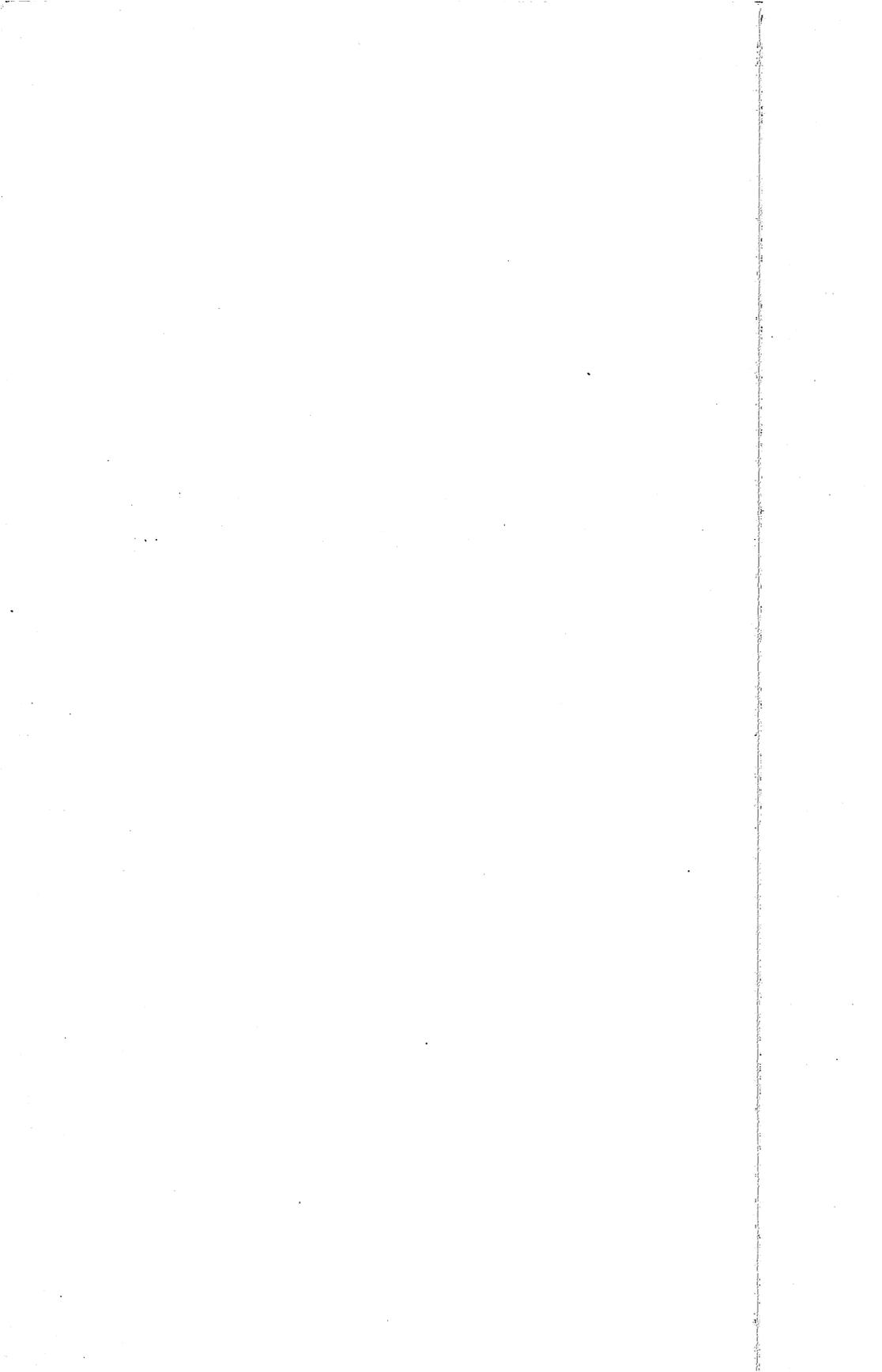


**Ming and Qing Historical Studies
in the People's Republic of China**



Ming and Qing Historical Studies In the People's Republic of China

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The Committee represents American scholars in the natural, medical, and engineering sciences as well as scholars in the social sciences and humanities. It advises individuals and institutions on means of communication with their Chinese colleagues, on China's international scholarly activities, and on the state of China's scientific and scholarly pursuits. Members of the Committee are scholars from a broad range of fields, including China studies.

