

# An Introduction to Guangxi Zhuang Studies

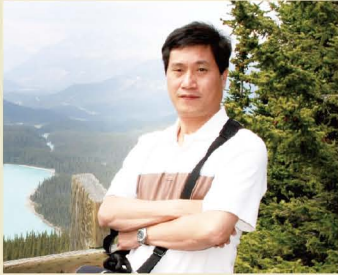
广西壮学研究资料  
英译汇编研究（英文版）

MO YUNXIA

莫运夏 著



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## 内容提要

壮族是中华民族56个民族中的一员,具有悠久的历史。壮族文化不仅丰富多彩,而且具有突出的本土特色。壮学是一门以壮族为研究对象的交叉学科。本书系统地阐述广西壮族自治区壮学研究的全景,为读者详细介绍学术界在壮族政治、社会科学、社会与经济、哲学与宗教、语言、民俗、文学与艺术、天文与地理、手工业与科技、教育与医学等方面所取得的研究成果,并对不同时期壮学研究做出客观的评价,总结各阶段的研究特点和学术观点。

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# Foreword

In the big family of Chinese nation, the Zhuang ethnic group is a shining star and as the other national minorities, she has her own legacy of culture, an indispensable part to the whole of the Chinese culture. The population of Zhuang is the largest as compared with that of the other Chinese minorities. The majority of the Zhuang people have settled down in Guangxi and the rest found their settlements in a separate way in other provinces in south and south-west parts of China, such as Guangdong, Yunnan and Guizhou. Through the past ages of hard struggle for existence and development, the Zhuang people have created a unique and brilliant culture, a culture bountiful in its literature and art, folk customs and medicine, ethnic self-esteem and patriotism, and so forth. The Zhuang culture has been passed down generation after generation and it has contributed a great deal as an eye-catching pearl to the Chinese culture. That is why a great many scholars, foreign and Chinese, have made researches on the Zhuang culture and the formation of Guangxi Zhuang studies, abbreviated as Zhuang studies, which is now a special academic field, has gradually come into being.

To the academic world's great surprise, remarkable achievements have been scored in the field of Zhuang Studies, most of that by the scholars at home, ever since the Chinese government adopted the reform and opening-up policy, and a large number of reference materials have been made so far. Moreover, along with the ever-increasing international exchanges in culture, more and more researchers in the area of culture and that of anthropology, both at home and abroad, have shown their intensified concern over Zhuang studies. Therefore, it has become an urgent need and it is the right time to sort out the available materials used as references to Zhuang studies and to put them in English version, so that things would be made much easier for the researchers whose native languages are not Chinese. In addition, it is also a very significant job to publicize the Zhuang culture in a world-wide way.

The present project conducted by the group of researchers with Professor Mo Yunxia of Guilin University of Technology as its head is a project within social sciences research, sponsored and endorsed by the Social Science Office of China's State Council at the national level. Though it is preset as a mainly foreign-oriented one to publicizing Zhuang studies to the outside world, it can also be bracketed into a supplemental research to the Studies of Zhuang. Professor Mo and his co-researchers have done an arduous work, time-consuming and energy-effacing, in that it is indeed rather difficult to handpick out what are the most valuable data among too many a

reference resource in the already-made Zhuang Studies and compile them into a book in English.

The outcome of this project, however, is more than satisfactory, according to my own points of view. The merits and achievements as shown in this research work done by Professor Mo and his research group with the generous aid of the eminent experts in Zhuang studies are as follows:

(1) They, Professor Mo and his group, have provided reading public with the authentic and the most useful reference materials related to Zhuang studies, which are handpicked out from the perspective of historic materialism and the perspective of cultural anthropology.

(2) They have shown the related academic circle a true picture of the history of the Zhuang people and the historic changes and the current state of Zhuang studies.

(3) They have made a down-to-the-detail analysis of the connotations and domains of Zhuang studies, which is a remarkable job of great reference value to further researches in the field.

(4) They have listed the names of the renowned scholars and their achievements in Zhuang studies, which can be thought of as a noteworthy job conducive to making further studies in the related areas.

(5) The outcome of this research is presented in an English version and the English used in it is readable and intelligible, though there would be some room for further embellishment. Nevertheless, it is small wonder that the English version will become a great help and benefit those abroad a lot, who are non-Chinese-speaking scholars and who are quite interested in Zhuang studies.

