

A Brief History of Chinese and Japanese Civilizations

Conrad Schirokauer

The City College of The City University of New York



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For Lore and our sons, David and Oliver

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Calligraphy by Dr. Léon L. Y. Chang, Distinguished Visiting Professor at the Center of Asian Studies, St. John's University; Member, Board of Directors Chinese National Museums.

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Preface

The reasons for studying China and Japan can be subsumed under three broad headings: the richness of their long historical records, which form such an important part of the total history of the human race and illuminate the nature of the human condition; the enduring value of their cultural achievements; and the contemporary importance of the world's most populated land and of its most successful non-Western modernized country, the one undergoing a revolution unprecedented in scale, the other now the third largest industrial power in the world. In a day when the roads are filled with Japanese cars and the bookstores with books on Zen, it should no longer be necessary to argue the case for studying East Asia. But setting aside the obvious impact of East Asia on contemporary Western life, surely some acquaintance with the civilizations of China and Japan is required of one who would be an educated person, for to be educated means to be able to see beyond the narrow geographic. temporal, and cultural bounds of one's immediate neighborhood. Indeed, to be educated entails the ability to see oneself in a broader perspective, including the perspective of history. And in this day and age, that means not only the history of one's own tribe or state or even civilization but ideally of all human history—for it is all our history.

That history is woven of many strands, and so we have economic and political history, the study of social structure, of thought, and of art. This text is based on the belief that an introduction to the history of a civilization requires consideration of all these facets of human activity, a general mapping out of the terrain so that the beginner may find his or her bearings and learn enough to consider in which direction to explore further, with some idea of the rewards to be gained for the effort. An introduction then is certainly not a catalog (although it should contain basic data) or a personal synthesis or summation, nor is it the proper vehicle for extending the expanding frontiers of present knowledge. Instead, it should, among other things, introduce the reader to the conventions of a field of study and attempt to convey the state of our present understanding. The basic aim of this text then is to serve as a work of orientation.

Thus, for example, where applicable, the standard dynastic framework has been used to provide the basic historical chronology.

History is the study of change and continuity, and both elements are always present, for no generation starts off with a blank slate, nor can even the most fervid traditionalist block changes wrought by the passage of time. In looking at a given segment of history, the scholar does not confront a choice between change and continuity but faces the more difficult task of weighing the change in the continuity, the continuity in the change. Such a determination requires, in the final analysis, as much art as science, and no assessment is ever final. This is so not only because of the continual discovery of new evidence (the dramatic finds of recent Chinese archaeology are a good example) or of new techniques (for example, in the dating of materials) but also because scholars' analytic concepts change, and they learn to ask new questions. Even if that were not the case, history would still have to be rewritten at intervals, inasmuch as the ultimate significance of any individual historical episode depends in the final analysis on the whole story: as long as history itself is unfinished, so is its writing.

If this is true of all history, it is especially the case with the history of East Asia, about which we know a great deal more now than we did just a generation ago, but the areas of our ignorance continue to be enormous. Etienne Balazs (1905–63) once compared students of China to Lilliputians clambering over the Gulliver that is Chinese history, and his words are still apt. Indeed, one of the continuing attractions of the field is that it offers great opportunities to the intellectually adventurous and hardy to work on major problems. Our hope is that the very inadequacies of a text such as this will spur some readers on to these endeavors. Thus for this text to succeed, it must fail: the reader must come away hungry, his appetite whetted but not satiated.

A broad survey such as this is by necessity based on the studies of many scholars (indeed the author's pleasure in wide reading is matched only by his fear of inadvertent plagiarism). No attempt has been made to list all the works consulted. The suggested readings in the appendix have been drawn up in the hope of meeting some of the readers' needs, not of acknowledging the author's indebtedness, although there is considerable overlap. It is also impossible here to list all the individuals who have contributed by offering suggestions, suggesting references, supplying a date or a translation for a term, and so forth, or to acknowledge individually the teachers, students, and colleagues who have influenced my thoughts about the broader problems of history, China and Japan, and the teaching of these subjects. I do, however, want to single out for special mention Professor Arthur F. Wright (1913–76), scholar and humanist, whom I had the privilege of knowing as both teacher and friend.