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Acknowledgments

This report is a collectively authored work, to which each member of the delegation has contributed. Drafts were circulated among the entire group, and three months after the delegation visited China, all the members met together once again at the National Academy of Sciences to discuss each portion and recommend revisions. In the course of editing, some portions have been shifted from one individual's section to another, and the editor himself accepts responsibility for these changes and for final wording in each section. But the pride of authorship belongs to the contributors, who wrote the individual parts as follows:

Chapter 1: F. Wakeman	Chapter 10: L. Struve
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Chapter 5: S. Naquin	Chapter 14: J. Wills
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Chapter 7: E. Rawski	W. Peterson
Chapter 8: P. Kuhn	Chapter 15: S. Naquin
Chapter 9: C. Hucker	W. Peterson
J. Langlois	F. Wakeman
	Y. C. Wang

The appendices are also collective efforts, though Dr. Struve deserves special mention for having so carefully kept a record of our travels, of the names of institutions we visited, and of individuals we met.

A glance at that list of names will give the reader some notion of how large a debt of gratitude we owe to those who acted as our hosts at museums, universities, research institutes, archives and libraries in China. Of all those, we especially want to single out Ambassador Huan Xiang, vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; Li Xin, deputy chief of the Institute of Modern History; Xiong Deji, deputy chief of the Institute of History; Wang Yuquan, director of the Institute of History's Ming History Research Office; and Wang Rongsheng, deputy director of the institute's Qing History Research Office. Wang Rongsheng and Cui Jianjun of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences both gave four weeks of their

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I

Introduction

In 1978, during discussions with the Science and Technology Association of the People's Republic of China, representatives of the U.S. Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China suggested sending a group of ten American historians of the Ming (1368-1644) and Qing (1644-1912) periods to visit China the following year. That suggestion was accepted, and an invitation was issued by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences for an American delegation to spend four weeks in China during June, 1979. From the point of view of the CSCPRC, the goal of this delegation was to further scholarly communication between the two countries by learning about the state of Ming-Qing historical studies in China through seminars and informal discussions, by reporting on American work in these fields, and by visiting libraries and archives in order to facilitate later access for U.S. scholars wanting to do historical research on an individual basis.

The rubric of Ming-Qing history fits naturally into American Sinology. Most of the university specialists in Chinese studies in the U.S. today are in history; and most of the latter, do research on the Ming and Qing periods. Of course, under that general rubric there are a number of different interests. The delegation members were in part chosen by the CSCPRC to represent these various areas of research: early Ming institutional history, legal history, the Ming-Qing transition, Qing economic history, seventeenth-century intellectual history, popular uprisings and religion, Taiping historiography, and so forth. However, the Ming-Qing rubric does not altogether correspond to historical fields as they are currently defined in China, where special fields of interest tend to correspond to contemporary historical motifs: economic history to sprouts of capitalism, or social history to peasant wars. And because the Opium War (1839-1842) is taken by historians in China to periodize the division between ancient and modern history, the Ming and early Qing belong to the former (and to the Institute of History), and the late Qing to the latter (and to the Institute of Modern History). Furthermore, the division between *gudaishi* (ancient history) and *jindaishi* (modern

history) corresponds in part to a generational split. Older scholars tend to study ancient history, especially the period from Han through Song (206 B.C.-A.D. 1279), while younger ones emphasize the period since 1839, and especially since 1919. Consequently, Ming and early Qing fall somewhere in between and get relatively less emphasis in the PRC than these two final dynastic periods have received in the United States.

