhou Province in China, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Once again, he purposefully polished the profiles of those figures which were not depicted in detail in *Records of the Grand Historian* and deleted individual biographies such as *Biographies of Jesters* (*Huaji Liezhuan*) and *Biographies of Diviners* (*Gui Ci*). From these examples, we can gain a glimpse of Ban Gu's achievements in enriching and complementing the series of biographies.

During the Western and Eastern Han Dynasties, besides the *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*, there existed a national history told in the form of biographies and compiled by the Eastern Han government. It was entitled *History of the Dong Guan Palace* (*Dong Guan Han Ji*). According to Liu Zhiji's (a historian of the Tang Dynasty) *Understanding of History: Official History* (*Shi Tong Gu Jin Zhen Shi*), the compilation process of the *Dong Guan Palace* ran thus: the Emperor Ming of Han first instructed Ban Gu and others to write *Annals of the Grand Gaozu Emperor of the Han* and to compose 28 individual biographies for meritorious statesmen like Xin Shi, Ping Lin, and Gongsu Shu. Soon after Ban Gu and his fellows had completed those tasks, historians and writers including Liu Zhen, Fu Wuji, and Cai Yi also accomplished *Dong Guan Palace*, which covered the history from the Guangwu Emperor (25–57 AD) to the Ling Emperor (168–89 AD) just before the coup instigated by the warlord Dong Zhuo. During the Three Kingdoms and the Jin Dynasty, *Dong Guan Palace*, with its enormous size and abundant materials, became the mainstream work pertaining to the history of the Western Han. It thus enjoyed equal regard to *Records of the Grand Historian* and the *History of the Han Dynasty*.

In the course of the reign of the Emperor Xian of Han (189–220 AD), a historical record in annalistic style called *Annals of the Han* (*Han Ji*) appeared. Feeling that the *History of the Han Dynasty* was too lengthy, the Emperor Xian of Han, a man who loved to read history, ordered Xun Yue (148–209 AD) to rewrite the *History of the Han Dynasty* in the third year of Jian an (198 AD), using the style of *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Zuo Zhuan*) for reference. Xun Yue, therefore, spent 3 years compiling the *Annals of the Han*, which ran to 30 volumes with one hundred and fifty thousand words – one-fifth of the length of the *History of the Han Dynasty*. The change of the annalistic style, considered as the major

[3]The Da Yuan here refers to the country in the Ferghana Valley, as visited by Zhang Qian in the Han Dynasty. It is at the junction of what are now Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.

contribution of the *Annals of the Han*, blossomed for a second time after the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*.

In all, the historiography of the Han Dynasty ended with fruitful historical theories. In the light of the requirements of historiography, substantial progress had been made in terms of concrete research and the pattern of expression.

12.3 From the Wei and Jin Dynasties to the Sui and Tang Dynasties: Further Progress in Historiography

During the Wei, Jin, Sui, and Tang Dynasties, progress was made in historiography based upon the foundation of past achievements in this field. First of all, people's ideas about history became more sophisticated. Through criticizing theological approaches, progress had been made into understanding the relations between man and nature. During the course of the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the ancient Chinese calendar reached a turning point. This period saw the creation of Liu Zhou's *Huangji Calendar* (*Huangji Li*), Zhang Zhouxuan's *Daye Calendar* (*Daye Li*), and the monk Yi Xing's *Dayan Calendar* (*Dayan Li*). These books not only considered the true measurement of the meridian but also the movement and setting of the planets. The invention of a new calendar made the people's sense of the year, the month, the date, and the time much more accurate. Also, the prediction of the solar and lunar eclipses was more accurate compared with those of ancient times. Furthermore, more reasonable explanations were given for those astronomical phenomena which had been considered abnormal before. Under such circumstances, Liu Zhiji (661–721 AD), in his *Understanding of History* (*Shi Tong*), drew a line under historical ideas based on theology: first of all, he introduced superstitious stories; secondly, he added the stranger affairs of warlocks; thirdly, he inserted magical stories; and last of all, he added calamities and abnormal occurrences said to be related to the *Yin-Yang* Theory. Liu Zhiji insisted on a rational attitude towards auspicious and ominous affairs as well as towards the impact which natural phenomena exerted upon human history.

Two Tang Dynasty figures, Liu Zongyuan (773–819 AD), a philosopher and ideologist, and Liu Yuxi (772–842 AD), a philosopher and writer, discussed the relationship between heaven and man from a philosophical perspective. Liu Zongyuan pointed out that the natural world did not possess an active will or an influence of its own. Instead it was human beings themselves who brought turmoil or peace to society. He stated that "there is no interference between nature and men [. . .] do not take mysterious events as divinely-ordained, do not take heaven for one's own dignity, what matters were those for human beings and their preparations for businesses" (*A Collection of Liu Hedong: Comments on Politics* first part – *Liu Hedong Ji*). Liu Yuxi augmented Liu Zongyuan's points of view. He believed that man and nature were united within material foundations, but each had their own functions and rules. The function of nature was to produce or generate everything;

in the human society, on the other hand, morality and justice originated from ritual law and were needed to maintain social order. In other words, "the Way (*Tao*) of nature is reproduction, and the survival of the fittest; the Way of humanity is the law, according to which morality matters" (*A Collection of Liu Yuxi: Comments on Heaven – Liu Yuxi Ji: Tian Lun*). Owing to the differences between the two, there was "no interference between heaven and men" (*Tian ren bu xiang yu*), and "heaven cannot accomplish what has to be done by man [and] vice versa" (*Tian zhi neng, ren gu bu neng ye; ren zhi neng, tian yi you suo bun eng ye*). However, they still interact. When justice is carried out without obstruction and people understand the difference between right and wrong, rewards and punishments become very clear. In this case, the human world with its moral criteria could overcome the survival of the fittest promoted by nature and vice versa. In contrast, when justice became corrupted and morality fell into decline, it was easier for people to fall into the trap of superstition which taught them to believe that their destinies were beyond their control. The aforementioned explorations had a profound impact upon creating a better understanding of the relations between the natural world and human society.

During the Wei and Jin Dynasties, people paid close attention to the fate of historical figures, seeing life itself as being more precious than fame, property, and the pursuit of morality. Fate (*Mingyun*) as a factor did exist, yet the key to a better livelihood was to maintain a spirit of freedom. When Buddhism was introduced into China, its ideas became mingled with the Chinese theory of retribution in three generations (*San Shi Bao Yin*). Traditional opinions on fate were thus amplified to an extreme under the aegis of Buddhism. Buddhism taught "do well and have well" (*shan you shan bao*) and "do evil and have evil" (*e you e bao*), and this retribution proceeded in a world divided into six so-called samsara (*Liu Dao Lun Hui*). That is to say that retribution happens in people's previous life, this life, and the next life. It also spread through man's relations with other animals and living creatures as well as the supernatural world. This retribution theory, on the one hand, explained the living conditions currently experienced by people by stating that they were the consequence of the previous life. On the other hand, it explained the present social status of each individual, namely, that political disorder in this life was retribution for what individuals had done in their previous lives. It seemed as though the Buddhist theory of retribution solved the question of historical contingency; however, in this regard it took it to the extreme. Retribution made such strong impact that it even influenced historiography to a certain degree.

Historiography, at this stage, separated itself from the Confucian Classics and was turned into an independent subject. Before the Warring States, historiography was never a discrete field. The appearance of *Records of the Grand Historian* represented the preliminary image of Chinese historiography; yet historical works still ranked lower than other orthodox theories during the Spring and Autumn Period, as is shown in books like *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yi Wen Zhi*). There then followed the Wei and Jin Dynasties, during which periods the status of historiography was elevated owing to the decline of Confucianism. The word *Shixue*, which means "historiography," was first used by the Emperor Shi Le of Zhao. In 319 AD, the second year of Da Xing (the

regnal title of the Emperor Yuan of the Eastern Jin Dynasty), Shi Le appointed Ren Bo and Cui Jun as *Shixue Ji Jiu*. This official title implied that they were chief historians tasked with promoting the knowledge of history. In 438 AD, the fifteenth year of Yuan Jia (the regnal title of the Emperor Wen of the Song Dynasty), the Official Historiographer He Chengtian was ordered to serve as head of the History College (*Shi Xue Guan*) which at that time had already become one of the four colleges established for the study of Confucianism (*Ru*), metaphysics (*Xuan*), literature (*Wen*), and historiography (*Shi*). During the transition between the Song and Qi Dynasties, the Zongming Palace, a place with the combined functions of library, research institute, and teaching base, was established to specifically focus on the four principles of metaphysics, Confucianism, literature, and history. Each of these was designated ten scholars to conduct research. Although ranked low down, historiography as an independent discipline had finally come to be regarded as a mainstream science. From the aspect of bibliography at that time, in the *Library Catalog* (*Zhong Jing Xin Bo*) which was written by Xun Xu, an official historiographer in Western Jin Dynasty, all book names were included in four volumes, of which history occupied one. The bibliographer Li Chong revised a great quantity of books in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, dividing them into four groups. He placed history immediately next to the Confucian Classics.

With Liu Zhiji's *An Understanding of History* as a typical representative, historiography demonstrated its independence by self-examination. Liu Zhiji (661–721 AD), styled "Zi Xuan," was born in Peng City in the Tang Dynasty (now Xuzhou, Jiangsu Province). Fixated with history from an early age, Liu Zhiji read *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* when he was only 11 years old. Five years later, he had already become familiar with history books such as *Records of the Grand Historian*, the *History of the Han Dynasty*, the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Guo Zhi*), and historical documents about each emperor of the Tang Dynasty. In 702 AD, the second year of Chang an (the regnal title of the Empress Wu), the 42-year-old Liu Zhiji, who had been promoted to the position of official historiographer after a 22-year career in officialdom, made a concerted effort to write *An Understanding of History*. This book was to cover a wide range of material with specialized chapters discussing the origins and development of the Official Historian and the types, comments upon, methods, accomplishments, and authentication of historical records. Liu Zhiji made comments about every single style of historical book and thus summarized the famous theory – "six books and two styles" (*liu jia er ti*) which by "books" (*jia*) was referring to the *Classic of History*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*, *Discourses of the States*, the *Records of the Grand Historian*, and the *History of the Han Dynasty* and by styles (*ti*) meant biographies and annals. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* belonged to the annalistic style (*Biannian*); the *Records of the Grand Historian* started general history (*Tongshi*); the *History of the Han Dynasty* was the father of dynastic history (*Duandaishi*); *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* followed chronological order; and the *Discourses of the States* was compiled by each country. As for the official history (*Zhengshi*), it encompassed: (1) the

annals of emperors (*Benji*), (2) genealogies (*Shijia*), (3) biographies of distinguished people (*Liezhuan*), (4) issues recorded following the chronological table (*Biaoli*), (5) treatises (*Shuzhi*) and (6) regulations of commentary and celebration (*Lunzan*), and (7) catalogs and examples (*Xuli*). Liu Zhiji wrote one chapter for each one of these. As a result, when one makes a comprehensive survey of *An Understanding of History*, one can easily discern that the four parts detailed as Official Historian, official history, six books, and two styles were the most plentiful in content. When writing the book *An Understanding of History*, Liu Zhiji tried to indicate the advantages and disadvantages of each style by studying the sources of historical styles and methods. Once one possessed this knowledge of historiography, one was qualified, in Liu Zhiji's eyes, to write history. In his book, Liu Zhiji wrote one chapter in particular, named as *Judgment* (*Shi Jian*), to discuss historical knowledge. He wrote: "people's sense of judgment is different from each other. Gods may be bright or gloomy. Thus each person has their own views of what is honorable and what is dishonorable. They also have their own likes and dislikes." That is to say, the value standards of historians had a crucial impact on the way in which history was recorded. Although all historians inevitably have their own limitations, Liu Zhiji still insisted on the bottom line that historians must have an objective judgment and ought to understand the moral principles endorsed by Confucius in the *Six Classics*. Liu Zhiji pointed out that the manifestation of the moral spirits of the *Six Classics* in the field of historiography served to keep an intact and authentic history, just as Zuo Qiuming did in his *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. Liu said that it was taboo to directly mention the respected and blood related in the *Spring and Autumn Annals* and stories which are too distant from us to be believed; however, *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* is detailed in historical events. In his works, Liu Zhiji proposes the higher requirements concerning the truth of history: a competent historian should be one with talent, knowledge, and judgment. Talent (*Cai*) was the ability to collect, identify, organize, and express historical materials. Knowledge (*Xue*) was the profound know-how into history and the understanding of its principles. Judgment (*Shi*) was the capacity to differentiate between the rights and wrongs of historical events and historical figures.

Ancient Chinese historiography advanced further during the Wei, Jin, Sui, and Tang Dynasties. The improvements manifested in historiography were as follows:

First of all, Official Historians had more detailed obligations and fields of work. Full-time Official Historians appeared in the Wei and Jin Dynasties. According to Liu Zhiji's *An Understanding of History: Official Historians*, the work of recording was not distinguished from historiography in the Jin Dynasty; it was not until the Yuan and Wei Dynasties that official recorders were first established for recording speeches and conversations during banquets hosted by the emperor. Later on Chief Recorders (*Ling Shi*) were appointed from among the minor officials. Designations were different between recorders and historiographers. Recorders only focused on emperors' speeches, and historiographers were responsible for compiling history. Thus the system of official biographies (*Shi Guan*) was born. After *Dong Guan Palace*, which was compiled by historiographers in the Eastern Han Dynasty,

historians like Shen Yue, Xiao Zixian, and Wei Shou began to write history under the auspices of the Imperial Court. The Emperor Taizong of Tang ordered historians to write the *Book of Jin* (*Jinshu*), the *Book of Liang* (*Liangshu*), the *Book of Chen* (*Chenshu*), the *Book of the Northern Qi* (*Beiqishu*), the *Book of Zhou* (*Zhoushu*), and the *Book of Sui* (*Suishu*). From then on, historiography entered into a new era from which historians of later generations tried hard to learn. Besides recording politics, the economy, cultures, and military activities, Official Historians began to consolidate their positions by centralized management which required more intact documents from the local governments. As for the collection and preservation of historical documents, pertinent regulations and laws were formulated in the Sui and Tang Dynasties on the basis of long-term practices and experiences.

Secondly, the classification of historical data became more rational and scientific. Owing to the improvement of data collection and the preservation system, an abundance of historical data began to appear during the Wei, Jin, Southern, and Northern Dynasties through to the end of the Ming Dynasty. During the period when Buddhism and Taoism became increasingly popular, and with cultural relics having been brought to light, historians formulated many opinions about the classification of historical data. Xun Xu, a Jin bibliographer, compiled *The New Catalog* on the basis of the Prefectural Chief Zheng Mo's *Historical Catalogs* (*Xin Bo*). These historical books are divided into four main parts. The first part is about the six skills (*liu yi*) required by Confucius and linguistics (*xiaoxue*); the second part is about pre-Qin philosophers (*zi*), books on the art of war (*bing*), and military strategists (*shushu*); the third part is about historical books (*shishu*) and ancient issues (*jiushi*); and the last part is about poems (*shi*), verses (*fu*), and art eulogies (*tuzan*). At the beginning of the Eastern Jin Dynasty, the bibliographer Li Chong compiled books which referred to *The New Catalog*. During the Yuanjia Period (424–53 AD) of the Song Dynasty, Xie Lingyun, the great poet, created *Catalogs in Four Volumes* (*Si Bu Mu Lu*). Two decades later, Wang Jian produced the *Booklist in Four Volumes* and *Seven Catalogs* (*Qi Zhi*) (473–7 AD) in which (1) classics (*jingdian*), (2) philosophers (*zhuzi*), (3) official documents and correspondence (*wenhan*), (4) military affairs (*junshu*), (5) *Yin-Yang* and (6) genealogy (*shuyi*), and (7) eulogies on art (*tupu*) are included, together with the principles of Buddhism and Taoism. Ruan Xiaoxu (479–536 AD), the Liang Dynasty bibliographer, also created his *Seven Catalogs* (*Qi Lu*), which included: (1) classics (*jingdian*), (2) biographies (*jizhuan*), (3) military affairs (*zibing*), (4) literature (*wenji*), (5) skills (*jishu*), (6) Buddhism (*fo*), and (7) Taoism (*dao*). The *Book of Sui: Records and Classics* (*Suishu: Jing Ji Zhi*) was further divided into four parts: (1) Confucian Classics (*jing*), (2) history (*shi*), (3) pre-Qin philosophers (*zi*), and (4) miscellany (*ji*). This later became the common standard for the classification of documents. Moreover, the historical part was subdivided into 13 sections: official history (biographies) (*zhengshi*), ancient history (*gushi*), unofficial history (*zashi*), national history (*bashi*), speeches and national events (*qijuzhu*), ancient events (*jiushi*), officials (*zhiguan*), rituals or ceremonies (*yizhu*), laws (*xingfa*), biography (*zazhuan*), geography (*dili*), genealogy (*puxi*), and lists and catalogs (*bolu*).

Thirdly, the elementary methods of textual criticism which could be applied to the identification of historical materials began to take shape. Some textural research work into correcting mistakes first appeared during this period. For example, Qiao Zhou (d. 270 AD), the Shu historian of the Three Kingdoms Period, wrote *Critiques of Ancient History* (*Gu Shi Kao*) in which characters, family names, historical figures, and events were included; he also corrected mistakes in *Records of the Grand Historian* based on the ancient classics. Sun Sheng (c. 302–73 AD), the Eastern Jin historian, made adjustments to the given dates of historical events and corrected mistakes of historical records in his *Comments on Similarities and Differences* (*Yi Tong Ping*). Pei Songzhi (372–451 AD), a historian of the Southern Song Dynasty and the author of *Annotations to Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*San Guo Zhi Zhu*), quoted different records to differentiate and analyze errors in the commentary on the *Records of the Three Kingdoms*. In order to write his *Commentary on the Water Classic* (*Shui Jing Zhu*), the Northern Wei geographer Li Daoyuan (d. 527 AD) paid a personal visit to mountains and rivers between the Great Wall and the Qin Huai River in order to testify to the truth of previous documents. Skills and methods such as assertion (*benzheng*), quotation (*tazheng*), and deduction (*lizheng*) were utilized to various degrees during the abovementioned examinations of documents. As a necessary method of historical research, textual criticism caught the attentions of historians of the Sui and Tang Periods. In the spirit of textual criticism, Liu Zhiji used his *Understanding of the History* to deduce the reasons why the historical records were inconsistent with the facts. Liu Zongyuan, also an expert on textual criticism, was adept at verifying ages and forging evidences on aspect of contents of documents like *Liezi*, *Wenzi*, *Heguanzi*, *Kangcangzi*, and *Yanzi*.[4]

Fourthly, during this period, stylistic rules and layout became complicated and sophisticated. The *Histories of Twenty-four Dynasties* (*Ershisi Shu*), which included the *History of the Later Han Dynasty* (*Hou Hanshu*), the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi*), the *Book of Jin* (*Jinshu*), the *Book of Wei* (*Weishu*), the *Book of Song* (*Songshu*), the *Book of the Southern Qi* (*Nanqishu*), the *Book of the Liang* (*Liangshu*), the *Book of the Chen* (*Chenshu*), the *Book of the Northern Qi* (*Beiqishu*), the *Book of Zhou* (*Zhoushu*), the *Book of Sui* (*Suishu*), the *History of the Southern Dynasty* (*Nanshi*) and the *History of the Northern Dynasty* (*Beishu*), and the *Old Book of Tang* (*Jiutangshu*), was officially compiled in the later Jin Dynasty and finished in the Wei and Jin and Sui and Tang Periods. Besides the official history known as biography (*Zhengshi*), there was the annalistic style (*Biannian ti*), the classics style (*Dianzhi ti*), the institutional style (*Huiyao ti*), and so forth. All in all, recording styles during this period were fully tested and thus improved.

[4]Each of these is Daoist documents, said to take their name from the early masters mentioned in their titles (Master Lie, Master Wen, Master Heguan (or "pheasant-cap"), Master Kangcang, and Master Yan).

12.4 The Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties: New Developments in Historiography

In this period Chinese historiography was elevated onto a new platform. When it came to recognizing the essence of history, historians insisted on using their critiques of metaphysics and Buddhism in an attempt to discern the core of human relations and rational spirits. In the Northern Song Dynasty, representatives of the Li School of Confucianism such as Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Zai, Cheng Hao, and Zhu Xi put forward their systematic analyses and critiques of metaphysics and Buddhism. Through these they reached the conclusion that only the natural law, which can be seen as a Utopian moral awareness and social order endorsed by Confucianism, was the true spirit of the natural world and human society. They also agreed that history would inevitably be characterized by twists and turns and considered individual experience as inevitable events conflated with accidental factors. They used the concept of destiny as a means to further explain this: people are different in temperament, character, and morality. Therefore, in the general running course of *Yin-Yang*, people's living conditions along with their social status must be prearranged and irreversible. As for the "natural potential" (*Xing Fen*) of human beings – in other words, their moral and ethical potential – this was unrestricted. So what mattered was the cognition of "destiny" (*Ming Fen*) through the eyes of "natural potential" and how one thus sought to understand and surpass the limitations of "destiny" with tolerance and an open mind. Throughout history, it was the efforts of human beings which determined the political climate. The main achievements of historians, which helped to explain the inner rules of history, were discerning the differences between individual morality and rational ability from individual living conditions and the differences between individual destiny and the overall political destiny.

There appeared a sort of sentiment like religious belief towards morality and human relations due to an overemphasis on its rules through history. A typical manifestation in the field of historiography was a brand new explanation of the Orthodox Theory. Orthodox Theory concerned a reasonable historical rule order. During the pre-Qin and the Han Period, Zou Yan's Five Elements Theory represented a rule order. It was believed that among all the dynasties, only those which complied with the running of the Five Elements were qualified to be regarded as orthodox; otherwise they belonged to the heterodox. As a result, during the Wei and Jin and Northern and Southern Dynasties, conflicts about orthodoxy and heterodoxy sprang up from time to time owing to political differences. Shen Yue (441–513 AD) excluded the Northern Wei from his *Book of Song* (*Songshu*) because it was a "minority braid." In the *Book of Wei* (*Weishu*), Wei Shou (506–72 AD) named the Southern Dynasties as a race of "savage men." In the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi*), Chen Shou (233–97 AD) legitimized the Wei and bastardized the Shu and Wei. However, Xi Zuochi (after 316–84 AD) avenged this slight with his *Springs and Autumns of Jin in the Han Dynasty*(*Han Jin Chunqiu*),

saying that only the Shu deserved the title of being "orthodox." Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang, and Zhu Xi also expressed their opinions on the Orthodox Theory. Albeit with slight divergences, they all agreed that the virtues of morality and reasons, rather than a formalist Five Elements Theory, were the essence of history. Zhu Xi divided past dynasties into "legitimate" (*Zhen Tong*) and those which "overstepped their authority" (*Jian Yue*). He believed that "legitimate" or "orthodox" dynasties were those which followed moral principles and the popular will, but those which "overstepped their authority" did not. Based on his standards, only the Zhou, Qin, Han, Western Jin, Sui, and Tang were worthy of the label "orthodox." The Shu and Eastern Jin were far from united. As for Queen Lü; Wang Mang; the Emperors Wu, Wei, and Jing in the later Han Dynasty; and the Emperors Han, Zhao, and Yan in the Jin Dynasty, they were puppets or thieves. In order to reflect historical morals, improvements were made to the "Writing Style of the Spring and Autumn Annals." The influential *Outline of a Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zi Zhi Tong Jian Gang Mu*) model of historiography in the Song Dynasty was formulated by Zhu Xi. By using character rules, it dynamically combined the expression of events with moral concepts in order to strictly punish usurpers and advocate moral integrity.

Further improvements were made to the officially recorded system of history during this period. Institutions dedicated to history, such as the Current Politics Academy (*Shi Lu Yuan*), the Emperor Daily Academy (*Qi Ju Yuan*), the Royal Family Palace (*Yu Die Shuo*), the Calendar Station (*Ri Li Shuo*), the National History Bureau (*Guo Shi Yuan*), the Meeting Station (*Hua Yao Shi*), and the Current Politics Academy (*Shi Zhen Ji Fang*), were in operation. Most were established during the Song Dynasty, but the Current Politics Academy had been in existence from the Northern Song and the Southern Song Dynasties and was devoted to state affairs. The Emperor Daily Academy dealt with the emperors' daily life. The Royal Family Palace recorded the royal family tree. The Calendar Station provided historical documents for state affairs and for the compilation of a national history. The National History Bureau was in charge of national history and ancient history. The Meeting Station classified all kinds of historical materials. The Three Dynasties of Liao, Jin, and Yuan had basically the same institutions dedicated to history and the same official system of recording history. The Liao Dynasty possessed the National History Bureau, the Article Bureau (*Zhu Zuo Ju*), and the Emperor Daily, which were exactly the same as those of the Jin. The Imperial National Talents Academy (*Guo Shi Ji Xian Yuan*) of the Yuan Dynasty was made the official institution for recording history. The Clerk Bureau (*Mi Shu Jian*) contained historiographers of all ranks. The Head of the Secretariat was responsible for the Emperor Daily recording. The latter-day incarnations of the Emperor Daily and the National History Academy were first established at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty. Later their responsibilities were devolved to the Imperial Academy. In spite of the unstable condition of the Emperor Daily and the National History Academy, the officially recorded history ran on without interruption. From the Song Dynasty to the Ming Dynasty, the officially recorded histories encompassedthe *Old History of*

the Five Dynasties (*Wudai Shi*), the *New Book of Tang* (*Xintangshu*), the *History of the Liao Dynasty* (*Liaoshi*), the *History of the Song Dynasty* (*Songshi*), and the *History of the Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuanshi*).

Thanks to the development of woodblock printing techniques and modes of cultural transmission, the state-supported business of recording history now reached down to the common people. At the end of the Ming Dynasty in particular, there appeared a batch of nongovernmental historians separate from the official ones. Some of the important privately recorded historical records made during this period were Ouyang Xiu's *New History of the Five Dynasties* (*Xin Wudai Shi*) and Tan Qian's 100 volume-long, five million-word classic *National Deliberations* (*Guo Que*) (1453–1657 AD).

The "comprehensive" (*Hui Tong*) approach not only represented the tremendous progress of historiography during this period but became the mainstream in the historical field as well. During the Kai Yuan Period of the Tang Dynasty, Liu Zhi, son of Liu Zhiji, wrote the *Institutions Dictionary* (*Zhen Dian*) in 35 volumes on reference to the functions of the six divisions of the *Rites of Zhou* (*Zhouli*) and a variety of classics. For the Emperor Dezong of Tang (779–805 AD), Du You wrote *Comprehensive Institutions* (*Tongdian*), in which the decrees and regulations of past dynasties were detailed in nine categories including economic policies, elections, official positions, rites, music, military, laws, local governments, and border defenses. Beneath these were titles and subtitles which charted the rise and fall of various systems within successive dynasties, detailing what was innovative about each one and displaying a comprehensive approach overall. In spite of its popularity, "comprehensive" only became a universally followed approach in the Song Dynasty. Influenced by Confucianism and "comprehensive" thoughts, Song historiography, which fostered an intensive climate of knowledge about the past, produced two classic general histories: Sima Guang's *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Zi Zhi Tong Jin*) and Zheng Qiao's *General History* (*Tong Zhi*).

Sima Guang (1019–86 AD), styled "Jun Shi," was born in Xia County, Shanzhou (now Xia County, Shanxi Province) (Picture 20). He showed a strong interest in history from an early age. As the preeminent statesman and historian of the earlier Song Dynasty, he wrote the annalistic general history *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* with the support of the Imperial Court, together with Liu Fang, Fan Zuyu, and Liu Shu, who acted as his historian assistants. Starting from the twenty-third year of the reign of the Emperor Lie Wei in the Zhou Dynasty (403 BC) and ending in the sixth year of Xian De (the regnal title of the Emperor Guo Wei) in the Later Zhou Dynasty (959 AD), the book traversed a history of 1,362 years in 294 volumes. Added to this, there were appendices including a 30-volume *Catalog* (*Mu Lu*), 30 volumes of *Discrepancy Investigation* (*Kao Yi*), 20 volumes of *Ancient Events* (*Ji Gu Lu*), five volumes of *Calendars* (*Li Nian Tu*), 80 volumes of *Main Contents* (*Tong Jian Ju Yao Li*), and one volume of *Explanations* (*Tong Jian Shi Li*). In his petition to the emperor, Sima Guang pointed out that "since Sima Qian and Ban Gu, large quantities of historical books [have] appeared, of which the common people who were free to read cannot even finish, not to mention the emperor who attended to numerous affairs every day." The reason for writing *A Comprehensive*

Mirror for Aid in Government was to "delete the tedious and [to] pick up the most important [events] that related to the fate of the country and the livelihoods of the people; to write those good examples into the law while learning from the bad ones. The annalistic book (*Biannian shu*) is clear in order and appropriate in words," so that the emperor "can reward the good and punish the evil in the light of the past and thus create a prosperous world" (*Petition for Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*: *Biography of Sima Guang – Sima Wen Jian Gong Zhuan Jia Ji*, volume 17).

Zheng Qiao (1104–62 AD), styled "Yu Zhong," with the literary name "Jia Ji," was born in Putian, Xing Huajun Province (now Putian in Fujian Province). Using the efforts of a lifetime, Zheng Qiao completed his biographies known as the *General History*. This comprised 200 volumes, including 18 volumes on the annals of emperors (*Diji*), three volumes on genealogies (*Shijia*), 108 volumes of the biographies of distinguished people (*Liezhuan*), eight volumes on divided regimes (*Zai ji*), seven volumes on the four minorities (*Si yi zhuan*), four volumes on chronicles (*Nian pu*), and 52 volumes on the 20 summaries (*Ershi Lüe*). Besides social history, the extensive contents also gave consideration to astronomy (*Tianwen*), geography (*Dili*), animals (*Dongwu*), plants (*Zhiwu*), literature (*Wenxue*), and phonology (*Yinyun*). As for the time span covered, each part was different from one another in scope. The biographies of the emperors ran from the Three Emperors and Five Sovereigns in ancient China to the Sui Dynasty. The biographies of queens ran from the Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty. The biographies of the distinguished people spanned from the Zhou Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty, and the 20 summaries stretched from the Legendary Era to the Earlier Song Dynasty. The *General History* attached great importance to "comprehensive" history (*Huitong*), for as it states in the preface: "though thousands of rivers end in the sea and the lands will stay away from the flood; though thousands of ways lead to China and no way will be blocked; how great is comprehensive!" Treating "comprehensive" history as the guiding ideology, Zheng Qiao did his best to investigate thoroughly the origins of all the historical events.

The "comprehensive" sense of the Song Dynasty was inherited and further carried on in the Yuan and Ming Dynasties. The general history in an institutional style called *Comprehensive Examination of Literature* (*Wen Xian Tong Kao*) by Ma Duanlin (c. 1254–1323 AD) appeared in the Yuan Dynasty. The *Continuation of Comprehensive Examination of Literature* (*Xu Wen Xian Tong Kao*) by Wang Qi and the *Briefings* (*Hong Jian Lu*) by Shao Jingbang appeared in the Ming Dynasty, following the style of the *General History*.

Another important phenomenon in the field of historiography during the Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties was the ever-increasing scope of local records. Emperors of the Song Dynasty paid special attention to this. The first emperors of Song, Emperor Taizong, Emperor Zhenzong, Emperor Renzong, Emperor Shenzong, Emperor Huizong, and Emperor Ningzong, all promulgated imperial edicts about the compilation and collection of local records. Emperor Huizong, in particular, founded the Nine Domain Records Bureau (*Qiu Yu Tu Zhi Ju*) – the very first specialized institution for making records to operate under the central authorities

and to take charge of issues related to the making of national records. According to the statistics, a total of 1,016 records were made, with 35 general records being made under the rule of just one Song emperor. This compares to fewer than 400 records, including national and local ones, which were produced during the Tang Dynasty.[5] Books like *Universal Geography of the Taiping Era* (*Tai Ping Huan Yu Ji*), *Yuan Feng Territory Records* (*Yuan Feng Jiu Yu Zhi*), *Records of the Southern Side of the River* (*He Lan Zhi*), *Continuation of the Geography of Wu County* (*Wu Jun Guo Jin Xu Ji*), and *Xin'an Records* (*Xi Nan Zhi*) were all well-known records in the Song Dynasty. In the Yuan Dynasty, there existed more than 190 local records. The 1,300 volumes of the *Records of the Great Unification of Yuan Empire* (*Da Yuan Da Yi Tong Zhi*), which was published in the seventh year of Da De (1303 AD), even had full-color paintings besides its characters. The quantity of records made during the Ming Dynasty surpassed that of any preceding regime, with six kinds of general records being made at the central level, 69 kinds of records being made at the provincial level, 449 kinds of records being made at municipal level, 353 kinds of records being made at prefecture level, and 1,890 kinds of records being made at county level. The most important and splendid of these, *The Records of the United Ming Dynasty* (*Da Ming Yi Tong Zhi*), was accomplished in the fifth year of Tian Shun (1461 AD), the regnal title of the Emperor Yingzong. The 90-volume book follows the location and administration of the two municipalities of Beijing and Nanjing and 13 provinces. It is of great value for understanding the political divisions of the Ming Dynasty. The records were very reliable because of their versatile materials and the fact that much of the information therein was derived from direct investigation.