To sum up, this project with its outcome as the cooperative effort of Professor Mo and his group is quite meaningful, fruitful, valuable, very rich in its contents and, above all, very contributory to Zhuang studies.

**Bai Jingze**

Professor, Guangxi Normal University

Guilin, February, 2017

# Preface

The provinces, such as Guangxi, Guangdong, Yunnan and Guizhou are the regions inhabited by Zhuang people in compact communities. The population of Zhuang people, whose ancestors are the ancient Yue people, is over 16 million now, taking up 1.30% of the total population of the People's Republic of China and forming the largest one of the Chinese minorities. The majority of Zhuang people is found living in Guangxi. That is why Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region was set up as early as in 1958 in accordance with the policy of regional autonomy of minority ethnics adopted by the Central Government of China. In addition, there are also more than 10,000 Zhuang people who have settled down in a scattered way in Hainan, Zhejiang and Fujian Provinces.

Zhuang's history, culture and art are not only rich and colorful, but also outstanding with the indigenous characteristics. In the study of Zhuang, a new branch of science is formed, which is termed as Zhuang studies (also termed as Zhuangology), and which is an interdisciplinary learning field oriented to the Zhuang people. Their history and culture, political science, sociology, society and economy, philosophy and religion, language, folklore, literature and art, astronomy and geography, handicraft and technology, education and medicine, all in all, are bracketed into the scope of Zhuang studies.

Zhuang studies is based on the above-mentioned fields related to the overall study of the Zhuang ethnic. It dates back to the end of the 19th century when the researchers were mainly Western and Thai scholars. The research was limited to the origin of Zhuang people and the places where they lived as settlers. Of course, such study was quite preliminary.

The new concept of Zhuang studies emerges with the localization of anthropology, which is quite different from or reverse to the so-called Thai studies. Far back to 1920s, the Chinese scholars began to study Zhuang people from their history, language, custom, religion, marriage and family and the relations between Zhuang and Han. And it is the close cooperation between the academic fields such as linguistics, history, and ethnology and the general research that has made Zhuang studies fruitful. What is remarkable is, the founding of the People's Republic of China has opened the history of Zhuang people to a brand new page and Zhuang ethnic has played its deserved role in the big family of 56 Chinese ethnics. The scholars in the area of Zhuang studies have gradually shaken off the shackles of the so-called "Han-culture-centralism" preset in their research work. They have their research work focused on a new horizon and their studies of Zhuang history and culture at large are no longer limited to the period of

time when the Zhuang people were ruled by the system of hereditary chieftain, which was established in the Ming Dynasty and which remained so for quite a long time in Old China. Therefore, their research work in the field of Zhuang studies is no longer a marginal one as what was restricted by the preset “Han-culture-centralism”. It has now stood out as one of the famous scholarly work.

Zhuang studies is interdisciplinary, in which so many scholars are engaged. They have scored remarkable achievements in one way or another, which are varied with different subjects.

In this book, we make a systematic narration of the background of Zhuang studies, giving a brief account of the origin and development of the studies in each period of time at first. The living environment usually plays an important role in forming the culture of a nation. So, secondly, we provide readers with the necessary background information about where Zhuang people live in geographic sense, inclusive of the history, cultural features, language and some other information relevant to Zhuang people. According to the different academic characteristics of Zhuang studies in different periods of time, we divide Zhuang studies into four phases: ① prelude phase which lasted from the late 19th century to the early 20th century; ② revival phase which lasted from 1976 to 1989; ③ prosperous phase which lasted from 1990 to 2000; ④ upgrading and expanding phase which can be regarded as a new era for Zhuang studies that has been ongoing ever since 2001.

This book grows out of an effort to offer an English version of the real and meaningful academic achievements of Zhuang studies that are scored in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. It presents a true picture of the influence of Zhuang studies in Chinese academic field in different periods of time and makes an analysis of the remarkable features and value that the achievements have borne.

In the Zhuang studies that is going on, there are many scholars who have come to the fore and made eye-catching achievements in their research work. So far as these renowned scholars are concerned, most data related to them are obtained from *baidu* and the relevant websites. According to the ready-obtained clues, we try to contact some of these scholars so as to confirm their academic schools and their viewpoints in relevance to their scholarly work of Zhuang studies. Though some of them declare that they do not belong to any academic school of Zhuang studies, their capacity and achievements deserve to be noticed. For the limitation of the space of this book, we cannot but just list their academic titles and their major works but we have analyzed their viewpoints on Zhuang studies in some chapters.