In spite of this disparity, our delegation was able to fulfill nearly all of its goals during its four-week visit to China. Thanks to the unstinting cooperation of the Institute of History and of local branches of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, we were able to see important historical sites, tour museums, visit universities, and inspect libraries. Accompanied by Wang Rongsheng, deputy director of the Qing History Research Office, we were the first group of foreign scholars admitted to the Number One National Archives in Beijing (the Ming-Qing Archives), and we were also allowed to visit the Number Two National Archives in Nanjing. Through our own lectures in various cities we were given an opportunity to report on American studies of Ming-Qing history, and in the seminar discussions that usually followed these lectures we were able to learn a good deal about current Chinese research in this field. Everywhere we found signs of renewed scholarly activity, of intellectual exuberance, and of academic vitality.¹

This came as no surprise to us. Ever since November-December, 1976, historians in China have been urging each other to reject the formulaic dogmatism ("all ancient history is a struggle between Confucianism and Legalism") of the ultraleftist period, and adopt a new empiricism ("seek truth from the facts") appropriate to an era of socialist modernization when "practice is the sole criterion of truth."² Much of this effort is being devoted to an attack upon *yingshe lishi*—history as innuendo. For, during the past twenty years political struggles among the leadership have frequently been framed by historical allusions. For instance, in 1959, at the Lushan Plenum, Mao Zedong's opponents attacked him as being like the cruel and despotic emperor, Qin Shihuangdi (r. 221-210 B.C.), who "buried the scholars and burned the books." Two years later, in 1961, Marshall

1. See Appendix I for a detailed itinerary.

2. During the fall, after our visit, a meeting of historians was held in the Beijing area in conjunction with the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. The new empiricism was strongly advocated, and historians resolved to pay more attention to contemporary history. "Lishi yanjiu bixu tichang zhenshixing he kexuexing" [Historical research must promote authenticity and scientific quality], *Guangming ribao*, October 27, 1979.

Peng Dehuai's opposition to Chairman Mao was justified in the form of a play about a famous sixteenth-century reformer written by the Beijing University Ming specialist, Wu Han. In 1962, the debate that took place between Mao and his critics after the Tenth Plenum first emerged in the form of an academic controversy over Confucian "concessiveness" and the place of peasant wars in Chinese history. In 1966, the counterattack on Mao's behalf by Yao Wenyuan was expressed as a diatribe against the heroic scholar officials of the late Ming Donglin Academy. In 1971, after Lin Biao's death, Mao Zedong reasserted his hegemony over the People's Liberation Army by defining Chinese history in terms of class struggle and mass movements. In 1973, as battle lines hardened between the cultural revolutionary group and older Communist Party leaders, the attack upon Premier Zhou Enlai took shape as a campaign against Confucius. In 1975, Deng Xiaoping's efforts to support science and technology were vilified by means of a denunciation of late Qing "self-strengtheners" like Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang. And in 1976, when Jiang Qing herself was seized and placed under arrest, her activities were denounced by comparison with the infamous Empress Wu Zetian, who usurped and held the Tang throne between A.D. 684 and 704.³

Historians in America are sometimes made to feel that their interest in the past is irrelevant to the present. That particular kind of philistinism does not exist in China, where the very opposite may be true. History has been all too relevant to contemporary political issues and intrigues during these last two decades, and many of the scholars we met during our visit confided to us that they had suffered precisely because of such "presentism." Several had been publicly denounced and "sent down" to work in the countryside. Others had had their notes destroyed and their books confiscated, or else had watched helplessly as their manuscripts were seized and burned. A number had been physically abused, and we were privately told of others who had been killed by their own students—beaten to death or driven to suicide. While we were in Beijing, in fact, the daily press carried stories of the last days of the Ming historian, Wu Han, who had died in a hospital after his own

3. Merle Goldman, "The Chinese Communist Party's 'Cultural Revolution' of 1962-1964," in Chalmers Johnson, ed., *Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China* (Seattle, 1973) p. 243; Chien Chao, "The Use of History as a Political Strategy by the 'Gang of Four,'" in Steve S.K. Chin, ed., *The Gang of Four: First Essays After the Fall* (Hong Kong, 1977), pp. 56-57; Frederic Wakeman, Jr., *History and Will: Philosophical Perspectives of Mao Tse-tung's Thought* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 39-41, and "Historiography in China after 'Smashing the Gang of Four,'" *China Quarterly* 76:891-894.