During the Song, Yuan, and Ming Periods, historiography advanced to a new depth in terms of introspection. The level of discrimination between historical materials was evidently enhanced in the Song Dynasty. Scholars audaciously applied Confucianism to investigate documents and ancient records. Individuals like Ouyang Xiu, Sima Guang, Wang Anshi, Zheng Qiao, Zhu Xi, Ye Shi, Li Xinchuan, Chen Zhensun, and Chao Gongwu extended their discriminating targets from ordinary books to Confucian Classics such as the *Classic of History*, the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Poetry*, and *Zuo's Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals*. In the name of strengthening the seriousness of historiography, some scholars, from the middle of the Ming Dynasty, conducted a series of discriminating works. Mei Wu, for instance, in his *Questions on the Classic of History* (*Shangshu Kaoyi*), proposed some general principles for discerning which were pseudo-works by collecting previous discussions about the authenticity of the *Classic of History*; Wang Shizhen wrote *Mistakes in Official History and Unofficial History* (*Shi Chen Kaowu*) to criticize the inaccuracies of the records and the absurdness and flattering words of unofficial history; Hu Yinglin's*Correction of the*

[5]Liu Weiyi, *A Brief Description of Regional Histories of the Song Dynasty*, *Literature* (1986), Vol. 4.

Standard Library Classification into Four Categories (*Si Bu Zhen E*) came up with a full set of specific ways for discriminating on the basis of differentiating between and analyzing hundreds of false documents. All these efforts in textual criticism and methods were helpful for making historical writings more authentic and scientific.

In terms of writing methods, historical books in the annalistic style, biographical style, and institutional style in this period improved significantly. The way Sima Guang wrote *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* proceeded as follows: First of all select historical facts. Sima Guang's criterion in choosing historical facts was to "pick up the most important [ones] that related to the fate of the country and the livelihoods of the people and to write those good examples into the law while learning from the bad ones." The so-called fate of the country (*Xing Shui*) focused on the facts concerning the political climate; "the livelihoods of the people" (*Sen Min*), however, was mainly with important institutions such as economic policies, criminal penalties, etiquettes, official positions, and military affairs. Adhering to the abovementioned standards, Sima Guang undertook a collection of all sorts of documents on large scale and put forward some textual research methods such as "striking a medium among all facts," "consulting the similarities and differences," and "choosing the most authentic to follow." Then there followed the compilation stage. Sima Guang, with his colleagues, drafted the main contents and style of the book. According to Wang Yinglin's *Example on A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* which was in the forty-seventh volume of *The Jade Sea* (*Yu Hai*) and *History of The Song Dynasty: Literature and Art* (*Songshi: Yi Wen Zhi*) in the Southern Song Dynasty, Sima Guang wrote his *Preparations of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tong Jian Qian Li*) before creating *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* in order to determine the 36 overall regulations with regard to the choice of words and style. Sima Guang then referred to the *Calendar* compiled by Liu Yisou of the Northern Song Dynasty to verify the dates and months of historical events. When listing the years, he gave the names of the emperors in each year, and when naming the dynasty, he gave the names of the emperors and their regnal titles. For dynasties which endured for a long time or became divided, he would employ the name of only one emperor. He then filled in the historical facts and compiled the longer articles. From the aspect of narrating history, *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* had the following features: for some of the epoch-making events, Sima Guang used a coherent method from the very beginning until the very end, and the causes and effects were clearly stated. He paid attention to making events read coherently, whether they lasted for several days, several months, or several years. As for those items which were not substantial enough to be described separately, but which were still worth mentioning, he consigned them to appendices. These included, for example, the stories of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove: Ruan Ji, the great Wei poet, carried on drinking while he was deep in mourning; Ruan Xian, the Jin poet and musician, married his maidservant; Li Ling was famously addicted to drink; and Ji Kang was fond of performing the work of a blacksmith and was liable to offend influential officials. These stories were all presented under an article on Ji Kang, the leader of the Seven Sagesof the Bamboo Grove. As for those facts for

which the sources were lost, *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* used a flashback method. *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* represented the summit of the ancient annalistic style.

A new style in recording histories – arrangement by topic – appeared in the Song Dynasty. In the Southern Song Dynasty, Yuan Shu from Jian'ou (1131–1205 AD) wrote *The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government Topically Arranged* (*Tong Jian Ji Shi Ben Mo*), which detailed the whole story behind each event. He concentrated upon the events which were attached to years in *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* and copied them without missing a word. He then compiled 239 articles and attached 66 event articles. The book thus excerpted 305 events in 42 volumes, in other words being half of the length of *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government. The Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government Topically Arranged* skillfully integrated merits from the annalistic style and the biographies style and thus established a brand new form. Later a series of historical books of the topically arranged style gradually took form with the appearance of Chen Bengzhan's *The History of the Song Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Songshi Ji Shi Ben Mo*) and *The History of the Yuan Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Yuanshi Ji Shi Ben Mo*) in the Ming Dynasty.[6]

12.5 From the Ming and Qing Dynasties to the Period of the Opium Wars

Ancient Chinese academia came to its concluding stage during the Ming and Qing Periods. Historians also formed a skills set of knowledge about basic historiographical standards and methods.

It was at this time that Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692), a philosopher and ideologist of the Qing Dynasty, elaborated his ideological system about the concept of history. From the perspective of philosophy, he made a dialectical analysis on the relationship between the natural world and the human community. He believed that both natural law and human *Tao* were the high generalizations of the natural history process and the social history process. The relationship between natural law and human *Tao* manifested itself in two ways: one was that natural law acted as the premise and foundation for the human *Tao*, that is to say that moralities and rational abilities which constituted the essential elements of human society were born through the long evolutionary process of natural history; on the other hand,

[6]The relatively famous books of the Qing Dynasty which employ the "topically arranged style" are Zhang Jian's *History of the Western Xia Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Xi Xia Ji Shi Ben Wei*), Li Youtang's *History of the Liao Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Liao Shi Ji Shi Ben Wei*) and *History of the Jin Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Jin Shi Ji Shi Ben Wei*), Gu Yingtai's *History of the Ming Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Ming Shi Ji Shi Ben Mo*), and Huang Hongshou's *History of the Qing Dynasty Topically Arranged* (*Qing Shi Ji Shi Ben Mo*).

the human *Tao* was the core value of the natural law. Without human history, there would be no such thing as *Tao* (or the "law"). Therefore, the history of human society had its own specific characteristics which differed from natural history; they can be neither separated from each other nor confused with each other. Wang Fuzhi further pointed out that whatever one's focus may be, one should first classify the object and concentrate on its specific branch, then abstract relevant principles by research. Otherwise, a dilemma would arise. The running of the universe "conformed with the general principles," but "if we fastened the mode of the general principles upon social history, of which we thought it simulated the running of the universe, that [would] be ridiculous indeed" (*Reading Spring and Autumn Annals Accounts*, Part Two *Du "Chunqiu Zuo Shi Zhuan" Bo Yi, Juan xia*).

Wang Fuzhi also had his own insight into the concrete rules behind human history. He once expressed his unique perspective about the "fate" of history: from remote antiquity to the era in which he lived, human history had its inevitable trend. Moving from being uncivilized to civilized, specific changes were experienced in all directions including politics, the economy, and philosophy. In his *Views on Reading the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* (*Du Tong Jian Lun*), Wang Fuzhi saw the end of the Yin Dynasty as a transitional phase. He wrote that "to the end of Yin, it was certain to change when there was no road ahead" (*Views on Reading the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government: Narration Four*). However matters did change – human moral and rational ability never stop advancing. Wang opposed the assertion that the Xia, Shang, and Zhou Dynasties represented the perfection of human civilization. He believed rather that human civilization kept on forging ahead amid various kinds of difficulties. It was inappropriate to believe that "history went from bad to worse, [and that] people were not so honest as their ancestors were" whenever faced with unreasonable factors. Wang noticed that historical fate – in other words, human morality and reasonable spirits – was advancing in a contradictory way, but it was still necessary to make active interventions. Historical rationality and moral spirits were by no means naturally born; rather their emergence was dependent on the participation of historical figures. Historical figures cannot surpass their historical conditions in order to achieve something. Wang proposed that emperors and ministers may change their fates. The active efforts of these figures may make the historical conditions change. This shows the higher reasoning spirit of historical development.

Wang Fuzhi elaborated in particular, on the functions of historiography. He said:

> history is valuable, it tells the stories of the past from which we can learn. But history cannot be limited to lengthy records; it should set its eyes on major issues of social development and experiences of successes and failures so that later generations may be inspired. (*Views on Reading the Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* Volume Six)

Wang then added that "reliable" and "authentic" historical records were the guarantors of effective historical research. By "reliable" and "authentic," he meant that history must fit objective reality in the first place. Thereafter, the historian's value standards must be reflected in his inclusions and omissions along with which figures from history he chooses to praise and which he chooses to reprimand. Wang

Fuzhi saw two flaws in judging historical facts and people: the first is "to put them in *Tao* however they do not belong to *Tao*, to accuse them by law even when they should not be charged by law." It was not that some historians lacked standards of value; it was just that they misused them with harmful consequences: "to reward those who do not deserve to be rewarded is something of which even gentlemen will not be proud of; to punish those who do not deserve to be punished, would even bring forth derision from villains. These, however, are only minor mistakes that will not cause harm to morality and the people." The second is "iniquitous theory." Some history books did not have any standards: "counselors advocated cheating, ministers advocated swindling, generals advocated taking risks; to violate *Tao* by damaging reputation, to follow the golden mean by praising evils, to title gentlemen by encouraging cowards, to flatter those dignitaries, and to set up those lowliness – these are like the floods and beasts to morals and to the people." Therefore, Wang Fuzhi placed emphasis on the qualities of the historian, saying that only those with insights into the essence of history can write immortal works and make history helpful to life.

Wang Fuzhi also related the issue of using history for reference. He explained the difference between the words *Zizhi* ("mirror for aid in government") and *Tongjian* ("comprehensive") in Chinese, saying that only being able to express satisfaction or sadness at the rise and fall of dynasties and for the twists and turns of historical figures was far from enough when studying history. One should aim to be inspired by history and apply that inspiration to social practice. Wang gave two crucial hints for learning from history: One, think yourself into the historical situation. What would you do if you were confronted with such issues? Compare your actions with the historical facts. Only by doing this, can one draw an advantage from the successes or failures of ancient people, rather than just defending a dogma. Two, stay close to the real problems. Make sure, if possible, that one can learn from experiences in order to deal with the real problems. Wang Fuzhi believed that if one wanted to learn from historical experiences, one had to question if these lessons would still prove relevant after the historical conditions had changed. The most important matter was to consider the gain and losses according to the present situation.

Another ideologist in the early Qing Dynasty, Huang Zongxi (1610–1695), highlighted political criticism in his thoughts. In *Waiting for the Dawn* (*Mingyi Daifanglu*), Huang Zongxi investigated the origin of politics. He thought that the relationship between the emperor and his ministers as well and those between other officials had deviated far from their original meanings in the Qin and Han Dynasties. In remote times, the world he governed was the host and the emperor was the guest. Only those who were ready to suffer pain were qualified to become emperor, and they were obligated to bring benefits to and rescue the people. They were considered as the priority. As a result, some of those who were eligible refused to become the emperor. However, matters changed in later generations: the emperor became the host and the world he governed became the guest. Politics was conducted for the emperors' private interests. Therefore, pseudo-Confucianists held that "the relations between emperors and their servants were pre-destined; tyrants like Jie and Zhou should not be punished; people's lives are just the same as those

of dead rats" (*Waiting for the Dawn*: *Ancient Emperors: Mingyi Daifanglu: Yuan Jun*). Huang Zongxi insisted on not only renovating social morality and justice but also on enlightening officials in the national government. He said: "when trying to govern the world in good order what matters is not the fate of one clan, but the actions of millions of people." If "officials care about nobody but the emperors, they are betraying their obligations and are no better than mistress [. . .] if [. . .] officials undertake the businesses of the common people, they can be considered as teachers and friends of their emperor" (*Waiting for the Dawn*: *Ancient Emperors*). Huang also advocated strong regulations and strived for limiting the power of the monarchy to weaken the government. He suggested that monarchical power should be devolved by strengthening the powers of the chief ministers and governments should be monitored by public opinion.

The historical practice of Huang Zongxi is mainly reflected in the reorganization of academic history during the Song, Yuan, and Ming Dynasties. He led the project of compiling *An Anthology of the Philosophical Works of the Ming Dynasty* (*Ming Ru Xue An*) and *An Anthology of Song and Yuan Dynasties* (*Song Yuan Xue An*). From these texts, the features of his research can be easily discerned. In *An Anthology of the Philosophical Works of the Ming Dynasty: Preface*, Huang came up with the premise of judging the academy: Authors must have a profound understanding of the essence of the academic spirits they discuss. Other people's dross should not be taken as essence. Huang had his special methods of writing an anthology. Each of the anthologies was titled with narrations and brief explanations which were followed by biographies for each of the scholars. Besides life stories and academic views, commentaries were also added so as to indicate their academic essence. Lastly, extracts from their main works together with quotations from them should be presented. "The works all came from the original works, [and were] not copies from the predecessors."

At that time, in field of academic research, there was one man named Gu Yanwu whose ideas on the essence of history and academic research methods interlinked with those of Wang Fuzhi and Huang Zongxi. Gu Yanwu (1613–1682) considered the genuine academic research as "investigating documents from all times," "summarizing the contemporary issues," and "practical learning." He was against a religiously inflected understanding of humanity and morality. He thought that humanity and morality must be built upon a tangible base of reality. The contradictory reality of the present world reflects the true essence of history. Hence if we want to understand natural history correctly, we must understand the laws of historical phenomenon. For example, the relationship between the central government and local government was worth researching detail by detail, since the situations were different in the Han, Tang, Song, and Ming Dynasties. And it was the same with the phenomenon of eunuchs and other weighty issues like feudal land tax, schools, frontier fortresses, and customs. Gu summarized more than 1,000 conclusions in his *Records of Everyday Learning* (*Ri Zhi Lu*), in which historical phenomena were narrated one by one with the purpose of finding the intrinsic connections and proclaiming the contradictions in the essence of history.

Gu Yanwu analyzed the issue of how to recover the traditional academic spirit, placing emphasis on academic research methods. Gu pointed out that there were two ways of awakening the spirit of participation and reversing the current malpractices: Firstly, to strengthen the presence of academic research. Vigorously opposing forms of learning which were shallow and lacked a consciousness of time, Gu kept a watchful eye on current issues in his academic research. Gu's student Pan Lei once said: "concerning national economy and the people's livelihood in writing *Records of Everyday Learning*, my teacher was bound to do careful researches for the root causes." The book not only included details of the organizational structure of political powers and their advantages and disadvantages, information about the selection of government officials and their success and failure, and the function of social customs but also raised suggestions touching on the political issues of the late Ming Dynasty.

Gu Yanwu attached importance to the solving of practical social problems and the hints offered by historical experiences. Secondly, instead of utilizing arbitrary academic methods inherited from the Han Dynasty, Gu pioneered a relatively objective method which would change the atmosphere of study. Gu was also concerned with the materials and logical methods for academic research. Comparing using secondhand materials to buying bronze as a raw material with which to make coins, he insisted on using original texts to write books or he quoted from others. Once reliable documents had been found, Gu believed that a particular viewpoint was still needed for studying ancient people. Gu also had interests in fields of knowledge like phonology and historical semantics. Paying close attention to empirical research, Gu traveled around the country with his books in order to try and verify historical, geographical, and other allusions.

In all, academic trend began to change from the impractical to the practical during the Ming and Qing Dynasties. This practical idea, founded on the study of history, was characterized by its objective empirical research and helped to establish a scientific approach to ancient historiography.

Inheriting the tradition of producing official versions of history, the Emperors Shunzhi, Kangxi, and Yongzheng from the Qing Dynasty successively made efforts to have compiled a history of the previous dynasty in order to supplement the histories of the previous 24. The *History of the Ming Dynasty* (*Mingshi*) was abundant in materials, succinct in words, and rigorous in its organization.

A textual research method known as *Jia Qian Pu Xue* evolved during the early Qing Dynasty and was practiced during the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods. In spite of the activities of the literary inquisition, transitional figures such as Yan Ruoqu, Hu Wei, Mao Qiling, Wan Sida, Wan Sitong, and Gu Zuyu developed the practical spirit of research. Yan Ruoqu came up with the saying "it is a great shame if one is ignorant about a matter." Broadening his textual research method to embrace the fields of history, geography, and the Confucian Classics, Yan Ruoqu wrote *Research on the Classic of History* (*Guo Wen Shang Shu Shu Zhen*) to prove that the *Classic of History* was a fake. This tendency towards specialized study caused subdivision and profound depth in academic research.

In terms of historical study, *Pu Xue* included various schools of ancient history such as annotating ancient history, revising ancient history, and reediting ancient history. The school of annotating ancient history originated from *Records of Everyday Learning*. Compared with historical works of this kind such as Wang Mingsheng's *Discussions on the Seventeen Histories* (*Shi Qi Shi Shang Que*), Qian Daxi's *Difference Verification of the Twenty Histories* (*Ershi Kao Yi*), Wang Niansun's *Explanations on Reading Books* (*Du Shu Za Zhi*), Hang Shijun's *Doubts on Histories* (*Zhu Shi Ran Yi*), and Hong Yixuan's *Clarifications of Histories* (*Zhu Shi Kao Yi*), only Zhao Yi's *Reading Notes* (*Gai Yu Chung Kao*) and volume 36 of *Recording Notes of the Past Histories* captured the essence.

The schools of revising ancient history differed from each other: Some only implemented a change in the previous organizational form. The *Combination of the New and Old Books of Tang* (*Xin Jiu Tang Shu He Cao*), for instance, was compiled by Shen Bingzhen, who believed that the *New Book of Tang* was too concise and the *Old Book of Tang* was too detailed. It ran to 260 volumes with six volumes of amendments. Some scholars added both contents and systems of organization. Some, like Wan Sitong's *Calendars from Every Dynasty* (*Li Dai Shi Biao*), added parts of the contents or a certain form.

The school of reediting ancient history consulted reference books to classify and compile excerpts reproduced from works which had been lost since the Song and Tang Dynasties. They were not concerned with the quantity or quality of the material. Some examples include Qian Dazhao and Hong Yisun's work compiled on the basis of *Origins of the World* (*Shi Ban*), which first appeared in the late Warring States Period; Chen Fengheng's 50-volume *Collections of The Bamboo Annals* (*Zhu Shu Ji Zhinian*) and Lei Xueqi's 40-volume *Meaning of The Bamboo Annals* (*Zhu Shu Zhinian Yi*), produced with reference to *The Bamboo Annals*; Yao Zhisi's *Collections of Late Han Dynasty on Eight Historians* (*Hou Han Ji Ben*), which took its example from the *History of the Late Han Dynasty* (*Hou Han Shu*); and Shao Jinhan's collected works, *Old Five Dynasties* (*Jiu Wu Dai Shi*).

Textual research through dynasties (the mid-Ming Dynasty in particular) allowed traditional textual research, involving annotation, adjustments, and reediting, conducted by historians developed. By the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods, an enormous methodological system had been formed. On the basis of the differences between the chosen research targets, this system can be divided into outer-textual research (*Wai Kao Zhen*) and inner-textual research (*Nei Kao Zhen*). The so-called outer-textual research treated historical documents as its targets, focusing on the characters, rhyme, annotations, versions, collation, and discrimination to revise and identify historical documents. Targeting historical facts recorded in documents, inner-textual research, on the other end, was created to test, identify, and appraise historical events and describe systems and establish authenticity through analysis, comparison, conclusion, and reasoning.

As a whole, outer-textual research investigated the basic premise of documents and historical data. Meanwhile inner-textual research, by using formal logical methods like comparison, analysis, conclusion, and reasoning, examined the credibility and possibility of the facts narrated in texts. It also evaluated whether historical

events, institutions, and territorial changes in records were feasible. It thereby revealed the true face of history which had been concealed. A set of effective operational programs, which was constructed by textual research during the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods, promoted a scientific and objective historiography. However, instead of understanding and seeking to find the causal relations between the historical documents, the sum total of textual research could only muster a scientific demonstration of the authenticity of documents.

It is worth noting that through their textual research into historical documents, scholars in the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods developed a relatively objective understanding of the styles and methods used in the works of successive dynasties. In order to give a brief evaluation of each of the dynasties featured therein, Zhao Yi's *Notes on the Twenty-Two Past Histories* included clauses such as "Compilation of *Records of the Grand Historian*," "Variants of *Records of the Grand Historian*," "Additions and Omissions in *Records of the Grand Historian* and *History of the Han Dynasty*," "Differences between the *History of the Late Han Dynasty* and *Records of the Three Kingdoms*," "The style of *Records of the Three Kingdoms*," "The annalistic style in the *Book of Song*," "Third person narration in the *Book of Song*," "Stylistic intention in the *Book of Qi*," "The best classifications of narrative in the *Book of Qi*," "The Imitation of the style of the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* in *History of the Southern Dynasties*," "Added biographies of descendants in the *History of the Southern and Northern Dynasties*," "Distortion of the facts in *Book of Wei*," "Differences between the *History of the Northern Dynasty* and the *Histories of the Zhou and Sui Dynasties*," "The precise style of Ouyang Xiu," "Inappropriate arrangements in the *History of the Song Dynasty*," "The best timetable set in the *History of the Liao Dynasty*," "Individual biographies detailed in the days of the *History of the Yuan Dynasty*," and "The main body preserved in the biographies of the *History of the Ming Dynasty*." Shao Jinhan (1743–1796), instigator of the *Annotated General Catalog of the Complete Library of the Four Treasures: History Abstract* (*Si Ku Zong Mu Ti Yao*) and also a participant in the creation of the *Abstract of Nan Jiang* (*Nan Jiang Wen Cao*), compiled 27 historical abstracts, including all of the 24 dynasties except for those detailed in *Records of the Three Kingdoms* and *Old History of the Five Dynasties*. The other five abstracts including *Records of the Grand Historian Explanations* (*Shiji Ji Jie*), *Records of the Grand Historian Orthodox* (*Shiji Zhengyi*), *Memos of the Outlines of the Two Dynasties* (*Liang Chao Gang Mu Bei Yao*), *Early Version of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tong Jian Qian Bian*), and *Early Version of Main Principles of the Comprehensive Mirror* (*Tong Jian Gang Mu Qian Bian*) were slightly different from *Annotated General Catalog of the Complete Library of the Four Treasures: History Abstract* (*Si Ku Zong Mu Ti Yao: Shi Bu Ti Yao*). These abstracts paid special attentions to the origins and features of historical methods and mainly commented on the qualities of historical works.

In studying the contents and organization of historical works, Zhang Xuecheng proposed the goal of writing historical masterpieces with unique characteristics. Zhang Xuecheng (1738–1801), styled "Shi Zhai," was born in Kuaiji (now Shaoxing City), Zhejiang Province. As a presented scholar and a successful candidate in the

highest Imperial Examination, Zhang was promoted to be the director of Imperial Academy. Acknowledging Zhu Yun as his teacher, Zhang was so adept at history that he even debated with Dai Zhen, Wang Zhong, and Hong Liangji, famous historians of his time.

Zhang Xuecheng thought highly of the innovation in historiography. He said: "historiography derives from *Spring and Autumn Annals*; the feature of the *Spring and Autumn Annals* lies in its improvements. Not only were its contents subject to revision, but also its structure. If one contended that improving books was equivalent to theft, then those well-known historians must point out what has been ignored, differentiate between what has been harmonized, value what has been neglected and delete what has been overemphasized" (*General Interpretation of Historiography, Chapter Four: Answers – Wen Si Tong Yi*). The so-called improvement included both the historians' practical standpoint and the ingenuity of the styles they created when narrating history events.

Zhang Xuecheng further discussed the four elements important to historians, namely: virtue, talent, knowledge, and judgment. He saw virtue as the intentions of historians. Historians must possess morality and personality, and only those with a sense of calling and a practical spirit were qualified to be outstanding historians. He wrote that

> To be an excellent historian, one must carefully deal with the relationship between subjective and objective. Instead of mixing subjective thoughts into objective events, one should respect history with an objective attitude. Only with such an attitude, one can be considered as a historian with the right-minded intention. (*General Interpretation of Historiography: Chapter Five, Historical Moral – Shi De*)

Historical judgment was manifested in a historian's aptitude for judging historical events and positions and for analyzing their sources and courses. Zhang Xuecheng underlined the combination of the four, he said: "without judgment one cannot judge the contents, without talent one cannot polish the words, and without learning one cannot accomplish good work."

Owing to his profound study of *Pu Xue*, Zhang Xuecheng was naturally more brilliant in methodology than previous historians. The position of a historian, in his mind, was not only determined by the subject matter he chose to study but also by his creation of styles. His recommended procedure for writing historiography was, first, to collecting materials. Zhang Xuecheng saw collecting material as a must for writing. He once listed the three purposes of arranging historical documents as thus: "Those who collect materials for the judgment of later generations," "those who write new books by reading extensively," and "those who are expert and want to cultivate themselves to achieve great fame" (*General Interpretation of Historiography: Answers – Da Ke Wen Xia*).

No matter what the purposes were, he believed that documents should be scientifically arranged in order that historical writing provided the fullest historical data. He once discusses the values of local chronicles in particular. Second, for him, came the choice of materials. Zhang Xuecheng insisted on choosing historical facts rounded by the central theme of writing books. As for writing styles, Zhang advocated a

comprehensive historical style. The biographical style and the annalistic style both had their limitations; thus, the "biographical style fell easily into categories, but had difficulty in narrating the overall trend of history." On the other hand, "annals were a way of writing but could not be used to establish one's fame. When there are precise ages and something worthy to be recorded, it should be written down in detail. In contrast, when there is no precise age and nothing worthy to record, although materials as high as a mountain may exist, there is no compulsion to write anything down" (*General Interpretation of Historiography: Split Catalog – Shi Pian Bie Lu Li Yi*). By adding a split catalog, Zhang believed that the defects of those styles could be avoided. For example, sketch out the figures and events in annalistic contents, connect those that had connections among the biographies, and name them on top of the book. Zhang endorsed the topically arranged style the most. In the aspect of specifically formulating historical facts, Zhang Xuecheng suggested choosing the facts reasonably according to writing requirements, rather than completely copying the prototype. A fairly good historical work, in Zhang's eyes, became nothing without annotations. Zhang said writers should annotate their own works. The writing methods proposed by Zhang Xuecheng typically reflected the improvements in historical writing styles and the dynamic integration of writing with research. It symbolized a new theoretical level in ancient historical writing.

In all, from the transitional time of the late Ming and early Qing Dynasties to the eve of the Opium War, methods of ancient Chinese historiography gradually evolved towards a scientific exactness with the appearance of modern historical methodology. However, the conception of history did not enjoy simultaneous development during the same period. For example, scholars in the Qianlong and Jiaqing Periods overemphasized textual research and overlooked the methods of writing and the theory of history theory. Hence, none of them left behind a historical masterpiece. The combination and systematization of new elements in all the methodologies still needed to experience two circuitous and difficult courses.

Questions

1. What were the main characteristics of historiography in the Han Dynasty?
2. Try to evaluate the status of *A Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government* in Chinese historiography.
3. List the names of the histories of the 24 dynasties.

Chapter 13
Reflection on Ancient Chinese Science and Technology

Ancient Chinese science and technology has a history that began in prosperity before falling into decline. The Chinese are proud of the era when ancient China led the world in science and technology. However, they deeply deplore those days when Chinese science and technology began to attenuate and the country lagged behind other nations. Today we have cause to reflect upon why this happened. It is the binding duty for historians and especially historians of science and technology to summarize the experience and lessons of the history of Chinese science and technology in order to provide a frame of reference for the present-day development of Chinese science and technology. Additionally, every Chinese person should have the insight to fully understand and assess the achievements and failures of ancient Chinese science and technology. The Chinese agree that they should neither be arrogant nor belittling of themselves in this matter, but look back on history with a rational attitude, trying now to proceed towards national prosperity.

13.1 Achievements and Features of Ancient Chinese Science and Technology

Joseph Needham, the famous British scientist and historian,[1] praised highly the great achievements of ancient Chinese science and technology. He asserted that

[1] Joseph Needham (1900–1995) (his Chinese name was Li Yuese) began his career as a specialist in embryology and morphogenesis at Cambridge University but from the 1930s was increasingly drawn to the history of Chinese science and technology. In 1954, he published the first volume of *Science and Civilisation in China*. By the time of his death, this had expanded to 16 volumes and sub-volumes, with the work eventually expected to span 27 installments. Research in this field continues at the Needham Institute at Cambridge University.

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"between the 3rd and the 13th centuries, a level of scientific knowledge unapproached in the west" was achieved in China. It witnessed "the emergence of technological discoveries and inventions often far in advance [. . .] of contemporary Europe, especially up to the 15th century."[2] This is generally accepted today by researchers into ancient Chinese science and technology. We can easily display a whole gamut of world famous ancient Chinese scientific and technological inventions and discoveries. For example, in the nineteenth century, Karl Marx reflected on the importance of the Chinese inventions of gunpowder, the compass, and printing, stating that "[g]unpowder, the compass, and the printing press were the three great inventions which ushered in bourgeois society."[3] Francis Bacon previously described the three inventions and discoveries as having "altered the face and state of the world."[4] If listed by subjects, Chinese ancient astronomy, meteorology, mathematics, earth science, agriculture, medicine, botany, zoology, mineralogy, chemistry, water conservancy, civil construction, landscape designing, metal smelting, shipbuilding, ceramics, textiles, and many other fields were leading the world at that time. The following five subjects have been selected to illustrate their contribution to the world: astronomy (*tianwenxue*), mathematics (*shuxue*), earth science (*dixue*), agriculture (*nongxue*), and medicine (*yixue*).

In terms of astronomy, China was the world leader in astronomical observations, calendar projections, and the production of astronomical instruments. The *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Chunqiu*), China's first official chronological history book, records eclipses 37 times. Thirty-three times these records are reliable and accurate. The Lyrids annual meteor showers (in 687 BC) and the appearance of Halley's Comet (in 613 BC) were the earliest records of these events in the world. Ancient Chinese records of the solar eclipse, lunar eclipse, sunspots, meteor showers, and auroras appear in countless astronomical history books, which have left a plethora of useful science documents for the world. Star observation was also emphasized in ancient China. In 1978, a lacquer ware painted with an azure dragon and a white tiger on the surface, and the Chinese character *Dou* (meaning "combat") in the middle was discovered from the Tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng in Sui County, Hubei Province. This antique made at the beginning of the Warring States Period (*c*. fifth century BC) has Twenty-Eight mansions (part of the Chinese constellations system) around the *Dou*. It suggests that during the Warring States Period, astronomical knowledge of the Four Symbols (*Si Xiang*) and the Twenty-Eight Mansions (*Ershiba Xiu*) became commonly known. *Gan Shi Xing Jing*,[5] produced in the Warring States

[2]Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China, Vol. 1: New Orientations* (Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 3–4.

[3]Karl Marx, *The Machinery, Natural Force and the Application of Science* from *The Economic Manuscripts, 1861–1863*.

[4]From *Aphorisms Concerning the Interpretation of Nature and the Nature of Man* in Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, Book One.

[5]Gan De (*fl*. fourth century BC) of the State of Qi and Shi Shen (*fl*. fourth century BC) are the earliest known named individuals to have put together star catalogs. They predated the

Period and containing 144 star coordinates, is recognized as the oldest recorded star catalog attributed to known compilers in the world.[6] The excavated writing *Divining Five Planets* (*Wu Xing Zhan*), discovered in the No. 3 Mawangdui Tomb in Changsha in 1973, lists the position and dynamic synodic period for the three planets Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn from 246 BC to 177 BC. Its given synodic period for Jupiter is 395.44 days, 3.27 days more than today; 377 days for Saturn, 0.94 days less than today; and 584.4 days for Venus, 0.48 days more than today. These estimates were remarkable achievements in the ancient world. In ancient China new studies would be periodically introduced into the formation of calendars in order to make them more precise. For example, there was *The Six Ancient Calendars* (*Gu Liu Li*) dating from before the Qin Dynasty. Among these, *Zhuan Xu Calendar* (*Zhuan Xu Li*), adopted by the Emperor Qin's astronomers,[7] was one of the most accurate calendars in the world at that time (its given synodic period is 365.25 days). In the Han Dynasty there were the *Taichu Calendar* (*Taichu Li*), *Santong Calendar* (*Santong Li*), *Sifen Calendar* (*Sifen Li*), and *Qianxiang Calendar* (*Qianxiang Li*). Among them, *The Universe Calendar* (*Qian Xiang Li*) was compiled by Liu Hong (130–96 AD) who first introduced the concepts of periapsis, the calculation method of syzygy,[8] and the limit of eclipses and also made a breakthrough in the research into various astronomical observations such as *jiao yue dian*,[9] *Hui gui nian* (tropical year), *Huang bai dao ju li*, and so forth. In the Eastern Jin Dynasty, Yu Xi (281–356 AD) discovered the equation for equinoxes and Zu Chongzhi (429–500 AD) introduced this concept into his *Daming Calendar* (*Daming Li*); in the Northern Wei Dynasty, Zhang Zixin (*fl.* 526 AD) discovered the inhomogeneity and Parallax of the Sun Eclipse influence and Liu Chao (544–610 AD) applied this concept into his *Huangji Calendar* (*Huangji Li*) during the Sui Dynasty; Cao Shiwei's (*fl.* 780–3 AD) *Futian Calendar* (*Futian Li*) and Bian Gang's (*fl.* 892 AD) *Chongxuan Calendar* (*Chongxuan Li*) in the Tang Dynasty together with Zhou Cong's *Mingtian Calendar* (*Mingtian Li*) and Yao Shunfu's (*fl.* 1107 AD) *Jiyuan Calendar* (*Jiyuan Li*) in the Song Dynasty each made new breakthroughs on the basis of their predecessors. One of the most famous calendars named *Shoushi Calendar* (*Shoushi Li*) was formulated in the Yuan Dynasty by Guo Shoujing (1231–1316 AD). He

Greek Hipparchus by around two centuries, yet anonymous Babylonian star catalogs have been discovered which appear to be older than those of Gan De and Shi Shen.

