Portrayal of Foreigners in Traditional Chinese History and Literature

Erling Torvid Hagen Agøy

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*Foreign ambassadors as depicted in the tomb of Prince Lǐ Xián 李賢 of the Táng 唐 Dynasty*

(Original image: Wikimedia Commons)

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Summary

My thesis examines how foreigners have been portrayed in traditional Chinese literature, with the underlying question being to which degree the traditional Chinese world-view was adhered to in different eras and circumstances, as this world-view had many implications for the views on foreigners. Attention is given to which factors could influence perceptions of the outside world, and to when the world-view came to change. I defined foreigners as those not recognised by the Hàn Chinese of their era as being part of the central Chinese civilisation.

After explaining the traditional Chinese world-view, I explored these questions in a series of case studies analysing the portrayal of foreigners in a number of texts from different periods: the Hòu Hàn Shū (5th century AD), the Dà Táng Xīyù Jì (7th century AD), a selection of Táng poetry (7th to 9th century), the Yuán Shǐ (1370), the Sānguó Yǎnyì (14th-16th century), the Hǎiguó Túzhì (1843-52) and the writings of Liáng Qīchāo and Lǔ Xùn (late 19th to early 20th century). These texts vary in genre from formal dynastic histories, poetry and travel accounts to popular novels and private gazetteers and essays.

In this thesis, I have found that while the influence on the Chinese view of foreigners from the traditional world-view can be discerned in all the writings I have analysed, there have been many exceptions to this world-view. Exceptions of varying degree can be found in most of my selected material. These could be caused by a variety of reasons, such as religion, historical circumstances and personal experiences. Here, while exotic aspects were frequently stressed, foreigners were portrayed as equal or superior to the Chinese, and were able to play various roles. A reverence for tradition, however, kept on influencing the Chinese world-view for much of history. Genre has been proven to have been important, as exceptions were more apparent in religious and popular literature and certain poems than in other works, which adhered more closely to the traditional world-view. This shows there could be differences between popular and élite views.

The Chinese world-view has been shown to not have been completely dominant throughout China’s long history of interactions with foreigners. This thesis makes clear that this world-view gradually came to change due to foreign pressure especially in the period between my last two case studies, or between the 1840s and the late 19th and early 20th century, but also that change happened over time and may have started much earlier.
Foreword

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor professor Rune Svarverud for continued suggestions and advice on how to improve my text.

Also, I would like to thank in particular professors Pak No-ja 朴露子 (Vladimir Tikhonov) and Halvor Eifring at the University of Oslo for guiding me in my studies and for helping me define my topic and find relevant literature. Librarian Øystein Johan Kleiven at the UiO Library has been most helpful in preparing source materials for me. Thanks is also due to my fellow students, who have given me much encouragement.

Much inspiration for the thesis was gained during my exchange semester in Taiwan. I would like to extend my gratitude to associate professor Xiāo Lìhuá 蕭麗華, for the important help she gave me when I was researching for the fourth chapter of this thesis, as well as associate professor Chén Xīyuǎn 陳熙遠, professor Hóng Shūlíng 洪淑苓 and doctoral student Jo Mín-ù 趙旻祐, for their help in introducing me to the academic world in Taiwan and for help with motivation and research methods. These four were all associated with the National Taiwan University.

I would also like to thank my parents Nils Ivar and Berit for their help and advice.

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1 Introduction

This thesis has examined how foreigners have been portrayed in traditional Chinese literature. I have explored the topic of Chinese attitudes to foreigners through several case studies from the 5th to the early 20th century AD.

In this introduction, I first introduce my research question, motivation and research history, then discuss relevant theory and the Chinese world-view and at the end explain my methodology and useful terminology.

1.1 Research question and definitions

When explaining the portrayal of foreigners in Chinese literature, my underlying question was to which degree the Chinese world-view introduced below was adhered to in different periods and genres. That was because this world-view had much influence on how foreigners were perceived. I explored what variation there has been in the portrayals of foreigners and how stable they have been over time, and wished to find out which factors influenced the world-view and caused exceptions to it, and when and under which circumstances it came to change.

In this thesis, China and Chinese refer to the Chinese state and its people of various ethnicities in each era – excluding those who are included in the definition of foreigners. Foreigners are defined as people of foreign countries and those not recognised as being part of the central Chinese civilisation by the 漢 Chinese of their era. Therefore foreigners could also be people living in China. Usually, these can be identified through the use of ethnic terms, or terms identifying a group of people based on a number of similar characteristics, other than 漢, or related terms, to refer to them. Some of the Chinese terms referring to foreigners will be introduced in the vocabulary section below, and the usage of them will be analysed. The terms “barbarian,” “civilised” and “cultured” refer here to how this appeared from a Chinese point of view, and usually corresponds to the Chinese terms introduced below.

1.2 Motivation

This topic deserves attention because throughout Chinese history there have been numerous varied and important contacts with the people I have considered to be foreigners in my thesis, which have given rise to many interpretations and opinions on Sino-foreign relationships. I
find these meetings and the interpretations of them to be an especially intriguing and important topic, both within the context of China and in world history. This topic is important for several reasons even today, as it can have some influence on how the Chinese perceive other countries and can even influence Chinese policy.

Because of this, research on this topic could enhance our understanding of traditional China and its relations to foreigners. Therefore, this thesis has added further detail to the study of Chinese perceptions of foreigners through a series of case studies.

Also, I have a strong general interest in Chinese literary and conceptual history, as well as Chinese history on the whole. I am particularly interested in the pre-modern period.

1.3 Research history

The topic of foreigners in Chinese history and literature is one that has already been researched from a huge number of different positions and with different theories, especially within the frame of Chinese foreign relations. I am aware that this field of research is a well-trodden one.

Scholars such as Herrlee Glessner Creel, John King Fairbank and Benjamin Isadore Schwartz have studied the evolution and the origins of the Chinese view of the outside world, as well as its basic assumptions.¹ Also, much has been written about each of the works and topics I have analysed in my thesis, with for example John Kieschnick, Meir Shahar and Tansen Sen working on Indian influences and Buddhism in China and the related contacts between China and India,² and Nicola Di Cosmo and Suzuki Chusei writing about Chinese relations with the steppe nomads and Inner Asia.³


Despite this, I find this field one where additional interesting research could be made, as I believe there are holes in the current research. As I am not aware of other research that uses the same approach to analyse the texts I have examined, I believe I have made a new contribution to the field. In particular, my focus on exceptions to the traditional world-view made clear which factors could cause such exceptions to the world-view to a greater extent than I am aware have been done before. Also, I hope I have added evidence for what it took for the Chinese world-view to change, and when this happened.

Besides the books and authors introduced here, which all concern my research topic in one way or another, I have benefitted greatly from numerous other works discussing various topics important for my understanding of the cultural or historical background. These are introduced in their respective chapters or in the bibliography.

1.4 Theoretical background

People living in one country will inevitably create an image of their own place in the world, as seen in relation to the people around them. This point of view will be determined by the characteristics of one’s home country and those surrounding it, and might especially in the pre-modern age be much influenced by a lack of reliable information about and contacts with the outside world. Moreover, it is relatively common for the people of a country to perceive itself as in some way superior to its neighbours as well as to faraway peoples – indeed, it has been said that the struggle between “civilisation” and foreign “barbarians” is a “great ongoing theme in world history,” as each civilisation needs to define its enemies in order to define itself. 4

It is commonly assumed that the Chinese by the early dynastic era, or at the least by the Hán 漢 Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), already had in place a particular Sinocentric conception of the world, which could be traced back to the Zhōu 周 Dynasty (ca. 1046-256 BC) and beyond. 5

This conception included neighbouring and faraway countries as well as various peoples inside of what was ruled by the Chinese and came to be seen as China. This world-view

4 Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 2.
remained mostly unchallenged at the core of the Chinese mind for centuries, until increased contact with Western countries and incursions of foreign armies into China in the late Qing Dynasty (1644-1912) and early Republican Era (1912-49) forced the Chinese to change their views of the outside world. My hypothesis is therefore that the Sinocentric world-view should be discernible in all my selected texts, and should be the dominating view in most of them. To evaluate this hypothesis, I examined to which degree this world-view is found in the texts I studied.

Relevant theories include intellectual and conceptual history, as I traced the various conceptions of the outside world in China. Theories of historiography and history, especially in the Chinese context, are also relevant, as many of the writings I analysed were historical works. Furthermore, theories of literature are relevant. In particular, however, theories regarding Sinocentrism are applicable as a theoretical background.

I have made use of John King Fairbank, Yang Lien-sheng 楊聯陞 and Wang Gungwu’s 王赓武 approaches to the Chinese world-view. These includes Fairbank’s framework for and assumptions about the Chinese world order, Yang’s views on myth and reality in the same field, and Wang’s discussion of Chinese ideas of superiority, impartiality and inclusiveness, ideas created over long time and inherited by later generations. As I see it, these texts all affirm that Sinocentrism, or the concept of Chinese superiority, was a core part of the Chinese world-view. However, this way of thinking is not unique to the Chinese. Besides, I consulted Gāo Míngshì 高明士’s opinions regarding the “order of Tiānxià 天下” and the “cultural zone”.

For Chinese historiography, I consulted Endymion Wilkinson’s introduction to the field, as well as Qú Líndōng 瞿林东 and Yáng Yīxiāng 杨翼骧 and Qiáo Zhīzhōng 乔治忠 thoughts on the development of history theory in ancient Chinese history writings. Finally, Fang Weigui 方维规’s article on the concepts of “Yī, Yang, Xī, Wài” has been useful.

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8 “Order to Tiānxià 天下秩序” and “cultural zone 文化圈,” see: Gao Mingshi 高明士, Tianxia zhixu yu wenhuquanzhi de tansuo 天下秩序與文化圈的探索 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe 上海古籍出版社, 2008).
1.5 The Chinese world-view

1.5.1 Basic structure

As it is often presented, the Chinese world-view had at its “centre” the Chinese emperor and what could then be called “China” (referred to with such terms as Zhōnghuá 中華 or Zhōngguó 中國), with what was outside being the foreign “periphery.” The civilised centre was seen as surrounded by the people of various countries or regions, who were different from the Chinese and often thought to be barbarians, or at least as lacking Chinese superiority. In general, those that were further away were seen as less civilised. For much of history, since the last centuries before the Christian era until China’s last dynasty, these could be grouped into different categories, including those who were located far away. Outside of the Chinese centre (or the “inner vassals 内臣 (nèichén)” or the “Middle Kingdom 中國 (Zhōngguó)”), three main zones could be identified: The so-called “civilised” (or the “outer vassals 外臣 (wàichén)”), the “half-civilised” (or the “tributary countries 朝貢國 (cháogòngguó)”) and the “uncivilised” (or the “non-vassals 不臣 (bùchén),” the “area outside of China 華外之地 (Huáwài zhī dì)”) zones. It was a clearly hierarchical view on the relation between states, where international society was seen as the extension of internal society.
This understanding of the world has been called Sinocentric, making Sinocentrism, the view of Chinese superiority, central to the Chinese world-view. In this view, China’s centrality in the world was a function of her civilisation and virtue, and especially that of her emperor, though military means were frequently used to defend as well as expand the empire.

This long-standing world-view was in a number of ways very different from Western theories of international relations. The nation-state system of the West differed remarkably from the world order created by the Chinese world-view, expressed in the form of the “tributary system.” In the Chinese view this system affirmed China’s dominant position due to the tribute brought to it from other states, and in effect it was the only institution for traditional “international” relations in East Asia before the intrusion of Western powers due to China’s dominant position on the international scene. On a more detailed level, Southeast Asia, the region of the outside world with the closest contacts with China, was seen as having small tributary hierarchical systems of its own, where each strong kingdom (guó 国) had several subsidiary kingdoms (shǔguó 属国), and where only the strong kingdoms, themselves equal to each other, could have direct relations with China.

Evolving over the centuries, the Chinese world order is said to have achieved its classic form during the Míng 明 (1368-1644) and Qīng 清 eras. The system has been called pragmatic, but still it is said that it was closed and with a limited understanding of China’s place in the world, which left the Chinese unable to fully accept and appreciate other cultures and unprepared to meet new challenges. In the end, the domestic rebellions and humiliation by foreigners created the crisis that led to the fall of the Qīng, and to the collapse of Sinocentrism and the disintegration of the Chinese world order. By then, however, the system had been

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19 Zhao, Power Competition, 15-17, 19, 21.
20 Jane Kate Leonard, Wei Yuan and China's Rediscovery of the Maritime World (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984), 121-27, 178. This particular example related to the presentation of Southeast Asia in Qīng and Míng era writings. Southeast Asia consisted largely of states China saw as its tributaries.
21 Zhao, Power Competition, 21.
23 Zhao, Power Competition, 17, 23.
24 Ibid., 28.
maintained for centuries by the strength of Chinese civilisation as well as military force; it was only in meeting Western imperialism in the 19th century that Chinese “culturalism” was replaced with nationalism.\(^\text{25}\)

The Chinese world-view is often said to be much related to Confucianism,\(^\text{26}\) where part of China’s superiority came from its supposedly superior culture, as well as the perfect Confucian rule that was believed to have existed there in ancient times. Finally, the world-view was related to Chinese cosmology, where China was seen as closer to Heaven 天 (Tiān) than other countries.\(^\text{27}\)

### 1.5.2 Chinese identity and the role of foreigners

Ever since the Western Zhōu 西周 (Xī Zhōu, ca. 1046-771 BC) period, Chinese identity was mostly defined by culture and ecology (with its society based on agriculture), rather than race, religion or language.\(^\text{28}\) As the world view had at its core a concept of “civilisation,” the most important boundaries were cultural rather than political.\(^\text{29}\) Civilisation in this case usually meant geographical closeness to and cultural similarity to China. Therefore, foreigners were judged according to how well assimilated they were to Chinese culture, and furthermore, China sought to dominate foreign countries by spreading aspects of its culture to them; something that at times was given particular emphasis.\(^\text{30}\) The “civilising” rhetoric, however, was primarily a means to justify expansion and assimilation.\(^\text{31}\)

The position of people of foreign countries in this world-view is interesting, especially as the way the Chinese and foreigners were opposed to each other in the Chinese world-view makes them give conceptual meaning to each other. The emperor was seen as ruling both the Chinese and the foreigners, and was seen as drawing foreign peoples to the Chinese centre of

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\(^{27}\) Wang, “History, Space, and Ethnicity,” 291.


\(^{29}\) Zhao, *Power Competition*, 18-19.

\(^{30}\) See e.g. Edward Q. Wang, “History, Space, and Ethnicity: The Chinese Worldview,” *Journal of World History* 10, no. 22 (1999): 287, who points out that the Chinese referred to foreigners as either “raw” 生 (shēng) or “cooked” 熟 (shú) according to how closely assimilated they were. See also: Wade, “The Ming Shi-lu,” 27.

culture, and as spreading culture as to civilise them, making them more similar to the Chinese.\textsuperscript{32} These views commonly produced negative images of foreigners among the Chinese, which were not restricted to the élite.\textsuperscript{33}

There have been conflicting accounts as to whether foreign peoples could go beyond their foreign nature and become fully civilised in the Chinese view.\textsuperscript{34} But the view of foreigners has not only been negative, as reflected in a saying attributed to Confucius 孔子 (Kǒngzǐ, ca. 550-479 BC): “When the [meaning of the] rites are lost, search for it at the periphery [of the Empire],”\textsuperscript{35} which clearly also gives value to non-Chinese peoples. Moreover, in ancient China the widely shared Confucian idea of human transformability through self-cultivation quintessentially included the so-called “barbarians.”\textsuperscript{36} It has been said that leading scholars had different opinions on nationality throughout Chinese history,\textsuperscript{37} and some even claimed that distinguished men could be notables of China even if born abroad, though these scholars could be considered as being at odds with most of their contemporaries.\textsuperscript{38} And as we will see several examples of in the following chapters, there were notable exceptions to the dominant view, where foreigners were considered to be on at least the same level as the civilised Chinese. Moreover, different peoples were seen in different ways, with for example the Vietnamese or Koreans more eligible to become civilised than the Mongols or Japanese.\textsuperscript{39}

However, ultimately the Chinese conceptions of themselves is said to also have been partially based on ethnicity, as it was not always possible for foreigners to be accepted even if they adopted Chinese culture.\textsuperscript{40}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{footnote32} Ibid., 29.
\bibitem{footnote33} Ibid.
\bibitem{footnote34} Ibid., 30.
\bibitem{footnote35} As quoted in the \textit{Hàn Shū} 漢書, a historiographical work from the 2nd century AD, see: Ban Gu 班固., \textit{Han Shu} 漢書, 12 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1962), zhi 10, Wenyi 志第十 藝文, 6:1736. ““禮失而求諸野.” “The \textit{Hàn Shū} will be introduced in Chapter 2.2 below. See also: Su Rongyu, “The Reception of ‘Archeology’ and ‘Prehistory’ and the Founding of Archeology in Late Imperial China,” in \textit{Mapping Meanings, The Field of New Learning in Late Qing China}, eds. Michael Lackner and Natascha Vittinghoff (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2004), 426-27. For more information on the character \textit{yě} 野, see the vocabulary section below.
\bibitem{footnote36} Behr, ““To Translate,”” 203.
\bibitem{footnote37} Qu, “Chinese ethnic minority historiography,” 166, referring to Confucius, Mencius 孟子, Sǐmǎ Qiān 司馬遷 and Bān Gù 班固.
\bibitem{footnote39} Wade, ““The Ming Shi-lu,”” 30.
\end{thebibliography}
1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Source material

In each chapter I studied in depth a selected textual source from various periods in Chinese history. These are the early dynastic history Hòu Hàn Shū 後漢書 (5th century AD), the travel account Dà Táng Xīyuè Jì 大唐西域記 (7th century), written by a Buddhist monk on a pilgrimage, a selection of Táng 唐 poetry (7th to 9th century), the Yuàn Shǐ 元史 (1370), the dynastic history of the Mongol Yuàn Dynasty (1271-1368), the popular novel Sānguó Yǎnyì 三國演義 (14th-16th century), the gazetteer Hǎiguó Túzhì 海國圖志 (1843-52), which included a number of foreign sources, and the writings of reformist writers Liáng Qǐchāo 梁啟超 and Lǔ Xùn 魯迅 (late 19th to early 20th century).

As each of the source texts were by themselves too extensive to be analysed in full, I made a further selection of material in each case. Within each source I examined the portrayal of one or several foreign peoples or countries, and in some cases also foreign individuals. Then I evaluated the extent to which portrayals corresponds with the Sinocentric world-view. In most cases, I focused on one or more parts of each work while also shortly considering the work as a whole, searching out passages where foreign peoples appear, and analysing their role in the works. In a few cases where finding directly relevant parts was more difficult, a selection of material from a collection of texts was used.

The texts were selected due to their descriptions of foreigners, and were also chosen to represent different time periods and different genres, ranging from historical writing to fiction and from those considered formal to those considered colloquial by their contemporaries. They enable us to examine whether such factors as religion, foreign rule, genre and personal experiences were able to influence the Chinese perception of foreigners.

Representativity, or the degree to which the selected texts are able to represent the views found in other contemporary texts, is perhaps the greatest difficulty I encountered. That is because most of the authors of the selected materials were part of the élite, and many of them were influenced by close personal connections to foreigners or had a strong interest in foreign regions. I am aware of the danger that this may have influenced the conclusions I draw on the basis of my source material.
1.6.2 Research method

I analysed the image of foreigners in each source text by careful reading, seen in relation to secondary material and the theoretical background. Secondary literature was used in the background sections of each chapter. While in most cases the analysis is mainly based on source materials, in the case of my final case study, where I found the source material more difficult to work with directly, secondary literature played a more important role in the analysis.

Another major problem with my method is that of language, with the various meanings of many words in Classical Chinese, as well as a complex use of terminology and their related concepts, which will be discussed below. These problems I have solved through carefully settling on the most likely interpretation of the text in each case, and through critical use of terms and frequent consultation of secondary sources.

The translations in this thesis are my own, and much of the time spent working on the project was used translating source materials. The translations aim to be literal, and are only in a few cases guided by translations found in secondary literature. I use the pīnyīn 拼音 system for representing Chinese names and phrases, the exception being authors writing in English and publishing under a non-standard spelling of their name and a few places better known by alternative names. As for transcriptions of names in other languages, such as Sanskrit and Mongolian, academic transcriptions are preferred when available. In the cases where no transcription is available, such as the language of the Xiōngnù or Mongol names I have been unable to identify, names are given in pīnyīn. Chinese characters are also provided for languages with traditions of using them, but in most cases pīnyīn is not provided.

Analysing the use of vocabulary forms the central part of my method of analysis, and the section on terminology below will introduce the main terms I focused on in the texts. The concrete methods and definitions used in each case study, including the part of each work which formed the main focus of the study in question, are introduced in detail at the beginning of each chapter. All my chapters have a similar structure, where the research method is introduced first, followed by one or several sections on background introducing my source text and relevant historical circumstances, and then my analysis before the conclusion.
1.7 Terminology

The selected texts were analysed through searching out a specific vocabulary. This enabled me to locate parts of the text describing foreigners, and determine in which situations foreigners appear and how they there are described. I also analysed how the usage of this vocabulary differed between different texts. This vocabulary includes the terms referring to foreign peoples and to the Chinese themselves, but also a more general vocabulary that can be used to determine how the Chinese viewed the people in question.

1.7.1 The Four Yí and the Huá-Yí distinction

Terms related to the concept of the “Four Yí 四夷 (Sì Yí)”\(^{41}\) and the related “Huá-Yí 華夷之辨 (Huá-Yí zhī biàn)” feature in my analyses, as these terms allowed me to interpret Chinese attitudes towards the foreigners they described. Therefore the terms Yí and Mán 蠻, originally two of the people included in the Four Yí, have been searched out in several of my source texts. There, the usage of these terms often implies a negative view on those they describe due to the derogatory meanings associated with them. The Huá-Yí distinction, on the other hand, features particularly in the analysis of my fourth chapter.

The so-called Huá-Yí distinction is a very old concept in Chinese thinking, which clearly deeply influenced cultural and historical developments in China, and especially the relations with other countries. This concept expressed that the Chinese (Huárén 華人)\(^{42}\) thought that there were fundamental differences between themselves and the Yí (the foreigners).\(^{43}\) They thought themselves superior to the latter, with the important ideological difference between them being the idea that the Huá were cultured, while the Yí were not, and thus in this concept

\(^{41}\) The Four Yí, or the four foreign peoples. In classical Chinese thought these four peoples were originally the Eastern Yí 東夷, the Southern Mán 南蠻, the Western Róng 西戎 and the Northern Dí 北狄. See Fang, “Yí, Yang, Xi, Wá,” 96n. These four peoples are referred to for example in the ancient Lìjì 禮記 (or Book of Rites), which offers a description of them and refers to the countries associated with them. See: Raiki 礼記, vol. 4 of Kokuyaku kanbun taisei 国譯漢文大成, 經子史部 (Tókyó: Tōyo bunka kyōkai 東洋文化協会, 1956), 礼記原文 27-69. While by the Míng and Qīng periods the words Róng and Dí had become rare, the two other words Yí and Mán had their meanings extended to include faraway peoples. While Yí became an increasingly neutral term without negative connotations, Mán became a term for “underdeveloped” people, see Shen Guowei 沈國威, “‘Yeman’ kaoyuan 「野蠻」考源,” Dongya guannian shi jikan 東亞觀念史集刊, no. 3 (2012): 386.

\(^{42}\) The ethnic term Huá has been used in Chinese since Spring and Autumn 春秋 period in the 8\(^{th}\) to 5\(^{th}\) centuries BC, see: Wilkinson, Chinese History, 195.

\(^{43}\) The term Yí is about as old as Huá, see: ibid., 195, 352-53.
Huá and Yí are opposites which each give the other its meaning. These terms, however, have a complex history, with various changing connotations attached to them in different eras.\(^{44}\)

As the concept of the Huá-Yí distinction appeared very early, we can find the character Yí 夷 in some ancient Chinese texts. For example, the Bāyì 八佾 section of the Lúnyǔ 論語 (The Analects) reads: “the Yí-Róng 夷戎 have a lord, and are not like those [of] the various Xià 夏 who lack [one].”\(^{45}\) This sentence seems to emphasise the difference between the Yí-Róng 夷戎 and the Xià, with the latter term referring to the Chinese. Another example is found in the Hàn era book Shuōwén Jiězì 說文解字 (Explaining Writing and Analysing Characters) reads: “Yí: [It] is peaceful. [The character is formed] from [the characters for] “big 大 (dà)” [and] from “bow 弓 (gōng).” [It] is the peoples of the east.”\(^{46}\) This book affirms that the character Yí originally referred to the foreign peoples in the east in the meaning of the so-called Eastern Yí 東夷 (Dōngyí), a group of peoples located to the east of ancient Central China.\(^{47}\) However, Yí later on also became a collective noun for foreigners, and as such it can refer to all non-Hàn peoples; this is the meaning of the Four Yí.\(^{48}\)

In the end, after the Qīng Dynasty lost the Opium War, China’s fundamental view on foreign countries began to change, and by the 19th century, the Chinese no longer used the term Yí for foreigners, but instead preferred the term Wài 外 (“outside” or “foreign”).\(^{49}\)

### 1.7.2 Terms for the Chinese and foreigners

Besides Huá and Yí there are several Chinese words relating to the Chinese themselves and to foreigners, which were also searched out in my analyses to evaluate how foreigners have been presented.

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\(^{44}\) For examples of this, see e.g. Fang, “Yì, Yang, Xì, Wáit,” 110, 113-14.


\(^{46}\) Xu Shen 許慎, Shuowen jiezi 説文解字, ed. Xu Xuan 徐鉉 (Hong Kong: Zhonghua shuju chuban 中華書局 出版: Xianggang lianhe shukan wulu gongsi faxing 香港聯合書刊物流公司發行, 2009), juan 11, dabu 卷十一大部, 6579: “夷：平也。从大从弓。東方之人也.”

\(^{47}\) Fang, “Yì, Yang, Xì, Wáit,” 96.

\(^{48}\) Wilkinson, Chinese History, 352.

\(^{49}\) Fang, “Yì, Yang, Xì, Wáit,” 102-3.
The vocabulary relating to the Chinese includes Xià 河, Hàn 漢 and Táng 唐, while that relating to foreigners includes Hú 胡, Fān 番 (or 蕃) and Wài 外. Eventually, Yí 变 became somewhat more formal and even neutral in its usage than many other terms. Hú, originally maybe a term taken from the (or a) Xiōngnú 畏奴 language, on the other hand, originally referred to the non-Chinese peoples of the north, while Fān referred to “foreign” or “in the hinterland,” and was used in particular in relations to people or things from the south. Both terms have been seen as derogatory. There was a long tradition to refer to foreigners with such derogatory terms and even depict them in a non-human way as similar to birds or animals, and the vocabulary used for foreigners was often generic based on where they lived. Xià, Hàn and Táng, then, all functioned mainly as ethnic terms, and all three originally came from old names for China or Chinese dynasties. Also, there is the term Zhōngguó, the “Central State” or “States,” which at first referred to the capital as a geographical term and then to the most central and civilised Chinese states of the Zhōu Dynasty, but which came to be the general name for the whole of China.

Finally, we should note that the modern concept of ethnic consciousness appeared late in China, under Western influence. While used at various points in this essay, Hàn as an ethnic term was only used from the late imperial period onwards.

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50 See also the terms for the original Four Yí discussed in note 41 above.
52 Wilkinson, Chinese History, 353. The basis for this is found in the Hàn Shū, see: Ban, Han Shu, liezhuan 64, Xiōngnu liezhuan shang 列傳第六十四 匈奴列傳上, 11:3780: “The chányú sent an envoy to offer a book to the Hàn, saying: “In the south there is the Great Hàn, in the north there are the Strong Hú” 單于遣使遺漢書云：“南有大漢，北有強胡.”
54 Wade, “The Ming Shi-lu,” 28; Wilkinson, Chinese History, 350, 352. We see this also from the use of the terms for the Four Yí, as described above in note 41.
55 The ethnic term Xià date from the last centuries BC, see: Van Ess, “Chinese Identity.”
57 Van Ess, “Chinese Identity.”
58 The ethnic term Hàn can be traced to the 1st century BC, but it only became widely used after the Táng 唐 (618-907). The modern ethnic term Hànzú 漢族 (Hàn ethnicity), then, made its appearance in the standard dynastic histories towards the end of the Northern Wèi 北魏 Dynasty (386-535) in the Běi Qí Shū 北齊書 (Book of the Northern Qi), finished in 636, and in roughly contemporaneous works, while Hànrèn 漢人 (Hàn people) is attested in the Shǐjì 史記 from the 1st century BC and in all subsequent dynastic histories. See: Behr, “’To Translate,’” 178; Van Ess, “Chinese Identity;” and Wilkinson, Chinese History, 195-96.
1.7.3 Terms used in descriptions

Due to the differing conditions described in my source texts, the vocabulary that helped me locate and analyse descriptions of foreigners in the material varied between each chapter, though some terms were helpful in several texts.

These include the terms for “customs” 俗 (sú)\(^{59}\) and “human nature” 人性 (rénxìng), and the terms for “culture.”\(^{60}\) On one hand, I searched for the word for “war” 战 (zhàn) as well as other related terms for warfare\(^{61}\) and violence.\(^{62}\) On the other, I looked for the term for “trade” 商 (shāng) and related words.\(^{63}\) Trade and war were stressed because they were among the main forms of Sino-foreign contacts. Moreover, there is the term 野 ("wild," "open country," etc.), which was used in combination with other words to form derogatory terms for foreigners.\(^{64}\) Finally, I have looked for what could be considered “exotic,” though not necessarily negative, aspects in the different circumstances described, but these vary according to the context of each text.

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\(^{59}\) Another term with a similar meaning is 風 ("custom," with the base meaning "wind"); these terms have a derogatory meaning when compared to “real” culture.

\(^{60}\) These terms include 文 ("culture," “civilised” etc.), 化 ("cultivation," with the core meaning “change”), and 化外 ("outside of civilisation").


\(^{63}\) Including 貿易 (also “trade”) and 通商 ("have trade relations").

\(^{64}\) Such as such as 野蛮, 傳威 and 野番, see Shen, “’Yeman’ kaoyuan,” 386.
2 Northern and Southern Dynasties perceptions: The image of the northern steppe nomads in the *Hòu Hàn Shū*

In this chapter, I will consider the steppe nomads, who often played an important role in Chinese history and even came to be the rulers of Chinese states. These were considered foreigners by the Chinese due to their original location outside of the Chinese state and their different culture. As they were often negatively perceived by the Chinese, would their position as rulers be enough to rid them of the negative views?

Because of the historical role played by steppe nomads, the Chinese view of them, as portrayed in the influential dynastic histories, form an important part of how the Chinese viewed foreigners. Therefore, whether or not this portrayal reflects the traditional world-view has much to say for the validity of this world-view.

2.1 Research method

This chapter will focus on how the steppe nomads were portrayed in the historical work *Hòu Hàn Shū* (or the *Book of the Later Hàn*), written by Fàn Yè 范曄 (398–445), among others, in the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 (Nánběicháo) period (420-589).\(^{65}\) While the perceptions I study will be those of the era in which this work was written, the historical period concerned will be that of the preceding Later Hàn Dynasty (25-220 AD). Undoubtedly, however, these perceptions were much influenced by those of former eras.

Within the extensive *Hòu Hàn Shū*, I will analyse the description of the Xiōngnú 匈奴, *Wūhuàn 烏桓* and *Xiānbēi 鮮卑* peoples, with my main emphasis on the Xiōngnú. These three peoples were selected because among the peoples described in early historical works, they are

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the ones that can be clearly defined as “northern steppe nomads.”\footnote{66} Mostly I will analyse the “biographies” 列傳 (lièzhuàn) of these peoples, but will also at times consult other parts of the work. I will briefly consider whether the portrayal of the steppe nomads is representative of how other foreign groups are portrayed. This analysis examines in which situations the nomads appear, how detailed the description is and what vocabulary is used. The portrayal is also compared to those found in previous historical works, and I discuss whether or not the Hòu Hàn Shū “rationalises” the nomads, that is makes them believable and understandable for its contemporaries, like the previous history Shìjì 史記 (Historian’s Records, also known as the Tàishīgōng Shū 太史公書, the Records of the Grand Historian) does.

2.2 The Chinese historiographical tradition

2.2.1 The Hòu Hàn Shū and its predecessors

As the name suggests, Hòu Hàn Shū describes the history of the Later Hàn Dynasty.\footnote{67} The work is part of the Chinese tradition of dynastic or “standard histories” 正史 (zhèngshǐ),\footnote{68} where it was preceded by the Shìjì, the Hàn Shū 漢書 (Book of Hàn) and the Sānguó Zhì 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms). These four works, along with a number of later books, later came to be considered as part of the so-called Twenty-Four Histories 二十四史 (Èrshíshì Shǐ), which were regarded as the orthodox historical works of imperial China.\footnote{69} This genre and its position, however, evolved much over the centuries, so that the designation as “standard histories” is not without its problems. Like other works in the historiographic tradition, the Hòu Hàn Shū is subdivided into different sections, namely imperial annals 續 (jì), biographies and records 志 (zhì).\footnote{70}

\footnotetext[66]{John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, China, A New history (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 61, 73; Charles Holcombe, “The Xianbei in Chinese History,” Early Medieval China 19 (2013): 3, 5, doi: 10.1179/1529910413Z.0000000006. Holcombe indicates that the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi were originally as much involved in hunting and even agriculture as they were in animal husbandry.}

\footnotetext[67]{From the reign of Wáng Mǎng 王莽 (9-23 AD) to that of Emperor Xiàn 献帝 (189-220).}

\footnotetext[68]{Wilkinson, Chinese History, 620, 626.}

\footnotetext[69]{This series of books written over many centuries gradually came to be accepted as official by the ruling regimes, and later on, each dynasty would take upon itself the task to write a history of its predecessor. The term “Twenty-Four Histories” date from the Qīng 清 era, see Wilkinson, Chinese History, 620-21.}

\footnotetext[70]{These subdivisions originated with the Shìjì, which, however, had an additional subdivisions for tables 表 (biǎo), treaties 書 (shū) and hereditary houses 世家 (shìjiā), while lacking the section on records. For the structure of dynastic histories, see: Wilkinson, Chinese History, 621.}
One should note the circumstances during which Fàn Yè and his colleagues worked. Unlike the precursors in the main historiographical tradition, the two first of which were written when the *Hàn* Empire was united and strong, keeping the steppe nomads at bay, the *Hòu Hàn Shū* was written in the period known as the Northern and Southern Dynasties. This period and the preceding Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 (*Shíliùguó*, 304-439) period was characterised by the invasions of northern China by non-*Hàn* peoples that followed the collapse of the *Hàn* state. These peoples settled and founded their own kingdoms, which initiated a long period of chaos and disunity, in which the invaders also mixed with the Chinese and where it became harder and harder to distinguish the two. The *Hòu Hàn Shū* was written in the *Liú Sòng* 劉宋 Dynasty (420-79), one of the ethnic *Hàn* Chinese Southern Dynasties of the period.

While the *Shǐjì* is a so-called general or universal history 通史 (*tōngshǐ*), attempting to record all of history, the following works mostly cover a single dynasty or historical period, which is why they are often called dynastic histories. This difference will prove to be important for their portrayal of foreign peoples.

### 2.2.2 Foreign peoples in the historiographical works

The dynastic histories have been said to contain, besides a wealth of information about China, a considerable quantity of information about the outside world. Therefore part of the *Hòu Hàn Shū* is concerned with the foreign peoples; this part falls at the end of the *lièzhuàn* category, and consists of six of the work’s 120 *juǎn* 卷 (chapters or volumes). As classified in the book, the peoples described are the Eastern *Yí* 東夷, the Southern *Mán* 南蠻 (*Nánmán*), and Southwestern *Yí* 西南夷 (*Xīnán Yí*), the Western *Qiāng* 西羌 (*Xī Qiāng*) the Western Regions 西域 (*Xīyù*), the Southern *Xiōngnú* 南匈奴 (*Nán Xiōngnú*), and the *Wūhuán* and *Xiān bēi*. The Eastern *Yí*, the Southern *Mán* and Southwestern *Yí* and the Western...

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71 The “Sixteen Kingdoms (304-439)” were *Chéng-Hàn* 成漢, Former *Zhào* 前趙, Later *Zhào* 後趙, Former *Yán* 前燕, Later *Yán* 後燕, Northern *Yàn* 北燕, Southern *Yàn* 南燕, Former *Liáng* 前涼, Later *Liáng* 後涼, Northern *Liáng* 北涼, Southern *Liáng* 南涼, Western *Liáng* 西涼, Former *Qín* 前秦, Later *Qín* 後秦, Western *Qín* 西秦 and *Xià* 夏.

72 Fan, *Hou Han Shu*, 1: *xiaodian shuoming* 1.


74 Ibid., 355.

Regions are general names for groups of peoples or regions, and are all further subdivided into numerous lesser groupings or tribes. Besides neighbouring peoples such as the Nánmán and Qiāng, the accounts also describe faraway kingdoms such as Japan (倭, Wa) and even the Roman Empire, known to the Chinese as the Dà Qín 大秦.  

The use of part of the biography section to describe non-Chinese peoples is a continuation from the preceding works – starting with the Shìjì. Chinese historiography recounted the history of both China and the Inner Asian steppe nomads. Though works dating to the Zhōu 周 Dynasty (ca. 1046-256 BC) had portrayed foreign peoples, it was the account found in the Shìjì that became the model for representation of northern peoples in historical literature.  

The Shìjì’s account was especially important, as it assumed that the steppe peoples would always be the opposite “other” the Chinese needed to identify themselves – ideas that later became, largely through this book’s influence, central to the Sinocentric world-view. Except for that, the Shìjì described the nomads in a more realistic and detailed way than any previous work had done, characterised – as is the rest of the book – by a careful selection of sources. Thus, the Shìjì’s account, which through its detailed description of the Xiōngnù makes them seem realistic, opened the way for an even more detailed account in the Hòu Hàn Shū.  

The scholar Nicola Di Cosmo has said that the Shìjì’s account “rationalised” and “legitimised” the nomads, and gave them an essential place in history in the Chinese world-view – they were antagonistic to and yet complementary to China. For example, as we shall see below, the Xiōngnû were said to be descended from the Xiàhòu 夏后 clan, which in this book is claimed to be the leading family of the Xià 夏 Dynasty (ca. 2070-1600 BC) – allegedly the first Chinese dynasty – thus clearly creating a link to Chinese history even in  

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76 For the use of this name for the Roman Empire, see: Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “The Roman Empire as Known to Han China,” Journal of the American Oriental Society 119, no. 1 (1999), 71.  
77 Qu, “Chinese ethnic minority historiography,” 167.  
78 Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 255; Qu, “Chinese ethnic minority historiography,” 167.  
79 Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 2, 9-10, 294.  
80 Ibid., 9-10, 273, 316.  
81 Ibid., 294-5, 297.  
82 Sima Qian 司馬遷, Shiji 史記, 10 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1972), benji 2, Xia benji 本紀第二 夏本紀, 1:89: “The Grand Historian 太史公 says: Yǔ 禹 was surnamed Si 姜. After him [land property] was divide [and] given to the descendants, [who] took the country as their surname. Therefore [there] is the Xiàhòu lineage… 太史公曰：禹為姒姓，其後分封，用國為姓，故有夏后氏…” (Followed by more names of lineages.)
their origins. Furthermore, unlike in previous accounts, the nomads were seen as subject to the same metaphysical rules that were thought to explain Chinese history.\textsuperscript{83} Below, I will examine whether a similar rationalisation of them can be found in the \textit{Hòu Hàn Shū}.

Finally, it has been said that the portrayal of foreign peoples could serve contemporary political ends – portraying them as uncivilised could be part of legitimising the conquest of these peoples.\textsuperscript{84} However, there is little evidence of a “civilising mission” of China towards foreign peoples during \textit{Hàn} times.\textsuperscript{85}

\section*{2.3 The Xiōngnú and other steppe nomads}

Though the Chinese saw themselves as more advanced than the nomads due to the latter’s lack of formal government, fixed boundaries and literary culture,\textsuperscript{86} the nomads had considerable power in China at the time the history was written, and they also played an important role in later periods of Chinese history. By the early \textit{Hàn} Dynasty, Inner Asian nomadism had reached a mature stage, but had already existed for centuries.\textsuperscript{87} The northern nomads were especially important as they influenced Chinese history, foreign policy and world-view much more than did China’s western, southern and eastern neighbours.\textsuperscript{88}

However, the actual nomadic ethnic groups involved, and their political organisation, changed numerous times. Ethnolinguistically, the identity of the \textit{Xiōngnú} cannot be safely determined and was possibly multi-ethnic, and while the \textit{Wūhuán} and \textit{Xiānbēi} might have been ethnically heterogeneous as well – each group name might have more of a political meaning than an ethnic one – they were both mainly proto-Mongolic peoples with some Turkic influence.\textsuperscript{89}

While the \textit{Xiōngnú} is said to have referred to themselves with a term transcribed \textit{Hú 胡} in Chinese, the name commonly used for them in Chinese literature has the unflattering meaning “violent slaves.”\textsuperscript{90}

\begin{thebibliography}{90}
\bibitem{DiCosmoAncientChina297} Di Cosmo, \textit{Ancient China}, 297.
\bibitem{Ibid267} Ibid., 267.
\bibitem{Ibid267} Loewe, “China's Sense of Unity,” 8.
\bibitem{DiCosmoAncientChina273} Di Cosmo, \textit{Ancient China}, 273.
\bibitem{Suzuki192} Suzuki, “China’s Relations with Inner Asia,” 192.
\bibitem{DiCosmoAncientChina163} Di Cosmo, \textit{Ancient China}, 163; Fairbank and Goldman, \textit{China}, 73; Holcombe, “The Xianbei,” 3-4, 8, 38.
\end{thebibliography}
In particular, the Xiōngnú can be noted for their unity in a strong confederation – the first nomadic empire of Inner Asia\(^91\) – the many wars which they fought with the Hàn state, and their role in the Sixteen Kingdoms period after the fall of the Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-420), where they founded some of the kingdoms.\(^92\) They became a significant part of Chinese politics of the Hàn era, and the Hàn-Xiōngnú relationship was characterised by a cycle of weakness and strength where at different times one part would be stronger.\(^93\)

In general, the Chinese had two ways of dealing with the Xiōngnú threat, which was to either defeat them militarily or to appease the nomads by giving them Hàn princesses to marry and lavish gifts; the latter alternative was known as Hégīn 和親.\(^94\) Over time, this appeasement policy eventually came to be abolished in favour of military campaigns.\(^95\) Additionally many Chinese scholars advocated spreading Chinese culture to the nomads as a way of pacifying them.\(^96\) One should also note the division of this people into the Northern 北匈奴 (Běi Xiōngnú) and Southern Xiōngnú 南匈奴 (Nán Xiōngnú) in Chinese sources, as this division was important in the history of Sino-Xiōngnú relations, where the Southern group became the allies of the Hàn against the Northern group.\(^97\) The Xiōngnú were further divided into smaller groups, which is reflected in the Hòu Hán Shū.

The Xiānbēi, on the other hand, played a more important role in the Sixteen Kingdoms period than the Xiōngnú, establishing numerous kingdoms, as well as founding or influencing the five states of the Northern Dynasties and the following Táng 唐 Dynasty (617-907), as well as leaving some traces in Chinese culture.\(^98\) However, they seem to be less frequently spoken of in relation to the Hàn Dynasty than were the Xiōngnú. Finally, the Wūhuán 烏桓 played a smaller role in history, but can be noted for their defeat by Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155-220) in the battle of

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\(^{91}\) Di Cosmo, *Ancient China*, 299.

\(^{92}\) Holcombe, “The Xianbei,” 17-8; Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, 61. The kingdoms founded by the Xiōngnú were: Former Zhào, Northern Liáng and Xià.


\(^{94}\) Di Cosmo, *Ancient China*, 161, 176.

\(^{95}\) Ibid., 9.

\(^{96}\) Suzuki, “China’s Relations with Inner Asia,” 181.

\(^{97}\) Fairbank and Goldman, *China*, 61.

\(^{98}\) Gao Mingshi 高明士, Qiu Tiansheng 邱添生, He Yongcheng 何永成 and Gan Huaizhen 甘懷真, *Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi* 隋唐五代史 (Taipei: Liren shuju 里仁書局, 2006), 106; Holcombe, “The Xianbei,” 1-2, 36.-7. The states founded by the Xiānbēi were: Southern Liáng, Western Qin, Northern Wèi, Eastern Wèi, Western Wèi, Former Yàn, Later Yàn and Southern Yàn and they had much influence in Northern Qi, Northern Zhōu, and Northern Yàn, which might not have ethnic Xiānbēi.
Báilángshān 白狼山. All three peoples largely disappear historical sources after the Chinese age of division – lasting from the fall of the Hán Dynasty in the 3rd century to the unification by the Suí 隋 Dynasty (581-618) and then the Táng in the 6th and 7th centuries; their role as the northern nomad enemies were taken over by other peoples as they became merged into the Chinese mainstream or into other nomadic peoples, of which some would later claim descent from these early peoples. 

At the time of the Later Hàn, then, the steppe nomads actively taking part in Chinese history included most notably the Xiōngnú, but the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi also appear numerous times in the Hòu Hán Shū.

2.4 The steppe nomads in the Hòu Hán Shū

In this section, I will analyse various aspects related to the portrayal of nomadic peoples in the Hòu Hán Shū. These are an overview of the appearances of steppe nomads in the book, an analysis of the biography of the Southern Xiōngnú and a more general one of the biographies of other peoples, and a comparison of the presentation of the nomads in the Hòu Hán Shū with how they are portrayed in two of the earlier historical works introduced above. Finally, there will be a discussion on whether the book rationalises the nomadic peoples based on the way it is claimed this is done in the Shǐjì.

2.4.1 Overview of the steppe nomads’ place in the work

The Xiōngnú are first mentioned in the Hòu Hán Shū in the latter part of the biography of Emperor Guāngwǔ 光武 (reigned 25-57 AD), the first emperor of the Latter Hàn, where they are either raiding the Hàn Dynasty’s territories, being repelled by or otherwise take part in conflict with the Hàn; these are often specified to have been the Northern Xiōngnú, with no mention of the Southern groups.

Thereafter, the Xiōngnú – sometimes spoken of as such and at other times specified as either the Northern or Southern group – are mentioned in various places throughout the imperial

99 For this battle, see: Chen Shou 陳壽, Sanguo Zhi 三國志, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1973), Wei shi 1, Wudi ji 魏書一 武帝紀, 1:29-30.

100 Holcombe, “The Xianbei,” 34-38.

101 Fan, Hou Han Shu, ji 1 xia, Guangwudi ji xia 紀第一下 光武帝紀下 (1:47-94): passim.
annals and biographies sections, and even a few times in the section on records. Most often, there is an emphasis on the many conflicts between the Xiōngnú and the Hàn, with recorded Xiōngnú attacks, Hàn generals defeating their enemy or Xiōngnú surrendering, though there are also other events recorded, such as that of the Southern Chányú 单于 – the Xiōngnú leader – visiting the court of Emperor Xiàndì 献帝 (reigned 189-220) to pay homage in the seventh month of autumn,\(^{102}\) another recurring theme. Generally, when the identity of the group is specified, which it most often is not, the Northern Xiōngnú are accountable for more conflicts than were their Southern cousins.

The Xiānbēi and Wūhuán also appear throughout the work in a similar way, though not quite as frequently as do the Xiōngnú, most often in relation to their conflicts with the Hàn. Occasionally, the nomadic peoples are spoken of in the same sentence, or as interacting with each other.\(^{103}\) It appears that all three peoples were active throughout the whole of the period covered by the book,\(^{104}\) and certainly their relatively frequent appearance must imply a certain importance to the history of the Hàn, and by extension to their world-view, with the Xiōngnú being awarded more importance than the others because of their more frequent appearances.

The steppe nomads clearly have their place in the extensive work, just as they had an important influence on Chinese history in the period covered by the book.

### 2.4.2 The Southern Xiōngnú “biography”

As the Southern Xiōngnú have their own “biography,” the Nán Xiōngnú Lièzhuàn 南匈奴列傳 (“Biography of the Southern Xiōngnú”) where the Northern group does not in the Hòu Hán Shū, my research will necessarily focus more on this group. In the rest of the Hòu Hán Shū, however, the Northern group is referred to somewhat more often. This has important implications, as we could reasonably assume that the Chinese views of the Southern group could be more positive, due to the Hàn’s generally better relations with them – though conflict certainly also took place.\(^{105}\) However, these two groups had the same origin, so that

\(^{102}\) Ibid., ji 8, Xiao Xiandì ji 續第八 孝靈帝紀, 2:388: “秋七月，匈奴南單于來朝．”

\(^{103}\) Ibid., liezhuan 54, Wú, Yan, Shī, Lu, Zhao liezhuan 吳延史盧趙列傳 列傳第五十四, 10:2123: “The Xiōngnú, Xiānbēi [and] Wūhuán [took] the opportunity to revolt… 會南匈奴、烏桓、鮮卑反叛…”

\(^{104}\) See their respective biographies: Fan, Hou Han Shu, Nan Xiongnu liezhuan and Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan, 14:2939-98.

\(^{105}\) Fan, Hou Han Shu, liezhuan 41, Li, Pang, Chen, Qiao liezhuan 列傳第四十一 李陳龐陳橋列傳, 8:1692: “At that time [the fifth year of the Yönghé era, 140] the left branch of the Southern Xiōngnú rebelled 永和五
even if the Hân people thought the two groups different, we could get to better understand their general view of this people by examining the Southern group.

This part of the Hòu Hàn Shū contains numerous details regarding the people described. It has the basic structure of an annalistic account, with records of events sorted after the year in which they took place according to the Chinese calendar making up the majority of the account. Various chányú and their actions are frequently referred to – to the extent that the word chányú must instantly have led the readers’ thought to the Xiōngnú. The descriptions are mostly quite detailed – the Hàn people did seem to have much knowledge of the whereabouts of their northern neighbours at times – but on the other hand, the amount of information we have on the Xiōngnú does not compare to the amount we have on the Hàn. For example, we know far more about any of the Later Hàn emperors, all major Hàn figures and in many cases even lesser known Hàn figures, such as Confucian scholar Yáng Zhèng (dates unknown), than we know about major Xiōngnú figures such as Hūhānxié 呼韓邪 (died 31 BC) or Yúfūluó 於扶羅 (150-95). But here one naturally has to consider the different situation in available sources concerning Hàn personages and foreign peoples.

As could be expected, with the book being told from a Hàn-centric perspective, these events often include Hàn people, but there are also references to events not involving the Hàn, which were considered important enough to be recorded in the book. Still, the Chinese calendar based on the Hàn emperors’ reigns is used to record the events here, as well as in the other biographies.

Many of the events described are conflicts of different kinds – attacks from and on the Xiōngnú – but not all events described are violent. Inner power struggles among the nomads...
are seen.\textsuperscript{109} Also, though the \textit{Xiōngnú} are seen as taking part in Chinese power struggles,\textsuperscript{110} and are at times attacked by the \textit{Hàn},\textsuperscript{111} the \textit{Hàn} generally seem portrayed in a positive way, and not as unrightfully meddling with \textit{Xiōngnú} affairs the way we know they did historically.\textsuperscript{112}

The remaining events often concern the life of the \textit{chányú}, and the events concerning the \textit{Xiōngnú} are not very varied in their nature. Indeed, one often gets the impression of them being distant, with frequent mention of messengers being sent from each side.\textsuperscript{113} The peaceful – but often disputed – \textit{Héqīn} policy is also spoken of a number of times.\textsuperscript{114} Despite the important trade relations that existed between the \textit{Hàn} and the Southern \textit{Xiōngnú}, trade does not figure frequently in the account, and is only mentioned a few times.\textsuperscript{115} Finally, part of the chapter touch upon \textit{Xiōngnú} customs, the ones described in most detail being sacrifices, leisure, titles and clans.\textsuperscript{116} If anything, these must seem an exotic element to the Chinese.

As for the vocabulary used to describe the \textit{Xiōngnú}, it is often negative, including such phrases as “recovering with hearts of wolfs”\textsuperscript{117} or “their inner violence greatly increased,”\textsuperscript{118} while positive phrases are hard to find. As previously seen, the word \textit{Xiōngnú} has an inherently negative meaning, though one could not argue for a negative view on them based on that alone. While the etymology can imply some of the background views held in the society in which he lived, it was not Fàn Yè who started using the then well-established word.

Overall, then, in this part of the book we find that the description is relatively detailed, and that the \textit{Xiōngnú} were considered notable enough to be recorded in history. Their history, however, seems limited in scope, with the lives of the rulers and the conflicts and relations
with the *Hàn* making up a huge part of the account, and we know little about them and their leaders when compared to those of the *Hàn*, though some customs are described. Also, the relevant vocabulary is largely negative, implying unflattering views on them.

### 2.4.3 Other biographies on foreign peoples and regions

Besides the account of the Southern *Xiōngnú*, the *Xiōngnú* are much featured in the Western Regions biography, where they are often specified to have been the Northern group, though unlike a number of other peoples they have no section devoted to them in this chapter. They are also often referred to in the chapter on the *Wūhuán* and *Xiānbēi*.

This chapter, like the one above, is largely a chronological account of events regarding the two peoples, though other aspects such as customs and geography are also touched upon. The events described mostly include the *Hàn* Dynasty and its people, though some events are independent of them. Indeed, the *Xiōngnú* are mentioned much more frequently than the *Hàn*. Therefore it could almost seem as these two peoples were more independent of the *Hàn* in their historical development than were the Southern *Xiōngnú*. This corresponds with the historical situation, where the latter group had particularly close relationships with the Chinese.

