

Essays on the Sources for Chinese History

Editors

Donald D. Leslie,
Colin Mackerras
& Wang Gungwu

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY PRESS

© Australian National University 1973

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purposes of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

Printed and manufactured in Australia.

Registered in Australia for transmission by post as a book.

Library of Congress Catalog Card no. 78-182596

National Library of Australia Card no.

and ISBN 0 7081 0398 7

史 Essays on the Sources
for Chinese History

Dedicated to
Charles Patrick FitzGerald
by the
Department of Far Eastern History
Australian National University

史

CANBERRA

Preface

This book is dedicated to Emeritus Professor C.P. FitzGerald who was the Head of the Department of Far Eastern History, Research School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University from 1954 until his retirement in 1968. When it was first thought of, Dr Lo Hui-min and Dr Donald Leslie suggested that instead of the usual *Festschrift* a unified work be attempted. This idea was adopted by the Acting Head of the Department at the time, Dr Wang Ling, and other members of the Department, and the present work is the result.

The first stage of organising and inviting contributions was undertaken by Dr Leslie. After he left the Department in 1970, Dr Mackerras and myself took over the final stages of editing. All three editors received valuable support from other members of the Department, Dr Igor de Rachewiltz, Dr Stephen FitzGerald, Dr Noel Barnard, and Dr Andrew Fraser. Help and advice was also obtained from Professor Jan de Jong, Dr Ken Gardiner, and Dr Rafe de Crespigny. All the contributors have been connected with Professor FitzGerald in one way or another over the past twenty years or more, either as students, colleagues, or friends. On behalf of my fellow editors, I would like to thank all of them, and in particular those from overseas, for their kind and generous help.

The volume is designed to revolve around a particular theme, but we do not claim that it is in any sense comprehensive. Some topics have also been treated in existing reference works and are only briefly considered here; others are not as well known and have been included in the hope that they will stimulate further interest. In general, however, the papers show how a particular kind of source can help towards an understanding of Chinese history in general (especially those dealing with traditional China); or where to look for sources on a particular aspect of the history of China. It has not been possible to be rigid about the approach of different authors or to standardise the length of the chapters. The differences mainly reflect the range and variety of the sources considered, as well as the origins and backgrounds of Professor FitzGerald's many admirers around the world: China, Japan, Europe, America, Southeast Asia and, not least, those of us in Australia.

Each chapter is accompanied by a bibliography, except the last one

Preface

where the nature of the subject makes it unnecessary. These lists are not exhaustive but are intended merely as guides. Bibliographic details of books cited are mentioned in the footnotes only when the work in question is not included in the bibliography of the relevant chapter.

Standard systems of romanisation have been followed throughout: e.g. the Wade-Giles for Chinese, the Library of Congress for Russian. In general we have not thought it necessary to translate the titles of books and articles in Chinese and Japanese. All characters can be found in the comprehensive index at the end. Only when the context makes it absolutely essential have characters been written in the main body of the book.

It gives me great pleasure to thank Dr Leslie and Dr Mackerras for the tremendous amount of work they have done to make this volume possible. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Professor O.H.K. Spate, the Director of the Research School of Pacific Studies, who has shown interest in the work and arranged a subsidy which made its publication possible.

Department of Far Eastern History
Australian National University
Canberra, 1971

Wang Gungwu

Contributors

Professor DERK BODDE is now Professor of Chinese at the University of Pennsylvania. His main publications include *China's First Unifier* (Leiden, 1938), *Tolstoy and China* (Princeton, N.J., 1950), *Peking Diary* (New York, 1950), and *Law in Imperial China* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967, with Clarence Morris).

Dr BILL BRUGGER is a Lecturer in politics at the Flinders University of South Australia. He lived in Peking from 1964 to 1966 and has written several articles on contemporary China.

Professor JEAN CHESNEAUX is Professor of Contemporary Far Eastern History at the Sorbonne, and was a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University, in 1970. He is the author of numerous works on China and Vietnam, especially *Le mouvement ouvrier chinois de 1919 à 1927* (Paris, 1962) and *Contribution à l'histoire de la nation vietnamienne* (Paris, 1955).

Dr RAFE de CRESPIGNY was Secretary-General of the 28th International Congress of Orientalists held in Canberra in 1971 and is at present a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Chinese, Australian National University. He has written several books and articles on second and third century and present-day China, especially *The Last of the Han* (Canberra, 1969).