[6]Gan De wrote *Astronomy and Divination* and Shi Shen wrote *Astronomy,* collectively known as *Book of Astronomy by Gan and Shi.* This was kept in *Kaiyuan Book of Divination* written by an Indian astronomer known as Qu Tan Xi Da in Chinese pinyin in the Tang Dynasty and organized by later generations.

[7]In terms of laws of calendar, please refer to *The Volume of Astronomy,* the eighth volume written by Shi Yunli, in Lu Yongxiang ed., *The Outline of Chinese Science History* (Liaoning Educational Press, 1996), p. 230.

[8]A straight-line configuration of three celestial bodies in a gravitational system occurs in a solar or lunar eclipse among other astronomical events.

[9]The study of the courses of the moon through the seasons and their intersections.

determined that the length of the tropical year was 365.2425 days, which concurs with the value used today by the universal Gregorian calendar.

Ancient astronomical instruments in China included the gnomon (*gui biao*), armillary sphere (*hun yi*), celestial globe (*hun xiang*), and clepsydra (*di lou*). In the Han Dynasty (206 BC–220 AD), Zhang Heng (78–139 AD) created the armillary sphere, which was driven by water as its motive power. Su Song (1020–1101 AD) in the Song Dynasty created an astronomical clock tower driven by a water wheel, which rotated an observational armillary sphere on the top platform and a celestial globe in the upper story and included time-announcing functions. It showed the highly professional level to which Chinese astronomical instruments were manufactured in the ancient world.

In the field of mathematics, China was the first country to adopt the decimal system of numbers. Before the Qin period, the Elementary Arithmetic (*Si Ze Yun Suan*) method had been approaching perfection. The arithmetic algorithm system represented by *Nine Chapters on the Mathematical Art* (*Jiuzhang Suanshu*) includes mathematical arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and other various aspects, which gave priority to solving the needs of daily life such as surveying land, engineering calculations, allocating materials, and others. Among its contents, *Fang Cheng* (the linear equation) has 18 topics and *Gou Gu* (base and altitude) has 24 topics. At that time, a concept of negative figures had been introduced into the linear equation; *Gou Gu* could be used for geodetic surveys and for drawing maps. As was summarized by the mathematicians Liu Hui (*fl*. third century AD) in the Wei and Jin dynasties, a mathematical system had been formed with its own characteristics. The *pi* derived by Zu Chongzhi was held as the most accurate early approximation for π, being discovered over 1,000 years prior to similar calculations across the rest of the world. His best approximation was between 3.1415926 and 3.1415927. During the Song and Yuan dynasties, the *Tian Yuan Shu* and *Si Yuan Shu* (the high-degree equation), the *Duo Ji Zhao Cha* (higher arithmetic progression), and the *Da Yan Qiu Yi Shu* (the simultaneous linear congruence problem) were solved a few hundred years earlier than in the rest of the world. Mathematical masters like Qin Jiushao (*c*. 1202–1261 AD), Li Ye (1192–1279 AD), Yang Hui (*c*. 1238–1298 AD), and Zhu Shijie (1249–1314 AD) were excellent representatives of mathematics during this period. By the Ming Dynasty (1368–1644), the abacus (*zhu suan*) gradually replaced the counting rod (*suan shou*) and had become the world's most advanced computing tool at that time.

In the field of geoscience, ancient books such as the *Tribute of Yu* (*Yugong*), the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan Hai Jing*), and the *Writings of Master Guan: Geography* (*Guanzi: Diyuan*)[10] had documented an abundant knowledge of geography. Geographical knowledge was also recorded in the section of the

[10]The *Writings of Master Guan* (*Guanzi*) is a collection of philosophical writings to which the name of Guan Zhong (*c*. 720–645 BC), the Prime Minister to Duke Huan of Qi, was attached. It contains elements of Legalism, Confucianism, and Taoism, and the present text was edited by Liu Xiang (77–6 BC) during the Han Dynasty.

History of the Han Dynasty (*Hanshu*) entitled *Treatise on Geography* (*Dili Zhi*) (16 sections of geographical knowledge existing in the *Twenty-Four Histories*), *Yuan He Records of Prefectures and Counties* (*Yuan He Jun Xian Zhi*) from the Tang Dynasty, *The Taiping Human Geography of China* (*Tai Ping Huan Yu Ji*), *The Yuan Feng Geography of China* (*Yuan Feng Jiu Yu Zhi*) from the Song Dynasty, and *The Book of Geography* (*Yi Tong Zhi*) from the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties. In addition, there were geographical records from many local chronicles. These geographical classics not only recorded the administrative divisions, size range, and its historical evolution but also documented the mountains, rivers, population, water resources, soil quality, transportation, mining, culinary specialties, tributes, and places of interest, which left an extremely rich source of information in understanding the natural economy of ancient China. The *Commentary on the Water Classic* (*Shui Jing Zhu*) compiled by Li Daoyuan during the Northern Wei Dynasty has a very high historical value. The original text describes 1,252 rivers and details the traditional understanding of waterways, ancient canals, mountains, city infrastructure facilities, and economic and material development. The *Great Tang Records on the Western Regions* (*Da Tang Xi Yu Ji*) compiled by Xuanzang in the Tang Dynasty is a study of the ancient geographical history of Central Asia, India, and Pakistan, among others. In the Ming Dynasty, the famous geographer Xu Xiake (1587–1641 AD) visited many places throughout his life. In particular it is recorded that he visited more than a hundred caves. He documented the location, depth, and width of the caves as well as explained the reason for the formation of the caves and their stalactites in scientific terms.[11] His contribution to geography was highly praised by Joseph Needham. In terms of map drawing, three maps of terrain, garrisons, and the cities excavated from the Mawangdui Tomb show a fine level of cartographical skill. Pei Xiu (224–71 AD) from the Western Jin Dynasty compiled not only the 18 geographical maps in the *Tribute of Yu* but also put forward six principles for map drawing. The text explains the accurate map plotting scale (*Fen lü*), the certain direction of places (*Zhun wang*), the accurate distance (*Dao li*), and the topography of the roads (*Gao xia*), the positively biased roads (*Fang xie*), and the straightness and curvature of the roads (*Yu zhi*). Among them *Fen lü* required an accurate scale for plotting the map, *Zhun wang* required that the position of places was clearly marked, *Dao li* meant that accurate distance between two places was given, and *Gao xia*, *Fang xie*, and *Yu zhi* pointed out the differences in topography, bias, and curvature of roads due to differences in landscapes and the barriers formed by mountains and seas. The remarkable achievements in map drawing were especially evident in the Song Dynasty. Several famous carved map stones exist, such as *Jiu Yu Shou Ling Tu* (map) from the Northern Song Dynasty in Rong County, Sichuan Province, the carved stone of the Southern Song Dynasty (*Hua Yi Tu*) and *Yu Ji Tu* (in the Forest of Steles, or Beilin Museum, in Xi'an), and the *Geographic Map*

[11] Xu's journeys are recorded in his posthumously released travel diary (*Xu Xiake Youji*), which runs to over 400,000 characters and features sections on regions such as Yunnan and Guizhou. By the time of his death, he had set foot in each of the then 16 provinces of China.

(*Di Li Tu*) in Suzhou temple. Among them, the *Hua Yi Map* was regarded as the world map at that time, whereas the *Yu Ji Map* was the national map. Until the early Qing Dynasty, China still led the world in terms of mapping. The *Huang Yu Quan Map* (thought of as the national map) finished in 1,718 was the representative work.

Ancient China was an agrarian country. Agriculture had always been regarded as the foundation of the nation. Therefore, agronomy was one of the most important subjects in ancient China. Section 7.2 of Chap. 7 in the present book gives more detail about ancient achievements in agronomy.

Traditional Chinese medicine also has a long history and a unique position. More than 300 specimens of Shang Dynasty oracle inscriptions are related to medicine. In 1973, archaeologists discovered more than 30 grains of peach kernel and cherry seed that had been used for medicine in the late Shang Dynasty in Gaocheng County, Hebei Province. In the same year, medical texts (including *Eleven Veins in the Foot and Arm by Moxibustion, Zu Bi Shi Yi Mai Jiu Jing; Yin-Yang and Eleven Veins by Moxibustion, Yin Yang Shi Yi Mai Jiu Jing;* and *Fifty-Two Diseases, Wushier Bingfang*) were found in the Mawangdui Tomb in Changsha. The *Huangdi Neijing*, also known as the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*, compiled in the Warring States Period, is the ancient Chinese medical text that has been treated as the fundamental doctrinal source for Chinese medicine.[12] The *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* takes the human body as a whole. It attaches great importance to the connections among the internal organs within the body, the 12 meridians, the eight major veins, and the blood and other bodily fluids. In the diagnosis of diseases, it not only pays attention to the internal changes of bodily functions but also emphasizes the effects brought about by external natural forces (namely, wind, cold, heat, dampness, dryness, and fire). According to the *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor*, the universe is composed of various forces and principles such as *Yin* and *Yang* and the Five Elements. These forces can be understood via rational means (mutual coordination, mutual independence, and mutual opposition), and their final goal should be to return to a balanced state. In explaining this theory, *Coffin Containing a Corpse: Start and End* (*Ling Jiu: Zhong Shi*) states:

> In the discharge method one should cater to and keep it, while in the filling method one should follow and supplement it. If one has mastered the main points of the discharge and filling method, one can make the breath and blood smooth, while the main points of harmonizing the breath and blood are to understand the law of *Yin* and *Yang*.

The *Divine Husbandman's Classic of the Materia Medica* (*Shennong Bencao Jing*), written during the Han Dynasty, is a Chinese book on agriculture and medicinal plants. Its origin has been attributed to the mythical Chinese sovereign Shennong. The original texts contain 365 entries on medicaments and their description which include 252 species of plant-based medicine, 67 species of animal-based

[12]The text consists of a series of question and answer sessions between the legendary Yellow Emperor (*Huangdi*) and six of his ministers. In spite of this suggestion of great antiquity, the work is first mentioned in the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*) and may consist of materials set down no earlier than the second century BC.

medicine, and 46 species of mineral-based drugs. The vast majority of the pesticide effects recorded therein have proven to be correct by modern medical research. The *Divine Husbandman's Classic* states the nature of the drug, such as sour (*suan*), salty (*xian*), sweet (*tian*), bitter (*ku*), and spicy (*xin*) (referred to as the "five tastes" or *wu wei*) and cold (*han*), hot (*re*), warm (*wen*), and cool (*liang*) (referred to as the "four spirits" or *si qi*), together with the composing principle of medicines (associates, principals, adjuvants, and messengers) between main and adjuvant drugs. This work develops the foundation of Chinese dosimetry and pharmacology. The *Inner Canon of the Yellow Emperor* and the *Divine Husbandman's Classic* together constitute the whole ancient Chinese medical system, which has been gradually improved generation by generation. In ancient China there were countless famous doctors and medical classics. Bian Que (d. 310 BC), a well-known doctor in the Warring States Period, already knew how to examine by listening and smelling, as well as using inquiry and palpation to diagnose disease and give treatment by use of stone needle, acupuncture, massage, hot paste, surgery, ear blowing, and so forth. There were other famous doctors also, such as Zhang Zhongjing (150–219 AD) (the author of *On Cold Damage – Shang Han Lun*) and Hua Tuo (*c*. 140–208 AD) (the inventor of anesthetic powder) in the Han Dynasty; Wang Shuhe (201–80 AD) (author of *Canon of the Pulse – Mai Jing*), Huangfu Mi (215–82 AD) (author of *Canon of Acupuncture and Moxibustion – Zhen Jiu Jia Yi Jing*), Ge Hong (283–343 AD) (author of *101 Prescriptions – Zhou Hou Bai Yi Fang*), and Tao Hongjing (456–536 AD) (author of *Annotations to the Divine Husbandman's Classic of the Materia Medica – Shennong Bencao Jing Ji Zhu*) in the Southern and Northern Dynasties; Sun Simiao (d. 682 AD) (author of *Essential Formulas for Emergencies [Worth] a Thousand Pieces of Gold – Bei Ji Qian Jin Yao Fang* – and its supplement *Qian Jin Yi Fang*) and Wang Tao (670–755 AD) (author of *Secret Formulas – Wai Tai Mi Yao*) in the Sui and Tang dynasties; Tang Shenwei (1056–1136 AD) (author of *Classic Classified Materia Medica for Emergency – Jing Shi Zheng Lei Bei Ji Ben Cao*), Song Ci (1086–1149 AD) (author of *Collected Cases of Injustice Rectified – Xi Yuan Ji Lu*), and Wang Weiyi (author of *Book of Acupoint and Moxibustion on an Iron Figure – Tong Ren Yu Xue Zhen Jiu Tu Jing*) in the Song and Yuan dynasties; Li Shizhen (1518–93 AD) (author of *Compendium of Materia Medica – Bengcao Gangmu*) and Wang Qingren (1768–1831) (author of *Correction – Yi Lin Gai Cuo*) in the Ming and Qing dynasties; and others. Ancient China had its own unique treatment methods in internal medicine (*nei ke*), surgery (*wai ke*), gynecology (*fu ke*), pediatrics (*er ke*), orthopedics (*gu ke*), otolaryngology (*wuguan ke*), and infectious diseases. In addition, a variety of treatments of incurable diseases had their own unique methods, especially in pharmacology (*yaowu xue*), formulas of Chinese medicine (*fangji xue*), acupuncture (*zhenjiu xue*), and health care (*yangsheng baojian xue*), and so forth.

One of the most outstanding features of the development of ancient Chinese science and technology is that ancient China's scientific and technological systems were formed independently, even though there were scientific and technological communications with foreign countries and absorption of science and technology from overseas. In *Science and Civilisation in China*, Joseph Needham criticized the

views of some Western scholars which proscribed that Chinese ideological culture stemmed from that of the West. He stated that Chinese science development had its own characteristics and concluded that:

> there was far more intercourse and reaction between the Chinese and their western and southern neighbours than has often been supposed, but nevertheless that the essential style of Chinese thought and culture patterns retained a remarkable and perennial autonomy. This is the real meaning of the 'isolation' of China; contacts there were, but never abundant enough to affect the characteristic style of its civilisation, and hence of its science.[13]

This conclusion has been accepted by most Chinese science and technology researchers today.

The originality of Chinese culture and technology is generally attributed to the relatively closed nature of China's geography. China faces a vast expanse of the sea to the east; to the west are the Altay and Kunlun Mountains and the sands of the desert; to the southwest are the Himalayas; to the north is the cold Siberian wasteland; and the south has further mountains and oceans. Such a geographical environment made it difficult to establish any large-scale foreign cultural exchanges owing to the difficulties in transportation access. Thus, the formation of China's ideological culture and technology tended to be relatively independent, which was different from those of ancient Indian, Greek, and Arab science and technology.

Ancient Chinese science and technology paid more attention to solving the practical problems of daily life. For example, in astronomy, ancient Chinese astronomers devoted more time and effort to astronomical observation and calendar formation. This was closely connected to its natural economy, in which agriculture was the mainstay. The formation of the ancient Chinese mathematical system (containing algebra, geometry, and the abacus) was closely related with calendar formation, land measurement, the construction of dams and cellars, tax calculation, wealth distribution and commodity trading, and so forth. In terms of Chinese geoscience, the texts from the *Classic of History: Tribute of Yu* (*Shangshu: Yugong*), the *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shan Hai Jing*) to the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Geography* (*Hanshu: Dili Zhi*) had gradually formalized their contents, mainly focusing on mountains, rivers, roads, water resources, soil quality, the agricultural product, tribute, and especially changes in political divisions. This was closely related to the needs of the feudal politics, economy, and military. In terms of the technologies closely related to daily life such as papermaking (*zaozhi*), printing (*yinshua*), agronomy (*nongxue*), horticulture (*yuanyi*), water conservancy (*shuili*), metallurgy (*yelian*), textiles (*fangzhi*), and ceramics (*taoci*), its practical features were even more prominent.

Apart from focusing on practical use, the ancients also put special emphasis on the overall relevance and dialectical relationship in many subjects. This concept attached particular importance to harmony between man and heaven on a macroscopic level and focused on internal coordination on a microcosmic level. For example, ancient people not only focused on the structure, scale, and layout

[13] *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 1, p. 157.

of a building but also particularly valued its location, position, and the landscape and scenery surrounding it. This practice was called "geomancy" (*feng shui xue*) in ancient times. Another classic subject which most often reflects the entirety and dialectical concept of ancient China is medicine. As mentioned above, traditional Chinese medicine emphasizes in particular the interdependence of *Yin* and *Yang*, that is, the balance including the overall evaluation of health and the etiological diagnosis and treatment of diseases.

13.2 The Reasons for the Achievements in Ancient Chinese Science and Technology

Any scientific and technological development of a nation is achieved by its people's collective wisdom and efforts. And so it is for China.

In addition, the great achievements of ancient Chinese science and technology have their own specific reasons.

Compared with the political systems of Europe during the Dark Ages and the Middle Ages, the long-existing feudalism of ancient China had a relatively modest, open-minded, and positive influence upon domestic society. With its self-sufficient economy and centralized form of government, Chinese feudal society adopted a monopolistic management of national affairs and its citizens. The *Classic of History: Great Plan [of Jizi]* (*Shangshu: Hongfan*) states there were "eight kinds of politics" (*ba zheng*). Among them, the most important ones were *Shi* and *Huo*. *Shi* refers to livelihood, which concerns the affairs relating to people's daily lives, and *Huo* refers to the economy. In history, without exception, the central government monopolized the national economy and all issues concerning people's livelihoods. Therefore, any large-scale scientific projects linked with national security and livelihood were launched and implemented by the government. These projects included the formulation of calendars; the improvement of weapons; the construction of the Great Wall; canal projects; the governance of the Yellow River; land cultivation; promotion of agricultural technology; management of salt and metals, textile printing, and ceramics and paint; and so forth. For example, owing to the requirements of farming time management, a department of astronomy was set up in the Xia Dynasty. According to legend, during the period of the Emperor Shaokang in the Xia Dynasty (2007–1985 BC), a man named Xi and a man named He took charge of the astronomical affairs, and because of their alcohol addictions, they caused a delay in the forecast of the solar eclipse. This stirred up a national panic (see the *Classic of History: Punitive Expedition on [King Zhongkang of] Yin (Shangshu: Yinzheng)*). From then on, all dynasties had astronomical institutions placed specifically in charge of astronomical observation and the compilation of the calendar.

The government also often organized large-scale astronomical projects. For example, during the period of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty, the monarch

recruited about 20 folk astronomers to try to create the Han calendar. These included some of the famous astronomers from that time, such as Tang Du, Luo Xiahong (156–87 BC), Deng Ping, Sima Ke, Hou Junyi, Sima Qian, etc. In total, 18 calendar samples were submitted, and finally Deng's *Tai Chu Calendar* was selected and issued by the Emperor. On top of that, the first scientific measurements of the prime meridian and the massive geodetic program were carried out by Yi Xing (683–727 AD) during the Tang Dynasty. A further massive geodetic program and the precise *Shoushi Calendar* were both completed by Guo Shoujing (1231–1316 AD) during the Yuan Dynasty. These projects were all appointed and organized by the government. This indicates that astronomical development in China was intimately related to government policy. Mathematics was included as well in the national government support scheme. For instance, in the Sui Dynasty, a mathematics course was set up in the *Guozisi* (Imperial Central Academy) and taught by two qualified scholars and two assistants. Also during the Tang Dynasty, a mathematics department was set up in the Imperial Central Academy and scholars were responsible for educating students who showed a talent for mathematics. Ten mathematical study books edited by Li Chunfeng (602–70 AD) and Wang Zhenru were applied to teaching. These study manuals included *The Nine Chapters* (*Jiuzhang*); *Island in the Sea* (*Haidao*); *Sunzi*, *Five Official Divisions* (*Wucao*); *Zhang Qiujian, Book of Calculation* (*Xiahou Yang*); *Volume of Calculation* (*Zhoubi*); *The Five Classic Calculations* (*Wujing suan*); *Calculation Book by Zu Chongzhi* (*Zhuishu*); and *Calculation* (*Jigu*), each of which greatly led the development of mathematics. Medicine had been incorporated into the government support scheme as well. According to the *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Sacrifices* (*Hanshu: Jiaosizhi*), during the period of Cheng of Han (33–7 BC), there was a medical post with the title *Bencao Dai Zhao*. However, this job did not exist in the Imperial Palace. If there was any medical issue, those doctors would be called into the Imperial Palace to resolve the problem. The state medical institutions continued to improve and develop during the Sui and Tang dynasties. For instance, in the Sui Dynasty, the number of Imperial Medical Academy medical officers and staff totaled more than 200 people and increased to more than 300 people in the Tang Dynasty. In addition, during the Tang Dynasty, the Imperial Medical Academy possessed departments of medicine, acupuncture needles, massage, and *jinzhou* (exorcism). A large pharmacopeia named *The Newly Revised Materia Medica* (*Xin Xiu Ben Cao*) was also issued by the government. So it was during the Song Dynasty. For example, the medical text *The Kai Bao Materia Medica* (*Kai Bao Ben Cao*) was completed in the period of the Emperor Taizu of Song (960–76 AD), and *The Jia You Materia Medica* (*Jia You Ben Cao*) and *By Chinese Materia Medica* (*Tu Jing Ben Cao*) were issued in the period of the Emperor Renzong of Song (1022–63 AD). In Song and Yuan times, the Royal Medical Department had nine different departments, each of which greatly promoted the development of different aspects of medicine. In addition, scientists were rewarded for their great contributions. For instance, in the period of Taizu, Feng Jinsheng, a Royal Army official, was awarded for his invention of a new rocket launching method, and Tang Fujin, a captain of the Royal Navy, was awarded for his firearm contribution. Xiangguan, a shipbuilder in

the period of the Emperor Taizu of Song, also received a reward for his inventions. With encouragement and promotion from the government, military science as well as other science subjects became well developed in the Song Dynasty (according to the record of *History of the Song Dynasty: Treatise on Art and Literature* (*Songshu: Yiwenzhi*), there were 397 units and 1959 volumes of recorded achievements). Thus, the development of science and technology in ancient China was closely related to governmental support.

Although there were always alterations in regimes, dynasties, and governors in Chinese feudal society, the basic culture, political systems, economic infrastructure, and ways of living did not change dramatically.

Unlike other countries' cultures, Chinese culture was characterized by stability and longevity. This cultural stability led to stagnation in some circumstances, but it was also conducive to the development of science and technology. The reason why many achievements in ancient Chinese science and technology were able to reach such a high level has been attributed to an accumulation of science data and scientific contributions over generations. A number of ancient Chinese subjects such as astronomy, mathematics, earth science, agriculture, medicine, chemistry, iron and steel metallurgy, shipbuilding, ceramics, and textile technology were able to obtain a higher rate of success on account of the accumulation of efforts from one generation to another.

Historically, many significant technological achievements were gained by numerous ordinary people through hard work. Undoubtedly, these were the fundamental driving force of science and technology development in the world. Nonetheless, science and technology is a complex intellectual activity. In order to reach a certain level – a profound cultural foundation – professional competence and material support are necessary. In general, ordinary workers lacked this kind of support. Therefore, contributions from those who were known as the *shi* or "intellectuals" in ancient China were particularly to be respected.

Ancient Chinese philosophy was developed by the growing number of private schools in the Spring and Autumn Period. These people took the quest for a higher level of rational thought as their responsibility and mission. By the Warring States Period, the intellectuals were divided into many different schools of thought, such as Confucianism, Taoism, Mohism, Legalist, Ming, *Yin-Yang*, Agriculture, Yi, and Bing, which together cultivated a blossoming social culture. This period coincided with the philosophic schools of the ancient Greek civilization.

In the period before the Qin Dynasty, the most extensive and in-depth analysts of natural science research were the Mohists. Mozi and his students established the most rigorous system of logic and applications in natural science. They used logical and theoretical language to summarize their understanding in the categories of time, objects, optics, mechanics, geometry, and so forth. For example, their definition of space-time was *jiu mi yi shi ye* and *yu mi yi suo ye*. According to *Explanations on the Classics* (*Jing Shuo*), "[s]een from time, it includes past, future, morning and evening; seen from space, it includes north, south, east and west, and it is unlimited and endless." For another example, the definition of a circle was "one focus with equidistant radius or diameter" (according to the *Book of Mo*, or *Mo Jing*), which is

almost the same as the definition nowadays. The explanation of the double image of Mohism was when a "photoreceptor sandwiched between two light circles crossed, there is the formation of a double image; while if there is only one beam of light, there is only a single shadow" (according to *Explanations on the Classics: Second Part* (*Jing Shuo: Xia*)). The explanation of the inverted image was that when light irradiates a man, it is as straight as an arrow. When the lower light hits the man, the higher shadow appears; when the upper light shines on the man, the lower shadow appears. The foot blocks the light underneath, so the shadow is cast over the top. The head shelters the upper light, so the shadow is cast at the bottom. The distance of intersection is closely related to light. When the shadow passes a hole, a reflection is formed. Mohists also explained the reason of concave mirror imaging in *Explanations on the Classics: Part Two*. If the mirror surface is concave, there may be two kinds of image formation (backwards of a small image and erect of a large image). The reason is the former image is outside of the arc heart, while the latter image is within the focus. The balance explained in *Explanations on the Classics: First Part* (*Jing Shuo: Xia*) by Mohists is that if weights are put on the scale side, it will surely sag. By counterpoising the weight of the scale with the sliding weight of a steelyard, balance can be achieved. That's why the steelyard has a short head but a long tail. If weights are put on both scale and tail of the steelyard, the sliding weight of a steelyard needs to be moved to the end in order to achieve balance.[14]

The Legalists also had their views about natural science. For instance, the explanation of the truth (scientific fact) recorded in the *Book of Master Han Fei: Commentaries on Laozi's Teachings* (*Han Fei Zi: Jie Lao*) included specific attributes of classification, analysis, and formulation, which made a very important contribution to science ideology. A famous Legalist representative named Hui Shi (380–305 BC) had put forward many motions about natural science. For example, he considered that the earth is spherical, the thought of the material world as infinite, and others (referred from *Zhuangzi: All under Heaven* (*Zhuangzi: Tianxia*)). The *Yin-Yang* School also conducted in-depth research into astronomy and geography as is recorded in their *History of the Han Dynasty: Treatise on Literature* (*Hanshu: Yiwenzhi*). *Records of the Grand Historian: Biographies of Mengzi and Xun Qing* (*Shiji: Mengzi Xun Qing Liezhuan*) describes the concept of *Jiu Zhou* created by Zou Yan. *Jiu Zhou* refers to the nine regions of ancient China, which is larger than what most people thought in those days.

Similarly agriculture, medical science, and military research and strategy each had a close relationship with technology. But there is no need for the specific explanation in this chapter.

After the Qin and Han dynasties, the civil liberties of the academics were not as favorable as those in the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods because of the establishment of a unified feudal regime structure. They paid more attention to social politics and ethics than research into natural science, since the

[14]The abovementioned explanations on the *Mo Jing* can be found in Li Shenglong, *New Interpretations of Classics by Mo Zi* (Sanmin Book Bureau, Taipei, 1996).

governor was more attracted to the academic social stratum in the political world, with high positions and generous salaries. Still, there were many elites among the Chinese intellectuals who made great achievements in natural science research. These people generally served as officials in departments closely related to science technology (that is to say history, industry, agriculture, and medical departments). They took on the mission and through their responsibility overcame numerous difficulties and obtained great achievements. For example, the astronomer Zhang Heng, who served as an imperial astronomer for 14 years in the Han Dynasty, had a great interest in and passion for astronomy. He produced a number of famous inventions such as the armillary sphere and the seismograph, among others; Li Daoyuan, the author of *Commentary on the Water Classic* (*Shujing Zhu*), served as state governor and lieutenant in the Wei and Jin Period; the scientist Shen Kuo (1031–95 AD) in the Song Dynasty, who served as a former military apparatus supervisor during the period of the Wang Anshi Political Reform, was erudite and had a deep understanding in astronomy, calendars, music, law, and medicine. He published the famous science classics *Dream Stream Essays* (*Mengxi Bi Tan*) in his later life after he had settled down in Zhenjiang. The agronomist Wang Zhen (*fl.* 1290–1333 AD) who served as county governor in the Yuan Dynasty compiled the agricultural classic *On Agriculture* (*Nongxue*).

Since the numbers of feudal political talents were limited by political needs, together with the abuses of the personnel selection system and fierce political competition, some scholars either had no chance or were unwilling to become officials. These people were often referred to as hermits (*yin shi*). Hermits were generally poor and had to work hard themselves just to survive if they had no inheritance from their ancestors. Owing to their poor background, most of them were compelled to become engaged in cultural education activities to make a living. Many of them were freedom-seeking, active, and indifferent to fame and wealth. Therefore, they could focus on the exploration of natural mysteries and scientific technological inventions. The contributions of hermits to the history of Chinese science and technology cannot be considered negligible.

For example, the famous astronomer Zhang Zixin in the Northern Dynasties ran away from social upheaval and stayed on a secluded island. Through 30 years of his astronomical observations and calculations, he found that the inhomogeneity of the solar and planetary motion parallax had an effect on the calculation of solar eclipses. This proved to be very important in setting eclipse predictions and calendars. Chen Zunwei considered that Zhang's achievements were no less than those of the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe.[15] Li Bo (789 AD-?) and Dan Yuanzi in the Sui and Tang dynasties were also hermits, who wrote the astronomical masterpieces *On Astronomical Phenomena* (*Tian Wen Da Xiang Fu*) and *Song of the Heavenly Bodies* (*Bu Tian Ge*). Since the eastward spread of Western science and culture during the late Ming Dynasty, Chinese astronomy was influenced by Western astronomy, which brought a new look to Chinese science and technology in

[15]Chen Zunwei, *Astronomical History of China*, Vol. 3 (Shanghai People's Press, 1984), p. 722.

due course. At the beginning of the Qing Dynasty, research into astronomy, calendar calculation, and mathematics had become popular, especially for the folk hermits such as the famous astronomers Xue Fengzha (1600–1680), Wang Xichan (1628–1682), Mei Wending (1633–1721), and so forth. Xue Fengzha, who majored in traditional mathematics, was at first influenced by the French astronomer Nicholas Smogulecki and mainly focused on Western mathematics. However, Xue was not just a follower of Smogulecki. He combined traditional Chinese mathematics with Western mathematics and published many mathematical and astronomical books such as *Learn to Calculate* (*Suan Xue Hui Tong Zheng Ji*), *Test* (*Kao Yan*), *Application* (*Zhi Yong*), *Solar and Lunar Laws* (*Tai Yang Tai Yin Zhu Xing Fa Yuan*), *Principles of Planetary Orbits: Jupiter, Mars and Saturn* (*Mu Huo Tu San Xing Jing Xing Fa Yuan*), and *Eclipse Law* (*Jiao Shi Fa Yuan*), and so forth, which gained good reputations as is recorded in the *Draft History of the Qing: Biography of Chou Ren* (*Qing Shi Gao: Chou Ren Zhuan*). Wang Xichan was also skillful at Chinese and Western knowledge. He spent long hours every day on anthropological observation and wrote the academic book *New Methods Discovered at a Place Named Xiao'an* (*Xiao An Xin Fa*), which had almost the same reputation as those of Xue Fengzha (Wang Xichan was from Wujiang and Wang Fengzha was from Zichuan). When he was 27, Mei Wending also conducted deep research and analysis into the traditional astronomical calendar that was taught by his father Mei Shichang and his teachers Luo Wangbing and Ni Guanhu. His academic publications total more than 80.

In terms of geography, both Xu Xiake and his father Xu Youmian, the Ming Dynasty geographers, were hermits. Young Xu Xiake did not want to serve in the government, but was willing to give his life to geographical research. Needham's comment on Xu's geographical contribution states: "[h]is notes [. . .] read more like those of a twentieth-century field surveyor than of a seventeenth-century scholar."[16] For another example, Gu Yanwu (1613–1682) and Gu Zuyu (1631–1692) were Qing Dynasty geographers who refused to be officials, but paid greater attention to the study of geography. Gu Yanwu wrote the geographical masterpiece *Merits and Drawbacks of all the Provinces and Counties in China* (*Tian Xia Jun Guo Li Bing Shu*), and Gu Zuyu wrote the masterpiece *The History of Geography* (*Du Shi Fang Yu Ji Yao*).

There were many hermits who were very skillful in the medical world as well. They lived in the community and had more chances for practice compared with the royal doctors. This resulted in doctors practicing from among the hermits who were more famous and had greater achievements than the royal doctors. For instance, Bian Que, a famous doctor in the Warring States Period, had no experience serving for a royal family but served normal citizens in different states (namely, Qin, Zhao, and Qi). His medical skills had been learned from a hermit named Chang Sangjun. Hua Tuo (*c*. 140–208 AD), an Eastern Han Dynasty doctor, was a famous hermit as well. According to *History of the Later Han Dynasty: Biography of Fang Shu*

[16] *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 3: *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), p. 524.

(*Hou Hanshu: Fang Shu Liezhuan*), Hua Tuo refused invitations to serve the royal family as a doctor; Li Shizhen, a medical scientist in the Ming Dynasty, was also a hermit. Although he had worked at the king's mansion and the royal hospital, his period of service was not long. He was mainly engaged in medical research activities. Li spent 30 years on drug research, traveling to many famous mountains for medicinal research, and read more than 800 medical books. He finally wrote the medical masterpiece *Compendium of Medical Herbs* (*Bencao Gang Mu*).