As for the various other peoples described in the work, namely the Southern *Mán*, the Southwestern *Yí*, the Western *Qiāng* and the peoples of the Western Regions, they are described in roughly similar ways. Negative phrases abound, such as the Eastern *Yí* being described as being “numerous and disordered to no end,” women of the Western *Qiāng* “living and dying in extreme misery,” or even the people of the Western Regions “usually

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119 E.g. *ibid*, *Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan*, 14:2981: “At the time Wáng Mǎng usurped the throne, he wished to attack the *Xiōngnú*; raising twelve army divisions, he sent the General of the Eastern Region Yán Yóu to lead *Wūhuán* and *Dínglíng* soldiers to defend *Dài* Commandery; all of the hostages were their wives in the commanderies [and] districts 及王莽篡位，欲擊匈奴，興十二部軍，使東域將嚴尤領烏桓、丁令兵屯代郡，皆質其妻子於郡縣..." The *Dínglíng* was another northern people.
120 E.g. *ibid*., *Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan*, 14:2981: “At the time of Emperor Zhāo昭 [reigned 87-74 BC], the *Wūhuán* gradually grew in strength, and so went to the family tomb of the *Xiōngnú* chányú莫頓…昭帝時，烏桓漸強，乃發匈奴單于冢墓，以報冒頓之怨...”
121 E.g. *ibid*, *Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan*, 14:2982: “In the twenty-second year [of the Jiànwǔ era, 25-56], the *Xiōngnú* country was in chaos, and the *Wūhuán* took advantage of their weakness to break them up... 二十二年，匈奴國亂，烏桓乘弱擊破之...”
122 Ibid., *Dong Yi Liezhuan*, 14:2823: “嬴末紛亂...”
123 Ibid., *Xi Qiang zhuan*, 14:2900: “...死生塗炭..."
not having splendid rites, nor having classical books.” The latter quotation seemingly emphasise the lack of civilisation. Indeed, the very names of many foreign peoples are often derogative in meaning, such as Mán and Yí, though as stated above this does not need to be seen as representing the author’s views. But there are also more positive descriptions, as when the Eastern Yí are called “usually gentle [and] prudent as their temperament,” or when it is said of the people of the Western Regions that their “human nature is excessively humble.”

Similarly, events make up a huge part of the accounts – though if anything a somewhat smaller part than is the case for the Xiōngnú. All accounts describe in some detail the customs of the described peoples, and war and conflicts feature prominently in most of them – just as they do in the Xiōngnú account. However there are more peaceful passages, such as the account of the Eastern Yí. Trade is also spoken of in all the accounts.

Although the longest account in the work describing foreign peoples is the account on the Western Qiāng, the description of the Xiōngnú is longer and more detailed than most of the other accounts. The various other peoples such as Southern Mán and Southwestern Yí also appear at some various places throughout the work, though nowhere as often as do the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi, and especially the Xiōngnú. Other places, foreigners are sometimes collectively referred to as the “Four Yí 四夷 (Sì Yí),” for example in Fàn Yè’s own judgement at the end the biography of the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi, the last of his biographies of foreign peoples.

As seen in the section above, the biography of the Xiōngnú is largely representative for the views of foreigners in general, including the negative vocabulary used for them, though some differences remain, especially as it is more detailed, and as the Xiōngnú thus were probably considered more important.

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124 Ibid., Xiyu zhuan, 14:2934: “不率華禮，莫有典書.”
125 Ibid., Dong Yi liezhuan, 14:2822-23: “故東夷通以柔謹為風.”
126 Ibid., Xiyu Zhuan, 14:2934: “人性淫虛.”
127 Ibid., Xi Qiang zhuan: 14:2869-2908; Nan Xiongnu liezhuan: 14:2939-2978.
128 Ibid., Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan, 14:2979: “The cruelty and violence of the Four Yí, their skills are mutually uncompromising. The Xiōngnú burned the prosperous Hán; the Western Róng unleashed violence on the restored China 論曰：四夷之暴，其孰互彊矣。匈奴熾於隆漢，西羌猛於中興!” for the “Four Yí,” see the terminology section in chapter 1.7.
2.4.4 Comparison of the Shǐjì, Hàn Shū and Hòu Hàn Shū’s accounts

These three early histories all have accounts on the Xiōngnű, though among them only the Hòu Hàn Shū feature an account on the Wāhuàn and Xiānběi. Compared to the two previous works, the Hòu Hàn Shū’s Nán Xiōngnű Lièzhuan is roughly as long as Shǐjì’s Xiōngnű Lièzhuan (XIōngnù Līèzhùàn, “Ranked Biography of the Xiōngnű”), but nowhere as long as the Xiōngnű Zhuàn (匈奴傳, “Biography of the Xiōngnű”) in the Hàn Shū.¹²⁹

The similarities between the two preceding accounts should be noted; with some variations and additions on either side, the Xiōngnű Lièzhuan is roughly copied in the Xiōngnű Zhuàn. This is the case up until roughly one third into the Hàn Shū’s account, from which point on the content is wholly original. However, it lacks the last paragraph from Shǐjì’s chapter, which is a judgement made by the Grand Historian 太史公 (Tàishǐgōng) Sīmǎ Qiān (司馬遷, 146-86 BC),¹³⁰ the main compiler of the book. One need only compare the beginning of the Xiōngnű Lièzuàn: “The ancestor of the Xiōngnű was a descendant of the Xiàhòu clan, named Chúnwéi 淳維”¹³² with the corresponding phrase in the Xiōngnű Zhuàn: “The predecessor of the Xiōngnű was a descendant of the Xiàhòu clan, named Chúnwéi”¹³³ to illustrate the relationship between the two accounts – often very similar, but not identical.

The similarity of the two first accounts could maybe be explained by the later work seeing itself as completing the first account by bringing the story of Xiōngnű further and closer to the present day, as what follows the point of divergence is a direct continuation of Xiōngnű history, the event corresponding to this point being the death of the Chányú Qiědíhóu 且鞮侯, which occurred around 96 BC.¹³⁴ This is roughly when the Shǐjì stops its telling of history, as this event is recorded only in the Hàn Shū.

¹²⁹ Ban, Han Shu, Xiongnu zhuàn: 11:3743-3835; Fan, Hou Han Shu, 2939-2978 Nan Xiongnu liezhuàn; Sima, Shiji, liezhuàn 50, Xiongnu liezhuān 列傳第五十 辛奴列傳: 9:2879-2920. While lièzhuàn is normally translated as “biography” in my thesis, it is here called “ranked biography” to create a distinction from the chapter in the Hàn Shū.
¹³⁰ Sima, Shiji, Xiongnu liezhuàn, 9:2919.
¹³¹ Or lineage, to distinguish shì 氏 (“lineage”) from xìng 姓 (“clan”).
¹³² Sima, Shiji, Xiongnu liezhuàn, 9:2879: “匈奴，其先祖夏后氏之苗裔也，曰淳維.”
¹³³ Ban, Han Shu, Xiongnu zhuàn shang, 11:3743: “匈奴，其先祖夏后氏之苗裔，曰淳維.”
¹³⁴ Ibid., Xiongnu zhuàn, 11:3778: “The next year, Chányú Qiědíhóu died … [This] was the first year of the Tàishǐ 太始 era [96 BC] 明年，且鞮侯單于死…是歲，太始元年也.”
The content of the *Nán Xiōngnú Lièzhuàn*, however, is wholly different from the accounts found in the *Shǐjì* and *Hàn Shū*, as we can see from the beginning of the relevant chapter:

“The Southern Xiōngnú Chányú Xīluòzhīzhúdī 醜落尸逐鞮, [with the name] Bǐ 比, was the grandson of Chányú Hūhánxié and the son of Chányú Wūzhūlìruòdī 烏珠留若鞮.”

There are no huge chunks of texts copied from the earlier works, and in theory there are no overlaps in the eras covered by each work, as the account of the *Hàn Shū* ends in the Gēngshǐ 更始 era (23-25 AD),

while the newer work starts its account in the Jiànwǔ 建武 era (25-56). Hūhánxié, however, is referred to in both works.

In a sense the account in the *Hòu Hán Shū* could be considered a continuation of the accounts of the two previous works – and perhaps especially of the *Hàn Shū*, as indicated by its name – rather than a completion of them, which would imply that it need not repeat the content of the previous work, but rather make a fruitful addition to it.

As for how the nomads appear in each work, there are certain background factors to consider. Sīmǎ Qiān could have been regarded as “barbarophile” by his contemporaries. Despite being greedy and arrogant, the Xiōngnú in his account are still a people with their own traditions, which he tried to understand. Bān Gù 班固 (32-92 AD), the main author of the *Hàn Shū*, however, was clearly at odds with his precursor’s view, and supported more a militant policy, as opposed to Sīmǎ’s pacifism. Sima lived in period of sharp confrontation; his approach came from experience and knowledge, which made him see the Xiōngnú as an unsolved political problem. Bān, on the other hand, lived in a period where the Xiōngnú were less threatening, with China stronger and more confident. As for Fàn Yè, we know that he had a gentry background from Héběi, but we do not seem to know much about his

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135 Fan, *Hou Han Shu*, Nan Xiongnu liezhuan, 14:2939: “南匈奴醜落尸逐鞮單于比者，呼韓邪單于之孫，烏珠留若鞮單于之子也.”


137 Fan, *Hou Han Shu*, Nan Xiongnu liezhuan, 14:2940.

138 E.g. Ban, *Han Shu*, Xiongnu zhuan, 11:3790: “Gūxīwáng 姑夕王 was afraid, then at once agreed with Wūchánmù 烏禪幕 as well as the nobles of the left branch to together make Jhôusí 稷侯甥 the chányú 呼韓邪單于.” For the reference in the *Hou Han Shu*, see note 135 above.


140 Ibid., 271.

141 Ibid., 271-2.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid., 271.
interactions with and view on foreign peoples. Though he was from North China and lived during a time of foreign invasions, he spent his life serving the Hán-ruled Liú Sòng Dynasty.

As we have seen, the Xiōngnú are described with several very negative phrases in the Hòu Hàn Shū. In the Shǐjì, then, the negative vocabulary is not as prominent, whereas in the Hàn Shū we can find such derogatory terms as “human faces but hearts of beasts” used for the Xiōngnú, highlighting a negative view of them, as well as of other foreign groups.

Information in all fields was expanded in the Shǐjì. Various aspects of Xiōngnú life are carefully reported in Shǐjì, including social organisation, rituals, religion and language. The descriptions are here characterised by objectivity and lack of the prejudice that was otherwise common in his age. Like the Shǐjì, as we have seen, the Hòu Hàn Shū also describes various Xiōngnú customs, though not in as much detail as in the former work.

All in all, there is a value-laden description of the Xiōngnú in the Shǐjì, which is sometimes to the advantage of Chinese, and at others a romantisation of the “simple” nomad life versus the strict regimentation of Chinese life. We can also see in the Shǐjì an anxiety towards and criticism of the costly Hán-Xiōngnú wars, with the magnitude of the conflicts and the suffering it imposed vividly described. Such romantisation or anxiety cannot be clearly seen in the Hòu Hàn Shū.

These three different historical works each have their accounts dealing with foreign peoples. However, while the Shǐjì generally is quite objective and interested when it comes to the foreigners, the Hàn Shū has a more negative view of them, and the Hòu Hàn Shū seems to lie somewhere in between, with both positive and – more often – negative things said about the foreign peoples.

145 Ibid., 39.
146 Ban, Han Shu, Xiongnu liezhuan, 11:3834: “人面獸心.”
147 Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 304.
148 Ibid., 272-81.
149 Ibid., 272.
150 Ibid., 276.
151 Ibid., 278.
152 Ibid., 286-7, 289.
2.4.5 Does the Hòu Hàn Shū rationalise the nomads?

Sīmǎ has been said to “rationalise” the nomadic peoples in his work, and in his book on the relations between China and the steppe nomads, Di Cosmo analyses how this is done.\textsuperscript{153} This section will base itself upon his analysis of how the Shǐjì makes the Xiōngnū a logical part of the Chinese world-view, and which main points this analysis includes. Are these also present in the Hòu Hàn Shū?

As Di Cosmo points out, one way the nomads are made understandable for the Chinese is by examining their ethnic origin to find ancient connections with the ancestors of the Hàn people and with other, earlier nomadic groups. However, unlike its predecessors the Hòu Hàn Shū does not probe the mythological origins of the Xiōngnū as does the two other works with their near-identical accounts, but start its account with more recent events – with, as seen above, the chányú Xīluòshīzhúdī (died 55 AD).\textsuperscript{154} As for the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi, their account starts with explaining them as descending from the earlier Eastern Hú 東胡 (Dōnghú), and then goes on explaining how they got their names as well as their customs and events in recent history.\textsuperscript{155} Though we can trace their history back to the Eastern Hú, the account does not go back to antiquity and there is also no obvious link to early Chinese history. Therefore we cannot find the same kind of “rationalisation” in this aspect in this account when compared to the Shǐjì.

Since the ancient origin of the nomads is already explained and rationalised in the previous work, the Hòu Hàn Shū did perhaps not need to rationalise the nomads in this way. Still, however, since the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi are connected to a later and known ancestral people, they would become less foreign and less threatening, as Di Cosmo sees it.\textsuperscript{156}

Another aspect in Di Cosmo’s analysis is the so-called “correlative cosmology.” Here, the Xiōngnū were part of an all-inclusive vision in cosmological thinking.\textsuperscript{157} In the cosmological

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid., 294-311.
\textsuperscript{154} Fan, Hòu Han Shu, Nan Xiongnu liezhuan, 14:2939. More precisely, this account claims to start in the beginning of the Jiànwǔ era (25-56).
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid., Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan, 14:2979: “The Wūhuán were originally the Eastern Hú. In the early Hàn, when the Xiōngnū [chányú] Mòdū destroyed their country, the remaining group protected Wūhuánshān 烏桓山, from which they took their name 烏桓者，本東胡也。漢初，匈奴冒頓滅其國，餘類保烏桓山，因以為號焉;” Wuhuan Xianbei liezhuan, 14:2985: “The Xiānbēi is also a branch of the Eastern Hú. They especially prefer Xiānbēishān 鮮卑山, and [it] was for that reason they took their name. Their language and customs are similar to those of the Xiānbēi 鮮卑者，亦東胡之支也，別依鮮卑山，故因號焉。其言語習俗與烏桓同.”
\textsuperscript{156} Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 299.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., 304.
system, the northern nomads were seen as dependent on certain celestial bodies, and were also identified with 隱 Chinese philosophy.\(^{158}\) Thus they were dialectically opposed to and yet complementary of China, which was identified with 阳.\(^{159}\) This set the Xiōngnú apart from the other foreigners surrounding China, which was not awarded this astrological significance, and they were thus guaranteed a perennial place in Chinese cosmology and history.\(^{160}\) In the 載h Hàn Shū, on the other hand, I can see no clear metaphysical significance attached to the Xiōngnú.

The last aspect of Di Cosmo’s analysis concerns prognostications, which is much related to correlative cosmology. The prognostications concern astronomical predictions, where for instance the movements of Venus 金星 (Jīnxīng) were thought to affect the Sino- Xiōngnú relationship.\(^{161}\) Once again, the 載h Hàn Shū does not seem to speak of this in relation to the Xiōngnú.

We have to conclude that the different nature of the Shǐjì and the 載h Hàn Shū influences how the two peoples are presented. That is, the former work was, despite its shortcomings, perceived as a universal history, while later historical works including the 載h Hàn Shū were generally not. In the case of the Xiōngnú this applies to the 載h Hàn Shū, but not to the Hàn Shū, which apparently aims to recount all of Xiōngnú history, even beyond the era otherwise described in the book.

Overall, as the Xiōngnú history found in the 載h Hàn Shū does not explore the origins of this people, unlike the two previous historical works, and also does not give them a comparative metaphysical role; therefore, they are not “rationalised” in the same way. However, the way their history is presented, as well as that of other peoples such as the Wūhuán and Xiānbēi, is generally realistic and at times detailed, and therefore still seems mostly credible even to the modern reader, even if the significance of this is nowhere as important as that of the “rationalisation” found in the Shǐjì.

\(^{158}\) Ibid., 304-5.  
\(^{159}\) Ibid., 305.  
\(^{160}\) Ibid., 305-6.  
\(^{161}\) Ibid., 306.
2.5 Conclusion

Steppe nomads played an important role in several eras of Chinese history, including both at the time narrated by the *Hòu Hàn Shū*, namely the Later Hán Dynasty, and the time it was written, which was the period of division that followed.

The *Hòu Hàn Shū* was a part of a historiographical tradition in Chinese history that had been started by the *Shǐjì* some five centuries before, and that came to be seen as the orthodox version of the past. Even from the outset, this tradition had included detailed descriptions of foreign peoples, and the *Hòu Hàn Shū* followed suit by devoting a part of its content to a number of peoples outside of what was then China.

Among the people described were the steppe nomads Xiōngnú, Wūhuán the Xiānbēi. These appear in various places throughout of the work, and most importantly in the biographies of foreign peoples. The descriptions found mainly concerns events, though customs are also described. Altogether the rather detailed descriptions imply that the foreign people were considered important, but the way they are presented through events makes them look distant, less cultured and often violent from the Chinese point of view. Overall, the derogatory vocabulary commonly used would indicate a rather negative view. The accounts of the steppe nomads are comparable in most ways to those describing other foreign peoples, though the Xiōngnú clearly were considered more important.

The rationalisation of the nomads first appeared in the *Xiōngnú* chapter of the *Shǐjì*. The account in the *Hòu Hàn Shū*, however, is not as thorough in explaining the metaphysical position of the Xiōngnú, but it does describe them in a basically realistic way. The difference here should at least in part be ascribed to the different natures of the books, as the first book saw itself as a universal history, which is not the case for the latter. Therefore the comparison of the *Shǐjì* and later histories such as the *Hòu Hàn Shū* should not be taken too far.

In relation to my main research topic, the views of the northern nomads described here seem to correspond well with the theories of Sinocentrism, seeing how the nomads are generally seen as distant and less civilised. The traditional Chinese world-view would therefore be useful in understanding the views conveyed in the *Hòu Hàn Shū*. 
3 The Chinese Buddhist view of India in the Táng Dynasty, as seen in the Dà Táng Xīyù Jì

The Buddhist religion, with its origin located in faraway India, became increasingly popular in China after the fall of the Hán 漢 Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), reaching its high tide there during the early Táng 唐 Dynasty (618-907), an unprecedentedly cosmopolitan era in Chinese history.\textsuperscript{162} Could India be viewed in a positive way at that time in China, as seen through Buddhist eyes?

This chapter will consider whether religion influenced the perceptions of foreigners. With religion often being a powerful source of influence in people’s world-views, and with India being one of the important but distant regions China interacted with, could perhaps religion influence the Chinese world-view?

3.1 Research method

In order to research the view of the Indians that were held by Chinese Buddhists, I will analyse parts of the book Dà Táng Xīyù Jì 大唐西域記 (Great Táng Records on the Western Regions), written by the Chinese Buddhist monk Xuánzàng 玄奘 (ca. 600-62). In this book, I will consider the description of the people in what at the time was considered India.

I will focus primarily on juǎn 卷 (chapters or volumes) eight and nine, describing the so-called “Country of Magadha 摩揭陁 (Mójiētuó),”\textsuperscript{163} as well as the description of the Indian ruler Harṣāvardhana 戒日 (Jièrì, ca. 590-646) found in juǎn five.\textsuperscript{164} The reason for this


\textsuperscript{163} Mójiētuóguó 摩揭陁國: The Country of Magadha, as it is known in Xuánzàng’s work. In modern Chinese Mójiētuó refers to the ancient kingdom of Magadha. See: Xuanzang 玄奘 and Bianji 辯機, Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu 大唐西域記校注, ed. Ji Xianlin 季羡林 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1985), juan 8 卷第八, 620n. For a note on transcriptions from Sanskrit, see Chapter 1.6.

\textsuperscript{164} Harṣāvardhana is introduced as Héxíshāfádànnà 易利沙伐彈那 in the book, which is a transcription of the original Sanskrit name. The name Śīlāditya 尸羅阿迭多, is also given; the latter was the name he used after becoming king. Later on, he is called Jièrì (“Guarding the Sun,” a translation of Śīlāditya) in the book, which is the common Chinese name for him, though more often he is simply referred to as “the King 王,” see Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5 卷第五, 428, 432, 436.
selection is that, as the Indian kingdom most extensively described by the Chinese pilgrim, the description of Magadha and the ruler Harśavardhana that Xuánzàng personally met may be taken as representative for how the monk viewed India, and furthermore that the additional details in this account will help us to see clearer his perceptions of the places he visited and people he met. I hope that Xuánzàng, despite his fame and personal experiences, can be seen as a representative of the Chinese Buddhists.

Within the selected texts, I will look for specific descriptions of places, their inhabitants and local customs and culture, both Buddhist and non-Buddhist. A Buddhist bias, though potentially problematic, is unavoidable in this account due to the way the Buddhist monk presented India with a considerable focus on Buddhist sites, learning and history.

How to define India is an important question, as there were a at time a number of competing Indian kingdoms, and as ancient India was seen as including territories that lie outside of today’s India. In my thesis, I will base myself on what Xuánzàng would have considered to part of what he calls the “Five India 五印度 (Wǔ Yìndù),” as he appears to have a rather clear concept of what was included, and also gives information on the region as a whole. Thus I will see India as primarily a cultural region, which corresponds roughly to the Indian subcontinent, or the modern states of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

My translations from Xuánzàng’s text has benefitted from Michael Beddow and A. Charles Muller’s “Digital Dictionary of Buddhism.”

3.2 The monk and his account

3.2.1 China and India

It is evident that during a period of several hundred years starting around the first century AD – it is not sure exactly when – India had an important influence on China, in areas such as

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165 For an overview of the five regions of India and the countries included in them as Xuánzàng saw them, see: Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, “Xuanzang yu’ Da Tang Xiyu Ji’玄奘與《大唐西域記》,” 68-76 (by Ji Xiánlin 季羡林). The Five India were Northern (北), Central (中), Eastern (東), Southern (南) and Western (西) India 印度.
mythology, philosophy, cuisine, language, economy and the arts. This influence came especially through Buddhism, which was remarkably successfully established in China, with Tantric Buddhism being especially influential. It also came through the at times rich trade between the two countries, which mostly consisted of luxury goods, and there were even a number of diplomatic exchanges, with Buddhism involved in both of these. India and China had developed their civilisations separately due to the physically boundaries between them, and both developed their own zones of influence. Trade relations between them date back to the third century BC, and from then on grew at a rapid pace, with the introduction of Buddhism triggering a profusion of religious exchange between the two countries. Already in the 7th century, sacred Buddhist sites were pivots for Sino-Indian relations.

However, despite the notable influence going from India to China, there was little direct contact between the two countries, with intermediaries – most importantly Central Asians – providing the most important means of contact. Indeed, the introduction of Buddhism in China was a multi-ethnic process, where both Chinese and foreign monks worked to make the religion adaptable to Chinese society. We should note that besides the Tāng period being often called the “golden age of Buddhism in China,” this was a period when various Buddhist kingdoms ruled over the trade routes of Central Asia under Tāng suzerainty. Furthermore, the information on India found in the Hán Shū是 is copied from the Shǐjì史記, which implies that the Hán had limited if any contact with the region south of Gandhāra before the introduction of Buddhism.

There were, however, certain individuals – sometimes as part of embassies – who made the journey all the way from China to India – or the other way around. On the Chinese side, the most important travellers were the three pilgrims Fǎxiǎn法顯 (377-ca. 422 AD), Xuánzàng

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170 Xinru Liu, Ancient India and Ancient China, Trade and Religious Exchange AD 1-600 (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990), 174-5; Sen, Buddhism, 16, 34-35, 44.
171 Sen, Buddhism, 1.
172 Ibid., 1, 3.
173 Ibid., 2.
175 Xinru Liu, The Silk Road in World History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 72, 87.
176 Sen, Buddhism, 4. Both works have been introduced in Chapter 2.2; the Hán Shū dates from the 2nd century AD, while the Shǐjì is from the 1st century BC. India is known as Shēndú身毒 or Tiānzhǔ天竺 in these works.
(ca. 602-64) and Yìjīng 易經 (635-713), while Zhú Shuòfó 竺朮佛 (2nd century) and possibly Bodhidharma 菩提達摩 (Pútídámó) (5th or 6th century) were Indian missionaries going the other way.177 Indeed, it has been said that during the Táng, there were plenty of Indian Buddhist monks in China.178 For the most part, however, the journey was considered too dangerous, and the Chinese travellers mentioned above became famous largely because of their journeys, rather than what they learnt in India.179

Buddhism came to influence diplomatic and trade relations of China with other countries, as it encouraged trade and strengthened trade networks, and through the use of Buddhist monks in diplomatic positions.180 The religion even played a role in challenging the Chinese perception of themselves as having the only civilised society, as Buddhist texts portrayed India as cultured.181 Even more so, as the place of origin of Buddhism, India held a special place in the world-view of Chinese Buddhists. Chinese Buddhist monks were both inspired and haunted by the “perfection” of India as they imagined it, which China could never be equal to.182 This is what is called the “borderline complex.” In a break with Chinese tradition they used the word Zhōngguó 中國 – which as we have seen usually is one of the main names for China – mostly to refer to India.183 The monk Dàoxuán 道玄 (596-667) even argued that India should be considered the world’s centre; such arguments forced certain Chinese scribes to give India a special position in the Chinese world-view.184

Therefore, India was described as a mystic and “holy” land in Buddhist accounts and in storytelling. It attained a unique spiritual and cultural equality with China by the 7th century.185 Contrary to this, however, despite the broad support for Buddhism amongst both the general population and the court, there were also many Chinese opposed to Buddhism.

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177 John R. McRae, “The Hagiography of Bodhidharma: Reconstructing the Point of Origin of Chinese Chan Buddhism,” in India in the Chinese Imagination: Myth, Religion, and Thought, ed. John Kieschnick and Meir Shahar (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 128; “Introduction,” 3. Sen, “The spread of Buddhism,” 19. Though Zhú Shuòfó’s name, as transmitted to us, is Chinese, his last name indicates that he was a native of Tiānzhú, i.e. India, see: Ch’en, Western and Central Asians, 13. McRae considers that while Bodhidharma has often been depicted considered Indian by the Chinese, it is more likely that he was of Central Asian origin.
179 “Introduction,” 3-4.
181 Ibid., 23.
182 “Introduction,” 5.
183 Ibid.; Wilkinson, Chinese History, 192. For the term Zhōngguó, see sections 1.5 and 1.6.
184 Sen, Buddhism, 9-10; Sen, “The spread of Buddhism,” 23. Dàoxuán’s arguments were also on cultural, and not exclusively religious; arguments such as this, claiming India to be cultured, were sometimes needed to counter Daoist and Confucian criticism of Buddhism.
185 Sen, Buddhism, 8. Erik Zürcher called India a “holy country” in the Chinese context.
and they drew a much more negative image of the Indians.\textsuperscript{186} Buddhism was at times even persecuted or subject to government control, though it is unclear how directly this was related to its foreign origins.\textsuperscript{187}

Even though Buddhism eventually declined in India – which was one reason that China came to be a main centre of Buddhism – the Buddhist interactions between India and China did not rapidly decline during the \textit{Táng} Dynasty and continued until at least the \textit{Yuán} Dynasty (1271-1368). While the intellectual exchange of Buddhist doctrines declined, the import of Indian Buddhist artefacts to China only reached a high point under the \textit{Sòng} Dynasty (960-1279) starting in the 10th century.\textsuperscript{188}

\subsection*{3.2.2 Xuánzàng and the \textit{Dà Táng Xīyù Jì},}

The Buddhist monk Xuánzàng went on a pilgrimage to India in order to study Buddhist texts in the middle of the 7th century. Though most other Chinese monks going to India during the \textit{Táng} went by sea,\textsuperscript{189} he went by the way of the Central Asian trade routes. Xuánzàng has been called the most famous person connected to Sino-Indian relations.\textsuperscript{190}

For a long time after his return to China, bringing with him a huge number of Buddhist texts, he kept on translating various Buddhist texts.\textsuperscript{191} With the help of his disciple Biànní 辯機 (ca. 619-49), the \textit{Dà Táng Xīyù Jì}, a narrative describing his journey was compiled in 646. The work was written specially for Emperor Tàizōng 太宗 (reigned 626-49), which might have influenced its descriptions, since the emperor personally was generally unsympathetic to Buddhism.\textsuperscript{192} Tansen Sen points out that this caused to work to emphasise political aspects and Xuánzàng’s interactions with political leaders in India.\textsuperscript{193} Finally, after returning home Xuánzàng was intimately involved in the \textit{Táng} diplomatic missions sent to the Indian court at Kanyākubja 羯若鞠闍 (\textit{Jiéruòjūdū}, modern-day Kannauj), on which he had an important impact.\textsuperscript{194} He was much revered by the emperors Tàizōng and Gāozōng 高宗 (reigned 649-

\textsuperscript{186} “Introduction,” 5.
\textsuperscript{187} Liu, \textit{Ancient India}, 148.
\textsuperscript{188} Sen, “The spread of Buddhism,” 22.
\textsuperscript{189} Wilkinson, \textit{Chinese History}, 739.
\textsuperscript{190} Sen, \textit{Buddhism}, 17.
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid., 206; Xuanzang and Bianji, \textit{Da Tang Xiyu ji}, “Xuanzang yu’ Da Tang Xiyu Ji’,” 1.
\textsuperscript{192} Sen, \textit{Buddhism}, 36, 249n3.
\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., 249n3.
\textsuperscript{194} Ibid., 17, 35. The city is usually called by the translated name \textit{Qūnǚchéng} 曲女城, the “Crooked Woman
83), whose attention he turned to India.\textsuperscript{195} Through his writings, Xuánzàng became famous and inspired many others to take an interest in India.\textsuperscript{196}

The monk described many places in addition to those in India; a total of 138 countries and regions (guó 國) in South and Central Asia are described in the book,\textsuperscript{197} including such places as Bukhārā 拜喝 (Bǔhē) in Central Asia,\textsuperscript{198} Ayodhyā 阿踰陀 (Āyútuó) in Central India\textsuperscript{199} and Sri Lanka 僧伽羅 (Sēngjiāluó).\textsuperscript{200} Xuánzàng visited most of these personally. Out of the twelve juǎn in the \textit{Dà Táng Xīyù Jì}, nine describes countries in what Xuánzàng considered part of India,\textsuperscript{201} though some of these are difficult to locate precisely. There is also a lengthy “Overview of India” found in juǎn 2.\textsuperscript{202} One should note that while all other juǎn each describe several countries, two whole juǎn are devoted to the description of Magadha.\textsuperscript{203}

The travel accounts provided by Xuánzàng and other pilgrims are valuable for our understanding of medieval India, but we need to remember that they were written for Chinese audiences, and therefore reflected the way in which the authors wanted their trips to be perceived in China,\textsuperscript{204} which may have somewhat coloured the authors’ descriptions. Therefore these texts provide only indirect access to India, transmitting the authors’ misconceptions and presenting what the authors assumed that their audiences needed to know about the country.\textsuperscript{205} Indeed, Chinese pilgrims generally emphasised legends over facts when describing India, and their accounts give us the perspective of pilgrims in their holy land.\textsuperscript{206}

### 3.2.3 From travel account to popular novel

To many, Xuánzàng and his journey to India are best known from the late 16\textsuperscript{th} century \textit{Míng} 明 era novel \textit{Xī Yóu Jì} 西遊記 (\textit{Journey to the West}). The account given in this novel is far removed from that found in Xuánzàng’s own account, and includes a wealth of mythological

\textsuperscript{195} Sen, \textit{Buddhism}, 17, 43.
\textsuperscript{196} Schafer, \textit{The Golden Peaches}, 273.
\textsuperscript{197} Xuanzang and Bianji, \textit{Da Tang Xiyu ji}, mulu 目錄 1-19.
\textsuperscript{198} Ibid., juan 卷第一, 94-5.
\textsuperscript{199} Ibid., juan 卷第五, 448-57.
\textsuperscript{200} Ibid., juan 卷第十一, 866-72.
\textsuperscript{201} Ibid., juan 卷第二, 161-951, see also: ibid., Xuanzang yu ‘
\textit{Da Tang Xiyu Ji}’ 玄奘與《大唐西域記》 68-76.
\textsuperscript{202} Ibid., juan 卷第二, 161-220: “Yìndù zōngshù 印度總述.”
\textsuperscript{203} Ibid., juan 卷第八, 619-776.
\textsuperscript{204} “Introduction,” 4.
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{206} Sen, \textit{Buddhism}, 8-9.
content. Here, India is generally portrayed in a positive way—more so than the many countries passed on the way there. A similarity to China is noted and India is seen as a land of plenty, implying that India was China’s equal in cultural terms, while the notion of India or part of it as a “holy land” is also present. Still, in line with the irony found elsewhere in the novel, even the Buddha’s court is portrayed as a place of corruption.

3.3 India at the time of Xuánzàng’s journey

At the time of the early Tang dynasty, the great Maurya and Gupta empires of classical India had been dissolved. Until the time of the later Muslim kingdoms in India, these empires would not be surpassed in their power and territory, and India was divided into numerous smaller states contesting for power. At the time of Xuánzàng’s visit, however, Northern India had been unified by Harṣavardhana, the last “indigenous” ruler of a unified North for what would be many centuries to come, while the southern part of the country was split between various kingdoms. Despite the fall of the Guptas in the 6th century, India remained a place of flourishing culture and trade, with the university at Nālandā still being a centre of learning renowned far outside of India. Indeed, the classical age of India has been counted as lasting all the way up to Harṣavardhana’s death in 647. His reign brought peace and prosperity to the region for the first time in centuries, and both Brahmanism (or Hinduism) and Buddhism flourished.

While Buddhism had formerly been popular in India, with several major dynasties at times backing it, such as the Maurya Empire, it was gradually declining since the first centuries AD, and eventually gave way for Brahmanism to again become the majority religion. It was

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207 Wu Cheng’en 吴承恩, Xi you ji 西游记, 3 vols. (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe 人民文学出版社, 1985), chapters 87-98 (3:1103-1242).
208 E.g. ibid., chapter 88 第八十八回, 3:1117.
209 E.g. ibid., chapter 87 第八十七回, 3:1104; chapter 98 第九十八回, 3:1233.
211 Wu Cheng’en, Xi you ji, chapter 98, 3:1237-39.
213 Ibid., 86, 125.
215 Sen, Buddhism, 18.
clearly past its Golden Age in India by Xuánzàng’s time. It has been said that Buddhism “was fighting its last rear-guard battle” in most of India at the outset of the 7th century. This, however, had not stopped Chinese monks from making India the ultimate goal of their pilgrimages in order to study their religion, as Xuánzàng’s journey demonstrates, and the final decline of Buddhism in India came centuries after his time, in the 13th century.

As it will form part of the focus for this chapter’s analysis, a few words can be said about Magadha. This was originally one of the ancient kingdoms of Indian civilisation, which by Xuánzàng’s time had long since ceased to exist in its classical form. However, the name came to be applied to the lands formerly part of the ancient kingdom, the area around Pāṭaliputra 波吒釐子 (Bōzhālízǐ, modern-day Patna), which had been the main cultural region of North India for centuries. In Xuánzàng’s work, the “kingdom” going by the name Magadha was actually a geographical region, which was under the rule of Harṣavardhana. The king’s proper realm is called Kānyakubja in the work after its capital, and is described as another kingdom. However, during the Táng, the kingdom of Harṣavardhana was also called Magadha, and the name has then been understood as referring to the city Kānyakubja.

Xuánzàng devoted much of his work to describe Magadha because of its prominent position in the India of that time, as well as its significance to Buddhism. This was the region that had been frequented by the Buddha, and here, in Bodh Gayā, was located the Bodhi Tree, under which the Buddha was supposed to have gained his enlightenment.

Because of its Buddhist connection, Magadha was both better known to the Chinese and a more prestigious destination. As for Harṣavardhana’s kingdom, it has been said that the Buddhist connection established a unique relationship between the Táng and the Kānyakubja state.

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217 Liu, Ancient India, 173.
219 Ibid., 203.
220 Murphey, A History, 78, 533.
222 Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 8, 620n.
223 Sen, Buddhism, 250n8 and Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5: 423-79.
224 E.g. Schafer, The Golden Peaches, 42, passim.
225 Ibid., 122-3; Sen, Buddhism, 250n8. The Bodhi Tree at Bodh Gayā was cut down by a Hindu ruler about 600; see Rawson, “Early Art and Architecture,” 202.
226 Sen, Buddhism, 250n8.
227 Ibid., 35.
3.4 *India as seen in the Dà Táng Xīyù Jì*

My analysis here will begin with an overview of relevant aspects in Xuánzàng’s work, followed by the sections where I analyse the views of Indians found in the descriptions of Magadha and Harṣavardhana, and in the end consider whether the “borderline complex” is present in the work.

The accounts of different countries are of varying length, so that some contain much more details than others. In all accounts, however, Xuánzàng includes relevant geographical information, usually noting the size of each country and its capital (through references to their circumference), as well as the climate. Including on many topics such as measurements, writing and education. He often provides additional information, including descriptions of local peoples, languages, clothing, cuisine, legends and beliefs of each country. On occasion, Xuánzàng explains important historical events, and was interested in the political division of India into numerous countries, which was much different from the then unified China.

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228 E.g. Xuànzàng and Bianjì, *Da Táng Xīyù jì*, juan 11, 866: “Sīṃhala 僧伽羅. The circumference of the country is more than 7000 里. The circumference of the capital is more than 40 里. The land is fertile; the climate is warm [and] hot. Farming and reaping, sowing are timely; the flowers and fruits are provided in great numbers. 僧伽羅國周七千餘里。國大都城周四十餘里。土地沃壤，氣序溫暑，稼穡時播，花果具繁.”

229 E.g. ibid., juan 2, 164: “… The circumference of the territory of the Five India is more than nine thousand 里. It is on the brink of three great oceans. In the North it has its back against the Snow Mountains [the Himalayas]. The north is wide and the south narrow, so the form is like a crescent moon…”

230 Ibid., juan 2, 161-218. For example see the following section on measurements: ibid., juan 2, 166: In any case, the appellation of the amount is *yojana* 超繩那 [a distance measure]…The *yojana* [was] from the time of the sage kings of old the [distance] that could be travelled by the army [in] one day. Formerly one *yojana* [was] passed on [as being] forty 里. [In] popular [usage it is] thirty 里, [and] in the records of the holy teachings [it is] only sixteen 里. [And as for] the smallest number [they measure], one *yojana* is divided into eight *krośa* 拘盧舍. *The krośa* [is the distance of] the furthest [one can] hear the call of a big bull, [that is] considered a *krośa*. One *krośa* is divided into five hundred bows [or *dhanus*], one bow is divided into four elbows [or *hasta*], one elbow is divided into twenty-four fingers, [and] one finger joint is divided into seven stored [grains of] cereal…”

231 E.g. ibid., juan 2, 161, 218.

232 Ibid., juan 4, 356: “King Bālāditya 婆羅阿迭多 of Magadha [i.e. Narasimhagupta, a Gupta emperor] (in the Táng speech the “Young Sun”) 幼日) revered the Buddha-dharma [teachings] [and] nurtured the common people. Because Mihirakula 大族王 [an ancient Huna king] used excessive punishments [and] ruled as a tyrant, [he] himself guarded the battlefield, [and he] did not receive the due tribute. Then Mihirakula sent soldiers [with the intent] to punish [the Gupta king]…摩揭陀國婆羅阿迭多王(唐曰幼日)崇敬佛法，愛育黎元。以大族王淫刑虐政，自守疆場，不恭職貢。時大族王治兵將討…”

233 Ibid., juan 2, 164; “The delineated wilderness area is divided into more than 70 countries 畫野區分，七十餘國.”
Naturally, there is a particular focus on Buddhism and its state in India throughout the work, through the many references to Buddhist sites, both present and former locations of temples and places related to the life of the Buddha or other Buddhist saints.\(^{234}\) For example, in his description of the famous legendary Maurya ruler Aśoka (reigned ca. 268-32 BC), commonly known as King Wūyōu 無憂王 (Wūyōu Wáng) in the work, Xuánzàng emphasises his contributions to Buddhism.\(^{235}\)

As already noted, the monk shows an interest in local customs, language and culture, the descriptions of which are commonly seen in relation to descriptions of the local “human character 人性 (rénxìng).”\(^{236}\) Though such descriptions are sometimes negative and customs are noted as being “strange” or “different” from what must have familiar to Xuánzàng, in general the approach taken seems to be respectful, even if sometimes sceptical. On occasion he praises Indian Buddhist teachers for their religious contributions,\(^{237}\) and it is clear that he finds the virtues of certain Indians commendable, even when they are not Buddhists.\(^{238}\)

Furthermore, he shows the Indians some respect by arguing that their pronunciation of their homeland’s name should be considered the correct one, and Xuánzàng allegedly introduced

\(^{234}\) E.g. ibid., juan 9 卷第九, 726: “East of the Buddhist vihāra there is a long stone. This was where Tathāgata had stepped [while] he was walking around. Nearby there is a big stone. The height is four zhōng 丈 [10 feet] and five feet. The circumference is more than 30 paces. This was the place [where] Devadatta 提婆達多 [the Buddha’s cousin] abandoned [himself] far away and attacked the Buddha 精舍東有長石，如來經行所履也，傍有大石，高丈四五尺，周三十餘步，是提婆達多遙擲擊佛處也.”

\(^{235}\) E.g. ibid., juan 2, 222: “Two li 里 east of the city there is a stūpa. The height is more than 300 feet. It was built by King Aśoka 城東二里有窣堵波，高三百餘尺，無憂王之所建也.” Alternative names for Aśoka appearing in the work are Āshūjiā 阿輸迦 and Āyù 阿育, while the name Wūyōu, “Without Grief,” is a translation of Sanskrit Aśoka, see e.g. ibid., juan 8, 627.

\(^{236}\) E.g. ibid., juan 2, 135-6: “‘Kapiśā 迦畢試… The climate is windy [and] cold, [and] the nature of the people is rude [and] coarse. The words [and] expressions are superficial [and] disrespectful, [and] the marriages are chaotic. The writing is the same as [that of] Tocharia 睹貨邏, [but] the customs, language [and] religion are rather different 迦畢試國…氣序風寒，人性暴獷，言辭鄙媟，婚姻雜亂，文字大同睹貨邏國，習俗語言，風教頗異.” Kapiśā, located in Afghanistan, was not considered part of India.

\(^{237}\) E.g. ibid., juan 9, 757: “Concerning their outstanding talents [and] well-informed men, [their] strength [and] knowledge is very capable. [Their] sages of great virtue follow the steps [and] join with the sunlight. Reaching to [the point where they are] like Dharmapāla 護法 [or] Candragupta 護月, raising [their] fame to [join the] transmitted teachings. At that time Gunamati 德慧 [master or the of the Yogācāra] [and] Sāramati 堅慧 [a Buddhist author] spread their favourable prestige.若其高才博物, 強識多能。明德哲人, 聯暉繼軌。至如護法, 護月, 振芳塵於遺教; 德慧, 堅慧, 流雅譽於當時....”

\(^{238}\) Ibid., juan 10, 797: “The current king was originally the blessed descendant of Nārāyaṇa 那羅延天 [i.e. Viṣṇu]... [His] name is Bhāskaravarman 婆塞羯羅伐摩… Up to [the time of] the present king a thousand generations have passed. The lord is fond of studying [and] the common people pledge their allegiance to him. The great talents of distant places admire [his] righteousness [and he] hosts travellers. Even if [he] do not honestly believe in the Buddhist teachings, still [he] respects the knowledgeable monks.今王本那羅延天之祚胤…字婆塞羯羅伐摩…逮於今王，歷千世矣。君上好學，眾庶從化。遠方高才，慕義客游。雖不淳信佛法，然敬高學沙門.”

42
the neutral-sounding Chinese transcription *Yindù* 印度 for India, which he used rather than the earlier, more negative-sounding name *Shěndù* 身毒, or "body poison."\(^{239}\)

The account of India also has negative aspects. For example, at one point the people of Gandhāra 健驮邏 (Jiàntuóluó) are described as being “timid and fearful”\(^ {240} \) and those of Brahmapura 婆羅摩補羅 (Póluómōbǔluó) as “rude and violent.”\(^ {241} \) Another example might be when Xuánzàng in introducing India speaks of the caste 種姓 (zhōngxìng, the *varṇas*) system.\(^ {242} \) He explains the dominance of the Brāhmans 婆羅門 (Póluómén) as being because of their “elegant esteem,” but also notes that the system does not have a basis in the (Indian) classics, a statement which, while incorrect, implies scepticism.\(^ {243} \) Furthermore he seems surprised by the strict and complex regulations of the system.\(^ {244} \) One could here note that Buddhism since its beginnings had rejected the caste system.\(^ {245} \)

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\(^{239}\) Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 698; see also Xuanzang and Bianji, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, juan 2, 161: “To explain [the country] which has the name Tiānzhú, in order to bring together the confused different opinions – from old it was called Shěndù, or called Xiàndòu 覺豆 – from now on the pronunciation will be corrected, and it will properly be called *Yindù* 身毒為天竺之稱, 與異議糾紛, 舊云身毒, 或曰賢豆, 今從正音, 宜云印度.”

\(^{240}\) Ibid., juan 2, 232-33: “Gandhāra... The human character is timid [and] fearful, [and they] enjoy learning the classics. Most [of their people] revere strange teachings, [and] few believe in the true teaching 健驮邏國...人性懦恇, 好習典藝, 多敬異道, 少信正法.”

\(^{241}\) Ibid., juan 4 卷第四, 866: “Brahmapura...The nature of the people is rude [and] violent, [and they have] mixed beliefs [in] the evil [and] the true [teachings] 婆羅摩補羅國...人性獷烈, 邪正雜信...”

\(^{242}\) Ibid., juan 2, 197: “As to the castes, these are [each] special. There are four groups. The first are the Brāhmans; [they] walk cleanly, observe the teachings and sit upright, keeping their conduct clean. The second are the Kaśatriya 剡帝利; [they] are the kings’ clans. Through the generations [they] have overseen the ruling; benevolence and forgiveness are their aspirations. The third are the Vaiśya 毘舍; [they] are the merchants. In trading there are surpluses [and] shortfalls; [they] are exploiting [others] near or far. The fourth are the Śūdra 奴陀羅; [they] are the farmers. [They] devote all their effort to their fields and crops, themselves earnestly sowing and reaping 若夫族姓殊者, 有四流焉: 一曰婆羅門, 淨行也, 守道居貞, 潔自其操。二曰剎帝利, 王種也。奕世君臨, 仁恕為志。三曰吠舍。商賈也, 寶貨有無, 逐利遠近。四曰奴陀羅。農人也, 肆力疇壟, 勤身稼穡.” Alternative Chinese transcriptions, present in the source text, are left out.

\(^{243}\) Ibid., juan 2, 162: “The groups of races are divided into the Indian castes, and the Brāhmans are especially pure [and] noble, and [because of] their elegant esteem this has been handed down and became custom; this difference is not found within the scope of the classics. Altogether [India] refers to the country of the Brāhmans 印度種姓, 族類群分, 而婆羅門特為清貴, 從其雅稱, 傳以成俗, 無云經界之別, 總謂婆羅門國焉.”

\(^{244}\) Ibid., juan 2, 197: “Commonly these four castes [can be] distinguished [by] the flow of the pure [and] impure. To marry [the men] contact relatives, they go high and low [on] different way. The inner [and] outer descendants of the same clan [and] the in-laws do not mix. Women, once they have married, do not remarry. From the remaining mixed families [there are] truly a great number of castes. Each follow the assembly of [its] kind. [so it is] hard to convey details 凡茲四姓, 清濁殊流, 婚娶通親, 飛伏異路, 內外宗枝, 婦人一嫁, 終無再醮, 自餘雜姓, 混繁種族, 各隨類聚, 難以詳載.”

\(^{245}\) Sangharakshita, “Buddhism,” 98.
In particular, Xuánzàng’s accounts reflect dismay at the decline of Buddhism in India, with a number of references to abandoned and ruined monasteries throughout the work.\textsuperscript{246} The same is the case with North Indian cities, some of which are described as deserted while others appear to be flourishing.\textsuperscript{247} This reflects the historical situation, where some Indian cities still prospered at his time despite a general urban decline in the region in preceding centuries.\textsuperscript{248} This could be for political reasons, for example when Pāṭaliputra was deserted because of the new capital Kanyākubja took its place.\textsuperscript{249} Besides this, Xuánzàng’s account shows the limits of the rule of law by highlighting the prevalence of robbery on several occasions,\textsuperscript{250} which is referred to next to dangerous beasts in the monks own meeting with them.\textsuperscript{251}

There are moreover clearly exotic aspects to the account, such as the description of Shaivites as being either naked, wearing necklaces of skulls or dressing in tails feathers and plumages of peacocks. This is even likened to the clothing of the \textit{Hú}.\textsuperscript{252} Note is also made of the fact that Indians mainly eat with their hands, or in some cases with a spoon.\textsuperscript{253} Both of these examples seem to have been surprising or even shocking to Xuánzàng. Moreover, descriptions or lists of strange animals, foods, local products and so on are common.\textsuperscript{254}

\begin{itemize}
\item E.g. Xu anzang and Bianji, \textit{Da Tang Xiyu ji}, juan 2, 220: “Nagarahāra 那揭羅曷…Even though there are many Buddhist convents, the Buddhist monks are few. The various stūpas were overgrown, the banks having collapsed…那揭羅曷…伽藍雖多，僧徒寡少，諸窣堵波荒蕪圯壞…”
\item Descriptions of Rājagṛha and Kanyākubja will follow below in note 268 and 284, and can act as examples of declining and flourishing cities.
\item Liu, \textit{Ancient India}, 35.
\item Ibid., 34.
\item E.g. Xu anzang and Bianji juan 2, 243: “Nearby there is a crowd of wicked men wishing to enter the ranks of the thieves. [It] seemed as if [they] would go out to meet the thieves, [but] the thieves were afraid [and] retreated…近有群賊欲入行盜，似出迎賊，賊黨怖退…” See also: Murphey, \textit{A History}, 87.
\item Xuanzang and Bianji, \textit{Da Tang Xiyu ji}, juan 11: 887, 890: “Koṅkaṇpura 恭建那補羅國…From there [I went] northwest [and] entered the great wild forest, [where there were] violent [and] harmful beasts of prey [and] a crowd of savage thieves…恭建那補羅國…從此西北入大林野，猛獸暴害，群盜兇殘…”
\item Ibid., juan 2, 176: “As for the local customs [and] conditions of North India, [they] are extremely cold. [They] come short in making skin-tight clothing, [which] is rather like the clothing of the foreigners [Hú]. The clothing and adornments of the non-Buddhist teachings are various and disordered, made [in] uncommon [ways]. In some case [they] wore peacock tail-feathers, in some case [they have as] ornaments necklaces of skulls, in some cases [they have] no clothing [and are] naked, in some case [they use] boards of grass to cover the body, in some cases [they pull out the hair [and] cutting [their] moustaches [and] in some cases [gather their] unkempt hair [in] topknots. [Proper] clothes have not been established, [and] the red [and] white colours are not long-lasting 其北印度風土寒烈。短制褊衣，頗同胡服。外道服飾，紛雜異製。或衣孔雀羽尾，或飾髑髏瓔珞，或無服露形，或草板掩體，或拔發斷髭，或蓬鬢椎髻，裳衣無定，赤白不恒.” For this term, see Chapter 1.7 above.
\item Ibid., juan 2, 216: “[And] so [as for] their available utensils…Most utensils [are] of unburnt clay, [and] few use red copper. Eating [from] one vessel, the crowd only move [it between] each other. The fingers pour [the food] completely without spoons or chopsticks. [It] goes so far [that] only the sick [and] old use copper spoons 然其資用之器…多器坯土，少用赤銅。食以一器，眾味相調，手指斟酌，略無匙箸，於至老病，乃用銅匙.”
\item E.g. ibid., juan 2, 214: “Regarding cheese, greasy cream?, fried sugar?, sugar, mustard oil [and] the various pastries, [these] are commonly [used in] fine meals. Also sometimes fish, oxen, river deer [and] deer are cut in
see that besides his obvious interest in Buddhism, Xuánzàng also takes notes of the Brahmanists and their practices, often noting their presence in the places he passed.\(^{255}\) His view of Brahmanism generally must have been negative, and he occasionally speaks of it as a so-called “evil sect” 邪道 (xiédào).\(^{256}\) Indeed, they are spoken of as having destroyed the remains of the Buddha,\(^ {257}\) and are even referred to in terms such as “ants and bees.”\(^ {258}\)

Generally traditionally derogatory terms such as Yí 夷 or Mán 蠻 are not used for Indians in the work, with only a few examples where they are used in non-specific situations, and not as a reference to defined Indian peoples or individuals.\(^ {259}\) Finally, while the Chinese traditionally lacked an interest in foreign languages, in contrast to their interest in other aspects of foreign cultures, Buddhism was an exception,\(^ {260}\) and Xuánzàng’s mastery of Sanskrit is evident through his common use of Sanskrit names and phrases throughout his work.