Dr JOSEF FASS is a Research Fellow in the Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences. He is the author of several articles on Sun Yat-sen and the 1911 Revolution and of a book called *Sunjatsen* (Prague, 1966).

Dr STEPHEN FITZGERALD is Australian Ambassador to the People's Republic of China. He has written several articles on Chinese policy towards the Overseas Chinese and is the author of *China and the Overseas Chinese; A Study of Peking's Changing Policy 1949-1970* (Cambridge, 1972).

Professor JOSEPH FLETCHER is Professor of Chinese and Central Asian History at Harvard University. He has contributed four chapters for the *Cambridge History of China* and the *Cambridge History of Inner Asia* and

is the author of a forthcoming monograph entitled *The Erdeni-yin erike as a Source for the Reconciliation of the Khalkha Mongols, 1684-1688*.

Professor FUJIEDA AKIRA is at present Professor at the Jimbun kagaku kenkyūjo. He has worked extensively on the Tun-huang manuscripts and on local government during the Period of Division. His main publications include *Kyokyōkan*, 2 vols. (Kyoto, 1955-8), co-editor with Murata Jirō, and *Moji no bunkashi* (Tokyo, 1971), awarded the 1972 Prix Stanislas Julien.

Dr K.H.J. GARDINER is at present a Senior Lecturer in Chinese culture and history in the Department of Asian Civilizations at the Australian National University, Canberra. His publications include *The Early History of Korea* (Canberra, 1969) and numerous articles on the history and culture of Korea and north-eastern China.

Professor CHÜN-TU HSÜEH is Professor of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland. He is the author of numerous articles and books on twentieth century China. These include *Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford, 1961; 1968), *The Chinese Communist Movement, An Annotated Bibliography* (Stanford, 1960-2), and *Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China* (New York, 1971). A French edition of *Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China* is scheduled to be published by Editions Calmann-Levy of Paris in 1973.

C. KIRILOFF is Principal Lecturer in Languages at the College of Advanced Education, Canberra. He has written several articles on early Sino-Russian relations, and on Chinese language.

Dr JOSEF KOLMAŠ is Head of the Department of Eastern Asia, Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague. He has written several books and articles on Tibetan history. These include *Tibet and Imperial China* (Canberra, 1967) and *A Genealogy of the Kings of Derge* (Prague, 1968).

Dr D.D. LESLIE has been a Fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University and Associate Professor in the Department of Philosophy, University of Tel Aviv. Since 1972 he has been Senior Lecturer in History at the Canberra College of Advanced Education. He has compiled a bibliography on local gazetteers (with J. Davidson) and written widely on the Jews of K'ai-feng, especially in *The Survival of the Chinese Jews; the Jewish Community of Kaifeng* (Leiden, 1972).

Professor LI CHI is Professor of Archaeology at Taiwan University and Director of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica,

Taiwan. He is one of the founders of modern Chinese archaeology and has written numerous books and articles on the subject. His books include *The Formation of the Chinese People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1928).

Professor LIU TS'UN-YAN is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and Head of the Department of Chinese, Australian National University. He has written numerous books and articles on Taoism and Chinese literature, especially *Chinese Popular Fiction in Two London Libraries* (Hong Kong, 1967) and *Buddhist and Taoist Influences on Chinese Novels* (Wiesbaden, 1962).

Dr LO HUI-MIN is a Senior Fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History at the Australian National University. He is working on the Morrison Papers and his publications include *Foreign Office Confidential Papers Relating to China* (Paris, 1969).

Dr MICHAEL LOEWE has been a Lecturer in Classical Chinese at the University of Cambridge since 1963. He has written widely on Han China, especially in *Records of Han Administration*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1967) and *Everyday Life in Early Imperial China* (London, 1968).

Dr COLIN MACKERRAS is a Research Fellow in the Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University. His main publications are *The Uighur Empire According to the T'ang Dynastic Histories* (Canberra, 1972) and *The Rise of the Peking Opera (1770-1870)* (Oxford, 1972).

Professor MATSUMARU MICHIO was a Research Officer in the Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University, from 1966 to 1970, when he became Associate Professor at the Research Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo. He has written numerous monographs and articles on oracle bones, including *Kōkotsu monji* (Tokyo, 1959).

Dr PNG POH-SENG is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of History, University of Singapore. He has written several articles on twentieth century China and Japan and on the Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Professor TIMOTEUS POKORA is Head of the Department of Eastern Asia, Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Prague. He has written a book on Ch'in shih huang-ti and has done a partial translation of Wang Ch'ung's *Lun-heng* and a complete one of Huan T'an's *Hsin-lun*.