denunciation and arrest during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.⁴

Historians in China today appear determined never to let this happen again, although it may not be in their power to decide such an outcome. Reacting strongly against the "hegemony of the Gang of Four," they call for a new toleration of different points of view and, above all, for the right to treat history "objectively and scientifically," instead of making it the handmaiden of politics. Certainly, there has not been so much diversity of opinion, within Marxist parameters, about historical issues since the early 1950s. But this is not to say that historical research is now altogether liberated from present political and social concerns. Just as China's leaders are now beginning to think of the PRC as a postrevolutionary society, so are its sociologists currently reading Daniel Bell and its historians analyzing the way in which successful Chinese peasant uprisings end by affirming established political hierarchies. Nevertheless, as Western historians whose own values and present concerns are mirrored in their research work, we discern a considerable distance between politically ordained *yingshe lishi* and scholarship that recognizes subjective bias while continually striving for objectivity. At present our colleagues in China speak of themselves as beginning to practice the latter, and we believe that we have much to learn from each other as they undertake that task.

4. Wu Han's persecution is detailed in *Wu Han he "Hai Rui ba guan"* [Wu Han and "Hai Rui dismissed from Office"] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1979), which contains a devastating memoir by Wu's son, Wu Zhang, entitled "Xingcunzhe de huiyi" [Recollections of a lucky survivor]. The book also contains memoirs by Fei Xiaotong and Hou Wailu, among others, and the full text of *Hai Rui ba guan*. (We are grateful to Professor Hok-lam Chan for making this book available to members of the delegation.)

Part One

Travel

II

Museums and Sites in North China

Of all the changes in the environment and resources of American studies of Ming and Qing China indicated in this report, one of the most important is also one of the simplest: each of us can now assume that sooner or later he or she will see China, and if present political trends continue, many of us will visit it repeatedly and for long stays. The consequences for our scholarship will by no means be limited to the results of our use of Chinese libraries and archives and our discussions with Chinese scholars. When a historian travels in China, his broad generalizations about the Chinese landscape and its effects on political and economic geography are confirmed, refined, or shattered. His understanding of some main themes in Chinese culture is deepened by personal experience of the great historic monuments and famous scenes so intimately connected with them. Visits to sites and museums yield illustrative material on many topics, resolve many small problems of where events took place and what objects looked like, and suggest altogether new topics for research, some of which would be impossible or sadly limited without on-site investigations. (Examples discussed below include tomb lore, firearms, and gardens.) In this section we will describe some of the delegation's experiences in historical tourism, roughly in the order of our travels. We would like to begin with a few general points on what historical tourists can expect in China in the way of freedom to move about and see what they want, and in the way of quality of interpretation and preservation of relics.

Practices in handling foreign visitors in China are changing so rapidly that little detailed advice can be given on what to expect. Until later reports present a different picture, it still is safest to assume that travelers going to China for a visit without functional connection to a university or research organization will have to arrange an itinerary in advance, and that they should not count on being able to change that itinerary on a few days' notice while in China. Impromptu visits to places where there is no local Foreign Affairs Office (Waishi bangongshi) are nearly out of the question. Changes in itinerary for group travel are also hard to manage,

because of the very real shortages of transportation and hotel space. Overseas Chinese on any kind of visit and foreign scholars attached to Chinese organizations for a period of research or teaching probably will find it easier to go where they wish on short notice. All kinds of travelers will find it easy to make day trips, on foot or by public transportation, in or near an individual stop on a trip.