Among the hermits there were lots of agronomists, for example, the hermit Lu Yu (733–804 AD) in the Tang Dynasty, who secluded himself in a place called Shaoxi and called himself "Mulberry and Ramie Old Man" (*Sang Zhu Weng*). He was addicted to tea and very interested in tea study. He wrote three series known as *The Classic of Tea* (*Cha Jing*), which talked about the origins of tea, brewing methods, and drinking wares. He was enshrined as the "tea god" (*cha shen*) because of his great contribution to tea cultivation and promotion (reference from the *New Book of Tang: Biographies of Hermits* (*Xin Tangshu: Yin Yi Zhuan*)). The hermit Liu Guimeng wrote *Book of Agricultural Instruments* (*Leisi Jing*), which was the first monograph about farm tools in Chinese history. Song Dynasty hermits also wrote some classic books (for instance, *Manual of Paulownia* (*Tong Pu*) by Chen Zhu (982–1061 AD), *The Diet of a Family in the Mountains* (*Shan Jia Qing Gong*) and *The Entertainment of a Family in the Mountains* (*Shan Jia Qing Shi*) by Li Hong, and *Method of Making Sugar from Sugarcane* (*Shuang Tang Pu*) by Wang Zhuo). In the Yuan Dynasty, hermit Wang Rumao (*fl.* 1340–1368) wrote *Health Care for Living in the Mountains* (*Shan Ju Si Yao*); the Ming Dynasty hermit Zhu Quan (1378–1448 AD) wrote *Book of Hermit Life* (*Qu Xian Shen Yin Shu*); Ma Yilong (*fl.* 1547 AD) was the author of *On Agriculture* (*Nong Shuo*); the Qing Dynasty hermit Zhang Lüxiang (1611–74 AD) was the author of *Supplement to the Book of Agriculture* (*Bu Nong Shu*); Pu Songling (1640–1715) wrote *Book of Agriculture and Sericulture* (*Nong Sang Jing*); and Liu Yingtang was the author of *Agricultural Garden at Suoshan* (*Suo Shan Nong Pu*).[17]

Some hermits were also very concerned about the handicraft industry. Song Yingxing (1587–1666), a famous Ming Dynasty scientist, served as a county government officer several times throughout his career. Nonetheless, he was not interested in the official jobs. After the demise of the Ming Dynasty, he was no longer an official and became a hermit. His masterpiece, *The Exploration of the Works of Nature* (*Tiangong Kaiwu*), was mainly concerned with the technology of agriculture and handicraft production, which became an extremely important part of scientific literature. The preface to his volume says: "This book is irrelevant to fame and fortune." This shows his disregard for fame and fortune and his dedication to scientific ideology.

[17]Zeng Xiongsheng, "Hermit and Traditional Agriculture of China," *Research on History of Nature and Science*, 1996 (1), pp. 17–29.

In ancient times, because productivity was low, people's cognitive abilities were also limited. They could not distinguish the boundaries between science and superstition. Therefore, science and superstition often became hybrids. Some superstitious views seem ludicrous today but played an active role in promoting the development of science. For example, the ancients thought that there was a two-way communication between the sky and humans. A human being's actions could be felt by a god, making corresponding changes in the sky. God will present good omens because of good behavior; and if there were any wrongdoings, the god would use some abnormal phenomena of nature to warn humanity. This is often called "heavenly induction" (*tian ren gan ying*). Ancient astrology was introduced under this concept. Astrology itself does not belong to science. However, because people believed in astrology, they were inclined to pay special attention to all sorts of strange abnormal natural phenomena, which would then greatly stimulate their interest in and enthusiasm about observing these natural phenomena. Whenever an abnormal phenomenon appeared, officials would not only record the time but also formally write it into the history books *Records of Astronomy*, *Records of Astronomical Phenomena*, and *Records of Five Elements* (namely, *Tian Wen Zhi*, *Tian Xiang Zhi*, and *Wu Xing Zhi*). Our ancient history left us with many classical books about solar eclipses, lunar eclipses, sunspots, the courses of the five known planets, comets, meteors, novae, supernovae, auroras, earthquakes, severe winds, insect invasion, various natural disasters, and various animal and plant mutation records. These all contain precise and valuable information which is of benefit to the modern study of science and technology.

Taoism, as China's native religion, also played a vital role in history. *The Collections of Taoist Works* (*Dao Cang*) includes many writings on alchemy. Two famous writings are *The Kinship of the Three, in Accordance with the Book of Changes* (*Zhouyi Cantong Qi*) and *The Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity: Inner Chapters* (*Bao Pu Zi: Nei Pian*). The former was known as "The King of Dragon Chemists" (*Wang Gu Dan Jing Zhi Wang*) whereas the latter was the representative of "Taoist School of Immortals and Dragon Chemists" (*Shen Xian Dan Ding Dao Pai*). The raw materials for alchemy mainly include gold, silver, lead, mercury, mica, quartz, sulfur, realgar, and orpiment minerals such as drugs and conifer sap, poria cocoas, and ganoderma plant drugs. Mineral drugs could be taken typically after being refined and formed as a compound. So alchemy is actually a chemical reaction process. There are two main types of alchemical-chemical reactions. One is a fire response type, while the other is a water reaction type. Fire reaction is mainly induced through heating, and water reaction is mainly through dissolving. Owing to the pious attitude of the Taoists, every step is performed by the alchemist with great care. This was a matter of religious faith as well as the necessary attitude for being engaged in scientific research. Through careful investigation and research, the Taoists had mastered an abundance of chemical knowledge and obtained many achievements in chemistry. For example, *The Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity: Inner Chapters: Gold and Cinnibar [Pill of Immortality]* (*Bao Pu Zi: Nei Pian: Jin Dan*) records that "[r]ed mercuric sulfide formed after calcinations. It was oxidized to sulfur dioxide; sulfur and mercury

were isolated and then made a mercury and sulfur compound called black mercuric sulfide; also known as the sublimation or crystallization of red mercuric sulfide." For another example, *The Book of the Master Who Embraces Simplicity: Inner Chapters: Yellow and White [gold and silver]* (*Bao Pu Zi: Nei Pian: Huang Bai*) records: "[a]fter chemical reaction, lead can become a white basic lead carbonate. Again through a variety of chemical changes after heating, it generates red lead; red lead through chemical reaction can decompose to white lead."[18] In terms of water reaction type, *San Shi Liu Shui Fa,* the Taoist classics introduce a variety of useful solutions to dissolve minerals such as gold and cinnabar. The use of inorganic salts such as acetic acid was at the forefront of the world during that period.[19] Large-scale water copper smelting began in the Song Dynasty, and its source was from Taoist alchemy. Sulfuric acid was also used in chemical reaction. *Method and Principle of Alchemy Learned from the Yellow Emperor* (*Huangdi Jiu Ding Shen Dan Jing Jue*) recorded "sulfuric acid was acquired from burning lithocholic," which was referred by Zhao Kuanghua as "the earliest record of producing sulfuric acid carbonization in the world."[20]

Chinese alchemy was not only practiced for immortality but also for curing diseases. Sun Simiao, a Taoist priest and medical scientist in the Tang Dynasty, had tempered chemicals named *Tai Yi Shen Jing Dan* by using cinnabar, orpiment, realgar, magnetite, gold teeth (although there were gold in color, the main ingredient was copper), and other minerals. It contained arsenic oxide and mercuric oxide (arsenic and mercury alone are highly toxic), which could be used to kill bacteria as well as have a healthful function. In addition, it could be either for external use to treat skin diseases or internal use to treat fever and malaria.[21]

There were many Taoists proficient in medicine throughout Chinese history as was mentioned above (such as the famous doctors Hua Tuo, Ge Hong, Tao Hongjing, Sun Simiao, etc.). As the study of material medicine, pharmacology inevitably involves the knowledge of zoology and botany, so many Taoists also had profound insights in zoology and botany.

There are some technological inventions associated with alchemy that are also worth mentioning. For example, gunpowder was widely used in the Song Dynasty while the formula for gunpowder had been discovered by monks as early as the Tang Dynasty in the process of studying alchemy. As an alchemy container needs to be sealed, the monks made a *Liu Yi Ni*, or combined mud, which was clinkered by

[18]Du Shiran, *Drafts on Science and Technology History of China* (Science Press, 1983), pp. 268–169.

[19]Joseph Needham, "Thirty Six Water Method: Records of Early Alchemy concerning Water in Ancient China," *Works of Joseph Needham* (Liaoning Science and Technology Press, 1986), p. 739.

[20]Zhu Yaping, *Taoist Culture and Science* (Science and Technology University of China Press, 1995), p. 184.

[21]Du Shiran ed. *Drafts on Science and Technology History of China*, Vol. 1, p.349.

halite salt, halons,[22] oyster, red halloysite,[23] talc, aluminite, and other materials. The clinkering mud contained silicon, iron oxide-gypsum, and salt, which performed a similar function to modern-day cement.

In a word, the contribution of Taoism to science and technology is multifaceted. Based on this point, Needham praised Taoism highly, saying that East Asian chemistry, mineralogy, botany, zoology, and pharmacology all originated from Taoism, and "China without Taoism would be a tree of which some of its deepest roots had perished."[24]

13.3 Why Ancient Chinese Science and Technology Gradually Declined

In the 1940s, Joseph Needham described in public on many occasions that one of his main purposes in writing *Science and Civilisation in China* was to explore one important issue, which is renowned today as "Needham's Grand Question." We are aware that Chinese science and technology was far more advanced than those in Europe before the fifteenth century. Even so, this situation gradually changed during the sixteenth century, as Europe overtook China and started leading science and technology development in the world. Europe has since been recognized as the place where modern science emerged. How did this happen that China was overtaken by the West in science and technology, even though China achieved prominence in earlier times? This is Needham's so-called Grand Question.

The question is difficult to find an answer to, but certainly worthy of consideration. In the second part of this chapter, the reasons for the great achievements in Chinese science and technology will be fully explained as to why ancient Chinese science and technology was far more advanced than Europe in ancient times and why modern science advanced in Europe in the sixteenth century. However, the reasons why modern science never appeared in China are still difficult to clarify, since any assumptions or explanations based on non-occurring events lack evidence and persuasiveness. A similar thing occurred in the Arabian countries. As is known, the formation of modern science and technology in Europe was founded on the gathering and collecting of ancient Greek scientific works. Nonetheless, the Arabs also did the same thing from the ninth to the twelfth century. Therefore, the same doubts occur as to why modern science and technology did not emerge in Arabian countries. Several suggested explanations can be provided, but their veracity cannot be proven because when talking about events which never actually happened, one is inevitably relying upon assumptions.

[22] A group of chemical compounds consisting of alkanes with linked halogens.

[23] Aluminosilicate clay mineral.

[24] *Science and Civilisation in China*, Vol. 2 History of Scientific Thoughts in China, 1990, p. 164.

Eventually Chinese science and technology began to decline, and by the end of the sixteenth century, the country lagged far behind the West.

Research has been carried on from all different aspects about why Chinese science and technology lagged behind from the sixteenth century onwards. Some researchers have even ascribed the reasons to the ancient Chinese characters. Fundamentally speaking, most researchers consider that it is the faded Chinese feudal system that caused the decline of ancient Chinese science and technology.

It has been generally known that a social system may accelerate or impede the development of science and technology. As we know from Marxist thought, European science was suffocated under the dark reign of the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. Although some scientific classics from ancient Greece – Aristotle, Ptolemy, and others – circulated at that time, the scientific spirit never blazed out but was exploited by the church. Science became a maidservant of theology under the reign of the Church of Rome. Nevertheless, followed by the boom of European capitalism, the Renaissance, and Religious Reformation during the fifteenth century, modern science finally was allowed to form in the end. This well illustrates how social systems affect the development of science. Frederick Engels pointed out the Middle Ages evolved from the original wild state, which wiped out ancient civilizations, philosophy, and political and legal systems in order to start from scratch. The only thing inherited from the declined ancient world is Christianity and some broken and lost civilized cities. The monks monopolized education, which had been infiltrated by theology. Political and legal systems were controlled by monks becoming one of several theological branches, all in accordance with the principle of common theology. With regard to the relationship between capitalism and scientific development, Marx pointed out that for the first time in history capitalism provided solid material support for natural science research to a great extent.[25] With the development of capitalism, science was fully engaged and extensively applied and reflected in all areas which could never be imagined in the past.[26] These theories from Marx and Engels can assist us to understand the nature of the Middle Ages as well as the relationship between capitalism and science technology development.

As the result of the success of the bourgeois revolution from Britain, France, and other European countries, synchronized with the Industrial Revolution and overseas colonial expansion in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, European science and technology was bursting with rapid development, whereas China had become a sleeping lion and its feudal system was prone to be darker and more autocratic. Eventually China was led to the painful outcome of being outmatched by other nations.

The signs of the declining Chinese feudal society were the strengthening of the feudal autocracy, the loss of national freedom, and creativity being suppressed.

[25]The Germany Peasants' War, *The Complete Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. 7, p. 400.

[26]The Machinery, Natural Force and the Application of Science, pp. 206–208.

The feudal autocracy in the Ming Dynasty had been significantly strengthened and can be seen in the domination of the feudal monarchy in politics and an extensive monopoly in the economic, legal, cultural, and education systems. Emperor Taizu of Ming (Zhu Yuanzhang) (reigned 1368–98 AD) advocated a fierce and harsh policy. He set up a spy agency named *Jinyi Wei* to secretly provide surveillance on state officials and national heroes, in order to severely punish or even execute them. In remote rural areas, he adopted the *Yellow Book* (*Huangce*) and the *Fish-Scale Atlas* (*Yulintu*) to reinforce his control over peasants and increase penalties through lingering death and exile among other severe deterrents. Examination propositions were only extracted from *The Four Books* (*Sishu)* and *The Five Classics* (*Wujing*) which imposed severe restriction on candidates' thoughts. This strengthening of feudal autocracy significantly inhibited the development of science and technology. When it came to the late Ming Dynasty, the gap between Chinese science technology and European science technology had increased immensely. Even though great scientists such as Li Shizhen, Xu Xiake, and Song Yingxing had made great achievements, most of them were still hermits, and their achievements had not been accepted or put into practice. Compared to European scientists in the same period such as Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, and Harvey, Chinese scientists' achievements fell by the wayside.

In the late Ming Dynasty, the emergence of capitalism in the south of the Yangtze River and the introduction of Western culture provided a good opportunity to reduce the scientific and technological gap between East and West. During this period, technological progress in textiles; metal fabrication and ceramics; energy use in handicrafts by wind, water, and coal; and a great labor force of hired farmers likely lead to further development of capitalism. Furthermore, the arrival of European missionaries together with the help from Xu Guangqi and Li Zhizao mutually reinforced the communication between China and foreign countries to a great extent. Nevertheless, as Qing army forces passed over the border, the Ming Dynasty perished and capitalism development was changed to a different direction.

While intensifying the learning of local culture after Qing conquered Ming, the primary part the Qing Dynasty had taken was Ming's feudal autocracy. The feudal autocracy and national oppression of the Qing Dynasty became even worse than those of Ming. As the southeast area where capitalism had sprung up earlier was the strongest anti-Qing area, it was therefore strictly controlled as well as brutally suppressed. Under the reigns of Emperors Kangxi, Yongzheng, and Qianlong of Qing, prosperities and flourishing cultures were seen in agriculture and handicraft production, and the initial formation of a national market system had been developed, as well as an unprecedented increase in foreign trade. However, capitalism in the Ming Dynasty did not develop well at all. On the whole, the feudal autocratic system became intensively harsher than the Ming Dynasty. For instance, any national issues of even the least significance were all subject to the emperor to make ultimate decisions. It indicated that the fate of the country rested in the emperor's hands only. "Literary inquisition" (*wen zi yu*) severely devastated the freedom of intellectual thought. The "eight-legged essay" (*ba gu wen*) system became a corrosion of the soul. Besides, the Emperors Kangxi and

Qianlong organized a compilation of large documents, *The Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times* (*Gujin Tushu Jicheng*) and *The Imperial Collection of Four* (*Siku Quanshu*). Their aims were not to promote culture but to transfer the literati's attention to strengthen cultural control and even destroy cultural awareness. Although the Early Qing Dynasty made some achievements in science and technology and the Emperor Kangxi was keen on technology, it did not change the overall laggard effect of Chinese science and technology.

From the Emperor Qianlong in his old age to the Emperors Jiaqing and Daoguang, drawbacks of feudal autocracy were gradually seen. Compared with Qianlong, both Jiaqing and Daoguang were less capable of making decisions themselves and had less power to control the Imperial Court. Especially along with the growing population, the increasing extravagance and embezzlement of the royal family and officials, the inadequacy of the national treasury, the breakdowns of armed forces, and the intensive protests, the emperors were unable to return to the previous prosperity. Additionally, Pu learning (*Puxue*) starting from the reign of the Emperor Qianlong was based on textual criticism, emendation, phonology, and semantics. It dragged those officials and scholars away from reality, indulging them in a heap of musty old books and papers. Together with the closed border policy, the whole feudal society had become formally sterile, and there was no way for the development of science and technology. After 1840, suffering invasion from Western countries, China became a semicolonial and semifeudal state – a condition which further held back the development of science and technology.

The gradual decline of Chinese science and technology in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was mainly caused by the strengthening of this feudal autocracy.

It is noteworthy that the Chinese ancients were inclined to be self-centered due to their restricted geographical environment and self-exaggeration. Furthermore, China had always been a self-sufficient country, which made the people believe that China did not have to communicate with other countries and Chinese culture was better than the others. These stereotypical beliefs were not changed at all in the late Ming Dynasty even when world famous geographical classics such as *A Map of the Myriad Countries of the World* (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu*) written by Matteo Ricci and those by his contemporaries Diego de Pantoja and Giulio Aleni were introduced to China. The Qing monarchy claimed the Qing Dynasty as "an abundance of the Heavenly Kingdom with prosperity and flourishing culture," which became the rationale of its seclusion policy. When foreign envoys came to China, Qing emperors often treated them as Qing's clan rather than as foreign missionaries for equal communication between countries. This caused China to remain provincial and conservative.

The Chinese nation was enriched in its own creativity and intelligence. Thousands of years of national prosperity clearly prove it. Also, the flourishing Chinese culture has been well recognized in the world. However, the Chinese are aware of how the negative side of traditional culture has impeded the development of science and technology.

For example, the ancient Chinese misjudged the relationship between heaven and earth. They thought heaven and earth were always opposed to each other rather than taking both as a whole part. In Chinese astronomical history, several theories such as the theory of canopy-heavens (*gai tian shuo*), the theory of sphere-heavens (*hun tian shuo*), and the theory of night vision (*xuan ye shuo*) identify the infinitive universe. Although ancient Chinese had made very delicate and accurate observations of the sun and moon, Venus, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, and Saturn and even discovered the accurate planetary cyclic periods, some world famous classic scientific theories were still unable to be produced in ancient China, such as the ancient Greek Pythagorean School's "celestial model" theory and the ancient Roman astronomer Ptolemy's "geocentric model" theory. Within the context of Chinese philosophy and religion, ancients specially focused on the relationship between *Tao* and *Ji*, which can be found in *Zhuangzi: Essentials for Nurturing Life* (*Zhuangzi: Yangshengzhu*). *Tao* means the way in which one does something according to general order and general principle. It is the way the universe works. The ancients used it to master and explain all matters. *Ji* refers to skills, which are more specific and technical. In various skills researches, the ancients often delved into specific facts in a very accurate and delicate way, which might be the reason why technologies in ancient China were at the forefront in the world during that period. But the ancients were often inclined to ascending skills directly into *Tao* (that is to say, general order or general principle) rather than focusing on specific scientific principles (namely, natural science laws). The reason is because the ancients did not know the existence of specific scientific principles and no one explored them.[27] Therefore, it brought ancient natural science often into a vague research cramped by experience and sensuality. This limitation is the characteristic of our ancients' way of thinking. But it can be reduced through communications with other countries. For instance, ancient Chinese did not accept *Euclidean Geometry* written by the Alexandrian Greek mathematician Euclid, *On Floating Bodies* and *On the Center of Gravity* by Archimedes of Syracuse, as well as the views or theories of Copernicus, Galileo, and Darwin. It was not because they did not understand these theories, but they lacked sufficient communication due to their historic reasoning and geographic restrictions with the West.

In ancient Chinese philosophy, the "harmony with the universe" concept (*tian ren he yi*) has some limitations. "Harmony" is concerned with the position of mankind in the universe and refers to the harmony between mankind and nature. However, this concept caused the ancients to cement together social science and natural science. As a result, natural science matters were explained in a sociocultural way and the cultural issues were presented in a natural science way. Eventually, deviation occurred on both sides.

[27]For instance, the concept of "principle" (*li*) mentioned by ancient Chinese is the concept of concrete laws and specific principles. Mo Zi, referred to above, also discussed *li* in terms of the study of light, force, and geometry. We've also mentioned the scientific thoughts by Han Fei Zi as he stated that *Tao* is how everything is in its own form while *li* is how everything is run. In other words, *Tao* is the fundamental principle, while *li* is the specific way. Everything has its *li*, and based on research on *li*s, *Tao* can be summarized. This well explains the relationship between *Tao* and *li*.

The "harmony" concept also led to the emergence of theology. Dong Zhongshu in the Han Dynasty created a theory called "induction between heaven and mankind" (*tian ren gan ying*). He personified nature and believed nature had a will and could monitor human virtue to give blessings or disasters in accordance with the emperors' behavior. In ancient times, science and superstition were a hybrid concept, which induced astrology. To a great extent, the development of astronomy was stimulated by astrology in the old days. But fundamentally, astrology is still superstitious belief and was criticized by Huan Tan and Wang Chong in the Han Dynasty. Even so, astrology was still highly regarded during the period of feudal autocracy because it satisfied secular political needs. Astrology not only had an adverse impact on the dissemination and development of science technology but also prevented political reform. All feudal rulers deified themselves and addressed that it was their fates to rule the country. But meanwhile they had a fear that the changes of astronomical phenomena would cause people's unrest and threaten their regime. Therefore, some restricted areas were set in astronomy. For example, a book named *Book of Southern Qi: Records of Astronomy* (*Nanqishu: Tianwenzhi*) recorded that under the reign of the Emperor Jianwu of Ming (494–7 AD), only Taishi, one of the Ming officials, could report the observation of the astronomical changes. But the emperor kept this information confidential and prohibited disclosure to everyone. In the era of the Tang Dynasty, the Emperor Kaicheng (reigned 836–40 AD) prevented professional astronomers from communicating with other people and required all information to be kept confidential. In order to stamp out private study of astronomy, Emperor Taizong of Song in 978 AD forced those who understood astronomy to undergo an examination and record their profiles in the relevant department. Whoever disobeyed the rule or regulation would face the death penalty. The following year, some astronomical magicians from all over the country would take the exams. Finally, a number of people would be selected to work for the astronomical division. The rest would be allocated to remote islands. Emperor Taizu of Ming (Zhu Yuanzhang) announced that whoever privately studied astronomy would be exiled and whoever privately set a calendar would face execution.[28] Undoubtedly, these rules blocked the dissemination and development of astronomy.

The theory of "Induction between nature and mankind" also penetrated into many areas, such as *Feng shui*, physiognomy, and chiromancy. As we said earlier, the ancient theory of *Feng shui* was partially subject to science. As its superstitious aspect was heavily influenced by the theory of "Induction between nature and mankind," the ancient *Feng shui* theory included many preposterous ideas. Even in the modern era, the theory of "Induction between nature and mankind" still affected the development of science and technology. For example, the conservative faction of the Imperial Court raised concerns that "breaking through the mountains will bring a curse by God" in order to oppose the construction of the railway in the "Westernization Movement."[29]

[28]Li Shenglong, *Method of Astronomy* (Hainan Publishing House, 1993), p. 16.

[29]Du Shiran ed. *Drafts on Science and Technology History of China*, Vol. 2, p. 275.

Questions

1. What were the main achievements in ancient science and technology of China? What were the features of its development?
2. What were the reasons for the achievement?
3. Why was science and technology in China left behind after the sixteenth century?

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Chapter 14
New Issues in the Modern History of China

After enjoying 1,000 years of glorious agricultural civilization, China found itself facing an unprecedented change in the middle of nineteenth century during the reigns of the Emperors Daoguang (1825–1850) and Xianfeng (1850–1861) of the late Qing Dynasty. The change forced the Chinese people to face two urgent historical issues: one was how to resist foreign invasion and seek independence, while the other was how to transform the country together with the rest of the world towards modernization.

In order to find answers to these two new questions, Chinese farmers and the bourgeoisie took the lead in the fights against the repeated invasions and bullying by some large foreign powers, autocratic rule of the Qing emperors, and the military dictatorship of the northern warlords. Nonetheless, their efforts ended in failure one after the other. At the same time, some progressive Chinese people began to promote the study of Western science, technology, machine production, democratic system, and ways of thinking and culture. They called for a change in Chinese people's mentality and perspective, the introduction and development of mechanized industry, and the establishment of a democratic and law-based political system in China. Despite the fact that few achievements were made after painstaking efforts by these pioneers, China nevertheless made its first step towards modernization. Unfortunately, for the subsequent 80 years until the May Fourth Movement (*Wusi Yundong*) in 1919, no success had been found in China's attempts to emulate Western-style modernization. Only when Chinese people integrated Marxist theory with their own revolutionary practice through endless struggles and costly efforts did China achieve national independence, with the subsequent explorations as well as many twists and turns, which was the correct course towards modernization found. Henceforth, the two historical issues were gradually resolved.

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14.1 The Isolationist and Backward Qing Dynasty and the Modernization Trend of the Western World

Established by Manchurian aristocrats after their entry into the Shanhaiguan Pass in 1644, the Qing Dynasty was China's last feudal empire. Thanks to its farm and poll tax reform and wasteland reclamation award policy, this dynasty enjoyed over 100 years of growth and prosperity. For a fairly long period of time in the first half of the Qing Dynasty, China was one of the world's preeminent nations in politics, economy, and culture. This period was called "The Kang-Qian Golden Age" (*Kang-Qian Shengshi*) (details can be found in Chap. 3). By the time that Emperor Daoguang (reigned 1820–1850) came to power, China's territory covered an area of more than 13 million square kilometers – 2 million square kilometers more than the total area of Europe. It extended from Siberia in the north to Xing'an Ridge and Saghalien Island in the northeast; to Pamir Plateau in the west, bordering the Middle Asian countries with the Balkhash Lake; and to Taiwan Province and the South China Sea in the south.

However, feudalist social productivity in China was already approaching its end. Instead of providing the space or opportunity for the further development of social productivity, it became a stumbling block for economic development. China began to decline from the middle or later years of the reign of the Emperor Qianlong (1735–1796), and it was beset with crisis by the time of the Opium Wars.[1]

In the socioeconomic sector, the concentration of lands in the hands of landlords and the self-supporting and self-sufficient nature of feudalism further hindered the expansion of social productivity. The annexation of lands by landlords became a serious issue, as did the number of bankrupt farmers. During the reign of the Emperor Jiaqing (1796–1820), the area of arable land across the whole country reached 800 million *mu* (15 *mu* equals 1 ha), with the vast majority of the land being owned either by landlords or bureaucrats at different levels. For example, the Grand Secretary Qi Shan, a member of the Daoguang Emperor's cabinet, owned as much as 2.56 million *mu* of land himself. The high concentration of land in a few hands not only deprived farmers of land but also forced them to rent land from landlords. They ended up paying over 70 % of their farm produce to landlords as land rents on top of numerous other taxes and levies. Under such socioeconomic conditions, small-scale farming became closely tied up with small-scale handcrafting. This meant that farmers had to work at both farming and handicrafts at the same time. The small-scale nature of the rural economy seriously impeded the division of labor, the expansion of production, and advances in technology. The Qing government pursued the policy of preferring agriculture over trade and dismissed advanced techniques and procedures as "clever but useless

[1]The First Opium War broke out in 1840. The Qing authority was defeated and signed the unequal Nanjing Treaty with Britain. The second Opium War took place between 1856 and 1860. It was also called the "War with British and French Troops." The Qing government signed a range of unequal treaties including the Peking Treaty with countries such as Britain, France, the USA, and Russia. China fell inexorably into being a semicolonial society.

tricks." Capitalism did emerge and continued to develop along the coastal areas, but the central government policy failed to nurture the right conditions for capitalism to transform the simple handcrafting into socialized mass production. Feudalism still remained the dominant form of economy in the socioeconomic life of China prior to the Opium Wars.

In politics, the highly centralized and autocratic monarchical system fomented serious corruption. From the perspective of Chinese history, this political system played an active role in making China a unified multinational country and in promoting social productivity, yet as time passed, its drawbacks became more evident. The Qing emperors inherited the political system of the Ming Dynasty and developed it to its peak. The Qing emperors were at the center of this system, and they were surrounded, at both central and local levels, by a large number of fully functional and closely linked bureaucratic groups, whose job was to safeguard the emperor's authority and autocracy by managing people's discontents and crushing any insurgence and revolt. Corruption was commonplace within these ruling groups. Government officials were oblivious to the welfare of the nation and did not care about anybody's livelihood except for their own; they expended little energy in choosing competent people for the benefit of country, preferring to form cliques for personal gain. They were so corrupt and shady that bribery and the sale of official titles and posts for money were rampant. No wonder it was said by people "being three years a Qing government official is of equal worth to 100,000 *taels* of silver." The later Qing Dynasty era was regarded as one of the darkest and most politically corrupt periods in Chinese history. Manifold problems of the autocratic monarchy, which had been accumulating over 2,000 years, could not be eliminated by the rulers themselves; thus, the problems were fully exposed, which eventually inflamed widespread social conflicts.

Corruption could also be found in the military sector. The Emperor Daoguang had 900,000 servicemen in his troops, mainly the Eight Banners (*Baqi*) and **Green Camps (***lüying***)**. After entering the Shanhaiguan Pass, the Eight Banners enjoyed various privileges, lived a parasitic existence, and lost all of their martial toughness. Those stationed outside the capital city descended into idleness and indulged in bird-keeping and sparrow-keeping or group gambling. Their equipment was also backward. Primitive cold weapons, such as the knife, spear, sword, and halberd, were still widely used, and the cannons of all key military fortresses were by now 300 years old. The backward weapons and poor military discipline brought about a decline in military strength. In the end, the Qing troops intimidated and robbed ordinary people, becoming incapable of defending national sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In the culture sector, the prevailing policy combined stick and carrot. Very strict measures were imposed on controlling people's thinking, while the Civil Service Examination System from the Ming Dynasty was retained so as to give intellectuals a chance to ascend to the upper class. The rulers of the Qing Dynasty were from a minority ethnic group. In order to smooth over the Anti-Manchu mentality among Han officials and intellectuals, they excessively promoted the feudal doctrine of "the Three Cardinal Guidance and the Five Constant Virtues" (*San Gang Wu Chang*)

on the one hand. On the other, they vigorously implemented literary inquisition and subjected the words and deeds of Han officials and intellectuals to close surveillance. Multiple literary persecutions took place during the reigns of the Emperors Yongzheng and Qianlong, and threats against the rule of the Qing Dynasty and popular revolts were cracked down upon one after another. Consequently, some intellectuals shut themselves away from government affairs and the real world, burying themselves in reading old books and textual criticism. This cultural despotism resulted in an atmosphere of bleakness and desolation which enveloped the whole ideological and cultural field.

This closed-door policy and self-complacency were the basic features of Qing foreign policy, as determined by the fundamental conditions of its politics, economy, and culture. As early as the middle of the Qing Dynasty, the central government had adopted a restrictive trade policy, opening Canton (now named Guangzhou) as the one and only port for maritime foreign trade and Kiakhta as the only place for foreign trade over land. Foreign merchants were allowed to do business only with government-authorized institutions. Their business activities were confined, and the amount of goods for transaction was also highly restricted. This restrictive trade policy had a very negative impact upon Chinese society. It neither served as a method of national self-defense, nor did it play a role in resisting foreign invasion. On the contrary, it deprived China of its control over, and opportunities for, foreign trade, it limited Chinese people's vision, it cut off China's channel of exchange with foreign countries, and it distanced China from the rest of the world.

The Qing Dynasty descended into a state of full-blown crisis which encompassed its economy, politics, military, culture, and foreign policy. Social and ethnic conflicts were increasingly contentious and popular revolts rose one after another. The White Lotus Rebellion (*Chuan Chu Bai Lian Jiao Qi Yi*) lasting from 1796 to 1804 was followed by the Tenrikyo Rebellion (*Tian Li Jiao Qi Yi*) in 1813 and successive Heaven and Earth Society (*Tian Di Hui*) uprisings across the country. The rule of the Qing Dynasty was tottering.

While the crisis-ridden feudalism of China and the rule of the Qing were degenerating from bad to worse, the Western world, represented by Great Britain and France, was stepping out of the medieval Dark Ages after having experienced the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Enlightenment. On the basis of a bloody, primitive accumulation of capital and overseas colonial plunder, many European countries and the USA grew dramatically and between the middle of the seventeenth century and the end of the eighteenth century embarked successively upon capitalist development.