### 3.4.1 The description of Magadha

This part of the book is divided into a number of sections after a short general introduction. These various parts describe a number of localities in the kingdom that often can be related to pieces [in] more rich dishes. [As for] oxen, donkeys, horses, elephants, pigs, dogs, wolves, lions, monkeys [and] gibbons, commonly those [animals] with fur are, [as] a rule, not eaten… 至於乳酪、膏酥、炒糖、石蜜、芥子油、諸餅麨，常所膳也。魚、羊、獐、鹿，時腥香，牛、驢、象、馬、豕、犬、狐、狼、師子、猴、猿，凡此毛群，例無味噉…”\(^ {255}\)

E.g. ibid., juan 2, 220: “Nagarahāra 那揭羅曷… The five Brahmanical temples [hold] several hundred followers of foreign teachings 那揭羅曷國… 天祠五所，異道百餘人。”\(^ {256}\)

Ibid., juan 8, 472-3: “In the great forest northeast of the Dragon Cave 龍窟… Close to the city there is an old Buddhist convent. The foundations are all that remain. Here, formerly Bodhisattva Dharmapāla subdued a place of non-Buddhist worship. The former king of this country gave support to evil doctrines; [he] wished to destroy the Buddhist teachings [and] to venerate the non-Buddhist teachings. The king [then] abandoned the evil teachings [and] respected the right teaching. 龍窟東北大林中… 城傍有故伽藍，唯餘基址，是昔護法菩薩伏外道處。此國先王扶於邪說，欲毀佛法，崇敬外道… 王捨邪道，遵崇正法”\(^ {257}\)

Ibid., juan 8, 670: “[When] King Aśoka first ascended to the throne, [he] had confidence in evil teachings, and destroying the remains after the Buddha. …無憂王之初嗣位也，信受邪道，毀佛遺迹…”\(^ {258}\)

For example, in the account of Kāmarūpa 伽摩縷波 it is said: ibid., juan 10 卷第十, 164; “East of this country, the mountain chains links, [and] there is no great capital. The border extends to the Southwestern Yi, [called so] because their humanity is coarse (mán 蠻) [and] fierce…” \(^ {259}\)

Behr, “‘To Translate,’” 201-3.
Buddhist history and myths, including mountains and towns as well as a number of historical remains, for example the Tathāgata Footprint Stone (Rūḍāi Zūjī Shī), as well as stories and legends, such as the “story of Kukkuṭapāda and Mahākāśyapa 難足山及大迦葉故事 (Jīzhūshān jì Dàjiāyè gūshī).” Similar to the descriptions of other countries, the topics include geography, customs and climate, which are described positively.

While the length of this account and the many important Buddhist sites it describes distinguishes it from the more than hundred other kingdoms described in the work, it is however not described being relatively large, and it is not the largest kingdom described in the book. As for its cities, for examples the ancient capital of Rājagṛha 羅闍姞利哂 (Luōdūjílìxi, modern-day Rajgir) is described as ruined and deserted, hardly giving an impression of a flourishing region, though Pāṭaliputra is described in a slightly better way.

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261 E.g. Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 9, 757: “On the left of the road outside the South Gate of the City there is a stūpa. Here, the Tathāgata explained the Dharma [and] saved Rāhula 羅怙羅 [Buddha’s son] 城南門外道左有窣堵波。如來於此說法及度羅怙羅.”

262 Ibid., juan 8, 633-5.

263 Ibid., juan 9, 705-9.

264 Ibid., juan 8, 619: “Magadha… The cities have few inhabitants, [and] most [people] are registered in smaller towns. The land is fertile, [and] the reaping [and] sowing thrives. There is a strange sort of rice, [and] its grains are thick. The fragrance is superb, [and] the radiance [and] colour is particularly deep. It is popularly called rice supplying adults. The land is low-lying [and] wet, [and] the town dwellings are on the highland. After the first month of summer [and] before the second month the dwellings [on] flat land are flooded, [and one] can travel by boat. The customs are honest [and] plain, [and] the climate is warm [and] hot. The people respect concentration on studies [and] revere the Buddhist teachings. There are more than fifty Buddhist convents, [with] more than 10,000 Buddhist monks. Moreover, most schools teach Mahāyāna Buddhism. There are [also] tens of Brahmanical temples, [with] very many non-Buddhist sects 城少居人，邑多編戶。土地墊濕，邑居高原。孟夏之後，仲秋之前，平居流水，可以泛舟。風俗淳質，氣序溫暑，崇重志學，遵敬佛法。伽藍五十餘所，僧徒萬有餘人，並多宗習大乘法教。天祠數十，異道甚多.”

265 Ibid., juan 8, 662: “The city of Gayā 伽耶城… More than 30 ली north of the city there is a cool spring. [In] India the legends call it holy water. Commonly [those who] drink [its water or] bathe [in it have their] sins removed… 城北三十餘里有清泉，印度相傳謂之聖水，凡有飲濯，罪垢消除.”

266 Ibid., juan 8, 619: “Magadha has a circumference of more than 5000 ली 摩揭陀國周五千餘里.”

267 Ibid., juan 10, 812: “Udra 烏茶 has a circumference of more than 7000 ली 烏茶國周七千餘里.”

268 Ibid., juan 9, 743, 745: “Not far northeast of the stone pillar, [I] arrived at the city of Rājagṛha. (In the Tāng speech, the Royal Residence 王舍.) The outer city walls have already collapsed, [and] there are no restoration of the ruined walls. Even though the inner city is damaged, [but] the foundation is still high. The circumference is more than twenty ली, [and] on the outside there is one gate… Because [of this] in the city [there are] now no common people, [there are] only one thousand households of Brāhmans, and that is all 石柱東北不遠，至曷羅闍姞利哂城，（唐言王舍。）外郭已壞，無復遺堵。內城雖毀，基址猶峻，周二十餘里，面有一門…故今城中無復凡民，唯婆羅門減千家耳.”

269 Ibid., juan 8, 623: “South of the Ganges 於伽 there is an old city, the circumference [of which] is more than seventy ली. Even though [they] have been overgrown for a long time, the ruins still remain. In former times, the lifespan of men [here] lasted for unnumbered years (and seasons). [It is] called the city of Kusumapura 狗蘇摩補羅. (In the Tāng speech the Incense-and-Flower Palace City 香花宮城.) The royal palace have many flowers,
Like various other kingdoms described\textsuperscript{270} it was under the rule of Harṣavardhana, but was only part of his realm, and not its centre.

Magadha and its people are mostly described in a similar way to people from other parts of India, with few things to set them apart, though what can be found is positive, such as their devotion to Buddhism.\textsuperscript{271} All the most exotic descriptions are in different parts of the work.

Magadha was the location of the great Buddhist university of Nālandā, which was highly praised and said to house several thousand monks and novices at the time of Xuánzàng’s visit.\textsuperscript{272} Xuánzàng spent some time there, and takes care in explaining its history,\textsuperscript{273} seemingly

\begin{itemize}
\item [\textsuperscript{270}] E.g. ibid., \textit{juan} 11, 891: “Mahārāṣṭra 摩诃刺侘... Now the great king Harṣavardhana [sent] military expeditions east [and] west, [and] guests from far away approached and paid their respects [to him], [but] only the people of this country (uniquely) did not submit [and] declare themselves a vassal [state]...摩訶刺侘國...今戒日大王東征西伐，遠賓肅命，惟此國人獨不臣伏...”
\item [\textsuperscript{271}] Ibid., \textit{juan} 9, 764: “[When] the Tathāgata first reached Buddhahood, [he] knew that the popular feeling [of the people of] Magadha were yearning to look up [to him]... 如來初證佛果，知摩揭陀國人心湧仰...”
\item [\textsuperscript{272}] Ibid., \textit{juan} 9, 747, 757: “Nālandā... The monks [number] several thousands, [and] moreover are [men] of outstanding ability [and] profound studies. At that time [when] morality was substantial [there], its [reputation] spread to foreign lands, more than one hundred of [them]. [There], the observation of the precepts is pure, [and] the observances are pure [and] succinct. The monks are [given] strict orders, [and] the whole crowd [of them] are pure [and] plain. The various countries in India all look up [its] example. [They] ask for further instructions [and] discuss abstruse theory, [but] the whole day is not [long] enough [for their studies]. Day [and] night [they] are alert, [and] the young [and] the old help each other achieve [their] aims. If there are [someone among them] that do not discuss the abstruse meaning of the Tripitaka, then [they] are ashamed at [their] form [and] shadow. For that reason scholars from foreign countries wish to hurry [there because of its] reputation. All come to examine [their] uncertainties, [people of] the regions follow the stream of [its] good reputation. Therefore all [those who] go wandering with dishonest reputations obtain proper manners [and] reverence... 那爛陀...僧徒數千，並俊才...高學也。德重當時，聲鈐異域者，數百餘矣。戒行清白，律儀淳粹。僧有嚴制，眾咸貞素，印度諸國皆仰焉。請益談玄，竭日不足，夙夜警誡，少長相成。...” See also: Schafer, \textit{The Golden Peaches}, 274.
\item [\textsuperscript{273}] Xuanzang and Bianji, \textit{Da Tang Xiyu ji}, \textit{juan} 9, 747: “Walking north lǐ from here, [I] arrived at the Buddhist convent of Nālandā (in the Tăng speech, No [End to] Bestowing [Alms 施無]. The rumours [speak] of its old age, saying: In the middle of the mango grove south of this Buddhist convent there is a pond, [and] the name of its dragon was Nālandā. The Buddhist convent was built close to [it], [and] for [this] reason [it] took [its] name. Following from its true judgement, [it] is where [in former days the Tathāgata cultivated the practices of a Bodhisattva. For the Great King 大國王 a capital was built here. [His] compassion [extended to] all living beings crowd, [and he] took pleasure in giving alms [to those in need]. Then [to] beautify his virtue, [he] named [it] Nālandā. [That] is the reason Buddhist convent is thus called. [In] the mango garden of this place five hundred merchants used one hundred thousand golden money to purchase alms to the Buddha. Here the Buddha dwelt for three months while explaining the teachings, [and] various merchants [and] others also gained sagehood... The nirvāṇa of the Buddha did not remain for long after [this], [but] the former king of this country, Śakrāditya 鍾迦羅阿逸多 (in the Tăng speech, the Emperor-Sun 帝日) respected the first vehicle [path to salvation] [and] esteemed the Three Treasures. Prognosticating [this] to be a place of blessing, he [built] this Buddhist convent...佛於此處三月說法，從此北行三十餘里，至那爛陀(唐言施無)郡僧伽藍。聞之耆舊曰：此伽藍南逕沒羅林中有池，其龍名那爛陀，傍建伽藍，因取為稱。從其實議，是如來在昔修菩薩行，為
\end{itemize}
much impressed with what he saw, so that it must have a high point of his journey. He was also impressed by his teacher at Nālandā, the famous monk Śīlabhadra 戒賢 (Jièxián).  

3.4.2 The description of Harṣavardhana

It has been said that Xuánzàng made meeting foreign rulers an important part of his journey, seemingly to avoid legal repercussions on his return, as his pilgrimage had not been authorised by the court. It is therefore not surprising that his meeting with Harṣavardhana, which probably took place between 637 and 640, is featured heavily in his account. As noted above was Harṣavardhana the most powerful man in India at the time, ruling from his capital Kanyākubja, and also encouraged Buddhism. Overall, the king is described in a very positive way, as a virtuous and successful ruler, with the monk seemingly much impressed by the king’s achievements and person. Note is made of his reverence to

大國王，建都此地，悲愍眾生，好樂周給，時美其德，號施無厭。……

E.g. Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 8, 660: “The treatise master [Śīlabhadra] was of the royal family of Samataṭa 三摩呾吒 [and] of the caste of the Brāhmans. [When] young [he] was fond of studying, [and] had personal integrity. [When he was] wandering around the various [countries of] India, [he] sought the guidance of the sages. Arriving at the Buddhist convent of Nālandā [in this country, [he] met Bodhisattva Dharmapāla. [He] heard the teachings [and] had faith in enlightenment, [and was] obedient [to those with] dyed garments [i.e. Buddhist monks]. [He] inquired for the cause of attaining Buddhahood, [and] asked for the way to salvation. Thus [he] studied the ultimate principle to the utmost degree, [and also] got to the bottom of the subtle words. At the time [his] name holds the first place, [and his] reputation is esteemed in strange lands. …” He is also named by his Sanskrit name Shīluóbátuóluó 尸羅跋陀羅, of which Jièxián, “Guarding Virtue,” is a translation, see: ibid., juan 8, 659.

Sen, Buddhism, 17.

Sen, Buddhism, 17.

Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5, 436: “First, [I] accepted the invitation of King Kumāra 扛摩羅, [who took me] from Magadha to Kāmarūpa 迦摩縷波. At that time King Harṣavardhana was on an inspection tour in Kajughira 羅陀國, [and he] gave an order to King Kumāra, saying: “It is fitting to quickly to go meet with the monk from afar [who is] a guest of Nālandā!” …” For a discussion of the date of the meeting, see Sen, Buddhism, 250n7.

Murphey, A History, 86.

E.g. Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5, 429-30: “… And then [Harṣavardhana] went to inspect [the] regions, [he] observed the popular customs, [but] did not often [go to] the residences [of the people]. [When] coming to a stop along the way, then [he] build a house to live in. [It] only rained for three months, [and when there was] much rain the marching stopped. Every time [when] in the temporary palace, fine meals were prepared daily, where people of the various strange teachings were fed, [including] a crowd of one thousand monks [and] five hundred Brāhmans. Every time one day as divided into three periods. The first period [is used for] handling government affairs, [and] the second period [is used to] pray for blessings [and] cultivate goodness, [he worked] diligently, [but] the whole day was not [long] enough. …” For a discussion of the date of the meeting, see Sen, Buddhism, 250n7.
Buddhism\textsuperscript{279} and of his military might and successes,\textsuperscript{280} which are described so extensively that one thinks they must be to some extent exaggerated. Adding to the positive image is the description of the king’s great meeting of Brāhmans and Buddhist monks at his capital,\textsuperscript{281} where he is shown extinguishing a fire in a miraculous way,\textsuperscript{282} and where he behaves calmly and decides to banish rather than execute the Brāhmans who had attempted to kill him.\textsuperscript{283}

\textsuperscript{279}Ibid., \textit{juan} 5: 442-43: “… The non-Buddhist teachings [and] strange schools protect [and] control the vulgar. Only my Great Master [i.e. the Buddha] is not vulgar [and] is the right guide. And so my charity is already universal, [and my] mental resolve is satisfactory…” \…王曰：”…外道異學守執常，唯我大師，無常是誡。而我檀捨已周，心願諧遂…”

\textsuperscript{280}Ibid., \textit{juan} 5, 429: “Then [Harsavardhana] commanded the soldiers of the country, [and] instructed the soldiers. [There were] 5000 [in] the elephant army, 2000 [in] the cavalry [and] 50.000 [in] the infantry. From west [they] advanced east, [going on] a punitive expeditions [towards the] unworthy officials. The elephants were not unsaddled [and] the men did not take of their armour. Within six years, [he made] the Five India submit. [And] so he broadened his territory [and] increased [his] armed soldiers. The elephant army [numbered] 60.000, [and] the cavalry [had] 100.000. Through thirty years, the weapons did not rise [again]. The government [and] the religious schools were at peace, [and] the affairs were thriftily put in order. Praying for blessings [and] doing good deeds [he] forgot to sleep and eat. Now the five India are not allowed to eat meat, [and] if [someone] cut short a life, [they] will be put to death [with] no pardon. At the side of the Ganges River [he built] several thousand stupas, each [of which] are more than 100 feet tall. In the cities [and] towns, countryside [and] villages, alleys [and] crossroads of the Five India [he] built monasteries. [He] stored up food and drinks [and] prohibited medicine. [And he] supplied the various poor foreigners, giving assistance with no limit. 遂總率國兵，講習戰士，象軍五千，馬軍二萬，步軍五萬，自西徂東，征伐不臣。象不解鞍，人不释甲。六年中，臣五印度，既廣其地，更增甲兵，象軍六萬，馬軍十萬，重三十年，兵戈不起，政教和平，務修節儉，營福樹善，忘寢與食。令五印度不得啖肉，若斷生命，有誅無赦。於殑伽河側建立數千窣堵波，各高百餘尺。

\textsuperscript{281}Then King Harṣavardhana intended to go back to the city of Kanyākubja to arrange a Buddhist assembly. [He] was followed by a crowd of 100.000 at the south bank of the Ganges River. King Kumāra was followed by a crowd of several tens of thousands, situated at the city of Kanyākubja, which lies in great flower forest west the Ganges. At that time the more than twenty kings of the various countries were first presented with instructions, [for] each to gather at the great meeting [with] the outstanding Buddhist monks [and] Brāhmans, officials [and] soldiers of their countries. 二王導引，四兵嚴衛，或泛舟，或乘象，擊鼓鳴螺，拊絃奏管，經九十日，至曲女城，在殑伽河西大花林中。是時諸國二十餘王先奉告命，各與其國髦俊沙門及婆羅門、群官、兵士，來集大會…

\textsuperscript{282}Suddenly [the king’s] large platform went aflame, [and] the gateway arch of the Buddhist convent was just then ablaze with smoke and flame. The king said: “Empty [and] donate the treasures of the country, offer them to build a Buddhist convent for the former king, glorify [his] excellent behaviour. Lacking in virtue [and with] no assistance [from the Buddha], [I as met with] this disaster! [I regret [my] failings [in] thus summoning [this meeting], how [can I] exist?” Then [he] burned incense, invited [the men in attendance] cordially and swore: “Fortunate with good \textit{karma} from former lifetimes, the various kings of India wish that I be blessed with power, no pray that the fire be extinguished! If [there] is no response, [then] I will meet my death from this.” Immediately [he] then roused [himself] with all [his] strength [he] jumped [so he] stood [on] the threshold. [It was like] [there was] a beat to extinguish [the fire], [and] the fire came to an end, the smoke dispersed. The various kings saw the strange [happenings], [which] merely vastly increased [their] fear… 其大臺忽然火起，伽藍門樓煙焰方熾。王曰：”醫舍國珍，奉為先王建此伽藍，式昭勝業。寡德無祐，有斯災異！咎徵若此，何用生為！”乃焚香禮請而自誓曰：”幸以宿善，王諸印度，願我福力，禳滅火災！若無所感，從斯喪命。”遂奮身跳廬門閾，若有撲滅，火盡煙消。諸王睹異，感增懲懼…

\textsuperscript{283}Ibid., \textit{juan} 5, 443-4: “King Harṣavardhana did not [have the assassin] executed [and] showed no rage, [and] in the end gave the order to not kill [him]… Then the followers of the non-Buddhist teachings were examined, [of
Moreover, his capital Kanyākubja is described as a great and flourishing city, and its people as peaceful and happy.\textsuperscript{284} These descriptions, however, fit in with what we know from history, where apparently it was Harṣavardhana’s strong personality that held his empire together – it collapsed right after his death.\textsuperscript{285}

Moreover, Harṣavardhana shows an interest in China after asking where Xuánzàng comes from.\textsuperscript{286} Next, their conversation turns from the historical King of Qin 秦王 (Qínwáng, i.e. the first emperor Qin Shihuáng 秦始皇, reigned 221-210 BC), whom Harṣavardhana had heard of, to the present Táng emperor Tàizōng.\textsuperscript{287} As can be seen from this, the Indian king first praises them] there were 500 Brāhmans, [and] moreover various great talents, [who had] responded to the order to gather. [They] were envious of the various Buddhist monks [and] ignorant of the king’s manners [and] respect. Then [they] had sent burning arrows to set fire to the treasure platform. [They] hoped that because of the [effort to] put out the fire, the crowd would be scattered in chaos. At that time they wished to murder the Great King. Since [they had] no [chance] to seize the opportunity, then this person were hired to hurry [to] the strategic point to assassinate [the king]. At that time the various kings and great officials requested that the non-Buddhist be put to death. Then the king punished the chief criminals, [but] the remainder were not held accountable. [He] displaced the five hundred Brāhmans to go out of the territory of India, [and] then returned to the capital. The former ages of old were bloody and disorderly, [and] the realm was divided. Weapons began to compete, [and] the living beings were in great suffering. But then, the king reached far. Distant regions [and] strange lands admired the cultivation [of his country] [and] declared their allegiance [to him]. The common people were nurtured and educated by him, [and] all sang the ‘Music of Qin Breaking the [Enemy] Ranks.’ Hearing their classical music, so it remained for a long time. [This] reputation of splendid virtue, is [it] really true? The Great Tàng, how [can] this be?” [I] answered: “It is so. China, [that] was the name of the country [under] the former king. The Great Tàng, [that] is the name of

\textsuperscript{284} Ibid., juan 5, 436-437: “… The hard work of King Harṣavardhana had stopped, [and he] said: “From what country do [you] come? Which wish do [you] bring along?” [I] said in reply: “[I] come from the Great Tàng, [and my] request is the Buddhist teachings.” The king said: “Where is the Great Tàng? The route you have passed, is it far or near? [I] answered: “[It] is several tens of thousands of lǐ to the northeast. It is [the country] India calls Great China 摩訶至那.” ……戒日王勞苦已曰: "自何國來？將何所欲？" 對曰：'從大唐國來，請求佛法。' 王曰：'大唐國在何方？經途所亙，去斯遠近？' 對曰：'當此東北數萬餘里，印度所謂摩訶至那國是也。’”

\textsuperscript{286} Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5, 436-437: “… The hard work of King Harṣavardhana had stopped, [and he] said: “From what country do [you] come? Which wish do [you] bring along?” [I] said in reply: “[I] come from the Great Tàng, [and my] request is the Buddhist teachings.” The king said: “Where is the Great Tàng? The route you have passed, is it far or near? [I] answered: “[It] is several tens of thousands of lǐ to the northeast. It is [the country] India calls Great China 摩訶至那.” ……戒日王勞苦已曰: "自何國來？將何所欲？" 對曰：'從大唐國來，請求佛法。' 王曰：'大唐國在何方？經途所亙，去斯遠近？' 對曰：'當此東北數萬餘里，印度所謂摩訶至那國是也。’”

\textsuperscript{287} Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5, 436-437: “… The hard work of King Harṣavardhana had stopped, [and he] said: “From what country do [you] come? Which wish do [you] bring along?” [I] said in reply: “[I] come from the Great Tàng, [and my] request is the Buddhist teachings.” The king said: “Where is the Great Tàng? The route you have passed, is it far or near? [I] answered: “[It] is several tens of thousands of lǐ to the northeast. It is [the country] India calls Great China 摩訶至那.” ……戒日王勞苦已曰: "自何國來？將何所欲？" 對曰：'從大唐國來，請求佛法。' 王曰：'大唐國在何方？經途所亙，去斯遠近？' 對曰：'當此東北數萬餘里，印度所謂摩訶至那國是也。’”

\textsuperscript{285} Harṣavardhana shows an interest in China after asking where Xuánzàng comes from. Next, their conversation turns from the historical King of Qin 秦王 (Qínwáng, i.e. the first emperor Qin Shihuáng 秦始皇, reigned 221-210 BC), whom Harṣavardhana had heard of, to the present Táng emperor Tàizōng. As can be seen from this, the Indian king first praises

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\textsuperscript{286} Xuanzang and Bianji, Da Tang Xiyu ji, juan 5, 436-437: “… The hard work of King Harṣavardhana had stopped, [and he] said: “From what country do [you] come? Which wish do [you] bring along?” [I] said in reply: “[I] come from the Great Tàng, [and my] request is the Buddhist teachings.” The king said: “Where is the Great Tàng? The route you have passed, is it far or near? [I] answered: “[It] is several tens of thousands of lǐ to the northeast. It is [the country] India calls Great China 摩訶至那.” ……戒日王勞苦已曰: "自何國來？將何所欲？" 對曰：'從大唐國來，請求佛法。' 王曰：'大唐國在何方？經途所亙，去斯遠近？' 對曰：'當此東北數萬餘里，印度所謂摩訶至那國是也。’”

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the King of Qín and next accepts the praise given to the present emperor by Xuánzàng. It has been said Xuánzàng might well have been gratifying his audience, the Táng emperor himself, in writing these words, but in general, the king’s knowledge of and interest in China would indeed add to the positive view the monk had of the ruler. All we can know for certain is that the Indian king was persuaded by Xuánzàng to establish diplomatic relations with the Táng. These were to last about two decades—until some time after Harṣavardhana’s death in 647.

3.4.3 The “borderline complex”

According to Tansen Sen, the Chinese Buddhists struggled to find a place for themselves in the Indian conception of the human world, which was the continent of Jambudvīpa. In Indian Buddhist literature they were usually placed on the periphery of this continent and considered as foreigners, mleccha, or even barbarians, which the Chinese Buddhists were aware of. This conception was emphasised by the distance between the Buddhist sites in India and China. Antonio Forte claimed that the majority of Chinese Buddhist monks suffered from a so-called “borderline complex.” The Chinese Buddhists sought to overcome this complex by making China into a centre of Buddhism and claiming their place in the Buddhist world. Seemingly they successfully accomplished this, though the process was complete only after Xuánzàng’s time. Their claims were supported, for instance, by what they perceived as the

the country of my lord. In the past [there was] not a hereditary position, [the one who held this] was called the King of Qín, [but] now [the emperors] inherit the throne, [and these] are called the Son of Heaven. The former age came to [its] end, [and] the living beings had no lord. [Again] weapons began to compete, cruelly killing the living souls. The King of Qín was entrusted by Heaven to show great tolerance, [and] to mentally arousing benevolence [and] compassion. [His] power [and] prestige were brandished, [and] the crowds of evil were exterminated. The Eight Directions [of the World] were tranquil, [and] the Ten Thousand Countries presented tribute. The four kinds of birth were nurtured, [and] the Three Treasures were respected [and] elevated. Taxes are low [and] punishments are reduced. And so the country have [what it needs] in abundance, [and] the customs have no evil [traits in them]. The people’s morals have [gone through] a great transformation, [this is] hard to tell in details.” King Harṣavardhana said: “Splendid! All beings in the other land receive the effect of the good karma of the Sage Master [the Buddha]!” 王曰：“嘗聞摩訶至那國有秦王天子，少而靈鑒，長而神武。昔先代喪亂，率土分崩，兵戈競起，群生荼毒，而秦王天子早懷遠略，興大慈悲，拯濟含識，平定海內，風教遐被，殊方異域，慕化稱臣。眾庶荷其亭育，咸歌‘秦王破陣樂’。聞其雅頌，於茲久矣。盛德之譽，誠有之乎?”大唐國者，豈此是耶?”對曰: “然，至那者，前王之國號，大唐者，我君之國稱。昔未襲位，謂之秦王，今已承統，稱曰天子。前代運終，羣生無主，兵戈亂起，殘害生靈，秦王天縱含弘，心發慈愍，威風鼓扇，羣兇殄滅，八方靜謐，萬國朝貢。愛育四生，敬崇三寶，薄賦斂，省刑罰，而國用有餘，氓俗無宄,風猷大化,難以備舉。”戒日王曰: “盛矣哉，彼土群生，福感聖主! "
relics of the Buddha and the prophesies concerning the appearance and reincarnation of Buddhhas and Bodhisattvas in China. Indeed, from this time on Indian monks are recorded as having gone on pilgrimage to China.

How does this so-called complex feature in the *Dà Táng Xīyù Jì*? For one thing, there are some references to what can be called an arrogant view from the Indian Buddhists, with for example the claim that “only the monks of my country can obtain freedom” being inscribed in one temple. And as we have seen, the high number of ancient Buddhist sites make obvious the religious significance of India to Xuánzàng. On the other hand, however, in his presentation of China to Harṣavardhana he conveys a very positive view of his homeland, and indeed it might have been impossible for him to present China as clearly inferior to India due to his close relations with the Táng emperor. As far as I can see, the borderline complex does not feature greatly in the account.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Though China was clearly influenced by the other great Asian civilisation of India, the contact between them was mostly indirect. One example of direct contact between them, however, was Xuánzàng’s journey, which he recorded after his return to China. While it is necessary to stress that Xuánzàng was a Buddhist monk with a special mission on his journey to India, we must remember the huge impact Buddhism had on China.

While India was the origin of Buddhism, and for this reason was important for Chinese Buddhists, the religion had started its decline in India by the time of his journey. Furthermore, though Indian culture was still flourishing, the great empires of antiquity had given way to a number of smaller kingdoms.

In the *Dà Táng Xīyù Jì*, numerous Indian and Central Asian kingdoms are described, with the description of Magadha being especially prominent. Here, Xuánzàng presents India through its geography, customs, history and other aspects. Particular emphasis is given to Buddhist sites, giving the impression of India as a Buddhist holy land. I find Xuánzàng generally respectful of the Indians, and in the cases of the Buddhist-friendly Emperor Harṣavardhana

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294 Ibid., 43-4.
295 Ibid., 43.
296 Xuanzang and Bianji, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, juan 8, 696; … Only the monks of my country can obtain freedom…” …唯我國僧而得自在…” “My country” refers, however, not to all of India, but to Sri Lanka.
and the university at Nālandā, he seems much impressed with what he saw. Xuánzàng attained his goal of seeking Buddhist knowledge, which likely reflects positively on India in his work. Furthermore, he mostly avoids using derogatory vocabulary to refer to Indians.

However, we can also see seemingly exotic sides of the country, along with seeming criticism of for example the caste system and despair at the decay of Buddhism and the prevalence of robbery. Furthermore, Brahmanists are usually portrayed in a clearly negative way.

We have seen that the Buddhist connection with India had an impact on the Chinese world-view, and that perceptions of that country could be an exception to the general trends found in this world-view. This shows that the Sinocentric Chinese world-view did not encompass all Chinese views of the outside world. Indeed, the concept of India being superior to or equal with China may have been present among Chinese Buddhist clergy. Xuánzàng, however, despite expressing a non-traditional and more positive view of India due to his religious beliefs and personal experiences, where it was both civilised and religiously important, does not seem to have presented it as clearly superior to China.
4 The view of the “Four Yí’ in Táng Poetry

As poetry had become an important way to express one’s feeling by the Táng Dynasty (618-907), the poems written by people of the Táng can tell us much about how the Chinese of that era viewed the world around them. This chapter will therefore explore which view of the so-called “Four Yí 四夷 (Sì Yí),” or foreigners, we can find Táng poetry.

The more open international situation of the Early and High Táng periods, and the dramatic later reaction that followed, could easily be thought of as having influenced the world-view of the Táng Chinese. Can these circumstances be discerned in their poetry, or does it merely reflect the traditional Chinese world-view?

4.1 Research method

To answer this question, I will explore the presentation of three different topics: The Huá-Yí distinction 華夷之辯 (Huá-Yí zhī biàn), non-Hàn peoples and countries and Four Yí 四夷 individuals. The specific peoples and individuals I selected are introduced at the beginning of the section analysing their portrayal. My source material is a selection of poems from the Quán Tángshī 全唐詩 (Complete Táng Poems), the Qīng 清 Dynasty (1644-1912) collection of all known Táng poems, comprising poems written in different periods of the Táng Dynasty.

I will examine whether or not there are Táng poems relating to these topics, how these poems describe foreign peoples and individuals, and if the basic impression is positive or negative. The method of analysis includes searching out the poems that can be related to foreigners, and next mainly analyse the “mood” of the poems as more negative or positive, or neutral, rather than focusing on particular vocabulary. I find this way of analysis fitting for the poetry genre.

Táng poetry will refer to poetry written by people of the Táng period. The definition of Four Yí will be based on who the Táng Chinese would have considered part if the Four Yí rather than to the Táng, as we can discern from their writings. The way Táng poets saw it, there had been different peoples and countries belonging to Four Yí both in their own era and in the past.

297 Regarding the concept of the Four Yí, I refer to Chapter 1.7.
Furthermore the concept of the Four Yí here involves the concept of the Huá-Yí distinction. This definition includes the non-Hàn peoples and countries from the time of the Hàn 漢 Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) to the Táng Dynasty, but not those before the Hàn Dynasty. That is because I find the relationship between different peoples before the Hàn period complex and often unclear. Besides, the areas inhabited by the Four Yí included both the so-called “area outside of China 華外之地 (Huáwài zhī dì)” and some areas that the Chinese at times controlled, such as the Central Asian Western Regions 西域 (Xīyù) or the Korean peninsula.

The views of Buddhism, one of the most important topics of Táng poetry, can be considered part of the view of the Four Yí due to the religion’s originally Indian origin. However, because the position of Buddhism in Táng views of foreigners is hard to determine, I will not consider it in this chapter.

After the Hàn Dynasty was dissolved, many foreign peoples entered northern China. There, they then founded their own countries: the so-called Sixteen Kingdoms 十六國 (Shíliùguó, 304-439) and the Northern Dynasties of the Northern and Southern Dynasties period 南北朝 (Nánběicháo, 420-589). The peoples who entered China in this era were called the “Five Hú 五胡 (Wǔ Hú)” by the Chinese, where Hú refers to non-Hàn peoples. Therefore, these people were also part of the Four Yí in Chinese thinking. However, because people belonging to the Hú became the emperors of the Hàn people in this era, and in particular as the Hú peoples became more and more Sinicised and mixed with the Hàn, the Huá-Yí distinction between the Chinese and the Hú became more and more vague, and it has been said that the distinction between the two was “greatly weakened.” But by the time the Suí 隨 (581-618)

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298 Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 6.
299 For example Bái Jūyì’s 白居易 poem “Two Vermillion Pavilions, the Cífó Temples gradually increase 兩朱閣 剩佛寺冪多也” discusses Buddhism. See Quan Tangshi, 25 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1960), juan 卷 427 卷四百二十七, 13: 4701.
300 These countries were not all founded by the Five Hú, as some were founded by Hàn Chinese. For the Sixteen Kingdoms and the Northern and Southern Dynasties, see notes 65 and 71.
301 The so-called “Five Hú” were: the Xiōngnú 匈奴, the Xiānbēi 鮮卑, the Jié 羯, the Qiāng 羌 and the Dī 氐. See: Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 6. For the word Hú see the vocabulary section in Chapter 1.7.
and Táng dynasties unified China, the Huá-Yí distinction still existed, and was moreover later strengthened by the Confucian resurgence.\textsuperscript{303}

### 4.2 The Táng state and Táng poetry

#### 4.2.1 The Táng state

Many consider the Táng Dynasty, with its rich and varied history and culture, to have been the Golden Age of Chinese history.\textsuperscript{304} It is often divided into four periods: Early Táng 初唐 (Chūtáng, ca. 618–712), High Táng 盛唐 (Shèngtáng, ca. 712–779), Middle Táng 中唐 (Zhōngtáng, ca. 779–840) and Late Táng 晚唐 (Wàntáng, ca. 840–907). This is relevant here because Táng poetry can be divided into the same four periods, and furthermore the Táng Chinese view of foreigners also roughly developed along with these periods.

In the Táng period, more than one million foreigners settled in China, including the Göktürks or Turkic peoples 突厥 (Tūjué), the Tiělè 鐵勒, the people of Goryeo 高麗 (Gāolì), the Tǔbō 吐蕃, the Tanguts 党項 (Dǎngxiàng) and the Tǔyùhún 吐谷渾.\textsuperscript{305} Compared with the previous Hàn period, the Early Táng and the High Táng very openly received foreign cultural influences, and it could even be said that foreign influence was more warmly welcomed during the Táng than in any other period of traditional Chinese history. This foreign cultural influence came especially from the Western Regions, and encompassed clothing, music, cuisine, dance, technical skills and other cultural aspects.\textsuperscript{306} Besides, even though the merging of ethnic groups also took place in other periods of Chinese history, what was special about

\textsuperscript{303} Fu, “Tangxing wenhua,” 361-362.
\textsuperscript{304} Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 3.
\textsuperscript{305} Fu, “Tangxing wenhua”, 357-358: “The estimate is that in the 120 years between the beginning of Zhēnguàn 貞觀 era of [Táng] Tàizōng 太宗 [reigned 626–49] and the beginning of the Tiānbǎo 天寶 era of [Táng] Xuānzōng 玄宗, the people of foreign tribes that were taken prisoners of war by the Táng or surrendered to them and thereupon entered and settled in China numbered at the least more than 1.7 million, including Turks, Tiělè, Goryeans, Tǔbō, Dāngxiàng, Tǔyùhún and people of the many countries of the Western Regions; among these there were also many that became officials at the Chinese court.估計從太宗貞觀初至玄宗天寶初的一百二十年間，外族被唐俘虜或歸降唐室因而入居中國的，至少在一百七十萬人以上，包括突厥、鐵勒、高麗、吐蕃、黨項、吐谷渾以及西域諸國之人，他們並有不少在中國朝廷中做官.” The Tiělè were a group of Turkic peoples, Goryeo (or Goguryeo 高句麗) was located in northern Korea and Manchuria, the Tǔbō (or Tūfān) were Tibetans and the Tǔyùhún a Mongolic people. Regarding the transcription of foreign names, I refer to the section in Chapter 1.6.

\textsuperscript{306} Fu,” Tangxing wenhua,” 349: “In addition to religion, the music, dance, technology and food of the Western Regions on the whole also became part of the common interests of the Táng people 宗教之外，西域的音樂、歌舞、技術、食物，也大都為唐人所普遍愛好.” See also: Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 23.
the Táng was that the interethnic relations were relatively harmonious. Finally, though it will not be considered here, Buddhism had a particularly large influence, though it still received criticism because of its foreign origin.

The foreign influence reached all the way to the imperial court. The Táng imperial family was originally northern Hán Chinese that had been much influenced by Hú culture. While the ethnicity of their ancestors is a controversial topic, at least the imperial family included non-Hán empresses. This naturally influenced their view on the Four Yí, and gave rise to the so-called concept of “the Huá and the Yí as one family 华夷一家 (Huá-Yí yī jiā),” which again weakened the concept of “protect Xià against the Yí 夷夏之防 (Yí-Xià zhī fáng).”

Politically, the Táng realm not only actively conquered areas outside of the Chinese heartland and conducted trade with foreign countries, but non-Hán peoples also repeatedly attacked the Táng Dynasty and had much influenced on its history. This influenced the Táng people’s view of the Four Yí and strengthened the concept of Chinese and foreigners as family.

However, this thinking was not to exist for long. By the Middle Táng, the Confucian resurgence movement was launched, which caused the Hán Chinese to begin to be hostile to foreigners. The Táng therefore welcomed foreigners and foreign influence in approximately the period before the Ān-Shí Rebellion 安史之乱 (Ān-Shí zhī luàn) of 755-63, after which they no longer welcomed them. In other words, the Early Táng and High Táng were more open to foreign influence, while the Middle Táng and the Late Táng were more closed.

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309 Fu, “Tangxing wenhua,” 357.
310 Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 7. For the controversy, see: Sanping Chen, “Struggle and the Ethnic Identity of the Tang Imperial House,” Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Third Series 6, no. 3 (1996). The mother of the first Táng emperor Lǐ Yuān 李淵 was a Xiānbēi with the surname Dúgū 独孤, and the family of Emperor Tàizōng’s Empress Zhǎngsūn 長孫皇后 was also Xiānbēi. These were the ancestors of the later Táng imperial family, and the imperial family have therefore been called “a mixed bloodline of Hán and Hú 一漢胡混合血胤,” see: Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 106; Edwin G. Pulleyblank, “The An Lu-shan Rebellion and the Origins of Chronic Militarism in Late T’ang China,” in Essays on T’ang Society: The Interplay of Social and Political and Economic Forces, ed. J.C. Smith and B.L. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 37.
311 Fu, “Tangxing wenhua,” 357; Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 22.
312 E.g. ibid., 284: “In the tenth month of the first year of the Guǎngdé 廣德 period (763) the Tǔbō entered and plundered the Guānzhōng 關中 region 廣德元年（763）十月，吐蕃進寇關中.”
313 Fu, “Tangxing wenhua,” 357.
314 Ibid., 362, 365.
During the Táng era, China not only received foreign influence, but also influenced other countries due to its flourishing culture and strong military power. Besides the regions to the west and north of China, the concept of Four Yí included the countries of East and Southeast Asia. The Táng had contact with these countries, and over time East Asia was the most important recipient of Táng cultural influence; it was at this time that the region first became the so-called “East Asian cultural zone.”

4.2.2 Táng poetry

Chinese poetry is a rich and varied part of Chinese literature that had developed over long time, and Táng poetry 唐詩 (Tángshī) is the most famous part of Chinese poetry. However, this section will only point out some basics and questions relevant to my research topic.

Firstly, in the society and culture of the Táng era, the role of poetry was very important, to the extent that the Táng era literati sometimes had to master the composition of poetry in order to pass the imperial examination 科舉 (kējǔ). Here, one relevant question is to which degree the poetry genre influences the content of the poems, or whether the poetry genre could be the reason whether or not the poems speak of the Four Yí. This problem is a very hard one, but it lies outside of the scope of this chapter.

Secondly, what kind of people wrote poetry in Táng China, and whose point of view do their poems represent? Naturally, all Táng poets were literate, and as such were not common people. However, do the poems only represent the Táng aristocrats and literati, or can they also represent the common Táng people’s view of the Four Yí? Could any of the poets in the Táng era be considered as belonging to the Four Yí? While these questions are important, here I can only point out that the Táng people’s views of foreigners certainly were very varied, and therefore Táng poetry has no way of including all the Táng people’s impressions of the Four Yí.

Finally, during the Táng Dynasty, the Japanese and the people of the Korean peninsula also wrote classical Chinese poetry 文言詩 (wén yán shī), but because these poems were not written by Táng people, they will not here be considered as Táng poems.

315 Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 201: “東亞文化圈。”
316 Shi Zhongwen 史仲文, Da Tang shi shi 大唐詩史 (Taipei: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe 中国社会出版社, 2005), 1; Su Xuelin 蘇雪林, Tangshi gailun 唐詩概論 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu 臺灣商務, 1975), 1.
4.3 The Four Yí in Táng poetry

4.3.1 The Huá-Yí distinction

The poems analysed in this section concerns the conceptual contrast between the Huá and the Yí, so that in these poems Yí is the conceptual opposite of Huá. These poems are concerned with an ideal concept, and do not describe real foreign peoples. Here, I will first examine some Táng poems that include the character Yí, and next examine those that include the two characters Huá and Yí used together.

In the Quán Tángshī, there are more than six hundred poems that speak of Yí, though Yí does not refer to the Four Yí in all of these.³¹⁷ There are also some thirty poems that speak of Huá-Yí. Therefore, I could not analyse all the relevant poems, but I hope that my selection is representative.

First, I will look at the Early Táng emperor Lǐ Shìmín’s 李世民 (or Tàizōng 太宗, 589-649) cí 辭” Bring good fortune to military accomplishments [at] the Palace to Celebrate Goodness 慶善宮,” a part of which reads:

“Giving the command to settle the Eight Wastelands 八荒 (Bāhuāng), conciliating the Yí of the Ten Thousand Countries 萬國 (Wànguó).”³¹⁸

³¹⁷ For example the poem “Leisurely [poem] on the topic of the Family Pool, evaluating sending the Daoist Zhāng [to] the king’s house” by Bái Jūyì 白居易 (772-846) of the Middle Táng, includes Yí in another meaning of the word: Quan Tangshi, juan 459 卷四百五十九, 14:5220: “There are clear white stones, there is clear murmuring water. There is an old man [with] hair like snow, whirling among them. Advancing [but] not hurrying [down] the main road, withdrawing [but] not entering the deep mountains. The deep mountains are excessively spacious [and] still, the main road [have] many dangers [and] hardships. [They] are not like the family pond, [which is] leisurely [and] peaceful [with] no suffering. There is food pleasing my mouth, there is wine that flushes my face. [When I] absent-mindedly roamed around in drunken stupor, the Daoist (Xīyí 希夷) built an entrance hall. Five thousand words have come down [to make me] realise, in the last twelve year [I have] been idle. I do not look back at riches, I did not cling to valuables. There is only the son of the Temple of Heaven 天壇, the seasons all come and go: "天壇, the seasons all come and go:閒題家池,寄王屋張道士: 有石白磷磷,有水清潺潺。有叟頭似雪,婆娑乎其間。進不趨要路,退不入深山。深山太濩落,要路多險艱。不如家池上,樂逸無憂患。有食適吾口,有酒酡吾顏。恍惚遊醉鄉,希夷造玄關。五千言下悟,十二年來閒。富者我不顧,貴者我不攀。唯有天壇子,時來一往還.”

³¹⁸ The full poem goes: Ibid., juan 1 卷一, 1:4: “At the Hill of Longevity 壽丘 there are only old traces, the city of Fēng 酆 is (then) the front base. Alas, I inherited accumulated wisdom, [and] the military spirit also lies here. In my tender age [I] came upon cyclic changes, [this was] the time to draw the sword [and] rectify my gloomy mind. Giving the command to settle the Eight Wastelands, conciliating the Yí of the Ten thousand countries. Climbing the mountain, all enter [there] sincerely, surpassing the oceans, [thus] coming to reflect. The chányú 單
The topic of this *cí* is the personal experiences Li Shimín. What is the function and impression of the so-called “Yí of the Ten Thousand Countries” here? As the Ten Thousand Countries refers to “all countries,” the *Yí* of these countries means every foreigner. The use of *Yí* seems to express a negative impression of these foreigners due to the traditional derogatory implications of this character, which is also emphasised by the use of “wasteland.” However, the phrase implies that Li thought one should treat these *Yí* well; indeed, one should “conciliate” them rather than attack or oppress them.

Here Li’s personal thinking is relevant. Regarding the relationship with foreigners, he was something of a unique emperor. He claimed to be the only one who viewed the *Huá* and the *Yí* as equals where the emperors before him all despised foreigners, whom they found uncivilised. Therefore he can probably not represent the opinion of the majority of his contemporaries, but because he was the emperor his opinion was still very important.

Next, a part of the poem “Five songs on going back out of the frontier pass” by the famous High Táng poet Dù Fǔ 杜甫 (712-70) speaks thus of the “Four *Yí*:

“The Six Directions 六合 (Liùhé, the World) are already one family, the Four *Yí* are moreover an isolated force.”

Here, Four *Yí* refers to peoples from the outside of China, and the latter phrase implies that the Four *Yí* were enemies of the Táng, implying that latter should protect its borders. Actually,
this poem speaks of the experiences of a soldier and describes life at the time of the chaotic Ān-Shǐ Rebellion, and therefore it is not surprising that its impression of the Four Yí is negative.

Though the above poems speak of Yí but not of Huá, I think that to the Táng people who read these poems the use of the word Yí would bring to mind the Huá-Yí distinction because of how the character Yí is closely related to this concept. The following poems, however, all contain the two characters Huá-Yí used together. First, part of another of Dù Fǔ’s poems reads:

“When the Huá and the Yí are mutually mixing, the Universe (Yǔzhòu) will all stink of sheep and raw meat.”

In this poem we see the topic of “the Huá and the Yí mutually mixing,” and we see that for Dù Fǔ the importance of Huá-Yí could be metaphysical. The reason is that according to this poem, when “the Huá and the Yí are mutually mixing” one has the situation of the Universe all smelling of “sheep and raw meat,” the meaning of which is clearly very negative. Thus, the role of the Yí is both very important and very unflattering in this poem.

Next, Zhāng Yuè 張說 (667-730) was another High Táng poet. Part of his cí “The Táng confers a symphony on Tàishān” reads:

“When the will of the Huá and the Yí are joined, the shēng and yōng rituals thrive.”

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321 See the commentary next introducing the poem: ibid., juan 218, 7:2292.
322 Ibid., juan 225 卷二百二十五, 7:2427: “Qinzhōu 秦州 saw the list of appointed officials, the three artemisia earrings were granted [to] the Official overseeing discussions, four nets reveal [and] remove supervision. An old acquaintance of the second son, was promoted to higher office [with] distant happiness, concurrently recounting the life of a widower, [with] all thirty rhymes… Returning to Shū 蜀 [a historic state] was of no avail, the prisoner Liáng 梁 (for his part) was safely shut up. [When] the Huá and the Yí are mutually mixing, the Universe will all stink of sheep [and] raw meat…”
323 Ibid., juan 85, 3:918-19 卷八十五: “The Táng confers a symphony on Tàishān: Six songs on content harmony… [When] the will of the Huá and the Yí are joined, the shēng and yōng rituals thrive. The wise [and] intelligent honour [us] with [their] presence, affecting [us with] this sincere respect 唐封泰山樂章：豫和六首:…華夷相同，笙鏞禮盛。明靈降止，感此誠敬.” The shēng was an instrument made with bamboo pipes, while the yōng was a stringed instrument. The commentary to the poem remarks that Zhāng, a prominent politician, had experiences from border areas, see: ibid.
This line seems to emphasise the equal importance of the Huá and the Yí. Their “wills are joined,” which is how one reaches the desirable situation of the shēng and yōng rituals thrive,” which is why poem’s view on the Yí must be positive.

Part of the poem “Recalling the past of Jinling 金陵” by the Middle Táng poet Yín Yáofān 殷堯藩 (780-855) reads:

“When the Huá and the Yí are mixed to one, they will return to the true lord, fold [their] hands uprightly in salutation, and then supreme harmony will happen by itself.”

This poem is relatively complex and includes philosophical aspects, making the function of Huá-Yí hard to explain. Here, one needs the Huá and the Yí to merge before one can “return to the true lord.” As this must refer to a good situation, the function of Yí in this poem must be positive.

Part of the poem “Reading the classics [in] the dwelling of the provincial official” by the Middle Táng poet Yáng Shì’è 羊士諤 (ca. 762-819) reads:

“The Huá and the Yí take part in official service, the map of the province of Bāhàn 巴漢 is mixed.”

Here, it is expressed that the Huá and the Yí both take part in “official service” – they both do the same thing, and moreover because this could be considered to be something the Yí were originally not supposed to be doing, I think that the view on the expressed in this poem Yí must be good.

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324 The full poem reads: ibid., juan 492 四百九十二, 15:5569-70: “The ecliptic [and] the clear heaven embrace the jade pendant, the spirit of the kings of the Southeast is fodder [to] the many tombs. The River 江 [the Yángzǐ] take in many calabash shells [in] coming to the Three Shā 三蜀, the land joins with the Nine Rivers 九河 encircling the Kūnlún 崑崙 Range. The phoenix delves [into] the dawn [making] the red clouds scatter, the green spring water of the Dragon Pond 龍池 give life to waves. [When] the Huá and the Yí are mixed to one, they will return to the true lord, fold [their] hands uprightly in salutation, [and then] supreme harmony will happen by itself 金陵懷古: 黃道天清擁珮珂，東南王氣秣陵多。江吞彭蠡來三蜀，地接崑崙帶九河。鳳闕曉霞紅散，龍池春水綠生波。華夷混一歸真主，端拱無為樂太和.” Jinling is a former name for Nánjīng

325 Ibid., juan 332 卷三百三十二, 10:3704: “… The Huá [and] the Yí take part in official service, the map of the province of Bāhàn is mixed. [The wind] blows down the grass, [I] reminisce of the gentleman [and] move with the wind [as I] recollect the farmer... 郡齋讀經:... 華夷參吏事，巴漢混州圖，懷真君子，移風念舊夫...”
Finally, in Táng poetry there are some poems with a Buddhist background that speak of the Huá-Yí relation. For example, part of the Middle Táng poet Yáo Hé’s 姚合 (ca. 781-855) “Sending the Purple Pavilion 紫閣 (Zǐgé) a nameless wandering monk” read:

“In the mountains and rivers, dhyana is everywhere, how are the Buddha of the Huá and the Yí different from each other?”

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While this poem does not directly speak of the Four Yí, it points out two contrasts: “the sage and the foolish” and the “Buddha of the Huá and the Yí.” It emphasises that these divisions are both very vague; therefore I think that the view on the Four Yí is good. Additionally, this poem conveys a reverence for Buddhist concepts such as dhyana 禪 (chán).

From the poems analysed here, we see that the Huá-Yí distinction had an important influence on the world-view of the Táng people. While the view of the Yí was often negative, it seems there were many important exceptions. Furthermore, we can see that “the mixing of Huá and Yí” was an important theme in Táng poems, and here the view of the Yí is often positive.

The poems analysed includes those written in the Early, High and Middle Táng periods, but not the Late Táng. Even so, I think that the analysis reflects the development of the view of the Four Yí in the different periods of Táng poetry. The Early and High Táng poems seem to describe foreigners relatively positively, while those of the Middle Táng are more negative, though even among Middle Táng poems there are some that speak relatively favourably of the concept of “the Huá and the Yí mixing.” Finally, the views of poems with a Buddhist background seem generally better than the views of the other poems.

4.3.2 Non-Hàn peoples and countries

The non-Hàn peoples and countries here were actual historical peoples rather than generalised foreign groups. I will examine the portrayal of three peoples in Táng poetry: the historical

326 The poem reads in full: Ibid., juan 497 卷四百九十七, 15:5639: “The upright moral conduct obtain thusness, who [can] tell apart the sage and the foolish? Not sleeping, realising [that] the dream is false, [there is] no name [that] escapes the calling of people. [In] the mountains and rivers, dhyana is everywhere, how are the Buddha of the Huá and the Yí different [from each other]? What reason [is there] to go along with the master’s words, purity lies in an instant 寄紫閣無名頭陀: 峭行得如如, 誰分聖與愚。不眠知夢妄, 無號免人呼。山海禪皆遍, 華夷佛豈殊。何因接師話, 清淨在斯須.” In fact, the monk in question here was from Silla, see the commentary introducing the poem: ibid.
Xiōngnú 匈奴 that are also examined in my second chapter, the Turkic peoples to the west of the Táng and Silla 新羅 (Xīnluó, ca. 57 BC-935 AD) to the east.

At the time of the Táng, the Xiōngnú are no longer mentioned in contemporary records, but up until then they had greatly influenced Chinese history. They had often attacked China,327 and as seen before were they one of the Five Hú.328 The Xiōngnú was a nomadic people with a vastly different culture from that of the agricultural Chinese. They would likely be considered uncivilised in the Chinese view; their homeland belonging to the “area outside of China.” Thus, the Táng people would likely have a negative view of the Xiōngnú, but is this the view we can find in Táng poetry?

Quán Tángshī has some tens of poems which speak of the Xiōngnú. For example, part of the Early Táng poet Dòu Wēi’s 竇威 (died 618) “Song of going out of the frontier pass” reads:

“The Xiōngnú are often not peaceful, the Hàn general wishes to move unhindered.”329

The first part emphasises the difference between the Xiōngnú and the Hàn. It expresses, for example, that the poet thought that the Xiōngnú as a people often was “not peaceful.” This could be considered criticism of them, making the impression negative.