China's museums and major historic sites are under the control of the Ministry of Culture (Wenhuabu) and its extensions on the provincial and municipal levels, the local Culture Bureaus (Wenhuaju). The Culture Bureaus also cooperate with branches of the national-level Bureau for the Handling of National Cultural Objects (Guojia wenwu guanliju), or Cultural Objects Bureau (Wenwuju) for short. During the Cultural Revolution, although functions of the Ministry of Culture (which governs, among other things, libraries and museums) came to a halt, valuable historical materials continued to be discovered. Consequently, a parallel, ministry-level bureau was established under the direction of a Committee for the Handling of Cultural Objects (Wenwu guanli weiyuanhui) to provide specialists to evaluate and make decisions about the dispensation of such materials, and over the years branch bureaus have been established in the capitals of provinces such as Shaanxi and Jiangsu that are especially rich in historical artifacts and documents. The Cultural Objects Bureau now works in tandem with the revived Ministry of Culture on the national level and in some provinces, and it maintains liaison with "cultural object divisions" or "units" (wenwuchu or ke) that have been set up by bureaus of the Ministry of Culture in other provinces and in municipalities.

The museums administered by the Museum of Culture are designed as much to teach the public as to collect and store national treasures. There is no escaping the political messages incorporated in them, especially in the statues and paintings of heroic peasant revolutionaries and revolutions. Explanations and organizations of exhibits use the well-known Marxist concepts of historical stages. But the Marxist emphasis on material culture has some salutary effects on museums, encouraging the inclusion in exhibits of a very wide range of weapons, tools, types of currency, agricultural products, manufactures, and so on. Because the Chinese look on their museums as teaching institutions, they do not hesitate to include copies of important objects or reconstructions from old illustrations and explanations, usually clearly so labeled. The directors of the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing told us that they have priority over provincial museums in obtaining original objects so one is likely to find an original object in Beijing and a copy in the museum of the

province of origin. A further consequence of the didactic function of the museums, and one that is less likely to stir ambivalent feelings in a Western scholar, is that labeling is full and informative and there are many excellent modern maps and charts. Such explanations also are present, but uneven in quality and thoroughness, at the great historic sites. The political messages in these explanations are by no means entirely useless to the non-Marxist historian; it is good, as one gazes at a palace or tomb, to have on view the figures from the official records on how much it cost and a comparison of that cost to the annual food budget of a peasant family.

Interpretation of historic sites also is provided by local guides. These are highly variable in quality and reliability. Guides who show tourists through the same places over and over again are not always reliable, interesting, or able to adjust to the unusual demands and specialized questions of the scholarly visitor. It is only fair to recall, however, that Mr. Lin Huaxiong, a staff member of the Academy of Social Sciences who gave us a marvelously evocative explanation of the Altars of Heaven, had developed his knowledge when employed by the China Travel Service. Almost everywhere there are local scholars who would be marvelous guides, for example on the staffs of the Palace Museum in Beijing and of the bureau that maintains the gardens in Suzhou, but one would have to have a very special interest in a place to hope to have such people accompany one on a tour. Our best taste of the insight that can be gained from the guidance of such a local expert was in Nanjing, where we were shown around by the redoubtable Song Boying, vice-director of the Nanjing Museum. At smaller and more out-of-the-way sites one finds a wide range of local guides. We had excellent guidance by a senior local scholar in Wuxi and by a self-taught young student of local history at Qufu, but in Chengde we often found the devoted curators of the great treasures of that place uneasy and inarticulate in answering our questions.

Preservation of sites also runs quite a range, from a highly developed and specialized operation for the Beijing Palaces and the Suzhou gardens, to the conscientious major restorations now under way at Chengde, to some crude modern repainting in the Kongfu at Qufu.

A final general comment: The visitor to China cannot do too much advance reading on the places to be visited. *Nagel's Encyclopedia-Guide to China* is the best recent guidebook, excellent and scholarly on some places, including Beijing and Suzhou, less full and more likely to be based on secondhand and out-of-date information on others. Good sinologues, especially Denys and Claudine

Lombard, were involved in its preparation. Several members of the delegation had with them old guidebooks from about the turn of the century to the 1930s and found them full of good information, references to obscure sites that sometimes baffled our guides, and insights into what had changed and what had not. Old Western travel books can serve some of the same functions; Wills wished that he had taken along his copy of Harry A. Franck, *Wandering in Northern China* (1923), which contains lively, observant, and only occasionally prejudiced descriptions of every place the delegation visited north of the Yangzi.