From the middle of the fourteenth to the early seventeenth century, countries in Europe evolved from feudalism to capitalism. Modern industries and trade blossomed outward, and forces of social production improved after the application of multiple new technologies and inventions, including the Four Great Inventions (*Si Da Fa Ming*) introduced from China.[2] Handicraft workshops of a capitalist

[2]These are customarily given as paper (or the art of papermaking), printing, the compass, and gunpowder.

nature began to take shape. The discovery of the American continent, the opening of a new shipping route by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and the success of round-the-world voyages provided emerging capitalism with a vast market and further stimulated its development. Against this backdrop, Europe entered an era of social, political, and technological revolution in the middle of the fourteenth century, starting with the Renaissance in Italy.

The Renaissance was a secular intellectual and cultural movement with people and nature as the research subject, in contrast to religious theology, scholasticism, and feudal culture. According to Marx and Engels, "[i]t was an unprecedented and most significant reform in human advancement. It was an era which needed giants and produced giants in thinking, enthusiasm, attribute, talent and knowledge" (from *The Selected Works of Marx and Engels*, Volume 3, page 445). It challenged the feudal culture, the theological worldview, ecclesiastical authority, and social ethics in the fields of philosophy, literature and arts, and social, political, and natural sciences. Renaissance humanists advocated the restoration of the secular thinking and culture from ancient Greece, which placed people as the center and held the benefit of the people as its goal. The core of Renaissance thought and culture was the opposition between humans and God, humanity and holy law, which reflected the capitalist theory of human nature and humanity. The Renaissance laid a foundation for European society to free itself from the rule of feudalist theology, in other words, transferring the rule of society from the hands of god to the people.

After baptism through the Renaissance and religious reform, Britain experienced a revolution in the 1640s and established capitalism political system and embarked on the path of capitalism. Then the Enclosure Movement unfolded on a large scale in Britain. This deprived a large number of farmers of their land and turned them into free labor, consequently providing a sufficient work force for the emergence and development of mass production by machines. Meanwhile, Britain constantly waged wars with foreign countries. In succession it defeated old colonial powers such as Portugal, Spain, the Netherlands, and France, wresting control of the maritime hegemony. With its canons and warships voyaging all over the world, Britain became the preeminent colonial empire, earning accolades like "the empire on which the sun never sets." Britain accumulated massive amounts of dirty capital from the evil slave trade and the frenzied plunder of colonies. Taking India as an example, Britain plundered one billion pounds worth of wealth from India alone between 1757 and 1815. This wealth gave further rise to Britain's industrial revolution and its initial expansion between 1760s and 1840s. Britain possessed 19,335 units of steam engines by 1835. The wide application of the steam engine boosted social productivity, with cotton usage in the textile industry increasing from 5 million pounds in 1770s to 500 million pounds in 1814 – a 100-fold jump in 70 years. Coal and steel production also increased by a dozen fold over the same period. Emerging industrial cities mushroomed. The industrial output surged so that it amounted to half of the world total. By the 1840s, Britain was already the most powerful capitalist country in the world.

The French Revolution was another modern decisive battle between capitalism and feudalism which took place at the end of eighteenth century. Taking into account

the social reality and the nature of political struggle, a group of thinkers was needed to formulate public opinion. Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot, and Baron d'Holbach played an outstanding role in this regard. They criticized every corner of the social reality by adopting a new outlook concerning nature, society, and the world, exploring a new path and model for social development and putting forward clear political doctrines, slogans, and action plans. After profound enlightenment and some political struggles, a democratic system was finally established in France. Capitalism has advanced in an unprecedented way ever since. By the 1840s, France had applied 2,450 units of steam engines to its mass production. Its pig iron output reached 590,000 tons in 1836. Textile products grew by threefold between 1815 and 1840, and the coal output also increased dramatically. In terms of industrial output, France became number two in the world, second only to Great Britain. Even so, its trade with the east was comparatively small.

The USA was founded comparatively late. It founding fathers focused mainly on domestic construction, yet its industrialization developed at the same time. American industry lagged far behind that of Britain and France at the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, when the steam engine began to be widely used in early 1830s, its production grew dramatically. Spindle usage increased from 4,500 in 1805 to 800,000 in 1825. The USA attached great importance to the construction of railways in the early days of its foundation. The total length of railway track reached 15,000 km by 1850, ranking the top in the world.

In short, major Western countries embarked one after another on the road towards industrialization in the wake of their bourgeois revolutions. The emergence and application of machinery pressed capitalist governments to constantly expand the sources of raw materials and commodity markets, leading to the swelling of colonies. Although various contradictions and conflicts did exist among countries such as Britain, France, and the USA, their attitude towards opening the Chinese market were highly consistent and uniform. As a result, China – a vast, backward, conservative, and populous country – began to fall into the covetous hands of Britain, France, and the USA.

When Western culture was initially introduced to the East, confrontations with traditional Chinese culture were constant and common. State rulers during and after the Ming Dynasty were vexed with worries and fear about the spread of foreign culture and religion. Some scholars went as far as assaulting and rejecting Western learning from different angles. As a matter of fact, from the arrival of the Western missionaries to the beginning of the twentieth century, there were frequent instances of resistance towards Western religion. In spread of modern Western technology, techniques, crafts, and arts through China were also beset by numerous difficulties. Many conservative officials decried them as "diabolic tricks and wicked crafts" (*Qi Ji Yin Qiao*).

By the middle of the Qing Dynasty when a strict policy banning maritime trade was adopted, Western learning suffered from greater exclusion. Conservatism, complacency, a mind-set of blind self-esteem, and a policy of seclusion cut off China's contact with the rest of the world, limiting the Chinese people's vision. Cultural exchanges between China and the world entered an extremely dysfunctional stage.

The two Opium Wars had forced the Qing authority to open its gates. Goods, opium, and culture flooded into China from the west under the shield of strong Western warships and cannons. So now, new questions of how to resist foreign invasion, how to struggle for national independence, and how to follow the global trend of modernization were put in front of the Chinese people.

14.2 The Westernization Movement and the Initiation of China's Modernization Process

After the two Opium Wars, foreign capitalist forces used inequitable treaties to penetrate the inland areas from the coast. With imported commodities flooding into each and every city and village, traditional Chinese agriculture and handicrafts were severely damaged. One contemporary article entitled "Suggestions on Overhauling the Silk and Tea Trades" (*Zheng Dun Si Cha Ce*) pointed out that "After foreigners were allowed to do business in China, they manipulated the silk and tea markets. Silk and tea were traditional Chinese trades, but now that they were totally controlled by foreigners, Chinese business people were left with no say" (Volume 49 of the book *Royal Economic Documents* written by the Master of the House of Self-improvement – *Huang Chao Jing Ji Wen Bian*). Owing to the fact that China's customs service was controlled by foreigners,[3] the price of tea and the price of silk kept on falling, while the volume of these commodities being exported continued to increase. In some areas, machine-woven cloth and machine-spun cotton yarn replaced homemade cloth and yarn. Depression and destitution both in production and in the economy occurred in urban and rural areas alike. As Zheng Guanying inferred in his book *The Crisis Awareness in Millennium* (*Sheng Shi Wei Yan*) on the one hand, the offloading of foreign commodities in China damaged China's old feudal economic structure, causing chaos to a stable society; on the other hand, it provided limited space for the development of Chinese merchandise economy. Merchandise markets began to take shape in some areas. The commercialization of farm produce grew rapidly, with bankrupted farmers and handicraftsmen becoming the major sources for the labor market. The disintegration of the native economy helped to bring about China's modern commodity markets and to create the conditions for the birth of Chinese capitalism. This was known as the "unprecedented change" (*Qian Gu Wei You Zhi Bian Ju*).

Facing such a deep economic and social crisis, and out of their concern to maintain the rule of the Qing Dynasty, some officials from the ruling groups strongly advocated adopting Western practices. Prince Gong (also known as Yi Xin) believed that "[s]tatecraft lies in self-improvement; under the current situation, the key is to train the army, the prerequisite of which is to manufacture advanced weapons" ("The

[3]The position of director general of Taxation of China Customs had long been held by British men, namely, Horatio Nelson Lay and Robert Hart until the early twentieth century.

Whole History on Westernization Preparation" – *Chou Ban Yi Wu Shi Muo* – during Emperor Tongzhi's Reign, Volume 25). Li Hongzhang (1823–1901) also contended that "[t]he self-improvement of China depends on the study of foreign advanced weapons. To achieve this, China must learn to imitate big machine production from the West." This is how the "Westernization Movement" (*Yang Wu Yun Dong*),[4] aimed at establishing a modern military industry, came into being.

The main priorities of the Westernization Movement included hiring foreign military officers, purchasing foreign guns and cannons, training new ground forces, creating the South China Sea Fleet and the North China Sea Fleet, reforming the Fujian Fleet into a Modern Navy, and establishing a number of military industries. Twenty-four military enterprises were initiated during this period, such as the Jiangnan Shipyard in 1865, the Jinling Machine Bureau in 1865, the Fuzhou Dockyard in 1866, and the Tianjin Machine Bureau in 1867. They either received investment from the government or were managed by high-ranking local officials appointed by the central government. All the weapons they manufactured were given to the government to equip ground forces and the navy. Their products were not made to turn a profit, so cost control was not an issue. According to the management system and operational mode, these enterprises could only be categorized as modern military enterprises set up by a feudalist government. Yet they were different from other businesses run by feudalist governments because they adopted big machine production and hired technicians to undertake specialized technical operations. Westernized military industries had a tendency to aid the evolution of the economy into a capitalist one. Objectively speaking, these enterprises accelerated the disintegration of feudalism. Moreover, enterprises like the Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau had their own translation services, so they organized translation and published books on natural sciences and technology and introduced Western science, knowledge, and culture to the Chinese people.

However, the development of a military industry requires sufficient backing from a strong national economy. The commencement of modern military industry initiated a series of changes and raised many new questions. Their financial requests could not be fully met by traditional economic and taxation policies. At this time, uprisings staged by farmers throughout China were put down one after the other, and foreign businessmen had already set up many factories. All these stimulating factors pressed the Westernization Movement to transfer from a military-centered stage onto a civilian-oriented one. Under this new circumstance, a large number of civilian enterprises were created by adopting various models ranging from investment by government alone, a government supervision and merchant-management mode, to a government-private partnership mode. Examples of civilian enterprises set up at this stage include the China Merchants Steamship Navigation Company in 1872,

[4] Started in 1860s, the Westernization Movement was mainly concerned with forming and training a new type of navy and ground troops, setting up military industry and civilian industry. By the 1890s, this movement had died away, but it marked the beginning of China's economic modernization.

the Kaiping Mining Bureau in 1878, the Tianjin Telegraph Office in 1880, the Shanghai Machine Weaving Bureau in 1882, and the Mohe Mining Bureau 1888. The Hubei Textile Company was founded by Zhang Zhidong in the later period. Their products were sold mainly on the domestic market,[5] and cost control was vital for ensuring a profit. The relationships between the enterprises and the employees were basically the relations between the labor and the capital. Funds raised for establishing companies mainly came from private capital, so the civilian industrial enterprises which emerged during the Westernization Movement were identified as being modern and capitalist in nature.

The establishment of civilian enterprises symbolized the birth of capitalist modes of production in modern Chinese history. These enterprises trained a large number of technical workers who were familiar with modern production methods and techniques, laying a primary foundation for the formation of China's modern economic pattern. To a certain degree, they played a part in resisting capitalist economic invasion from abroad. But it must be pointed out that both military and civilian industries still bore the strong characteristics of feudalism and were heavily dependent on foreign capital. The military industry was monopolized by government agencies, and it sometimes served as a tool by which warlords could expand their sphere of influence. Enterprises were basically run under a feudalist management system, so that posts such as the "general officer" (*Zong Ban*), "coordinating officer" (*Hui Ban*), and "organizational officer" (*Ti Diao*) were established, and officers were invariably appointed directly by the government. No matter what management systems were adopted by civilian enterprises, the operation and management rights were in the hands of government officials, regardless of their knowledge about running a business. Since enterprises relied heavily on government support for their establishment and development, once this support was removed, the operation could be in jeopardy. Equally bad, these enterprises were also highly dependent on foreign capital. The ownership of these enterprises may have been in Chinese hands, but the major machines and equipment they used were imported. The guidance and expertise of foreign technicians were required from the moment of installation until the point when completed products were turned out. Furthermore, major raw materials and fuels were imported, so they were left with no choice except to rely on foreigners for both enterprise management and business operation.

At that time, both the creators and managers of westernized enterprises and scholars, who saw saving the nation and seeking national wealth and independence as their personal responsibility, optimistically believed that the Westernization Movement could quell domestic social unrest as well as recover the rights and benefits ceded to foreigners through trade wars. In the middle of the nineteenth century, this viewpoint was seen as profound and courageous because it broke down the cognitive barrier which held that Celestial Empire did not fall short in any respect. On the contrary, these people thought that if China intended to become

[5]The products of some Chinese enterprises were fairly competitive and brought a handsome profit. For example, coal mined by Kaiping Mining Bureau forced Japanese coal out of the Tianjin Market.

powerful, she must open her eyes to survey the world around her and discover her own weaknesses. In this context, the phrase "[l]earning merits from the foreign to conquer the foreign" (*Shi Yi Chang Ji Yi Zhi Yi*) (Preface to *Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms – Haiguo Tuzhi* by Wei Yuan) denoted how China should study advanced science, technology, and big machine production from the west. At this time, the most visible forms of technology were the strong warships and well-trained armies of the west, so the conclusion they drew was that setting up westernized military and civilian enterprises could help to solve all the problems pertaining to politics, the economy, the military, and culture. It seemed to them that once China owned strong artillery and warships, the Western powers would be fearful of their country and stop invading her. In fact, this was the only choice left. Clearly, the Westernization Movement was not only involved with training military forces and setting up enterprises, but it was also concerned with sending students to study overseas, learning Western science and technology, and translating Western books and magazines. All of these factors show that a minority of Chinese people had already relinquished their arrogance and pride and were prepared to accept that China was inferior to the west in some aspects. From the viewpoint of culture, the Westernization Movement only touched upon material matters, and activists within the movement still withstood the huge pressure of public opinion.

A number of conservative bureaucrats within the ruling party strongly opposed the Westernization Movement. They stood for maintaining the backward feudalist economy, rejected anything Western or capitalist, and objected to the adoption of modern Western science and technologies in production. The Grand Scholar Wo Ren,[6] a representative of the conservative group, once said: "[t]he key to statecraft lies in courtesy and righteousness, not in forces and tactics. The basic way is winning people's hearts not playing tricks." He believed that by regarding foreigners as their mentors, the Westernization Movement activists "would inevitably bring evil air to replace righteous air, if this continued for some years, all Chinese people would be enticed to learn from foreigners" (from the collection of materials *The Westernization Movement – Yangwu Yundong*, Volume 2, page 30). The conservative response and reaction caused a nationwide stir. No wonder strange phenomena occurred at that time, such as the tearing up railways out of fear that the noise of locomotives might awaken ancestors and shock the gods. Nevertheless, times changed, society moved forward, and China's modernization trend was unstoppable and irreversible. Under the influence and guidance of the Westernization Movement, China's national capitalism emerged.

Starting from the 1870s, some bureaucrats, landlords, compradors, and merchants gradually began to invest in modern machine industry. Some small millowners also transformed their work units into modern factories and began mining enterprises by introducing foreign machines to their extraction activities. By the time of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, there were 54 private enterprises whose capital exceeded 10,000 Yuan, amounting to 4.8 million Yuan in total capital.

[6]Wo Ren served as tutor to the Tongzhi Emperor (1861–1875).

Major examples included the Jichanglong Filature Factory set up by Chen Qiyuan in Nanhai, Guangdong Province in 1872,[7] the Tongjiuyuan Machine Cotton Ginning Mill established by Yan Xinhou in Ningbo, Zhejiang Province in 1887, the Yuyuan Cotton Mill established by Zhu Hongdu in Shanghai in 1894, the Yilaimu Machine Grindery established by Zhu Qi'ang in Tianjin in 1878, the Tongwen Publishing House established by Xu Hongfu in Shanghai in 1882, and the Junchang Machine Shipyard established by Li Songyun in Shanghai in 1882. Moreover, factories using machines to produce matches, tea, sugar, medicine, press oil, and husk rice and process mined minerals were also set up one after another.

If we regard the Westernization Movement as the first step China took towards modernization, the second step would be the emergence of national capitalist enterprises, though this was fraught with difficulties and obstacles under the special international and domestic situation. As far as the foreign invaders were concerned, they opposed capitalist development in China because they wanted to protect their own interests. They adopted various means to inhibit the development of China's national industry, including imposing limits on marketing, raw material supply, transportation, pricing, and technological transfer to the national enterprises. As for the Qing authorities, they used their administrative powers to prevent ordinary people from setting up capitalist enterprises because they wanted to safeguard the feudal basis of the economy. Conservatives were fundamentally opposed to new enterprises, causing public opinion to be averse to the national enterprises. Therefore, China's national capitalist enterprises did not enjoy a healthy development.

New types of enterprises also gave encouragement to Chinese capitalist and reformist scholars whose views reflected the interests and requirements of capitalists. Key representative reformist scholars included Wang Tao (1828–1897), Xu Fucheng (1838–1894), Ma Jianzhong (1844–1900), Zheng Guanying (1842–1922), Chen Zhi (?–1899), He Qi (1858–1914), and Hu Lihuan (1847–1916) among others. They were strongly patriotic and understood foreign politics, economics, history, and geography. Thus, they put forward strategies and took steps to save China from national and social crisis. They upheld the following views: first of all, they opposed colonial invasion and struggled for the relief of political pressure and economic aggression from foreign capitalists. They wanted to revise the inequitable treaties imposed by invaders and to strive for national independence, sovereignty, and the integrity of their territory. Secondly, they called on the Qing government to provide a hospitable environment and the proper conditions for the promotion of modern national enterprises by reducing interference and blackmail. It was their belief that a strong national economy would empower China to compete with Western capitalist countries. Thirdly, they favored a constitutional monarchy over the feudalist autocracy. They stood for the establishment of a parliament and for increased participation in the deliberation of state affairs as well as for giving limited powers to local officials and the gentry. All in all, this reformed mode of thinking

[7] It was generally acknowledged by historians that this was China's first machine-making factory of capitalist nature established by a private investor.

marked a progressive advance. More importantly its thinkers differed from theorists of the Westernization Movement in that their requirements for reform reached an institutional level rather than merely a material one within the structure of the culture. Their thinking, therefore, set in place the psychological preparation for the Hundred Day's Reform (*Bairi Wenxin* or *Wuxu Bianfa*). Their propaganda work, moreover, served to enlighten Chinese people's way of thinking.

China had already made its first step towards building a modern society during the 40 years between the 1860s and 1890s. The Qing government regarded the Westernization Movement as a means of self-preservation, for the old ruling model could not continue under the present turmoil. If reforms were not carried out on a material level, the social and economic crisis affecting the whole of society would bring their rule to an end. Viewed from the perspective of social development, the Westernization Movement was a comparatively low-level modernization campaign. Even though it had many drawbacks, as a test bed for modernization, the Westernization Movement deeply shook the economic structure of China's traditional agriculture society. The primary establishment of modern machine production marked the beginning of China's transition from being a traditional agricultural society towards becoming an industrialized modern society. Chinese culture, which was deeply rooted in the traditional agricultural society and the natural economy, had to adapt itself to the new capitalism and to the market-oriented economy, severing itself from the traditional agricultural society and the natural economy. In fact, the development and evolution of Chinese traditional culture in contemporary China has also been one major issue which has enjoyed close attention.

14.3 The Institutional Reform Attempted at the End of the Qing Dynasty and the Beginning of the Republic of China

From the 1860s and 1870s, as Western industrialized countries continued their transition towards monopolistic capitalism, the colonists became more aggressive in their approach. After Britain occupied India, it continued its northward expansion into Tibet. Russia, with strong aggression, gobbled up China's vast northeastern and northwestern regions. Encouraged by Britain and Russia, Muhammad Yakub Beq (1820–1877) of Central Asia's Kokand Khanate invaded Xinjiang with his troops and set up a colonial regime and enslaved people of different nationalities. Russia took advantage and seized Ili;[8] Britain gained trade rights and other economic rights. The USA joined forces with Japan to invade Taiwan of China and the surrounding areas. They instigated the Ryukyu Incident,[9] which had a deep and far-reaching

[8] When Yaqub Beg invaded Xinjiang, General Zuo Zongtang of the Xiang troops led 70,000 soldiers and destroyed the invaders. Backed by strong military power, China recaptured Yili in Xinjiang.

[9] Ryukyu used to be the vassal state of China. After this incident, Japan added Ryukyu to its own domains.

impact on China and gave Japan an excuse to launch a war of aggression against China in 1894. The Margary Affair[10] was the result of Britain's ambition to open a route to inland China from India. After it captured the south of Vietnam and continued to move northward, France provoked China and the two engaged in a war in 1884. France gained some privileges in the process. The Sino-Japanese War was fought in 1894–1895. After the war, the Qing authority was forced to sign the humiliating Treaty of Shimonoseki (*Maguan Tiaoyue*). Much worse than this, the war also whipped up a craze among the foreign powers, which were hell-bent on dividing spheres of influence in China. At the same time, they stepped up their capital exports to China, directly plundering natural resources, oppressing and exploiting the Chinese people, and stalling the development of China's national industry. China was facing a deep crisis: a life or death situation for the nation. As Kang Youwei (1858–1927) described in his article "Preface to China Self-improvement Association" (*Qiang Xue Hui Xu Yan*), "[f]oreign powers are casting their covetous eyes on China, Russia from the north, Britain from the west, France from the south and Japan from the east. Encircled by these four strong neighbors, China is in great danger!"

The Petition by Imperial Examination Candidates (or the *Gongche Shangshu* Movement) marked the formation of the reformist movement, whose political desire was to practice constitutional politics in China. To be specific, the "emperor and citizens [would] discuss state affairs together," "parliament [would] enact laws, judges [would] enforce laws, government [would] administer by law, and the emperor [would] control all." They were in favor of establishing a tripartite political system, making a constitution, convoking parliament, and allowing the country to be governed jointly by the emperor and the citizens. It was their belief that this was the only way that China could be saved from its deep national and social crisis and could embark upon the fast road to prosperity.

Kang Youwei was both the leader of the reformists and the initiator of the Reform Movement of 1898. Since 1885, he had written several books including *Human Justice* (*Ren Lei Gong Li*),[11] *Forgeries in the Classics of the Confucian Canon* (*Xin Xue Wei Jing Kao*), and *Confucius as a Reformer* (*Kong Zi Gai Zhi Kao*), to prepare public opinion for political reform and modernization. He pointed out that Chinese society was at a point of inevitable reform, whereby no reform or little reform would eventually lead to the demise of the country. His reformist thinking derived from two sources. One was the traditional Chinese theory of variation, including

[10] A group of British-armed adventurers were stopped by local people when they forced their way into Tengyue (present-day Tengchong) region of Yunnan Province. Margary, who was walking at the very front, was killed in the conflict. After this incident, the British government threatened China with war and the two sides signed the Yantai Treaty, but in favor of Britain.

[11] Later on this book was revised and its name was also changed as *Book of Great Harmony* (*Da Tong Shu*), but it had long been kept a secret until 1935, when Qian Anding, a student of Kang Youwei, presented it to the Zhonghua Book Company to be published. The book contained ten chapters and outlined Kang Youwei's design for a future society. Liang Qichao believed that the key to this book was "destroying the family clan."

Gongyang's three generations of evolutionism by a scholar of Confucian Classics in the official script of the Han Dynasty. The other source was modern Western political theories such as the democratic freedom of thought, equality, and universal love. After deep and independent cogitation, he extracted whatever seemed vital from these two sources, so his reform theory was neither a carbon copy of traditional Chinese social theory and political ideas nor pure modern Western political theory. Rather, it was a synthesis of the two, adapted to suit the real political situation. Speaking objectively, there were some careless lacunae and inaccuracies in Kang's academic work. However, given the fact that his focus lay in applying his research results to a political struggle rather than upon the academic merit of the research, it is fair to say that his work is of greater social and political value than academic merit.

The reformists started to publish the *Current Affairs Newspaper* (*Shi Wu Bao*) in Shanghai in 1896, with Liang Qichao as the chief editor. His writing was emotive enough to make this paper a very important battleground for publicizing reformist thinking, and it gained for him a reputation equal to that of his teacher Kang Youwei. Liang believed that the way out for China was through reform and self-improvement, that the foundation of reform lays in educating people, that the key to education was establishing schools, and that the prosperity of these schools depended on changing the Imperial Examination system. In order to achieve all of these objectives, the country must alter its bureaucratic establishment. It is clear that these reformist views touched upon questions of reforming the Chinese political system.

Having had the experience of studying in Britain, Yan Fu (1854–1921) was very much influenced by modern Western thinking and culture, making him the reformist who possessed the strongest awareness of democracy, freedom, and equality. Yan Fu founded the *National News Report* (*Guo Wen Bao*), which echoed other reformist newspapers and became an important organ for publicizing reformist ideas. China had suffered a crushing defeat in a war with Japan in 1894–1895, and Yan Fu felt keenly the pain of the impending crisis faced by China. He, therefore, continuously published articles on politics including "On the Urgent Change of the World" (*Lun Shi Bian Zhi Ji*), "The Origin of the Strong" (*Yuan Qiang*), "On National Salvation Decision" (*Jiu Wang Jue Lun*), and "Disproving Han Yu's Theory" (*Bi Han*) to attack the autocratic feudalist monarchy, while at the same time, he denounced emperors as "Big Nation Traitors" (*Da Dao Qie Guo Zhe*). He called for the study of Western countries and reform to domestic politics in order to make China strong. In his work of translation, "Evolution and Ethics" (*Tian Yan Lun*)[12] published in 1895, Yan Fu introduced the evolutionary theory of "the survival of the fittest," thus encouraging his fellow countrymen to show compatriotism. This had a far and wide-reaching impact on educational and ideological circles. He later translated of a number of Western sociological works, including "On the Spirit of the Laws"

[12]*Evolution and Ethics* was first printed and published by Shaanxi Weijing Academy of Classical Learning in 1895. It is now stored in Shaanxi Library.

(*Fa Yi*), "Wealth of Nations" (*Yuan Fu*), "Study of Sociology" (*Qun Xue Si Yan*), "Primer of Logic" (*Ming Xue Qian Shuo*), "A System of Logic" (*Mu Le Ming Xue*), "On Liberty" (*Qun Yi Quan Jie Lun*), and "A History of Politics" (*She Hui Tong Quan*),[13] which gained him the reputation as the first enlightenment thinker to systematically spread modern Western doctrines through China. Yan Fu's famous works greatly promoted the dissemination of enlightenment thinking in China.

Tan Sitong (1865–1898), a key figure among the reformists in Hunan Province, distained the Imperial Examination. He stood up for the study of Confucian Classics in the official script of the Han Dynasty. He was so fond of the works of Wang Fuzhi (1619–1692) that he developed Wang's theory of "Tao and Device are inseparable" (*Dao Bu Li Qi*) and put forward the idea of "Constant Progress" (*Ri Xin*). In his book *On Benevolence* (*Ren Xue*), he put forward the doctrine that "Ether" (*Yi Tai*) was the origin of the world and that "Ether" could turn back into "Benevolence." He strongly denounced the autocratic feudal monarchy and believed "two thousand years of Chinese politics were all the Qin Politics and thieves," "the emperor should serve people, government officials should help people," and "the emperor was the tail, while people were foundation" (from *On Benevolence*). He was brave enough to denounce the feudal principle and to call for the country to break away from feudalist networks, establishing an equal society and developing capitalist politics, economy, and culture and promoting reform.

The German invasion and occupation of Jiaozhou Bay at the end of 1897 provoked the 1898 Reform Movement to turn from propaganda to political action. On June 11, 1898, the Emperor Guangxu issued the Decree on National Plan Confirmation (*Ming Ding Guo Shi Zhao*) and officially started the process of reform and self-improvement (from the *Real Record of Dezong Emperor of the Qing Dynasty* (*Qing De Zong Shi Lu*), chapter 418). This was later regarded as the beginning of the Hundred Day's Reform. During this period, the reformists helped the Emperor Guangxu to release over 110 edicts with the contents covering the following aspects: promoting industrial development; establishing national banks, agriculture, industry, and commerce bureaus; encouraging private investment and invention; building railways; exploiting mines; reforming finance and taxation; encouraging freedom of speech and allowing petition; streamlining institutions; straightening official management; amending laws and rules; permitting the establishment of schools and publishing houses; allowing freedom of speech and freedom of the press; reforming the Imperial Examination System; abolishing the old style writing of eight-part essays; initiating the economic discipline; setting up an Imperial University in Peking, primary, junior, and senior schools in each province; sending students abroad; disarming the Green Camp troops (*Lüying*) and giving special training to navy and ground forces; and setting up factories to manufacture guns, bullets, military equipment, and warships.

[13]This was a famous Western book on modern science and sociology translated by Yan Fu. The Commercial Press edited and published it as *Eight Works Translated by Yan Fu* (*Yan Yi Ba Zhong*).

While the reformists were busy drafting and publishing new edicts, the conservatives were busy planning a coup. After several rounds of open and secret strife between the two sides, the Hundred Day's Reform resulted in failure with the beheading of six reformists, including Tan Sitong, at Caishikou. Almost all of the new policies were toppled. Even so, this reform was undoubtedly an important patriotic political movement and represented a profound ideological liberation movement for China. The 1898 Reform Movement was a meaningful experiment in saving the nation from crisis and realizing how the country could be modernized through institutional reform. Its failure was caused by various factors, but it heralded how capitalist revolutionists, headed by Sun Yat-sen, would play a leading role in Chinese history.

The Reform Movement of 1898 did not prevent foreign powers from carving up China, and national and social crises were still evident. It was against this backdrop that the Boxer Rebellion (*Yihetuan Yundong*), with its aim of resisting foreign invasion, broke out in 1900. Spreading over China's vast northern region, the Boxer movement struck a heavy blow against foreign invading forces and marked a peak in the Chinese people's fight against foreign invasion and the division of territory after Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. To cope with such a situation, foreign powers asked the Qing government to on the one hand put down the uprising, while, on the other hand, they amassed forces from eight countries (namely, the UK, Russia, Japan, the USA, France, Germany, Italy, and Austria-Hungary) to suppress the Boxer movement in the Peking and Tianjin region themselves. Under this pressure, the weak Qing government finally surrendered in 1901 and signed the Boxer Protocol (*Xin Chou Tai Yue*), which betrayed China and turned the country into a semicolonial and semifeudal society. The Boxer Rebellion ended in a tragic failure under the joint repression of the Eight-Power Allied Forces and the Qing government, but it left many useful lessons for later generations.

The Boxers fought against foreign invaders and enslavement with arms. They did defend their homeland and national independence, but they could not save the nation from crisis because they were armed with religion and superstition rather than scientific theories, and their struggles were still primitive and inferior in style.

The Boxer Protocol turned the Qing government into a tamed tool by which the foreign powers could control China. China was in a full-blown crisis with its politics, economy, finance, military, foreign policy, and entire society being fully controlled by foreign powers. Thus, the capitalist democratic revolution soon reached a climax, with revolutionists represented by Sun Yat-sen continuously organizing publicity and revolutionary events to unmask the true nature of foreign invasion and the actions by which the Qing government was selling out the nation. They called on people to overthrow the ruling Qing authority, to fight against foreign invasion, and to strive for national independence and liberation.

In the ideological, political, and cultural fight against feudalism, there emerged a number of capitalist revolutionary publicists. Zhang Binglin (1869–1936), Zou Rong (1885–1905), and Chen Tianhua (1875–1905) were outstanding examples. In an article entitled "Refuting Kang Youwei's View on Revolution" (*Bo Kang You Wei Lun Ge Ming Shu*) published in the *Su Bao Daily* (*Su Bao*) in 1903, Zhang Binlin

publicly opposed the view which held that China could only practice a constitutional monarchy instead of revolution. His idea received a far-reaching response. In the same year, Zou Rong published the book *Revolutionary Army (Ge Ming Jun)*, and the *Su Bao Daily* carried articles recommending this book. But this brought about the closure of the *Su Bao Daily* and the imprisonment of Zhang Binglin and Zou Rong by the Qing government and the concession authorities. The so-called *Su Bao Daily* Case stirred up a great sensation at the time. Chen Tianhua wrote two pamphlets entitled "Warning Bell" (*Jiang Shi Zhong*) and "Suddenly Turn Around" (*Meng Hui Tou*) in 1903. The simple language served very well in publicizing democratic, revolutionary, and patriotic thinking. Qiu Jin (1875–1907), a female revolutionist, wrote actively for revolutionary newspapers and magazines to call for equality between men and women and the liberation of women. The spread of democratic and revolutionary thinking made a good preparation for the coming capitalist revolution.

In 1905, Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) and Huang Xin (1874–1916) decided to convene a meeting for the establishment of Chinese Revolutionary League (*Zhong Guo Tong Meng Hui*) in alliance with revolutionary social groups including the Revive China Society (*Xing Zhong Hui*), the China Revive Society (*Hua Xing Hui*), the Restoration League (*Guang Fu Hui*), and the Everyday Learning Society (*Ri Zhi Hui*). Sun was elected premier of the new Chinese Revolutionary League and defined its guiding principle as "Drive away colonial rulers, remove the Qing authority to restore glory of China, establish the country as a republic and give people equal land rights." In a foreword to the "People's Newspaper" (*Min Bao*),[14] he later described this as the Three Principles of the People (*San Min Zhu Yi*), namely, Nationalism (*Minzu*), Democracy (*Minquan*), and the People's Livelihood (*Minsheng*). He pointed out that nationalism meant national revolution with a combination of establishing a unified capitalist country and anti-Qing government ruling actions, while democracy meant political revolution against the feudalist autocracy with the aim of establishing a capitalist republic political system. The national and political revolutions in China must be bound together. People's livelihood, or the right to equal land rights, meant initiating social revolution to avoid social problems stirred up by the internal contradictions of capitalism. The Three Principles of the People did play an active role in promoting revolutionary development, but certain problems sprang up as well. For example, there was no mention of plans for solving farmer's land problems and no proposals for resisting foreign invasion. Still, in any case, this principle expressed the political requirements of capitalists, and it was the foremost principle of the time. Thus, it became a rallying flag and centripetal point uniting all the forces against the Qing government. The founding of the Chinese Revolutionary League and the formulation of the Three Principles of the People showed that the capitalist democratic revolution had definitely arrived.