For reading portions of the book and offering valuable corrections and suggestions, I am indebted to Professors Kwang-Ching Liu, William F. Morton, Robert M. Somers, and H. Paul Varley. In addition Professor Somers read the entire manuscript with unflagging care and sensitivity. I would also like to thank Professor Gary Ledyard, who kept me from straying too far from my

area of competence. Further, I wish to acknowledge the research help of Henry Sirotin.

This book would never have been written without the gentle persuasion of William A. Pullin. It owes much to the careful editing of Avery M. Colt, who repeatedly insisted that I spell things out, fill in gaps, and make myself clear, and to Marion Corkett, who saved the book from a flood of errors and embarrassments and combined painstaking care with persistent good humor as she saw the manuscript through its various stages. The author alone, however, is responsible for any errors that slipped through despite everything.

The high cultures of China and Japan are profoundly visual, and the highest art is calligraphy. It therefore gives me particular pleasure to thank Dr. Léon Long Yien Chang (Chang Lung-yen) for gracing this book with the art of his brush. It has also been a pleasure to work with Patricia Smythe, designer, Carla Hirst Wiltenburg, art editor, and Jean Paul Tremblay, cartographer and artist.

My greatest debt is to those who have lived with this book for so long, my forbearing family, for the project ate badly into the time available for me as son, father, and husband. My son Oliver helped in reading final proof—his sharp eyes spotted errors that had eluded everyone else. My wife, Lore, not only helped in innumerable direct and indirect ways but also contributed greatly to the art work, which includes a number of her own photographs.

CONRAD SCHIROKAUER

Note on Calligraphy on the Chapter Title Pages

In drawing the titles, Dr. Léon L. Y. Chang selected calligraphic forms appropriate for the contents of each chapter. Thus Chapters 1 and 2 are written in the Ta Chüan (great seal) form used during the Shang and Chou. The title for Chapter 3 is in the Hsiao Chüan (small seal) form. which was promulgated as standard by the first emperor of the Ch'in. The title for Chapter 4 is written in two styles: the characters in the single column at the right are in the Li (clerical or official) form, which dates from the third century B.C. and was used until the middle of the third century A.D.; the characters at the left are in the Cheng (standard) form, which began during the Three Kingdoms period. Thus the first of these characters designates Wei, one of the Three Kingdoms. The next is Chin, which briefly reunified China. This style of calligraphy was called Chin-li during the T'ang and is now commonly called K'ai-shu. The titles of all subsequent chapters are written in the Cheng, Hsing, or Ts'ao forms (standard, longhand, or cursive), which are illustrated in Figure 4-3.

Note on Names and Romanization

In Chinese and Japanese, surnames precede given names, and that has been the order followed in this book except for modern Chinese and Japanese scholars who, writing for a Western audience, have adopted the Western name sequence. Furthermore, members of Japanese political and cultural dynasties, as well as certain other individuals, are commonly known by their given names (for example, Tokugawa Ieyasu) or their appellations (for example, Hokusai), and that practice has been followed here.

Chinese geographical names have been rendered in accordance with customary usage. Those for Japan follow the Hepburn system, except that macrons have been omitted for Tokyo. With the exception of Ch'ang-an (modern Sian) and Edo (modern Tokyo), the modern geographical names have been used throughout. This has been done for ease of identification even though it results in some anachronisms. With the exception of geographical names and a few Cantonese names (Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek), all Chinese terms have been transliterated according to the Wade-Giles system for Chinese (with a few standard modifications), and all Japanese terms according to the Hepburn system.

The following is intended only as a basic, nontechnical guide to the sounds of Chinese and Japanese as Romanized. It is not an introduction to the phonetics of the languages but does indicate roughly how the various letters should be pronounced.

Vowels

In both Chinese and Japanese, vowels are pronounced as in Italian, German, or Spanish.

