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TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY HOWARD L. GOODMAN

Recent Research in China on Wei-Jin Nanbeichao History

Changes in the Composition of Researchers

In China there has been a complete generational shift in the personnel engaged in research. During the 1950s and 60s university graduates basically withdrew from research work, and those working currently mainly are a scholar cohort born in the 50s and 60s and graduated after the 80s; young people born in the 70s and graduated around 2000 have begun to enter academic careers and thus are emerging nicely as a talented cohort. Against a general background of reform and opening up, these scholars have received the appropriate systematic skills. Conceptually, relatively few have received strictures in their forms of thinking, and their outlook is broadminded. However, having been completely formed by the structure of today’s course-work, where little about traditional culture reaches a rich level of discussion and the gap separating us from ancient cultures grows ever deeper, any “sympathetic explanation” of history becomes difficult. From another aspect, in recent years history education has lacked systematicity and careful thought and planning. Training in the history of scholarship and in theory and method, as well as in language tools, have all been insufficient and have innately restricted the future development of research.

THIS ISSUE of *Asia Major* departs from our normal format in several ways. Here and in the other translated articles, we have not set authors’ footnotes verbatim but moved their citations into Bibliographies. Thus see Hou Xudong’s original footnote citations for his Introduction at the end. I thank the author for his cooperation in improving my translation and in other matters of editing and proofing, including unstinting help during several meetings with other authors in Beijing.

*New Directions in Research**Research encompassing the ru and their ritual programs*

Recently, concentrated research has focused on rituals. Several scholars have coincidentally given their own vision to this question. Beginning in 2001, LIANG Mancang 梁滿倉 has published a series of papers (and now a recent book) that discuss, for example, the institutionalization of the system of “Five Rites 五禮” (Wuli) of the Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern dynasties (hereafter, stated as “Nanbeichao” or “Wei-Jin Nanbeichao” 魏晉南北朝), as well as military music and discussions of military rituals. He pointed out how the Five Rites, originating from the section titled “Officers of the Spring: Da zongbo” 春官: 大宗伯 in *Zhouli* 周禮 (*Rites of Zhou*), began to be coordinated to court programs during the transition from Wei to Jin, and basically completed in Liang times under the Xiao rulers. In northern China, the Five Rites system was established during the Taihe (477-499 AD) period of Northern Wei emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝. Concerning this matter of the essential core of rites studies, Pi Xirui already noticed that the ruists of Han times emphasized *Yili* 儀禮 and in Wei-Jin they emphasized *Zhouli*, and Liang has written a detailed study of this that reveals a major change between the Han and Wei-Jin Nanbeichao ritual systems – both at the level of classic texts and practices. Unlike the perspective used in Liang Mancang’s history of the Rites, YAN Buke’s 閻步克 is based on the “Six Caps” ritual system from Han to Song and Ming, an institutional history whose main aspect in regard to the medieval period was taken from *Zhouli*; he has done a meticulous combing through and comparing of Nanbeichao usages, showing the relationship between tradition and reality, and between culture and politics, under the traditional imperial system. From his summary, two conflicting tendencies emerge: the authority of the Confucian classics and historicist “fundamentalism” (*fugu* 復古), on the one hand, and reverence of the emperor versus officials’ practical needs, on the other. On the role of *Zhouli* during the Middle Ages, the author has summarized it as a “Renaissance Movement in Ancient Rites.” LOU Jing 樓勁 conducted a meticulous investigation of the various institutional creations under Northern Wei founder Daowu 道武帝, also emphasizing the profound impact of *Zhouli*. In addition, GUO Shanbing 郭善兵 in recent years has focused on ancestral temple worship during the Wei-Jin and Nanbeichao. On this matter, I also have done some sketchy combing of materials on the culture of court rites and music.