[14] *China in the twentieth century* (*Er Shi Shi Ji Zhi Zhi Na*), a newspaper which publicized revolutionary ideas, was the predecessor of the *Min Bao Daily* (*Min Bao*). The Chinese Revolutionary League changed the name of the paper after its foundation and made it their official newspaper.

After the establishment of the Chinese Revolutionary League, the revolutionists, for one thing, launched debates with constitutionalists over issues such as whether revolution was needed, whether democratic politics should be practiced, whether a capitalist republic should be set up, and whether the feudalist land system should be changed. The overarching aim was to expand revolutionary forces and to promote a revolutionary atmosphere. These debates[15] freed people's minds to a certain degree and helped to disclose the true nature of the Qing government, which had suppressed the Chinese nationalists while at the same time reaching compromises with foreign invaders. In this way, the movement garnered support. For another thing, the revolutionists organized multiple revolts by relying on members of the league and allied parties. The most notable ones included the Pingliuli Uprising, staged along the border between Hunan and Jiangxi in 1906, the Chaozhou and the Huangguang Uprising of 1907, the Qinzhou and Hekou Uprising in Yunnan Province in 1908, and the Anqing Uprising of 1908. All of these revolts were pure military actions which did not include participation from the general public, so they all ended in failure. Even so, the revolutionists demonstrated their great bravery and a spirit of self-sacrifice, which accelerated the arrival of the high tide of revolution. Apart from this, the revolutionists also carried out a number of assassinations, which exemplified their impatience in mobilizing people. Their actions did now threaten the rule of the Qing authority.

The Qing rulers responded to the rising democratic revolutionary sentiment with some countermeasures. In the first instance, they tried to gain support from constitutionalists, and in the second, they put down revolts and struggles between different localities. Ever since 1900, when the Qing government had published the "New Policy" (*Xin Zheng*),[16] the limits on national capitalist development had been relaxed, while the centralized feudal rule had been strengthened and external relations mitigated. Yet this measure worsened the divisions inside the central ruling party. As a result, local forces such as the one commanded by Yuan Shikai seized their chance and grew stronger, thus intensifying domestic conflicts and the revolutionary situation. Under these circumstances, the Qing authority had no choice but to accept the proposals put forward by constitutionalists and to announce the adoption of a "preliminary constitution" (*Yu Bei Li Xian*). They even dispatched government officials abroad to study constitutional government in order to ease social contradictions and to deceive the public. In November 1908, when the Emperor Guangxu and the Dowager Empress Cixi passed away in close succession, constitutionalists of different provinces took the opportunity and

[15]Frequent debate took place between the constitutionalists and revolutionists before and after the founding of Chinese Revolutionary League. Each side took a media outlet as its public opinion organ. For the constitutionalists, it was the *Xin Min Repository* (*Xin Min Cong Bao*), while for the revolutionists, it was *Min Bao Daily* (*Min Bao*).

[16]At this time, the Qing government was taking refuge in Xi'an. After the International Protocol of 1901 was signed, the Qing Dowager Empress prepared to return to Beijing and issued the New Policy, which was known as the "New Policy on Return" (*Hui Luan Xin Zheng*). Its essence and purpose was to strengthen the ruling of Qing authority and to suppress popular revolt.

launched a peaceful petition, calling for the convention of parliament. In 1911, a responsible cabinet[17] consisting mainly of members of the Manchu royal family was formed. This left the constitutionalists totally disappointed and made them turn their sympathy towards the revolutionists. At this time, the Railway Protection Movement (*Bao Lu Yun Dong*) was in full swing in the provinces of Hunan, Hubei, Guangdong and Sichuan. Among these protests, the Sichuan movement was the one which evolved into an armed struggle. The Qing authority was so shocked that they sent the new army from Hubei Province to put down the armed struggle of the Railway Protection Armed Comrade Forces.

However, revolutionary groups including the Literary Association (*Wenxue She*) and Progressive Society of the New Army (*Gongjin Hui*) initiated an uprising and swiftly occupied Wuchang, Hanyang, and Hankou cities (these three cities have subsequently merged together and are known as Wuhan in the present day). The leaders announced the establishment of the Hubei Military Government and changed the name of the country into "the Republic of China" (*Zhonghua Minguo*). They also called on other provinces to revolt and overthrow the Qing government. Provinces including Hunan and Shaanxi among others responded and extricated themselves from the Qing government. The Wuchang Uprising was an unexpected success. Upon hearing this news, Sun Yat-sen returned from overseas and deliberated over the establishment of the republic. On New Year's Day 1912, the Republic of China was formally founded, with Sun as its president. Ever since then the rule of the Manchu, together with 2,000 years of authoritarian centralized monarchy, has been things of the past in China.[18] In March 1912, President Sun issued the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China (*Zhonghua Minguo Linshi Yuefa*), the first complete constitution for a capitalist republic in Chinese history and a landmark of success in the institutional transformation of both society and culture, though more in a symbolic way. Later on during the rule of the warlords – be it Yuan Shikai, Duan Qirui, Zhang Xun, or Xu Shichang – these men all struggled in vain to find a legitimate basis for restoring autocratic rule in traditional Chinese politics. As Sun Yat-sen claimed, the world tide was moving forward with unstoppable might. Those moving with the current would see prosperity, while those going against it would plunge to their doom.

The achievements of the 1911 Revolution did not lie only in its demolition of the autocratic and decadent Qing government but also in its unprecedented practice of exploring political theory, publicizing scientific thinking and promoting a humanitarian spirit. In their pursuit of political originality, a structure for the political system and ideal politics, Sun Yat-sen and other revolutionists made a break

[17] Government officials from the royal family took the most seats in this on-duty cabinet. Therefore, people called it the "Royal Cabinet." However, not long after, Yuan Shikai assumed the office of prime minister and reshuffled the cabinet. The "Royal Cabinet" ceased to exist.

[18] 1912 marked the beginning of the Republic of China. The Qing Dynasty came to an end and was forced from China's political stage in February of this year. From the time when the Qing troops marched over the Shanhaiguan Pass in 1644, the Qing authority had ruled China for 268 years in total.

from traditional Chinese political theories. They also attached special importance to fostering people's interest in democracy and science and to the study of the relations between science, democratic politics, and moral advancement. They held in esteem the experimental nature of modern science and made a lot of efforts to promote science, laying a foundation for the transformation of traditional Chinese science into modern science. The 1911 Revolution also lifted the heavy curtain for traditional academics to pass into the modern era. Breaking the tether of having to study Confucian Classics, reforming traditional standards of academic value and research methods, and looking for new academic ideas and approaches were the main trends among the academic reforms. The humanist ideal of the 1911 Revolution was sharply different from that of the European Renaissance in that while it revealed the value of people, it did not praise individualism. Rather it tied up the realization of individualism with independence for the country and national liberation. Its scientific thinking did not represent the deepening of humanity as in the west but a simultaneous development of humanity. In other words, the two complemented and promoted each other. Modern European civilization was the continuation of ancient Greek civilization, but modern Chinese academe was not merely the succession of its own traditional academic thought. It absorbed academic thinking and concepts from the Renaissance, so that the transformation of Chinese traditional academics was a fairly complex affair. To gain a clearer picture, scholars must invest more energy and make extra efforts and conduct long-term academic practice.

14.4 The New Culture Movement and the Flourishing and Contentious Intellectual World

After seizing the acting presidency of the Republic of China, Yuan Shikai began to concentrate on fighting the Revolutionists in order to remove potential problems, for he clearly knew that the Revolutionists were stumbling blocks which prevented him from realizing his ambition. As soon as he usurped power, he secretly borrowed vast sums of money to equip his army. This borrowing of capital was known as the "Big Loan to Deal with Problems Arising from the Accident" (*Shan Hou Da Jie Kuan An*). He also plotted the assassination of Song Jiaoren (1882–1913), a Revolutionist leader who strongly advocated democracy and the rule of law. When the truth of Song's assassination came out, Dr. Sun Yat-sen launched the Second Revolution,[19] aimed directly at Yuan Shikai, the northern warlords, and their autocratic rule. Unfortunately, there was a great disparity of strength between them. Two months later, the Second Revolution was put down by Yuan Shikai, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen

[19] "The Second Revolution" is named in continuity with the 1911 Revolution, which was regarded as The First Revolution. This battle took place in 1913, and therefore, it received this name.

fled to Japan where he founded the Revolutionist Party of China[20] in preparation for another chance of an uprising. After he suppressed the Second Revolution and cleared all obstacles out of the way of his ambitions, Yuan first of all forced the parliament to formally elect him president and then permanent president. In the end, he decided to restore the monarchy and to abandon the republic altogether. But his restoration went against the tide of history and did not even receive support from Duan Qirui, Feng Guozhang, or any of his former loyalists. Being utterly isolated and encircled by strident opposition across the country and campaigns calling for a return to the republic, Yuan Shikai died after reigning as emperor for a mere 83 days.

Vice-President Li Yuanhong succeeded to the presidency after Yuan Shikai's death, appointing Duan Qirui as premier. The Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China and its parliament were restored in name, though in reality, state power was still in the hands of the feudal warlords, and China sank into long-term social turbulence. A capitalist democratic system and stability remained as fantasies to the Revolutionists.

Among the northern warlords, there existed several factions, with the strongest one known as *Wan* being led by Duan Qirui and the second strongest *Zhi* being led by Feng Guozhang. In the northeast, Zhang Zuolin headed an in-group known as *Feng*. In the southwest, factions of non-northern warlords also formed in different areas – *Dian* was drawn together by Tang Jiyao and *Gui* by Lu Rongting among others. Large and small independent military forces emerged in almost every locality. In order to seize power at the center, the northern and southern warlords and their factions launched fierce battles both openly and covertly, causing nationwide chaos.

Zhang Xun, the provincial military governor of Anhui, and a persistent supporter of the monarchy, marched into the capital city with his troops in the name of mediating contradictions between President Li Yuanhong and Premier Duan Qirui. Li was forced to step down in June 1917. Then, he and Kang Youwei staged a comeback, reviving the Qing political system and restoring the dethroned Emperor Puyi on the first day of July. Twelve days later, Duan Qirui appointed himself as the commander-in-chief to crusade against the restoration and rebellion. His army rallied in Machang, Tianjin City, driving away Zhang Xun and putting down the rebellion after entering the capital city Beijing. The 12-day political farce thus came to an end.

However, Duan Qirui misjudged the situation, and externally he went and lived as a dependent of the Japanese imperialists and made compromises with foreign forces, while internally, he posed as hero of the republic, adopting a military dictatorship in politics and refusing to restore the Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China and parliament, which had been abolished by Zhang Xun. In the eyes of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, both the constitution and parliament were symbols of the Republic of China, without which, there could be no republic.

[20]The Chinese Revolutionary Party was founded in 1914 and evolved into the Chinese Nationalist Party (or *Kuomintang*) later on.

Dr. Sun disclosed the true nature of Duan Qirui's military dictatorship and vowed to overthrow the fake republic and to restore the true one. He called for actions to restore the Provisional Constitution and parliament. Traveling from Shanghai to Guangzhou, he convened an emergency parliamentary congress with congressmen who had moved to the south and started the constitution protection movement after forming a constitution-protecting military government. Having no army under their control, Dr. Sun and his followers could only rely on the southern warlords, the rivals of the northern warlords. Once the two rival groups came to terms with each other, the movement would collapse in failure. Unfortunately, that became the case. Dr. Sun was very angry and said that the northern and southern warlords were both alike in nature. All movements led by capitalist revolutionists including the Second Revolution (*Er Ci Ge Ming*), the Republic Protection War (*Hu Guo Zhan Zheng*), and the Constitution Protection Movement (*Hu Fa Yun Dong*) ended in failure. The warlord chaos still went on. Facing all these failures and the darkness, Dr. Sun and his comrades did not give up. Instead, they became more courageous and persistent in their search for the truth which would save both the nation and the people.

After the 1911 Revolution, the revolutionists shifted their focus and became heavily committed to setting up industrial enterprises. Therefore, business groups were established one after another in each locality. Beyond the coastal areas, enterprises mushroomed in large and medium-sized cities in inland areas also. Capitalist industries enjoyed new and rapid development in China. The conflicts of World War I (1914–1918) meant that European countries were so preoccupied that they eased their economic plunder in China. Chinese capitalism now had an opportunity to develop fast. The reduction in imported goods provided China with favorable conditions to export goods. Between 1872 and 1911, the total capital of China amounted to 150 million Yuan. However, between 1912 and 1919, 470 mining companies were established, and, taking into consideration the expansion of old enterprises, newly added capital amounted to 140 million Yuan.

The Chinese working class had grown with the fast development of national industries. There were 1.2 million industrial workers in 1913 before World War I, but the number had increased to two million in 1919 prior the May Fourth Movement. The lopsided development and spread of China's capitalist enterprises led to the uneven distribution of the working class, with the majority living in southeastern coastal areas and larger and medium-sized cities along the Yangtze River. Compared with workers in other countries, Chinese workers suffered greater political and economic oppression and exploitation, owing to longer working hours, lower pay, harsher working conditions, and even more intimidation from feudal gang masters. Therefore, the Chinese working classes were more aggressive in their fights against foreign invaders, feudal and capitalism oppression, and exploitation. Strikes and political struggles broke out all the time. For example, on average there were eight strikes every year between 1905 and 1911, which demonstrates that Chinese working class was transforming rapidly from a class-in-itself to a class-for-itself, and it would soon become an independent force on the political stage, bringing a new look to the Chinese revolution.

The capitalist reformists and revolutionists made a number of remarkable theoretical and social achievements in their efforts to publicize modern democratic ideas and culture. They fought against feudalist thinking and culture from the period of the One Hundred Day's Reform until the outbreak of the 1911 Revolution. However, Yuan Shikai took political steps backwards after plundering the fruits of 1911 Revolution and initiated an upsurge in respect for Confucius and for the reading of the Classics among culturally conservative forces. What these people were really doing was not absorbing the essence of Confucian thought and Classics but using them to legitimize the restoration of the feudal moral order and obligation. In response to this, a range of modern cultural pioneers sprang up and launched a much more vigorous movement of new democratic culture in opposition to the old feudalist culture. Their representatives were Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Lu Xun, and Wu Yu among others. Chen Duxiu founded the *New Youth* (*Xin Qing Nian*)[21] magazine in September 1915 and began the "New Culture Movement" (*Xin Wen Hua Yun Dong*).

The *New Youth* magazine was the nexus of the New Culture Movement. In an article in its first issue entitled "Notice to Young People" (*Jing Gao Qing Nian*), it put forward the slogan of "Human Rights" (*Ren Quan*) and "Science" (*Ke Xue*) and raised the twin banners of "Democracy" (*Min Zhu*) and "Science" (*Ke Xue*). What these pioneers meant by "democracy" was the capitalist democratic system and its way of thought. Democracy was a weapon in their attack against the feudalist autocratic system. What they meant by "science" was learning Western science and technology and using scientific methods to understand the world instead of resorting to superstition and ignorance and also the abolition of various corrupt customs. The New Culture Movement, moreover, initiated heated debates on women's liberation, moral revolution, individual independence, and family revolution.

Pioneers of the New Culture Movement used the capitalist theory of democracy and science to attack feudalist autocracy and moral order. Chen Duxiu (1879–1942), Li Dazhao (1889–1927), and many others published articles to expose the danger of feudal moral principles to society and the restraint it imposed upon people's hearts and souls. They believed that three feudal cardinal guides (*San Gang* – the ruler guides his subject, the father guides his son, and the husband guides his wife) were shackles upon people's thinking. The absolute authority of ruler over subordinate, father over son, and husband over wife had been the major cause of inequality in politics and family life. People's personalities were oppressed and even damaged, and the social atmosphere became rigid and depressing, neither of which was beneficial to social development and the advancement of culture. Li Dazhao studied the social and economic root causes of feudal moral principles with historical materialism and revealed the inner relations between moral principles and the social economy. His analysis gave the people a new perspective from which to attack feudal moral principles.

[21] *The Youth Magazine* (*Qing Nian Za Zhi*) changed its name to *New Youth* (*Xin Qing Nian*) from its second issue.

As the New Culture Movement advanced, the revolution in literature was also brought up on the agenda. In the 1st January 1917 issue of *New Youth* magazine Hu Shi published an article entitled "My humble opinion on literature reform" (*Wen Xue Gai Liang Zhu Yi*), which advocated vernacular literature and reforms to literary form. Chen Duxiu put forward an even clearer slogan for the revolution in literature when he called for replacement of aristocratic literature by realistic literature. Li Dazhao published an article "What is new literature" (*Shen Mo Shi Xin Wen Xue*) in the *New Youth* magazine to deeply elaborate the basic features of realistic literature. In novels and essays such as *A Madman's Dairy* (*Kuang Ren Ri Ji*), *Kong Yiji* (*Kong Yi Ji*), and *Medicine* (*Yao*), published in succession in the *New Youth* magazine, Lu Xun (1881–1936) adopted plain and everyday vocabulary and literary techniques to disclose the true nature of feudalist moral orders and to depict the widespread mentalities of ignorance, numbness, and meekness among people of low social status. All of the aforesaid authors left a shocking impression upon readers and contributed to the revolution in literature.

The New Culture Movement was mainly concerned with the ideology and culture of Chinese society. It also touched upon democracy and science, morality and ethics, customs and traditions, culture and education. Its major purpose was to fight the countercurrent of showing respect for Confucius and for reading the Classics in the ideological and culture fields. Calling for a reevaluation of traditional Chinese culture, the movement represented a critical spirit and rational thought from a deeper perspective. It is fair to say that the New Culture Movement was the first deep self-examination and introspection of traditional ideology and culture in Chinese history. The pioneers of new culture did not totally abandon traditional Chinese culture but only criticized its negative elements. Some did opine that all traditional Chinese culture should be negated and discarded, while Western culture should prevail in China. However, this was not the dominant trend. For example, some scholars said that Chinese Classics should be put away and China should use Esperanto, abandoning the Chinese language altogether. Not long afterwards, Chen Duxiu wrote in the *New Youth* magazine criticizing this contention and explained that none of his colleagues agreed with this extreme view and attitude. It was during this period that many valuable and remarkable achievements were made by Chinese intellectuals in the fields of language, arts, and literature.

The ideological and cultural world of China at this time could be best described as "a hundred flowers blossoming and a hundred schools of thought in contention." The new cultural pioneers welcomed all sorts of social theories from the west, including Tolstoy's Pan Labors, Guild Socialism, New Village Socialism, Work-Study Mutual Aid Theory, Anarchism, Democratic Revolutionary Theory, Scientific Socialism, German Philosophy, and British Economy. They did not locate traditional Chinese culture as being the polar opposite of Western culture. Instead, they allied Chinese culture to anything and everything from Western culture that was perceived as good. This was actually rationalism both in thinking and theory. This attitude gave rise to rumination over the strengths and weaknesses of both cultures and what essences of Western culture should China learn from and what dregs it should discard. At least, there existed a common knowledge that the reform of traditional

Chinese culture must depend upon the spirit of Western science and democracy to succeed. As was pointed out gravely by Chen Duxiu, science and democracy must be used to save China from darkness in politics, morality, academics, and ideology. The new cultural pioneers told the Chinese people clearly that China must uphold the banner of science and democracy to go along with the international trend of modernization. In addition, Chinese people must accept the concepts of Western democracy and science; realize equality by law, independence ethically, and freedom in thinking; and get rid of superstition and blind faith in academic work. Only by doing so could China experience revival and the Chinese nation be rejuvenated.

The October Socialist Revolution broke out in Russia in 1917. This world-shaking event exerted a tremendous impact on Chinese politics and ideology. Some progressive Chinese transformed themselves from being capitalist democrats to communists. On the one hand, they actively introduced the October Socialist Revolution and its achievements, together with Marxism and Leninism to China; on the other, they paid close attention to popular uprisings and struggles across China. Li Dazhao published successive articles to introduce Marxism and the October Socialist Revolution – namely, "The Bolshevik Victory" (*Buershiwei Zhuyi de Shengli*) and "My Marxist View" (*Wode Makesi Zhuyi Guan*) – and made an important contribution to publicizing Marxism in China.

In the latter half of the New Culture Movement, there was an upsurge in the study, learning, and spread of Marxism and Leninism. China's diplomatic failure at the Paris Peace Conference in May 1919 was a direct cause of the outbreak of the patriotic and anti-imperialist May Fourth Movement (*Wusi Yundong*). After this, the Chinese working class ascended to the political stage and became the leading and core force of the Chinese revolution. The emergence of the May Fourth Movement represented the turning point for the Chinese Democratic Revolution. It marked the end of the old democratic revolution and China's failed attempt to follow the Western path towards modernization. From then on, a new democratic revolution began and the Chinese revolution entered a new era.

14.5 Victory for China's Democratic Revolution

The most resounding slogan of the May Fourth Movement in 1919 was "Punishing Traitors and Fighting for National Rights." As a matter of fact, this large-scale mass campaign was mainly directed against imperialist invasion and the military autocracy of the northern warlords. The movement was also regarded as an initiation into patriotic education for Chinese people. Most importantly, the Chinese working class displayed their political strength in this movement. This movement also witnessed the establishment of communist groups in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, and many other cities. With the organization and publicity efforts of these groups, Marxist theory gradually became integrated with Chinese revolutionary practice and the rising working class movement. It was against this theoretical and social

background that the Communist Party of China (CPC) was founded on July 23, 1921. From then on, a core leadership for Chinese democratic revolution and socialist construction came into being.

With the help of the Comintern and the CPC, Dr. Sun Yat-sen reformed the Nationalist Party or "Kuomintang" (KMT for short) and convened the First National Congress of the KMT in Guangzhou in 1924. During this session of the Congress, he put forward three major policies of uniting with Russia, the CPC, and helping farmers and industrial workers and also redefined his old Three Principles of the People with new ones. He opposed invading foreign forces, called for a fundamental solution to farmers' land problems and the realization of the idea of land for all who farmed. He also stood for unity with farmers and industrial workers and relied on them in the fight against the autocracy of the northern warlords. The greatness of Dr. Sun Yat-sen lay in the fact that he went along with the tide of historical development, he cared for people's wellbeing and the country's fate, and he continuously augmented his thinking so as to provide new solutions to China's problems. After this Congress, there was initially close cooperation between the CPC and the KMT. The May Thirtieth Movement in 1925 elevated the Chinese revolution to a new height. The two parties formed the Northern Expeditionary Army in the summer of 1926, and within a very short period of time, they had defeated the main forces of the warlords Wu Peifu and Sun Chuanfang. The national revolution swept across half of China, the rule of the northern warlords was swiftly crushed, and there were fundamental changes in China's political situation. With the victory of the Northern Expedition and an ever-growing workers' and farmers' movement, the revolutionary atmosphere soared. Nevertheless, Chiang Kai-shek, who grew strong within the national revolutionary forces, launched a coup and slaughtered many Communist Party members and revolutionaries. The dynamic and vigorous revolution finally ended up in failure.

The Nanjing-based KMT Government was established after the failure of the national revolution. However, this government could not solve the fundamental contradictions of Chinese society either. Instead, a new round of fighting between warlords brought more disasters to China than had ever been seen before. It was under these difficulties that the CPC began to play a leading and independent role in the armed struggle. The Nanchang Uprising of 1927 marked the founding of the Red Army of Workers and Farmers under the leadership of the CPC. More than 100 uprisings took place before and after this one, laying a solid foundation for the growth of the Red Army and its rural bases. The communists explored a new way of revolution with Chinese characteristics, wresting control of national power through armed struggles from villages to cities.

The national crisis deepened as the social conflicts within China grew more complicated. In 1931, Japanese invaders brazenly committed what became known as the "September 18th Incident" or the "Mukden Incident" (*Jiuyiba Shibian*). The Nanjing Government adopted a policy of nonresistance and of pursuing civil war against the communists first, with the effect that within 3 months, the total territory of three northeastern provinces had been trampled and their people were being

intimidated by the Japanese. Not long afterwards, in 1935, Japanese launched a new invasion upon China, which became known as the "North China Incident" (*Huabei Shibian*). At this critical time, national salvation organizations involving various social groups and circles came into being, and many people shared the common aspiration of ending the Civil War and fighting the invaders as a united front. After breaking through the numerous encirclements of the KMT armies, the CPC and Worker's and Farmer's Red Army decided to march northward and fight the Japanese invaders. Following a long march of 125,000 km, which had them pass over snowy mountains and grasslands and experience many hardships, the soldiers of the Red Army arrived in the northern part of Shaanxi Province, which became the seat of the Central Committee of the CPC and the base of the Chinese Revolution for 14 years. The Xi'an Incident occurred in 1936, bringing the 10-year long Civil War to a close, and a united front was formed to fight against Japanese invaders.

After initiating the attack which became known as the "Marco Polo Bridge Incident" (*Qiqi Shibian*) on July 7, 1937, the Japanese invading troops launched a full-scale attack on China and ignited the anti-Japanese War. In the frontline battlefields, the KMT troops and compatriots bravely and enthusiastically struck against the invaders who largely outnumbered them. Wars in the frontline attracted the major forces of the Japanese and created favorable conditions for the opening of a new battlefield by the CPC behind enemy lines. The Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army under the leadership of the CPC went deep into the northern and middle parts of China behind the Japanese frontline and set up a number of anti-Japanese bases. In 1944, after arduous defense and periods of deadlock, the Chinese began an all-out fight back against the Japanese, which coincided with the progress of the worldwide antifascist war. Soldiers and civilians in the liberated areas under the leadership of the CPC conducted more than 20,000 military operations and liberated 80,000 km^2 of land together with two million people. They became the leading and major force in the counterattack. The Japanese imperialists declared surrender in August 1945. The 8-year long anti-Japanese War came to an end, but the Chinese people paid a high price for the victory in this war.

Tremendous changes took place in both the international situation and the domestic political situation in China after the victory in the anti-Japanese War. The KMT and the CPC signed a "Double 10 Agreements" (*Shuang Shi Xie Ding*), but the KMT showed no intention of ending its single-party hegemony, which gave rise to strong dissatisfaction from all democratic parties and circles of society. Chiang Kai-shek planned to solve this problem and to subdue popular discontent and protests with military forces, wiping out the CPC and its bases. A large-scale Civil War broke out again in June 1946. Although proud of its military advantage and economic strength, the KMT authority was encircled by all people across the country and lurched into an unprecedented military, political, and economic crisis. Forced to shift its strategy from an overall defense to the defense of key points, the KMT rule began to teeter. By now, the conditions were ripe for the People's Liberation Army to strike the final and decisive blow. Victories in three of the most famous battles in Chinese modern history – the Battle of Liaoshen, the Battle of Huaihai, and the

Battle of Pingjin – laid the groundwork for the crossing of the Yangtze River and the liberation of the whole country. On April 21, 1949, widespread battles broke out along the Yangtze River, and the people's liberation war ended in triumph all over China.

On the eve of the imminent victory in the War of Liberation, the CPC convened its Second Plenary Meeting of the Seventh Party Congress in Xibaipo, Pingshan County, Hebei Province, in March 1949. This meeting prepared the party for the mission of building a new China in terms of ideology, organization, and policy. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference was held in Beijing in September of the same year. This finalized the nature of the regime and agreed on several domestic and foreign policies. The founding ceremony of the People's Republic of China (PRC) was held on October 1st. Chairman Mao Zedong raised the first five-starred red flag and declared the inauguration of the PRC and the rise of the Chinese people. The founding of the PRC marked the victory of China's new democratic revolution across the country and the beginning of a new historical era in the revolution and construction of China. Mao Zedong (1893–1976) was a great Marxist, one of the founding fathers of the CPC and the People's Army. It was under his leadership that after half a century of struggle, the CPC and the Chinese people won the great victory of the new democratic revolution and created the PRC. It was also under his helmsmanship that the CPC and the Chinese people explored ways to build a socialist country. It was he who combined the general principle of Marxism with China's specific revolutionary practice and made great contributions to the Chinese people and the people of the world as a whole.

China began its transformation towards modernization after the Opium War. This transformation included the sphere of social culture. Yet radical changes in mind-set always went hand in hand with the transformation of society, politics, and economy from the old style to the modern. It was true to say that, to a certain degree, the change of mind-set laid the foundation to changes which had to take place in other areas. From the "Chinese Body and Western Means" theory of 1860s to the "Survival of the Fittest" evolutionary theory of 1890s and the "Freedom, Equality, Universal Love" capitalist democratic ideological culture of the early twentieth century and from the "Democracy and Science" (*Minzhu yu Kexue*) rationalist thinking and culture proposed by the New Culture Movement to the triumph of socialist thought over other new schools of thinking, it can be seen that all of them aimed to provide China with ideas of seeking equal status with other nations, gaining independence and reforming traditional thinking and culture and, most importantly, modernizing the country.

After the New Culture Movement, various cultural factions were keen on questions of social reform. The KMT government in Nanjing adopted Dai Jitaoism as its ideological and cultural basis after the failure of the Great Revolution. This cultural model was actually a regressive form of "Chinese Knowledge as Main Body and Western Learning as Means" (*Zhong Ti Xi Yong*) and a legacy from the Chinese Feudalism Confucius Orthodoxy. The national government passed a resolution to respect Confucius throughout the whole society and launched a New Life Movement (*Xinsheng Huo Yundong*) to promote the virtues of politeness,

righteousness, integrity, and shame in people's daily life. The academic world began to take cultural standardization very seriously. They suggested that China should be built into a country which combined traditional Chinese thought with modern Western science and technology and traditional spiritual culture with modern material culture.

The cultural outlook of Chinese national capitalists was one typical of nationalism. In terms of culture, nationalism could be divided into two factions: "Nationalism" and "Warring State Strategy-ism." The Nationalist faction was also known as the "Awakening Lion" (*Xing Shi Pai*) faction,[22] which was mainly composed of students returning from Europe, who accepted Western modern nationalism thinking and maintained that the solution to China's social and national problems lay in the adoption of nationalistic theory and measures. Their main points were as follows: people living in society should develop a strong consciousness of their identity and dependence; they should form a sense of group-self, which would then evolve into a national personality, the so-called national spirit. On this foundation, each member of the society should value "nation first" and reject individualism. Externally, they stuck to maintaining independence and opposed attachment to other countries. Domestically, they were against the class struggle and any form of single-party dictatorship; they called for united efforts to achieve prosperity for the motherland. However, this faction transformed itself into one that advocated the "Warring State Strategy" (*Zhan Guo Ce Pai*)[23] during the World War II period. They believed that humankind has entered a "Big Warring State" stage after progressing from the sixteenth to eighteenth century to the Napoleonic Era. The current world was full of immoral and noneconomical impulses, and only war could finally settle these. Facing such a situation, Chinese society would have no choice but to adopt policies which placed the interests of nation and country above everything else, following the precedents of national heroes like Napoleon and opposing any forms of individualism. Only by doing this could China become a prosperous and strong nation. The cultural background to both factions was nationalist theory from the west, with the main idea of building an independent, rich, and strong China. These cultural views could be justified by their historical advancement, but they did not correspond to the national conditions of China. They were, therefore, not chosen by Chinese people.

Liang Shuming's (1893–1988) Rural Reconstruction theory and practice was distinctive. He believed that in order to realize the dream of revival, Chinese people could only follow the path of agricultural civilization but not the Western road under the guidance of Western culture. The development of China should start with a socio-ethic mutual insurance system, followed by village self-rule, and then

[22] *The Awakening Lion* (*Xing Shi*) weekly magazine was initiated in Shanghai in 1924. It publicized the idea of nationalism, so the Nationalist Faction was also called the Awakening Lion Faction.

[23] *The Warring State Strategy* (*Zhan Guo Ce*) was a biweekly magazine initiated in Kunming during the World War II and then continued as the subordinate to the *Da Gong Bao* in Chongqing. The Nationalists, or the Awakening Lion Faction, developed into the Warring State Strategy Faction.

the expansion of small-scale self-rule to large-scale rule, gradually applying this principle to the whole society, until a rural civilization was realized in the end. The fundamental issue of rural construction lay in a new social organization which could unite all residents of a village. This organization could be divided into sections such as the chief of a town, a rural school, the village office, and the village assembly, whose functions were training, supervision, designing, promotion, leadership in handling local affairs, and the establishment of local laws. The target of this plan was to build a healthy and complete rural society, to develop the rural economy, and to facilitate the evolution of the nation into a modern industrialized country on the basis of rural economy. The origins of the rural construction theory still lay in the concepts of traditional patriarchal ethics, blood, and family ties. This type of social reform was rather Utopian in some senses. It was far removed from the target of building an industrialized country and, therefore, this visionary plan could not be carried out in practice.