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a as in car
e as in spend
i as in me
o as in bold (but in Chinese, sometimes as in soft, and after k, k', or h like the u in but)
```

u as in rude (but hardly pronounced after tz, tz', or ss in Chinese or after s in Japanese)

ü as the German ü or the French u

Vowel Combinations

Chinese Diphthongs are always run together. Thus ai = I (the personal pronoun); ao = ow as in bow; ei = a as in may; ou = o as in low.

Japanese Ai and ei are diphthongs pronounced as in Chinese. Other vowels occurring together are pronounced individually. Long vowels (indicated by a macron) are pronounced like short vowels but the sound is held longer.

Consonants

In Japanese, consonants approximate their English equivalents. However, in Chinese, aspirated consonants are distinguished from their unaspirated counterparts by the use of an apostrophe.

Wade-Giles	Rough English Equivalent	Wade-Giles	Rough English Equivalent
ch	j	ch'	ch
k	g	k′	k
p	Ь	p'	p
t	d	t'	t
ts, tz	dz	ts', tz'	ts

The consonant j is pronounced something like r, ih is pronounced something like ir as in sir.

In addition to Wade-Giles there are a number of other systems for Romanizing Chinese. One that is widely used is the Pinyin system adopted by the People's Republic.

Hanyu Pinyin/Wade-Giles Conversion Table

Pinyin	Wade-Giles	<u>Pinyin</u>	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles
a	a	bao	pao	bo	po	ceng	ts'eng
ai	ai	bei	pei	bu	pu	cha	ch'a
an	an	ben	pen			chai	ch'ai
ang	ang	beng	peng	ca	ts'a	chan	ch'an
ao	a 0	bi	pi	cai	ts'ai	chang	ch'ang
		bian	pien	can	ts'an	chao	ch'ao
ba	pa	biao	piao	cang	ts'ang	che	ch'e
bai	pai	bie	pieh	cao	ts'ao	chen	ch'en
ban	pan	bin	pin	ce	ts'e	cheng	ch'eng
bang	pang	bing	ping	cen	ts'en	chi	ch'ih

From Endymion Wilkinson, The History of Imperial China: A Research Guide, Harvard East Asian Monographs, No. 49 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973).

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Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles
chong	ch'ung	fang	fang	ji	chi	lin	lin
chou	ch'ou	fei	fei	jia	chia	ling	ling
chu	ch'u	fen	fen	jian	chien	liu	liu
chuai	ch'uai	feng	feng	jiang	chiang	long	lung
chuan	ch'uan	fo	fo	ji a o	chiao	lou	lou
chuang	ch'uang	fou	fou	jie	chieh	lu	lu
chui	ch'ui	fu	fu	jin	chin	luan	luan
chun	ch'un			jing	ching	lun	lun
chuo	ch'o			jiong	chiung	luo	lo
ci	tz'u	ga	ka	jiu	chiu	lü	lü
cong	ts'ung	gai	kai	ju	chü	lüe	lüeh
cou	ts'ou	gan	kan	juan	chüan		
cu	ts'u	gang	kang	jue	chüeh	ma	ma
cuan	ts'uan	gao	kao	jun	chün	mai	mai
cui	ts'ui	ge	ke, ko	, 411	CITATI	man	man
cun	ts'un	gei	kei	ka	k'a	mang	mang
cuo	ts'o	gen	ken	kai	k'ai	mao	mao
		geng	keng	kan	k'an	mei	mei
da	ta	gong	kung	kang	k'ang	men	men
dai	tai	gou	kou	kao	k'ao	meng	meng
dan	tan	gu	ku	ke	k'e, k'o	mi	mi