If one has specific scholarly questions to settle on a visit to a particular place, full advance preparation is even more essential. One should not count on being able to recheck a source in a local library, and if a local scholar does not volunteer the source of his view on a particular question, it will be hard to find a tactful way to ask him about his sources.

Beijing and Environs

The delegation's historical touring in this area was a patchy business. We saw little of the Beihai area and nothing of the Summer Palaces—not even the marble boat! In Beijing our sightseeing was confined to the Museum of Chinese History (Zhongguo lishi bowuguan), the Palaces, and the Altar of Heaven area; in the vicinity we saw the Ming Tombs, the Qing Eastern Tombs, and the Great Wall.

In the large and impressive Ming-Qing sections of the museum we were very interested to see actual examples of many objects that played important roles in Ming-Qing history: the economic documents described by Rawski, a skein of raw silk, an ingot of silver cast for tax collection in 1561, a nineteenth-century loom for making fine figured silks called *shujin*, a variety of firearms and explosive projectiles including some "Coxinga jars" (*Guoxingping*) supposedly used by Zheng Chenggong, and a model of a formidable multiple rocket launcher. The silver ingot was very crude; such techniques must have made a real problem of the wastage that justified "meltage fees." The firearms provoked considerable discussion among those of us who have studied the military history of the Ming-Qing transition. Some of the weapons, including a cannon supposedly used by Li Dingguo near the end of the Ming Loyalist resistance in Yunnan and another cast in 1676, possibly under the supervision of Ferdinand Verbiest, S.J., seemed comparable to European cannon of that period; other firearms looked very primitive. But these are guesses by amateurs in this field; a full study of firearms in early modern

China by a scholar with a sound knowledge of firearms in early modern Europe would be a major contribution to Ming-Qing political-military history, and would be greatly enriched by examination of this collection of firearms and those at other museums and sites in China. It also should be noted that this and other major museums' exhibits include many maps, charts, photographs of places, and copies of texts, all of which, though well known to scholars familiar with the Chinese secondary literature on a subject, are important for the museum's didactic functions and valuable to the scholar who is less wellread on a particular topic.

It should also be noted that Beijing's Museum of Chinese History, like museums elsewhere in China, may contain valuable historical documents. Thus, in addition to displaying a Ming "fish-scale register" showing land registration by plot, the museum also has 5,000 other land records and deeds, some of which were acquired during the period of land reform.¹ Wang Hongjun, deputy research director of the museum, told us that "in principle" foreign scholars may be permitted to use these records, but actual proposals will have to be examined on a case-by-case basis.

The delegation saw the Great Wall at the well-known reconstructed tourist site at Badaling northwest of Beijing and again from a moving train when we crossed an unreconstructed but still quite visible portion between Beijing and Chengde. Its dimensions and the steepness of the mountains it traverses are even more impressive when seen in person than in the many photographs of it. Several of us had not realized until we stood on it that it is precisely positioned on the highest ridges so that it always has long free lines of sight in both directions. Where one of these lines of sight is interrupted by a lower peak, that peak is crowned by a watchtower; and it seems that where no single ridge gives long lines of sight in both directions the Wall splits and follows two ridges. A study of the building, garrisoning, and administration of the Wall is another major topic in Ming-Qing history that would be enormously enriched by on-site investigations.

On the way to the Badaling section of the Wall one can stop at the magnificent Juyongguan gate, built in late Yuan times, ornamented with fine low-relief Buddhist sculptures in Indian or Central Asian styles and with inscriptions in six languages.