The poet Róng Yú 戎昱 (744-800) of the Middle Táng in his poem “Five songs on the hard journey” speaks of the Xiōngnú three times:


Mounting a horse [to] pursue the Xiōngnú, [spending] several autumns in yellow dust.”330

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327 For example: Fan, Hou Han Shu, Guangwū dì ji xia, 1:73: “In the twelfth month of the third year [of the Jiànwǔ 建武 era, 44 AD], the Xiōngnú plundered Tānshuǐ 天水. 十年... 十二月，匈奴寇天水.”
328 Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shi, 6.
329 The full poem is as follows: Quan Tangshi, juan 30 卷三十, 2:433: “The Xiōngnú are often not peaceful, the Hàn general wishes to move unhindered. Looking at in the direction of the clouds, setting up the battle array, the withdrawing moon begins blend [into] the camp. Mounting a sneak attack, going beyond Mǎyì 馬邑, raising the banners [and] overwhelming Lóngchéng 龍城. Gathering [and] reining in, at ease like stone, then the courier carriage rode [with] the fame 出塞曲: 匈奴屢不平，漢將欲縱橫。看雲方結陣，卻月始連營。潛軍度馬邑，揚旆掩龍城。會勒燕然石，方傳車騎名.” Though he died at the beginning of the Táng era, Dòu is included in the analysis due to his inclusion in the Quán Tángshī.
“In former years I bought a servant, the servant came to Suyab 碎葉 (Suìyè, near today’s Bishkek).

Surely intending to not be among the dead, [she] herself became a Xiōngnú concubine,”\(^{331}\) and

“The Xiōngnú were [in] the vanguard, [with their] long noses [and] curled yellow hair.

Drawing the bows, hunting living men, the smell of cattle [and] sheep [can be smelled from] one hundred paces [away].”\(^{332}\)

The first passage expresses that the Xiōngnú were given precious objects in tribute. It also reads “cannot allow myself to express anguish,” which I think gives the reader a negative feeling. The second passage, then, speaks of a “Xiōngnú concubine,” and I think the feeling is still gloomy. Finally, the third passage says the Xiōngnú indicates a highly unflattering appearance and violent behaviour. Thus, this poem’s impressions of the Xiōngnú is negative, but one should note that the general feeling of this poem on the “hard journey” is exceptionally tragic right from the phrase “hoping to wiping away the great national shame”\(^{333}\) early in the poem to the conclusion of “crying out every day but no one hears it.”\(^{334}\)

The Xiōngnú are thus portrayed in an unflattering way, and we could wonder why this tragic poem would speak repeatedly of the Xiōngnú, which amplifies the negative image.

Many poems in the Quán Tángshī also speak of “chányú 单于,” which as we have seen was the title of the Xiōngnú leader. For example, part of the poem “Going to give the horse water [in] the cavern in the Great Wall” by the Middle Táng poet Wáng Hàn 王翰 (dates unknown) reads:

“[From] far away [one can] hear the military drums shaking the ground [as they] come, expounding the chányú, the night is like a battle.

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\(^{330}\) Ibid., juan 270 卷二百七十, 8:3006-7: “苦哉行五首: …吞聲不許苦，還遣衣羅綺。上馬隨匈奴，數秋黃塵裏…”

\(^{331}\) Ibid.: “苦哉行五首: …昔年買奴僕，奴僕來碎葉。豈意未死間，自為匈奴妾…”

\(^{332}\) Ibid.: “苦哉行五首: …匈奴為先鋒，長鼻黃髮拳。彎弓獵生人，百步牛羊羶…”

\(^{333}\) Ibid., 8:3006: “苦哉行五首: Hoping to wiping away the great national shame, turn over [and] setting right the great national disgrace… 冀雪大國恥，翻是大國辱…”

\(^{334}\) Ibid., 8:3006-7: “苦哉行五首: … The further [one] goes to sever the soul, crying out every day [but] no [one] hears [it] …去去斷絕魂，叫天天不聞.”
At this time thinking fondly of the benevolence [from the emperor] I make a visit [to my relatives], concerned about [their] health, pushing aside ten thousand people for lord’s travelling party.

The brave man brandishes [his] weapon [and] returns [in] daytime, the chányú splashes blood dyeing the wheels [in] vermillion.335

In this poem, the phrase “expounding that the chányú, the night is like a battle” strengthens the metaphorical close relation between chányú and “battle” or “war” 戰 (zhàn). This description is thus clearly negative, and the impression of the chányú is only made worse by the following blood-filled phrase.

A part of the poem “Sending off the Great protector of the capital Lǐ 李” by Cháng Jiàn 常建 (708-65) of the Late Táng speaks of chányú in this way:

“Even though the chányú does not go to war, the duty of the Protector of the capital in the border region is profound.”336

The role of the chányú here is that of an enemy, and therefore this poem also points out the relation between chányú and war. Here that is to say, even when the chányú does not to go to war, China’s “duty to defend the capital border is profound,” and therefore this poem’s impression of the Xiōngnü is negative.

Here we could again quote Lǐ Shimín’s “Bring good fortune to military accomplishments at the Palace to Celebrate Goodness,” which includes the phrase: “The chányú stays with the war-tents, daily chasing the guards in the land of small lines.”337 While this phrase does not necessarily convey a negative impression of the chányú, it still emphasises their distinct cultural practices.

335 Ibid., juan 156 卷一百五十六, 5:1603: “飲馬長城窟行: 遙聞鼙鼓動地來, 傳道單于夜猶戰。此時顧恩寧顧身, 為君一行摧萬人。壯士揮戈回白日, 單于濺血染朱輪。”

336 The full poem reads: Ibid., juan 144 卷一百四十四, 4:1462: “Even though the chányú does not go to war, the duty of the Protector of the capital [in] the border region is profound. The lord seized the treasure in the tent, [and] can [have] the heart of a superior man. The coast is approaching the waxing moon, [on] the sandbanks there are many hazes. Looking to the West, [considering] the periphery as a son, about to divide the breast [with] swelling tears, otherwise the tears will be meted out to fill the breast. 送李大都護: 單于雖不戰，都護事邊深。君執幕中秘，能為高士心。海頭近初月，磧裏多愁陰。西望郭猶子，將分淚滿襟。}

337 Ibid., juan 1, 1:4: “幸武功慶善宮: …單于膽不戰，都護事邊深。君執幕中秘，能為高士心。海頭近初月，磧裏多愁陰。西望郭猶子，將分淚滿襟。”
Next, the Turkic peoples of Central Asia played an important cultural and political role in different periods of Chinese history, not least during the Táng. Like the Xiōngnú, the Turks were originally nomads, and at the time of the Early and High Táng the Göktürk Khaganate (ca. 552-744) was an important power in Central Asia. The Turkic peoples originally emerged in the 6th century AD, with the area they controlled located in today’s Mongolia and Central Asia. Turkic is a collective noun for peoples of the same language family, including the Tiělè, Tūjué and other tribes. Even though some Turkic groups were sometimes allied with the Táng state, the Turks did not permanently adopt Táng culture. In this aspect they were different from Japan, Silla and Viet Nam, and the Turkic region would therefore belong to the “area outside China” in Chinese thinking. During the Táng dynasty, the Táng state defeated the Turks, and afterwards many Turkic soldiers served in the Táng army. Finally, during the Middle Táng, many Turks took part in the devastating Ān-Shǐ Rebellion.

Even so, the poems that speak of Turks are very few. The whole of the Quán Tángshī seems to only have one poem that directly speaks of the Turks: Middle Táng poet Dù Mù’s 杜牧 (803-52) “Poem of Dù Qiūniáng 杜秋娘.” A part of this poem reads:

“Empress Xiāo 蕭後 went to Yánghōu 揚州, the Turk was a yānzhī 闊氏.

The woman was firm [and] not settled, the scholars were also hard to anticipate.”

The Xiōngnú word yānzhī is the name of the chányú’s wives. Here, the role of the Turks is antagonistic to the people in the poem, which would make us think that the description is negative, though they are hardly important for the poem as a whole.

It is strange that the Quán Tángshī does not have more poems that mention the Turks, and hence it certainly cannot represent the Táng people’s impression of them. This can imply

340 Quan Tangshih, juan 520 卷五百二十, 16:5938-39: “杜秋娘詩：...蕭後去揚州，突厥為闊氏。女子固不定，士林亦難期...” Dù Qiū was a poet and one of Táng emperor Xiànzōng’s 憲宗 concubines, see: Ibid.
341 Di Cosmo, Ancient China, 281.
342 Though its definition might have changed over time, the term Tūjué was frequently used in historical literature written during the Táng as well as the historical literature on the Táng. For example, the name appears hundreds of times in both the Táng work Běi Shǐ 北史 (History of the Northern [Dynasties]) and the Xīn Táng Shū 新唐书 (New Book of Táng); see: Li Yanshou 李延寿, Bei Shi 北史, 9 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1974): passim; Ouyang Xiu 歐陽脩, Xīn Tang Shū 新唐书, 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1975): passim.
that when the poets spoke of the Turks they used other names to refer to them. And indeed, there are two poems in the Quán Tăngshī that speak of 阿史那, the surname of the khagan family of the Göktürk Khaganate.

The first poem is the Middle Táng’s Dòu Gǒng’s 窦鞏 (ca. 762-821) “Giving 阿史那 dūwèi.”343 Besides the name, however, this poem does not directly speak of 阿史那. This poem’s theme is conferring an 阿史那 the dūwèi 都尉 title, a military position. Here, the 阿史那 should be the khagan of the Göktürk Khaganate of that time, or his family. I think this expresses that the khagan was a reliable person, because one could confer him the dūwèi position; for the Turks, then, this poem’s view could be rather positive. However, there is also a more negative way to interpret this: that the Táng was forced to give him this title. However, the beautiful vocabulary used in the poem indicates a positive view of the 阿史那.

The second poem is the Middle Táng poet Wáng Jiàn’s 王建 (767-830) “Send the 阿史那 general [to] Ānxī 安西 to welcome the old envoy [with] a coffin with a corpse.” This poem reads:

“The Hàn families defending the border have vanished, the old general, [wearing] mourning clothing comes to greet [him from] ten thousand lǐ [afar].

Lighting a fire behind the shaded place [while] walking in the mountains, the wind [and] sky are interlaced [when] interlaced at the city [in] the west of the desert.

The chányú walks in the funeral procession, once again shedding tears, the troop are calling back the spirit of the dead and the name of the road.

Withdrawing to enter [among] the melancholy lanes of the Dù tomb 杜陵, the people coming and going on the road read the tomb banners.”344

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343 Quan Tangshi, juan 271 卷二百七十一, 8:3051: “Contrast the hunt at Yànshān 燕山, passing through a few springs, embellishing the bows with white fletching, [which] do not leave the body. The years come, [and] the [Tùyù]hùn horsemen all had no swords, spotting a flying swan-goose bending [as to] resemble a man 贈阿史那 dūwèi: 较獵燕山經幾春，雕弓白羽不離身。年來馬上渾無刀，望見飛鴻指似人.”
344 Ibid., juan 300 卷三百, 9:3411: “送阿史那將軍安西迎舊使靈棺: 漢家都護邊頭沒，舊將敝衣萬里迎。陰地背行山下火，風天錯到磧西城。單于送葬還垂淚，部曲招魂亦道名。卻入杜陵秋巷裏，路人來去讀銘旌.”
In this poem on an Āshīnā general, the vocabulary used is rather depressing in phrases such as “the Hàn families defending the border have vanished” and “the chányú walks in the funeral procession, once again shedding tears.” Also, I think the reason this poem speaks of the “Hàn families” is to lead the mind of the reader to the Huá-Yí distinction. Thus, that the impression of the Turks as well as of the chányú here is negative.

Silla was originally one of the Three Kingdoms 三國 (Samguk, 1st century BC to 668) of the Korean peninsula.345 An alliance with the Táng enabled it to conquer Goguryeo 高句麗 (ca. 37 BC-668) and Baekje 百濟 (ca. 18 BC-660), the two other of the Three Kingdoms. Even though Silla later fought a war with the Táng,346 the country also received Chinese influence in this period. It adopted Chinese characters and culture,347 and became a vassal state of the Táng Dynasty, placing it in the zone of tributary states in the Chinese world-view. Furthermore, in the Táng period many Silla monks went to the Táng for studies, which made Silla more similar to the Táng than were the Turks. The poems that speak of Silla, then, are very many, far more than those mentioning the Turks.

The Middle Táng poet Xǔ Hún’s 許渾 (ca. 791-858) "Sending off a friend, retiring [and] beginning to return to the Eastern Ocean 東海 (Dōnghǎi)” reads:

“[In] the deep blue waves outside the natural moat, which island is Silla?
The ship host explains the faraway foreigners (Fān 番), there are Buddhist monk [knowing the game of] go that that enter the Hàn.
The sea wind blows [on] the white cranes, [on] the shore the sun shines on red shells.
These go [away], knowing that [they will] cast away the pen [and] must seek to wear away sharp swords.”348

This poem is a favourable description of Silla, and its descriptive lines give the reader a beautiful impression of Silla. However, the most important phrase is perhaps: “There are

345 Gao, Tianxia zhixu, 104.
346 Gao et al., Sai-Tang-Wu dai, 158-159.
347 Gao, Tianxia zhixu, 228-235.
348 Quan Tangshi, juan 531 卷五百三十一, 16:6072: “送友人罷舉歸東海: 滄波天塹外，何島是新羅。舶主辭番遠，棋僧入漢多。海風吹白鶴，沙日曬紅螺。此去知投筆，須求利劍磨。”
Buddhist monks knowing the game of go that enter the Hàn,” which confirms that that Silla was a Buddhist country with many monks going to the Táng, implying that it was a cultured place. Finally, this poem does not emphasise differences between Silla and the Táng. The impression of Silla, then, is positive.

Furthermore, the Late Táng poet Guàn Xiū’s 貫休 (832-912) poem “Sending off the Sillan to return home [after] passing the examination” reads:

“Offering cinnamon fragrance along with smoke from the imperial city, [on] the journey to the faraway hometown passing by the all the side of a gigantic sea turtle. No words can record the feast flying [through] the night, hearing [that it was] said [that] no wind reached there for several years. The sunlight on the clothes is truly [like] fire, the fish bones at the side of the island are greater than ships. Arriving in the hometown [you] must come upon the king’s envoy, write [and] give [him] a letter to send to the Táng.”

This poem tells us of sending off a man from Silla back to his country; in this aspect the theme is the same as the above poem. This poem also gives the reader a good feeling with its beautiful description of Silla. Though this poem express that it is “faraway,” I think the meaning is more exotic than negative, and furthermore phrases such as “offering cinnamon fragrance along with smoke from the imperial city” and the final line “arriving in the hometown you must come upon the king’s envoy, write and give him a letter to send to the Táng” adds to the positive image.

Can the poems relating to the Xiōngnú, the Turks and Silla represent the Táng people’s view of foreign countries? Aside from these poem, the Quán Tăngshī has, for example, some tens of poems that speaks of Annam 安南 (Annán) or Jiāozǐ 交趾, both referring to Viet Nam, to the south of the Táng and some tens of poems that speaks of Japan 日本 (Ribên) or Wa 倭 (Wō, an alternative name for Japan) in the east. On the other hand, there are only nine poems

349 Ibid., juan 836 卷八百三十六, 23:9418: “送新羅人及第歸: 掙桂香和紫禁煙，遠鄉程徹巨鼇邊。莫言掛席飛連夜，見說無風即數年。衣上日光真是火，島旁魚骨大於船。到鄉必遇來王使，與作唐書寄一篇。”
that speak of Kucha 龜茲 (Qiūcí) in the west and a mere five poems speak of the Xiānbēi 鮮卑 in the north. This implies that the poems analysed cover only a small part of the view of foreign countries found in Táng poems. We also see that there are more Táng poems that speak of the countries of former days than those that speak of the contemporary era, the most important exceptions I found being those who speak of contemporary Silla. The foreign countries most frequently spoken of in Táng poetry do not seem to be those that were the most important to the history of the Táng Dynasty.

Among the poems describing Four Yí peoples and countries, some descriptions are positive, some are negative and some are more unclear. Even though the majority of poems emphasises the difference between the Chinese and the foreigners, there were exceptions, as we can see from the final few poems. Most poems analysed in this part are from the Middle Táng, though others were written in the Early, High and Late Táng, with the Middle Táng being the period when the Sino-foreign relations were the liveliest.

Even though few poems from the Early and High periods are included here, the descriptions found in poems from these eras are, as also seen in the section above, generally positive, while the Middle Táng impressions are very good in some cases, but more often very negative. The more negative Early Táng poem by Dòu Wēi above is therefore an exception to the general trend. This implies that there had been a change in how the Four Yí were perceived. Even though the impression of the Late Táng poems analysed here are mostly positive to foreigners, these poems with positive views are exceptions due to the change of attitude towards foreigners that had taken place, and we also see a more negative view represented. That the poems describing Silla are more positive than those describing the nomadic peoples could be explained by Silla being Sinicised to a greater extent.

### 4.3.3 Four Yí individuals

This part will here examine the image of three famous historical Four Yí individuals in Táng poetry: Shí Lè 石勒 (274-333), Fú Jiān 苻堅 (338-85) and Ān Lùshān 安祿山 (703-57).
Shí Lè was an ethnic Jié 羯 of the Sixteen Kingdoms period, and was the first emperor of the Later Zhào 候趙 (Hòu Zhào, 319-51) kingdom. The Jié people was one of the Five Hú. The Middle Táng poet Lǚ Wēn 呂溫 (772-811) poem “Two songs on the topic of Shí Lè’s city” reads:

“[The army] made a long drive, everywhere amassing human heads, the great banners [and] the linked camps blend into the garrison approaching an advanced position.

The crow of Jiànyè 建業 perch [and] inquire on which foot? [He] returned with deep feeling to pay homage to the king [in] Zhōngzhōu 中州.

The Heaven-born hero is unusually firm [and] hard to tame, meeting the emergency, breaking the decayed [plants] as if [he] had gods [on his side].

Yífǔ 夷甫 could himself wonder whether to rely on screams, [and] was about to endure the absurd mistakes of his contemporaries.”

This poem eulogises Shí Lè’s life, but it seems to have two different impressions of him. One is positive, for example when saying that Shí Lè was a “The Heaven-born hero,” and emphasises that he “he returned with deep feeling to the king of the Central Province,” while the other is negative, exemplified by the phrase “Yífǔ could himself wonder whether to rely on screams.” Overall, I think that despite the more positive parts, this poem’s impression of Shí Lè remains relatively negative. Yífǔ here refers to Wáng Yǎn 王衍 (256-311), an official of the Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-420), referred to by his style name 字 (zi) Yífǔ; even though his name includes the character Yí, it is not related to my analysis. The reason why he is mentioned here is because Wáng Yǎn was captured and killed by Shí Lè.

The “History poem: Luòyáng” by the poet Hú Céng 胡曾 (born ca. 840) from the Late Táng, on the other hand, reads:

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351 Ibid., zaiji 5, Shi Le xia 載記第五 石勒下, 9:2752.
352 Quan Tangshi, juan 371 三百七十一, 11:4166: “題石勒城二首: 長驅到處積人頭，大旆連營壓上游。建業 烏棲何足問，慨然歸去王中州。天生傑異固難馴，應變摧枯若有神。夷甫自能疑倚嘯，忍將虛誕誤時人。” Jiànyè is an old name for Nánjīng.
“Shí Lè in his youth had opportunities for battle, [at the] time [when] Luòyáng uttered a long cry leaning against the gate.

The Jin Dynasty is not Wáng Yífǔ, how can great knowledge come from foreknowledge?”

This poem’s impression of Shí Lè is entirely negative. Like the above poem it speaks of the Wáng Yǎn that Shí Lè killed, and we should note that traditional Chinese culture often disregard military men and values. Therefore, pointing out that “Shí Lè in his youth had opportunities for battle” is likely not a complement, while furthermore the second sentence also does not convey a good feeling, even though it does not speak of Shí Lè directly.

Besides these two poems, there are some others in the Quán Tàngshī that speak of Shí Lè, but they are less fit for analysis because they do not directly express any view on him. As the Táng poems that touches Four Yí individuals are not numerous, this implies that Shí Lè was a relatively famous non-Hàn personage among the Táng people.

Like Shí Lè, Fú Jiān was an important emperor of the Sixteen Kingdoms period, his kingdom being the Former Qin 前秦 (Qián Qín, 351-94). His ancestors included ethnic Dī 氐, another of the Five Hú, as well as ethnic Hàn. Regarding Fú Jiān, the Hú Céng’s “Bāgōngshān” says:

“Fú Jiān raised a nation from the Western Qin 西秦 (Xī Qín), the Eastern Jin 東晉 (Dōng Jìn, 317-420) was as precarious as a pile of eggs [in] the morning.

Who anticipate the various grasses and trees of these mountains could fully remove the danger [and] change into people.”

This nostalgic poem’s view on Fú Jiān seems to be relatively good, as implied by the sentence “Fú Jiān’s raised a nation from the Western Qín.” While the phrase, “the Eastern Jin was as precarious as a pile of eggs in the morning” implies a high degree of danger to the Chinese
dynasty, I think the positive feeling still remains. The fact that the emperor was in part Hàn Chinese, however, might have influenced the poet’s view on him.

On the other hand, Zhōu Tán’s 周曇 (dates unknown) poem “Fú Jiān” reads:

“One million goes south [on] a campaign while a few horses return, what sorrow is [it] to betray and run away like a hedgehog (in that case)?

The guest seized the enemy state [and] took charge of the various Róng 戎 [tribes to the east], now it lies with whom to again make use of military power?”

This poem’s view is clearly more tragic than the above one, for example in the description of war in the opening phrase. This tragic view implies a negative impression of Fú Jiān.

There are also some other Táng poem relating to Fú Jiān, which signifies that he was more famous among the Táng poets than many other personages of Sixteen Kingdom period.

Ān Lùshān was a Táng general of the Middle Táng period, famous for starting the Ān-Shí Rebellion, which made him an enemy of the Táng state. His ethnic background was half Göktürk and half Sogdian 粟特 (Súté) from the Western Regions, thus he could be considered a “mixed Hú 雜胡 (Záhú).”

The Quán Tángshī contains some poems relating to Ān Lùshān, for example in the “Miscellaneous 雜辭 (Zácí)” section of this collection there is one called the “Old prophesy of Ān Lùshān.” This poem itself is partly nonsensical, but it can be interpreted as a riddle predicting his death. Though it does not describe him directly, the implication of including this prophesy wishing for his death clearly indicates a negative view. The vocabulary used, such as the phrase “in the month when all comes to an end it will certainly wither away,” is also sombre.

357 Ibid., juan 729 卷七百二十九, 21:8360: “苻堅: 百萬南征幾馬歸，叛亡如蝟亦何悲。賓擒敵國諸戎主，更遣權兵過在誰.”
358 Gao et al., Sui-Tang-Wu dai shí, 226.
359 Quan Tangshi, juan 875 卷八百七十五, 25:9901: “[The] two-horned woman [had] green clothing, sitting upright, unduly going to seek the ruler, [in] the month [when] all comes to an end [it] will certainly wither away安祿山古讖: 兩角女子綠衣裳，端坐太行邀君王，一止之月必消亡.” The interpreted version changes the characters according to an alternative reading of the short text (“兩角女子” is read as “安,” “綠衣” as “祿” and “太行” as “山,” which combined together becomes Ān Lùshān), predicting his death in the first month (“the first month 正月” from “一止之月”). See the Liú Bīnkè huà 劉賓客話 commentary in the Quán Tángshī: ibid.
Next, part of the poem “Song of the dewy dark bamboo stick” by the Middle Táng poet Gù Kuàng 顧況 (725-814) reads:

“Among twelve buildings playing the wind and string instruments, the beauty in the building rejected an immortal.

Contending for love, the great master grasped this whip, Lūshān entered the passes and ruined the year.”

This poem emphasises Ān Lūshān’s role as a villain through the last line quoted above, which clearly expresses the poet’s negative view on Ān Lūshān. We should also note that this poem speaks of many tragic situations, for example the final line reads “jade, gold and coral will buy whose kindness?”

Just like Shí Lè and Fú Jiān, there are several Táng poems that speak of Ān Lūshān, including some not analysed here, implying that he was an especially influential foreign individual in Chinese history. But we should be aware that his historical influence on China was particularly tragic, which is indeed reflected in the above poems.

Though this analysis cannot cover every poem relating to foreign individuals, I searched in the Quán Tángshī for various different names of certain other historical personages, and there are at least some poems that speak of the Buddhist master Kumarajiva 鸠摩羅什 (Jiǔmóluóshén, 334-413) from Kucha in Central Asia as well as some other Four Yí individuals, but as far as I can see there are no poems that speak of Tuòbá Guī 拓拔珪 (371-409) of the Northern Wèi 北魏 (Běi Wèi) Dynasty (386-534), the Japanese Prince Shōtoku 聖徳太子 (574-622) or Ngô Quyền 吳權 (897-944) from Annam, among others.

There are seemingly more Táng poems that speak of Four Yí individuals of former days than there are poems speaking of individual foreigners of the poets’ own era, and besides it seems the poems that speaks of foreign individuals are fewer than those that speak of the Huá-Yí distinction or of non-Hàn peoples. And when poems do speak of Four Yí individuals, the
method of description is often indirect; this is maybe because the impression of peoples and countries were deeper than those of individuals in the mind of the Táng people. In the end, it seems that the poems directly speaking of foreign individuals are quite rare.

From the above analysis, the impression of Four Yí individuals in Táng poetry seems to have been mostly unflattering, though there are also more positive impressions in some poems. The analysed poems have included those of the Late and Middle Táng periods, and we see that the Late Táng poems were even more negative than those of the Middle Táng.

4.4 Conclusion

The Táng era was the historical Golden Age of China, and an era where the relations between China and foreign countries were at times flourishing. Because poetry was one of the most important methods that Táng literati used to express their feelings, their poetry should reflect their impressions of the so-called Four Yí.

The Huá-Yí distinction was an important topic for Táng poets, and there are poems speaking of Four Yí peoples, individuals and other related topics. Even though many of the relevant poems seem to convey a bad impression of the Four Yí, better impressions can also be found. Indeed, the poems related to the Huá-Yí distinction or Yí people as a generalised group have quite positive views on them, as here it often refers to the sometimes metaphysical concept of “the Huá and the Yí mutually mixing.” There are generally many more poems describing the countries or individuals of former days than describe those of the poets’ own era, and among these three topics analysed, the fewest Táng poems touch upon Four Yí individuals.

We can observe some main points in the development of the how the Táng people viewed the Four Yí, as the views expressed in the poems generally followed the development of the leading attitudes of the Táng era. The view in the Early and High Táng periods was mostly good, while during the Middle Táng the poets began to despise foreigners, implying that a change in how foreigners were seen had taken place, even though more positive views still existed. In the Late Táng, the majority view was negative, but there were also exceptions. The change in the Middle Táng was clearly related to historical conditions; the most outstanding factor was the Ān-Shī Rebellion.
The Sinocentric world-view can be discerned in Táng poems on the Huá-Yí distinction as well as those on foreign countries and individuals. It is more clearly reflected in some poems, while others seem to act as exceptions conveying more positive views of foreigners. Notably, in line with Sinocentric views the Sinicised Silla is generally positively depicted, and exotic cultural elements are often emphasised. Even though the relations between the Táng and foreign countries at times advanced far, which caused the more positive views on foreigners, the Huá-Yí distinction still existed, and was moreover strengthened later on because of the Confucian resurgence. We can see this complex historical situation reflected in the poetry of the Táng era.
5 Official views of the Mongols after their rule in China in the *Yuán Shǐ*

The Mongol descendants of Chinggis Khan ruled over China from the 13th century to the late 14th century, or a period of about one century. Eventually, their rule was organised in the Chinese-style *Yuán* 元 Dynasty (1271-1368), which differed in a number of ways from previous Chinese dynasties. The Mongol era included the unification of China after a long period of division, but also decades of chaotic civil wars. How, then, did the *Hàn* 漢 population perceive of the achievements of their Mongol rulers of this era, where the Mongols made China the centre of a strong empire, but where the Chinese themselves were mostly kept out of power, as seen through the standard dynastic history of their reign?

The views of the Mongols rulers had an important role in the development of the Chinese world-view due to the *Yuán* emperors’ foreign origin. Did Chinese views of the Mongols remain negative according to the traditional Sinocentric world-view, or were the Mongols viewed in a more positive way?

5.1 Research method

To answer these questions, I will analyse the *Yuán Shǐ* 元史, the standard history of the *Yuán* Dynasty. As a standard history, the portrayal in this book can be expected to have been sanctioned by the ruling *Míng* 明 Dynasty (1368-1644), and thus would adhere to the views that would favourable to the latter. It did, however, not necessarily need to reflect commonly held views.

Within the *Yuán Shǐ*, my focus will be on the annals of Chinggis Khan (ca. 1162-1227), known in the work by his temple name 廟號 (*miàohào*) Tàizǔ 太祖, and the biographies of Bayan 伯顏 (*Bàyán*, 1236-1295) and Toqtogha 脫脫 (*Tuōtuō*, 1314-56). Chinggis was 修[Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan Shi* 元史, 15 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1976), *benji* 1, *Taizu* 本紀第一太祖, 1:1-28. For an explanation of the transcription of Mongolian names, see Chapter 1.6. 修正[363] I[bid.], *liezhuan* 14, *Bayan* 列傳第十四 伯顏: 10:3099-3118. Note that there were two other people called Bayan 伯顏 later in the *Yuán* period who also have biographies in the *Yuán Shǐ*, see: Song, *Yuan Shi*, *liezhuan* 25, *Bayan* 列傳第二十五 伯顏, 11:3335-3339; *liezhuan* 77, *ruxue* 2 列傳第七十七 儒學二, 14:4349-40. 修正[364] I[bid., *liezhuan* 25, *Tuotuo* 列傳第二十五 脫脫, 11:3341-59. A certain Toqtogha of the Qanqi 康裏 also have a biography in the work, see Song, *Yuan Shi*, 11 *liezhuan* 25, *Kangli Tuotuo* 列傳第二十五 康裏脫 修[362]
the first *khagan* of the Mongol Empire and the one who initiated the Mongol invasions, while Bayan was a general and minister of Khubilai Khan (reigned 1260-94)\(^{365}\) who led the *Yuán* armies in conquering the Southern *Sòng* 南宋 (*Nán Sòng*, 1127-1279) Dynasty, and Toqtogha was a Mongol minister of the late *Yuán* period.

The reason for selecting these three persons is to see how Mongols with different historical roles are treated – with Chinggis Khan being an emperor, and someone who started off living the traditional nomadic life, and Bayan being a major military leader from the period following the initial conquests, when the Mongols had established themselves in China. Toqtogha was chosen because he represents the late *Yuán* period, characterised by internal upheavals, and because unlike many other Mongols described in the work he is most famous for his scholarly achievements – though he also led military campaigns.

Note that the description of the last *Yuán* Emperor Toghōn Temür (reigned 1333-70),\(^{366}\) as the last emperor of the dynasty directly preceding its fall to the *Míng*, as well as several of the later *Yuán* emperors who were involved in civil wars, could maybe be expected to be more negative than the biographies considered here. On the other hand, perhaps the illustrious ruler Khubilai Khan could be considered more positive. While I recognize that these omissions could weaken the conclusion, I believe the biographies selected can be taken as representative for the work as a whole due to their presentation of Mongols with different historical roles, as to analyse all the biographies would leave me with too much material.

Within these three sections, I will consider which impression we get from the person from the vocabulary used and, as well as what kind of events are most frequently included and how these are described. I will also look for the degree to which “exotic” elements that relate to the persons’ ethnic origin are included, and I will analyse whether there were any notable differences in the description of the three personages.

### 5.2 Mongol rule of China

The Chinese have interacted with the Mongols constantly throughout recorded history, with a group that could be identified as Mongols appearing in Chinese records as early as the *Táng*

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\(^{365}\) Known as Shìzǔ 世祖 in the work.

\(^{366}\) Known as *Shùndì* 順帝 in the work.
唐 Dynasty (618-907). Before their conquest of China, however, Mongol contacts with China consisted of raids, and they were considered to be among the Běidí 北狄.  

The history of the Yuán Dynasty began with Chinggis Khan and his unification of the nomadic tribes in the late 12th century, and ended with Toghōn Temür’s flight from Běijīng in 1368, when it was replaced by the Míng Dynasty after a rebellion drove the Mongol rulers back to their homelands. Though Mongol rule of most of China was shorter and dates only to the long reign of Khubilai Khan in the mid-13th century, the Yuán Dynasty was special in that it was the first dynasty of foreign origin that ruled the whole of China, whereas previous non-Hàn dynasties had only ruled the northern parts of the country.

By conquering Southern China, the Mongols unified the country after a period of division that had lasted over a hundred years, and China moreover became the centre of the greater part of the Mongol Empire since the reign of Khubilai. In China, the Mongol regime, while still in some ways different from previous Chinese regimes, would be transformed to fit in better with the traditions of Chinese dynasties, starting to use era names 年号 (niánhào) and using the Chinese term Yuán as the name of their state.

The Yuán period has often been viewed negatively by the Chinese, though in reality the situation was very complex. In the caste system created by the dynasty the Mongols 蒙古人 (Ménggǔrén) were placed on top, followed by a group of various foreign peoples called the Sèmùrén 色目人 and then the Northern 漢人 (Hànrén) and Southern Chinese 南人 (Nánrén). Discrimination between these groups was apparent, for example, in the public service examinations of the late Yuán period. Some have also claimed that the Chinese

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368 Ibid., 2. For this derogatory term referring to foreign peoples to the north, see Chapter 1.7.
369 Ibid., 9.
370 Fairbank and Goldman, China, 122. Here I will make no attempt to trying to identify ethnic non-Chinese rulers prior to the Hán 漢 period (before 206 BC).
371 The division of China can be said to have lasted since the fall of the Táng in the early 10th century, as the following Northern Sòng 北宋 (960-1127) did not rule all of the North. The unification was one of the most important reasons for Hán support for the Mongol rule. See: Langlois, “Introduction,” 3-7, 11.
372 Soni, Mongolia-China Relations, 12.
373 Sèmù refers to people of various ethnicities from the Western Regions 西域, or Central Asia. The term Nánrén, “Southerners,” is a seemingly relatively neutral term; the distinction between them and the Hàn thus confusingly also includes the non-Hàn groups Khitan 契丹, Jurchen 如真 and Goryeo Koreans 高麗. See: Ch’en, Western and Central Asians, 2-3.
374 Ch’én, Western and Central Asians, 3.
were heavily taxed and forbidden to have weapons, but others has argued that Mongol rule may have been rather benign in some ways, and it has been called rather decentralised.  

While for much of the Yuán period few Chinese served in official positions, where Mongols and Sèmùrén were preferred, this was not only due to discrimination, but also to their own choice of refusing to serve the Mongol government.

The Yuán period was also a period of cultural innovation. Some areas of Chinese culture thrived, and important cultural and artistic developments were made. Confucian literature and scholarship flourished, while Chinese drama continued to develop. Although Mongol emperors and most ministers were not familiar with Chinese literature, classical literature was still honoured. Still the Chinese élites felt that the Mongol rulers disrespected them and their culture, and the Míng rebellion that ended the dynasty may have been provoked by the emperor’s dislike of Chinese culture.

Yuán China was more pluralistic than other Chinese dynasties, with greater interactions between Chinese and non-Hàn peoples, though because of the discriminatory measures, the Chinese majority did not feel they shared in the advantages this brought. Sinicisation of foreigners still happened, however, though the Mongols kept their own identity alive throughout their rule of China, with only a minority becoming really Sinicised.

The early Míng Chinese views of the period under Mongol rule have been interpreted in several ways. One should remember that the Mongols remained a threat to China after the fall of the Yuán. It has been said that the early Míng government was xenophobic, but Mongol

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380 Soni, *Mongolia-China Relations*, 8. Chinese attitudes towards Mongol rule can be reflected by the popular South Chinese saying belittling Chinese learning: ‘Confucianists were placed in the ninth class, and paupers in the tenth [i.e. at the bottom],’ see: Ch’ên, *Western and Central Asians*, 290.
382 Henry Serruys, “Remains of Mongol Customs in China during the Early Ming Period,” in *Monumenta Serica XTVI* (Nagoya: Nettetal, 1957), 137, 143; Henry Serruys, “The Mongols in China: 1400-1450,” in *Monumenta Serica XXV* (Los Angeles: Nettetal, ca. 1966), 233. It has been said that Sinicisation was unprecedented during the Yuán in that foreigners from faraway countries with advanced civilisations of their own, such as Arabs and Persians, adopted Chinese culture. Some Chinese saw their sometimes outstanding skill in Chinese arts as proof of the magnanimity of the Yuán Dynasty. See: Ch’ên, *Western and Central Asians*, 4.
influence remained in China, both at court and among the people, for many years after the fall of the Yuán. Moreover, many Mongols were allowed to remain in China. In fact, the early Míng Chinese were likely not anti-Mongol, and the Mongols faced little anti-Mongol “nationalist” opposition to their rule. On the other hand, the scholarly achievements of the Yuán era got little recognition by the Chinese in eras to follow, due to the Míng defeat of the Yuán as well as racial prejudice. Even if more neutral exceptions exist, they typically date from the Qīng Dynasty (1644-1912) rather than from the Míng.

5.3 The Yuán Shǐ

The Yuán Shǐ was compiled by a team of officially sanctioned historians of the new Míng Dynasty headed by Sòng Lián 宋濂 (1310-81) in 1370, just three years into the new dynasty. It was thus written after the fall from power of the Mongols, which had many implications on how the Chinese would write about them, as they had considered themselves oppressed by the Mongols but were no longer under any restrictions from the Mongol regime.

Like the previously analysed Hòu Hàn Shū, this book is part of the officially recognised Twenty-Four Histories, and formed an important part of the Chinese historiographical tradition that has been explained above. Unlike the Hòu Hàn Shū, the Yuán Shǐ was compiled by an officially appointed committee rather than by an individual historiographer, similar to most dynastic histories written since the Táng Dynasty (618-907). The writing of the history of the preceding dynasty had become an integral function of the state, which however caused the histories to be laden with political objectives and moral didacticism, which would become as significant as the history itself.

As for the Yuán Shǐ, the views of the first Míng Emperor Hóngwǔ (reigned 1368-98) thus become relevant. His views on the Mongol rule were complex, however, with some

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384 Ibid., 10, referring to Morris Rossabi; Serruys, “Mongol Customs,” 143. For example, there was even some genuine interest in China for the Mongol language even after Yuán, see: Serruys, “Mongol Customs,” 140-41. Langlois, “Introduction,” 10, 17; Serruys, “Mongols in China,” 233. As seen in Chapter 1.7, nationalism in the modern sense of the word developed only late in China.
385 Ch’en, Western and Central Asians, 287-8.
386 Ibid., 288, 291.
387 Song, Yuan Shi, 1: chuban shuoming 出版說明 1, by Zhonghua shuju bianji bu 中華書局編輯部.
claiming that he thought that Chinese civilisation had been despoiled by the Mongols, and others arguing that the he actually had a highly favourable view of the Yuán. Hóngwǔ called Mongol rule “a shame,” but he also accepted the Mongols as legitimate rulers. As the standard histories as a genre have been noted to sometimes hide the truth in order to convey certain points of view, did Hóngwǔ’s views have any influence on the Yuán Shǐ?

In fact, there are few judgements of events or people in the Yuán Shǐ when compared with many previous works of Chinese historiography. This situation is related to its special position as the history of a foreign dynasty, and I will not go in depth as to the reasons for this. This situation, however, makes my analysis harder, and we will have to rely more on descriptions of events and vocabulary for the conclusion.

The Yuán Shǐ was not the first standard dynastic history dedicated to a non-Hàn Chinese dynasty. It was here preceded by the Wèi Shū 魏書 (Book of Wèi), concerning the Northern and Eastern Wèi 魏 dynasties of Xiānbēi 鲜卑 origin, and the Bēi Shǐ 北史 (History of the Northern Dynasties), describing a number of dynasties of varying ethnic origin, as well as by two of the histories ordered by and written for the emperors Yuán Dynasty themselves – the Liáo Shǐ 遼史, the history of a dynasty of Khitan origin 契丹 (Qìdān, 907-1125), and the Jīn Shǐ 金史, describing the Jurchen 女眞 (Rǔzhēn) Jīn Dynasty (1115-1234). These two latter were compiled, along with the Sòng Shǐ 宋史 on the Sòng Dynasty (960-1279), partially to support the legitimacy of the Yuán Dynasty despite its foreign origins, and the writing of these had caused much ideological discussion due to their depiction of dynasties of foreign origin.

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392 Ibid., 17. Dissenting views also existed among the Chinese, which tried to deny them legitimacy, see e.g. Chan, “Official Chinese Historiography,” 98.
394 Unlike in other standard histories, there are no pronounced judgement at the end of each biography in the Yuán Shǐ, and indeed Wang Gungwu claims that the writers of the work refrained from commenting on events during the Yuán period, as if “the whole Mongol imperial experience was beyond rationalization,” due to their sometimes markedly divergence from previous Chinese policy. While maybe somewhat exaggerated, I believe Wang makes a good point here. See: Wang Gungwu, “Early Ming Relation,” 45, 49.
396 Ibid., 347.
397 Chan, China and the Mongol, II: 347.
The *Yuán Shǐ* has been noted to contain a number of errors, owing to the short time in which it was written, and for example narratives are sometimes presented in incorrect order. Unlike the histories for the *Jīn* and *Sòng* the work did not include a list of vocabulary for the native language of the ruling élite, which would have further acknowledged the foreign nature of the dynasty.

Like the *Hòu Hàn Shū*, the *Yuán Shǐ* is subdivided in a similar way to other standard Chinese dynastic histories, in a pattern dating back to the *Shǐjì* 史記, one of the first major Chinese historical works. As such, the *Yuán Shǐ* includes imperial annals 本紀 (běnjì), treaties 志 (zhì), chronological tables 表 (biǎo) and biographies 列傳 (lièzhuàn). Like previous standard histories, it includes the descriptions of foreign peoples or countries – here called the Outer Yí 外夷 (Wài Yí) – in the biography section. As Edward Wang has pointed out, derogatory terms for foreigners had for some time almost disappeared from dynastic histories as the genre developed, being replaced by more neutral terms, though as seen in the use of Yí above, this was no longer the case for the *Yuán Shǐ*.

### 5.4 The Mongols in the dynastic history

Here my analysis of the portrayal of the three individuals will follow a brief general analysis of how the Mongols are portrayed in the work.

In the *Yuán Shǐ*, the Mongols obviously play a very important role as the emperors and the ruling class of both China and of many surrounding regions. This is reflected in the biography section of the work, where many Mongols apart from the emperors are included, such as

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398 Chan, *China and the Mongol*, II: 79; Ch’en, *Western and Central Asians*, 3. Also, Wilkinson points out that errors were more prominent during the reign of the last *Yuán* emperor (1333-68), which here in particular affects the biography of Toqtogha, see: Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 780.


400 Song, *Yuan Shi*, 1: *Yuan shi mulu* 元史目錄 1-77. For the structure of dynastic histories, see: Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 621, and also the introduction of this genre in chapter 2.2 above.

401 The foreign countries described here including the East and Southeast Asian countries of Goryeo 高麗, Tama耽羅, Japan 日本, Annam 安南, Burma 缅, Champa 占城, Siam 國, Java 印度尼西亞, Ryūkyū 琉球, Sānyǔ 三嶼 and Chola 马八兒 and a few others. For these, see: Song, *Yuan Shi*, *liezhuan* 95, *Wai Yí* 1 列傳九十五 外夷一, 15:4607-32; *liezhuan* 96, *Wai Yí* 2 列傳九十六 外夷二, 15:4633-62; *liezhuan* 97, *Wai Yí* 3 列傳九十七 外夷三, 15:4655-71. Tama耽羅 was a kingdom on the Korean island of Jeju, while Sānyǔ 三嶼 may refer to Batanes in the Philippines.

402 Instead of Yí 夷, foreigners were referred to as guó 國 (i.e. state), see: Wang, “History, Space, and Ethnicity,” 300, 302-3.
Sübügätäi (transcribed as Sùbùtái 速不台 or Xuëbùtái 雪不台, 1176-1247), altogether making up approximately half of the people described. However, there are also biographies of many Hân Chinese, such as Lî Yě 李冶 (1192-1279), as well as of people of other ethnicities, such as the Tibetan Drogön Chögyal Phagpa (spelled, among other transliterations, as Bāsībā 八思巴, 1235-80).

That the Mongol rule of China came to be considered and acknowledged as a “legitimate” part of the history of China by the following Chinese state, and therefore needed a standard history, was certainly significant, though by the time this work was written this was, as we have seen, not unique. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the Mongols would be portrayed in a positive way—indeed, even many Chinese rulers that undoubtedly were part of China’s history were viewed in a negative way, with the first emperor Qín Shǐhuáng 秦始皇 being one famous example.

### 5.4.1 The Annals of Chinggis Khan

As with other dynastic histories, the first part of the Yuán Shǐ is the biography of the dynastic founder, here being Chinggis Khan. This is notable, as while Chinggis clearly was the founder of the Mongol Empire, he only conquered Northern China, with the Sòng Dynasty still ruling most of the country. It was his grandson Khubilai, successor to the easternmost part of the empire, including Mongolia and Northern China, who transformed the Mongol state into a Chinese-style dynasty called the Yuán in 1272, which was followed shortly by his conquest of Southern China that was completed in 1279. Still, as the originator of the ruling Borjigin dynasty of the Mongol Empire, the Yuán Shǐ considered him the founder of the Yuán Dynasty, thus corresponding with how the Mongols themselves would have viewed it.

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403 Two different transcriptions are given as he has two separate biographies in the work, see: Song, Yuan Shi, liezhuan 8 Sabutai, 列傳第八 速不臺, 10: 2975-82; Song, Yuan Shi, liezhuan 9, Xuebutai 列傳第九 雪不臺, 10:3008-9.

404 This is based on a quick study of the names of the more than 700 people described in the biography section (excluding some biographies which describe more than just a few people); the other half is mostly Hân. There are also at least seven Khitans with the surname Yélǜ 耶律 described. As names can be misleading, and as telling Mongols from other non-Hân ethnicities can be challenging, such a study should not be taken for fact. However, I do not know of any study that clarifies the ethnicity of each of the people described, and reading through the biographies to determine the ethnicity of the person in question in each case would take too long. I think that my estimation would be an approximation to the truth, which is all I am aiming for here. See: Song, Yuan Shi, 1: Yuan Shi mulu 30-76.

405 Song, Yuan Shi, liezhuan 47, Li Ye 列傳第四十七 李冶, 12:3759-61.

406 Ibid., liezhuan 89, shilao 列傳第八十九 釋老, 15:4517-19.

This part of the work belongs to the imperial annals, which means that they largely describe events, not only those directly relating to an emperor, but also those taking place during his reign, or in some cases outside of it. The biography starts out in a foreign environment – Mongolia – where Chinggis unifies the Mongol tribes under his rule before embarking on his conquests of neighbouring areas. This sets this biography apart from most other imperial annals found in dynastic histories, and it makes the “foreign” origin of the dynasty clear.

While this was not unique in dynastic histories, which impact does this have on the portrayal of Chinggis?

Though Mongol customs are not described directly, unlike the case of the biographies of the Xiōngnú in earlier dynastic histories seen in Chapter 2 above, it could well be argued that Chinggis’ biography contains some ethnic elements, which would lead the readers’ imagination to his native environment on the northern steppe. For example, we read about his tribe, the steppes, Shamanism and his “mobile palace.” Native Mongol legends are also present in the narrative, with for example one of Chinggis’ ancestors being a “golden immortal,” and Chinggis himself seemingly being born for greatness. Overall, I would argue that these elements are integral to the story, and therefore probably not added to make the story more exotic. Thus while clearly present, they do not dominate the narrative.

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408 E.g. Song, Yuan Shi, benji 38, Shundi yi 本紀第三十八 順帝一, 3:815-32: “On the Jìsì 己巳 day of the sixth month in the fourth year [of the Zhishin 至順 era, 1333], the emperor ascended the throne in Shàngdū 上都.”

409 E.g. ibid., benji 2, Taizong 本紀第二 太宗, 1:29-41: “In summer, in the fifth month of the Jiǎchén 甲辰 year [1244], central clerk Yēlǜ Chǔcái 耶律楚材 died 甲辰年夏五月，中書令耶律楚材薨.” In this case, though Ödegei Khan (Tàizōng 太宗) had died in 1241, the reign of the next emperor had not yet started.

410 Ibid., Taizu, 1:1:…”

411 Ibid.: “… For some month there were some tens of families of people from the fields of Tǒngjílǐhūlǔ 統急里忽魯 [who] moved pursuing the water [and] grass…居數月, 有民數十家自統急里忽魯之野逐水草來遷…”

412 Ibid., Taizu, 1:8: “… The Naiman made a shaman sacrifice to the wind and snow, [and] because of its power [they] wished to attack…乃蠻使神巫祭風雪，欲因其勢進攻.”

413 Ibid., Taizu, 1:19: “On the Bǐngzǐ 丙子 day in spring of the eleventh year, the year [of Chinggis’ rule, ca. 1217], [they] returned to the temporary palace [by] the Kerülen廬朐 River 十一年丙子春，還廬朐河行宮.”

414 Ibid., Taizu, 1:1: “When Alan 阿蘭 was sleeping in the tent at night, [in her] dream a white light entered from the skylight, [which] became a golden immortal [and] went to the bed…夜寢帳中，夢白光自天窗中入，化為金色神人，來趨臥榻…”

415 Ibid., Taizu, 1:3: “At first, Lièzǔ 烈祖 [Yesügei, Chinggis’ father] launched an attack on the Tatar 塔塔兒 tribe, seizing its tribe leader Temüǰin 鐵木真. The Xuānyì 宣懿 Empress, Hö'elün 月倫, [said it was then] timely, [and then] gave birth to the emperor [Chinggis]. In [his] hand [he then] held a blood clot that looked like a red stone. Lièzǔ was surprised by this, [and] therefore named him after the captured Temüǰin, keeping in mind [his] military achievements初，烈祖征塔塔兒部，獲其部長鐵木真。宣懿太后月倫適生帝，手握凝血如赤石。烈祖異之，因以所獲鐵木眞名之，志武功也.”
An ethnic consciousness can be discerned, with Chinggis being identified as a Mongol from the beginning. Though mostly he is known by his Chinese appellations, Mongol names are vividly present in the story, for example Chinggis’ own birth name Temüjin 鐵木真 (Tiěmùzhēn). The transcriptions of Mongolians names, however, often seems to be erroneous, and does not match the transcriptions used for the same names other places, which could be an argument for the lack of respect for or knowledge of the Mongolian language on the part of the writers. This corresponds with what we know about the many errors in the Yuán Shǐ.

As far as I can see the vocabulary used in the biography is neutral rather than derogatory. The common terms used in Chinese literature for foreigners, such as Yì 夷 and Dí 狄 are not used to refer to the Mongols, though the term Mán 蠻 is present in the name of the Naiman 乃蠻 (Nàimán), a rival tribe. While the Chinese term for the Mongols, Měnggǔ 蒙古, might originally have had negative connotations, I think that due to the prevalence of the term this is not applicable as a criticism here, as probably the authors of the history had little choice as to which term to use.

Another thing we might learn from Chinggis’ biography – though it is already implied in the very fact of him and his dynasty having this imperial annal and standard history – is that the Chinese accepted his reign as legitimate. Besides his imperial titles, this is seen from the use of the numbering of the years of Chinggis’ reign as a calendar, despite him having no era name unlike nearly all other Chinese emperors. The founding of the dynasty is seen as being Chinggis’ ascension in 1206 as ruler of the Mongols, rather than the later date when the Mongols conquered China. This is notably since the date chosen is the beginning of his

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416 See note 410 above. Note that the biographies of Hàn people in the Yuán Shǐ do not state their Hàn identity.
417 See note 410.
418 Song, Yuan Shi, Taizu, 1:12: “In the Jiàzǐ year [1204] 賽甲子, the Emperor held a great meeting [i.e. a khuruldai] by the Tiēmàigāi 帖麥該 River, [where] an attack on the Naiman 乃蠻 川, [where] an attack on the Naiman 乃蠻 川, was discussed… 帝大會於帖麥該 川, 議伐乃蠻…” For more on terminology, see Chapter 1.7.
419 The first character can also mean “ignorant” or “suffer.”
421 Song, Yuan Shi, Taizu, 1:13: “On the Bǐngyín 丙寅 day in the first year [of Chinggis’ rule, ca. 1206; there are no Yuán Dynasty era names before 1260], the Emperor held a great meeting [i.e. khuruldai] [with] the various kings [and] crowds of vassals, [where they] built a great white banner with the Jiǔyóu 九斿 [a constellation]. The emperor [then] ascended the throne by the source of the Onon 幹難 River, [where] the various kings and crowds of vassals jointly gave him the title of Emperor Chinggis 成吉思皇帝 成吉思皇帝...元年丙寅，帝大會諸王群臣，建九斿白旗，即皇帝位於幹難河之源，諸王群臣共上尊號曰成吉思皇帝...
reign rather than the formal beginning of the *Yuán* Dynasty by Khubilai decades later, even though a dynasty normally needs an era name to be considered legitimate.

Chinggis has been known to history as a brutal conqueror. However, the Mongols are not described as being inherently violent the way for instance the *Mányí* 南夷 are in the earlier standard history *Hòu Hàn Shū*. Common terms used in Chinese historiography to describe the “fierceness” or tendency to “violence” of foreign peoples, are not used to describe the Mongols here. At the same time, however, most of the biography concerns feuds, wars and conquests, as did the Khagan’s real reign. His military skill is not left unnoticed.

We see that Chinggis several times launched his bloody campaigns in revenge, as was the case for the campaigns against Central Asia, where the Khwārazm rulers had executed his envoys. But on the other hand, the emperor is claimed to have forbidden killing and plundering.

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422 E.g. Fan, *Hou Han Shu, Nanman Xinanyi Liezhuan*, 14:2843: Its men are brave and fierce, [and] good at waging war 其人勇猛，善於兵戰。.

423 This include the absence or near-absence of the terms méng 猛 (“brute,” “fierce,” “violent” etc.), xiōng 凶 (“inauspicious,” “malignant,” etc.) and liè 烈 (“furious,” “violent,” etc.).