In the spheres of Chinese ideology and culture, those who looked up to Western culture, social freedoms, and democratic politics were known as the Liberals (*Zi You Zhu Yi Pai*). They tried hard to make modern Western social political theory the guiding ideology for the building of Chinese society. Hu Shi was a representative of Chinese Liberalism. He once put forward the concept of liberal human rights, the theory of a state for the entire population (*Quan Min Guo Jia Guan*), and the concept of above-classes legal system (*Chao Jie Ji De Fa Zhi Guan*). He said that his idea about human rights was to provide every condition possible for human existence, individuality and personality advancement, and the greatest happiness for the vast majority of people. Meanwhile, the function of the state was to protect of the rights of all its nationals, to train its people to make good use of all their rights. Human rights existed prior to the law and laws must be made by people. These ideas had not broken away from modern Western capitalist enlightenment thinking, because in an actual sense, what they were asking for was still freedom, equality, democracy, and law. Their political attitude served as the middle way in social practice, owing to the fact that their political requirements and ideas did not conform to the social reality of China and it was unrealistic for China to copy the model of Western countries through peaceful means such as reform.

The primary question studied seriously by the Chinese Communists was also the path and direction that China's future development should take. In his "Theory of New Democracy" (*Xin Min Zhu Zhu Yi Lun*) published in 1943, Mao Zedong mapped out the guiding principle for the construction of a new democratic politics, economy, and culture. He systematically and comprehensively elaborated this grand program. In terms of politics, China should adopt a joint dictatorship for all the revolutionary classes under the leadership of the proletariat, build a regime with the system of democratic centralism, and convene a national congress to elect a formal joint government; in terms of economy, China should restrain capital; equalize land ownership; nationalize big banks, industries, and business; wipe out feudal relations in rural areas; and give land to farmers as private property. In terms of culture, China should build a national, scientific, and public culture diametrically opposed to imperialist oppression and feudal culture. This should safeguard national

independence and dignity, clear up traditional culture, and serve more than 90% of general public with industrial workers and farmers as the core. To sum up, the essence of this program was a joint people's democratic dictatorship with the industrial workers and farmers forming the base and the CPC acting as the leadership. The program advocated a national, scientific, and public culture policy and enabled the further development of economy with national ownership as the leading force and five other economic elements coexisting side by side to realize industrialization and the transformation of the country from an agriculture-based one into a modern industrialized one. The new plan for building a democratic state presented by the CPC conformed to the historical trend of the world and represented the direction of China's progress. It also reflected the fundamental interests of the general public. Thus, it became a reality in China.

In the 110 years from the Opium War to the founding of the PRC, the Chinese people experienced innumerable trials and hardships, bloodshed, and loss of lives, but finally they realized national independence and liberation, drove away foreign invaders, and embarked on the road towards modernization. This century witnessed the most violent social changes and the most rapid reorientation of people's mind-set in Chinese history. It also witnessed the transformation of China from the Middle Ages to modern times. China did not follow the old path of Western countries in its drive towards modernization simply because this would not work. China has its own history and national condition and must follow its own path. In spite of problems and setbacks along the way, the Chinese people won the final victory of New Democratic Revolution, and they are also able to win the victory of building socialism. The ongoing revival of the Chinese nation continues to require long-term, hard, and unremitting efforts.

Chapter 15
A General Progression to the Socialist Modernization of the People's Republic of China

It has been more than 50 years since the New China was established. In order to revitalize the great Chinese nation, the Communist Party has unceasingly explored ways and means to build up a powerful and modern country. The objective has been not only to achieve a higher level of national prosperity but to ensure the comprehensive progress of society for all its citizens. Guided by three generations of Communist Party leaders, including Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin, this exploration has undergone a transition from new democracy to socialism. With the framework of a socialist construction in place, it is possible to take a look back at this historic turning point in the overall growth of China, to carve out a future path and stride together into the twenty-first century. This transition has rejuvenated the great nation by bringing about a historical change in China's national and social outlook. It has laid a solid foundation for a prosperous and strong state government and provided the people with the opportunity to live a moderately prosperous life. This chapter will endeavor to offer insights into socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics and to provide a historical review of modern China's exploration in this regard as well as its overall development.

15.1 Completing the Transition from New Democracy to Socialism

Looking back to when the Communist Party of China was founded and after having taken a long hard look at the continued failures of the old democratic revolutions, the leaders determined that socialism was the essential way to revitalize the Chinese nation and to establish a modern and powerful state. Given that the Old China was both semicolonial and semi-feudalist in nature, laden with economic and cultural backwardness, the leaders of the Communist Party of China led by Mao Zedong

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determined that the next stage of China's development should unfold in two ways. The first was to gain sovereignty and at the same time create a new democratic society. The second was to launch a revolution while setting up a basic system of socialism. This would lay the foundation necessary for building up a modern country. Therefore, after the New China was founded, the Party led the whole nation in conducting a socialist transformation by completing the tasks left by the old democratic revolution and by rehabilitating the economy. It took 7 years – from October 1949, when the New China was founded, to October 1956 – to move from new democracy to socialism. These were "the seven years in which the socialist transformation was basically accomplished," and this change is usually referred to as "the transitional period" (*Guo du shi qi*).

According to how the principal contradiction changed and China's major tasks, this period can be divided into two segments, namely, the first 3 years and the remaining 4 years.

During the first 3 years, China's main focus was on reform, in order to rehabilitate the economy and to prepare for further large-scale economic growth, or as it would come to be called, a period of democratic construction and national economic recovery. Led by the Party, the people in the country had succeeded in eliminating the remnant of the Kuomintang armed forces and had struggled against bandits and hegemony, as well as suppressing counterrevolutions. China also established and consolidated the people's government at all levels, confiscated bureaucratic capitalist enterprises to build a state-owned economy, stabilized the market economy, and created a united fiscal policy. With commercial industry properly adjusted, the country formed an economic order defined by a state-owned economy. Land reform was accomplished in new districts, and a variety of social reforms were carried out in urban areas and the countryside. Effective changes had been made in the old cultural industries. "Three Evils" (*Sanfan*) and "Five Evils" (*Wufan*) were implemented. By the time the Korean War took place, the Chinese economy that had been seriously destroyed in the Old China (before 1949) had experienced recovery, and the national industrial and agricultural production reached their highest levels in 1952. By 1952, industrial and agricultural outputs, in commodities such as steel, coal, power, crude oil, concrete, grain, and cotton, all far exceeded the highest production in the year before liberation. Compared with 1949, industrial and agricultural production in 1952 increased by 77.5 % (total industry output increased by 145 % and agricultural output increased by 48.5 %), the average salary of employees increased by approximately 70 %, and farmers' incomes increased by over 30 %. This rapid recovery and development – among other factors – laid the framework needed for socialist transformation and massive economic construction.

There were various reasons why the new democratic construction developed so rapidly over the first 3 years. One of the main reasons for this was that the Party and government had adhered to China's actual present conditions to implement a series of principles which proved to be correct. Specifically, it had correctly distinguished friend from foe in politics and had determined not to "fight in all directions" (*bu yao si mian chu ji*), insisting on uniting most of the people. As a result, the

national capitalist class was stabilized. As far as the economy was concerned, it had effectively dealt with the relations between the state-owned economy and the private capitalist economy (the individual economy, the state capitalist economy, and cooperative economy). Led by the state-owned economy, they cooperated according to a division of labor and demands, which in turn strongly promoted China's national economic recovery. During the initial stage when the New China had just been founded, there were a great number of political activities. At that time, the country was able to pay more attention to resuming production, responsibly dealing with relations between politics and the economy, and coordinating large-scale political mass movements related to economic construction, all of which had helped improve the national economy. As these movements unfolded, called the "Three Evils" (*Sanfan*) and "Five Evils" (*Wufan*), adjustment to industry and commerce became important, and grassroots movements had set the stage for socialist transformation. Therefore, the 3-year recovery was the preparation for the socialist transformation.

During the last 4 years of this transitional period, the focus was intensified on carrying out the Party line and on completing the socialist transformation of private agriculture, including handicrafts, capitalist industry, and commerce, as well as developing a large-scale socialist industrial construction which was the core of the "First Five-Year Plan" (*Yi Wu*).

Regarding the transition from new democracy to socialism at the dawn of the founding of the New China, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had conceived that after the revolution succeeded, it would take 10 or 15 years of new democratic construction to industrialize the state and to improve the state-owned economy, followed by a "violent socialist step" (*yanzhong de shehui zhuyi buzhou*) to nationalize the private enterprises and to collectivize private agriculture. However, after dedicating itself to rehabilitating the national economy from the time the New China came into being, due to the country's overall development combined with the accumulation of new experiences, the Party began to adjust and form new thoughts about the socialist transition. In June 1952, Mao Zedong pointed out that "[w] ith the overthrow of the landlord class and the bureaucrat-capitalist class, the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie has now become the principal contradiction in China" (*Mao Zedong Manuscript after the Founding of China*, Volume 3, Page 458 – *Jianguo Yilai Mao Zedong Wengao,* di san ce, 458 ye). Given this statement, it was clear that the Party also needed to adjust the focus of the central government accordingly. In September of that year, for the first time, during a meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mao Zedong put forward the following idea: it would take 10–15 years to complete the fundamental elements of a socialist transition. After June 1953, the Central Committee of the Communist Party seriously discussed this issue again and again. As a result, they formulated and published the general line of the Party regarding the period of transition which went as such: "From the founding of the People's Republic of China to the basic completion of socialist transformation, there will be a period of transition. The general line and tasks during this period will take a relatively long time; to gradually achieve the socialist industrialization of China,

and to gradually achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce" (extracted from *Outlines for Studying and Propagating the Party's General Line in the Period of Transition* Volume 4, Page 701 in *Selections of Important Documentations since the Founding of China – Guanyu dang zai guodu shiqi zong luxian de xuexi he xuanchuan tigang*, in *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian*, di si ce 701 ye). This policy simultaneously upheld socialist construction while also supporting the overall transformation.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China had profound reasons for putting forward the general line of "state industrialization and the three transformations of industry, agriculture, and capitalist industry and commerce" (*Yi Hua San Gai*) at a time when the country had begun to adapt to a trend towards both political and economic development.

First, it was an objective requirement for the rapid development of a state-owned economy, the smooth implementation of the "First Five-Year Plan," and the realization of socialist industrialization. In China, because the national capitalist economy was weak, history proved that the national capitalist class was not able to successfully lead the Chinese democratic revolution, nor was it able to undertake the heavy task of industrializing the nation. Ever since China was founded, through the confiscation of bureaucratic capital and the rapid development of newly established state-owned enterprises, the socialist state-owned economy has not only become a major economic force supporting state finance, stabilizing the economy, and ensuring people's livelihoods but also became a structural feature of China's basic industry. The major task of the "First Five-Year Plan" which started in 1953 could only have been undertaken through state-owned enterprises. In order to bring about industrialization in China, the country had to rely on a socialist state-owned economy, not just a private capitalist economy. Based on the general Party line of how the "state industrialization and the three transformations of industry, agriculture, and capitalist industry and commerce" rapidly developed and strengthened the state-owned economy, the entire national economy – including the movement from a private capitalist economy into socialist economy – was transformed. The Party had adapted to complete a large-scale industrialization of the state. Secondly, when the New China was founded, and with the development of policy, limiting and transforming capitalist industry and commerce, especially during the process of adjusting industry and commerce, a series of low to high state capitalist methods were created. These included orders for processing, distribution, and selling on a commission basis, uniting purchases and sales and public-private partnership among others, which indicated that the state had indeed established the much needed channels for transforming capitalist industry and commerce to socialism. Arising in villages after land transformation had begun, agricultural production organizations from the lowest to the highest levels, as well as mutual assistance groups known as communal cooperative institutions, marked the beginning of a transition from individual agriculture to socialist collectivism. From this point onward, the Party made it possible to change the previous method of "elimination all at one time" (*yiju xiaomie*) (put forward 10 years earlier) into the method of "transition step-by-step" (*zhubu guodu*). Additionally, the international environment at that time

was also an important factor. China had resisted US aggression and aided Korea; however, the threat of imperialist powers still existed. Therefore, China had to take the opportunity to develop rapidly and to strengthen its governmental power. Meanwhile, the development of the Soviet Union also set a model for China. Given these circumstances, the general line during this period of transition put forward by the Central Committee of the Communist Party was carefully considered and conformed to the actual development of China at that time.

When the general Party policy regarding the transitional period was publicized, it received the heartfelt support of the people and became a new guideline for uniting and mobilizing the whole nation to struggle together and establish a strong and modern socialist country. Soon afterwards the Party put forward and carried out a series of creative policies and measures, with Chinese characteristics, on the basis of establishing a basic political and economic system for socialism. This action of laying down the material foundations for socialism, while implementing the general line of the transitional period according to the actual conditions of the country, allowed China to achieve steady and ongoing progress.

First, the country developed a unique road of socialist transformation for China and completed both profound and complicated social changes through confiscating private ownership and establishing a fundamental system of socialism. This important landmark in the development of China laid a foundation for future growth and the comprehensive progress of the society. This transformation was realized through a gradual transition from lower to higher levels, avoiding the damage to production that might be caused by any sudden changes. This transformation resolved the antagonistic contradiction of exploitation between the working class and the capitalist class while avoiding generating strong social unrest. It combined the transformation of its people with that of the economic system and was a success in facilitating both processes.

Second, as symbolized by the first National People's Congress in 1954 and the first Socialist Constitution of the People's Republic of China (*Zhonghua Renmin Gong He Guo Xian Fa*) which was based on a people's democratic dictatorship (*renmin minzhu zhuanzheng*),[1] China had formed a fundamental socialist political system. It was comprised of the People's Congress, multiparty cooperation, political consultation, and the regional autonomy of ethnic minorities under the leadership of the Communist Party. This laid the foundation for building up socialist politics with unique Chinese characteristics.

Third, given the large-scale development of the "First Five-Year Plan's" economic construction, characterized by building heavy industry composed of 156 of the Soviet Union's most important projects and no less than 694 construction units,

[1]The concept of a "democratic dictatorship" may seem like an oxymoron when translated into the English language. Essentially it enshrines the belief that the Communist Party of China governs the state on behalf of and in the interests of the people. In order to ensure that civil order is maintained and that institutions do not fall under the control of reactionary forces or the bourgeoisie, the Party gave itself the right to deploy direct, even what some might call "dictatorial," measures.

the industry had achieved much more than that of the Old China in the previous 100 years. These accomplishments had strengthened the socialist financial structure and laid a foundation for socialist industrialization. In addition, during the period of the "First Five-Year Plan," China had adhered to developing the economy based on the country's practical situation and complied with the principle of seeking truth from facts.[2] This included implementing the principle of independence when being assisted by foreign aid, developing heavy industry as a priority and at the same time supporting the growth of agriculture and light industry, correctly dealing with the relationship between supply and demand, and so forth. All this accumulated experience thus helped the country prepare for further socialist construction in the future.

During the latter part of the socialist transformation, some problems remained. These included such things as "hurried requirements, doing a careless job, hasty change, and methods that were too simple." The root cause was that the Party had made mistakes in both how to understand socialism and how to achieve it. At that time, common thought dictated that the country should quickly turn private ownership of production into a single socialist public system, emphasizing that "the essence of the general line during the transition period is to make the socialist ownership of production the single economic basis for the country and society" (*Selection of Important Documentations Since the Founding of China*, Volume 4, Page 702 – *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian*, di si ce 702 ye). This gave birth to a tendency of "seeking purity" (*qiuchun*) and being "too hasty" (*guoji*). However, as it was pointed out in 1981 in *Resolution on Some Historic Problems Since the Founding of China* (*Guanyu jianguo yilai dang de ruogan lishi wenti de jueyi* hereafter simplified as *Resolution on History – Lishi Jueyi*) in such a large country with hundreds of millions of people, the achievement of such complicated, difficult, and profound changes in society had indeed also facilitated the development of industry, agriculture, and the whole national economy. Overall it was a great victory in history. There is no doubt that this laid a very solid basis for Chinese socialist modernization.

15.2 The Preliminary Exploration of Socialist Construction

The smooth transformation towards socialism and its fundamental completion in advance of the "First Five-Year Plan" galvanized the whole nation to continue

[2]When Mao Zedong used the phrase "Seek truth from facts" (*shí shì qiu shì*), he was actually invoking a "set phrase" (*chengyu*) which goes back long into the Chinese past. The four-character expression appeared as early as the *History of the Han Dynasty* (*Hanshu*) and may have been remembered by Mao from an inscription at his alma mater, Hunan's First Teachers Training School. Whereas it originally denoted an attitude towards study and research, Mao Zedong deployed it during a speech at the Sixth National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 1938, in reference to pragmatism.

to build a powerful socialist country. The guideline of establishing socialism was put forward by the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party held in September 1956 where the People's Republic of China had comprehensively decided to devote itself to socialist construction. However, this preliminary exploration was so difficult that not only were there many achievements but also severe setbacks. The Communist Party had in fact just begun to independently explore the path to socialist construction. After having gained a decade of comprehensive socialist construction, China at that time spent another 10 years of hardship during the Cultural Revolution (*Wenhua Da Geming*)[3] as a consequence of the Party's guideline diverting them from the right track. The Cultural Revolution resulted in the failure of the Party to bring about socialist modernization as specified by the Eighth Congress.

Around the time of the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party, China had set off on a preliminary exploration of comprehensive socialist construction.

On the eve of the New China's Eighth Congress, taking into account the problems the Soviet Union's socialist construction had to deal with at their Twentieth Congress,[4] the Central Committee of the Communist Party explicitly maintained their wish to "avoid the Soviet Union's failures" (*yi su wei jian*) and establish socialism in its own way. Later, based on Mao Zedong's investigation and summary of experiences regarding the planned economic construction during the "First Five-Year Plan," he made a report, known as *The Major Relationships* (*Lun Shi Da Guanxi*), elaborating on ten aspects of existing contradictions in the socialist construction. He pointed out some basic principles to resolve these contradictions and to mobilize the people's enthusiasm from every angle. In effect this was actually new thought and principles comprehensively establishing socialism under the leadership

[3] Although the roots of the Cultural Revolution can be traced back to earlier events, such as Mao Zedong's rejection of Revisionism in 1960, its starting point is on May 1966 when the Politburo released a series of documents which touched upon the recent dismissals of the director of the Party's General Office Yang Shangkun, the Chief of Staff of the People's Liberation Army Luo Ruiqing, the Mayor of Beijing Peng Zhen, and the Director of the Propaganda Department Lu Dingyi. The documents alleged that there were enemies within the Party which could only be rooted out by using the scrutinizing lens of Mao Zedong Thought. The decade which followed witnessed a series of mass movements and purges, with much of the grassroots activities being undertaken by youths belonging to the Red Guards. Party cadres accused of being "capitalist roaders" (*Zou zipai*) were frequently humiliated and persecuted in public, even to the point of death. By 1968 (largely aided by the "Gang of Four"), the movement spread to the military, and the cult of Mao's personality was ubiquitous and enshrined by the publication of his *Quotations* (*Mao Zhuxi Yulu*) in the form of the so-called Little Red Book, the foreword of which was written by Lin Biao. With Mao Zedong Thought becoming the guideline for life and conduct, university students were compelled to suspend their studies and spend time being "reeducated" through working among the proletariat on the land. Campaigns were also launched against traditional Chinese modes of thought, such as Confucianism. Although Mao declared that the Cultural Revolution had come to an end in 1969, in reality it continued until the arrest of its key players, the Gang of Four, in 1976.

[4] Khrushchev's speech at the Twentieth Soviet Congress had explicitly addressed the problems caused by the Cult of Personality as had latterly grown up around the late paramount leader Stalin. The Eighth Congress of the CCP removed Mao Zedong Thought from the Party Constitution and placed greater emphasis on pragmatic construction.

of the Party. Before long, the Party put forward the "double hundred" (*Shuang bai*) policy regarding China's scientific and cultural fields and the general policy of economic construction, namely, counter-conservation and counter-rash advance, developing steadily in balance. With these understandings, in-place preparations for holding the Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China, in theory and policy, were complete.

The Eighth Congress of the Communist Party of China put forward a rigorous program for building up a modern socialist country. The most important result arising out of this was that after the completion of the three transformations, the contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalists had been basically eliminated. "The principal contradiction has turned to the contradiction between people's requirements to establish an advanced industrial country and the backwardness of an agricultural country" (*Resolution on Political Report of the Eighth Congress,* see *Selection of Important Documentations since the Founding of China*, Volume 9, Page 341 – *Guanyu zhengzhi baogao de jueyi*, in *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian*, di jiu ce 341 ye). Even today, the major task for the Party and the people is to concentrate on resolving this particular contradiction and so turn the nation from being a backward agricultural country into an advanced industrial one. In this way, the focus of the Party and the country had been transferred from a revolution and class struggle to economic construction and from emancipating productive forces to protecting and developing them. This was the most significant turning point for China since the completion of the three transformations. This decision was one of the most important advancements in this period of exploration during the Eighth Congress.

After the Eighth Congress, the Party continued their in-depth exploration regarding how China would develop. While putting forward some new thoughts and ideas for economic construction and adjusting economic relations, Mao Zedong made the address *On Correctly Dealing with Contradictions among People* (*Guanyu zhengque chuli renmin neibu maodun de wenti*), which scientifically explained the socialist society's contradiction, pointing out that this question had become the main theme of the country's political life. He laid out the basic principle on how to correctly handle these contradictions as well. The exploration of socialist construction ultimately sublimated into theory.

However, not long after the Eighth Congress, the Party experienced setbacks in the exploration of socialist construction. It was just as Deng Xiaoping stated:

> [t]he general line and many correct opinions put forward in the Eighth Congress had not been followed in practice because the Party was not prepared well in ideology for comprehensive socialist construction. After the Eighth Congress, China had made a lot of achievements in socialist construction, and at the same time, met severe setbacks (*Deng Xiaoping Anthology*, Volume 3, Page 2 – *Deng Xiaoping wenxuan*, di san juan di er ye).

The statement "[t]he Party was not prepared well in ideology for comprehensive socialist construction" meant that first: the Party had not known enough about the national condition during the completion of the three transformations, nor could it comprehend how long it would take or how difficult it would be to form a

socialist construction, let alone how to fight a class struggle in a realistic way. Second, it also had no profound knowledge about socialism, always believing that the bigger and the more collective the ownership of socialism was, the better off the country would be. Third, there was a lack of experience in comprehensive socialist construction, especially in a correct understanding of how to develop necessary economic principles. Finally, due to the victories achieved, feelings of pride and satisfaction had grown among Party members, and their vision drifted away from reality, thus exaggerating the effects of subjective initiatives, and so forth.

Due to the above "insufficient preparations" (*zhunbei buzu*), not long after the Eighth Congress, China was facing a difficult challenge in adhering to the policy, while at the same time the errors of the "Left" (*zuo*)[5] appeared in the Party's ideology. These mistakes were exposed in two aspects: first, the judgment of the principal contradiction of the society put forward in the Eighth Congress was replaced by "contradiction between the proletariat and the capitalist and between a socialist road and a capitalist path" (*wuchan jieji he zichan jieji de maodun, shehui zhuyi daolu he ziben zhuyi daolu de maodun*), and so a thesis of "two exploiting classes, two labor classes" (*liangge boxue jieji, liangge laodong jieji*) was put forward. All these were the theoretical roots for expanding the struggles against the Right in 1957 and the struggle against other deviations in the future. The Mount Lu Conference in 1959 expanded the struggle in politics and ideology in 1962 during the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Congress. The second aspect was that China had given up its general economic construction policy on counter-conservation, which opposed rapid advancement and encouraged steady development in a comprehensive balanced way, but in instead had made the severe mistake of moving forward too quickly. The most severe mistake was the "Great Leap Forward" (*da yue jin*)[6] starting in 1958 and the movement to form rural communal cooperative institutions. This was too ambitious and too hasty with regard to production. The result was it created great anxiety during the socialist transition and brought severe damage to the overall national economy and continued modernization.

At that time, the Party also had made efforts to correct the mistakes of the "Left," continually adhered to the line they set forward at the Eighth Congress, and, therefore, made a successful adjustment to the national economy during 1961–1965. Thus, over a period of 10 years, a comprehensive socialist construction followed two directions in relation to the Party's guiding ideology: one right and the other wrong. These two ideologies intermingled with each other; however, in general, the

[5]In the People's Republic of China since 1967, the terms "Ultra-Left" and "left communist" (*Gongchan zhuyi zuoyi*) refer to political theory and practice which defined themselves as being further "left" than those of the central Maoist leaders at the height of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

[6]An economic and social campaign by the Communist Party from 1958 to 1961. The campaign was led by Mao Zedong and aimed to rapidly transform the country from an agrarian economy into a communist society through rapid industrialization and collectivization. The success of the campaign was disputed, with some critics arguing that it led directly to the Great Chinese Famine.

right ideology constituted the mainstream. As it was pointed out in the *Resolution on History* (*Lishi Jueyi*), "during the ten years before the eve of the Cultural Revolution, China had achieved great accomplishments although it had met severe setbacks." Still, "our Party had accumulated important experience on how to lead a socialist construction." Thus, "the material base on which the country now relies on for modernization was mostly accumulated in this period; the major cadres and their work experience in national economic and cultural construction were also cultivated in this period. All of these were at the core of the Party's work."

As a result of the mistakes the "Left" made in both politics and ideology of the Party during the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Congress, they enlarged the session of the Political Administration of the Central Committee in May 1966; the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Congress in August dominated every situation in the country, and so the Cultural Revolution had begun. If one looks at the two directions of right and wrong, as a comprehensive guide about how to build socialism over a period of 10 years, it can be concluded that, previously right thought was relatively mainstream. Since that is true, then, the occurrence of the Cultural Revolution symbolized that the wrong thought had overthrown the right one and dominated the Party's guiding line. Because of the Cultural Revolution, the Party, guided by the Eighth Congress line, had met severe setbacks as it explored socialist construction. Essentially, one could say that the exploration nearly stopped.

Of course, the Cultural Revolution can be considered a special phase as China was exploring socialist construction, and it should be judged both in a scientific and historical context. As the *Resolution on History* (*Lishi Jueyi*) has pointed out, it was proven by history that the Cultural Revolution was not a real revolution in any way or did it bring about progress in society. "It was a severe domestic turmoil caused by the wrong leadership, and taken advantage of by the counter-revolutionary groups." Nonetheless, the complex historic incidents that happened as a result of the Cultural Revolution must be analyzed in detail. Following are some points that need to be given special attention.

First, one should distinguish Mao Zedong's incorrect thesis of the "Left" in the Cultural Revolution from Mao Zedong Thought (*Mao Zedong Sixiang*).[7] It was pointed out in the *Resolution on History* that Mao Zedong's Thought of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was not consistent with Marxism and Leninism as well as China's actual situation. The thesis was supposed to be based on the class situation of the country and the political condition of the Party, but it was totally unfounded. The wrong thesis of the "Left" obviously deviated from the general Mao Zedong Thought which integrated the general theory of Marxism and Leninism with the actual situation of China. Therefore, it must be distinguished totally from Mao Zedong Thought. The wrong thesis of the "Left" must be abandoned, but basic Mao Zedong Thought needs to be accepted and developed. This is a basic premise for continuing new explorations.

[7] Mao Zedong Thought is the political theory derived from the teachings of Mao.

Second, struggles that were undertaken by a number of cadres and the masses against the Cultural Revolution who were right in their standpoint should be given acceptance, and their achievements should be distinguished from the Cultural Revolution itself. Although the Cultural Revolution was disastrous, the Party and the people had never ceased to struggle against the counter-revolutionary group represented by Lin Biao[8] and Jiang Qing[9] and the mistake made by the "Left." It should be said that during the "Great Cultural Revolution," a great number of cadres and the masses were tested, and they were always standing on the right side of that struggle. Because of the effort by the cadres from the Party, a vast range of workers, farmers and soldiers, and scholars, the destruction of Cultural Revolution was limited to some degree. The national economy of the country suffered a tremendous loss, but socialist construction was not suspended. Some breakthroughs were even made in the fields of science and technology as well as in China's diplomatic work. None of these achievements were the result of "Great Cultural Revolution"; instead they came about from the sacrifices and positive influence of the people on the Right. In some sense, this meant that the Party continued to make an effort to explore socialist construction even under special conditions. The achievement of socialist modernization would have been much greater if the country could have avoided the destruction of the Cultural Revolution.

Third, one should attend to and analyze the mistake made by Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution carefully seeking truth from the facts. Mao Zedong was mainly responsible for the overall mistake made by the "Left" during the Cultural Revolution, particularly since he had unwisely elected Lin Biao, Jiang Qing, etc., which caused a disastrous situation. However, he also had stopped and amended some mistakes while protecting several cadres and other important people outside the Party. He had led the struggle against the counter-revolutionary group led by Lin Biao and severely criticized and exposed the Jiang Qing Group, thus playing an important role in smashing the "Gang of Four" (*Siren Bang*) later. As time went on, he exercised the correct foreign policies and took charge of opening a new

[8]Lin Biao (1907–1971) was one of the leading communist military leaders in the Chinese Civil War. Lin was recognized as Mao's designated heir during the Cultural Revolution, from 1966 until his death, and was responsible for promoting Mao's *Quotations* (*Mao Zhuxi Yulu*) as the standard primer in political thought for the entire nation. He died under mysterious circumstances in a plane crash while apparently fleeing the country. Along with Jiang Qing, he came to be considered to be a prime mover behind the excesses of the Cultural Revolution.

[9]Jiang Qing (1914–1991), known in Western countries as Madame Mao, was the final wife of Chairman Mao. Having taken the place of Mao's previous wife He Zizhen, a respected revolutionary, she deliberately kept a low public profile for around 20 years. Her reemergence in the 1960s, by which time she and her husband had become increasingly estranged, coincided with the Cultural Revolution. During this period she became Deputy Director of the Central Cultural Revolution Group and gained a reputation for both promoting Maoist cultural art forms and harshly persecuting her enemies. Shortly after Mao's death – when she was widely expected to usurp power – she and her accomplices, known as the "Gang of Four," were arrested, put on trial, and imprisoned for life (in her case, commuted from the initial death sentence).

phase in foreign affairs for China.[10] He paid close attention to and maintained the security of the country. During the Cultural Revolution, the Party was not destroyed but managed to stay unified. At the same time the root of the socialist system was still intact, the socialist economic construction was in process, and the country was playing an important role in world affairs; all these played a part in and cannot be separated from Mao Zedong's contributions. Therefore, in *Resolution on History*, it has been pointed out that the error of Mao Zedong was "an error made by a great proletariat revolutionist after all."

In general, the Cultural Revolution was a disaster that occurred when the People's Republic of China was exploring socialism. Even so, during the Cultural Revolution, the nature of the Party, the people's regime, the troops, and the nature of the whole society remained unchanged. Finally, due to the Party and popular force, the party ousted both Lin Biao's and Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary groups and left the difficulties of the Cultural Revolution behind.

15.3 The Historic Turning Point of the People's Republic of China

On October 6, 1976, after the Cultural Revolution had aroused the entire population's indignation, the "Gang of Four" took the opportunity, upon the death of Chairman Mao, to seize authority over the Party and state. At this critical moment, the Central Committee of the Communist Party isolated Jiang Qing's counter-revolutionary group members according to the Party and the will of the people, smashing their plans. Crushing the "Gang of Four" was indeed a victory which ended the disastrous Cultural Revolution, rescuing the Party and the socialist cause. This was an important step for the Party and the further development of the country. Later, during the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress held in December 1978, the Party and the state had come to realize that this was the most important historic turning point for the People's Republic of China since it was founded in 1949.

It took about 6 years to complete this process. The end of the "Gang of Four" was the starting point. Although the downfall of the "Gang of Four" did not fundamentally change the Party's overall guidelines for the betterment of the country, it had officially ended the Cultural Revolution. No doubt, this corrected the direction of China's development and offered an opportunity for this great turning point to occur, as well as creating the need to do so. During the 2 years after the "Gang of Four" was knocked down, although the development of the People's Republic of China had stagnated because it was disturbed by the "Two Whatevers"

[10]This included President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 to reestablish US-China diplomatic relations.

(*Liangge Fanshi*) policy,[11] the older generation of revolutionists represented by Deng Xiaoping adhered to the idea of emancipating people's minds and "seeking truth from facts" (*shi shi qiu shi*). They were determined to support the whole Party to set things right, continually excluding any interruptions, all of which drove the country to develop and make preparations for a great turning point in politics, ideology, and organization. At the Third Plenary Session of The Eleventh Congress, the Party's political line, including ideology and organization, had been changed. The central task of the Party and the state had been transferred to socialist modernization and the great policy of reform and opening to the world. This marked the start of creating a socialist road with Chinese characteristics and the development of a socialist cause. At the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1981, the completion of "setting things right" (*bo luan fan zheng*) symbolized the overall realization of this great event in China's history.

Thus, after the "Gang of Four" was destroyed, especially during the period from the Third to Sixth Plenary Session, the Party and state were in the middle of a pivotal stage where the central task was to set things right and create a new age. This was a crucial period which determined the fate of the Party and the nation as well as the future direction of China's socialist cause.

"Setting things right and creating a new age" (*bo luan fan zheng, kai chuang wei lai*) can be summarized by the following eight respects:

First, one needs to set things right with regard to the ideology line. It was necessary to criticize and overthrow the guideline of "Two Whatevers" and to recover and reestablish the ideological line of "seeking truth from facts."[12] This was one of the most urgent and difficult tasks at that time. Not long after the "Gang of Four" was smashed, primarily due to self-worship and the long-term "Left" thought restrictions, the principal leaders in the Central Committee put forward and promoted the idea that "we should affirmatively maintain *whatever* decision made by Chairman Mao; people should affirmatively comply with *whatever* instruction was made by Chairman Mao." The "Two Whatevers" policy essentially entailed persisting along the wrong line of the "Left" in the Cultural Revolution ideology. As a result, the work of "setting things right" by exposing and criticizing the "Gang of Four" met severe impediments, and the work of the Party and the state encountered twists and turns in various aspects. It was Deng Xiaoping who had stood up first to criticize the "Two Whatevers" saying it did not conform to Marxism and proposed that the Party should work towards understanding Mao

[11]This was a policy of then Communist Party chairman Hua Guofeng, Mao's successor, who had earlier ended the Cultural Revolution and arrested the Gang of Four. It stated: "We will resolutely uphold whatever policy decisions Chairman Mao made, and unswervingly follow whatever instructions Chairman Mao gave."