As for some technical terms concerning Zhuang studies, we find no existing English translation of them that can be regarded as being consistent. For this reason, we choose those English terms found in the English abstracts of different scholarly papers or works. For example, as to the term “Gaituguiiu” (the policy carried out by the feudal governments to abolish the system of hereditary chieftain and put the ethnic minority areas under the administration of the provincial government), there are at least

20 translations, but none of which are thought of as acceptable by the academic field. We have to retain the diverse translations of the terms and provide clues or relevant information in this book for readers to trace the materials they need.

Through the efforts made by generation and generation of scholars who set their mind to Zhuang studies, a huge number of achievements concerning Zhuang studies have been left behind, which are found in the fields of archaeology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, linguistics, religion and literature, etc.. To sort out the valuable data from among the great many textual resources is an arduous, time-and-energy-consuming job. And yet, it would be a kind of misunderstanding that our work is just a collection of data. Actually, in each chapter, we have presented our own comments and viewpoints on the outcome of the related study in the field of Zhuangology. We have done our work in the hope that it could be conducive to further Zhuang studies and it could help the reading public to have a clear idea of the values and features of Zhuang studies in different periods of time, past and now.

It is a matter of course that this research project cannot come to a somewhat satisfactory finish without team work and the indispensable guidance and help from some other scholars. First and foremost, I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my respected mentor, Mr. Bai Jingze, a senior professor and experienced translator working with Guangxi Normal University. The idea of having this book published comes from his encouragement. He has generously given me some inspiring suggestions and helped me to revise and embellish this book. My sincere thanks go to Professor Wei Han of Guilin University of Electronic Technology for his help in the aspect of Zhuang language and folk customs. Furthermore, I am thankful to Professor Tang Qū, Associate Professor Hu Jin and Mo Na, my daughter, who are all my colleagues in Guilin University of Technology and who have made the preliminary draft of the translations of some chapters of the book. Finally, I am indebted to all the members in my research group who are very cooperative and have contributed a lot to this project. Among them, Professor Qin Zhifeng and Professor Liu Fande of Guangxi Cadres University of Economics and Management have made the preliminary draft of the translation of two chapters, and Professor Qin Zhifeng has done the first proof reading of the book. Besides, I would like also to express my thanks here to those of my graduate students who are always ready to offer their help whenever I am in need.

The publishing of this book is under the auspices of Guilin University of Technology (GLUT) that has set up a special fund for the publication of the outcome of the researches done by her staff members. That is what my research group and I feel very grateful to.

**Mo Yunxia**

Guilin University of Technology  
Guilin, June, 2017

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## Chapter I

# Zhuang Ethnic

### 1.1 Population

As the largest minority ethnic in China, the Zhuang people are mainly distributed in Guangxi where other peoples like Han, Yao, Miao, Dong, Mulao, Maonan and Shui co-inhabit. The population distribution stretches east from Lianshan Zhuang and Yao Autonomous County in Guangdong Province to Wenshan Zhuang and Miao Autonomous Prefecture in the west in Yunnan Province, to the North Bay in the south, Congjiang County of Guizhou Province in the north, and adjoining boundary with Vietnam in the southwest.

With a population of 16,187,163 (according to the 2000 census, Chinese, mainland only), Zhuang takes up 1.30% of the total population, forming the largest minority ethnic in China. Among them, 14,207,143 Zhuang people live in Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, who account for 32.40% of the whole population and form the second largest ethnic in Guangxi. Still, 7.07% of the Zhuang people live in Yunnan Province, 3.52% of them in Guangdong Province. Some live scattered in Guizhou, Hunan, Hainan, Hebei, Zhejiang and Fujian Provinces. Scholars often refer to the areas where most Zhuang dwell as the Zhuang areas.

### 1.2 History of Zhuang Ethnic

The Zhuang ethnic minority has a long history and glorious culture with indigenous characteristics. As early as 2,000 years ago, their ancestors were recorded in the ancient books as *Oudeng*, *Guiguo*, *Sunzi*, *Chanli* and *Jiujun*. From the Qin and the Han to the Sui and the Tang Dynasties, Zhuang was known as *Xiou*, *Luoyue*, *Wuhu*, *Li* and *Liao*. From the Song Dynasty, Zhuang was recorded as “Tong” in some areas, in the Ming Dynasty, Zhuang was known as “Liang”. Before 1949, Zhuang were often referred to as *Buzhuang*, *Buyi*, *Buyue*, *Buyayi*, *Bunong*, *Buman*, *Budai*, *Butu*, *Bulong*, *Bubian* and *Busha*. After the founding of the People’s Republic of China, it was uniformly named as “Tong” after the ethnic investigation and identification. In 1965, proposed by the late Premier Zhou Enlai, it was officially named “Zhuang”.