424 Song, *Yuan Shi, Taizu*, 1:13: “…That day the Emperor and the Naiman army waged a great battle until twilight, [where] Tayan Khan 太陽罕 [Naiman leader and a rival of Chinggis] was captured and killed…是日，帝與乃蠻軍大戰至晡，禽殺太陽罕…”


426 E.g. ibid., *Taizu*, 1:20: “In the fourteenth year [1218]… In the sixth month, in summer, the Western Regions 西域 [i.e. Khwārazm Empire] killed the envoys. The emperor [then] himself led [his] troops on a military campaign soldiers, [where he] captured the city of Ortar 謬答剌 [and] took [its leader] Qajar Jinaltuq 哈只兒只蘭禿 prisoner 十四年…夏六月，西域殺使者，帝親率親征，取謬答剌城，擒其酋哈只兒只蘭禿.”

427 Ibid., *Taizu*, 1:24: “In the twenty-second year [1227]… In the sixth months, the *Jīn* sent Wányán Hézhōu 完顔合周 and Àotún’āhǔ 奥屯阿虎 to request peace. The emperor said to the crowd of officials: I myself will go at the time when the Five Stars 五星 [the planets] gather in winter. [I] already once did not allow killing [or] plundering, [but] in a hurry [I] forgot to issue an imperial decree. Now [I] will [issue an] proclamation to China and foreign countries, ordering that even travellers on foot will know my thoughts.”… 二十二年…六月，金遣完顔合周、奧屯阿虎來請和，帝謂群臣曰: “朕自去冬五星聚時，已嘗許不殺掠，遽忘下詔耶。今可布告中外，令彼行人亦知朕意。”…”

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When compared to the descriptions of other emperors in Chinese historiography, we see neither the excessive praise given to Emperor Tàizōng 太宗 of the Táng (reigned 626-49), nor the extreme loathing of Emperor Yáng 炯 of the Suí 畔 Dynasty (reigned 604-17) in Chinggis’ biography. Unlike the biographies for past emperors, the one for Chinggis does not have a commentary from the historians we can use to analyse their judgement, but looking only at the official biographies, the verdict of him would fall between these two emperors, somewhere on the middle of the scale.

Chinggis is hardly made into an example of virtue and good rule. One could note, as Wang Gungwu does, that from the Chinese point of view the series of successful Mongol conquests must be seen as owing to their military power 武 (wǔ), but lacked the vital Chinese moral virtue 德 (dé). This seems to fit in with the description found in the work, which hardly

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429 For example the verdict found in the standard history: Ouyang, Xin Tang Shu, benji 2, Taizong 本紀第二 太宗, 1:48-49: “The commentary says: Truly, the lords [who have the] ideal rule do not appear frequently! ... The Táng ruled the World, [and their rule] was transmitted through twenty generations. [Among their rulers there are] those [who] can be called the Three Lords; [Táng Emperors] Xuánzōng 玄宗 and Xiànzōng 憲宗 both could not overcome their ends; [but] thriving, that was the brilliance of Tàizōng! His revolt to remove the Suí [was] like [following in] the footsteps of [the ancient kings] Táng 湯 [first king of the Shāng 商 Dynasty] and Wǔ 武王 [first king of the Zhōu 周 Dynasty]; the beauty of bringing about good government [was] like [that of the kings] Chéng 成 and Kāng 康. From old merits and virtues has been venerated together, and [the like of this] has not been [seen] since the Hàn. [He] went as far as his guiding [the people] with exceeding kindness, repeatedly building pagodas [and] rejoicing in grandiose deeds. Devoted soldiers [sent] far away; that was that which people of mediocre talent and ordinary rulers often became [under his rule]. Like the law of the Chūnqiū 春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals), the worthy were often criticised [under him]; thus it was that which [caused] the gentlemen of later generations to wish to help others fulfil their wishes. There are none who does not gasp in admiration at this 賛日：甚矣，至治之君不世出也！...唐有天下，傳世二十，其可稱者三君，玄宗、憲宗皆不克其終，盛哉，太宗之烈也！其除隋之亂，比跡湯、武；致治之美，庶幾成、康。自古功德兼隆，由漢以來未之有也。至其牽於多愛，復立浮圖，好大喜功，勤兵於遠，此中材庸主之所常為。然《春秋》之法，常責備於賢者，是以後世君子之欲成人之美者，莫不嘆息於斯焉.”

430 For example the verdict found in the standard history: Wei Zheng 魏徵, Sui Shu 隋書, 6 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1973), diji 4, Yangdi xia 帝紀第四 炯帝下1:95-96: “The historian says: Emperor Yáng… The earth crumbled and the fish was rotting [the country was in turmoil], [and was] strung through and filled with evil, everywhere under Heaven [in the world]; can it be hostile? The people around him were all [from] enemy states. In the end [he] did not become aware [of this], just like the other [in the] Wángyì 望夷 [Palace, of the Qin Dynasty, thus the Emperor Qin Shǐhuáng]. Then, with the imperial honour, [he] died under the hand of a man. [There were then] unnumbered scholars who did not feel grateful; [among the] senior officials of the world there were no teacher who rescued the king. The sons and younger brothers were almost all alike massacred, [and] the bones of the dead were abandoned and were left in the open. The altars to the gods of earth [and] grain [the state] fell, [and] the stem [and] the twig [the family] became extinct. He himself started to have evidence (extending to) this. The universe collapsed and split, plunging the people into an abyss of misery. Losing his life and destroying the country, there has never been one as excessive as this 史臣曰：煬帝…土崩魚爛，貫盈惡稔，普天之下，莫匪仇讎，左右之人，皆為敵國。終然不悟，同彼望夷，遂以萬乘之尊，死於一夫之手，億兆孽感恩之士，九牧無動王之師，子弟同就誅夷，骸骨棄而莫掩，社稷顛隕，本枝殄絕，自肇有書契以迄於茲，宇宙崩隕，生靈塗炭，喪身滅國，未有若斯之甚也.”

stresses Chinggis’ moral virtue, and this gave the Chinese image of him a more negative edge despite his unmistakable military might.

Based on the above I would therefore argue that the image of Chinggis is unmistakably one of a war-loving and successful conqueror of foreign origins, who while maybe not inherently violent still resorts to slaughtering whole cities on occasion, and who is often motivated by revenge. While the exotic elements in this narrative are present, they are not excessive. Neither is his brutality in war, and the portrayal of him is therefore not only negative. However, on account of his lack of “moral” virtues as the Chinese saw them, the overall view of him seems more negative than positive.

5.4.2 Bayan’s biography

Bayan was historically both an important general and a politician, which is well reflected in his biography, though with a clear emphasis on his military side. Similar to Chinggis’ biography, his involvement in numerous successful wars and battles is reflected in the narrative. But again he is not described as inherently cruel or violent, and the terms often used for such behaviour in Chinese literature are wholly absent. For example, Bayan was the general who led the Mongol armies to the Southern Song capital of Lín’ān, where he captured the Song emperor, but in the description of this event plunder and violence are not stressed. While there are some instances where excessive violence is referred to, such as the conquest of Yīngchéng, this probably does not represent the real bloodshed during the Mongol conquest of Southern China.

432 Song, Yuan Shi, Bayan, 10:3100: On the Jiǎxū day in the ninth month, the first day of the month, [they] joined forces in in Xiāngyáng, [he] divided the army to advance together along three routes 九月甲戌, 會師於襄陽, 分軍為三道並進; Liezhuan di shisi Bayan, 10:3099: In the fourth year [of the Zhìyuán] period, 1267, [he] changed [position] to become Left Minister of the Central Secretariat 四年, 改中書右丞.
434 The same terms as above, i.e. měng 猛, xiōng 凶 and liè 烈.
436 Song, Yuan Shi, Bayan, 10:3112: “On the Dīngmǎo day of the third month, Bayan entered Lín’ān, so that the doctor Mèng Qī 孟祺 [could] register its sacrificial vessels for rites and music [and] precious books, flags [and] seals 三月丁卯，伯顏入臨安，俾郎中孟祺，籍其禮樂祭器、冊寶、儀仗、圖書.”
437 Ibid., Bayan, 10:3101: At evening, the wind rose, and Bayan ordered to pull back the cannons [made from]
On the other hand, neither is he described as being skilled in literature or other arts esteemed by the Chinese. Though sometimes successful in politics and given political honours by the ruler, he remains mainly a military leader, and should probably be judged as such, with the lower status this would imply from a Chinese point of view.

Generally, though his achievements must be seen as remarkable, we do not see the praise given to other famous Chinese generals, such as Yuè Fēi 岳飛 (1103-42) of the Southern Sòng Dynasty 南宋 (1127-1279) in his biography, but neither do we see anything like the derogatory description of Sòng minister Qín Huì 秦檜 (1090-1155).

Finally, some of the “exotic” elements of Chinggis’ biography are also present in Bayan’s. He too is identified as a Mongol of the Baarin 八鄰 (Bālín) tribe. Still, however, though Mongol names still commonly appear in the narrative, these exotic elements are less present in his biography than they are in Chinggis’ – which could stem from the fact that Bayan lived in the period after the initial Mongol conquest of North China.

I would overall argue that the image of Bayan is roughly similar to that of Chinggis. Bayan is here a successful and important general and minister, who despite his Mongol origins is not...

molten metal [in the] favourable wind, [and use them] to burn their farmhouses, the smoke [and] flame [of which] rose to the sky, [and] then the city wall was destroyed. Tümen [i.e. regiment of 10,000 men] leader Mángǔdǎi 忙古歹 captured Hū Chén 虎臣, Dàyòng 大用 [and] four other people alive, [but] the remained were all slaughtered 目暮,風大起, 伯顏命順風掣金汁砲, 焚其廬舍, 煙焰漲天, 城遂破。萬戶忙古歹生擒虎臣、大用等四人, 余悉屠之.

438 Ibid., Bayan, 10:3116: “In the eight year of the Dàdè 大德 era [1304], [he was] [posthumously] especially bestowed the [titles] of Loyal enlightened [and] glorious official [who] helped the ruler [and] who has done outstanding service, Imperial tutor [and] Secretary [receiving] the same ceremony as the Three Lords…大德八年，特贈宣忠佐命開濟功臣、太師、開府儀同三司...”


440 Ibid., liezhuan, vol. 232, jiānchen san 列傳第三百三十二 財臣三 [Treacherous officials 3], 38:13747. 13765: “Qín Huì … Huì was sinister like a narrow snare, [his intentions] unexposed and entirely unfathomable… [He] often destroyed the faithful and upright, [and] was the model in using this skill. In [his] later years [he was] even more ruthless, [and] supported many [unjust] law cases, and again took delight in flattering and trying to ingratiate [himself], not avoiding formality 秦檜…檜陰險如崖阱，深阻竟叵測。晩年殘忍尤甚，數興大獄，而又喜諛佞，不避形跡.”

441 Song, Yuan Shi, Bayan, 10:3099: “Bayan, a man of the Baarin tribe of the Mongols… 伯顏，蒙古八鄰部人...”
described as inherently cruel. He is neither literate nor skilled in Chinese arts, however, which would make him fall short of the Chinese models for exemplary ministers, and make him seem somewhat more uncultured. A difference between the description of Bayan and that of Chinggis could be that the latter’s biography includes more exotic elements, which could be explained by the different eras in which the two personages lived.

5.4.3 The depiction of Toqtogha

Unlike Chinggis and Bayan, Toqtogha does not have a full chapter (juǎn 卷) in the biography section for himself in the Yuán Shǐ. Like Bayan, however, he was both a leading political and military leader, though his biography seems to stress the political sides of his career.

Importantly, Toqtogha has been called “pro-Chinese” by historians, and he was to become the leading Mongol advocate of a pro-Hàn Chinese system of rule during the early years of Emperor Toghōn Temür. In a coup d’état in 1340 he drove out the anti-Chinese grandees who had dominated the early years of the emperor’s reign, but later he lost favour at court and was murdered. Would these events cause the Chinese to look at him more positively?

His 1340 coup is described in some detail, but while dramatic it is hard to make a judgement as to whether this event reflects positively or negatively on Toqtogha. War is

442 Chan, Chinese Official Historiography, 75.
444 Song, Yuan Shi, Tuotto, 11:3348: “On the Jǐwèi 己未 day of the twelfth month Hámá 哈麻, [under the] pretence of acting on an imperial order, sent an envoy to poison [Toqtogha], [and then he] died, forty-two years old... 十二月己未，哈麻矯詔遣使鴆之，死，年四十二...”
445 Ibid., Tuotto, 11:3343: "In the second month of the sixth year [of the Zhìyuán 至元 era, 1340], Bayan 伯顏 invited the crown prince, El Tegüs 燕帖古思, to hunt in Liǔlín 柳林. Toqtogha conspired together with Shìjiébān 世傑班 and Alu 阿魯 to use the soldiers they were in charge of and the bodyguards of the lodging-place to resist Bayan. On the Wǔxū 戊戌 day [they] carried out [this and] seized the key to the city gate, giving orders to [their] close and trusted [men] to be distributed under the city wall. That night, [he] received orders [from] the emperor at the Yúdé 玉德 Palace, [and then] summoned the courtiers Wāngjiānú 汪家奴 [and] Shālábān 沙剌班 and government ministers to enter the court and call on [him], [and then] to go out from the fifth gate [after] receiving orders. Also [he] summoned Yù 瑀 and Fàn Huì 範匯 of Jīngxī 江西 to write an imperial edict, [in which] the charges against Bayan were counted. The imperial edict was carried out, [when it] was already the fourth watch of the night. An order was given for the [officer] of the Central Secretariat commenting on political affairs Zhǐerwǎdǎi 只兒瓦歹 to go to Liǔlín. On the Jǐhài 己亥 day Toqtogha sat on the city wall gate, and Bayan, for his part, sent horsemen below the city wall to ask for the reason. Toqtogha said: “There is a decree to chase down the Prime Minister.” The various bodyguards led by Bayan all scattered, and Bayan then marched south... 六年二月，伯顏請太子燕帖古思獵於柳林。脫脫與世傑班、阿魯合謀以所掌兵及宿衛士拒伯顏。戊戌，遂拘京城門鑰，命所親信列布城門下。是夜，奉帝御玉德殿，召近臣汪家奴、沙剌班及省院大臣先後入見，出五門聽命。又召瑎及江西範匯入草詔，數伯顏罪狀。詔成，夜已四鼓。
notably less frequently present in his biography than in my other two examples. The common negative words for violence are still absent, and the violent times in which he lived do not seem to have reflected negatively on the description of him.

Notably, Toqtogha was the leader of the committee that edited the three dynastic histories written during the Yuán period, namely those of the Liáo, Jīn and Sòng dynasties. He convinced the government to finally complete this project after many decades of planning and discussions, which must have earned him some respect in the eyes of Chinese literati when considering the importance given to the writing of standard histories. Indeed, his insistence to see the massive project completed under his directorship was possibly a major reason it was completed at all. The completion of this history project under his name must have made a positive impression of him on the Chinese literati, and while his involvement in the writing of the histories is not given much elaboration in his biography, its impact on his image seems to be positive.

Besides him finishing the three standard histories, there are instances where Toqtogha’s abilities are much praised. He is noted to have been outstanding ever since his birth, and his fall from power is linked to the downfall of the dynasty.
of praise given fellow historiographers Sīmǎ Qiān 司馬遷 (146-86 BC) of the Hàn 漢 Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD), author of the Shi jī 史記, or Ōuyáng Xiū 歐陽脩 (1007-72) of the Northern Sòng 北宋 (Běi Sòng, 960-1127) Dynasty, author of the Xīn Táng Shū 新唐书 and also a fellow politician, the image we see in his biography is positive, though not enough to rank him besides the greatest figures of Chinese literature, as the Chinese of later ages saw them.

Finally, the ethnic elements of Chinggis’ biography seem to be mostly absent from Toqtogha’s biography, with the exception of the many foreign names. He is not identified as a Mongol in the narrative other than by his Mongolian name, unlike the case in the two other biographies. This could be due to that by Toqtogha’s time, Mongol rule had been established in China for almost a century.

Overall, Toqtogha’s biography differs from the two others. While war and conflicts are still featured, they are less prominent in the narrative, and he is the only one of them not identified as a Mongol. Also, while it might not be equal to the praise given to many Chinese literary figures by their fellow literati, Toqtogha is several times described in positive terms, which is what makes him stand out most prominently from the others.

just before the battle. After this the stratagems of our country started lacking in vitality, after this we started to be devoid of money and grain, after this robbers started to move freely [and] after this began the utter misery of the people. If Toqtogha did not die, how [would we] get the chaos of the World today? [We] beg [that] he will be given the rank of prince, [and that] a posthumous name [will] also confer on [him] the name of a person of outstanding service.” [The men of] the court all affirmed their words. And so by many reasons of the state [it] was too late respond [to the crises] and the country was [therefore] lost. 二十六年, 監察御史聖奴、也先、撒都失里等復言: “奸邪構害大臣,以致臨敵易將,我國家兵機不振從此始,錢糧之耗從此始,盜賊縱橫從此始,生民之塗炭從此始,乞封一字王爵,設使脫脫不死,安得天下有今日之亂哉!定謚及加功臣之號。”朝廷皆是其言。然以國家多故,未及報而國亡

455 Ban, Han Shu, liezhuan 32, Sima Qian zhuan 列傳第三十二 司馬遷傳, 9:2737-38: “It is said in evaluation:… And so from Líu Xiàng 劉向 and Yáng Xióng 揚雄 [Hàn era scholars], broadly schooled in all kinds of books both considered that Qiān had the talent of an ideal historian [and] adopted his good order and logic [of the text]. [It was] differentiated but not extravagant [and] genuine but not vulgar. His writing is direct, his affairs [he] investigates to the core, without empty beauty [added to it] [and] without concealed evil, and for this reason it has been called a veritable record 贊曰: …然自劉向、揚雄博極群書,皆稱遷有良史之材,服其善序事理,辨而不華,質而不俚,其文直,其事核,不虛美,不隱惡,故謂之實錄.

456 Tuotuo, Song Shi, liezhuan 78, Ouyang Xiu 列傳第七十八 歐陽修, 30:10383: “The evaluation says: … The writing of the Táng went through five seasons and then was wasted. [That was the case] until [it] reached Ōuyáng Xiū of the Sòng Dynasty, [who] again invigorated it. Leading the descending flow of the rivers [i.e. public moral], [he] put an end to the heresies of the ages, [and] using a refined environment [he] could assist the ruler in [following] the Great Way. Supporting the will of the people, this was the power of two people… 論曰: …唐之文,涉五季而弊,至宋歐陽修又振起之。挽百川之頹波,息千古之邪說,使斯文之正氣,可以羽翼大道,扶持人心,此兩人之力也…”
5.5 Conclusion

The Mongols were the first foreigners to conquer all of what was then China, and their rule of the country had many influences on later Chinese history. Its impact affected not least the Chinese world-view, where one would think that the rule of China by people that in this world-view were considered uncultivated would at best have been considered a disaster.

The *Yuán Shǐ* is the standard dynastic history of the *Yuán* Dynasty, and can therefore be assumed represent a view serving the interest of the ruling *Míng* dynasty. In this work, Mongol rule is made a legitimate part of history, and I argue that the Mongols are here presented in a complex way. While the description of them include numerous exotic elements referring to their origin, such elements are mostly present when they are needed in the narrative, and do not necessarily convey a negative view. An ethnic consciousness is present in the work, but while Chinggis Khan and Bayan are both clearly identified as Mongols, this is not the case for Toqtogha. Furthermore, while the Mongols’ military success is presented, they are not described as being inherently violent in the way the foreign peoples of previous ages often were in dynastic histories. Still, sometimes what appears as their excessive violence and vindictiveness are shown. Finally, the praise given to Toqtogha shows that some among the Chinese élite were able to respect achievements made during Mongol rule.

Overall, though the image we get of different individuals vary, the view of the Mongols here is not necessarily negative, but rather maybe more neutral or distant.

As for the popular views of the era of Mongol rule, antagonism against the Mongol rulers certainly existed and even influenced first *Míng* Emperor, but we also know that the Chinese adopted some Mongol customs. The negative views do not seem to be reflected in the work, for complex reasons. Thus, I think it unlikely that the *Yuán Shǐ* reflects commonly held conceptions of the Mongols at the time.

The presentation of the Mongols in the *Yuán Shǐ* does not seem to fit well in with the theories of Sinocentrism. The main reason is that the Mongols are portrayed in a more positive way than would have been the case had the portrayal of them adhered only to the Sinocentric views generally hostile to foreigners. Eventually the main view among later Chinese scholars came to be that that the Mongol rule was a legitimate part of Chinese history, and therefore the Chinese literati found ways to include them in their world-view, even though doing so indeed caused debate.
6 Unofficial views of the Míng period: Southwestern peoples as seen in the Sānguó Yǎnyì

Chinese contacts with the Southwestern region date to a much earlier time, but it became part of the empire during the Yuán 元 period (1271-1368), and was even more closely connected to it during the Míng 明 Dynasty (1368-1644).\footnote{For an historical overview of the region until the Míng era, see: Xiaolin Guo, State and Ethnicity in China’s Southwest (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2008), 19-27.} To what degree are the Southwestern peoples seen as being on the “inside” and to what degree are they seen as foreigners in the Míng era novel Sānguó Yǎnyì 三國演義? Do the views on foreign peoples offered here differ from those given in the various standard histories?

This chapter shows popular perceptions of foreign peoples with a less influential role in Chinese history than the northern nomads. How were these included in the Chinese worldview, and how did the portrayal of them differ from that of other groups of foreigners? Were popular views a reflection of élite and official views, or did they differ from them?

6.1 Research method

Chapter 87 to 91 of the novel portray Zhūgě Liàng’s 諸葛亮 (181-234) so-called “southern campaign” 南征 (Nánzhēng), and will be the object of the main part of my analysis. This part of the novel is selected because the southern campaign is clearly the most significant event in the novel involving non-Hàn 漢 peoples.

My analysis begins after an introduction covering the historical background of the Southwest and the Sānguó Yǎnyì, and will include a general analysis of foreigners in the novel, the presentation of the Southwestern area and its peoples and more specific studies on Mèng Huò 孟獲 and other Nánmán 南蠻 individuals. In order to get an idea of how much of the novel’s description is based on historical records and how much is fiction, I will first consider the description of the same events in the Sānguó Zhi 三國志 (Records of the Three Kingdoms), one of the Twenty-Four Histories 二十四史 (Èrshísì Shǐ) and the main historical source for
the Three Kingdoms 三国 (Sānguó, 220-80 AD) era. Also, I will briefly consider how Southwestern peoples have been portrayed in other major works of Chinese historiography. The method of analysis will be similar to that applied in above chapters, and includes finding and analysing descriptions of peoples, individuals, environment, the specific vocabulary used and the role of foreign peoples in the story. Foreign peoples will be defined as those that are referred to by other ethnic terms than Hàn.

The reason for including a popular novel in the analysis is to get an impression of what alternative views of foreign peoples existed outside of dynastic histories or more highly regarded literary genres such as poetry or travel accounts. Naturally one would expect there to be differences in how foreign peoples to the north, east, west and southwest of the Chinese core area were viewed, due both to differences in culture and in their relative threat to China, in both the period the novel narrates and the one it was written in. However, the questions of whether or not they could be viewed as equal to the Chinese or were seen in a basically negative way can be asked for all of these peoples.

Among secondary literature, Andrew H. Plaks’ ironic reading of the novel has been especially considered in this chapter. Following the novel, in quotations Zhūgě Liàng is often referred to by his style name 字 (zì) Kǒngmíng 孔明, or by his title Prime Minister 丞相 (chéngxiàng).

### 6.2 Historical background: The southern campaign and the Southwestern peoples

#### 6.2.1 The southern campaign

The novel is set during the political struggles between various warlords and kingdoms in the period of the fall of the Hàn 漢 Dynasty (206 BC-220 AD) and the subsequent Three Kingdoms period. Most major historical events in China in the chaotic period from the beginning of the Yellow Turban Rebellion 黄巾之乱 (Huángjīn zhī luàn) of 184 to the unification by the Jin 晉 Dynasty (265-420) in 280 are covered in the novel.

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458 For the Twenty-Four Histories and the development of Chinese standard histories, see Chapter 2.2.

459 Plaks, *The Four Masterworks*. 
The southern campaign of the *Shǔ Hàn* 蜀漢 kingdom – one of the era’s titular Three Kingdoms – led by Zhūgě Liàng in the year 225 was one of these events, and took place long before the Southwest became a permanent part of China. The area where the campaign took place was known as Nánzhōng 南中, or today the region south of the Dàdù River 大渡河 (Dàdù Hé) in Sìchuān.\(^{460}\) The campaign was launched to stabilise the *Shǔ Hàn* (or *Shǔ* ) state so as to be able to field expeditions elsewhere,\(^ {461}\) and was considered a success.

The *Sānguó Zhì* is an important source for the historical events portrayed in the novel. It was written by Chén Shòu 陳壽 (233-97) only decades after the events it describes,\(^ {462}\) and was later on expanded by additional commentary. With regards to the southern campaign, however, the work offers little detail, especially when only considering the original text and disregarding later comments. The most useful account of the campaign is found in the biography of Zhūgě Liàng. Without comments, this account reads in full:

“The various prefectures of Nánzhōng were all revolting together… In the third year [of the Jiànxīng 建興 era of *Shǔ Hàn*, 225] Liàng led a huge [army] on a southern campaign. That autumn [the rebellion] was wholly pacified. [As for] the army resources that were spent, the country had provided in abundance. Then [he] administered the military [and] practiced for war, and waited [to start] the large-scale operation [in the north].”\(^{463}\)

Some additional information is found in other places in the work, for example in the account of the second *Shǔ* Emperor Liú Shàn 劉禪 (207-71), known as the Later Ruler 後主 (Hòuzhǔ),\(^ {464}\) but only little detail is added to the account above. Because the authentic

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\(^{460}\) Guo, *State and Ethnicity*, 65.


\(^{463}\) Chen, *Sānguó Zhì*, *Shu shu* 5, *Zhuge Liang zhuan* 蜀書五 諸葛亮傳, 4:918-19: “… 南中諸郡，並皆叛亂…建興三年春，亮率眾南征，其秋悉平。軍資所出，國以富饒，乃治戎講武，以俟大舉.” Events prior to the campaign are excluded.

\(^{464}\) Ibid., *Shu shu* 3, *Houzhu zhuan* 蜀書三 後主傳, 4: 894: “In the third month, in spring, of the third year [of the Jiànxīng, 225], Prime Minister Liàng [led] a southern campaign to the Four commanderies (that were the centre of rebellion), [and] the Four Commanderies were all pacified. Yîzhîu 益州 commandery was changed into Jînnîng 建寧 commandery; (a part of) Jînnîng and Yîngchàng 永昌 commandery were allocated to Yînnân 雲南 commandery, and (a part of) Jînnîng and Zângkê 柰柯 were allocated to Xînggǔ 興古 commandery. In the twelfth month, Liàng returned to Chéngdū 三年春三月，丞相亮南征四郡，四郡皆平。改益州郡為建寧郡，分建寧，永昌郡為雲南郡，又分建寧，牂柯為興古郡。十二月，亮還成都.”
historical information is so brief, it is highly probably that the account in the novel as well as in later, more elaborative accounts, are for the most part fiction.

Though recent historians have questioned the stability of Nánzhōng after the campaign, and thus the campaign’s efficiency in history, it soon gave birth to a number of legends. *Hàn* Chinese legends of the campaign eventually came to influence the *Sānguó Yǎnyì*, while Zhūgē may have become the most important figure in local legends among Southwestern peoples. In the *Hàn* legends and other literary writings Zhūgē is always a hero, and is often celebrated for his southern campaign, where both his strategic skills and his benevolence have been stressed, disregarding the realities of the bloody conquest. Among the Southwestern peoples, however, both negative and positive views of him exist, with legends differing between various areas.

**6.2.2 The peoples of the Southwest**

Though the Southwestern peoples were pacified by Zhūgē’s campaign, it did not lead them to submit to the Chinese state for long, and they remained outside central control for another millennium. In the meantime, the Chinese saw the region as a peripheral area inhabited by strange creatures and peoples.

The peoples against whom Zhūgē Liàng launched his southern campaign are referred to as *Nánmán* (Southern Mán) or simply Mán, which as we have seen in previous chapters were one of the “Four Yi 四夷 (Sì Yí),” namely those of the south. While in the novel this appears to be the proper name of a group of peoples, we know that this was a generic derogatory term for peoples to the south that the Chinese considered uncultured. These so-called *Nánmán*,

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466 Ibid., 141.
467 Ibid., 142.
468 Ibid., 142–3.
470 Ibid., 97.
472 See Fang, “Yì, Yang, Xi, Wai 四夷, 四方, Xi, Wai,” 96n.
473 In the commentaries to the *Sānguó Zhi* the rebels are identified as being Yi 夷 and Hán 漢 by Zhūgē, see
led by their king Mèng Huò were joined in rebellion by the Chinese commanders Yōng Kǎi 雍闓, Zhū Bāo 朱褒 and Gāo Dìng 高定. The Nánmán tribes in the novel cannot be accurately identified as any historical people, and must be believed to refer to one or several of the many peoples known to have inhabited the ethnically diverse Southwestern part of China.

Though part of China at the time the novel was written, the Southwest must still have seemed very far away for its writer(s), far enough that the details of the history and geography of the area did not have to be accurate in the narrative.

6.2.3 Southwestern peoples in the dynastic histories

The peoples of China’s Southwest have appeared in Chinese historiographical works since the Shǐjì 史記 of the first century BC. They appear in most later standard histories, including in the Yuán Shǐ 元史, the dynastic history written closest in time to the Sānguó Yǎnyì. Here, however, they did not have a biography for themselves, but rather appear at various places in the text, possibly because Yǔnnán had been added to the Chinese realm during the Yuán Dynasty. Though in the Yuán Shǐ they are portrayed in a rather neutral way, descriptions in such works could be less than flattering even when compared to other foreign people that posed a greater danger to China, as seen in for example the earlier dynastic history Hòu Hàn Shū 後漢書.

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474 Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 87, 2:692: “Now the three men Yōng Kǎi 雍闓, Zhū Bāo 朱褒 and Gāo Dìng 高定 and the troops they command are all acting as guides to Mèng Huò 現今雍闓、朱褒、高定三人部下人馬，皆與孟獲為鄉導官,” for Mèng Huò see note 471 above. Gāo Dìng was actually a native himself, see: Che, Sanguo zhi, Houzhu zhuan, 4:894.

475 E.g. Sima, Shiji, liezhuan 56, Nanmanyi liezhuan 列傳第五十六 西南夷列傳, 9:2997: “The Great Historian says… The Hàn punished the southwestern Yi, [and their] country was for the most part destroyed, [with] only Diān 滇 going back to having the king’s favour 太史公曰：...漢誅西南夷，國多滅矣，唯滇復為寵王.”

476 Song, Yuan Shi, Wai Yi 3 (Burma) (緬), 15:4655, 4658: “In the second month of the nineteenth year of [the reign of] Shizi 世祖 [or of the Zhiyuàn 至元 era, 1282; the expedition happened in 1283], instructed (by imperial decree) the various prefectures of Sī 思, Bō 播 and Xù 敘 and the various Mányí of ‘Yixībùxué 亦奚不薛’ and other places to send soldiers [and] launch expedition against Burma 世祖...十九年二月，詔思、播、叙諸郡及亦奚不薛諸蠻夷等處發士卒征緬.”

477 Fan, Nanman Xinanyi liezhuan, 14:2860: “However, their bravery and fierceness, cunning and craftiness is small when compared to the Qiāng 羌 [or the Dí 迪, [and] therefore the harm in slighting [them] is not significant 然其凶勇狡詐，薄於羌狄，故陵暴之害，不能深也.”
Traditions of historical writings concerning Southwestern peoples were already well developed by the time the novel was written. These included not only the standard histories, but also various other writings such as local gazetteers. The question remains, however, how widespread writings concerning these peoples were. And indeed, in Chinese fiction at the time, exotic portrayals of foreign countries that may have little relation to real places were common.

6.3 The novel

The Sānguó Yānyì, often called the Romance of the Three Kingdoms in English, is one of the great popular novels of pre-modern China, and considered one of the Four Great Classical Novels 四大奇著 (Sì Dà Qízhù). The work falls in the genre of the full-length novel, also called the “literati novel” 文人小說 (wēnrén xiǎoshuō) due to their authors belonging to the literati class. The novel’s author(s) are not known, but it is commonly attributed to Luó Guànzhōng 羅貫中. It is said to date from the 14th century, which is to say the Late Yuán 元 or Early Míng 明 period, but it might have been written as late as the 16th century, and was in any case much altered over time, with the 17th century edition edited by Máo Zōnggāng 毛宗崗 becoming the most popular edition.

The Sānguó Yānyì is based both upon history as recorded in the Sānguó Zhì and the folk-tales the history had evolved into, as the Three Kingdoms period came to be one of the most popular periods of Chinese history in the popular imagination. Ever since it was first written it has been shaping the Chinese popular conception of the Three Kingdoms period.

479 Ibid., 167-68, 170.
481 Originally along with the Ming novels Jin Ping Méi 金瓶梅, Shuǐ Hǔ Zhuan 水滸傳 and Xī Yóu Jì 西遊記, but later with the Qing novel Hóng Lóu Mèng 紅樓夢 replacing Jin Ping Méi in such listings. See: Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 4-5.
482 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 4.
483 Ibid., 362-63.
484 Shi Changyu, introduction to Three Kingdoms, by Luo Guanzhong (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1991), 17-18; Plaks The Four Masterworks, 361-65, 375.
486 Ibid., 1.
It is said that its author(s) respected the historical background, but also included fictional content.\footnote{Ibid., 2-4.}

The novel’s influence not only includes the historical events on which it is based, but also the impact of the Mongol rule of China, which has been discussed earlier.

6.4 Foreign peoples of the Sānguó Yǎnyì

My analysis of the Southwest, Mèng Huò and Nánmán individuals will follow this section about the role of foreigners in the novel.

6.4.1 Role of the southern campaign in the story

While they mainly play minor roles as a distraction from the main story of the power struggle between Chinese warlords, foreign peoples and characters appear several places in the narrative. Examples include the Wūhuán 烏桓 people Cáo Cāo 曹操 (155-220) fought during his northern campaign,\footnote{Luo, Sānguó Yǎnyì, chapter 33 第三十三回, 1:269: “Thus Bingzhōu was settled, [and] Cáo Cāo discussed an attack west [against] the Wūhuán 烏桓. 井州既定，操商議西擊烏桓.”} the Qiāng 羌 general Éhéshāogē 餒何燒戈\footnote{Ibid., chapter 109 第一百九回, 2:880: “… Now the Qiāng 羌 general Éhéshāogē was the great vanguard leader [who] led the soldiers to Nán’ān 南安. … 今羌將餓何燒戈為大先鋒，引兵南安來.” Historically Éhé 餒 and Shāogē 燒戈 were separate people; see e.g.: Chen, Sānguó zhǐ 魏書, 26, Mǎn Chǒng, Tián Yù, Qiān Zhāo, Guō Huái 魏書二十六 滿寵田豫牽招郭淮, 3:735:; “In the eight year [of the Zhèngshǐ 正始 era of Cáo Wèi 曹魏, 247]…Advancing to supress the rebellious Qiāng 羌, beheading Éhé 餒 and Shāogē 燒戈 were separate people; see e.g.: Chen, Sānguó zhǐ, Wei shu 26, Mǎn Chǒng, Tián Yù, Qiān Zhāo, Guō Huái, 魏書二十六 滿寵田豫牽招郭淮, 3:735;.”} and Liú Bèi’s 劉備 (161-223) ally Shāmòkē 沙摩柯 (died 222).\footnote{Ibid., chapter 82 第八十二回, 2:654: “Soon a spy [came] to report, saying: “The Lord of Shǔ 蜀主 [Liú Bèi] is leading the great army of his country, together with the Mán 番 king Shāmòkē with several tens of thousands of foreign (Fān 番) soldiers…” 早有細作報說： “蜀主引本國大兵，及蠻王沙摩柯番兵數萬...”} More notably, among the novel’s foremost heroes are Mǎ Téng 馬騰 (156-212) and his son Mǎ Chāo 馬超 (176-222), who are described as having Qiāng 羌 ancestry.\footnote{E.g. ibid., chapter 57 第五十七回, 2:455: “It was said that [Mǎ] Téng, with the style name Shòuchéng 壽成… At the time of Emperor Huán 桓帝 [he] been a minor magistrate in Tiānshuǐ 天水; [but] afterwards [he] lost the position [and] and drifted to Lǒngxī 隴西, [where] he lived with the Qiāng. Then he married a Qiāng woman, [who] gave birth to Téng… 卻說騰字壽成... 桓帝時為天水隴干縣尉；後失官流落隴西，與羌人雜處，遂娶羌女生騰...” chapter 57, 2:455: “That day [Téng] received an imperial command, and consulted with his eldest son Chāo… 當日奉詔，乃與長子馬超商議...”}
The most important episode involving minority people is Zhūgě Liàng’s southern campaign against the rebellious natives led by Mèng Huò, taking up four full chapters. The so-called Nánmán here primarily act as antagonists due to them opposing Zhūgě Liàng. One would think this would give them a negative image in the story, similar to, for example, the depiction of the major villain Cáo Cāo. However, is this really the case?

Most historical commentators accept the argument given by Zhūgě, that the campaign was necessary to consolidate his rear in the south before launching a full-scale invasion of Wèi in the north. The popular tradition, however, have disregarded these arguments and considered the campaign as, for example, a “slack season” activity, which in some ways reflects its role in the story.

The role of the Nánmán storyline, aside from perhaps the need to include it in the story because of the historical background, is mainly to show the skills of the Shǔ strategists and generals, as it does not advance the main plot. Fighting is given particular emphasis in the narrative, and despite the exotic factors that will be discussed below it bears many similarities to the descriptions of fighting that otherwise dominate much of the novel. But there are

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492 See: Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapters 87-91, pages ca. 2:693-730.
493 See, for example, the famous episode where Cáo Cāo cut his beard before fleering in order to not be recognised on the battlefield, in Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 58 第五十八回, 1:462: “[Cāo] also heard [someone] shouting: “Cáo Cāo is the one with the long beard!” Cāo was stricken with panic, [so he] drew the sword [he] was wearing and cut his beard… 又聽得大叫: “長髯者是曹操！”操驚慌,掣所佩劍斷其髯…”
494 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 450n. The argument in the novel goes: Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 89 第八十九回, 2:713; “I, [Liàng], received the trust of protecting the son of the Former Emperor [Lí Bèi]. Now [I] have received an imperial edict, [telling me to] come here to pacify the Mán, wishing to handle the Mán region so it will quickly be pacified, [and] then to attack Wèi and annex Wú, [and thus] once more settling the House of Hán….” 亮受先帝託孤之重，今承聖旨，到此平蠻；欲待蠻方即平，然後伐魏吞吳，重安漢室…”
495 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 450n.
496 E.g. Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 87, 2:697: “[Zhào] Yún 趙雲 complied with this, and then mounted his horse to seize the middle road [and] advance [along it]. [When] they had gone only a few 里 [they] saw a great cloud of dust rising. As expected they could see some tens of Mán soldiers riding vertically with their horses. The two men [Zhào and Wèi Yán 魏延] burst out [along] the two roads. When the Mán soldiers saw this [they] then fled with great alarm 雲從之，遂上馬逕取中路而來。方行不數里，遠遠望見塵頭大起，二人上山坡看時，果見數十騎蠻兵，縱馬而來。二人兩路衝出。蠻兵見了，大驚而走.”
497 For example, compare the first of these samples from the southern campaign with the following sample from elsewhere in the novel: ibid., chapter 87, 2:698: “Zhào Yún fought [his way] directly into the centre of the army, [and] just so encountered [the Nánmán] commander Jǐnhuán Sānjié 金環三結; [They] crossed blades on horseback only once, [before Sānjié] was pierced by a spear by Yún [so that he] fell from [his] horse. Then [his] chopped-off head was exposed, [and] the remaining army was defeated and dispersed 趙雲直殺入中軍，正逢金環三結元帥；交馬只一合，被雲一槍刺落馬下，就梟其首級。餘軍潰散;” chapter 92 第九十二回, 2:744: “Xiàhóu Mào 夏侯楙 was caught unprepared, [and then] [he] opened the south gate, gathered [his forces] and went out into battle. A group of soldiers blocked the way. [They] were led by a great general; that was Wáng Ping 王平. [They] crossed blades on horseback only once, [and] Xiàhóu Mào was captured alive on horseback. The remaining [soldiers] were all killed 夏侯楙措手不及，開南門並力殺出。一彪軍攔住，為首
fewer strong warriors among the Nánmán than among the Chinese in other parts of the novel, further pushing them into a secondary role in the story.

In particular, the campaign highlights Zhūgě Liáng, a major character in the novel, who plays the leading role during the southern campaign. In the novel, Zhūgě is described as a brilliant ruler and general, and it could well be argued that unlike other armies in the novel, the Nánmán hardly offer a fair challenge to Zhūgě Liáng’s skills. He remains calm and seemingly in control of the situation throughout the campaign.

Plaks, however, in his ironic reading of the novel, points out that Zhūgě is an imperfect general, which he argues is treated in a satirical way in the work. His ironic reading of the novel also has something to say on the southern campaign. He claims there is a logical contradiction between the treatment of the Nánmán as savages in need of the civilising influence of Hàn culture and Zhūgě’s insistence of total psychological capitulation before accepting surrender, called by Plaks a policy that would probably make more sense in the case of a respected adversary at a comparable level of civilization.

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498 A short “summary” of his skills can be seen right before the beginning of the southern campaign: ibid., chapter 87 第八十七回, 2:692: “It is said that [when] Prime Minister Zhūgě was [ruling] in Chéngdū, [he] personally justly resolved all affairs, both small and large. The people of the Lands of the Two Rivers [Shǔ] [were living in] happiness and peace. At night the doors were left open, [and] no [one] stole things lost on the street. Moreover, [they] were blessed with the good fortune of successive years of rich harvests, [and] old [and] young [had] round bellies [and] celebrated with song. Everyone did their duties to the state, [and] strived to be the first to [finish]. Because of this military supplies and equipment were provided, [and] everything was prepared [for war]. Rice filled the granaries, [and] wealth filled the treasury.夜不閉戶,路不拾遺。 "The next day, the lord of Wūgē led a group of rattan-armoured soldiers across the river, [to the sound of] golden drums rolling. The Mán soldiers arrived, sweeping over the ground. Wèi Yán then led soldiers to meet the enemy. The Mán soldiers poured forth. The Shǔ soldiers shot bolts at their armour, [but] all [the arrows] could not penetrate [the armour, [with] all of them falling to the ground. Neither could cuts from swords or thrusts from spears enter. All the Mán soldiers used sharp swords [and] pitchforks. How could the Shǔ soldiers resist [them]? All of them fled in defeat… Kǒngmíng said smiling: “I will not easily leave this place, have we not already gotten here? Tomorrow I shall have a plan to pacify the Mán.” 次日,烏戈國主引一彪藤甲軍過河來,金鼓大震。魏延引兵出迎。蠻兵卷地而至。蜀兵以弩箭射到藤甲之上,皆不能透,俱落於地;刀砍槍刺,亦不能入。蠻兵皆使利刀剛叉,蜀兵如何抵當,盡皆敗走…孔明笑曰: "吾非容易到此,豈可便去?吾明日自有平蠻之策." 500 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 449 and passim.

501 As said with [Mǎ] Sù’s words: Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 87, 2:696: “... This is the way of using military force: ‘Attacking hearts comes first, [and] attacking cities comes second; the war of hearts come first, [and] the war of weapons come second.’ I [wish] that the Prime Minister [will] only [make] their hearts yield, [and that that will be] sufficient.” Kǒngmíng said sighing: “stdbooling the heart of my heart well!” "...夫用兵之道：‘攻心為上,攻城為下;心戰為上,兵戰為下。’願丞相但服其心足矣。” 孔明歎曰: "幼常足知吾肺腑也!”

failure of Zhūgě’s strategy when Shǔ cannot gain help from the Nánmán even in their hour of greatest need. Other scholars, however, oppose this ironic reading of the novel and argue for a more heroic portrayal of Zhūgě in the work, which would seem closer to the more popular reading of the story.

It could not easily be argued that the southern campaign is much more than a distraction to the main story in the novel, aimed mainly at highlighting the abilities of Zhūgě and other heroes.

However, does the novel maybe want to teach us something through the peculiar story of Mèng Huò’s captures and releases?

6.4.2 Characteristics of the Southwest and its peoples

On the whole, the Southwest is depicted as being an exotic land, with, for example, the often stressed extreme heat and poisonous springs, elephants and all sorts of other dangerous creatures. Moreover, in a novel otherwise devoted to depicting grand military and political events, an occasional paragraph explains the strange cultures of the Nánmán, whose diversity is noted through the various tribes appearing.

503 Ibid., 450. In the novel, when Shǔ is on the verge of being conquered: Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 118 第一百一十八回, 2:944: “Many officials said: “… [We could] flee to the seven commanderies of Nánzhōng. Its lands are precipitous [and] can be defended by us. [If] we can borrow Mán soldiers, [we] can again recover [our lands] without delay.” [But] grand minister Qiao Zhōu 譙周 said: “No, [we] cannot do [that]. The Nánmán have for a long time been opposed to people coming [to them]. [If we] now take refuge with them, we will inevitably meet a disaster.” 多官議曰：“…南中七郡：其地險峻，可以自守，就借蠻兵，再來克復未遲。” 光祿大夫譙周曰：“不可。南蠻久反之人，平昔無惠；今若投之，必遭大禍。”

504 For example Shi Changyu, see: Shi, introduction, 9-11.

505 E.g. Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 88 第八十八回, 2:702: “The natives said: “Currently it is the hot season. Poison gathers in the water of the Lú River. In daytime, when it is extremely hot, the poisonous air has just been emitted. If there are people [who] cross the river, [they] will inevitable be in the middle of the poison. Or if [anyone] drink this water, this person will inevitably die…” 土人曰：“目今炎天，毒聚瀘水，日間甚熱，毒氣正發。有人渡水，必中其毒。或飲此水，其人必死…”

506 Ibid., chapter 90 第九十回, 2:725: “Wùtūgǔ 兀突骨 rode an elephant in the van… 兀突骨騎象當先…”

507 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:718-19: “Valley Lord Dài Lái 帶來 said: “…Valley Lord the Great King Mùlù 木鹿大王… [He] often have tigers answering [to him], [and] dholes and wolves, poisonous snakes and wicked scorpions follow him…” 帶來洞主曰：“…洞主木鹿大王…常有虎報豺狼、毒蛇惡蠍跟隨…”

508 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:718: “…When girls have grown up then they bathe in the stream. Men [and] women mix with each other, [and] chose their own spouses, [with] the parents allowing [this]; [this] is called ‘learning the arts.’ In years the rainwater was evenly distributed, [then they] would cultivate rice paddies. [But] if but harvest failed, [they would] kill snakes to make soup [or] take boiled elephants as their food. In each place all over the region, [the head of] the most important family was called ‘valley lord,’ [and the] next [in importance] was called a ‘chief.’ Every month on two days, the first and the fifteenth, all [the people gather] in Three Rivers Town 三江城 to sell and buy [their] goods, which easily change hands. Their customs were like this…有女長成，浴於溪中沐浴，男女自相混淆，任其自配，父母不禁，名為「學藝」。年歲雨水均調，則種稻穀；倘若不熟，殺蛇為羹，煮象為飯。每方隅之中，上戶號曰：「洞主」，次日「酋長」，每月初一十五兩日，皆在三江城中買賣，轉易貨物。其風俗如此…”
A number of exotic, but not necessarily negative, cultural elements are present in the Southwest, including people living in caves,⁵⁰⁹ human sacrifices,⁵¹⁰ and warriors wearing impenetrable rattan armour.⁵¹¹ These elements are a mix of fact and mostly fiction, with none of them occurring in the Sānguó Zhì. The foreignness of the country is emphasised again and again, even leading to Zhūgē not using some of his most famous generals due to them being unfamiliar with the land.⁵¹²

Generalisations and seeming ignorance of the Nánmán and their lands are seen in the novel among Shū people prior to the campaign. The land is said to be a “barren land, a countryside with miasma and pestilence,” whose natives should be easy to defeat,⁵¹³ but which will take every chance to rebel.⁵¹⁴ Such conceptions are proven right after the campaign starts, and if the Nánmán does submit in the end, this is only due to Zhūgē’s skills rather than the Nánmán being less rebellious than advised.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid., chapter 90, 2:723: “Wūgē 烏戈… Its valleys have houses, [and] all [the people] live in earth caves 烏戈國, 其洞無宇舍，皆居土穴之內.”

⁵¹⁰ Ibid., chapter 90, 2:718: “In [each of] the four seasons bulls and horses are offered as sacrifices, [this is] known as ‘Divining [from] the Spirits 卜鬼.’ Every year humans of Shū and also people from other parts of [their] region were [also] often used for sacrifices. 其中建一祖廟, 名曰‘家鬼’, 以時殺牛宰馬享祭. 名曰‘卜鬼’. 每年常以蜀人並外國之民祭之.”

⁵¹¹ Ibid., chapter 90, 2:723: “Valley Lord Dài Bàng 帶來 said: “Wùtūgǔ … His subordinate warriors all wear rattan armour… [When] wearing [this] on [their] body, [soldiers] will not sink [when] crossing a river, [and] the water will not make [it] wet. Neither sword nor arrow can enter it. Because of this [they] are called the ‘Rattan Army.’…” 帶來洞主曰: “…兀突骨…其手下軍士。俱穿藤甲… 穿在身上, 渡江不沉, 經水不濕, 刀箭皆不能入。因此號為「藤甲軍」…”

⁵¹² Ibid., chapter 87, 2:697: “…Furthermore [Zhūgē] called for Wáng Píng 王平 and Mǎ Zhōng 馬忠 to come, [and] instructed them, saying: ‘Now the Mán soldiers are coming along three roads, I wish to send Zǐlóng 子龍 [Zhào Yún] [and] Wéncháng 文長 [Wèi Yá] [two of his most famous and most senior generals] [against them]. [However], the two of them do not know the features of the land, [so that] [I] do not dare to use them…” 更喚王平、馬忠至,囑之曰: "今蠻兵三路而來，吾欲令子龍、文長去；此二人不識地理，未敢用之…”

⁵¹³ Ibid., chapter 87, 2:693: “[Wáng] Lian 王連 protested [against Zhūgē], saying: “The South is a barren land, a countryside with miasma and pestilence… Furthermore Yōng Kǎi and the other [rebels] are [but] a minor disease, [so] the Prime Minister only needs to send a senior general to punish them, [and the mission] would certainly be a success.” 連諫曰: "南方不毛之地，瘴疫之鄉… 且雍闓等乃疥癬之疾，丞相只須遣一大將討之，必然成功.” This scene takes place at the time Zhūgē decided to launch his campaign.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., chapter 87, 2:696: “[Mǎ] Sù 馬謖 said to Zhūgē, “...The Nánmán rely on their lands being faraway [and their] mountains being dangerous [to pass], [thus they] will not submit for long. Even though we attack them today, tomorrow [they] will again rebel. [If] the army of the Prime Minister goes there, surely [they] will be pacified [and] submit, but the day the soldiers are withdrawn, [and you] must use [the soldiers] to launch a northern expedition against [the Wèi emperor] Cáo Pī 曹丕, then the Mán soldiers, if [they] know of the [power] vacuum, will surely quickly revolt [again]...” 謖曰: “...南蠻恃其地遠山險，不服久矣；雖今日破之， 明日復叛。丞相大軍到彼，必然平服；但班師之日，必用北伐曹丕；蠻兵若知內虛，其反必速...”
The geography depicted seems to not at all correspond to real geography beyond some main features. The Southwest is depicted as mountainous, with numerous narrow valleys and streams, with the valleys often used to divide the land politically. Of course, this description was very far from the real conditions of the Southwest. The Chinese who had knowledge of the area must have known this even at the time the novel was compiled, but the novel’s depiction might still probably reflect how the region appeared in popular imagination, and moreover its distance from the more central Chinese areas. Both the political organisation and the lack of identifiable place names set this part of the novel apart from the others, adding to the exotic effect.

As for the Nánmán themselves, even Zhūgē stresses the fierceness of their warriors and their distance from civilisation. Moreover, they are obviously different from the Chinese, and not just by culture but even by physiology, by virtue of living in the foreign land. However, in the end Zhūgē leaves the Southwest alone after its final defeat and submission, not continuing to occupy the region. The argumentation he gives is military, but it must be seen as sign of trust that the Nánmán will not rebel again and will govern themselves in peace. Moreover, the people of the Southwest are seen as extremely grateful for the peace brought to

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515 E.g. ibid., chapter 89, 2:712: “Duǒsī 朵思 said, “In this ravine there are only two roads...Moreover, there are four poisonous streams...””
516 E.g. ibid., chapter 89, 2:716: “Then the Mán soldiers were rewarded. Just as [they] wished to set out, suddenly there was a report [saying that] lord Yáng Fēng 楊鋒 of twenty-one valleys of the Silver-Smelting Valleys 銀冶洞 was leading thirty thousand soldiers to assist in the battle 於是大賞蠻兵。正欲起程,忽報洞後迤西銀冶洞二十一洞主楊鋒引三萬兵來助戰.”
517 Ibid., chapter 89, 2:709: “Kǒngmíng stopped [his generals], saying, “The people of the Mán region do not honour the beneficial influence of the sovereign. Now [they] are like this, fully enraged and hateful, [so that] we cannot meet [them] [not being strong enough]...””
518 E.g. ibid., chapter 90, 2:723: “[They] marched to they came to a river, called the Peach Flower River 桃花水. On both banks there were peach trees. Over the years the leaves [of these trees] fell into the water; [and because of this] if people of other countries drink [the water] [they] will die, [and] only people of Wūgē [can] drink it [and then have their] vigour increased 行至一江,名桃花水。兩岸有桃樹,歷年落葉於水中,若別國人飲之盡死;惟烏戈國人飲之,倍添精神.”
519 Ibid., chapter 90, 2: 727: “Senior Official Fèi Yī 費褘 remonstrated [Zhūgē], saying: “Now the Prime Minister himself [wants to] take soldiers to deeply penetrate the barren [lands] [and force] the Mán region to submit. The Mán king have now already returned to submission, why do [we] not install government officials [there], [in order to] defend [the land] together with Mèng Huò?” Kǒngmíng said: “[If we did] so there would be three difficulties...””
516 This and the following passage is mirrored in the commentaries in the Sānguó Zhì, see: Chen, Sanguo, Zhuge Liang zhuan, 4:921: “... Suddenly [someone] took issue with Liáng, [but] Liáng said: “...this is the third [thing] that is not easy to do....””
them by Zhūgě, even building a temple to him.\textsuperscript{520} As we have seen above, this depiction of gratefulness is only half true, though in certain local legends Zhūgě is still seen as a culture hero.\textsuperscript{521}

Overall, the image the Southwest and its people is exotic and in several ways dangerous or uncivilised. Many of these elements are negative, especially the natural conditions making the campaign extra difficult, but many also can be seen as more neutral, as simply “strange” in Chinese eyes, including some of the cultural practices. Though fierce warriors with a strange culture, the Nánmán are not irredeemable, as they are capable of being inspired by Zhūgě and to be trusted to govern themselves in peace.