The literary sources of the Wei-Jin and Nanbeichao make it seem that metaphysics, Buddhism, and Taoism dominated the realm of thought, and that Confucianism found itself in a “slumbering” condition. Many in modern times believed this impression, and thus they paid scant attention to Confucianists and Confucianism. But studies of state ritual, as just mentioned, give us another picture. Although the study of the classics received a severe drubbing, still it occupied the core of political thought and was developing its strength with *Zhouli* as the central ritual teaching. By so doing, classicism would have an important and lasting influence on later generations. The researches of ZHU Zongbin 祝總斌, YAN Yaozhong 嚴耀中, and HE Dezhang 何德章 have provided serious reevaluations. They will cause us to be more comprehensive and balanced in our understanding of the intellectual atmosphere of any time-period. Concurrently, as the study of early rites becomes emphasized, it will break up the way current academic fields are arranged and will profoundly affect our notions about the deeper implications found in the terms and ideas of traditional scholarship. This is beneficial, since the language of our sources often obscures realities, and the study of rites helps us to avoid misinterpretations.

History of law

Since 2001, LOU Jing has made numerous researches into legal problems of the Northern Dynasties, such as specific conditions surrounding the promulgation of Northern Wei administrative code, Northern Wei regulations, and the implication of the terms “*ge* 格” and “*shi* 式” and their status in China’s legal history. He demonstrates that the well-known “Linzi Regulations 麟趾格” of the Northern Qi dynasty were in fact penal codes. Next, HAN Shufeng 韓樹峰, apart from studying Han-dynasty criminal penalties, has made detailed analyses of Wei-Jin changes in the forms of laws, such as the emergence of “Laws for Prescribing Punishments 刑名律,” and “Laws for Describing Penal Case Principles 名例律.” He has pointed out that not only did Wei law undergo a Confucianization of its contents, but in terms of form it also established a new style under the influence of *xuanxue* metaphysics, which also provided for a developmental direction in later legal formulations. Based on years of studying medieval legal history, in 2001 YE Wei 葉煒 published on the Northern Zhou “Great Laws 大律,” and most recently wrote an article that analyzed the reasons behind the rise and fall of Wei-Jin and Song legal scholarship. He recognizes that the reason for attenuation was not because, as frequently said, “the literati just then only barely learned or understood the law,” instead, with the

overall new emphasis on classicist terminology and ruist scholarship, the government wanted commonplace civil servants to achieve skills in basic law.

Han through Tang legal history has received corrections and has become energized because of newly unearthed sources, and based on those we can make gains in Wei-Jin Nanbeichao legal history. In 2002, tombs opened in rural Gansu, Yumen 玉門 city, Huahai hamlet 花海, have given us manuscripts of commentary to the Jin Code, from about the time of the Sixteen Kingdoms Liang dynasty. The title is “Explanations of the Nobiliary Law, chapter 20” 諸侯律注, 第廿 and is roughly 5,000 words in length.

Bureaucratic history

Mr. YAN Buke, having contributed research on the Qin-Han, Wei-Jin, and Nanbeichao rank system, and refined a “grade status” and “office status” perspective in analyzing the evolution of the system throughout imperial China, has made a proportionate impact on young scholars. Many recent studies of political systems adopt his perspective and expand it; for example, the research of YE Wei, ZHANG Xiaowen 張小穩, and GU Jianglong 顧江龍. Mr. Yan’s recent proposal to go beyond the notion of “chronological stages” and “transformation,” and to recognize in Chinese history its “cyclicity” and “continuity,” and what was “stable” and what “shifting” in Chinese empires, deserves continued attention.