Zhuang has been living in compact communities in the south area of the Nanling Mountains since the ancient time. Archaeological discoveries gave evidence to the fact

that the Baise Basin had been populated by natives ever since 800,000 years ago. The hand axe and large stoneware made by the Zhuang ancestors were known to the world. Archaeologists discovered “Mabei man fossil” in Qujiang, Guangdong Province, which was the ancient human living in the middle Paleolithic—about 100,000 years ago. In Liujiang Xinxing Farm in Guangxi, “Liujiang man fossil” was believed to have the history of 50,000 years, the late Paleolithic period; Ancient human skeletons and living sites found in the Zhenpiyan Cave in Guilin suburbs was confirmed to have the history of 10,000 years, the early Neolithic Age. The physical characteristics of these men inherited the characteristics of the human beings in the two heritages above. In addition, archaeologists also found early-stage shell mound relics of the Neolithic Age in Nanning suburbs, Hengxian County and Fangchenggang City. A batch of human activity sites in the Neolithic Age were discovered in Laibin, Hengxian County, Yongning County, Lingshan County, Guilin suburbs and Jingxi county. A lot of stone axes, stepped-stone adzes, stone chisels, stone hammers, stone hitchings, and potteries like caldrons, jars and Dings were unearthed. Archaeologists also found Dashichan site of 4,000 years in Long’an County, Fusui County and Nanning suburbs, where lots of bronze ware like bronze drums, cymbals, copper statues, bronze swords and iron tools like axes, hoes, knives, swords, Ge, spears, arrowheads, shovels, scrapings with distinctive local characteristics and national characteristics were identified as cultural heritages of 2,000 to 3,000 years ago. According to physical anthropology, Zhenpiyan human’s physical characteristics were close to those of modern Zhuang and Dong minority peoples, which was distinctly different from other minorities. But many squatted-and-flexed burials unearthed in Zhenpiyan Cave in Guilin and other human sites of the Neolithic Age were almost the same with the practice of the secondary burial (bone-collecting reburial, reburying the skulls and bones was a tradition known as khioh-kut in Hoklo, commonly known in Tai) that was still observed by Zhuang. This confirmed the inherited relations between modern Zhuang and the ancient human. That is to say, Zhuang were the aboriginal people, and these ancient men (at least part of them) were their ancestors.

Zhuang’s ancestors had experienced a long period of primitive society. Large number of cultural heritages unearthed showed that the ancestors had learned to use simple tools in hunting and collecting food in a matrilineal society. The book *Taipingguangji (Universal Geography of the Taiping Era · Guizhou Tradition* by Yue Shi (930–1007) recorded, “They (Zhuang people) share the same family name, live in groups, the dead are buried in the same tomb which is called multi-burial. There were hundreds of coffins in a tomb. They cannot ‘*Quhun*’ (It is prohibited for a man to marry a woman of the same clan), while he can ‘*Pinnv*’ (he can marry a woman from another clan).” The marriage custom of “living with mother’s family” in matrilineal society was kept till 1949 when the People’s Republic of China was founded.

With the development of social productivity, matrilineal society was gradually

replaced by patriarchy society. The mamoties unearthed in Nalin village in Fusui County and Long'an County, and stone dagger-axes, stone spears, stone hoes, stone battle-axes unearthed in various places in Western Guangxi proved the high productivity at that time. Gathering economy had dropped to second place, and livestock farming became the main source of livelihood. At the same time, males played a major role in production. The appearance of “stone ancestor” and “pottery ancestor” of masculine worship gave evidence that the ancestor of Zhuang had already entered the patriarchy society at the end of Neolithic Age several thousand years ago.

### **1.2.1 Period of Clans (before Xia Dynasty)**

Like all other ethnics in China, the ancestors of Zhuang evolved from fossil anthropoidea, and experienced ten-thousand-year clan commune period, namely, the matriarchal and patriarchal society periods.