6.4.3 The seven captures of Mèng Huò

The Nánmán as a whole are thus certainly depicted as exotic, but are the Nánmán individuals portrayed the same way? Are there outstanding people among them? As the most notable “foreign” person featured in the novel, Mèng Huò will be considered in this section, followed by other individuals in the next. He was the main leader of the Nánmán during the southern campaign, and is known also as the “King of the Mán” (Mánwáng).\textsuperscript{522} Mèng is most notable for supposedly having been captured and released seven times by Zhūgě before finally submitting, which was due to Zhūgě’s insistence that he needs to win the hearts of the people in order to succeed.\textsuperscript{523} This sequence of captures and releases is the main source of tension in the narrative of the southern campaign, and is unique in the novel.

Mèng is absent in the original text of the Sānguó Zhì, though he appears along with one of the first references to the “seven captures and seven releases” story in later historical records, such as the Hán Jin Chūnqiū 漢晉春秋 (Spring and Autumn Annals of Hán [and] Jin, 4th

\textsuperscript{520} Ibid., chapter 90, 2:727: “Then [the people] of the Mán region were all moved by Kǒngmíng’s benevolence, and then built a life-time temple for Kǒngmíng, [where] sacrifices were held [in] the four seasons. All called him by [the name] ‘Compassionate Father.’ Each [of them] presented pearls, precious goods, cinnabar, lacquer, medicine, ploughing cattle and war horses to the army for [its] use, [and] swore not to rebel. The South was [thus] already settled 於是蠻方皆感孔明恩德，乃為孔明立生祠，四時享祀；皆呼之為「慈父」；各送珍珠金寶丹漆藥材，耕牛戰馬，以資軍用，誓不相反。南方已定.”

\textsuperscript{521} Peng, “Ethnic Memory,” 142.

\textsuperscript{522} Luo, Sanguo Yanyi, chapter 87, 2:692: “The Soldiers Opposing Heaven Troops, The Mán King is Captured the First Time 抗天兵蠻王初受執.” (The chapter heading.)

\textsuperscript{523} Ibid., chapter 88, 2:701: “孔明笑曰: ‘吾擒此人，如囊中取物耳。直須降伏其心，自然平矣.’”
The verdict must be that Mèng may or may not be an historical person, though he certainly was not the main leader of the rebellion. Moreover, the “seven captures and releases” story, though featured in both popular and élite accounts, has been regarded by modern historians as both contextually and practically impossible. As for the popular image of Mèng, it is based on the Sānguó Yānyì rather than the opposite.

This story serves to emphasise Zhūgě Liáng’s “humane” method of defeating the rebellion, which is seen for example in his remorse for the lives lost in the campaign after his final objective have been won, and unwillingness to lose more. However, what are its implications for the characterisation of Mèng Huò?

Though repeatedly unable to defeat Zhūgě in battle, this can hardly be used as an argument against Mèng’s abilities, as Zhūgě is depicted as a near-invincible strategist. While Mèng does use some strategy at a few occasions, he is mostly reliant on others’ advice after his

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525 The comment in question is interpolated with the paragraph quoted above: Chen, Sanguo Zhi, Zhuge Liang zhuan, 4:921: “The Hán Jìn Chūnqiū says: Liáng arrived at Nánzhōng, which was [then] the place of the success in battle. [Liáng then] heard of Mèng Huò [that he] was [the one] to whom the Yí and the Hàn had yielded, and [that they were] freshly recruited by him. [This being] already done [he] sent [Huò] to overlook between the battle arrays, and Liáng said: “Would not this army be better?” Huò said in reply: “Previously [we] do not know the actual situation. That was the reason for the defeat. Now I, the unenlightened, have fully seen the battle array. If it was only like this, [then I would] immediately have secured an easy victory, and that would have been all.” Liáng smiled, [and] even if [they] fought again, [until Liáng had] released [Huò] seven times and captured [him] seven times, and then Liáng released Huò [again]. [But] Huò stopped and did not leave, saying: "My Lord, this is the might of heaven. The people of the South will not oppose [you] again." …《漢晉春秋》曰：亮至南中，所在戰捷。聞孟獲者，為夷、漢所服，募生致之。旣得，使觀於營陣之間，曰："此軍何如？"獲對曰："向者不知虛實，故敗。今蒙賜觀看營陣，若祇如此，即定易勝耳。"亮笑，縱使更戰，七縱七禽，而亮猶遣獲。獲止不去，曰："公，天威也，南人不復反矣。" …" 526 See also: Peng, “Ethnic Memory,” 146.
527 Ibid., 150.
528 Expressed in his words: Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 90, 2:727: “… [With the] Mán soldiers being mischievous in his way, could [we] have been victorious without [using] a fire attack? [But it] caused the people of Wūgē to not have descendants. That is my greatest offense!” …蠻兵如此頑皮，非火攻安能取勝?使烏弋國之人不留種類者，是吾之大罪也！” 529 Ibid., chapter 91: "Kǒngmíng said: "Now I [have] already pacified the affair [the rebellion], [so how can I] unnecessarily kill a [single] person?" 孔明曰： "吾今事已平定，安可妄殺一人？" 530 E.g. ibid., chapter 88, 2:701: "Huò gave orders, saying: “I know of the plans of Zhūgě Liáng, [so that we] cannot go [straight] into battle with [him], as [he] in the battle would employ [one of] his ruses. [However], the river soldiers [from Shǔ] on the other side [of the conflict] have come far and worked hard, and moreover the weather these days is very hot, how can the soldiers of the other side stay for long? We have the Lú River as our defence. [We will] have a belt of boats [and] rafts attached along the south shore, [and we] all will build an earth wall. [With] deep ditches and high ramparts [we will] see what scheme Zhūgě Liáng will use…” 獲傳令曰： "吾已知諸葛亮之計矣，不可與戰，戰則中他詭計。彼川兵遠來勞苦，況即日天炎，彼兵豈能久住?吾等有此瀘水之險，將船筏盡拘在南岸一帶，皆築土城，深溝高壘，看諸葛亮如何施謀。"
initial failures, and cannot be called a man of great strategic abilities when compared to Zhūgě and several others in the novel.

As for the moral implications, the repeated refusal to submit and to recognise the futility of continuing to oppose Zhūgě could be seen as highly negative. Indeed, he not only breaks his word to Zhūgě, but also lies to put himself in a better light to his own people. He is arrogant, at one point because he believes the enemy cannot stand the heat of his region, and we frequently find him angry. Furthermore we can observe the destructive effects of drinking on Mèng, but like arrogance or anger this is however hardly is unique to him in the book, with numerous other examples where drinking leads to bad results. However, if the above was not enough to convince the reader of Mèng’s personality, he even admits himself to coming from “outside of civilisation,” thus seemingly sharing some of the Chinese world-view himself.

But that is only one side to the story. Despite the several negative aspects, it is fully possible to see Mèng in a much more positive or noble light. Mèng has his own criticism of Zhūgě, and presents an alternative view of his “rebellion” as merely being self-defence, and while for six times after capture he does not yield, he declares himself willing to die for his cause.

531 Several times after being captures, for example: ibid., chapter 87, 2:700: “[Mèng] Huò said “… If [you] can capture me again, [then] catch me once more, my region will yield.” 獲曰： “…若能再擒吾，吾方服也。”

532 As he said after being released the first time: ibid., chapter 88, 2:701: “[Mèng] Huò said: “The people of Shǔ confined me in a tent, I killed more than ten of them [and then] taking advantage of the dark of night [I] fled. [While] going directly [back], [I] met with one of their guards, who was also killed by me [and then I] took this horse by force. [It was] because of that [I] was able to escape” 獲曰：“蜀人監我在帳中，被我殺死十餘人，乘夜黑而走。正行間，逢著一哨馬軍，亦被我殺之，奪了此馬；因此得脫。”

533 Ibid., chapter 88, 2:702: “[Mèng Huò] said to the crowd of chiefs: “…The men of Shǔ cannot stand the extreme heat, [and] will have to retreat. At that time you and I will attack soon after, and then [we] can capture Zhūgě Liàng.” Having finished talking, [he] laughed loudly 孟獲…謂眾酋長曰：“…蜀人受不過酷熱，必然退走。那時吾與汝等隨後擊之，便可擒諸葛亮也。”言訖，呵呵大笑。

534 E.g. ibid., chapter 87, 2:699: “…[Hearing this], Huò was very angry… …獲大怒…”

535 Ibid., chapter 88, 2:703: “At this time Mèng Huò was in the camp, drinking wine and seeking pleasure all day long, paying no attention to military affairs…” 此時孟獲在寨中，終日飲酒取樂，不理軍務…”

536 See for example the episode where Zhāng Fēi 張飛, one of the novel’s main heroes, whips the government officer, in: ibid., chapter 2 第二回, 1:13: “It was said that Zhāng Fēi had been drinking many cups of wine to drown his sorrow… 卻說張飛飲了數盃悶酒…”

537 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:727: “Mèng Huò…said: “…Even though I am a man from outside of civilisation…” 孟獲…曰：“…吾雖化外之人…” See Chapter 1.7 for the term huàwài 化外.

538 Ibid., chapter 87, 2:700: “[Mèng] Huò said: “The Land of the Two Rivers, [they] are all lands occupied by other people. Your lord took it by force, calling himself emperor. We have lived [in] this place for generations, [and] you rudely invade our land. How is [this] a rebellion?” 獲曰：“兩川之地，皆是他人所佔地土；汝主倚強奪之，自稱為帝。吾世居此處，汝等無禮，侵我土地，何為反耶？”

539 Ibid., chapter 89, 2:717: “Kǒngmíng said smiling: “Will you yield this time?” [Mèng] Huò said: ”[It] is not your ability, [but rather it] is people from my valley who brought harm to themselves; [that is why it] turned out like this. If [you] want to kill [me], then kill [me], but [I] will not yield!” 孔明笑曰：“汝今番心服乎？”獲曰：“
His will to fight on for his people could easily be admired, and this view is more in accord with some local legends of the southern campaign, which often emphasise the valiant resistance offered to the Hàn soldiers. 540 For example, among the Yi 彝 people, who consider themselves descendants of Mèng, he became the hero and Zhūgě the villain who was repeatedly captured by Mèng in a complete reversal of the story. 541 Also, he shows a more noble side when he refuses to execute Zhāng Yí 張嶷 and Mǎ Zhōng 馬忠, citing previous goodwill from Zhūgě as his reason. 542

The view of Mèng, then, is mainly negative, but he is somewhat redeemed by his final humble acceptance of defeat. 543 Thereafter his kingship is restored by Zhūgě, 544 and he is given certain orders, 545 seemingly to civilise him and his way of rule. Furthermore, Plaks, among others, argues that Mèng is portrayed as a reasonable, even noble, leader rather than a barbarian. 546 This is much opposed to Zhūgě, whom Plaks see as overly arrogant and hypocritical in the novel, despite his popular image as an infallible advisor. 547

Mèng is thus portrayed a complex character. While he certainly has a number of negative sides, his fighting spirit could certainly be admired. When in the end yielding to Zhūgě’s

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541 Ibid., 143.
542 Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 90, 2:720: “[Mèng] Huò stopped [them], saying: “Zhūgě Liàng has released me five times. If we execute those generals this time, that would not be just. [Therefore we] shall imprison them in the valley, [and] wait until [we] have captured Zhūgě Liàng, [then] [we can] execute them without delay” 獲止曰: “諸葛亮放吾五次,今番若斬彼將,是不義也。且囚在洞中,待擒住諸葛亮,殺之未遲.”
543 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:727: “… Mèng Huò, crying, said: “Seven times captured [and] seven times released. Since ancient times there has never been [such a thing]. Even though I am a man from outside of civilisation, [I] rather know of righteousness. [If it was] just like that, would [it] not be shameful? Then he went with his younger brother, wife, clansmen and others to all crawl [and] kneel outside of [ Zhūgě’s] tent, baring their skin [humbly] apologising for their crime, saying: “The Prime Minister is the might of heaven. The people of the south will no longer oppose [you].” Kǒngmíng said: “So now the Lord will yield?” Huò said thankfully, crying: “I [and] all of my children [and] grandchildren are moved by [your] heaven-and-earthly grace that you were born with. How could [we] possibly not yield?” 孟獲垂淚言曰: “七擒七縱,自古未嘗有也。吾雖化外之人,頗知禮義,直如此無羞恥乎? 竟同兄弟妻子宗黨等人,皆匍匐跪於帳下,肉袒謝罪曰: “丞相天威,南人不復反矣!” 孔明曰: “公今服乎?”獲泣謝曰: “某子子孫孫皆感覆載生成之恩,安得不服?”
544 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:727: “Kǒngmíng then invited Mèng Huò to be seated in the tent, [and] prepared a banquet of celebration. Then [he] ordered that [Mèng Huò] forever would be Valley Lord. The land that had been seized was all returned. [Among] Mèng Huò’s clan and the various Mán soldiers there was not one who did not feel gratitude, [and] all jumped with pleasure and then went away 孔明乃請孟獲上帳,設宴慶賀,就令永為洞主。所奪之地,盡皆退還。孟獲宗黨及諸蠻兵,無不感戴,皆欣然跳躍而去.”
545 Ibid., chapter 91, 2:730: “… [They] sent Mèng Huò to lead his crowd back by himself, telling him to be diligent in administrating the people, be good to [and] comfort the inhabitants [and] not neglecting agriculture… 發付孟獲領眾自回,囑其勤政馭下,善撫居民,勿失農務…”
546 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 450-51, referring to himself and Lǐ Zhuówú 李卓吾, i.e. Lǐ Zhi 李贄, a late Ming writer who commented the novel.
547 Ibid., 45-521, referring to for example Zhūgě’s statement in note 528 above.
alleged benevolence, he obtains redemption and ceases to be an enemy. He thus adopts more civilised ways from the point of view of the novel, but as the novel does not continue the story no decisive argument for this could be made.

Does the novel intend to teach the reader anything by the “seven captures” story? A straightforward answer would be to say we could learn from Zhūgě’s benevolent way of putting down the rebellion. From a more sceptical reading of the novel, however, we could get an alternative answer highlighting Mèng’s will to fight for his people. This shows us that Nánmán individuals are portrayed in complex ways in the novel.

6.4.4 Other Nánmán individuals

Besides Mèng Huò, a number of his generals and allies are also presented in the book, such as his brother Mèng Yōu 孟優, his generals and chiefs Jīnhuán Sānjié 金環三結, Dǒngtúnà 董荼那 and Āhuìnán 阿會喃 and his ally Wùtūgǔ 兀突骨, the king of Wūgē 烏戈. While Mèng Huò may have an historic basis, the same is not the case for these characters, who are entirely fictional.

Similar to for example Shāmókē, among these Nánmán Wùtūgǔ is made memorable by his monstrous appearance, twelve foot tall and riding an elephant, to say nothing of his eating “wild snakes and wicked beasts.” Fierce or unusual appearances, however, also appear

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548 Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 88, 2:705: “[Mèng] Huò again returned to the valley, [and there] discussed matters with his brother, Mèng Yōu … 獲再回洞中, 與親弟孟優商議…”

549 Ibid., chapter 87, 2: 697: “It is said that [when] the Mán king Mèng Huò heard [how] of how Kǒngmíng cleverly had crushed Yong Kǎi, and of other [matters], [he] gathered the leaders of the Three Valleys; for the first cave, Jīnhuán Sānjié, for the second cave Dǒngtúnà and for the third cave Āhuìnán to discuss matters 卻說蠻王孟獲, 聽知孔明智破雍闖等, 遂聚三洞元帥商議: 第一洞乃金環三結元帥, 第二洞乃董荼那元帥, 第三洞乃阿會喃元帥.”

550 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:723: Valley Lord Dài Lái said: “…The lord of this country [is] Wùtūgǔ. [He] is twelve foot tall. [Wùtūgǔ] does not eat grain, but takes live snakes and wicked beasts as his food. [He] wears scaly armor, [which] swords cannot penetrate…” 帶來洞主曰: “…國主兀突骨, 身長二丈, 不食五穀, 以生蛇惡獸為飯; 身有鱗甲, 刀劍不能侵…”

551 Ibid., chapter 83 第八十三回, 2:660: “… Their leader was the foreign king Shāmókē. [His] face was [red] as if splattered with blood [and his] blue-green eyes were prominent. [He was] using two iron-spiked clubs, [and] carried two bows at the belt. His power and prestige were invigorating. …為首乃是番王沙摩柯, 生得面如噀血, 碧眼突出, 使兩個鐵蒺藜骨朵, 腰帶兩張弓, 威風抖懾.”

among Chinese soldiers in the book, and in comparison, Mèng has a more normal appearance despite exotic clothing.

Yet another memorable character is Great King Mùlù, known for his use of magic. This, however, is not something unique for him in the novel, as even Zhūgě Liàng himself relies on supernatural forces, making the use of magic a less powerful argument for an exotic role. Then there is Mèng’s wife, Lady Zhùróng, who is portrayed in a positive way, lacking clear negative aspects, which Plaks argues is otherwise the case for nearly every female character in the novel.

A stark contrast to all of these Nánmán individuals, however, is offered by Mèng’s older brother Mèng Jié. His role in the story is that of a recluse living in hiding, whose advice is vital to the success of Zhūgě’s campaign. He says that Mèng is “forceful and evil,” and “did not appreciate the beneficent influence of the sovereign,” and he appears much ashamed at his brother’s rebellion.

553 Ibid., chapter 87, 2:693: “… [È] Huàn 鄂煥 was nine foot tall, [and his] appearance was repulsive… 煥身長九尺，面貌醜惡…”
554 E.g. ibid., chapter 87, 2:699: “In the middle Mèng Huò set out. [On his] head [he] wore a crown inlaid with precious, purple gold. Stretched over [his] body was a cloak [made] of a net of red brocade strings. [At his] waist was fastened a belt with a jade lion buckle. [On his] feet [he] wore green boots [pointed like] a hawk’s beak. [He] rode on a horse with curly hair the colour of a red hare. Hanging [from his waist] was two double-edged sword patterned with pine wood… 中間孟獲出馬；頭頂嵌寶紫金冠，身披纓絡紅錦袍，腰繫碾玉獅子帶，腳穿鷹嘴抹綠靴，騎一匹捲毛赤兔馬，懸兩口松紋鑲寶劍…”
555 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:721: “When the two men [Zhào Yún and Wèi Yán] were muttering [to each other], they only saw the Great King Mùlù reciting some unknown incarnation. His hand shook a bell on a stem. Suddenly a fierce wind erupted, [and] sand flew [and] peddles rolled, the wind got up, stones began to roll and sand to fly, like a shower of rain… 二人正沉吟之際,只見木鹿大王口中不知念甚咒語,手搖蒂鐘。忽然狂風大作，飛砂走石，如同驟雨…”
556 E.g. ibid., chapter 90, 2:721-22: “Kǒngmíng waved the feather fan once, [and then] [Mùlù’s] wind then blew back to the other battle formation… 孔明將羽扇一搖，其風便回吹彼陣中去了…”
557 Ibid., chapter 90, 2:719-20: “Mèng Huò was deeply flustered. Suddenly someone came out laughing from behind the screen, saying: “[Even though] you are a man, how foolish you are! Even though I am a woman, [I] want to go out to fight with you.” Huò looked at her; [she was his] wife, Lady Zhùróng. The Lady had lived with the Nánmán for her entire life, [and she] was a descendant of the Zhùróng clan. Good at using throwing knives, [she] hit [the target] one hundred times out of one hundred throws 孟獲甚是慌張。忽然屏後一人大笑而出曰： “既為男子，何無智也! 我雖是一婦人，願與你出戰。” 獲視之，乃妻祝融夫人也。夫人世居南蠻，乃祝融氏之後；善使飛刀，百發百中。”
558 Plaks, The Four Masterworks, 484, 484n.
559 This is how he talks of his brother: Luo, Sanguo yanyi, chapter 89, 2:715: “The man living in hiding also said: “Prime Minister, rest [your] doubts. Allow [me] to extend a few words. My mother and father gave birth to three sons. The eldest am I, the old man, Mèng Jié, the second is Huò, and then there is Mèng Yōu. Both of [our] parents are dead. The second brother is forceful [and] evil, [and did] not appreciate the beneficent influence of the sovereign. I have time and again admonished [him], to no effect. For that reason [I] changed my name [and began to] live secluded in this place. Now [I] am disgraced by [my] brother’s rebellion, [which] also [have made] the Prime Minister take pains to deeply penetrate [this] barren land, and thus caused [you] misery. [For this], [I], Mèng Jié, ought to die a thousand deaths. Therefore, first [I] beg before the Prime Minister for a pardon
are seen in the story. Firstly, the way he is portrayed as a wise and benevolent recluse not only contrasts the fierceness of the other Nánmán, which shows us that it is perfectly possible for them to become civilised in the Chinese way. Secondly, his words make it seem that Mèng chose to not “appreciate” the influence of Chinese civilisation, and thus is a savage by choice and not because he was always isolated from this civilisation. Based on this, one could argue that Mèng “returns” to civilisation after finally yielding and accepting to rule his people the way Zhūgē advises, but the novel does not contain enough evidence for a conclusion to be drawn at this point.

Similar to the depiction of Southwestern peoples in general, the descriptions of Mèng Huò and the other Nánmán leaders are certainly exotic and very different from the Hàn, though not necessarily negative. In some cases their fierceness or unusual abilities are stressed, but Lady Zhùróng could easily be seen in a positive light. Finally, Mèng Jié proves that even among the Nánmán there can be wise and benevolent individuals. These contrasts make it difficult to draw a conclusion to the novel’s portrayal of them, other than that while exaggerated features are more common among them, they can be as different in their role and portrayal as the novel’s Hàn Chinese characters.

### 6.5 Conclusion

The Three Kingdoms period of the 3rd century was one with many dramatic historical events, which subsequently became the basis of numerous popular tales that eventually were used in the Míng era popular novel Sānguó Yǎnyì.

The Chinese Southwest had long been inhabited by a variety of ethnic groups. These feature, along with a few other foreign peoples, in the novel, but serve as a distraction from the main plot and to highlight the novel’s heroes. Zhūgē Liàng’s southern campaign is the most important event in the novel featuring foreign peoples, but as little is known about this campaign in history, the account of it is nearly entirely fictional.

Here, the Southwest and its people are portrayed in a seemingly very exotic and culturally different way. Historical facts are disregarded in favour of fantastic elements. Indeed, the
*Nánmán* in the novel cannot be clearly identified as any one historic ethnicity. The exotic impression seems to put them at the outside, but in some ways they are also considered able to appreciate civilisation. Thus the descriptions are not necessarily negative, and in the end they are trusted to govern themselves.

As for the *Nánmán* characters, their role could be analysed in different ways, but it is clear that Mèng Huò is no one-dimensional villain, and while some others are little but fierce warriors, Mèng Jié is by all standards a civilised and benevolent character. This proves that the way the novel sees it the *Nánmán* can be civilised people.

The descriptions in the novel are different from those found in the other works analysed in this thesis. The most likely explanation is that this is due to this work’s origin in popular literature. On one hand, the novel seems to convey the Sinocentric world-view through its portrayal of the *Nánmán* as exotic and uncivilised, and as they become more civilised when exposed to Chinese culture. On the other, it is possible to read the novel as celebrating the resistance offered by the *Nánmán*. Therefore it does not fit all that smoothly into the Chinese world-view. While they share a basis in the traditional world-view, the popular views of the novel does not always correspond with the more élite views of the other works.
Late Qing views: Presentation of foreign countries in the Hǎiguó Túzhì

Starting with the Opium War in 1839, the weakness of China in the face of the Western power gradually became apparent. However, was this enough to change the long-held Chinese world-view? Now, with increased contact with the West forced upon them, what views could be found among the Chinese élite on the foreign countries and their people, as reflected in the gazetteer Hǎiguó Túzhī 海國圖志.

Unlike previous chapters some of the people analysed here were located far away from China, and the source material was compiled at a decisive point of Chinese history. What contrasts and parallels can be found as compared to the portrayals in my other case studies? And had the changed international situation influenced the world-view found in the work?

7.1 Research method

This chapter will analyse parts of the Hǎiguó Túzhì (Illustrated Treatise on the Maritime Kingdoms). The reason for choosing this work is that it was first compiled right after the Chinese contact with the West had begun to increase, and therefore it can be seen as representing some of the views influenced by the changes in China’s international situation, alongside more traditional views. Its sometimes conflicting views of the outside world were due to its many quotations. Some of the texts quoted were originally written in Chinese by foreigners, and others were translated from foreign languages, but the way they were selected for the work presented to a Chinese audience make them both relevant for the Chinese views of the outside world. Therefore both quotations and original commentaries in the text will be considered, and when quotations are used this will be made clear along with the origin of the quoted text.

My analysis will follow introductory sections on the changed international setting and the Hǎiguó Túzhí. Within this extensive work, I will focus briefly on the four sections of the so-called “Planning of the Ocean” 筹海 (Chóuhǎi), and then more thoroughly on the accounts

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Wei Yuan 魏源 and Lin Zexu 林則徐, “Haiguo tuzhi 海国图志,” 24. Vols. (Waseda University Library), accessed November 3 2014, October 2 2016, 1: juan 1 卷一, 1-35 (section one and two) and 1: juan 2 卷二, 1-31 (section three and four): The “planning” in the name refers to making preparations for, here in the sense of
of Viet Nam 安南 (Ānnán, An Nam),\textsuperscript{561} France 佛蘭西 (Fòlánxi)\textsuperscript{562} and Sweden 瑞丁 (Ruìdīng) and Norway 那威 (Nàwēi)\textsuperscript{563} These accounts include material originating from various editions of the work.\textsuperscript{564} The first sections are chosen because they express directly the words and opinions of the work’s compiler Wèi Yuán 魏源 (1794-1857), and therefore enable us to analyse his opinions of foreigners. In the other parts of the work, Wèi’s opinions can only be directly seen through occasional comments. The four countries are chosen because they differ in their respective position to China, with Viet Nam being close to China both geographically and culturally, France being one of the Western great powers which put pressure on China and Sweden and Norway being more peripheral Western countries.

As before, I will analyse the usage of specific vocabulary, including traditionally derogatory terms such as Yí 夷 and Yěmán 蠻野.\textsuperscript{565} Yěmán was used in that period not only by Chinese, by also by Westerners writing in Chinese to refer to what they would call “barbarians” or “uncivilized peoples” in the European meaning of the word.\textsuperscript{566} On the other hand, Yí, formerly much used for various foreigners, was used extensively to refer to Europeans, and was considered in some contexts to be more neutral, though it remained controversial.\textsuperscript{567} That is, the Manchu 清 rulers, conscious of ethnic issues, had sought to redefine Yí with a neutral meaning, but the derogatory meaning remained the most common.\textsuperscript{568}

For my primary source, I rely on a photocopied version of the Hǎiguó Túzhì from 1876.\textsuperscript{569} Punctuation is added to quotes from this edition, if not available in the original.

\textsuperscript{561}Ibid., 3: juan 5 卷五, 1-21 and 3: juan 6 卷六, 1-16.
\textsuperscript{562}Ibid., 11: juan 41 卷四十一, 1-25 and 12: juan 42 卷四十二, 1-17.
\textsuperscript{563}Ibid., 16: juan 58 卷五十八, 1-26.
\textsuperscript{564}While we can see from the work that the accounts of Viet Nam and France had content added to them after the first edition, the account of Sweden and Norway was wholly absent from the first edition. For the various editions of the work, see the description later in the text.
\textsuperscript{565}For these terms, see the relevant section in Chapter 1.7.
\textsuperscript{566}Shen, “‘Yeman,’” 383, 387-8. As for other traditional terms, Mán 蠻 was used for foreigners with a negative connotation, while the terms Róng 戎 and Dí 狄 were rarely used by this time.
\textsuperscript{567}Ibid., 386, 393. It was, however, not always seen as neutral by foreigners. The Vietnamese had complained about being referred to by such terms, and were met with the answer that the terms were not derogatory, see: Wilkinson, Chinese History, 360-61. The British also saw it as offensive, and sought to and eventually succeeded in banning its usage in 1858, see: Liu, Clash of Empires, 31-107.
\textsuperscript{568}Wilkinson, Chinese History, 360.
\textsuperscript{569}Wei and Lin, “Hàiguó tuzhi. With its 100 juān 卷 (chapters or volumes), this represents the third, or 1852, version of the work.
7.2 China’s new international setting

At this time China was ruled by the Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), which was founded and at least to some degree dominated by the Manchu minority, and therefore was seen as another period with “foreign” by rule many Chinese. While anti-Manchuism was used to blame the government for many of China’s late 19th century misfortunes and did play a role in the dynasty’s fall, the Manchus had long adapted Han Chinese culture and striven to be accepted as legitimate Chinese emperors, going much farther in this regard than the Mongols, and had promoted the idea of an inclusive China.

The Qing mostly continued the foreign policy of the preceding Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), where Central Asia long was prioritised rather than the maritime regions. Up until the mid-19th century, relations with the outside world were regulated through the so-called tribute system. Prior to the Opium War, China had been relatively successful in resisting European advances and confining European traders to small enclaves on the coast.

7.2.1 The outset: The Opium War

The Chinese defeat in the Opium War (1839-42) has often been considered a decisive event in China’s modern history, especially in its relations to the West. This war started with a dispute over the opium trade, which had grown greatly in the previous decade and overturned the trade balance. The British forces repeatedly defeated the Chinese, showing the military superiority of Western power. The war ended with the humiliating Treaty of Nanjing, the first of the so-called “unequal

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570 Kent Deng, “Myth of ethnic conflict and ethnic revolutions, 1644–1911,” Asian Ethnicity 15, no. 2 (2014): 197-202. doi: 10.1080/14631369.2014.880589. This article challenges the view of the Qing as a Manchu Dynasty and argues that anti-Manchuism often have been exaggerated and that ethnicity was used as a scapegoat for the dynasty’s problems.

571 Ibid., 197-200.

572 Mancall, “The Ch’ing Tribute System,” 70.

573 For the tribute system, see e.g.: Mancall, “The Ch’ing Tribute,” 63-89. See also the short description in the relevant passage in Chapter 1.5.

574 Zhao, Power Competition, 24-25. For more information on early Chinese contacts with maritime Europe, see e.g.: John E. Wills, Jr., ed., China and Maritime Europe 1500-1800, Trade, Settlement, Diplomacy, and Missions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).


576 Zhao, Power Competition, 27.

treaties,” which opened more Chinese ports for trade. Several other treaties were to follow as well as the establishment of Western colonies in former Chinese tributary states, signifying a transition from the tributary system to the treaty system and to Chinese participation in the Eurocentric international system, where China was opened to the world.

7.2.2 The response: A slowly changing China

The war was a shock for the Chinese, as in the traditional Chinese world-view it was almost inconceivable for China to be defeated by a foreign power that would normally be thought of as inferior to China. The Western powers increasingly seemed to have surpassed China due to technological advances, leaving it vulnerable to them.

Unlike the case of Japan – to be briefly discussed in the next chapter – China was late in modernising after being faced with the new threat of the increasingly aggressive Western powers. By the 1860s the need for reform was widely accepted, but while some modernisation took place, the Hundred Day’s Reform (戊戌變法, or Reform of the Wǔxū Year) of 1898 was a failure, and real reforms did not take place until the very last years of the dynasty. Because of these factors, the time between the Opium War and the establishment of the Republic became a slowly evolving Chinese national crisis of identity, where time-honoured sets of beliefs and traditional social and political institutions were challenged.

Intellectually, the changes on the international scene elicited a variety of different responses, with some voices calling for reforms and other advocating adherence to tradition as the solution of China’s new problems. Some among the Chinese élite tried to strengthen China militarily without wanting to alter its society. The resulting learning process has been summarised as having several phases, starting with learning about geography and then

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578 Ibid., 282; Zhao, Power Competition, 28.
580 Ibid., 28.
581 Ibid.
585 Zhao, Power Competition, 48-49.
military technology.\textsuperscript{586} We can see this process reflected in the \textit{Hǎiguó Túzhì}, along with some of the many different views of the outside world of the era.

There may, however, have been conflicting views of the outside world inside of China already at this time, and while many scholars consider the Opium War to be the beginning of the end of the traditional world-view, it has been argued that the Chinese world-view had started to change as early as in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century, when some among the élite allegedly stopped seeing the world in terms of civilised and barbarian.\textsuperscript{587} On the other hand, it has been said that the Chinese even by the end of the dynasty were generally indifferent or sceptical towards new learning, and there were conservatives who would not accept that the Chinese should learn from the “barbarians.”\textsuperscript{588}

7.3 The \textit{Hǎiguó Túzhì}

One Chinese response to the experience of the Opium War was the gazetteer \textit{Hǎiguó Túzhì}, compiled from several sources by the civil servant Wèi Yuán.\textsuperscript{589} It was written in order to counter the perceived foreign threat by understanding the source of Western power through knowledge of the West, and besides Wèi believed China should pay more attention to trade and commerce as well as to the Southeast Asian region 南洋 (Nányáng, the Southern Ocean).\textsuperscript{590} While the Chinese had interacted with the Nányáng for millennia, the Chinese image of the region was sometimes more a delusion than a reflection of the real situation.\textsuperscript{591}

The work begins with essays on Wèi’s proposed policies, but most of it describes the various countries of the world, including both nearby Southeast Asian countries such as Siam 暹羅

\textsuperscript{587}See: Ronald Chung-yam Po, “Maritime countries in the Far West: Western Europe in Xie Qinggao’s Records of the Sea (c. 1783–93),” \textit{European Review of History: Revue européenne d’histoire} 21, no. 6 (2014): 859. doi: 10.1080/13507486.2014.960815. Among the 17\textsuperscript{th} century literati Po sees as spearheading the change were Gù Yánwǔ 顧炎武 (1613-82) and Gù Zǔyǔ 顧祖禹 (1631-92).
\textsuperscript{589}Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 98-99; Jessie G. Lutz, “China’s View of the West, A Comparison of the Historical Geographies of Wei Yuan and Xu Jiyu,” \textit{Social Sciences and Missions} 2 (2012), 35. This is evident in the work through its use of quotations.
\textsuperscript{590}Lutz, “China’s View,” 35, 43, 50; Po, “Maritime countries,” 860. Jane Kate Leonard also argues that the focus of the gazetteer is on the Nányáng rather than the West, see: Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 3–4.
\textsuperscript{591}Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 1; Wade, “The Ming Shi-ju,” 18. The term Nányáng can be understood in various ways, as referring to the South China Sea and its lands, Southeast Asia or the whole of “Maritime Asia,” stretching from the China Seas to the African coast of the Indian Ocean, see: Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 94.
and faraway Western countries such as Russia 俄罗斯 (Éluòsī)\(^{594}\) and the United States 美利堅 (Mílìjiān)\(^{595}\), and even such places as Turkey 都魯機 (Dūlǔjī)\(^{596}\) and Chile 智利 (Zhìlì).\(^{597}\) The longest section on a single country is that of Britain 英吉利 (Yīngjílì).\(^{598}\) These accounts commonly describe geography, history and culture, as well as trade and economy, while other sections of the work for example discuss Catholicism 天主教 (Tiānzhǔjiào),\(^{599}\) compare the Chinese and other calendars\(^{600}\) or explain Western thinking.\(^{601}\) Finally, a considerable part of the work discusses the usage of Western weapons and technology.\(^{602}\) There are numerous accompanying maps and illustrations, often based on European models, showing China’s relative size in the world and helping to explain the various scientific parts of the work.\(^{603}\)

Though it has been called the first major Chinese effort to collect up-to-date information on the maritime world,\(^{604}\) the work was preceded by or contemporary with a number of other works on the same topic, such as Xú Jìyú’s 徐繼畬 (1795-1873) Yínghuán Zhìlüè 瀛寰志略 (Short Account of the Maritime Circuit).\(^{605}\) But except for the 海錄 (Sea Records), these works did not challenge Chinese misconceptions of the West or the Sinocentric worldview.\(^{606}\)

\(^{592}\) Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3: juan 7 卷七, 1-19; 3: juan 8 卷八, 1-18 and 3: juan 9 卷九, 1-26, including its “dependent countries 屬國.”

\(^{593}\) Ibid., 4: juan 10, 1-23.


\(^{595}\) Ibid., 17, juan 60 卷六十, 1-32; 17, juan 61 卷六十一, 1-16; 17, juan 62 卷六十二, 1-29 and 18, juan 63 卷六十三, 1-16.

\(^{596}\) Turkey, or the Ottoman Empire and its extensive lands, is described in separate parts as Northern Turkey 北都魯機, in ibid., 8: juan 28 卷二十八, 1-20, and Southern Turkey 南都魯機, in ibid., 13: juan 48 卷四十八, 1-23.

\(^{597}\) Ibid., 18. juan 69 卷六十九, 1-13.

\(^{598}\) Ibid., 13: juan 50 卷五十, 1-20; 14: juan 51 卷五十一, 1-29; 14: juan 52 卷五十二, 1-28; 14: juan 53 卷五十三, 1-37. See also: Lutz, “China’s View,” 36

\(^{599}\) Ibid., 7, juan 27 卷二十七, 1-31.

\(^{600}\) Ibid., 19, juan 72 卷七十二, 1-13; 18, juan 73 卷七十三, 1-22.

\(^{601}\) Ibid., 21, juan 81 卷八十一, 22, juan 82 卷八十二, 1-16; 21, juan 83: 1-21.

\(^{602}\) Ibid., 22, juan 84 卷八十四, 22, juan 85 卷八十五, 22, juan 86 卷八十六, 22, juan 87 卷八十七; 23, juan 88 卷八十八, juan 89 卷八十九; 23, juan 90 卷九十; 23, juan 91 卷九十一; 23, juan 92; 23, juan 93; 24, juan 94; 24, juan 95 卷九十五: passim.

\(^{603}\) Ibid., 2, juan 3 卷三, 2, juan 4 卷四: passim (maps) and ibid., 22, juan 85 卷八十五; 22, juan 86 卷八十六; 22, juan 87 卷八十七; 23, juan 89 卷八十九; 23, juan 90 卷九十; 23, juan 92 卷九十二; 23, juan 93 卷九十三: passim (illustrations).

\(^{604}\) Leonard, Wei Yuan, 97.

\(^{605}\) For this work, see: Lutz, “China’s View,” 35-52. This work also describes Europe, and has often been compared to the 海闊toluì, see: Lutz, “China’s View,” 36.

\(^{606}\) Leonard, Wei Yuan, 94-97. The 海闊toluì, was written in 1820 by Xiè Qīnggāo 謝清高, who himself had visited
Much of the research for the initial version of the gazetteer was done by Wèi’s friend and associate Lín Zéxú 林則徐 (1785-1850), famous for his role in the Opium War. Lín had started to collect Western sources when he was sent to Guǎngzhōu in 1839, but was unable to publish his planned work based on these. Before going into exile in 1841, Lín handed over his unfinished work to Wèi. The sources thus collected were a variety of Chinese and Western works, which Wèi used alongside older dynastic histories. Several were written by Western missionaries over the last centuries, and had been written to demonstrate for the Chinese that the West had its own civilisation.

Though compiled by government advisors and officials, the work had its origins largely in the private initiative of Wèi and Lín. As noted above, it largely consisted of quotations and translations from other works, which led to much repetition and a high level of inconsistency, seen for example in the multiple spellings for Western names.

The Hǎiguó Túzhì was published in three editions in 1843, 1847 and 1852. The later editions added new content, partially interpolated with the old, and the changes between the first and third edition reflect the increased availability of Western sources and shows how
rapidly the world-view was changing in the decade after the Opium War.\textsuperscript{616} Wèi’s work eventually greatly influenced the attitudes of his countrymen towards the outer world, but initially it was circulated in small numbers along the coast, and it was not reprinted before after the Tóngzhì Restoration 同治中興 (Tóngzhì Zhōngxīng) in the 1860s.\textsuperscript{617} While it has been called “China’ greatest work on geopolitics”\textsuperscript{618} and eventually even reached all the way to Japan, the work had minimal influence on government policy, and was read for its information on Western countries, not for its policy recommendations.\textsuperscript{619}

7.3.1 Wèi’s opinions and vocabulary

Wèi views of foreigners could perhaps be expected to be unfavourable due to the devastating effects of the opium brought by British merchants to China.\textsuperscript{620} It has been claimed that Wèi himself never abandoned the view of China as the world’s centre.\textsuperscript{621} While he was much disturbed by China’s defeat by the British and the Western expansion in Southeast Asia, he kept on maintaining that no concessions should be made to the foreigners.\textsuperscript{622} Still, Western weapons clearly presented China with an unprecedented challenge, which is why he used much space to describe Western technology.\textsuperscript{623}

Wèi relied heavily on Chinese sources, and preferred to use them whenever possible, even if he was critical to them.\textsuperscript{624} This reliance ensured that Chinese ideas and information would be the basis of his understanding of the outside world.\textsuperscript{625} Western sources provided information about Western expansion and enabled Wèi to present the world in a more accurate way, but did not significantly influence Wèi’s geopolitical picture.\textsuperscript{626} Thus, though foreign points of view are discernible in the text, traditional Chinese views are likely more prominent.

In his work, Wèi divided the world into six ocean-regions or yáng 洋, which extended outwards from the Nányáng. Jane Kate Leonard has said that the West was thus viewed as a

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\item[619] Lutz, “China” View,” 51-52; Shen, “’Yeman’,” 397.
\item[620] Zhao, \textit{Power Competition}, 26.
\item[621] Ibid., 35, 48-49.
\item[622] Ibid., 46, 52.
\item[623] Ibid., 49-50.
\item[624] Ibid., 41; Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 115; Liu, \textit{Clash of Empires}, 94-95.
\item[625] Leonard, \textit{Wei Yuan}, 120.
\item[626] Ibid., 115, 120; Liu, \textit{Clash of Empires}, 94-95; Zhao, \textit{Power Competition}, 41.
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rising centre of power in a distant part of the maritime world, and was clearly not equated with China as a centre of high civilisation, as it was treated as an ocean-region similar to those with which China had maintained long contacts. This arrangement into regions was significant because it conjured up the traditional image of a China-centred maritime world, surrounded by barbarian ocean-regions, where Europe was like other regions, just further away. The Western way to divide the world was not applied, as it did not correspond with the Chinese view of the maritime world.

Various authors have analysed the terminology of foreigners in the Hǎiguó Túzhì, reaching different conclusions. While Lín consciously wanted Yí to be translated as “foreigner” in English and saw the term as neutral in meaning, Wèi found the term Yí to be derogatory, and thought it unfair to use it for more enlightened people. Some scholars think he saw the world as split between China and the Yí. However, Wèi is also said to have used the value-neutral term “Western Ocean” 西洋 (Xīyáng, analogous to Nányáng and one of the ocean-regions described over) to redefine the Westerners as not primitive, though still aggressive.

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627 Leonard, Wei Yuan, 109, 119.
628 Ibid., 109-10.
629 Ibid., 109.
630 Liu, Clash of Empires, 94-95; Wilkinson, Chinese History, 360-1, referring to the following passage: Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 20, juan 76 卷七十六 19: “As to the terms Mán, Dí, Qiāng and Yí, [they] exclusively refer to people [with] cruel [and] tyrannical temperaments. [They were] spoken of [as people] who had not received the beneficial influence of the kings. For that reason [it] is said that [of] the former kings [that when] dealing with the Yídí 夷狄 [they thought of them] as being like birds [and] beasts, [and] governed them without governing… Moreover in the world there are three [types of people], there are savages, there are humans [and] there are sages. ‘Those who due to lust enter [among] the birds. Those who due to righteousness enter [among] the humans, [and] those who are due to unique knowledge enter [among] the sages’ [quoting Hán 漢 era scholar Yáng Xióng 揚雄] Sincerely studying the visitors from afar, [we see that] among them there are [some who] understand the rites [and] behave with righteousness, [who] have passed through astronomy above [and] researched geography below, [who have] penetrated the properties of matters, permeating the new and the old. [They] are the odd men of the World, the good friends from abroad. How can these still be called Yídí? 夷狄 當狄夷之名，專指殘虐性情之民，未知王化者言之。故曰先王之待夷狄，如禽獸然，以不治治之…且天下之門有三矣，有禽門焉，有禽門焉，有聖門焉。「由於情欲者，入自禽門也。由於禮義者，入自人門者也。由於獨知者，入自聖門者也。」誠知夫遠客之中，有明禮行義，上通天象，下察地理，旁徹物情，貫串今古者，是瀛寰之奇士，域外之良友，尚可稱之曰夷狄乎?” It has further been claimed the Hǎiguó Túzhì was part the reason why the word Yi was used in a number of compound words describing various foreign things, with a neutral rather than negative meaning, see: Shen, “‘Yeman’,”: 392-3. Examples include yírén 夷人 (foreigners), yíchuán 夷船 (foreign ships) and yízì 夷字 (foreign writing).
7.4 Views of foreigners in the Hǎiguó Túzhì

7.4.1 The “Planning of the Ocean”

This part of the work, consisting of four essays, serves as an introduction, and unlike the following sections this part does not feature long quotations. The two first are mainly concerned with coastal defence, while the last two deal with warfare and diplomacy. While mainly discussing the situation and proposing policies, seen especially in relation to China’s maritime provinces, more recent events including foreigners are also described.

Wèi makes clear his own policy opinions, including his proposed goals for treaty with the Yí. Discussions of military policy, however, dominate the text, with frequent references

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634 E.g. Wei and Lin, “Haiguo tuzhi,” 1, juan 2: 29: “The issue of today is not [that of] the internal ban [of opium]. There are three [things] which are not efficient in an internal ban: The first says to not allow to lodge accusations; the second says to not set a pressing time limit; the third says to not first brand the criminals [and] afterwards humiliate [them]... Today’s thing is not internal ban cannot. There are three things not efficient: the first one says do not allow to lodge accusations; the second says do not set a pressing time limit; third says do not first brand criminals and afterwards humiliate them...”
635 Ibid., 1: juan 1, 5: “Allow [me] to speak generally on Guǎngdōng: The three islets of Hong Kong, Tsim Sha Tsui 精沙嘴 [and] Kwan Tai Lo 裙帶路 are linked together. The circumference is more than 100 lǐ. [They] are able to avoid stormy waves, and then hanging suspended alone over the surface of the sea, [there is also] Zhōushān 舟山 in Yuè 粤 [Guǎngdōng], and that is all...” A similar section on Fújìan precedes this.
636 Ibid., 1: juan 1, 20-21: “[At] the battle of Dàbǎoshān 大寶山 [1842], deputy general Zhū Guì 朱桂 used 600 soldiers to confront 2000 Yí, [and] several hundred [of them] were exterminated, [as they] used no military coordination and were then defeated...”
637 Ibid., 1: juan 2, 27: “Now to make treaty with the Yí, the result of which is to be able to eradicate the land of opium [and] change [the opium farmers] into [people] growing cereals, [and] allowing much of the foreign rice they transport to be imported [and] moreover citing the precedent of opting to avoid their commodity tax...”
638 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 1: 27-28 “If [there is] difficulty [in] selecting soldiers, [then consider] how many people are there [in] the garden of Juéxiāng 矮相 [a classical allusion]?...”
to soldiers, weapons or warfare. Moreover, it is clear that the maritime Yi are the reason why policy revisions are called for, most of all, but not only, those of Britain. The focus on the British is natural given the then recent events of the Opium War, and opium is also frequently discussed.

Foreigners are commonly referred to as Yi, a term which we have seen Wei thought was negative, though the more neutral term Xiyang is also used for the West, occasionally together with Yi. They are portrayed solely either as an aggressive threat that needs to be resisted if they attack, or as someone to learn military technology from, as their military skills are considered their advantage. Wei starts his essay by discussing how the "Yi changed," presumably referring to their advances in military technology. Thus, the efficiency of their weapons is noted, but Wei is not concerned with other aspects of Western culture or the

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640 Ibid., 1: juan 1, 14: “Saying: The great cannons are used for naval warfare, [and] not used for land warfare. [And as for] naval warfare, in this case [it] is the effect of us learning to attack and sink enemy ships, [and] not the effect of enemy ships damaging our soldiers… 曰：大炮者水戰之用，非陸戰之用也，即水戰，亦我師擊沉敵舟之用，非敵舟擊傷我兵之用也…”

641 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 2: 2: “[Regarding] the method of naval attacks, [we] are inferior to France 佛蘭西 and the United States 彌利堅. France pressed in on the English Yi 英夷, [and] cut off one seaport, while the U.S. and the English Yi are separated by a great ocean… 海攻之法，莫如佛蘭西與彌利堅。佛蘭西國逼近英夷，止隔一海港，彌利堅與英夷則隔大海…”

642 Ibid., 1: juan 2, 25: “There are two opinions on the banning of opium: One is the internal ban [and] one is the external ban. From the violation of righteousness by the Yi ships, all the people said the external ban cannot be feasible, [but] is it [really] not feasible?… 禁鴉片之議有二：一內禁，一外禁。自夷船犯順，人皆謂外禁必不可行，果必不可行乎?”

643 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 1: 5: “… [As for] trade relations between us and the Yi, [they] must enter Hümên 虎門, [and] then can they trade. [And if we did] not have trade relations [with them], even if the Yi stay alone in Hong Kong [it will be] unprofitable [for them]… 夷與我通商，則必入虎門方能貿易，不與通商，則夷雖孤處香港無益…”

644 Ibid., 1: juan 2, 3: “To attack the English Yi together, [the French 佛蘭西 and Dutch 荷蘭] built up the forces [over] several years, [and] began to divide Eastern India [which is] dependent on the English Yi, and [in] Southern India [that is] dependent on the various Yi of the Western Ocean, [where they have] established market piers. [That] is the form of these various countries…合拒英夷，連兵數載，始分東印度屬英夷，而南印度屬西洋諸夷，立市埠，此各國之形也…”

645 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 1, 3: “If the Yi divide their forces and disembark, encircling our communication lines, then beforehand [we should] excavate hidden ditches in order to cut [them off from] their front, [which would be] overlapped with hidden land mines, in order to seize their vigour… 倘夷分兵登陸，繞我後路，則預掘暗溝，以截其前，層伏地雷，以奪其魄…”

646 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 2, 5: “The Yi have three special skills: One, warships; two, firearms; three, the method of maintaining the army [and] training soldiers…夷之長技三：一、戰艦，二、火器，三、養兵練兵之法…”

647 Ibid., 1, juan 1, 1: “Since the Yi changed, [in] the arrangement of the army tents, [in] the management of battlefield, [if we] do not fight [we] are earnest, [if we are] not earnest [we] fight. [Since then] has been no concentrated effort defending [us], [and] there has been no wise words defending [us]… 自夷變以來，帷幄所擘畫，疆場所經營，非戰即款，非款即戰，未有專主守者，未有善言守者…”

648 E.g. ibid., 1, juan 1, 25: “The Yi warships, then, large and small, [were] no more than fifty, they besieged the city and climbed the shore, [but they were] no more than two or three thousand men. How can one province train an army of several tens of thousands of soldiers, [with] unnumbered thousands of soldiers that can be used? The folk ways along the coast are [to be] valiant, [so] how can unnumbered thousands of righteous [and] courageous
Western level of civilisation, and what little is said about it is negative, with references to its "evil teachings." Only Táiwān, however, is explicitly said to be "outside of civilisation." Thus making clear the advantages of the Westerners, Wèi ultimately expresses profound worry for the situation, though he also expresses hope that the situation can be amended.

In this text, Wèi portrays foreigners as dangerous and vicious. Though China might have something to learn from them, they are referred to with the traditionally derogative word Yí.

7.4.2 The account of Viet Nam

As seen above, the Hái guó Tú zhì emphasises the Nányáng region, of which Viet Nam (Yuènán), or Annam as it is usually called in the account, was part. The lengthiest section of geography in the book is that on the Nányáng, so it is not surprising that this account is the longest of the three country descriptions I have analysed. Along with the other accounts on

[soldiers] be gathered?... 則夷兵艦大小不過五十艘，其攻城上岸，不過二三千人，豈一省養兵數萬，無數千可用之兵？沿海民風強悍，豈無數千可團之義勇？...

649 Ibid., 1. juan 2: 6: “[In] the two hundred years of frontier trade in Guǎngdōng, then the elaborate [but] useless special skills began to be taken in, [and then afterwards evil teachings [foreign religion] [and] poisonous tobacco were taken in. Only the marching of soldiers [and] good weapons, [there was] not one who [learned] from [these] special skills. This is to only be willing to suffer injuries [and not willing to profit [from the trade].