In recent years Mr. LUO Xin 羅新 has been committed to research on post-Han-Wei-era northern clan names and has published a series of papers. The particulars are more fully absorbed under the field of modern international Altaic Studies; in fact they are the results of research in Altaic linguistics and take advantage of inscriptions and Chinese documents unearthed in Central Asia. By means of etymologies of names, and by finding out similar naming used for different tribes and determining their meanings, he has come up with basic clues and an evolutionary pattern for the way tribal titles became differentiated. He has proposed a developmental structure in the way tribal titles and personal appellations were differentiated, as reflected in later official titles and designations. Specifically this is related to the Xiongnu Shanyu 匈奴單于, the Northern Wei “Zhiqin 直勤,” the Yeda 嚙噠 “Chiqin 敕勤,” the Tujue (Turk) “Teqin 特勤,” and the names gained by the Tuoba; furthermore the Xianbei, Rouran, Tujue, Tiele, and Qidan khan 可汗 appellations, and even post-Tang emperors’ appellations, and so on. With this, he has tried to explore clues to the appearance and devel-

opment of the titles of Northern tribes and bureaucratic titles; and because of this has renewed awareness of the political development of the northern tribes, as well as their influence on Han regimes (such as the emergence of imperial titles). Luo is attempting to probe the threads linking Northern China’s tribal titles with the growth and development of office titles in their state bureaucracy, and, based on this, to recognize the development of Northern Chinese tribal governments, including how they reflected Han power structures (for instance, the phenomenon of emperors’ names). Most recently, his research has turned to how the Tuoba Xianbei gained and solidified their appellations and how this was more generally linked to changes in the development of tribal organizations. He sees those whose personal identity (at least partly state titles) developed into specific personal names within the tribe as the heroic leaders who guided the clans’ way from tribes to chiefdoms, in particular the various Xianbei tribes which for the most part received appellations during the Wei-Jin era. Luo points out that it was at this very moment that the Xianbei tribes sprang forward in their political growth.

These studies provide important stimuli. In addition, there is a relatively large amount of research on wartime field regimes (or, *bakufu* 幕府), on tyrant regimes and military regimes, the main research being that of ZHANG Jun 張軍, LIN Xiaosheng 林校生, TAO Xiandu 陶賢都, and FANG Jianchun 方建春.

Regional history

Having recently read research dealing with environmental changes in Xi’an during the Han through Tang, those leaving the strongest impression touched on the impact on the environment made by Chang’an temples in Tang times and pre-Tang environmental fluctuations and their relationship with changes in the Xi’an surrounding forest cover; with the result of making comparisons of changes in animal and plant species between modern and Han-era Changan. These studies have expanded and refined our research into regional environments (in the Bibliography, see under *Tangdu xuekan*).

New Sources: Sanguo Wu Bamboo Slips, Turfan Documents, and Sogdian Tombs

“Bamboo Slips, Two” and “Three” were published in 2007 and 2008, respectively, and “Four” will appear early in 2010, thus attracting even more research on the Wu Slips. In 2006 “Wu Slips Research,” series 2, was published. (For all these titles, see appended Bibliogra-

phy under both “Bamboo Slips” and Wu Slips Research”). Since then, JIANG Fuya 蔣福亞 has made some progress in researching the matters concerning slavery as seen in the Wu Slips, and has pointed out that both apprentices and persons possessing slim assets *zi* 訾 (starting at 50 units) could own slaves; he speculates as well that official slaves engaged in production. As to this last fact, we can see that our available information is limited at present, and thus it is difficult to determine anything. Jiang also has studied the categories of “guests 客,” “boarding guests 食客,” and “limited guests 常限客,” who were dependents of landlords, as reflected in the Wu Slips. This was recorded in household registers no later than the sixth year of Jiahe (237 AD). “Clerk guests and commander guests,” who were commanded by lower officials, were new appellations for government dependents, appearing no later than the seventh year of Huangwu (228 AD). Such personnel arose as product of the struggles between feudal regimes and landlords.

GAO Min 高敏 and LI Junming 李均明 have separately discussed questions of commodity and rent moneys as seen on the Wu Slips. Concerning “Bamboo Slips, One,” and HU Pingsheng 胡平生 has corrected transcription mistakes in place names and personal names. “Materials for the History of Wei, Jin, Nanbeichao, and Sui,” no. 23, edited at Wuhan University, has made available two sets of Wu Slips texts, and the research of WEI Bin 魏斌 on the food-loan bamboo slips (as receipts) of the Sun regime in Wu touches on the recovery of records and the relationship among various archives, as well as the status and data on food-loans, interest charges, and commodity-grains. Moreover, he has published “The Problem of Storehouse Grains, as Seen in the Zoumalou Wu Slips.”