During matriarchal clan period (about 2070 B.C.), all the members did the collective labor within the community and their production was allocated by clan chiefs. Men engaged in hunting and fishing, while women nursed children and engaged in manual work like collecting, sewing and pottery. Women had the ownership of children, and the right to keep, produce and allocate products, playing a particularly important role in the economic life and enjoying the most esteemed status in the society. In the late Neolithic Age (about 5,000 years ago), with the development of social productive forces and mode of production, the matriarchal system in Zhuang areas disintegrated, gradually giving way to patriarchy which changed the status of men both in society and in family.

### **1.2.2 Period of Private Ownership (Shang and Zhou to Pre-Qin Dynasties)**

In the Shang and Zhou period (about 1600 B.C. to 256 B.C.), Zhuang was still at the last stage of the primitive society when tribal alliances and military democracy highly developed, but stoneware and wooden wares were still the major productive tools. The social organization was loose because of the scattered tribes, but continuing wars exterminated some small tribes, some key powerful tribes and communities like Xi'ou and Luoyue survived. The tribal wars, along with consecutive separation, tribal amalgamation began from the Shang and the Zhou to the Spring and Autumn, the Warring States and lasted till the Qin and the Han Dynasties.

In the period of the Spring and Autumn to Warring States (about 770 B.C. to 221 B.C.), the Zhuang society entered Bronze Age. The greatly improved production tools and productivity led to the change of production relations, patriarchal clan communes gradually turned into village communities, private ownership appeared while primitive society began to disintegrate. The late Western Zhou Dynasty, the Spring and Autumn, and the Warring States witnessed the rapid development of ancient Zhuang society, bronze culture was the mark of high-developed production. In this period, the social

productivity developed rapidly, social surplus product increased, which created material conditions for the division of labor in agriculture and the handicraft industry, the emergence of private ownership and unequal possession of social wealth finally brought about the disintegration of primitive society and the appearance of class society.

### **1.2.3 Period of Unified Prefectures and Counties (from Qin Dynasty to Sui Dynasty)**

Handicapped with historical and geographic conditions, the social development of the Yue people in the south of the Nanling Mountains was comparatively slow. When the Central Plain entered the slave society in the Shang and Zhou periods, the regions where Yue people lived were still wild and were at the last stage of tribal alliances in the primitive society. Even though the social economy developed fast, it was still in the situation of “The area was unreachable to the central government” due to the traffic inconvenience. It was not until 221 B.C. that Qin Shi Huang unified China and brought the Lingnan regions (or areas in the south of the Five Ridges) into the governing of central feudal empire, and thus made it an inseparable part of the country. The Yue society entered a new era of fast social economic development.

When the first emperor of the Qin Dynasty unified China, the Central Plain had already been in feudal society. In order to enhance the feudal centralized autocracy and to consolidate the unity of the state, three prefectures in Lingnan areas—the prefectures of Guilin, Xiangjun and Nanhai—were respectively established. Although there were some changes in the organizational system of these areas in different dynasties, the prefectures and counties established in the regions where Zhuang ancestors lived were still governed by “Initial Prefecture” from the Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty (202 B.C. to 581) due to special geographic environment, political and economic status. “Initial Prefecture” was characterized by the fact that the areas were politically governed by customs with no taxes being levied, which eliminated national barriers and contradictions, improved national unity and cooperation and promoted the social, economic and cultural development in the Lingnan areas. Nevertheless, the geographic isolation from the Central Plain blocked the expansion of agriculture and the extension of political organization, and thus greatly hindered the development of productivity and feudalism process and caused the economic unbalance between the eastern and western parts of Lingnan.

Nevertheless, at the same time, economy and culture underwent rapid development in Lingnan. In the aspect of agriculture, iron tools and cattle ploughs, water conservation, the Ling Canal connecting the Yangtze River system and the Pearl River system promoted the relations between Lingnan regions and the Central Plains and stimulated the agricultural development. In the aspect of handicraft, the making of copper drums marked the exquisite copper melting technology. The wide use of farm tools indicated the advance iron-making technology. Two long swords excavated

in Tomb No.1 in Luobowan, Guigang City gave convincing evidence. Although, they had been buried in the mud for 2,000 years, their blades were still sharp and point, without any rusts. Other handcraft industry like ceramics, lacquer wares, jade, weaving, bamboo and wood utensils also got great achievements. These achievements accelerated the development of commerce and transportation.

In contact with the Han people, Zhuang's ancestors produced rich culture of unique features. The totem worship in primitive society and witch culture, which was still traceable today, rooted deeply in the Zhuang people. On the other hand, influenced by the Central Plain culture, Confucianism gradually rooted in Zhuang and their ancestors began to value education. The Zhuang's literature in this period flourished.