[12]An element of Maoism referring to pragmatism. Beginning in 1978, it was promoted by Deng Xiaoping as a central ideology of Socialism with Chinese characteristics and applied to economic and political reforms thereafter.

Zedong Thought comprehensively and accurately while mastering and applying a scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought directly to people's work. With Deng's support, the whole Party discussed the standard of truth, on the topic of "practice is the sole standard to examine truth" (*shijian shi jianyan zhenli de weiyi biaozhun*), attacking forcefully the "Two Whatevers" and the rigid mindset of the people. With that a new ideological emancipation movement was formed, forcefully pushing the whole nation's work of "setting things right" into motion. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress held in December 1978, the guideline of "Two Whatevers" was completely denied, by encouraging the emancipation of minds and seeking truth from facts and relating theory with facts. The country could make it work by creating proper policies and methods to realize modernization and by bringing about a fundamental change in the ideology guideline of the Party. When *Resolution on History* was passed at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress held in 1981, the whole Party had unified their comments on the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. It not only completely rebuked the Cultural Revolution and corrected the error of the "Left" made by Mao Zedong in his later years but also protected his position in history and his achievement in socialism as well as reestablishing the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought in the Party and country. Thus, the policy of "setting things right" regarding the overall ideology was completed. This achievement had laid a political basis for the whole Party and all the people in the country to advance together.

Second, it was necessary to set things right in relation to the political line. At the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress held by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Party decisively stopped using the slogan of "make class struggle as the policy" (*yi jieji douzheng wei gang*), rather focusing on economic construction and transferring the central task to socialist modernization, all the while making a strategic decision on reform to open up China to the world. This was the most crucial element to setting things right. In order to ensure the smooth realization of this change, the Central Committee of the CPC further explained that the class struggle was the principal conflict in China's society at that time and announced in the Second Session of the Fifth NPC held in June 1979 that in the country (except for Taiwan province), the landlord class, the rich peasant class, and the capitalist class had been eliminated. Although the class struggle among the citizens of the country would exist for some time afterwards, it was no longer the principal conflict in society. The policy was that the Party conceded that the class struggle was not over yet but also admitted that one need not and should not conduct large-scale and violent class struggles. "To rapidly improve the current low level of productivity to a higher level of modernization, we should reform that part of our production process and the area of superstructure which hinders us from realizing the Four Modernizations (*Sige Xiandaihua*),[13] and make obsolete all the old customs and forces which are unfavorable. These things together make up our principal conflict

[13]Goals first set forth by Zhou Enlai in 1963 and enacted by Deng Xiaoping from 1978 to strengthen the fields of agriculture, industry, national defense, science, and technology in China.

as well as the central task for the nation." Thus, the establishment of policy on economic construction and the promotion of reform and opening up to the outside world, together with "upholding the Four Cardinal Principles" (*jianchi sixiang jiben yuanze*),[14] constituted the main subject matter of the Third Session of the Eleventh Congress. This not only reinvigorated the political line formulated in the Eighth Congress but also greatly advanced the exploration started earlier and added new content based on requirements of the new age.

Third, the Party wanted to set things right in reference to the organizational line. The Party felt it was important to first recover the Party and government institutions and their normal activities at all levels which had been damaged during the Cultural Revolution. It did so by rehabilitating experienced cadres who had undergone trials and letting them return to leading positions across the Party. This paved the way for the recovery and improvement of the democratic system throughout the government organization, including the democratic centralist system. What was especially significant was that the second generation of leadership represented by Deng Xiaoping was actually formed at the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress and was consolidated and strengthened before the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress. The second generation of leadership became an important guarantee for starting a new historic period in the People's Republic of China.

Fourth, following the principle of seeking truth from facts and correcting any mistakes, the Party rectified misjudged cases and made clear important policy details as well as resolving questions left over by history. During this period, early or late, the Party and government cadres at all levels as well as the masses, persons in charge of democratic Parties, and personalities in every field who had been wrongly judged, murdered,[15] or attacked during the Cultural Revolution were reinstated. Among them was Liu Shaoqi[16]; he regained his honor as a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionist, as well as one of the great leaders of the Party and the state. A series of wrong conclusions made by the Cultural Revolution on publicizing, education, science and technology, literature and art, physical education, health and the united front, nationality, religion, and many other influential cases which

[14]China's Four Cardinal Principles, instituted by Deng Xiaoping after the Cultural Revolution, include upholding (1) the basic spirit of communism, (2) the people's democratic dictatorship political system, (3) the leadership of the Communist Party, and (4) Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

[15]Refers to posthumous reinstatement, regaining honor, title, or credit for their work in the Communist Party movement.

[16]Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) was the most high-profile victim of the Cultural Revolution. Liu succeeded Mao as President of the People's Republic of China in 1959, having defended the Great Leap Forward at the 8th National Congress of the CCP. He seemed likely to be Mao's successor as paramount leader until it became known that he was critical of the policies favored by Mao's. After the launch of the Cultural Revolution, he and Deng Xiaoping became the main targets of Jiang Qing and her supporters for allegedly being "capitalist roaders." He endured public beatings and denunciations before finally disappearing from public view. The cause of his death was unclear. Liu was posthumously rehabilitated in 1980, and his ashes spread into the sea off Qingdao as per his wishes.

occurred during the Cultural Revolution were rehabilitated, including the right-wing case in 1957, the "Anti-Rightist Movement" (*fan youqing*)[17] in 1959, "Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary Group" (*Hu Feng fan geming jituan an*),[18] and so on. In addition, various social and political relationships were readjusted as relevant policies were put into action. All these had played an important role in mobilizing positive factors in every respect and uniting the people of all nationalities to create a new expression of socialist modernization.

Fifth, the national economy was readjusted and the policy of reform and opening up came into full effect as a first step. This adjustment had corrected the severely imbalanced national economy, and one of its most obvious characteristics was the emphasis on correcting the mistakes made by the "Left" in guiding economic construction which had come to reform the defects of the old economic system. On the basis of adjusting and summarizing lessons from past experience, the whole Party had realized that since the founding of China, the crucial mistake in relation to the economy came from the errors made by the "Left." The new leadership had pointed out that China should walk on a new road, according to the actual situation of the country, at a reasonable speed, with better economic efficiency and in greater favor of the people. This was an important accomplishment won by the policy of "setting things right."

Sixth, the party proposed to adjust and reform the fundamental program of the Party and the state leadership over centralized rights; meanwhile, China had strengthened the functions of the National People's Congress and the People's Congress at all levels, and as a result the legal system developed considerably. Over several years, hundreds of new laws and regulations were formulated and put into practice, so that great progress was made in the ratification of democracy. This symbolized that the socialist, democratic, and political structure had entered a new stage while overall reform had developed even further.

Seventh, according to some tremendous changes in both the foreign and domestic arena, China gradually formed a crucial policy of peacefully resolving the Taiwan problem and completing the unification of the motherland. On New Year's Day

[17]The "Anti-Rightist Movement" began as a reaction to the freedom of expression encouraged at the initial stage of the "One Hundred Flowers Campaign" (1956). The first phase began in July 1957 when 300,000 individuals were purged from their positions, having been accused of holding Rightist sympathies. Generally, intellectuals bore the brunt of these attacks and those who were not imprisoned were sentenced to being reeducated through labor. The Minister of Communications, Zhang Bojun, was labeled "China's number one rightist" and the politician and intellectual Luo Longji was labeled "number two rightist. A second phase began in the wake of the Lushan Conference in the summer 1959, where General Peng Dehuai, a critic of the Great Leap Forward, became the main target for condemnation.

[18]Hu Feng (1902–1985) spent 24 years in prison (1955–1979) owing to his criticisms of Mao's views on literary realism. In the "Report on the Practice and State of Art and Literature in Recent Years" (*Guanyu ji nianlai wenyi shijian qingkuan de baogao*), published by the Politburo in 1954, he alleged that the depictions of ordinary proletarian life favored by the Party where not realistic since they were always inflected by a political message supportive of Mao's ideas. This promptly made Hua himself a target for criticism.

1979, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress publicized the "Message to Compatriots in Taiwan" (*gao Taiwan tongbao shu*), proposing the "three communications" (*san tong*) – "communication in trade, navigation, and post" (*tong shang, tong hang, tong you*); then in September 1981, Ye Jianying, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, as a representative of the Party and the state, addressed and clarified the nine policies needed to realize the unification of Taiwan with the motherland. In January 1982, Deng Xiaoping explicitly pointed out that Ye Jianying's address was actually "a country with two systems" (*yige guojia, liangzhong zhidu*), which was the earliest reference to the understanding of "one country, two systems" (*yiguo liangzhi*).

Eighth, the Party perceptively judged that world war could be averted, and peace and development was the theme of that period. The country adjusted and improved in a timely manner the independent foreign policy of peace and the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States, symbolizing that China had opened a new chapter in its foreign relations.

15.4 Creation of Socialist Modernization with Chinese Characteristics

Only after a full decade of reform, of opening up to the outside world, and of modernization (which included the 5 years after the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in September 1982, followed by the 5 years after the Thirteenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was held in 1987) could the full development of China at that time be seen. The Communist Party of China must stick to combining Marxism with Chinese conditions, and this was the second historic leap after the founding of the revolutionary road of China as a new democracy. This was also one of the most important epoch-making breakthroughs accomplished by the Communist Party of China since the founding of the country. Due to this breakthrough, China experienced a decade of change, 10 years of exploration and development.

The achievements amassed over this 10-year period can be summarized as having erected a flag or taken a stand regarding theory, guidelines, and policies. The country had made two breakthroughs; the accomplishments in five aspects of practice had undergone severe tests, both domestic and foreign, and smoothly transitioned from the old core of Party leadership to younger ones.

"Erect a flag" (*shuqi yimian qizhi*) meant that the new theme of "walk our own road and build socialism with Chinese characteristics" (*zou ziji de daolu, jianshe you zhongguo tese de shehui zhuyi*) put forward by Deng Xiaoping during the opening speech of the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China was a first in Chinese political history. This policy change had not only "erected a flag" for uniting the people of all nationalities, promoting reform by opening up to the outside and modernization, but also formed the central feature of what became known as

Deng Xiaoping Theory. This established the fundamental direction and development road for the Chinese socialist cause from then on.

Following the theme of "socialist construction with Chinese characteristics" (*jianshe you zhongguo tese de shehui zhuyi*) at the Twelfth Congress, the Party formulated a new guideline for fully developing a new situation of socialist modernization. It was determined that the overall theme during this next stage was "we must work hard independently to unite people of all nationalities and realize the modernization of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology and build our country into a highly civilized and democratic socialist country." Essentially at the end of the twentieth century, with economic efficiency increasing continuously, the general goal of economic construction was to quadruple the total industrial and agricultural output; then the standard of living – both materially and culturally – would be improved. In order to achieve this aim, the first 10 years was dedicated to laying a solid foundation and generating the power needed to create favorable conditions; then 10 years later, the country would enter a new economic revitalization period; this was called the "two steps" (*liang buzou*) strategy. While the goal of economic construction was set at the Twelfth Congress, the Party had also explicitly put forward the task of establishing a high-level socialist spiritual civilization and a high-level socialist democracy.

One of the "two breakthroughs" (*liang da tupo*) that took place at the Third Plenary Session of the Twelfth Congress was that China broke with the traditional concept of contrasting the planned economy with a commodity economy and put forward the concept of a fully developed socialist commodity economy. At the Central Conference held in October 1984, as a result of the rural reforms promoting the Family Contract Responsibility System, originally started in the 1970s, a great achievement had been reached; the party had made the *Decision on Economic Restructuring* (*Guanyu jingji tizhi gaige de jueding*) at the right time. The *Decision* clarified that it was necessary and urgent to accelerate the entire economic restructuring process, focusing on cities. It explicitly pointed out that this reform was a self-improvement of the socialist system; the establishment of a vital socialist economic system with Chinese characteristics was the fundamental task of reform; strengthening the vitality of enterprise was the central link of reform; and the establishment of correct relations between state and enterprise as well as between enterprise and employees was at the heart of this reform. The most outstanding aspect of the *Decision* was how it contrasted the traditional concept of the planned economy with a commodity economy, explicitly pointing out that the socialist planned economy should be a planned commodity economy based on public ownership, which must voluntarily comply with and utilize the law of value. The full development of a commodity economy is a stage that should not go beyond and was the necessary condition for economic modernization.

The second of the "two breakthroughs" (*liang da tupo*) at the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party was that the Party systematically stated the primary socialist theory, comprehensively generalized the fundamental line of the Party in a preliminary socialist stage, and had realized an important step in the exploration of a socialist road with Chinese characteristics. At this conference,

based on a thorough analysis of China's national and historic experience, the Party also drew the scientific conclusion that the country was at the dawn of a socialist stage. Identifying this stage is not the same as implying that every socialist country will go through the same experience to build socialism; instead it denoted a period in which China must confront its backward production practices and under-developed commodity economy. It is expected to take at least 100 years before socialist modernization can fully be realized. In the preliminary stage of socialism, the principal contradiction is between the people's increasing daily material demands in contrast with backward social production. Class struggle will exist for a long time, but it is no longer the principal contradiction. The main task of the Party and state is to develop production, while promoting socialist modernization. The fundamental line in the preliminary stage is to lead and unite the people of all nationalities, centering on economic construction, sticking to the Four Cardinal Principles, adhering to reform and independently opening up to the outside world, working hard, and struggling to build the country into a prosperous, democratic, and civilized socialist modern country.

Besides the "two-step" strategy of realizing modernization by the end of the twentieth century made at the Twelfth Congress, at the Thirteenth Congress, the party redefined the details of this strategy into "three steps" (*san buzou*). The first step was to double the 1980 GNP, resolving people's basic demand for food and clothes, and this task had essentially been fulfilled before the Thirteenth Congress. The second step was to double the GNP again by the end of the twentieth century, with people's living standards reaching a moderate level. The third step was by the middle of the twenty-first century, to reach the GNP level equal to that of moderately developed countries, whereby people's living conditions would have them become relatively wealthy, and basic modernization would be realized.

Thus, the Thirteenth Congress had planned a new blueprint for China to build socialism with Chinese characteristics from the important aspects of basic Communist theory and lines including a fundamental policy of comprehensive reform and operating program of modernization and so forth.

The achievements of the New China made during 10 years of exploration came about in a variety of ways, from a comprehensive development of reform and opening up to the outside world to socialist modernization in the new age. Among these achievements, the following five aspects are the most outstanding:

First, economic restructuring was indeed a great achievement. The rural areas, based on stabilizing and perfecting the Family Contract Responsibility System (*jiating lianchan chengbao zeren zhi*), made further development and reformed the system in which agricultural products were purchased by assigned persons. This naturally adjusted the production structure, encouraging traditional agriculture to become more professional, commercial, and modern. As a result, enterprises mushroomed around towns and villages. By 1987, their output exceeded the total volume of agricultural production for the first time, which was a historic change in the rural economy, creating a new path for people in rural areas to build wealth and bring about modernization. Urban economic restructuring had also been comprehensively developed since 1985. On the principle of division between government

and enterprises with suitable separation between ownership and management rights, the country had further expanded the enterprises' decision-making powers, widely promoting the responsibility system of operation on a contracting basis and the responsibility system of each factory director or manager, so that the enterprises could become a relatively independent economic entity, enhancing its ability to self-transform and develop. The government had also reformed the macroeconomic control systems, such as planning, materials, investments, finance, and funding at different degrees. The previous high-intensive planned system had been changed to a twin system with a directive plan, instructive plan, and coexisting market adjustment. The necessary investment had also grown, and the fixed market price was released gradually. Our economic control system had gradually changed as well, from direct control to indirect. The original single public ownership economic structure also experienced enormous changes; a new pattern appeared, guided by a public ownership economy, which was composed of "three economies" (*San Zi*), namely, the collective economy, the individual economy, and the private business economy, together with foreign investment enterprises.

Second, the policy of opening up to the outside world developed in a wider and more profound way. As early as the 1980s, four economic special zones, including Shenzhen, were established. In 1984, 14 coastal cities including Dalian were opened to outside investment and trade. The Yangtze River Delta, the Pearl River Delta, and three Coastal Economic Development Areas in southern Fujian were opened in 1985. In 1988, Hainan was assigned as a province and opened up as a special economic zone (*Jingji Tequ*). In 1992, the state decided to develop the Pudong area of Shanghai and open the cities along the Yangtze River and some cities inland and on the borders; thus, nationwide, a multilayered opening pattern of "special economic zones, open cities, and economic development zones along the seaside, as well as open cities inland and along rivers and borders," had been formed.

Third, the national economy developed rapidly. The whole national economy and comprehensive strength of the state reached a new stage, and the life of the people improved. According to statistics in 1990, during the 1980s over a 10-year period, the output of industrial and agricultural products, such as food, cotton, raw coal, steel, electricity, and others, had increased by 31 %, 56.8 %, 75.8 %, 77.3 %, and 104.6 %, respectively. During that time, more than a thousand large- and medium-sized projects had been established. With the continuous improvement of technology within socialist production, the national economy became stronger and developed faster. During the 1980s, the average consumption level of people in urban and rural areas had increased about 80 %, making the people's standard of living the most rapidly improved in the history of the People's Republic. Especially during 1984–1988, the economy accelerated greatly, developing by leaps and bounds, while displaying vividly that agriculture and industry, rural areas and cities, were reforming and developing while mutually supporting each other.

Fourth, the construction of a spiritual civilization and its accompanying political reform also made relevant achievements. In 1986, at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of China, the *Resolution on Socialist Spiritual Civilization Guidelines* (*Guanyu shehui zhuyi jingshen wenming*

jianshe zhidao fangzhen de jueyi) was made. Based on the overall situation of socialist modernization, this resolution highly determined the strategic position and the fundamental tasks of spiritual civilization and had played a significant role in promoting the development of the whole society. In 1987, at the Seventh Plenary Session of the Twelfth Congress of the Communist Party of China, the general conception of political restructuring was formulated. At the Thirteenth Congress, the party explicitly put forward the goal of long-term political restructuring, which was to establish a highly democratic, efficient, and vigorous socialist political system ruled by law, and also put forward a reform scheme in seven aspects. These included separation of the party from administration, establishment of human rights, institutions of reform, establishment of a national public servant system, and strengthening of the law. Thus, the direction of political restructuring had been made clear.

Fifth, the unification of the New China greatly advanced. In May 1984, at the Second Session of the Sixth National People's Congress, the policy of "one country, two systems" had been determined as the fundamental national policy of resolving issues on Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao in order to unify the country. Later on, the government made agreements with the UK and Portugal, respectively, in 1984 and 1987 on the issues of Hong Kong and Macao. The National People's Congress also formulated in a timely manner the *Fundamental Law in Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China* (*Zhonghua renmin gonghe guo Xianggang tebie xingzheng qu jiben fa*) and the *Fundamental Law in Macao Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China* (*Zhonghua renmin gonghe guo Aomen tebie xingzheng qu jiben fa*), which provided the legal basis for the two regions' returning to the motherland. Meanwhile, the policy of "one country, two systems" also vigorously promoted the relations between Chinese people across the straits, inviting exchanges between Taiwan and the mainland, where civil communication expanded rapidly in a wide range of fields. Particularly impressive was the speedy development of economic trade. By 1988, the volume of trade between the two sides had increased 30-fold. Later on, more and more Taiwanese compatriots began to invest in the mainland. The man-made separation across the straits had been broken, and the tension between the people from Taiwan and the mainland had been appeased.

By the late 1980s, China had achieved great reform and modernization, while the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics was still growing. At this time the country experienced a severe test in political leadership during the spring and summer of 1989. Supported by the older generation of revolutionists which included Deng Xiaoping and relying on the masses, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPC successfully diffused this political turbulence. From the Fourth Plenary Session to the Fifth Plenary Session of the Thirteenth Congress, after such conditions were met that the state and Party's policies could be carried out with consistency and the political system of the country was steady, the second-generation leadership with Deng Xiaoping as the core was smoothly transferred to the third-generation leadership led by Jiang Zemin. Later, China suffered a lot of pressures from the great political changes in Eastern Europe in the early 1990s,

the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the forces against China abroad, and so on. Fortunately, the third generation of leadership led the whole Party and all the people, and as a result of implementing the policy of calm observance and handling, in conquering these pressures, they safeguarded national sovereignty and dignity, as well as the development of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Thus, the policy of reform and opening up, in addition to the cause of modernization, had pushed China to develop faster in this new stage.

15.5 A New Stage of Development at the Beginning of the New Century

During the early 1990s, as the world was developing both multipolarity and economic globalization, a lot of hurdles to China's reform and opening-up policies as well as modernization needed to be dealt with. The general designer of reform and opening-up policy, Deng Xiaoping, visited cities such as Wuchang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shanghai from January to February 1992 and gave the famous "Talk in the South" (*nanfang tanhua*).[19]

The central idea of Deng Xiaoping's "Talk in the South" was to adhere to the Party's basic line for a hundred years, to assertively reform and open up, to grasp opportunities to develop, and to further promote the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics. Regarding the problem of whether or not the reform and opening up was capitalist or socialist, he said explicitly that "the criterion to our reform and opening up is to see whether the country is able to develop socialist production, to enhance the socialist comprehensive national power and improve the living standards of our people." The question of whether the economic system was by nature a planned economy or a market economy had constantly interrupted China's economic restructuring. When addressing this problem, he emphasized that "it is not the difference between socialism and capitalism that's important, it's whether the economic system's overall nature is that of a planned or market economy. The planned economy is not socialism, since the capitalist countries also apply the planned economic system. Accordingly, the market economy does not equal capitalism either, since socialist countries also make use of a market economy. Both planned and market economies are economic methods. The nature of socialism is emancipating and developing productive forces, while eliminating exploitation and polarization, so as to finally achieve overall prosperity" (*Deng Xiaoping Anthology*, Volume 3, Pages 372–3 – *Deng Xiaoping Wenxuan*, di san juan di 372–3 ye). He advised people with his historic experience that the party should be cautious not to lean totally to the "Right" and more importantly not to be strictly on the "Left" either. Instead, China should grasp opportunities to develop itself, especially to develop the economy. Development is the eternal, unshakable principle.

[19] Also known as the "Southern Tour" (*nanfang xun*).

His talk summed up the fundamental experiences gained from socialist modernization, especially from reform and opening up since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Congress, and solved a lot of problems which had constrained people's way of thinking for a long time. It had become another theoretic breakthrough for the Communist Party of China to have a clear understanding of socialist modernization.

The work done during this period of time included laying the foundation for the development of a new century as the country witnessed rapid changes included in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Congresses. The country would enter this new century immediately after the 50th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The third-generation leadership, with Jiang Zemin as the head, adhered to Deng Xiaoping Theory to implement the fundamental line of "one center, two basic points" (*yige zhongxin, liangge jiben dian*), while "grasping opportunities to further reform and open up, and facilitate development under a stable national environment," all while promoting overall reform, opening up, and modernization. Therefore, China had finally attained a perceptible level of achievement and development.

First, during this new period, it was determined that Deng Xiaoping Theory (*Deng Xiaoping Lilun*) was to be in a leading position as the principal guideline for the Party and state's activities. At the Fourteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China held in October 1992, Deng Xiaoping was highly praised for his contributions to socialist theory with Chinese characteristics, and his name was added to the theory for the first time. His theory was explicitly defined as the guideline for China's socialist cause. Also at this Fourteenth Congress, the principal content of this theory was divided into nine aspects including: road development, stages, fundamental tasks, productive drives, external conditions, a stable political environment, strategic steps, leadership and forces to rely on and motherland unification, and so on. It was also pointed out that "for the first time this theory had answered systematically how to build, consolidate, and develop socialism in China along with handling the condition of backwardness in economy and culture," which was a product of combining Marxism and Leninism with modern China's conditions and features, and at the same time carried on and developed Mao Zedong Theory. In September 1997, 7 months after the passing of Deng Xiaoping, at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of China, "Deng Xiaoping Theory on Socialist Construction with Chinese Characteristics" (*Deng Xiaoping jianshe you zhongguo tese shehui zhuyi lilun*) was generalized as "Deng Xiaoping Theory" (*Deng Xiaoping Lilun*) and formally written down in the Constitution of the Party together with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Theory as the guiding ideology of the Party. The Congress mandated the whole Party to hold up the banner of Deng Xiaoping Theory to promote the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics in the twenty-first century.

A second perceptible level of achievement involves the continued focus on economic construction to facilitate the overall development of the economy and society. At the Fourteenth Congress, the Party made a big decision to grasp all available opportunities to accelerate development, and at the Fifteenth Congress, the state had created a set of development strategies to take China into the new century.

During this period, in the face of some apparent problems like an overheated economy due to our own economic system and adverse impact from the Asian financial crisis, the state had determined to implement both a positive financial and stable monetary policy, as well as macro-control adjustment. As a result, China not only realized the "soft landing of the economy" (*ruan zhuo lu*) but also kept the economy and society developing at a faster pace. Then the country also carried out a science and education development strategy to help the country prosper, followed by a sustainable development strategy, which would allow the whole society to advance in all aspects and maintain the coordinated development of economy, society, population, environment, and ecology. In order to adapt to globalization, China began to practice the strategy of "walk to the outside" (*zou chu qu*), that is, promoting the development of an export-oriented economy. In addition the timely proposition of a strategy to exploit the western region of China has accelerated the development and opening up of the western and middle areas of China, displaying a coordinated development and mutual prosperity in both the western and eastern areas.

Third, China has continued to promote the reform and opening-up policy, including economic restructuring to an even deeper degree. At the Fourteenth Congress, the Party set a goal to develop the socialist market economy and restructure the country in this regard. At the Third Plenary Session of the Fourteenth Congress, the Party made another decision to further define the fundamental framework and necessary steps to establish this socialist market economy. Led by public ownership, together with many economic sectors, the country accelerated the process to promote state-owned enterprises reform and establish a modern corporate system, including a series of reforms in finance, tax, banking, and foreign trade systems, as well as to civil housing, the social security system, and the agricultural products circulation system. By the end of the year 2000, most medium-sized and large state-owned enterprises that were in deficit "walked out of the predicament in three years" (*sannian tuokun*), and a modern corporate system was basically established. The leading position of agriculture was strengthened, and the country had realized the historical change from a shortage of the principal agricultural products to a sufficient and balanced amount of agricultural products. The opening up at all levels with multiple aspects over a vast range has now been formed and enhanced.

Fourth, as economic restructuring was being comprehensively heralded, political reform was also steadily moving forward, which led to some important achievements. Especially after the general plan of "administration by law" (*yifa zhiguo*) was made at the Fifteenth Congress, the system of the People's Congress, systems of cooperation with other parties led by the Communist Party, and political consultation were improved. The patriotic lines were stronger and the grassroots democratic construction in cities and rural areas was enhanced. According to the principle of simplification and unification, as well as efficiency, and in order to realize the targets of transferring government functions, separation between administration and enterprises, to establish an efficient, coordinated and normative

public administration system, the restructuring of government institutions was conducted in an orderly way and have made conspicuous improvement. Following the guideline of "administration by law," the legal system with Chinese characteristics has also been essentially formed.

Fifth, following the policy of "one country, two systems," the unification of the motherland unification has proved to be feasible. Hong Kong and Macao returned to the motherland in July 1997 and December 1999, respectively. Their special governments were officially established and began to operate, efficiently maintaining their high level of autonomy, prosperity, and stabilization, displaying to the world the appeal of the policy "one country, two systems." China has also enthusiastically worked on the various Taiwan issues. In particular, the important speech, *Struggle for Unification of Motherland* (*wei cujin zuguo tongyi daye de wancheng er jixu fendou*) made by Chairman Jiang Zemin in January 1995, put forward the eight proposals for peaceful unification and has become the basic program of resolving Taiwan issues. Later, the government strongly opposed and attacked the idea of the separation of Taiwan from the motherland by the "Taiwan Independence" (*Tai Du*) forces and further developed exchanges between people across the straits in economy, trade, and culture. While facing the new century, China including its compatriots in Taiwan will make more efforts to resolve these issues and finally achieve the unification of the motherland.

Sixth, adhering to peaceful independent foreign policy, China has developed diplomatic activities and international exchanges in all directions. China has not only positively developed friendly cooperative relations with many other countries in the world but also opposed and attacked interference in internal affairs from counter-China forces abroad. The maintenance of national sovereignty and dignity has established a good image of China, which has also set up a positive international environment for modernization.

In addition, China also has stuck to the policy that "we must address ourselves to the problem of both a material and spiritual civilization without any letup" (*liangshou zhua, liangshou dou yao ying*) and has taken various measures to strengthen a socialist spiritual civilization construction, providing a strong ideological drive for economic and social progress. China has also adhered to a balanced ethnic and religious policy; the development of western China is a good example of the opportunity for accelerating the economic and social development in ethnic regions. Meanwhile, China have consolidated and strengthened its patriotic united line to maintain national unity and social stability. The country has upheld the Party's absolute right to lead the troops and to promote the revolution, as well as the modernization and formalization of the military in all aspects. As a result the People's Liberation Army has met the general requirements for political qualification, including military competence, an excellent working style, strict discipline, a powerful assurance, and rapid development into a quality army strengthened by science and technology. Thus, our national defense modernization will continue to move forward to a new level. Centralized on studying the significant thought of

the "Three Represents" (*Sange Daibiao*),[20] the Party has strengthened the Party construction to fight against corruption, promoting efficiently the construction of a corruption-free and honored Party. The Party as a whole can more easily resist corruption and risk while at the same time increase its cohesive power and its confidence in uniting all the people in China. This would both win the victory for the socialist cause with Chinese characteristics as well as strengthen it.

In October 1999, when the reform, opening-up, and modernization policy goals had already been achieved, the 50th anniversary of the People's Republic of China arrived. Before this, when the "Eighth Five-Year (*Ba wu*) Plan" was completed in 1995, the Gross National Product quadrupled from that in 1980, which was 5 years earlier than expected. In 2000, the "Ninth Five-Year (*Jiu Wu*) Plan" was completed successfully, and the average Gross National Product had quadrupled from that of 1980 even when 0.3 billion citizens had been added to the population. Overall production had risen to a much higher level, and China's comprehensive national power was strengthened. The people's standard of living had achieved a comfortable level. The second step of the strategy made at the Thirteenth Congress as "three steps" had thus been accomplished.

After 50 years of socialist modernization, particularly after 20 years of reform and opening up, walking along the socialist road with Chinese characteristics, the country have accumulated an unprecedented substantial material and technology foundation, a higher level production capability, as well as greater National Power Index. Ever since the founding of China, the Gross Domestic Product has increased by 56 times in 50 years, achieving 8940.4 billion yuan by the year 2000. In 2001, the economy ranked sixth in the world, second only to the USA, Japan, Germany, the UK, and France. China has not only overcome the national condition of poverty but also established a complete system of a modern industry, and many aspects in the fields of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology are considered to be among the most advanced in the world. The ability of the national economy to supply products has improved, and the output of such important products as coal, steel, concrete, fertilizer, home appliances, SPC switch and cotton, food, oil, meat, eggs, and so on is ranked number one in the world. Other aspects such as China's foreign exchange reserve, import and export trade, and foreign capital attraction all have ranked first as well. China has said goodbye to the time of "shortages in economy" (*duanque jingji*) and has now realized a basic level of prosperity. All of these contribute to a new starting point for successful modernization in the new century.

During the initial period after China was founded, in the year 1956 when the Communist Party of China actually began to seek socialist modernization, Mao Zedong once wrote down a passage to commemorate the great pioneer of China's

[20]The "Three Represents" refers to Jiang Zemin's political thought. The CCP (the Party) should (1) always represent the developmental needs of China's advanced social productive forces, (2) always represent the forward direction of China's advanced culture, and (3) always represent the fundamental interests.

democratic revolution, Sun Yat-sen. "Everything tends to develop. It is not more than 45 years from the Revolution of 1911 to today, and China is now in a totally different condition now. In another 45 years, in the year 2001, just entering the 21st century, the appearance of China will undergo great changes. It will become a strong and powerful socialist industrial country. It should be like this. China should make more contributions to humanity" (*Commemorate Mr. Sun Yat-sen, Mao Zedong Documentations,* Volume 7, Page 156 – *Jinian Sun Zhongshan xiansheng*, *Mao Zedong Wenji*, di qi juan 156 ye). Now nearly half a century has passed, and Mao Zedong's prediction of "China will undergo great changes" (*Zhongguo de mianmu geng yao da bian*) has become true. The people can now be confident that after working hard for another 50 years, when it reaches the middle of the new century, when the People's Republic of China has been established for a hundred years, China will definitely make the third step of the "three steps" strategy come true: the average GDP will be equal to that of the medium-developed countries, and the people are relatively wealthy. Modernization will essentially be realized; a wealthy, democratic, and civilized socialist country will be established, and the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation will have come to light.

Questions

1. Since the founding of China, what is the most fundamental experience gained from exploring socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics?
2. During the process of exploration to realize socialist modernization, what are the principal contributions of the three generations of the Party and state leadership represented, respectively, by Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and Jiang Zemin?