dang	tang	gua	kua	ken	k'en	mian	mien
dao	tao	guai	kuai	keng	k'eng	miao	miao
de	te	guan	kuan	kong	k'ung	mie	mieh
dei	tei	guang	kuang	kou	k'ou	min	min
deng	teng	gui	kuei	ku	k'u	ming	ming
di	ti	gun	kun	kua	k'ua	míu	-
dian	tien	guo	kuo	kuai	k'uai	mo	míu
diao	tiao			kuan	k'uan		mo
die	tieh	ha	ha	kuang		mou	mou
ding	ting	hai	hai	kui	k'uang k'uei	mu	mu
diu	tiu	han	han	kun	k'un		
dong	tung	hang	hang	kuo	k'uo	na	na
dou	tou	hao	hao	Kuo	K UO	nai	nai
du	tu	he	he, ho	la	la	nan	nan
duan	tuan	hei	hei	lai	lai	nang	nang
dui	tui	hen	hen	lan	lan	nao	nao
dun	tun	heng	heng	_		ne :	ne
duo	to	hong	hung	lang	lang	nei	nei
uuo	to	hou	hou	lao le	lao	nen	nen
e	e, o	hu	hu	lei	le lei	neng	neng
ei	ei	hua	hua	leng		ni	ni
	en	huai		li	leng li	nian	nien
en			huai			niang	niang
eng	eng erh	huan	huan	lia	lia	niao	niao
er	CITI	huang	huang	lian	lien	nie	nieh
fa	fa	hui	hui	liang	liang	nin	nin
fan	fan	hun huo	hun	liao	liao	ning	ning
1411	1441	пио	huo	lie	lieh	niu	niu

<u>Pinyin</u>	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles	<u>Pinyin</u>	Wade-Giles	Pinyin	Wade-Giles
nong	nung	ren	jen	tan	t'an	yi	i
nou	nou	reng	jeng	tang	t'ang	yin	yin
nu	nu	ri	jih	tao	t'ao	ying	ying
nuan	nuan	rong	jung	te	. t'e	yong	yung
nuo	no	rou	jou	teng	t'eng	you	yu
nü	nü	ru	ju	ti	t'i	yu	yü
në	nüeh	ruan	juan	tian	t'ien	yuan	yüan
		rui	jui	tiao	t'iao	yue	yüeh
0	0	run	jun	tie	t'ieh	yun	yün
ou	ou	ruo	jo	ting	t'ing	•	•
		sa	64	tong	t'ung	za	tsa
pa	p'a	sai	sa sai	tou	t'ou	zai	tsai
pai	p'ai	san	san	tu	t'u	zan	tsan
pan	p'an	sang		tuan	t'uan	zang	tsang
pang	p'ang	sao	sang sao	tui	t'ui	zao	tsao
pao	p'ao	se	se	tun	t'un	ze	tse
pei	p'ei	sen	sen	tuo	t'o	zei	tsei
pen	p'en	seng	seng			zen	tsen
peng	p'eng	sha	sha	wa	wa	zeng	tseng
pi	p'i	shai	shai	wai	wai	zha	cha
pian	p'ien	shan	shan	wan	wan	zhai	chai
piao	p'iao	shang	shang	wang	wang	zhan	chan
pie	p'ieh	shao	shao	wei	wei	zhang	chang
pin	p'in	she	she	wen	wen	zhao	chao
ping	p'ing	shei	shei	weng	weng	zhe	che
po	p'o	shen	shen	wo	wo	zhei	chei
pou	p'ou	sheng	sheng	wu	wu	zhen	chen
pu	p'u	shi	shih			zheng	cheng
	•	shou	shou	xi	hsi	zhi	chih
qi	ch'i	shu	shu	xia	hsia	zhong	chung
qia	ch'ia	shua	shua	xian	hsien	zhou	chou
qian	ch'ien	shuai	shuai	xiang	hsiang	zhu	chu
qiang	ch'iang	shuan	shuan	xiao	hsiao	zhua	chua
qiao	ch'iao	shuang	shuang	xie	hsieh	zhuai	chuai
qie	ch'ieh	shui	shui	xin	hsin	zhuan	chuan
qin	ch'in	shun	shun	xing	hsing	zhuang	chuang
qing	ch'ing	shuo	shuo	xiong	hsiung	zhui	chui
qiong	ch'iung	si	szu	xiu	hsiu	zhun	chun
qıu	ch'iu	song	sung	xu	hsü	zhuo	cho
qu	ch'ü	sou	sou	xuan	hsüan	zi	tzu
quan	ch'üan	su	su	xue	hsüeh	zong	tsung
que	ch'üeh	suan	suan	xun	hsün	zou	tsou
qun	ch'ün	sui	sui			zu	tsu
	i	sun	sun	ya	ya	zuan	tsuan
ran	jan	suo	so	yan	yen	zui	tsui
rang	jang			yang	yang	zun	tsun
rao	jao	ta	t'a	yao	yao	zuo	tso
re	je	tai	t'ai	ye	yeh		

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