There has also been some work on social shapes and relationships at the most local levels, including families. An example is my research on the relationship between community (*li* 里) and hamlet (*qiu* 丘). In 2007 YU Zhenbo 于振波 published “Continued Exploration of the Zoumalou Wu Slips,” which centers chiefly on the “household” and involves families, the structure of households, women’s marriage age, household goods, household-controlled slaves, and the implication of the registration slips’ use of the terms “poll tax 算” and “labor service 事,” the implication of the term “elderly,” and the registration of apprentices. A recent article by GAO Min 高敏 has discussed the *tuntian* 屯田 system of the Sun 孫 regime in Wu; most important was that it supplemented previous research on this subject by utilizing the Wu Slips, but the work was relatively rushed. In 2006, the matter of “household extraction” as contained in the Wu Slips became a hot issue. Gao Min,

YANG Jiping 楊際平, ZHANG Rongqiang 張榮強, and Yu Zhenbo have separately published papers that involve the various differentiations among poll taxes for children and those for adults; also differentiations between statuses of “adult” versus “elderly and young,” the nature of extractions and the contents of household registration documents. Yang Jiping’s analysis of “extraction,” starting from Han-dynasty financial policies, sees the extraction payments of the Wu Slips as having been purchased with government-issued money, and has nothing to do with finance rates or household goods, and as such was a highly unusual tax schedule. This constitutes a new perspective.

In addition to the Wu Slips, from October, 2006, to January of 2007, every Wednesday morning researchers and graduate students in the Beijing area, led by Luo Xin, met to read the unearthed Eastern Han bamboo slips from Changsha 長沙, Dongpai lou 東牌樓, and later we finished reading the “Bamboo Slips, 2 and 3.” (Completed, revised transcriptions were published in 2008; see Bibliography, under Changsha Slips.)

Concerning new documents discovered in Turfan, there were those in 1997, but in particular the 2004–2005 discoveries have already been completely collated and published by Zhonghua Publishers in 2008. These include some from Gaochang 高昌 district, and documents of certain persons from the families Kan 闕氏 and Qu 麴氏 during the period of the Gaochang state, as well as tomb murals and tomb lists. The archeology journal *Wenwu* 文物 (volume 2007.2) had a summary and article, and *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 (2007.2) also had a set of articles that should be consulted. In 1999, the so-called Yu Hong 虞弘 Tomb was discovered in Taiyuan (see Li Yuqun in this issue of *Asia Major*); from 2000 to 2004, three individual Sogdian burials were found in Xi’an, and their date is Northern Zhou or Sui. There was unearthed an epitaph and a folding-screen stone couch, and thus research into Sogdiana has reached a new high tide. Recently there have been a number of meetings, which resulted in many published papers, namely, a special issue of *Sinologie Française*, vol. 10, titled “Sogdians in China.” Also a special column in *Wenshi* 文史 (*Literature and History*, 2005.4), “Zhongwai guanxi yu xibei shidi” 中外關係與西北史地, had two discussions on the Sogdians. Because of images carved in stone, the methods of art history research have gained unprecedented emphasis. This perhaps will promote research opportunities in medieval art history (see the article by Zhang Zong in this issue of *Asia Major*).

A Lull in the Study of Economic History

In the last ten years economic history has been left somewhat to the side. The number of papers published annually are very few: only eight in 2005, while there were dozens of other fields represented. In all of 2006, except for work on the Wu Slips, of the more than 300 papers published, there were only a bit over 10 that involved economics. At present in 2007, we have seen only 2 articles, and writers in this area of research remain few. This trend must give us pause, so that we do not neglect research on such core issues; people's enduring livelihoods as producers form the very basis of human existence. In terms of collection and distribution, it is the sustainable basis for the maintenance of social organizations (both small families and large nations). Research into these issues should always occupy an important position in our studies of history.