Dr PAUL A. RULE has made a detailed study of the Jesuits in Manchu China. He is a Lecturer in the Department of History of the University of Melbourne.

Contributors

Professor OTTO van der SPRENKEL was Associate Professor in the Department of Asian Civilizations, Australian National University for many years until his retirement at the end of 1971. He has written extensively on Chinese history and contemporary China, especially on the Ming civil service. He is at present working on the monumental 'Selective Annotated Bibliography of Chinese History, Thought and Institutions', which will be published shortly.

Professor WANG GUNGWU is a Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities and Head of the Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University. His principal publications include *A Short History of the Nanyang Chinese* (Singapore, 1959) and *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Kuala Lumpur, 1963).

Contents

	Preface	v
	Contributors	ix
	A Personal Tribute to C. P. FitzGerald WANG LING	1
	Charles Patrick FitzGerald, A Selected Bibliography LO HUI-MIN	3
I	Archaeological Studies in China LI CHI	9
II	Oracle Bones MATSUMARU MICHIO	15
III	Pre-Han Literature TIMOTEUS POKORA	23
IV	Wooden Documents MICHAEL LOEWE	36
V	Standard Histories, Han to Sui K. H. J. GARDINER	42
VI	Some Comments on the Later Standard Histories WANG GUNGWU	53
VII	Universal Histories RAFFAEL DE CRESPIGNY	64
VIII	Local Gazetteers D. D. LESLIE	71
IX	Unofficial Regional Records COLIN MACKERRAS	75
X	Genealogical Registers OTTO BERKELBACH VAN DER SPENKEL	83
XI	Legal Sources DERK BODDE	99
XII	The Compilation and Historical Value of the Tao-tsang LIU TS'UN-YAN	104
XIII	The Tun-huang Manuscripts FUJIEDA AKIRA	120
XIV	Tibetan Sources JOSEF KOLMAŠ	129
XV	Manchu Sources JOSEPH FLETCHER	141
XVI	Arabic Sources D. D. LESLIE	147
XVII	Western Sources OTTO BERKELBACH VAN DER SPENKEL	154
XVIII	Jesuit Sources PAUL A. RULE	176
XIX	Russian Sources C. KIRILOFF	188
XX	Some Notes on Archives on Modern China LO HUI-MIN	203

Contents

XXI	Chinese Newspapers	JOSEF FASS	221
XXII	Sources on Kuomintang and Republican China	STEPHEN FITZGERALD	229
XXIII	Sources on the History of the Chinese Communist Party	CHÜN-TU HSÜEH	241
XXIV	Sources on the Chinese People's Republic	BILL BRUGGER	251
XXV	Sources on the Overseas Chinese	PNG POH-SENG	266
XXVI	Lexicology as a Primary Source Material for the History of Modern China	JEAN CHESNEAUX	278
	Index		287

史 A Personal Tribute to C. P. FitzGerald

WANG LING

Men and women attracted to each other at first sight do not necessarily become lasting lovers and people who make friends easily do not always make life-long friends. Patrick FitzGerald is one of those people who are not easy to talk to at first meeting, but the longer one knows him, the closer one feels to him, and the more convinced one is that he is a selfless person worthy of the trust of friendship.

There is an ancient Chinese story about a man who lived by the sea-shore and loved sea-gulls. At first they flew away when he came near them. Gradually they got used to one another and played together. Whenever he arrived the birds flocked to him in hundreds, some settling on his shoulders, others flapping their wings over his head and playfully pecking his hair. One day his father asked him to capture some sea-gulls and bring them home, but when he went back to the beach they realised he had betrayed their friendship and flew away and would not return. We sea-gulls, however, treat Patrick as one of us and know that our friendship with him will never end through any betrayal of his.

Perhaps spontaneity is the best word to describe not only his personal relationships but also his role as head of department. Somehow, little by little, he built up or, more suitably, let grow a department of considerable size, embracing a diversity of subjects from tortoise-shell records of the second millennium B.C. to Morrison's railway tickets of our own century, and a variety of nationalities from Hyperboreans beyond the north wind to Australians under the sky of the Southern Cross. Everyone co-operates and everything proceeds spontaneously under the influence of his example rather than by discipline and authority. In the words of Lao-tzu, a Chinese philosopher of the sixth century B.C.

The best ruler, people do not know he exists,

The next best, they love and praise,

The next, they fear,

The next, they revile,

But of the best ruler, when his task is accomplished and his work done,
the people all remark 'We have done it ourselves'.