650 E.g. ibid., 1. juan 1: 5: “… The great cannons of the Yí ships are no heavier than 3000 jīn. Our great cannons of 8000 jīn that defend the cities [and] defend the shores, they [are those] which these Yí ships are extremely in awe of. Stopping to tread on the three disadvantages [mentioned] before, for this reason the Yí ships can first evade the path of our cannon [balls], [and then can] set up their bombs…

651 The end of the essays reads: ibid., 1. juan 2, 30-31: “… Summarizing this, [if] there is faith in the method [then this] will inevitably be enabled, [and then] even beatings with a stick [and being put in] the cangue will be sufficient to punish traitors, [but if] there is no faith in the method, [then] this will not necessarily be enabled, [and] even severe punishments will be insufficient to admonish the masses… The sages are suspended [in suffering [in order] to declare to the generations to come How profound! How profound! 總之，法信令必，雖枷杖足以憲奸，法不信，令不為，雖重典不足懲眾…聖人垂憂患以詔來世，豈不深哉，豈不深哉．

652 Ibid., 1. juan 2: 10: “Perhaps [one can] say: The instruments [to make] of fifty ships, both made [and] bought, can be collected in one year. The instruments of one hundred ships, both made [and] bought, can all be collected in two years. [And as for] the method of manufacturing [and] using them, if our weapon makers study this, then in one year [they] can be trained [and] in two years [they] can perfect [it]. Then already after one or two years [there] would already be no incidents in casting [weapons etc.].或曰：五十艘之船械，且造且購，一年而可集，百艘之船械，且造且購，二年而畢集，即其製造施用之法，以我兵匠學之，亦一年而可習，二年而可精，是一二年後，已無铸造之事．” See also: Lutz, “China’s View,” 39.

653 Viet Nam was the name officially given the country by the Chinese Jiāqìng Emperor, see: Alexander Barton Woodside, Vietnam and the Chinese Model: A Comparative Study of Vietnamese and Chinese Government in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (Cambridge (Massachusetts): Harvard University Press, 1988), 120.
the same region, it contains the most of Wèi’s interpretive comments, where, among other things, he stresses Viet Nam’s importance for China, commends certain Vietnamese policies, recounts recent history and expresses criticism on some Chinese writings on the country.\^{655}

Of the countries analysed here, only Viet Nam was a regular part of the Chinese tributary system.\^{656} This meant that China saw Viet Nam as a sort of protectorate, in which it might be obligated to intervene to protect the local rulers,\^{657} as had been the case as recently as in 1788,

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\textsuperscript{655} E.g. Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuci, 3: juan 5, 17: “Wèi Yuán said: Viet Nam [has] from the Hán, Tống 西 and Míng [dynasties] repeatedly been subordinate to the domain… It is the closest [place to] defend against the West for China. At the beginning of the Yìngzhēng 雍正 era [1723-35 AD], the warships of the red Yi rushed into Tây Đô 西都 [i.e. Hà Nội] from the harbour of Thuan Hóa 暉化, and then [the Yi] attacked Tây Đô from the sea, [where the Yi] sank their [ships]. In the middle of the Jiāqìng 乾隆 era [1796-1820 AD], [they] repeatedly rushed into Đông Kinh 東京 [or Tonkin, the northern part of the country] from the port of Phú Lương 富良, and then attacked Đông Kinh with fire, [reducing] it to ashes. The birds of prey are about to strike, [so we] must restrain their form. [W]e have not yet heard of a defence [against] the rampaging bandits of the Great Ocean 大洋, [and] only used seaports forts to handle the incidents. Viet Nam bans opium, [and] put in the same effort as Japan in banning Christianity. 《明史》尚紀: 越南自漢、唐、明,屢隸版圖…於中國洋防最密邇。雍正初,紅夷兵舶,由順化港闖其西都,而西都以水攻,沉之。嘉慶中,複由富良海口闖其東都,而東都以火攻,燼之。鷗鳥將擊,必斂其形。未聞禦大洋橫行之巨寇,徒以海口炮台為…” (paper presented at the 9th Kaifang shidai luntan 开放时代论坛, with the theme “Zhongguo haiwai yanjiu 中国海外研究,” at Baiyunshan, Guangzhou, November 28, 2009). \textsuperscript{656} Kaifang shidai luntan, 3: juan 5, 5-6: “Wèi Yuán said: … The Huángqing Tōngkǎo 黃清通考 was revised in the forty-fifth year of the Qiānlóng 乾隆 period [1780] (to say that it) Quang Nam 廣南 [and] Annam stand side by side. For that reason the letter [to] Nguyễn Quang Bình 燕光平 [Emperor Nguyễn Huệ 阮惠] to himself take care [of the country], also addressing the defender of Quang Nam [the central and southern parts of the country] of generations, an enemy state to Annam. And then Quang Nam often seized the back [areas] of Annam, [and] Tây Đô often made the doom of Đông Kinh, [for] yet the favourable geographical position [and] terrain were so!... [I]t is already said [that] Quang Nam was what the ships of the red-haired [foreigners] fear. How can [this] be turned over to [receiving] help from the red-haired [foreigners]? Moreover the words of these records are clear about the warships of Quang Nam, [they were] vigilant [and] moved, the feelings are seen in [their] words. Certainly [we] had no choice but to give empty praise to the achievement of European help, to conceal the dishonour made by the defeat [to] the British… From [when] Wáng Qi王圻 of the Míng 《明史》 was mistakenly inclined to giving up on defending the country, [then] the Míng Shí明史 followed this. Alas, alas! Planning to guard the borders, consulting plain literature, saying divinations in the temples [and] relying on erroneous writings. Using [the works by] Chén陈 and [and] Táng湯, [that is] not as good as [using the works of] Shí石 [and] Kuáng匡臣. 魏源曰：…《明史》尚紀曰: 越南安南之疆,亦以廣南安南並列。故阮光平自理之疏,亦謂世守廣南,與安南敵國。而廣南常扼安南之項背,西都常製東都之死命,則地利形勢然哉…設廣南水戰為紅毛船所畏,何為反借給於紅毛。且此謬中語及廣南戰艦,戒心動色,情見乎詞,固不得不虛稱歐羅巴援救之功,以排英吉利創敗之辱…自明王圻,謬指為舍衛國,《明史》因之。悲夫悲夫。籌防邊,問兔園,論謬誤,恃鄂書,用陳湯, 不如石與匡臣.” See also: Leonard, Wei Yuan, 113. \textsuperscript{657} Truong Buu Lam, “Intervention Versus Tribute in Sino-Vietnamese Relations, 1788-170,” in The Chinese world order. Traditional China’s Foreign Relations, ed. John King Fairbank (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968), 165-79.
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As Hé Xinhua何新华 explains, the three main principles of Qing 海 foreign policy had was to not interfere in the internal politics of vassal states, not to intervene in the wars of peripheral countries and to restore what has been forgotten (“興滅繼絕”), that is to not be indifferent to the fate of vassal states, see: He Xinhua何新华, “Gudai Zhongguo de shijieguan, jianping Qingdai Zhongguo zhengfu de san xiang waijiao yuanze 古代中国的世界观——兼评清代中国政府的三项外交原则” (paper presented at the 9th Kaifang shidai luntan 开放时代论坛, with the theme “Zhongguo haiwai yanjiu 中国海外研究,” at Baiyunshan, Guangzhou, November 28-29, 2009), Kaifang shidai 开放时代, accessed November 1 2014, http://www.openetimes.cn/bencandy.php?fid=159&aid=681. .
then on behalf of the Lê黎 Dynasty (1428-1789). Vietnamese was not merely a tributary state, however, and had not only previously been counted as a part of China and been subject to attempted Chinese cultural domination, but it also was among the areas where Chinese political and cultural influence was the strongest. Indeed, the country participated in the Chinese world order on the basis of its own Confucian heritage. In the order of precedence of foreign countries based on their relative cultural distance to China seen in historical records, Viet Nam had served as the foremost cultural model among foreign nations in the Chinese view, though it was eventually surpassed by Korea. In other words, if it was possible for foreigners to become recognised as civilised by Chinese standards, the Vietnamese would be an obvious candidate.

Because of this, similarities to China are stressed in the text, where it is pointed out that the Vietnamese use Chinese writing and are familiar with Chinese literature, and their education system is compared to that of China. Note is made of the local Chinese population and the Sinicised political system, and at one point, even the Vietnamese king is claimed to be Chinese.

660 I.e. the Vietnamese shared, to some degree the Chinese world-view, see: Zhao, Power Competition, 19-20 (Zhao calls it the “East Asian” world order.). Though China was accepted by the Vietnamese as the centre in foreign relations, Viet Nam gave itself a more prominent position in internal policy, where the ruler was known as emperor, see e.g. Truong, “Intervention Versus Tribute,” 166.
661 Wade, “The Ming Shi-lu,” 29. The period in question is the early Ming Dynasty.
662 Vei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 3: 12-14: “The Wàiguó Shíliè 外國史略 (Historical Records of Foreign Countries).” Also says: Viet Nam… The facial appearances [of the Vietnamese] all resembles [those of the people] China; originally [they] were the descendants of Hán people. Their literature is also [written] in Chinese characters, [and they] read Chinese books. [Their] laws, manners and customs are all similar to [those of] China…《外國史略》又曰, 越南國…面貌皆似中國, 本漢人之苗裔也。其文學亦用中國字, 閱讀中國書, 法度規矩風俗皆與中國仿佛…” The Wàiguó Shíliè was written in 1847 by British missionary Robert Morrison, see: Xiong, “Haiguo tuzhi,” 257.
663 Vei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 5, 5: “…Also [there are] Chinese people; in the census books there are around 440,000. Their system of officials, officials’ clothing and writing in general all follow [the example of] China, [and therefore] [it] is that which the various countries of the East are inferior to…又中國人, 在彼人籍, 約四十有四萬。其官製章服文字, 大略同於中國, 為東方諸國所不及…”
664 Vei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 6, 2: “The Siyi Mên in the Huángqīng Tōngkǎo: Quàng Nam is the former land of Southern Jiān[zhōu], [and] the king was originally Chinese. Since the Nguyễn era [they] have not delivered the due
We see that Wèi had detailed and accurate knowledge of conditions in Viet Nam, and he explains its long history. He noted that the region had only recently been united by the Nguyễn 阮 in 1802, and correctly explained the Trịnh鄚-Nguyễn division (1550s-1787) that had existed for centuries under nominal Lê Dynasty rule. Special emphasis is given to the Tây Sơn 西山 rebellion (1771-1802), which was the conflict in which China intervened. Though historical descriptions of events are mostly neutral, Vietnamese or Champa rulers are sometimes portrayed negatively. Political organisation is also referred to, and though

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tribute...《皇清通考·四裔門》：廣南國為古南交地，王本中國人。阮姓曆代以來，未通職貢…” The Huángqīng Tōngkǎo has not been identified.

E.g. ibid., 3, juan 5: 7-9: “The Shèngwǔ Jì 正武記 (Record of the Sacred Military Virtue):… Until the seventh year [of the Jiāqìng era, 1802] … Nguyễn Phúc Ánh 阮福映 [the emperor Gia Long 嘉隆, heir to the Nguyễn lords] again attacked Dōng Kinh, [and so] possessed all of Óannam. [He was] thoroughly sending soldiers to fight from beginning to end, which was revenge for the ancestral Lê family. His old enfeoffment of Nông Nai 農耐, originally this as the land of the Yùcháng 越裳 family [or Việt Thường, an ancient country south of what was then Jinjiaozhōu], [but now [it has] been annexed by Óannam… 《聖武記》：…及七年，阮福映復破東京，盡有安南，備陳構兵始末，為先世黎氏復仇，其舊封農耐，本古越裳氏地，今兼並安南…” The Shèngwǔ Jì, also called the Military History of the Qing Dynasty was another work by Wèi Yuán, completed in 1842. see: Leonard, Wei Yuan, 16. See also: ibid., 122-23.

Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 5: 7-8: “The Shèngwǔ Jì:… Until the [time] of the descendant [of the former emperors] Lê Duy Kỳ 粱維祁 [reigned 1786-89], [when] soldiers had been dispatched to destroy the Mạc Mò [defeated in the late 16th century in most of Viet Nam] [and] to restore the country [the Lê Dynasty], [it] was [actually] achieved through the power of its vassals Trịnh [and] Nguyễn 《聖武記》：…至孫黎維祁起兵破莫複國，實其當氏阮氏之力。”

E.g. ibid., 3, juan 5: 3: “Nguyễn Quang Binh was originally named Nguyễn Huệ [a rebel leader]. [He] had an elder brother, Nguyễn Nhạc 阮嶽, [and this is is] precisely the so-called affair of “the son of the first wife is young and the son of the concubine old” [found in the commentaries to the Shījīng 詩經 (the Classic of Poetry). Probably when Nguyễn Quang Binh was young, [he] originally had met misfortune [and had to] flee to the wastelands. By the time [he] had grown up, [he] then borrowed soldiers [and] (re)claimed Quang Nam, and then [he] took advantage of the time of the internal conflict of the Lê and Trịnh [family regimes], and therefore [he] could] completely occupy Annam, and that was all…阮光平本名阮惠，有兄阮嶽，即詩注所謂嫡幼庶長之 號。蓋阮光平幼時，本遭難遁荒，及長，乃借兵恢覆廣南，又乘黎鄭內釁之際，因並據安南耳…” See also: Truong “Intervention Versus Tribute,” 166.

E.g. ibid., 3, juan 6, 13: “The Ming Shì 明史: Champa 占城…In the twenty-first year of the Hóngwǔ era [1388 AD], Chenla 真臘 presented an elephant as tribute. [Then] Champa seized one-fourth of it. [There were also] extremely many other affairs of misconduct, [so] the emperor was angry when he heard this, [so he] ordered the officer in charge of audiences Dōng Zhāo 董紹 to criticise this [in an] edict, seeking to [make the Champa ruler] send an envoy to apologise for the offense. The king lost his morals, [and then] the minister La Khai 閣勝 murdered the king and put himself on the throne…《明史》：占城…洪武二十一年，真臘貢象，占城奪其四之一，其他失德事甚多，帝聞之怒，命行人董紹責之，尋遣使謝罪。國王失道，大臣閣勝弑王自立…” Chenla was a kingdom in southern Indochina, and Champa was an Indianised state in central and southern Viet Nam. The Ming Shì was published in 1739 by a team of historians led by Zhāng Tíngyù 張廷玉, see: Wilkinson, Chinese History, 791.

Ibid., 3, juan 6, 1: “The Dōngyi Yāng Kào 東洋考 [Study of the Eastern and Western Oceans] Annam is divided into twelve “governorates” [“government-carrying bureaus,” chéngzhōngshì 承政司], [and] actually one governate is not as big as one Chinese prefecture…《東洋考》：安南分十二承政司，其實一承政不能及中國一府…” For the Dōngyi Yāng Kào, a monthly magazine published from 1833 to 1838 by the German missionary Karl Gützlaff, see: Lazich, “The Canton Era,” 305; Xiong, “Haiguo tuzhi,” 257.
Wei’s distinction between different parts of Annam was somewhat vague, a wealth of geographical information is given.

Furthermore, the account gives information on Viet Nam’s foreign relations and international trade, including lists of local products. Though the rulers are referred to as wealthy, poverty among the common people is also seen. Contacts with France, among others, were evidently of interest to Wei. Moreover, military information is stressed, with particular

671 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 5: 2-3: “Annam…Also, originally there were three countries, one was called Quang Nam, one was called Cambodia 幹波底阿 [and] one was called Đông Kinh… An南國…亦原有三國。一日廣南, 一日幹波底阿, 一日東京…” Formerly Viet Nam had been both united and divided into the two autonomous states of the Trịnh and Nguyễn. See also: Trương “Intervention Versus Tribute,” 165-66.

672 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 5: 13: “The Wàiguó Shíliù… also says: Viet Nam: At the northern extremity the land begins at 8 degrees points [and] 30 points [and] reaches 2 degrees, [while] sideways [it goes] east from 105 degrees [and] reaches 109 degrees. The circumference of the length and breadth [of the land] is 6700 lǐ. The people of Đông Kinh (number) more than 10 million, while in Quang Nam there are more than one million [and] in Chenla perhaps there were 1.5 million. To the south Viet Nam reaches Siam, to the east [it] reaches the great sea, to the north there is a border with China [and] to the west [it] reaches Lan Xang 老挝 [i.e. Laos]. The lands of the whole country, beginning south from the land of Chenla, are Khu Thóc Tràm 占臘, Hà Tiện 河仙...《外國史略》...又曰越南國, 北極出地自八度三十分及二十三度, 偏東自一百零五度及一百零九度, 廣袤方圓六千七百裏。民在東都者千餘萬, 在廣南百有餘萬, 在占臘或在千賓百五十萬。越南南連暹羅, 東及大海, 北與中國交界, 西連老掌, 其全國之地, 自南占臘地起, 如區縣鎮, 河仙…”

E.g. ibid., 3, juan 5: 7: “The Wàiguó Dìlǐ Quánjí 萬國地理全圖集 (Complete Atlas of the Geography of the Ten Thousand Countries) says:... Its envoys have frequently arrived [in] foreign countries, [where they] carelessly handle affairs. [If it] happened that there is a foreign ship entering the harbour, then [they will] guard [it] severely, [and] the disturbance will be harsh in order to obstruct the roads of foreign traders... 《萬國地理全圖集》曰: ...其公使廻到外國，隨便辦事，遇有外國船隻進港，即嚴行防範，煩擾苛刻，以塞外商之...” The Wàiguó Dìlǐ Quánjí was written by the Karl Gützlaff in 1838, see: Xiong, “Haiguo tuzhi,” 257.

673 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3, juan 5: 13-14: “The Wàiguó Shíliù ... also says: Viet Nam... Also [there is] Thuận Hóa at the Hoa River 花河, the fields are rich [and] the land thriving. Its interior mountains are mostly barren. The lowland produces the goods of rice, tobacco, betel nuts, sugar, Chinese cinnamon, pepper, Indian sandalwood, agarwood [and] coarse tea leaves. The port benefits trade relations... 《外國史略》...又曰越南國...又花河邊之順化, 地低田肥, 其內山多磽, 低地出米、煙、檳榔、白糖、玉桂皮、胡椒、檀香、奇南香、粗茶葉等貨。港口便通商...”

Ibid., 3, juan 5: 3: “In the year 1774 (comment: the thirty-ninth year of the Qiánlìng era), because [of the rise of] king Quang Trung 光中王 of Quang Nam [Nguyễn Huệ], [Nguyễn Phúc Ánh] med with disaster when young. [Then he] together with officials of the former dynasty [the Nguyen lords] fled to an island in the sea [rather than surrender], [where he] med the French teacher [i.e. Catholic priest] [Pigneau de Béhaine 阿特蘭, whom he] got along well with. [Pigneau] cherished a moral indignation, [and] then returned to France to request military aid. As it happened France was [in] a national crisis [and therefore] undecided, [so] after several years [he] began to ask to get warships to help [the Vietnamese lord] reclaim [the country]. In the year 1790 (comment: the fifty-fifth year of the Qiánlìng era), the enemies were wiped out and the country restored... 於千有七百九十年 (comment: 乾隆五十五年), 千有七百七十四年乾隆三十九年, 因廣南光中王, 衝幼被難, 與其遺臣逃於海島, 遇佛蘭西教師阿特蘭, 彼此投契, 其懷義憤, 遂回佛蘭西之師。適值佛蘭西國難未定, 閣欲裁, 始請得兵船助其恢復。於千有七百九十 (comment: 乾隆五十五年), 滅仇復國...”
emphasis on successful Western-based military modernisations,\textsuperscript{677} which caused Wèi to positively compare Viet Nam to Burma and Siam\textsuperscript{678} and to include a passage claiming that Westerners are in awe of Annam.\textsuperscript{679}

Descriptions of customs are also given. While some are portrayed as strange, these are mainly old descriptions, and relate in particular to the ancient non-Sinicised central Vietnamese state of Lâm Ấp 林邑 (Lýĩ, ca. 3\textsuperscript{rd} to 8\textsuperscript{th} century).\textsuperscript{680} More recent descriptions are less exotic.\textsuperscript{681}

As for the people, Annamese are both noted in more recent accounts as being short in height and to have a relaxed nature.\textsuperscript{682} This could be seen as a negative description, but it does not seem to represent the account as a whole.

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\textsuperscript{677} Ibid., 3,\textsuperscript{juan} 5: 5: “The Annamese military system trained [soldiers] in accordance with European military strategy and then succeeded. [It] can be said [to be] the master of discipline. Counting the number of [its] soldiers, in the year 1800, the sixth year of the Jiaqing era [1801] [there were] about 140,000, but now [there are] no more than 50,000, of which there are 30,000 [who] attend to [and] guard the king in the country…Annam prevents, and even if there are firearms, [then] these are things that have been discarded by all the Western [countries]. [These] have been bought [and then] repaired, [and are] extremely undesirable to use. Only the Annamese military weapon system obtained these [from] Europe, and [for this reason] it is on top of the two countries of Burma and Siam…缅甸、暹羅兵製，皆由各頭目招募充伍，器械皆長槍刀弩，雖有火槍，皆西洋所廢棄之物，購買修整，不堪適用。惟安南軍器製度，得之歐羅巴，故在缅甸、暹羅兩國之上…”

\textsuperscript{678} Ibid., 3,\textsuperscript{juan} 5, 4: “…The military systems of Burma and Siam both recruit soldiers from the local leaders to fill the companies; [their] weapons are all spears, swords [and] crossbows, [and] even if there are firearms, [then] these are things that have been discarded by all the Western [countries]. [These] have been bought [and then] repaired, [and are] extremely undesirable to use. Only the Annamese military weapon system obtained these [from] Europe, and [for this reason] it is on top of the two countries of Burma and Siam…缅甸、暹羅兵製，皆由各頭目招募充伍，器械皆長槍刀弩，雖有火槍，皆西洋所廢棄之物，購買修整，不堪適用。惟安南軍器製度，得之歐羅巴，故在缅甸、暹羅兩國之上…”

\textsuperscript{679} Ibid., 3,\textsuperscript{juan} 5, 10: “The Yinghuán Zhìlìè says:…The legends say that the ships of the red-haired [foreigners] hold Annam in the highest awe, [so that] they did not dare to arrive at its borders…《瀛環誌略》曰：…俗傳紅毛船畏安南，不敢涉其境…” The Yinghuán Zhìlìè is introduced earlier in this chapter.

\textsuperscript{680} E.g. ibid., 3,\textsuperscript{juan} 6, 8: “The Nán Qí Shū 南齊書 (Book of Southern Qi): Lâm Ấp of the Southern Yi 南夷…The people of the country are fierce and tough, [and they] are close to the mountains [and] rivers, are good at fighting [and] blow calabash shells from the sea [instead of] horns. The people are all naked… [They] treasure women and humble men, [and] as for the colour of people they consider black to be beautiful…《南齊書》：南夷林邑國…國人凶悍，習山川，善鬥，吹海蠡為角。人皆裸露… [They] treasure women and humble men, [and] as for the colour of people they consider black to be beautiful…《南齊書》：南夷林邑國…國人凶悍，習山川，善鬥，吹海蠡為角。人皆裸露… [They] treasure women and humble men, [and] as for the colour of people they consider black to be beautiful…《南齊書》：南夷林邑國…國人凶悍，習山川，善鬥，吹海蠡為角。人皆裸露… [They] treasure women and humble men, [and] as for the colour of people they consider black to be beautiful…《南齊書》：南夷林邑國…國人凶悍，習山川，善鬥，吹海蠡為角。人皆裸露…”

\textsuperscript{681} The Nán Qí Shū, the history of the Southern Qi Dynasty (479-502 AD), was written in the early 6\textsuperscript{th} century by Xiǎo Zìxiàn 蕭子顯, see: Wilkinson, \textit{Chinese History}, 731.

\textsuperscript{682} E.g. ibid., 3,\textsuperscript{juan} 6, 13, 15: “The Míng Shǐ…The people have fishing as their occupation, [as] there is no wheat or barley. Those who work hard in the fields are few, [and] for that reason the harvest is poor. All day long the betel nuts do not leave [their] mouths, [and they] do not understand [the significance of] the first and fifteenth day of the month, but [they] consider the waxing moon as the beginning [of the month], and the new moon as [its] end. They do not use intercalaries, [and] divide the day and night into ten watches. [They] (do not) rise when it is (not) midday [and] (do not) sleep when it is (not) midnight. When they look at the moon [then] they take drinking alcohol [and] song [and] dance as [their] pleasure…《明史》…民以漁為業，無二麥，力穡者少，故收獲薄，楠松終日不離口，不解朔望，但以月生為初，月晦為盡，不置閏，分臘夜為十更，非日中不起，非夜分不臥，見月則飲酒歌舞為樂…”
While it has been claimed that the Vietnamese considered “barbarians” by the Chinese during the 1788 intervention, this is not the case for Wèi. The term Yí is mostly used to refer to Westerners, though in some cases it also refers to native languages or in remote history. The vocabulary is generally not negative, and though there are a few historical exceptions, Viet Nam does not seem an uncivilised country. Other terms such as Yémàn and Fân 番 are almost completely absent, and the people are not described as violent.

This account mostly consists of quotations, both from newer works such as the Wànguó Dílì Quán Tújí 萬國地理全圖集 (Complete Atlas of the Geography of the Ten Thousand Countries) and from dynastic histories from the Jin Shū 晉書 (Book of Jin) to the last standard history, the Míng Shǐ 明史 (History of Míng). Unlike the case for most other foreign countries, descriptions of Viet Nam had long been present in these works. Wèi’s use of classical texts indicates that they were still regarded as valuable for the understanding of foreign countries, and they enable him to trace Vietnamese history for thousands of years. However, Wèi also displays a critical usage of sources, as when he notes that the former

人矮身著長衫，以布纏首，衣裳黎黑色。惟尊貴服綢緞，眾民汙穢不洗衣，不浴體，風俗人清爽，滿面笑容，揚眉暢氣，安心聽命。但因連月徭役，小民貧苦無聊…”

683 Truong “Intervention Versus Tribute,” 169.
684 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3: juan 5:16: “The Bìhǎi Jìyóu (Travel Records of the Small Ocean) by Yù Yǒnghé 郁永河 of Wǔlin 武林 said the ships of the red-haired [foreigners] use two layers of planks, [which are] cleaved but not trimmed, [and is made to be] extremely strong [and thick]…”
685 E.g. ibid., 3, juan 6: 8: “The Wēnshuǐ Pain (Chapter on Warm Waters) in the Shuǐjīng Zhù 水經注 (Commentary to the Water Classic):… The Línyì Jì 林邑記 (Records of Lâm Ấp) says:… Beginning with King Fán Húdá 範胡達 [or Pham Hồ Đạt] of Lâm Ấp, the [Former] Qin 秦 [had] a surplus [of people, and so] moved [some] people, [who were] corrupted and turned into Yí until they could not be distinguished [from them]. The old customs of Rìnán 紅南 were all completely changed…”
686 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3: juan 5: 5: “Annam… [It] leads twenty-one tribes. (Comment: The original names of the tribes were all in Yí languages, [but these] have now all been deleted…) An南…領部落二十有一 (Comment: 原本部落名皆夷語, 今刪之...)”
687 See e.g. note 682 above.
688 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 3: juan 6: 6: “The Jìn Shū: Lâm Ấp, this was Tương Lâm 象林 in Han 漢 times. Its south, then, was the place where Mǎ Yuán 馬援 cast a pillar…”
689 Ibid., 3, juan 6: 13: “The Míng Shǐ: Champa is located in the South Sea 南海, [one] can reach [there] by sea in one day and night [going] from Qiòngzhōu 琼州 [i.e. Hǎinán]… The Míng Shǐ: 明史: 占城居南海中, 自瓊州航海順風一晝夜可至...”
territories of Champa 占城 (Zhànchéng, ca. 8th century-1832, evolving from Lâm Ấp) in the southern part of the country now belonged to Viet Nam.690

Overall, while not equal to China in Wèi’s descriptions, Viet Nam does not appear as an uncivilised nation. Few derogative words are used, and many details about Viet Nam are seen as relevant. Special emphasis is given both to Sino-Vietnamese relations, trade and international and military affairs. The strange customs described belongs to the remote past, the Vietnamese are not presented as being inherently violent and their military modernisation is praiseworthy, but that is the limit of their achievements. Negative aspects such as poverty are also noted, ultimately giving us a balanced image.

**7.4.3 The description of France**

China must have somewhat familiar with France by the 1840s, for example through the presence of French Jesuits at court in former centuries,691 and after the Treaty of Huángpǔ黄埔条约 (Huángpǔ Tiáoyuē) in 1844 it became one of the main Western countries interacting with China.692 Despite this, however, the Hàiguó Túzhì gave one of the first detailed Chinese descriptions of the country.693 Due to its trading ties with Southeast Asia, which were seen as spearheading Western expansion, it was among the countries given particular focus by Wèi.694

Here, much attention is given to French geography, with long lists of French provinces, departments and cities and their characteristics.695 Geographically, however, the work seems

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690 E.g. ibid., 3, juan 6: 15; ‘Commentary by Yuán: Tây Đô in Viet Nam lies in the harbour of Thuận Hóa it is (exactly) the former land of Champa. This differentiation point to this base as being Champa, [which is] inappropriate...’
691 Zhang, “China and France,” 98.
695 E.g. Wei and Lin, *Haiguo tuzhi*, 12, juan 42: 3-4: “The Dìlǐ Bèikǎo 地理備考 (Reference Notes on Geography) says: France 佛蘭西... Originally there were thirty-three parts [provinces; there were actually 34], [which] varied in size. Now [they have] been changed into 86 names [of departments], [which] in some cases take their name from rivers flowing through [them], [and] in some cases takes take [their] names from nearby mountains. Their order is as [follows] to the left [of the text]: The first region, Île-de-France 壹裏亞德佛蘭薩, [now it has been] changed into five prefectures [departments]. Called the Seine 塞納 department, [it is] the capital of the country... The second region, Flanders and Hainaut 法郎德勒, called the Nord 諾爾 department...” The *Dìlǐ Bèikǎo* was written by the Portuguese Martinho José Marques, see: Xiong, ‘“Haiguo tuzhi,”’ 257.
to have had a better knowledge of coastal areas than the interior, with for example Orléans.\textsuperscript{696} History is also much featured, with a particular emphasis on the French Revolution and the military exploits of the Napoléon period, which are apparently much admired.\textsuperscript{697} Much other ancient\textsuperscript{698} and modern\textsuperscript{699} history is explained, along with the republican form of rule\textsuperscript{700} and the government system.\textsuperscript{701}

The country’s important position in Europe is referred to several times, though it is clearly
weaker than Britain, and Wèi notes also its foreign colonies. Wèi, however, mistook the Portuguese in Macao for French, who he correctly noted as not being a strong threat at the time. Though periods of historical disorders are included, ultimately the impression is one of historical continuity.

Once again, trade is also heavily featured, detailing both important ports and major products. Note is made of French trade with China, which is however said to be limited. As for customs, while in earlier Chinese accounts the French had been described

702 Ibid., 11, juan 41: 19: “The Méiyuè Tōngjì Zhiuán says… Discussing the great power of the various Western countries, [one could say] my Britain as the first, Russia was second [and] France was third.《每月统计志》曰：‘論西方諸國大有勢力者，我英吉利國為第一，俄羅斯國為第二，法蘭西國為第三焉。’ Notes are left out.

703 Ibid., 12, juan 42: 16-17: “Comment [by Wèi]:… France has dependent territories in other areas, and there are also several places. Such as Puducherry [in Southern India, Guiana in South America, and Algeria.]阿爾及利安 in Africa. …‘按：…佛郎西屬地在別土者，亦有數處。如南印度之本地治利，南亞墨利加之亞爾及利亞，亞非利加之阿爾及利耳…’”

704 Both has been known as Fólánjī 佛郎機 in Chinese, see: Leonard, Wei Yuan, 159, 81. For the original quotation, see note 730 below.

705 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 11: juan 41, 22-23: “The Wàiguó Dílǐ Quán Tújí says: France…[But] [King Charles’]’[and] descendants were not enlightened, and so for several hundreds of years there was no [proper] government. By the time of the Yuàn 元 Dynasty the people again awoke, and then France gradually obtained the power [over its lands]…《萬國地理全圖集》曰：佛蘭西國…其後裔不明，是以數百年無治。及元朝年間，人類再悟，而佛國漸得操權…”

706 Ibid., 12: juan 42, 16: “Comment [by Wèi]: Among the various countries of Europe 歐羅巴 France [is that which] has been handed down [through the ruling families] for the longest time. From [the time of] Charlemagne?哥羅味開基 up to today [there has] already been more than a thousand years. Even though in between [they] have met one misfortune after another, but those who have been placed on the throne have been [from] his clan. [They] have not produced other clans, nor put female rulers on the throne. Compared to the game of installing rulers in other countries, there is certainly a difference…“按：佛郎西在歐羅巴諸國中，傳世最久，自哥羅味開基至今已千餘年。中間雖迭遭變故，而代立者皆其宗黨，未滋他族，未立女主，較他國之奕棋置君者，固有間矣…”

707 E.g. ibid., 12, juan 42: 5, 13 “The Wàiguó Shìlǐuài says… The city of Bordeaux,璞托邑 [with] more than 98,000 inhabitants, merchants gather [there], [and among] the goods that are exported, red wine is the most common, [and] the wharfs are extremely rich…《外國史略》曰：璞托邑，居民九萬八千餘口，商賈雲集，運出之物，多紅葡萄酒，埠頭甚富…”

708 Ibid., 12, juan 42: 1-2: “The Dílǐ Běikāo says: France… All the farmland is rich [and] reproduction is flourishing. The local products are gold, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead, quicksilver…《地理備考》曰：佛蘭西國，土土皆饒，生殖茂盛，土產金、銀、銅、鐵、錫、鉛、水銀…”

709 Ibid., 11, juan 41: 15: “The Huángqīng Sìyì Kǎo《皇清四裔考》(Study of Faraway Regions of the Imperial Qing)：France… In the eight month of the fourth year of the Shìzhōu 《勝治》era [1647]，the viceroy of Guǎngdōng Tóng Yángjiā 佟陽甲 said with coarse words that [there] 10,000 men of Fólánjī people lived in Háojíng 壽鏡 [and] Macao, [where they conduct] frontier trade with Cantonese [Yue] traders. During the last years of the Míng 《瀛環誌略》 there had already been there [several] years…《皇清四裔考》：佛郎機…勝治四年八月，廣督佟陽甲疏言，佛朗機國人寓居壽鏡、澳門，與粵商互市，於明季已有曆年…’ The Huángqīng Sìyì Kǎo has not been identified.

710 Ibid., 12, juan 42, 14, 16-17: “The Yǐnghuán Zhìlìuè says: France… Still the French merchant ships are the fewest. [When there are] many [there are] three or four ships, [and when there are] few [there are] two ships [a year]《瀛環誌略》：佛郎西…獨佛郎西商船最少，多則三四艘，少則一二艘…”
negatively in a similar way to other Europeans, the French in the account are portrayed in a more lighthearted manner, enjoying a relaxed life with dance and song yet being well mannered and proud warriors, though somewhat lacking in propriety and honesty. Both their courtesy, human nature and literature are praised. Moreover, Paris (written, among other ways, as Bālēi 巴勒) appears as a centre of learning and crafts. France is called the most beautiful country in Europe and the strong position of the French language and sciences in Europe is noted. Though described as Catholic, France does not seem to suffer from Wèi’s alleged critical attitude to the religion. Some mistakes occur, however, for example when the Ming Shì claims that the French were Buddhists before becoming...

711 Po, “Maritime countries,” 861. The text in question is the Ming Shìlù 明實錄 (Veritable Records of Ming).

712 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 11, juan 41: 23: “The Wànguó Dílǐ Quán Tújí says:… The French people are the most vigorous [and have] pleasant manners, [and they] treat kindly guests from afar. Men and women come together to sing and dance. They only enjoy the present, not worrying about the days to come. In times of danger [they are] bold and decisive in action, [and would] rather die than [to have their] inhabitants submit. Their women talk freely (like reed), and [are] extremely [good at] satisfying the people’s expectations, though they do not observe proprieties. Its people make promises but seldom keep them. [Moreover they] are spirited in their liking for military affairs, and therefore often provoke disputes with the various countries, devoting their lives to fearless fighting 《萬國地理全圖集》曰:…佛蘭西國民，最精神好禮，厚待遠客，男女會集歌舞，惟樂目前不慮久遠，危時敢作效死勇戰…”

713 Ibid., 11: juan 41, 8-9: “The Zhīfāng Wàijí: France 拂即祭… The nature of the people is warm and cheerful, [their] courtesy is thorough [and] [they] esteem literature and take pleasure in studying… The French people are the finest, [its people] understand astronomy, can read Chinese characters [and] make planks [to] print books. The medicinal materials [they] make, and moreover all sorts of goods, are excellent [and] mostly new…”

714 Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 11: juan 41, 22, 24-25: “The Wànguó Dílǐ Quán Tújí says: France… Its royal capital is called Paris, [which has] 99,000 inhabitants. The palaces are extensive and dazzling, [and] its markets are filled with goods from the four directions… [It] has fourteen hospitals providing for those in need, [and] every year those cured from illness [number] 14,000. Therefore [of] the scholars of the various regions of the Western countries many go to Paris to study medicine. Its gold and silver smiths are all uniquely outstanding, [and number] in total 2000. Yearly [they] manufacture 40,000 clocks [showing] the twelve hours [and] 18,000 self-ringing clocks. One thousand townsmen make burlap, [and] in the city there are more than 50,000 people who live by weaving…”

715 Ibid., 12: juan 42, 5, 8: “The Wànguó Shìlìè says: … France 佛國 is Europe’s 欧羅巴 most beautiful country…《外國史略》曰: …佛國為歐羅巴最美之邦…”

716 Ibid., 12: juan 42, 5, 11: “The Wànguó Shìlìè says … Certainly, [when] the various countries make a treaty of alliance [or] oath [they] all use French. The various countries of Europe all without exception use the writing of France as [their] standard. Its internal and external medicine is outstanding, [and] also [its] calendric system is the finest, [its people] understand astronomy, can read Chinese characters [and] make planks [to] print books. The medicinal materials [they] make, and moreover all sorts of goods, are excellent [and] mostly new…”

717 His negative view might have been influenced by his reliance on Protestant missionary sources as well as the Rites Controversy in China, see: Lutz, “China’s View,” 45.
Catholic, and quotations from the same source include several instances of the French presenting tribute to the Chinese, which the French might have interpreted as trade. Though poverty is referred to, in a context of offering relief to the poor, we only see more negative descriptions of customs in historical contexts. Cultural similarities to other European countries are stressed.

As already seen, military aspects are stressed, and indeed the French appear as rather militaristic, frequently waging war, with warfare even seen as a popular custom. Moreover, we see modern technology such as steamships as well as statistics of military strength.
The vocabulary does generally not give a negative impression of the country or its people. Again, the terms Yí and Yěmán are not normally used to refer to the French, and usually only appears in historical contexts, where the people of what would become France are described in negative terms. Yí also appears in quotations from the Ming Shí as a reference to the “Yí of Macao 澳夷 (Ào Yí),” or the Portuguese, who as already stated above Wèi mistook for the French, who are described in a rather unflattering way. A more exotic description of the French people’s appearance also features in the Ming Shí.

As for quotations, while for example the old dynastic history Hòu Hàn Shū 後漢書 is quoted in the general account of Western history, the account of France lacks the ancient sources found describing Viet Nam, that had no information on France. Instead quotations are from more recent works, like the late Ming text Zhífāng Wàijì (Chronicle Attending to Foreign Lands). Thus Wèi here relied on both Western and Chinese sources, and included some personal comments, which seems positive since he here says France is a military example for other European powers. While much text is taken from the Ming Shí, Wèi

728 Ibid., 11: juan 41, 22-23: “The Wánguó Dìlǐ Quán Tújí says: France… In the year of Emperor Shùnzōng 順宗 of the Táng Dynasty [805] there was King Charles, [who] attacked and defeated the Mányí [and] established himself after having made great achievements…《萬國地理全圖集》曰: 佛蘭西國…於唐順宗之年，有甲利王者，攻勝蠻夷，有功自立…”

729 Ibid., 11: juan 41, 15-16: “The Měiyuè Tǒngjì Zhuàn [Monthly Statistical Record] says:… When China was in [the period] before the Hán Dynasty the barbarians 土蠻 (Tǔmán) of this country were arrogant and overbearing, attacking [their] neighbours [with] burning and plundering. Then the Roman Empire gave orders for a general to lead soldiers to beat them into submission, to discipline the barbarians 野人 (Yěrén) [and make them] return to submission [or cultivation] and obey the laws…《每月統紀傳》曰: …當中國漢代以前，此國土蠻強梗，攻鄰焚掠，於是羅馬國命帥領兵擊服，調理野人，向化遵法…”The Měiyuè Tǒngjì Zhuàn equates the Dōngxī Yáng Kǎo, a magazine published by Karl Gützlaff, see note 670 above.

730 Ibid., 11: juan 41, 9, 13-14: “The Ming Shí:… In the forty-first year [of the Wànlí 萬曆 era, 1613], the governor general Zhāng Mínggāng 張鳴岡 declared war on the foreigners and expelled the dwarfs [i.e. the foreigners] [and forced them] to go to sea. Following from the above text: In Yuè there are the Yí of Macao, [who] are like an ulcer on the back. Macao has dwarf-villains, [who] are like a tiger given wings…《明史》：…四十一年，總督張鳴岡檄番人驅倭出海，因上言：粵之有澳夷，猶疽之在背也。澳之有倭賊，猶虎之傅翼也…” For the confusion of France and Portugal, see also notes 704 and 735.

731 Ibid., 11: juan 41, 14: “The Ming Shí: … Its people have tall bodies and high noses, cat-eyes [and] hawk-mouths, curly hair [and] red beards. [They] are fond of engaging in trade, [and] rely on strength to oppress the various countries. There are none who do not go towards [them, due to their power] …《明史》：…其人長身高鼻，貓睛鷹嘴，拳發赤須，好經商，恃強陵轢諸國，無所不往…”

732 Ibid., 10: juan 37, 1.

733 See note 713 above.

734 Ibid., 12: juan 42, 14, 16: “Comment… The countries of Europe that apply their [military] force take France as [their] best [example]… 按…佛郎西…歐羅巴用武之國，以佛郎西為最…” See also notes 703, 706 above.
sought to discredit this work for its inaccurate knowledge of the West with its supposed claim that France was located near Malacca 滿剌加 (Mǎnlájiā).\footnote{Ibid., 11, juan 41: 9: “The Míng Shī: “France [lies] near Malacca.” Of old [we were] unaware what country [this was]...《明史》：“佛郎機近滿剌加”，古不知何國...” Here, Wèi mistook France for Portugal, long the ruler of Malacca, which in the Míng Shī was also referred to as Fólángjī 佛郎機, later a name for France. See: Leonard, Wei Yuan, 101, 227n.}

The impression of France is that of a culturally different yet important and modern country, much unlike older typical accounts of faraway foreigners. Much room is given for details in the description of various aspects, and the people are mostly depicted in a positive way and with a strong military tradition, though some negative aspects are present. In comparison with Viet Nam, France seems more different from China, and while France’s powerful position in Europe is referred to, its importance for China might be inferior or about equal to that of Viet Nam, as judged from the description in and length of their respective accounts.

7.4.4 Sweden and Norway

The account of Norway is intertwined with that of Sweden, with the latter getting most of the attention, which makes sense seeing that the account was written during the Swedo-Norwegian union. This account is notably shorter than those for Viet Nam or France. By the time it was published, China had signed the unequal Treaty of Canton 廣州條約 (Guǎngzhōu Tiáoyuē) with Sweden-Norway in 1847,\footnote{Pär Carrel, “Traktaten som aldrig var och fördraget som nästan inte blev, de svensk-norsk–kinesiska förbindelserna 1847–1909,” Historisk tidskrift 130, no. 3 (2010): 437.} but contacts between the two were rather limited. The presence of this account in the gazetteer shows that Wèi was interested not only in the most powerful countries, but also in the more peripheral ones. Similar to the other accounts, we are given detailed historical and geographical knowledge.\footnote{E.g. Wei and Lin, Haiguo tuzhi, 16; juan 58, 13: “The Wàiguó Shǐlüè: Sweden 瑞丁 [and] Norway 那威 lies in the same area. To the northwest [it] faces the Arctic Ocean 抵麻爾底海; to the southwest [it] faces the Sea of Germany 耶拿尼海; to the northwest [it] faces the Arctic Ocean [and] also has a common border with the Russian 俄羅斯 capital Saint Petersburg 城波得羅堡; to the northeast [it faces] Финляндия 芬蘭 (comment: That is the so-called Sweden 西費耶斯科); [and to the] southeast [it faces] Эстония 斯多尼亞 (comment: A city in Russia). The distance from north to south is 1550 里, [and from] east to west the distance is 350 里 《外國史略》瑞丁、那威，同一區，西北抵冰海，西南抵耶麻尼海，東北界抵麻爾底海，並與俄羅斯都城波得羅堡接界，東北芬蘭 (comment: 即所謂西費耶斯科)，東南斯多尼亞 (comment: 俄羅斯邑)，南北距一千五百五十裏，東西距三百五十裏.” The comment following “the Arctic Ocean” has been left out. The original name used (presumably) for this ocean (the Dīmáěrdǐ ocean) has not been identified.} The section on history recounts, for example, the wars of Charles XII 加爾祿斯 (Jiā’ěrlūsī, reigned 1697-1718).\footnote{Ibid., 16, juan 58: 20-21: “The Dīlī Bèikāo says... Charles, that is Charles 查理 XII, ascended the throne in the thirty-eight year of the Kāngxī 康熙 era [1699]. [When he] was young [he was] vigorous in warfare, [and]...}
History is traced back to the origin of Sweden, and Norway is described as being transferred to Swedish rule. Geographically, the account includes lists of the regions of both countries. Some passages contain somewhat exotic references to the two countries’ location in the far north, for example stating that they are the coldest countries in Europe, or that in the northern parts of Sweden, half the year has no sunlight.

Once again, trade-related information is given an extra emphasis, including both products and statistics. The scale is lesser than the two previous countries described, however, which captured more than half the land of Poland. The three countries of Poland, Denmark, and Russia united [their] soldiers to attack [him]. The king heard of this [and] first he called out the soldiers to follow the king of Poland in pursuit, [then] besieged the capital of Denmark, and moreover defeated the Russian soldiers. For a time [his] fame terrified [all]. After several years, [he] again sent an army to attack Poland [i.e. Russia], [but he] was utterly defeated, [and therefore he] rushed to Turkey, requested relief for five years. But the request was not granted so [he] returned. Then he again went to besiege the capital city of Norway, [and he] died in the army. The three countries of Poland, Norway, and Russia would be returned to Denmark, and Norway would be returned to Sweden.

Ibid., 16, juan 58: 13: “The Wàiguó Shìlüè… After 900 AD (comment: The third year of the Guānhuà 光化 era of the Tàng 唐 Dynasty emperor Zhāozōng 唐昭宗), there was Ragnar Lodbrok? 哈羅佛額 [who] led the Swedish crowds to frequently go out to rob and plunder. All the people feared [this]. Then [he] established [himself] as king. The capital was established at Stockholm, only 60 里 from the sea. The 帝里 Dìlǐ… The whole country is divided into 24 parts, which is the capital of this country, built at the western border, was of old dependent on Denmark, and Norway. In the twentieth year of the Jiāqìng 光化 era [1815] the envoys of the various countries had a meeting in Vienna 薩耶那 [where it was decided that] the Danish [areas] close to Sweden [i.e. Swedish Pomerania] would be returned to Denmark, and Norway would be returned to Sweden. The 地理備考 曰: …瑞典西境之那威, 聚處遼掠, 人皆畏懼, 遂自立為王, 建都於斯篤和林, 距海僅六十裏…”

Ibid., 16, juan 58: 20-22: “The Dìlǐ Bèikǎo says… … Norway 那威, at the western border, was of old dependent on Denmark 唐國… In the twentieth year of the Jiāqìng 光化 era [1815] the envoys of the various countries had a meeting in Vienna 薩耶那 [where it was decided that] the Danish [areas] close to Sweden [i.e. Swedish Pomerania] would be returned to Denmark, and Norway would be returned to Sweden. The 地理備考 曰: …瑞典西境之那威, 聚處遼掠, 人皆畏懼, 遂自立為王, 建都於斯篤和林, 距海僅六十裏…”

Ibid., 16, juan 58: 20, 20-22: “The Dìlǐ Bèikǎo says… … Norway 那威, at the western border, was of old dependent on Denmark 唐國… In the twentieth year of the Jiāqìng 光化 era [1815] the envoys of the various countries had a meeting in Vienna 薩耶那 [where it was decided that] the Danish [areas] close to Sweden [i.e. Swedish Pomerania] would be returned to Denmark, and Norway would be returned to Sweden. The 地理備考 曰: …瑞典西境之那威, 聚處遼掠, 人皆畏懼, 遂自立為王, 建都於斯篤和林, 距海僅六十裏…”
must have reflected the historical situation. Still, Sweden is stated to have had trade relations with China for around a century.\textsuperscript{746}

As for local customs of Sweden and Norway, they are noted to be similar to those of Denmark\textsuperscript{747} and Britain.\textsuperscript{748} Other than that, little is said the local people, though we hear that they are Protestant, enjoy literature, have a clean and honest nature and are skilled in geology and botany.\textsuperscript{749} The research of Tycho Brahe 地穀白剌格 (Dìgǔ Báilágé, 1546-1601) is referred to, which must be seen as positive since he is called an outstanding person,\textsuperscript{750} nonewhithstanding that he was in fact Danish. Certain exotic characteristics appear, however, as when the Norwegians are said to have a firm and harsh nature.\textsuperscript{751}

\textsuperscript{746}Ibid., 16, juan 58: 18: “The Mào yì Tōngzhì 貿易通誌 (Comprehensive Record of Trade) says: Sweden 瑞丁 is a country in the North. [It] produces copper, iron and timber. The value of the goods imported every year is 13 million yuán 员; [and that of the] exports [is] 22 million yuán. The country has 2427 ships [and as for] the foreign ships that imports [goods], there are 1658...《貿易通誌》曰: 瑞丁為北方之國, 產銅、鐵、木, 每年進口貨價千三百萬員, 出口千二百萬員。本國船二千四百二十七隻, 外國船入口者, 千六百五十八隻...” The Mào yì Tōngzhì was written in 1840 by Karl Gützlaff, see: Xiong, ”‘Haiguo tuzhi,’” 257.

\textsuperscript{747}Ibid., 16: juan 58, 26: ”The Hǎilù, Denmark 盈黎馬祿加, in the northwest of Sweden 綏亦占, [lies on] the same island as Sweden. [Their] land routes are interlinked, and the territory is comparatively big. The people are few [and] are thick and strong, [and] the customs and local products are also similar. [They] are [those who] come to Yuè [in] ships with a yellow flag...《海錄》盈黎馬祿加國, 在綏亦占西北, 與綏亦占同一島, 陸路相通, 而疆域較大, 人稍粗壯, 風俗土產亦同, 即來粵黃旗船是也...” Comments are left out. From the description, it seems the original work mistook Denmark for Norway.

\textsuperscript{748}Ibid., 16: juan 58, 26: ”The Huángqī Sìyì Kǎo: ... Its people believe in God 天主, [and] the customs are like [those of] England 英吉利...《皇清四裔考》: ...其人信奉天主, 俗淳無盜, 作事忍耐, 專心技藝, 推求金石草木質性。歐羅巴洲各國皆不及焉...”

\textsuperscript{749}Ibid., 16: juan 58, 15: ”The Wàiguó Shìlüè: Sweden and Norway... [The people] believe in Protestantism 波羅特士頓教. [Their appearance] is similar to [that of the people of] Russia. [They] enjoy literature, the customs are pure [and] there is no theft. [They] restrain themselves in dealing with matters [and] concentrate their attention on art [and to] inquire about the inherent qualities of metal and stone, plants and trees. [In this field] the various countries of Europe are all inferior [to them]... 《外國史略》瑞丁、那威...奉波羅特士頓教。貌似俄羅斯, 好文學, 俗淳無盜, 作事忍耐, 專心技藝, 推求金石草木質性。歐羅巴洲各國皆不及焉...”

\textsuperscript{750}Ibid., 16: juan 58, 17: ”The Zhīfāng Wàijì: Within the recent 20 years an outstanding man of the country called Tycho Brahe, [who at] the school of Kushimádémàdíjì 酷嗜瑪得瑪第 (Uranienborg?) built a platform at a peak in the high mountains. [There he] studied the celestial phenomena to the utmost degree for thirty years [he was] absorbed in research, [which was] accurate to the smallest detail. The instrument that he made to look into the heavens [enabled him to] sum up the endless expanse [of the heavens] to the fullest. Afterwards there was a great king [who] invited [him] to go to [his] country, [and who wanted to] pass on his learning, [and] now [this] is the forebear of the calendric system of the Western lands... 《職方外紀》...近二十年內, 一國士名地穀白剌格, 酷嗜瑪得瑪第之學, 建一台於高山絕頂, 以窮天象, 究心三十年, 累素不爽, 所製竒天之器, 竄極要眇, 後有大國王延之國中, 以傳其學, 今為西土曆法之宗...”

\textsuperscript{751}Ibid., 16: juan 58, 19: ”The Wánguó Dìlǐ Quántú Jí says:... Also Norway 那耳圍... Its inhabitants catch fish to replace cereals. The coast is like a forest of solid rocks, [so] local ferries have difficulties [going near it].
The vocabulary used does not give a negative impression, as once again, the terms Yí and Yěmán are not normally used to refer to the Swedes and Norwegians. Part of the reason for this is that this account does not feature classical Chinese sources. Instead, there are quotations from more recent works such as the Wàiguó Shǐlüè 外國史略 (A Brief History of Foreign Countries), Dìqiú Túshuō 地球圖說 (Explained Maps of the World) and Zhīfāng Wàǐjì 職方外紀, all written by foreigners. The Hǎilù is also quoted, so that Chinese writings are also present, although to a much smaller degree than foreign ones. This section wholly lacks interpretive comments from Wèi.