What is needed in our thinking even more is the conduct of research. First of all, what faces us is the problem of the relationship between theory and history: do we represent history through theory, or does theory emerge out of our historical studies? The past few decades have stressed the controlling aspects of territoriality. This has been deduced from theory, in whole as applicable to all of Chinese history, and specifically for the Wei-Jin Nanbeichao period. How important is it? As HU Rulei 胡如雷 has pointed out, in terms of historical records "the aims of compilers dealt with problems of the center and taxation, and they did not attach importance to the relationships of those latter with local production. Therefore the flaws in this type of documentation is that state plans outweigh quotidian life, and finance is more apparent than livelihoods." Does this bias express the long-term intrinsic viewpoint of powerholders in imperial times? In terms of general history, to summarize and explain the Chinese people's concepts of land and their legal provisions, can we use Roman law's concepts of land-based power, state-possession, and individual ownership? If the answer is negative, then what is the relationship between mankind and the existence of land? I have already written about the meaning of the Han Dynasty's "naming of farm homesteads" in the context of the usages of names in ancient times, recognizing that it was similar to today's "Household Responsibility Fields 責任田." Although later dynasties no longer actually "named" homesteads, or had the formula "the name contains ...," nonetheless, in reality there are a lot of similarities. In the Wu Slips there is a direct link between the type or nature (also seen as "naming"), of "fields" and the amounts of payment, but there is not a close link to farmers' identities. So it seems that it is also an extension

of this tradition. In addition, as to production tools and improvements in technology, such as the spread of Han Dynasty iron farm tools and cattle plowing, the appearance of the method of field-rotation farming, and the Tang dynasty's curved moldboard 曲轆犁, in which aspects did these technical improvements function? What kind of connections did this have with changes in state tax collection systems? What is needed are more detailed and convincing studies.

In fact, if we can realize the theoretical difficulties, and if we can set aside preconceived stereotypes in order to propose appropriate questions, then by carefully combing old information and taking in new information, there will be new breakthroughs in economic history. The recent economic history of the Ming and Qing dynasties has in the past more than ten years included a number of advances in the land system and tenancy relationships. This will be of help for recognizing even earlier periods of land relations. The discovery of the Wu Slips has provided the means to return to this field. The recently found fragments of a Turfan document called "First year, 3d month, of the Jianyuan period of Former Qin" will also promote household registration studies.

*Possible Research Areas**Problems of spatiality*

Past research has concentrated on the imperial court: the imperial court system, relationships between court officials and the emperor and so on. We must move beyond the court and open up research into the history of regions, for instance an area's relations with the imperial court or relationships among regions. History and geography are often both concerned about regional study, however, it seems there is not enough concern about the activities of people in a region and the images of outsiders, and how the history of a region formed, and so on.

This brings us to the question of how we distinguish regions. The methods thus far have numbered at least five:

1. Local administrative divisions (in ancient times, for example, Bingzhou and Liangzhou; and in modern times Shansi, Anhui, and so forth) that highlight the importance to the state of local establishments.
2. Ancient people's general cultural areas (as given in *Hanshu* and *Suishu* geographical divisions, in Yang Xiong's 揚雄 "Fangyan 方言" dialect regions, and the famous families from particular regions such as Runan 汝南 and Yingchuan 潁川).
3. Natural geographical divisions (for example, Taihu Lake 太湖 basin).
4. Market systems based on natural areas (economic history).

5. Settlement patterns (cities, for example, Chang'an, Luoyang, Jiankang, and small villages).

Each method has its assumptions and premises.

The large number of Han through Western Jin texts discovered in Changsha foretells a very promising field. The slips range from early Western Han to late Western Jin, and their location points are becoming concentrated, so that when we bring in archeology and literature they can reveal development among bordering counties. Changsha at that time was a Linxiang Marquis state 臨湘侯國, equal to a county 縣 in the administrative system, and thus the new information aids our perspective on local administrations in the interior heartland, which were significantly different from militarized counties in frontier areas. We can now see more clearly the shape of early China's empire.