#### **1.2.4 Period of Jimi System (from Tang Dynasty to Five Dynasties)**

Since the Qin and the Han Dynasties (from 211 B.C. to 220), the feudal dynasty implemented Jimi policy in minority regions. The policy had gradually been completed and later Jimi system (it was an autonomous administrative and political organization system used in feudal China between the 7th century and 10th century, the system was a model of Chinese administrative units established for the local Zhuang rulers or chiefs who were militarily subdued and self-subdued and naturalized. They received their duty from central government and were to provide annual tribute while keeping their original status and passing on their duty to heirs.) was used in the Tang Dynasty (618–907). The system brought the indigenous Zhuang under the feudal administration, effectively utilizing their manpower for Han Chinese military operations. Although some Jimi prefectures were geographically isolated, the rulers would collaborate with the officials sent by the central government in administration, participate in military affairs of central government's interest, and obey the assignation made by the central authority. Some tribe chiefs had positions within the regular bureaucracy, save that they were in fact hereditary, and not obviously within the Jimi system at all. Some tribe chiefs, being relatively independent in laws and enjoying certain autonomy and legal right took office as chief executives, paid no taxes to the central government and possessed their own army forces. While this system had its advantages, it hindered the development of politics, economy and culture in minority areas, since the Jimi system was set according to the different size of tribes, they were not subordinate to each other, each of which was an independent regime.

The Tang Dynasty saw the booming feudal economy in China's history. This period also witnessed the prosperous economy in Zhuang regions, especially in eastern Guangxi. From the Tang Dynasty to the Five Dynasties (618–979), with the iron tools and cattle ploughs widely used by Zhuang ancestors, arable land expansion and the two-crop rice planting greatly increased food production. The handicrafts were highly developed, enriching textile cloth, minerals and their fabricated products, which provided great variety of imperial government tributes. The commerce and

transportation boom followed. However, in the western parts of Guangxi, social system developed slowly with agriculture, handicraft and other industries lagging behind.

From the Qin Dynasty to the Five Dynasties(221 B.C.–960), Han culture exerted a tremendous influence in Zhuang regions. The establishment of state and county school system resulted in the wide spread of Confucianism and the implementing of imperial examination system in the Zhuang region in the Tang Dynasty. All these improved the culture standing and changed people's pattern of thoughts. However, witch culture still co-existed with the Han culture, Zhuang's folk-song fair culture became a distinguishing feature up to now. With the increasing communication with Han, Zhuang's society, politics, culture, traditions and medicines have been attracted special notice in ancient Han scholars and recorded in their writings. The typical case was the Zhuang medicines, which were recorded in *The Classic of Mountains and Seas* and *Shen Nong's Herbal Classic* and other literatures.

### 1.2.5 Period of Chieftain System (from Song Dynasty to Early Qing Dynasty)

Chieftain system (Tusi system) was put into effect from the Song, the early Qing feudal dynasties(960–about 1600) in the south and southwest minority ethnic regions, the central governments conferred titles of nobility to the prestigious, powerful locals as officials, granting them the right to maintain the original social structure, social economic form and customs in the border regions. Thus, Jimi system gave away to chieftain system, which strengthened the central government's governance and control over the Zhuang minority ethnic. However, this system aggravated the contradictions between local officials and the common people, the contradictions had a significant impact on the social and economic development in Zhuang region. Finally, the chieftain system was replaced by the bureaucratization of native officers sent by the central government. During the Southern and the Northern Song Dynasties (960–1127), successive years of wars seriously destroyed production in north China and the Central Plains, pushing the economic center to shift to the south. The feudal governments stimulated the local people to reclaim virgin lands by reducing taxes. Han immigrants with advanced production skills rushed in, which facilitated the development of ideology and culture and resulted in the dying out of chieftain system. Zhuang people's production enthusiasm was greatly stimulated. The improvement of irrigation facilities, advanced planting technology increased crop varieties. Agriculture grew side by side with textile, ceramic and handicraft, mining, metal-smelting, casting and other industries. Commerce, trade and transportation also developed compared with previous dynasties. In a word, there was continuous economic and social development in Zhuang areas.

However, the development in the eastern and western Zhuang areas unbalanced with the different geographic settings, times and extent of the influences by advanced Han culture. The eastern Zhuang areas, with an earlier and deeper influence from Han