Taken together, the image of Sweden and Norway is mostly positive, with certain exotic features. The account is more similar to that of France than that of Viet Nam, due to a similarity in culture and history as well as the available sources. Various factors, however, indicate that it is less important, for example the shorter length of the account as well as a lack of contact with China, less trade and weaker military power.

7.4.5 Other parts of the work

As a final note, it could be said for perspective that the people of certain non-Western foreign countries are described in a more negatively way than are those of the West. For example, the natives of Southern Africa 南阿利未加洲 (Nán Āliwèijiāzhōu) are described in language borrowed from classical literature as having “human shape but hearts of beasts.” As we
have seen, however, Europeans could also be referred to as “barbarians” (Mànyí) in historical contexts, even in quotations from works by Europeans.

7.5 Conclusion

In the 19th century, China was increasingly vulnerable to the rising Western powers, a situation hard to imagine in the traditional world-view. As China slowly reacted to its new circumstances, the increased contact with the outer world inspired various intellectual responses. One of these was the Hǎiguó Túzhì, a gazetteer compiled by Wèi Yuán after the Opium War, which has been considered a turning point in China’s international relations.

The work’s introduction describes policies for dealing with foreigners, and is followed by descriptions of the various countries of the world, among which we find accounts of Viet Nam, France and Sweden and Norway. In all accounts, much attention is given to history, geography, military aspects and trade, though descriptions of local customs also appear. Whereas the introductory essays give room for Wèi’s own opinions, the accounts of countries mainly consist of quotations, which allows the work to present differing visions of the world. Though many quotations are originally from works written by foreigners, their selection by Wèi and presentation to a Chinese audience makes them interesting.

While the introductory essays describe foreigners with the traditionally derogatory term Yì and portray them as a military threat that China could at best learn technology from, the inhabitants of the four countries are not usually portrayed as uncivilised. Derogatory terms are mainly used in historical contexts, and while none of the countries are idealised, each of them has their respective strong points. Of the four, Viet Nam is seen as the most important to China and is noted for its strong connections with it, while France appears as the strongest and most modern, and the two Scandinavian countries are comparatively peripheral and perhaps more exotic.

Wèi’s outset was in the traditional Chinese world-view, and its influence can easily be seen in his work. However, the way parts of the world are described does not always adhere to it, as foreigners appear in various ways that do not fit their role in the Sinocentric world-view. The work not only conveys foreign views through translations, but also shows that the new international situation had begun to influence the Chinese world-view. While the use of

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758 See e.g. note 722 on the account of France above.
foreign sources certainly added to the positive description of Western countries, Wèi did not argue against it in his comments, but rather stressed the importance of these countries. The changes in the world-view, however, may have started long before Wèi’s time.
8 The end of the traditional world-view? Japan as seen by Liáng Qǐchāo and Lǚ Xùn

As China’s neighbour to the east came to surpass it in power, did this mean the end of negative images of the Japanese? And would new ones be formed as Japan increasingly became a threat to China? This chapter will focus on how two important Chinese writers and intellectuals with direct experiences from the country viewed Japan.

The analysis in this chapter will examine whether personal experiences and intellectual influence, from both Japan and the West, had influenced the Chinese world-view at this point. More important, however, is how the many changes in China’s international situation since the time studied in the analysis in the last chapter had affected this world-view.

8.1 Research method

In this chapter, I will analyse and compare the opinions and perceptions of the two writers Liáng Qǐchāo 梁啟超 (1873-1929) and Lǚ Xùn 魯迅 (1881-1936) had on Japan and the Japanese, as I want to explore how that country was viewed by Chinese intellectuals of their time. No specific works by the two men have been selected, but I considered selections from texts where they explicitly discuss Japan or the Japanese. The reason for choosing these two writers was that both of them were important reformers and critics of China at the time when the Chinese image of Japan was dramatically changed, and that they both had direct experiences from the country from their stays there, one as a political exile and the other as a student.

Japan is chosen here because of the long history of Sino-Japanese relations and because of the unique and important political and intellectual role the country came to play in Chinese history in that era. In the analysis in this chapter, the usage of vocabulary and descriptions in source material plays a smaller role, and while source material has still been consulted, secondary research material has been more important.
8.2  The changing view of Japan

8.2.1 The traditional view

The Chinese view of Japan has changed immensely over the many centuries of Sino-Japanese relations. Mostly the Chinese view of Japan has been negative, with the Japanese regarded as culturally inferior, and Japan as a tributary state to China. In this respect the view was comparable to that of other countries around China, and even in the 19th century it was common to think of Japanese culture as “a daughter” of China. Moreover, in the Chinese view, the Japanese were traditionally seen as dangerous, and as less civilised than for example the Koreans or the Vietnamese.

However, Chinese relations with Japan have differed substantially from Chinese relations with other East Asian countries. Japan was in the unique position where it was separated from China by a sea and thus could not easily be militarily subdued by China. Therefore the Japanese were able to be selective in their borrowings from China, and only at times chose to be part of the Chinese tribute system.

8.2.2 The Sino-Japanese war and its consequences

As late as the mid-19th century the political situations in Japan and China were nearly identical. In the latter part of the century, however, Japan was changed in many ways towards a modern and in some ways Westernised society through the Meiji Restoration, while China did not start a full scale modernisation until after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. The relationship between the two countries changed as Japan modernised, with Japan’s power and influence exceeding China’s after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-5 甲午戰爭 (Jiǎwǔ zhànzhēng, the war of the Jiǎwǔ year). China, on the other hand, plunged deeper into what would later be called its “Century of Humiliation”

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760 Wade, “The Ming Shi-lu” 30.
763 Ibid., 41.
764 Ibid., 41.
百年国恥 (Bǎinián Guóchǐ), where the intrusions of foreign powers necessarily changed perceptions of the outside world.

Thus Japan, trying to assert its dominance in the region and create a European-style empire in Asia as part of the process of modernising, came to present a challenge to the Chinese world order.\(^765\) China and Japan came to clash over Korea, which led to the Sino-Japanese war where Japan in the end forced Korea out of the tributary system in 1895 along with Tāiwān.\(^766\) This war was particularly important because it was the defeat by Japan, rather than the Western incursions in China throughout the past decades, that brought the crisis of national identity – a crisis more disturbing in terms of national identity than extraterritorial rights, “unequal treaties” and the opium trade had been in the period after the Opium War.\(^767\) Thus, the defeat by Japan gradually forced an enlarged frame of reference on the Chinese, and came to have an enormous influence in China through the way it exposed China’s weaknesses.\(^768\)

Japan became not only the greatest threat to China, but also a model to follow on the road to modernisation.\(^769\) Chinese intellectuals’ comparison of their own country to Japan gave rise to a sense of inferiority, and they sought to find out why Japan had succeeded where China had not, and what China could do to amend its international standing.\(^770\)

Because of this, starting in 1896 huge numbers of Chinese students were sent to Japan to study, making Japan the primary country where Chinese students studied abroad.\(^771\) The short distance, the cheaper prices, the smaller cultural gap, the use of Chinese characters and the fact that Japan kept to certain traditional values even after modernising, were the reasons Japan was chosen rather than the Western nations.\(^772\) Japan was at that time already a refuge for Chinese reformers and revolutionaries, and in the first years after 1900 the number of students was rising sharply, to the extent that Tōkyō became the centre for the Chinese

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\(^{765}\) Zhao, Power Competition, 33, 43.

\(^{766}\) Ibid., 45, 58.


\(^{769}\) Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 41.


\(^{771}\) Chou, Memory, Violence, Queues, 30, 89; Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 41.

intelligentsia.\textsuperscript{773} Japan at the time was said to be a remarkable contrast to China for the Chinese students, but the country was for them not only something to admire, but also something to fear due to its growing power.\textsuperscript{774}

\section*{8.3 The two writers}

Liáng Qīchāo and Lù Xùn were two of China’s most important writers of the late 19\textsuperscript{th} and early 20\textsuperscript{th} century. They were both reformers and modernists critical of China, with Liáng focused on the various political reforms and Lù mostly on cultural and social aspects. While Liáng is more famous for his reform efforts, especially during the late \textit{Qīng} 清 Dynasty (1644-1912), Lù’s fame comes mainly from his fiction, even though most of his writings were non-fiction.

Liáng Qīchāo was born in 1873, and became an important promoter of reforms in China as an associate of Kāng Yǒuwéi 康有為 (1858-1927). He was involved in the late-\textit{Qīng} reform movements, and after the failed Hundred Days’ Reform 戊戌變法 (\textit{Wǔxū Biànfā}) of 1898 he had to flee to Japan, where he would spend fourteen years.\textsuperscript{775} Later in life he was involved in the politics of the new Chinese republic and held several ministerial posts in the republican Bēijīng governments,\textsuperscript{776} while also famously playing a role in the overthrow of Yuán Shìkǎi 袁世凱 (1859-1916), all while continuing his writings, which made him an influential academic.

Lù Xùn, whose real name was Zhōu Shùrén 周樹人, was born in 1881. From 1902 to 1909 he lived in Japan, initially to study modern medicine,\textsuperscript{777} though he later gave up his studies in favour of literature, which he wanted to use in the service of the people. Lù was one of the men behind the New Culture Movement 新文化運動 (\textit{Xīn Wénhuà Yùndòng}) and the May 4 五四運動 (\textit{Wǔsì Yùndòng}) Movement, and his translations made important contributions to Chinese literature and political movements.\textsuperscript{778} Later he worked for the ministry of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{774} Chang, \textit{Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition}, 143; Chou, \textit{Memory, Violence, Queues}, 90; Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 51-2.
\textsuperscript{775} Wilt Idema and Lloyd Haft, \textit{A Guide to Chinese Literature} (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, the University of Michigan, 1997), 245.
\textsuperscript{776} Idema and Haft, \textit{A Guide to Chinese Literature}, 245.
\textsuperscript{777} Ibid., 267-8.
\textsuperscript{778} Ibid., 259; Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 45.
\end{footnotesize}
education. Lü wrote numerous essays, but is mostly remembered for his short stories. His views, especially on literature, were strongly influenced by Liáng. Though he had sympathy for the communists, he never joined the Communist Party. Lü despaired at Chinese culture and history, but did this make his view of Japan any more positive?

8.4 Liáng Qǐchāo and Japan

Liáng Qǐchāo’s views of Japan developed over time, and can be divided into three periods: before he stayed there, during his stay in Japan and after he returned home. While Liáng’s stay in Japan might have been a profound personal misfortune, he was still immensely interested in the country, as is evident from his many writings about it and its people.

8.4.1 Before arriving in Japan

Liáng’s interest in Japan developed long before his exile there: he first gained knowledge related to Japan in 1891, under the tutelage of Kāng Yǒuwéi. However, he only really started to study Japan after the 1894-5 Sino-Japanese War, when he started to take Japan as a model.

780 Ibid., 268.
783 Fogel, The Cultural Dimension, 103.
784 Chang, Liang Ch’i-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 149. The Japanese appear in various ways in his work, see: e.g. Liang Qichao 梁启超 and Xia Shaohong 夏晓虹, ed. Liang Qichao Wenxuan 梁启超文选, 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi chubanshe 中国广播电视出版社, 1992), 1:289: “The biography of Mr. Kāng [Yǒuwéi] of Nánhǎi 南海: First chapter: The current trends and personages… Saigō [Takamori] 西郷隆盛, Kido [Takayoshi] 木戸孝允 [and] Ōkubo [Toshimichi] 大久保利通 of Japan, these were personages meeting the times. On the other hand, Gamō [Kunpei] 蒲生君平 [and] Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 were personages of the former times… 南海康先生传: 第一章: 时势与人物…日本之西乡、木户、大久保, 应时之人物也, 蒲生、吉田, 则先时之人物也…” 1:136, 144: “Discussing progress…Japan, from the first year of the Meiji period [1868] until today, [has had] more than thirty years without suffering damage. The reason for this is [that the Japanese] themselves fully came to the rescue of the emperor [and] denounced the bakufu [the shōgun's government], [and] the abolishing of the han [the feudal domains] [and] establishment of prefectures caused a one-time huge damage. [This] caused their fear [to be] broken, [and] then the peace [and] knowledge of Japan of today, [that] is not [like] Joseon 朝鲜…论进步…日本自明治元年以后, 至今三十余无破坏, 其所以然者, 实自勤王讨幕、废藩置县之一度大破坏来也; 使其怪破坏, 则安知乎今日之日本, 不为朝鲜也…”
785 Chang, Liang Ch’i-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition, 143; Cui, ”Liang Qichao Riben guan.”
786 Cui, ”Liang Qichao Riben guan.”
The defeat against Japan was what inspired Liáng and others to get a new understanding of the country. While at first the reparations demanded by Japan after its victory made him and other patriots outraged, there remained no ill feelings after the war was settled. Rather, he praised Japan in several ways, even as being a friendly country. At this time he also stressed the similarities between China and Japan in language as a clear reason why Japan should be a model for China.

After the war there were several reasons why he did not adopt a bad image of Japan; he needed the positive image to aid him in the reform process, he was influenced by the so-called pan-Asianism of the day, which stressed that Asian countries should unite against the Westerners, and Social Darwinism also had some influence on him, which led him to criticise his own country rather than condemn others for their bullying of China.

Next came the Hundred Days' Reform, in which Liáng Qīchāo played an important part. It was much inspired by the successful reform of Japan some 30 years earlier, with Japan being seen as a role model by the reformers.

### 8.4.2 Liáng's views in exile

When the coup against the reform took place, Liáng went to Japan after taking refuge in the Japanese embassy. After thus going into exile, Liáng stayed in Japan as a teacher, and he became a leading figure of the Chinese community in Tōkyō. In these years Japan became his “second home,” and he continuously praised the country. His interest in Japanese affairs continued, he said he read Japanese newspapers every day, and he even took the Japanese name Yoshida Shin 吉田晉 in honour of some of the men who fought for the modernisation of Japan, whom he much admired for their sacrifice and bravery.

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787 Ibid.
788 Ibid.
789 Ibid.
790 Ibid.
791 Ibid.
792 Ibid.
793 Ibid.
794 Chang, Liang Chi-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition, 132
795 Cui, "Liàng Qīchāo Riben guan."
796 Ibid.; Fogel, The Cultural Dimension, 18. Specifically the name was in honour of Yoshida Shōin and Takasugi Shinsaku 高杉晉作.
In his exile, he became closer and more dependent on Japan, and hoped that Japan could help China to reform and become strong. Therefore, he promoted common interests, friendship and tolerance between the two countries while in Japan, and even encouraged the Chinese to learn Japanese in order to get help from Japan. Politically, he supported Japan in the international power struggles in the region at this time, and he did not condemn the Japanese the intrusion into the Chinese Northeast, but rather criticised the Chinese government. Liáng was criticised and even accused of betrayal in Chinese newspapers for his closeness to his “second home” and his political pro-Japanese views. However, he repeatedly claimed that his positive attitude towards Japan was not because the country had protected him.

8.4.3 Japanese influences on Liáng while in Japan

The stay in Japan gave Liáng the opportunity to express his intellectual talents, and he became an important figure in cultural exchanges. He quickly learned how to read Japanese, which opened his mind to a world of thought that was unavailable in China. In particular, Liáng was almost immediately exposed to a wealth of Western liberal literature and Western terminology written in Chinese characters, available due to decades of translations, and the contact with Japan’s intellectual world expanded his horizon, and in particular increased his understanding of Western thought. This enabled Liáng, along with other Chinese writers, to try to solve China’s problems through intellectual borrowing from the West, by the way of Japanese translations. Still, his limited knowledge of Japanese influenced which works he read. Also, Japanese influences were far more noticeable in many of his practical concerns than in his basic values, where the influence is less than clear.

Still, the Japanese influences on Liáng were many, and much of Liáng’s world-view was formed by Japanese modernity, including for example his view on literature. He imitated
many things he had seen in Japanese writings, for example the Japanese-style “political novel,”
which he himself used in China; Liáng’s belief was that political literature should be given
credit for the political progress in Japan and in Western nations. Also, one could note that
while Liáng’s writings in Japan were in Classical Chinese, they included several terms
borrowed from Japanese. For example, he used the important word “freedom” 自由 (zìyóu),
which was first used in its modern sense in Japanese.

He was indeed much influenced by Japanese intellectuals of the restoration period and by
Japanese culture. As more proof of this influence, among the several Japanese Liáng
mentions in his work are people such as Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901), Katō
Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836-1916), Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909) and especially Yoshida
Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-59), whom he thought all played important roles in modernising
Japan. While Liáng thought that different cultures had caused the Chinese to be passive and
the Westerners to be active, most of his examples of “active” people were from late
Tokugawa 德川 (1603-1868) and Meiji 明治 period (1868-1912) Japan; the Japanese activists
seemed for him the “perfect embodiment” of the “modern man,” and Liáng wrote several
short biographies about such men.

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809 Chang, Liang Chi’-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition, 148; Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 42.
810 E.g. Liang and Xia, Liang Qichao wenxuan, 1:124: “Discussing freedom. “Liberty or death!” These words
were in fact the founding [principles] [used] by the people of the various European and American countries [in]
founding [their] countries in the [past] two centuries, the 18th and the 19th… 论自由。“自由或死!” 这是人们
实十八九两世纪中, 欧美诸国民所以立国之本原也…” The term is however not here attributed to
Japanese, though in other texts he shows how he was indebted to the Japanese for the usage of vocabulary, see
E.g. 1:515, 522: “The New Historiography (extract):… The scope of historiography… The Ten Thousand Things
in [the World] 天下 all exist in space, and also exist in time (space [and] time, [these words are] translations
from Buddhist scriptures [that] were adopted [for modern purposes] by the Japanese)... 新史学（节录）；…史
学之界…天下万事万物，皆在空间，又在时间(空间、时间，佛典译语，日本人沿用之)…”
811 Fogel, The Cultural Dimension, 144.
812 Chang, Liang Chi’-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition, 144; e.g. Liang and Xia,. Liang Qichao wenxuan, 1:208-
9: “Success [and] failure…The first-class merit of Japan’s modernisation, [does it belong to] Saigō [Takamori]?
[Or to] Kidō [Takayoshi]? [Or to] Ōkubo [Toshimichi]? Saying, [they were] cowardly. [Was it] Itō [Hirobumi]?
勋? Saying, [they were] cowardly. The various sages all became successful [through] success.... Yoshida Shōin
said: “Now we call [then] righteous people, the ones who prudently wait and observe. That is the case
everywhere, [and so] this is the worst plan. How [can one] effortlessly quickly succeed, breaking [down the
current] situation, and then afterwards plan [to take] occupying lands [and] the [go] board [i.e. surrounding
countries] as victory?”… 成败…日本维新之首功，西乡乎？木户乎？大久保乎？曰，唯维否否。伊藤乎？
大隈乎？井上乎？后藤乎？板垣乎？曰，唯唯否否。诸子皆以成为成功也…吉田松陰曰： “今之号称正
义人，观望持重者，比比皆是，是為最大下策；何如轻快捷速，打破局面，然后徐圖占地布石之為胜乎？
”…”
813 Chang, Liang Chi’-ch’ao and Intellectual Transition, 88-89.
The Japanese influences also extended to such themes as Neo-Confucianism, which he believed could be supplemented with Western values, just as Western techniques could be supplemented to Chinese values, and the role of democracy, as the authoritarian and centralising tendencies he saw in Japanese politics probably contributed to his misgivings about the democratic form of government.

8.4.4 Japan’s role for Liáng

Despite modern influences, Liáng still held to old concepts of culture, where the main distinction is not between nation-states but between different levels of culture. However, his interpretation went against the long-standing Sinocentric view of foreigners as culturally inferior, as he understood the concepts as not being defined by geography, which was the traditional way to think, but by behaviour. This opened the way for a more positive perception of the Japanese and of Japan’s role, and for a more negative one of China. As Liáng put it, even in ancient China, “the one who behaves as a barbarian 畲狄 (Yídí), even though he is Chinese, will still be a barbarian.” This concept of “barbarians” seems to show influence from the corresponding Western concept. However, traditional derogatory terms for foreigners such as Yì 夷 and Mán 蠻 are present throughout his works, which shows an

814 Ibid., 294-5.
815 Ibid. 243.
816 Cui, “Liang Qichao Riben guan.”
817 Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition, 110-1; and see Liáng’s “Foreword to The distinction between China and the Yídí 夷狄 during the Spring and Autumn 春秋” [Annals, or the period from 722 to 481 BC] ‘Chunqiu Zhongguo yu yidi bian ’xu《春秋中国夷狄辨》序:” Liang and Xia, Liang Qichao wenxuan, 1:50-2.
818 Liang and Xia, Liang Qichao wenxuan, 1:51: “Then the China and barbarians 畲狄 (Yídí, the meaning is identical to Yídí 夷狄) of the Spring and Autumn originally had no settled name. Those who had the behaviour of a barbarian, even if [he] is Chinese, is shameless [and] a barbarian. [But] the one who has no barbarian behaviour, even if [he] is an Yídí, is cultivated and a gentleman…然则《春秋》之中国、彝狄，本无定名。其有夷狄之行者，虽中国也，腼然而彝狄矣；其无夷狄之行者，虽彝狄也，彬然而君子矣.”
819 Ibid., 1:515, 522, 525: “The New Historiography (extract): The scope of historiography… Testing out the use of a child of the civilised countries, [so one] must not be partial [in] education [and one] must not cover the corrective influence in society [and] the bounties [one is] favoured with [from] civilisation, [and] then [when] they grow up will [these] be different from the children of barbarian 野蛮 (Yémán) countries?... 新史学（节录）：…史学之界说…试以文明国之一小儿，不许爱教育，不许蒙社会之感化、沐文明之恩泽，则其长成能有以异于野蛮国之小儿乎？...” 1:515, 527, 532: “The New Historiography (extract):… Discussing legitimism…Saints are naturally saints, rebels [and] traitors are naturally rebels [and] traitors, thieves are naturally thieves [and] Yídí 夷狄 are naturally Yídí. The distance between their moral character cannot be counted in 里 lǐ, [and yet] is evident at a glance. [They] cannot mix with each other, [because that] would be unlike cutting up the body of one person, and [they go] along two different roads… 新史学（节录）：…论正统…夫圣神自圣神，乱贼自乱贼，偷盗自偷盗，夷狄自夷狄，其人格之相去，不可以道里计，一望而知，无能相混者也，亦断未有一人之身，而能兼两途者也....”
influence from the classical Chinese world-view through their function of distinguishing those that are cultured and those that are not.

For Liáng, Japan might have served as a “laboratory” where Westernisation and the meeting of the modern and traditional and the effects could be seen. In his view, both Japan and China had for thousands of years been similar in that they had been so-called “standstill countries,” before Japan came to change and surpass China. Liáng’s view of the country was therefore mainly positive. To illustrate this and to point out how China should develop, Liáng observed that when both countries had tried to build a modern navy, only Japan had succeeded. This was because the statesmen in Japan, as opposed to those in China, focused on political rather than technological studies, which ultimately secured Japan’s military victory over China.

Liáng also took part in leading the debate in China on the differences of Eastern and Western civilisation, which became a turning point in China’s perception of the outside world. He was one of the first in China to promote solidarity with other Asian countries, and in his view, the people of China, Japan and other Asian countries belonged to the same “yellow race.”

Japan is relevant here as it would be the initiator of his proposed Asian solidarity club, which would hold off the Western powers, but Liáng had to change this view when Japan showed itself as the leading imperialist power in the region after defeating Russia in 1905.

However, Liáng thought that China was superior to Japan in fundamental ways, and even while in exile, China was the “backbone” of Asia in Liáng’s thoughts. For example, he claimed that an important force behind the Meiji Restoration had been the philosophy of the Neo-Confucian Wáng Yángmíng 王陽明 (1472-1829). While in his view “Asia” could be

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820 Chang, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition, 143.
821 Ibid., 88-89.
822 Ibid., 94-5.
825 Ibid., 278
826 Cui, ”Liang Qichao Riben guan.”
827 Liang and Xia, Liang Qichao wenxuan, 1:476, 478: “Discussing the strong and weak points [and] successes and failures of the men of religion and philosophers...And how can [one] be willing to be fearless, in this way having no obstacles [and] no fear? I searched deeply for the reason [for] this, and knew the other had only the idealist branch of philosophy [that can be] used to substitute this. Idealist philosophy is also a kind of religion, [and] the Wáng [Yángmíng] school of my country is a branch of idealist [philosophy]. If [China’s people can] study this and then learn it, then its people will certainly firmly work hard for the country, and then [those] responsible (for affairs) will certainly [do their job with] increased valour [and] vigour. Observing the vigour [and] moral integrity the late Ming 明 [1368-1644] Confucianism proves [this]. [In] the more than 200 years of
seen as a civilisation, this civilisation was merely Chinese civilisation.\textsuperscript{828} China, moreover, had a “great responsibility” and a special role in the world in his view.\textsuperscript{829}

8.4.5 Back in China

Despite all the previous praise for Japan, a sudden change happened in Liáng’s perceptions shortly after his returned to China in 1912, when he started to be fiercely critical towards Japanese aggression.\textsuperscript{830} His earlier feelings of for the country as a “second home” quickly vanished, and he joined the anti-Japanese movement.\textsuperscript{831}

When several anti-Chinese Japanese actions followed in the First World War, these were criticised and opposed by Liáng.\textsuperscript{832} Because of this he faced criticism in Japanese newspapers, which he refuted.\textsuperscript{833} The Japanese actions in China horrified him, and he claimed they were opposed to peace.\textsuperscript{834} Even after the war, the anti-Japanese attitudes remained, and he started to make negative remarks about the Meiji Restauration in Japan that he previously had admired.\textsuperscript{835} Japan had progressed, he admitted, but along the wrong road.\textsuperscript{836}

While Liáng has been called the most influential of the writers who for a long were time under Japanese influence,\textsuperscript{837} other Chinese notables staying in Japan, such as Sūn Zhōngshān

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the present dynasty, this school disintegrated [and] was submerged. And then this tributary [Wáng’s school] crossed the East China Sea 东海, [and] then [it there] accomplished the bold [and] new rule in Japan. This School of the Mind 心学 was applied. The School of the Mind is really the best [kind] of religion 论宗教家与哲学家之长短得失…而何以能甘鼎镬如饴, 无窒碍无恐怖若此? 吾深求其故, 而知彼有唯心派哲学以代之也。唯心哲学，亦宗教之类也，吾国之王学唯心派也。苟斯学而有得者，则其人必发强刚毅，而任事必加勇猛，观明末儒者之风节可见也。本朝二百余年，斯学销沈，而其支流超渡东海，遂成日本雄新之治。是心学之为用也。心学者，实宗教最上乘也
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\textsuperscript{829} Liang and Xia, \textit{Liang Qichao wenxuan}, 1:425, 29: “The great responsibility of the Chinese people to world civilisation… Our Three Sages 祖宗三大圣 [of antiquity] and many precursors in Heaven 天 eagerly long for you to accomplish their causes, now then their spirit come to help you 中国人对于世界文明之大责任…我们在天的祖宗三大圣和许多前辈，眼巴巴盼望你完成他的事业，正在那他的精神来加佑你哩。”
\textsuperscript{830} Cui, “\textit{Liang Qichao Riben guan}.”
\textsuperscript{831} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{832} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{833} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{834} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{835} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{836} Ibid. See also: E.g. Liang and Xia, \textit{Liang Qichao wenxuan}, 1:425, 480: “The great responsibility of the Chinese people to world civilisation… I have seen the last thirty years pass [in] Japan, [and while] the people’s knowledge have [made] great advance, the morals of the people have (rather) decreased. Even though they received the learning of Westerners and then took it as a model they were inferior to the other, [and] the reason [for this] can be profoundly considered… 中国人对于世界文明之大责任…吾见日本近三十年来，民智大进，而民德反下，其所以虽受西人之学而效不及彼者，其故可深长思矣…”
\textsuperscript{837} Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 45.
Sun Yat-sen (or Sun Yat-sen, 1866-1925) and Zhang Binglin (1868-1936) also experienced similar changes of feelings towards the country. The increased Japanese militarism was what forced the change, and one can therefore say that Liang’s thoughts reflected the times he lived in.

8.5 Lü Xùn’s view of Japan

It has been said that Lü Xùn’s destiny was linked with Japan, and he was an important person in strengthening relations between China and Japan. Like Liang, Lü also had a close relationship with the country, with his brother Zhou Zuoren (1885-1967) married to a Japanese woman and with he himself speaking fluent Japanese and translating several important Japanese authors into Chinese, as well as writing articles and letters in Japanese.

However, as there are few direct references in Lü’s writing to his view on Japan, so one often has to refer to what other remembered about him and what has been written about him to understand his view. It is also clear that, like Liang, Lü’s view of Japan changed over time, especially with increased Japanese aggression. Unlike Liang, however, Lü did not frequently use derogatory words for foreigners in his writings.

8.5.1 Events in Japan

The stay in Japan came to be important for Lü’s personal development, as during the first part of his life there he developed a better understanding of himself, and of his identity as a Chinese. First of all, when studying medicine in faraway Sendai, occurred the turning point in his life that made him quit medicine to “promote the spirit of the Chinese people” through literature. This happened when in a Japanese war report he saw the Chinese appearing apathetic to the execution of a Chinese spy.

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838 Cui, “Liang Qichao Riben guan.”
839 Ibid.
842 Lyell, Lu Hsün's Vision, 56.
843 Ibid., 73-4: Lu, Lu Xun quanji, 1:415-16: “Author’s preface to Outcry 呐喊...That time was (just) the time of the Russo-Japanese war, [and] naturally the picture slides of the warfare were relatively many. [Therefore] I had to go along with the happy applauding and acclaim of my classmates in the classroom. One time, on the slide I
Also in Sendai, Lù, as the university’s only Chinese student, was the subject of anti-Chinese nationalist feelings, as expressed even by some of his classmates. While such experiences could make Lù feel bitter towards the Japanese, there were always Japanese who would befriend him, and towards whom he later would have warm feelings. Among these, his instructor Fujino Genroku 藤野厳九郎 was particularly important.

8.5.2 Japanese influence on Lù

The Japanese study environment influenced him in many ways, with Japan being a country proving that modernisation was indeed possible, thus reminding him of Japan’s progress—and of China’s disheartening backwardness. What Lù often talked about in Japan, however, were universal problems or those related to China rather than to Japan. More than his emotional relationship to the country, Japan was important to him as a place of study, and as a reference frame from which he could criticise China’s weaknesses.

suddenly met with many Chinese [whom] I had not seen in a long time. One [of them] was bound up in the middle, [with] many standing to [his] left and right. [They] all [had] strong bodies, but bore lifeless expressions. The oral explanation [of this said that] the bound [man] was a military spy for Russia, [and therefore he] was about to have [his] head cut out as an example for the crowd. And the [students] surrounding [me] appreciated the people showing the crowd this grand occasion….呐喊自序…其時正當日俄戰爭的時候,關於戰事的畫片自然也就比較的多了,我在這一個講堂中,便須常常隨喜我那同學們的拍手和喝采。有一回,我竟在畫片上忽然會見我久違的許多中國人了,一個綁在中間,許多站在左右,一樣是強壯的體格,而顯出麻木的神情。據解說,則綁著的是替俄國做了軍事上的偵探,正要被日軍砍下頭顱來示衆,而圍著的便是來賞鑑這示衆的盛舉的人們….”

844 Lyell, Lu Hsün's Vision, 72; Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 44.

845 Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 44.

846 As can be seen from his essay on Fujino: Lu, Lu Xun quanji, 2:302, 307: “Mr. Fujino…But [though I] do not know how, I still (always) recall him from time to time. Among [the people] I consider to have been my teachers, he is the one [to whom] I feel the most thankful, [and the one] who encouraged me. At times I often think: His enthusiastic hope for me. [His] tireless teaching, regarded from a small [point of view], was for China, [and] was hoping [that] China had new medicine, [and] from a large [point of view] [it] was for science, hoping that new medicine would be transferred to China. His personality is worthy of great admiration in my eyes and heart, (even) though his name is not (at all) known to many people藤野先生…但不知怎地,我总还时时记起他,在我所认为我师的之中,他是最使我感激,给我鼓励的一个。有时我常常想:他的对于我的热心的希望,不倦的教诲,小而言之,是为中国,就是希望中国有新的医学;大而言之,是为学术,就是希望新的医学传到中国去。他的性格,在我的眼里和心里是伟大的,虽然他的姓名并不为许多人所知道。” See also: Lyell, Lu Hsün's Vision, 71-2.

847 Lyell, Lu Hsün's Vision, 55, 59.

848 Xu Xiangguo 许宪国, “Lu Xun de Riben guan 鲁迅的日本观,” Hunan gongye daxue xuebao (shehui kexue ban) 湖南工业大学学报(社会科学版) 18, 3 (2013): 119, http://www.cnki.net/KCMS/detail/detail.aspx?QueryID=0&CurRec=2&recid=&filename=ZZSF201303023&dbname=CJFD2013&dbcode=CJFQ&pr=&urlid=&v=MjczNDhadWRvRnlIZ1VMek9QemZZYUxHNEg5TE1ySTIIfjRSOGVYMUx1eFTN0RoMVGzcVRyV00xRnJDVVMNmu.
Lǔ thought that studying in another country was necessary to break with tradition, though the country need not be Japan.\textsuperscript{849} Therefore, Lǔ had extensive contacts with Japanese and other foreign writers, journalists and Sinologists, and he took part in strengthening cross-cultural relations between China and other countries.\textsuperscript{850} For example, one of the main problems Lǔ dealt with was East Asian modernity, that is, how to become modern without losing the Chinese – or Asian, non-European – selfhood.\textsuperscript{851} That is a problem that has resonated with several important Japanese intellectuals, including Takeuchi Yoshimi 竹内好 (1910-77).\textsuperscript{852} One can note that Japan’s influence in China at this time was very notable in literature, as most of the “modern” contemporary Chinese writers had studied in Japan, with these in turn influencing others.\textsuperscript{853} Also, as the Japanese literary scene was being particularly vigorous in translation of other languages, the country indirectly influenced Lǔ through his reading of these.\textsuperscript{854}

While Japanese influence can be seen more clearly in Lǔ’s works after he returned to China than while still in Japan, and certain Japanese writers such as Kuriyagawa Hakuson 廚川白村 (1880-1923) greatly influenced him, Lǔ had only a very limited interest in contemporary Japanese literature, and was selective in his translations from Japanese.\textsuperscript{855} Though he did enjoy the works of Natsume Sōseki 夏目漱石 (1867-1916), Lǔ was mostly uninterested the literature of his host country, and he found using Japanese to get in touch with other literatures more interesting and relevant to China’s situation.\textsuperscript{856} Thus, while Lǔ read much in Japan, he had few books on topics related specially to Japan.\textsuperscript{857}

The relationship between Lǔ and Japan was not one-sided: Japanese literature has been tremendously influenced by Lǔ, and he is well known in modern Japan and has influenced

\textsuperscript{849} Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 43.
\textsuperscript{850} Ibid., 45, 47.
\textsuperscript{852} Zhang, “East Asian Modernity,” 95, 99, 104.
\textsuperscript{853} Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 42
\textsuperscript{854} Lyell, Lu Hsün’s Vision, 86.
\textsuperscript{855} Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 45-6.
\textsuperscript{856} Lyell, Lu Hsün’s Vision, 85-6.
\textsuperscript{857} This can be indicated by the book inventories in his diary, e.g.: Lu, Lu Xun quanjì, 14:1, 34-38: “Diary of the Rénzǐ 壬子 year [1912, the year he returned from Japan the final time and the first year of his diary]… Book inventory after going north [in] the Rénzǐ year. 壬子日記…壬子北行后书帐.” Though Japanese titles appear in later inventories, as far as I can see none of the around ninety titles listed here are Japanese. See also: Lyell, Lu Hsün’s Vision, 60.
some Japanese writers, such as Takeuchi Yoshimi.\textsuperscript{858} There have been several editions of some of his works in Japan, and he was often translated into Japanese, something that pleased him.\textsuperscript{859} It has even been claimed that there is a “cult of Lǔ Xùn” in Japan.\textsuperscript{860}

Finally, however, the Chinese-Japanese literary relationship, once strong, grew weaker over time as the Japanese became more aggressive in China, before it ceased entirely under Japanese aggression.\textsuperscript{861} Then there was even some anti-Lu Xùn sentiment among the Chinese.\textsuperscript{862}

### 8.5.3 Japan’s features

Lú’s view of Japan has been called emotional, and presented the country as having a positive influence on China.\textsuperscript{863} In the face of Japanese aggression, however, he wished to maintain independence and opposition.\textsuperscript{864} While his views of Japan were mainly positive, however, he wrote that Japan was still developing and was not yet fully modern, even though it had gotten a long way in modernising, especially in the introduction of Western medicine.\textsuperscript{865}

When back in China, Lú supposedly often said he missed the beautiful Japanese scenery, and other sides of life in Japan.\textsuperscript{866} It has, however, also been said he was not particularly interested in the landscape, in Japan or in China, and it is claimed that Japan was just a place to live for him, just like Hángzhōu or Běijīng, so that there was nothing particular about Japan.\textsuperscript{867}

\textsuperscript{858} \textsuperscript{Rawat, “Lu Xun and Japan,” 48, 52
859 \textsuperscript{Ibid., 52
860 \textsuperscript{Ibid., 52
861 \textsuperscript{Ibid., 47.
862 \textsuperscript{Ibid., 47.
863 \textsuperscript{Xu, “Lu Xun de Riben guan,” 118.
864 \textsuperscript{Ibid., 118.
865 \textsuperscript{Lu, Lu Xun quanji, 1:415-16: “Author’s preface to Outcry… Furthermore, from the history [that had been] translated and published, [I] also [got to] know the fact [that] the Japanese reform for the most part had made [its] beginning in Western medicine. Because of this naive knowledge, afterwards I (then) enrolled in a university specialised in medicine in the Japanese countryside…而且从译出的历史上，又知道了日本维新是大半发端于西方医学的事实…因为这些幼稚的知识，后来便使我的学籍列在日本一个乡间的医学专门学校里了…”
867 \textsuperscript{Xu, “Lu Xun de Riben guan,” 119.}
8.5.4 The political side

Lù knew about the Japanese political ambitions and the danger they posed to China. Even before going to Japan, Lù was exposed to the reality of Japan taking part in the partition of China. Next, after returning to China, he witnessed the violent Japanese attack on Shànghǎi in 1932, which caused damages that, according to Lù, could not be described in writing: “I very much wanted to record it, but there truly is no place to begin.” He was aware of the strategies used by the Japanese to gain Chinese support, which he refuted and saw as representing only a portion of the Japanese. Also, if the Japanese looked down on the Chinese, this was something Lù could understand.

He kept a distance from Sino-Japanese politics, despite his interest in the Sino-Japanese relationship and familiarity with it and with Japanese politics. Thus we see few comments on China-Japan relations and Japanese politics in his writings, with strong criticism of China being more common. But Lù had to address the political situation, and he said he preferred that foreigners and Japanese exploited China rather than China ruining itself. However, he could show strong emotion towards his people, and he was said to be crying when criticising China. He also opposed Japanese administration in China, which would have no benefits for the Chinese, who would have to solve their own problems. Thus at the same time as he criticised Japan, he would also criticise China; as he put it, the Chinese government was a greater enemy than Japan.

While originally Chinese students in Japan had sympathy with the country during its war against Russia, he later said also one should not be partial to Japan. Lù thought that the

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868 Ibid., 120.
869 Chou, Memory, Violence, Queues, 65.
870 Ibid., 138-9; Lu, Lu Xun quanji, 12:89: “Second [letter sent] July 5, 1932, to Tái Jìngnóng 台静农... This year in spring, [I] was right at the frontline, [and] saw for myself the great slaughter. [It was] especially dangerous, [but] at last [I] then managed to escape. [I] very much wanted to record [it], but [there] truly was no place to begin... 320605 (2) 致台静农...今年春适在火线下,目睹大戮,尤险,然竟得免,颇欲有所记叙,然而真所谓无从说起也....”
871 Xu, “Lu Xun de Riben guan,” 121.
872 Lyell, Lu Hsün's Vision, 73.
873 Xu, “Lu Xun de Riben guan,” 120.
874 Ibid., 120.
875 Ibid., 119-20.
876 Ibid., 119.
877 Ibid., 120.
878 Ibid., 121.
879 Ibid., 120.
879 Ibid., 120.
ambitions of the Japanese army clique hid evil intentions, which would hurt China. Though he once said that even if the Chinese rejected everything Japanese, they would still find what they needed to heal their country in Japan, he came to think that China needed its own way and could not rely on one provided by Japan. He thought the peace between the two countries should be safeguarded, and believed in balance of power, so that China needed to improve its military, politics, culture, economy and the people’s spirit. Without balance, Lū thought, the peace would be difficult to keep.

Lū promoted tolerance in international affairs, and opposed antagonism between peoples, and while it is true that he disliked talking to Japanese officials, he also disliked talking to Chinese officials. But he did like to talk to Japanese, because he thought it would increase understanding between people. Criticism and thoughts about international relations and relations between people has been called the core of Lū’s view of Japan. He supported cultural exchanges, and took a rational attitude which distinguished between Japanese politics and Japanese individuals – or between the temporary political relations and the “eternal” relations between peoples. Lū thus emphasised both national independence and fruitful exchanges between peoples, and rather than an overly emotional and radical nationalism, he expressed more reasonable and rational judgements.

Like Liáng, Lū represented the attitude of those who had stayed in Japan in that period. They often got a good impression of Japanese culture from staying there, but because of Japanese aggressive behaviour they also expressed national sentiments, and were forced to adopt a rational balance.

8.6 Conclusion

The late 19th and early 20th century was a period in which the Chinese view of the outside world was reformed. This was largely because of the increased foreign presence in China,
where Japan played an important role. While the latter country had previously been seen as culturally backward, it now became an example to follow. Soon, however, the country increasingly also became a new threat to China as the leading imperialist power in the region. Although the Chinese world-view had historically been slow and reluctant to change, the approaches of Chinese intellectuals of the time did not fit in well with the traditional Sinocentric views, so we can see that the traditional world-view had begun to change.

The views of Liáng Qíchāo and Lǜ Xùn, two of these intellectuals, are interesting due to their intense intellectual dealings and close personal relationships with Japan, which shaped their perceptions of the country as well as their personal lives and political thoughts. From their writings, as well as their personal conditions while living there, we can see that they both had many positive impressions of how Japan had been able to modernise, which China should take as a model. While both made use of the many translations into Japanese from other languages, they were selective in their Japanese readings. Their views were not stable but changed over time, and in reaction to the increased Japanese ambitions they turned more negative. While of the two, Liáng lived in Japan longer, and may have been more influenced by the country, Japan’s influence on Lǜ was also very notable, though Lǜ did see Japan as a political threat to a greater degree than Liáng did.

The views of the two writers imply that by this time, the traditional Sinocentristic world-view had been all but abandoned. Though Liáng sometimes used traditional derogatory vocabulary for foreigners in his discussions, and thought he though Japan’s culture was indebted to China’s, the concepts behind his words were influenced by Western though. Lǜ mostly did not use these traditional terms. The new world-view reflected in the writings of the two men did not only stem from their personal experiences in Japan, but also to the influence of Japanese achievements and modern Western and Japanese thinking. Because of this, the events between the Hāiguó Túzhì was published in the 1840s and the writings of Liáng and Lǜ seem to have been decisive for the evolution of the Chinese world-view. Particular importance can probably be attached to the Sino-Japanese war of 1895.
9 Summary of findings

China’s relations to foreigners form an important part of the country’s long history. If we want to understand why the Chinese acted as they did at many points in their history, we need to study how they viewed the world around them. For this reason, I examined the portrayal of foreigners in Chinese literature, with attention given to the degree to which the traditional Chinese world-view was adhered to in different eras and circumstances. The world-view was put in focus because it had a huge influence on Chinese perceptions of foreigners. The thesis also considered when and under which circumstances this world-view came to change.

Foreigners were defined as those not recognised by the Han Chinese of their era as being part of the central Chinese civilisation, and included peoples within what was then China.

My first chapter introduced what is called the Sinocentric world-view, which was shown to give China superiority over other countries based on its allegedly preeminent culture and virtue, and which had a basis both in culture, ethnicity, philosophy (Confucianism) and cosmology. Here, foreigners were generally seen as inferior to the Chinese, and could only possibly attain equality with them if they adopted Chinese culture.

This thesis has analysed the Chinese view of foreigners in a number of sources ranging in time from the 5th to the early 20th centuries, and in genre from standard histories, travel accounts and poetry to private gazetteers and popular fiction. Source texts were chosen both for clearly portraying foreigners, for the sake of variety and for their representative role in Chinese literature. That the texts span across many centuries and different genres has added depth to my conclusion. How representative the selected material is, however, remained a problem, and may have influenced the conclusions I drew from my analyses of them. The foreigners I have researched the perceptions of included the ancient steppe nomads, and especially the Xiōngnú, as well as Indians, Turks, the Silla Koreans, the Mongols, the Southwestern peoples, the Vietnamese, the French, the Swedes and Norwegians and finally the Japanese. As far as I am aware, my method of researching the views of foreigners has not been applied before to my source texts.

The portrayal of these peoples has been analysed through the vocabulary used to refer to and describe them, their role in literature, the description of their customs and related exotic elements and how they and the events they participated in are portrayed. The analyses have
enabled me to draw conclusions as to how the Chinese viewed foreigners throughout several periods of history, and which implications these views had for the Chinese world-view.

### 9.1 Chinese perceptions of foreigners

From the beginning the position of foreign peoples in relation to China was vital for the Chinese, as it helped them define their world-view even on the cosmological level. Throughout Chinese history foreigners have often played important roles, which is reflected in many Chinese sources. My analyses show that despite the allegedly Sinocentric world-view, the Chinese have always had an interest in the outside world. Moreover, the importance the Chinese attached to foreign peoples is indicated by the level of detail given in the descriptions of them.

#### 9.1.1 Tradition and exceptions

My findings in the works ranging from the 5th to the 14th-16th centuries have been diverse and often at odds with the traditional world-view.

The first case study was the accounts of the steppe nomads found in the Hòu Hàn Shū. These accounts fall into the tradition of including the portrayal of foreign peoples in dynastic histories dating back to the Shǐjì in the 1st century BC, and have had much influence on later Chinese writings on foreign peoples. Here, the nomads are depicted as violent and exotic, but they are also a part of history that needs to be rationalised, or made credible to their contemporaries, due to their important historical (and sometimes metaphysical) role. The portrayal of them seems to correspond well with the traditional world-view.

Next, we have the description of Indians in Xuánzàng’s Dà Táng Xīyù Ji. The description here is the first major exception to the traditional world-view. The Buddhist monk Xuánzàng had much reverence for India, seeing it as the Buddhist holy land. Also he generally showed respect for the Indians and their customs, and seemed impressed by some of the things he saw in India. Xuánzàng’s account, however, shows more exotic sides to India, and does not hide his negative impressions in the country.

The poetry of the Táng Dynasty expresses a variety of views. In a number of poems we see exceptions to the Sinocentric world-view, where foreigners are described in elaborate ways.
Still, often cultural differences from China are stressed. Moreover, in some Táng poems foreigners are seen as having metaphysical importance. Here, foreigners are seen as opposed to and yet complementary with the Chinese. The implications of this are most often positive, but not always. However, the views on foreigners conveyed in Táng poems for the most part went through a change in the Middle Táng period, after which we commonly find more negative opinions on them.

Centuries later, the way the Mongols are described in the Yuán Shǐ is hardly particularly negative. In a Chinese context, the work was special in giving legitimacy to a dynasty originating outside of China. While exotic sides of Mongol culture are sometimes shown, as well as their occasional excessive violence, the overall impression is that the Mongols were skilled in both martial and literary arts, and they do not appear as inherently violent.

Next, in the Sānguó Yǎnyì, we find highly exotic views of the Southwestern peoples in the mostly fictional account of Zhūgě Liàng’s southern campaign. Here, while the natives are seen as uncivilised, the description is not solely negative. The popular novel therefore seems mostly to convey traditional views, where cultivation happens through the adoption of Chinese culture, but it is possible to read it as celebrating resistance to the Chinese world order.

9.1.2 The changing world-view

China’s international situation underwent a sudden change in the 19th century, with increased contacts with Western countries. As China’s relative power compared to Western powers and Japan decreased, it seemed to many that there was a need to revise the age-old Chinese world-view. This is apparent in some of the writings I have studied.

The descriptions of foreign countries in the gazetteer Hǎiguó Túzhì show many influences from traditional thinking, but also portray foreign countries as being more important for China than most previous works had done. Through the use of quotations, including many from Western sources, it expressed a variety of views. Aside from the critical introductory essays, foreigners are here seen in a largely positive and non-exotic, or at least balanced, light.

Finally we have the views of Japan of Liáng Qíchāo and Lù Xùn. Many of their writings seem to view the Japanese mainly in a positive way, though they were also apprehensive of the
threat Japan came to pose to China. Most of the opinions of the two writers differ from the traditional world-view, and its influence on them seems to have been minimal.

9.2 Re-evaluating Sinocentrism

What is called the Sinocentric world-view influenced most of the views conveyed in my source texts, but clearly had much less influence on others. In the material analysed in this thesis there seems to be more exceptions, of varying degrees, to the world-view than there are examples that fit smoothly into it. Here, foreigners were seen as equal with or superior to the Chinese.

From my analyses we can therefore conclude that while the Chinese world-view influenced many centuries of Chinese history and reached both the élite and the common people, exceptions to it were also common. This shows that my hypothesis\(^\text{890}\) about the influence and dominating role of the Sinocentric world-view has been proven wrong; this world-view cannot be said to have been dominating all the Chinese perceptions of foreigners in the periods I examined.

Nevertheless, in each of the eras I visited I found the theories of Sinocentrism helpful as a general background to understand the Chinese view of the world. That is even more so because the influence of Sinocentrism can be detected also in works where it does not dominate, and indeed can be discerned in varying degrees in all of my cases. In particular, besides a long tradition of using derogatory terms to describe foreigners and the stressing of cultural differences, the notion that cultivation happens through Sinicisation can be seen in several texts.

9.2.1 Which factors influenced the world-view?

A number of factors have been identified that caused exceptions or changes in the Chinese world-view and Chinese portrayals of foreigners.

Firstly, *historical circumstances* have been proved to greatly influence the Chinese views of foreigners and image of their position in the world. The relative strength of the steppe nomads influenced the views of several of China’s ancient historians. Next, the flourishing

\(^{890}\) For this hypothesis, see Chapter 1.4.
international relations of the Early and High Táng eras caused more positive views of foreigners, which were turned to the negative by events such as the violent Ān-Shǐ Rebellion. Later on, Mongol rule of China forced the Chinese to make a legitimate place for their foreign rulers in their world-view. And in the end, it was Western and later Japanese imperialist pressure on China that caused the Chinese to abandon the long-held Sinocentric world-view.

Secondly, Xuánzàng’s writing as well as certain Táng poems shows that it was possible for religion to influence, or even fully reverse, the Sinocentric world-view.

Thirdly, personal relations and experiences with foreigners were the reason behind the often positive but also well-considered and balanced views of Xuánzàng, Táng poets such as Lǐ Shimín (himself of partial non-Ḥàn ancestry), Liáng and Lű, who are those among the authors of the works analysed who we know had considerable personal dealings with foreigners.

Fourthly, genre had a significant impact on how foreigners were portrayed. While views range from negative to more neutral and in some cases more positive in official standard histories, the more positive personal opinions of Xuánzàng, Liáng and Lű stand apart. Poetry has been shown to express a variety of views, as has the gazetteer genre, while the complex views of the Sānguó Yǎnyì show that popular literature could differ from élite literature. In general – excluding those among the élite with personal dealings with foreigners – the élite views may have been more negative than the popular perceptions.

And finally, the reverence for the past, often seen in the use of quotations from earlier works, was rather consistent throughout the ages at the least from the time of the Ḥàn Shū and up until the 19th century, and enabled the views of former ages to influence later eras. In the case of the view on foreigners, old descriptions were sometimes used even when newer works where available, as can be seen in parts of the Hǎiguó Túzhì.

9.2.2 When did the Chinese world-view change, and for what reason?

From the sources I have studied here, I can only roughly indicate when the Chinese world-view changed. Comparing the Hǎiguó Túzhì of the 1840s with Liáng and Lű’s writings from the early 20th century, it is clear that much intellectual development has taken place in the period between them, and that the classical world-view had lost most of its relevance.
The reason for the change can be assumed to be the increased contact with foreigners that began with the Opium War of 1839-42 and the internal social changes in China that followed. In particular, the defeat by Japan in 1895 may be awarded particular importance, due to the shock of China being defeated by a nation it had long considered inferior to itself.

Change, of course, happened over time. Those among the Chinese who had personal experience with foreigners surely changed their views before those who had only indirect or no experience with them. It is clear that in 19th and 20th century China some Chinese had much closer relations to foreign countries than others, including not only some among the élite, but also those living in coastal cities. Developments towards a new world-view may have already started much earlier than at the time of the Hāiguó Túzhì, and came to continue after the time of the two intellectuals in Japan, as it is still evolving today.

9.3 Closing remarks

My sources have been illustrative for the Chinese views of foreigners, but this thesis only considers a few of many texts that have relevance for this topic. I believe more research could reveal more exceptions to the Chinese world-view, as well as further elaborate its evolution and make clearer which factors influenced it. In particular, more exceptions to the Chinese world-view can likely be found in travel accounts or personal writings and texts with a religious connection, and perhaps in popular literature. On the other hand, I would expect most dynastic histories to convey a more traditional view, though exceptions probably also can be found. The same is the case for poetry, where a variety of views are expressed. Finally, research devoted to the period between the 1840s and the early 1900s could determine more precisely how the Chinese world-view came to change.
**Bibliography**


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