I feel that Chinese historians have emphasized epochal transformations and have commonly argued in terms of "changes that proceed from ancient to modern times." But there has been too little attention to regionalism, spatiality, differences among regions, and their integration into the imperial interior. Since the 1970s scholars in the U.S.A. and China have promoted the regional research of William Skinner; and since the 1980s Japanese scholars have persistently paid attention to regional societies (for example, MORI Masao), and WANG Dequan has combed through and questioned materials. All these scholars have brought us insights.

The spiritual world

For a long time the focus of much research has been on institutions and behavior, causing research on the spiritual world to be concentrated on the history of ideas, instead of ideas more generally. This problem should be considered directly relevant to our particular view of history: objectivist history, intentionally or unintentionally, sees people as externally subject to regularities (trends, directions, levels, and so on). With patterns set before them, ancient people become puppets, thus mitigating the role of initiative and the possibility of a variety of historical developments. The result is that research emphasizes behavior and neglects the intellectual world outside of elite ideology. We need to "install" a brain onto the main body of history.

This situation has improved in recent years, with research on Buddhist and Daoist beliefs and on divination arts. But it is far from enough. We should take in the world of imagination and individual self-awareness, for example, the way southerners imagined northern

alien peoples. Under the influence of Buddhism, self-consciousness and imagination about the natural world, the body, and health practices all changed (see, for example, the research of CHEN Ming, JING Shuhui, and CHEN Hao, including views of the afterworld, concepts of time and space, and even the language of the underlying concepts. This period was a high-point in premodern cultural interplay between China and the outside world. We can view the entrance of Buddhism under this same model, treating it as representative of how foreign cultures impacted native culture, and we can think more about those aspects of Chinese culture that could not be shaken loose by them, a model that Erik Zürcher argued eloquently many decades ago.

In addition, modern historiography has inspired us in certain ways. We come to see the many kinds of data, whether literature or various archaeological objects, or images, as containing down through the centuries the subjective ideas of their creators. Some are intentional, such as historiography, some are unintentional, such as documentary files. We must put this subjectivity into our research models. We are more familiar with literature, with the characteristics of genres and styles, as well as the viewpoint of the author that lay behind such concepts, or perhaps it is the authors of a certain time and their thought patterns: they are all worth exploring. Here, historians and literary scholars come together.

The application of archeological material

We should be pointing out not just written material from archeological discoveries, such as bamboo slips, documents, and epitaphs, but all types of archeological reports on objects without texts, such as tombs, village sites (city sites), religious sites (caves, monasteries), and the like. How do we read, analyze, and extract valuable information, such as the relationship between the distribution of different styles of burials and geographical traditions. We ought to build up methods for treating text, for example to improve methodologies in art history, or to gain fascinating clues about the history of Buddhist sects during the Northern Dynasties, as Zhang Zong does in this issue.

The forms of the imperial court

In the twentieth century, with the emergence of a new historiography and the extinguishing of the imperial system, there seems to have been overnight a clean break with monarchy. A new attitude in the Republican era caused the study of political history and political systems to sink to a low ebb. In addition, social history's rise since the

1980s and its apparent antithesis to political history has attracted a large number of young scholars. In reality, neither the national shape of the imperial era nor its operational logic have garnered deep or systematic research. At present there are scholars conducting research on everyday political history of Han through Six Dynasties China; the purpose is to gain a new perspective of the early empire's operating mechanism and morphology. The specifics are proceeding along two fronts: the first revolves around the court, concerning both major events and everyday occurrences outside of the court institutions. But our studies should include the emperor as well as the division of labor among important ministers, and the relationship between laws and edicts, and concrete mechanisms, to take just one example, the post lodges of the Han dynasty. The second front is treating the Wu Slips of Changsha as a kind of core material that can reveal administrative mechanisms.

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