史 Charles Patrick FitzGerald A Selected Bibliography

LO HUI-MIN

From the publication of his first book in 1933, Professor C. P. FitzGerald (b. 1902) has been a most prolific writer. The output to date amounts to some 380 items. The following list represents some of the better known and more accessible of his works. It is divided into two categories: books, and pamphlets, articles, and chapters. Items are arranged chronologically within each category. Translations into foreign languages and editions revised under a new title are listed separately. Dates within parentheses signify a reprint or translation.

Books

- 1933 *Son of Heaven, A Biography of Li Shih-min, Founder of the T'ang Dynasty*, Cambridge, 1933; reprinted (pirated) Taipei, 1970. 232 pp.
- 1935 *China, A Short Cultural History*, London, 1935; reprinted 1942; 2nd ed., 1950; reprinted 1954 and 1958; 3rd ed., 1961; first paperback ed., London, 1965; also 2nd ed., New York, 1954; 3rd ed., New York, 1961; reprinted 1965, 1967. 624 pp.
- (1935) *Li Che-min, Unificateur de la Chine, 600 à 649*, translated and with preface by G. Lepage, Paris, 1935; a translation of *Son of Heaven*. 247 pp.
- 1941 *The Tower of Five Glories, A Study of the Min Chia of Ta Li, Yunnan*, London, 1941. 280 pp.
- 1948 *Introducing China*, co-author George Yeh, London, 1948. 116 pp.
- 1952 *Flood Tide in China*, London, 1952. 286 pp.
- 1952 *Revolution in China*, London, 1952. 290 pp.
- 1955 *The Empress Wu*, Melbourne, 1955; reprinted 1958 (with additional epilogue). 252; 263 pp.
- (1961) *Chung-kuo wen-hua chien-shih*, translated by Jen-huan, 2 vols., Taipei, 1961; a translation of *China, A Short Cultural History*. 562 pp.
- 1961 *Finding out about Imperial China*, Exploring the East Series, London, 1961. 143 pp.

Sources for Chinese History

- (1964) *The Birth of Communist China*, revised paperback ed. of *Revolution in China*, Harmondsworth, 1964; reprinted New York, 1967. 288 pp.
- 1964 *The Chinese View of their Place in the World*, London, 1964; reprinted twice 1965; reprinted with postscript 1966 and 1967; paperback with addendum, Oxford, 1969 and 1970. 82 pp.
- 1965 *Barbarian Beds, The Origin of the Chair in China*, Canberra, 1965. 85 pp.
- 1965 *The Third China, The Chinese Communities in South-East Asia*, Melbourne, 1965; reprinted 1966. 109 pp.
- 1966 *A Concise History of East Asia*, Melbourne and New York, 1966. 310; 306 pp.
- (1968) *Des Manchous à Mao Tse-Tong, Les révolutions chinoises du XX^e siècle*, Les grandes vagues révolutionnaires, translated by Henri-Louis Méhu, Paris, 1968; translation of *The Birth of Communist China* and *Flood Tide in China*. 315 pp.
- 1969 *The Horizon History of China*, New York, 1969. 415 pp.
- (1969) *Storia dell' Estremo Oriente dagli antichi imperia alle nazioni d'oggi*, translated by Ettore Capriolo, Milan, 1969; translation of *A Concise History of East Asia*. 453 pp.
- 1971 *Communism Takes China*, Library of XX Century Series, London, 1971. 127 pp.
- 1972 *China: a World So Changed*, co-author Myra Roper, Melbourne, 1972. 243 pp.
- 1972 *The Southern Expansion of The Chinese People 'Southern Fields and Southern Ocean'*, Canberra, 1972. 230; xxi pp.

Pamphlets, Articles, and Chapters

- 1932 'A New Estimate of the Chinese Population under the T'ang Dynasty', *The China Journal* XVI, 1 (January 1932), pp. 5-14, 62-72.
- 1936 'Further Historical Evidence for the Growth of the Chinese Population', *The Sociological Review* XXVIII, 3 (July 1936), pp. 267-73.
- 1950 'The Chinese Revolution: New Democracy and Imperial Traditions', *Chatham House Review, World Today* VI, 6 (June 1950), pp. 237-48.
- 1950 *Korea: the Background*, Current Affairs No. 116 (30 September 1950). 18 pp.
- 1951 'The Chinese Revolution and the West', *Pacific Affairs* XXIV, 1 (March 1951), pp. 3-17.