In Beijing itself, few of the buildings outside the palaces that housed the Boards, Censorate, and other bureaucratic bodies remain;

1. See Chapter Seven.

many of them stood in what is now Tiananmen Square. A little more about the work of governing the empire is to be learned within the palaces, especially at the Yangxindian, the middle-sized but opulently decorated building where the emperor did most of his daily administrative work. In its central chamber are bookcases full of handsome blue silk *tao* and a huge desk. In one side chamber is a throne, a curtain behind it, and behind that another more heavily upholstered throne where a dowager empress could "listen to government from behind the curtain." Some of the nearby living quarters are furnished in opulent and execrable taste, looking as if Cixi moved out just last week. The profusion of rare and intricate objects in these living quarters reminds us forcefully that the court was the final receptacle of much of the constant flow of gifts from inferiors to superiors in the Qing bureaucracy. Elsewhere in the palace complex one can see the repositories for court documents, the rooftops of the great pavilions in the grand secretariat area of the palace that does not appear to be open to the public at present, and can peer into the cramped offices of the Grand Council (Junjichu).

One's first approach to the symbolic understanding of the palace should be from the south, with map in hand so that the broad pattern can be kept in mind. For most purposes the Tiananmen was simply a gate, but one might try standing in the square and envisioning the spectacular ceremony in which a special imperial proclamation (*zhao*) was let down from the upper platform of the gate in the mouth of a "golden phoenix."² The location on the east of the entrance avenue of the Imperial Ancestral Shrine (Taimiao) and on the west of the Altars of Earth and Grain (Shejitan) is canonical, derived from the *Zhou li* and indicative of the central importance to imperial rule of filial piety and territorial sovereignty. Both areas now are public parks. The great hall of the Ancestral Temple is especially impressive, with a solidity of feeling and proportions somewhat reminiscent of Song styles.

The main rectangle of the palace lies to the north of these areas; it is surrounded by a wall with a great tower at each corner and for the most part by a moat. The student of Chinese architecture may be interested in investigating the sources and rationale for the oddly intricate shapes of the roofs of these towers, with their multiple upswept corners, so different from the architecture of the rest of the palace complex. The main entrance is through the

2. Christian Jochim, "The Imperial Audience Ceremonies of the Ch'ing Dynasty", *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions*, No. 7 (Fall 1979), pp. 88-103, at p. 98.

Wumen, whose great thrusting wings surely make it one of the world's supreme expressions of imperial magnificence. Trees along the central avenue of approach, which were not there in imperial times, give welcome shade but limit the overwhelming impression; a somewhat better view can be had from some distance to either side. The great courts before the Taihemen and before the Taihedian are well known from many photographs and descriptions. The bareness of these spaces and their immensity, hard to grasp even when one stands in them, make them emphatically public and impersonal. Something of a break from this scale is provided by the modest proportions of the Qianqingmen, which was the farthest point to which even high ministers were admitted, but even beyond it, in the Qianqinggong and other halls for ceremonies where the empress and other palace ladies were present, the scale remains large and the style formal and public. Especially disconcerting to the Western eye is the lavish imperial bridal chamber in the Kunninggong, done completely in red. After all these huge halls and forbidding formal spaces, it is a surprise and a relief to pass through one more gate into the informal and private, though still large, spaces of the Imperial Flower Garden (Yuhuayuan); here are flower beds, fine old cypresses, intricately eroded rocks, and even an artificial mountain with a small pavilion where the palace ladies could view the moon. To the west is a courtyard not generally open to the public; it contains a splendid Beijing Opera stage with a great deal of green paint, floor and roof traps for special effects, and to the north of it a pavilion where the emperor could face south and watch the opera. According to one seventeenth-century Western account, even the spaces outside the north wall of the palaces served these informal and recreational functions, the open spaces being used for horse riding and the Coal Hill (Meishan), or Prospect Hill area (Jingshan), being the site of a large imperial menagerie, with artificial holes for rabbits and other small animals, and cages or enclosures for the larger animals.³

If one wants to see the palace as most ministers saw it, one should get up before dawn and go sit in the courtyard in front of the Wumen, watching the light come up on those great walls and roofs, imagining the officials gathering there at that hour for an audience. The area is open at that hour (or was in June 1979), but there is a streetlight that hampers antiquarian research a little. Recall that imperial elephants stood between the tunnel openings through the Wumen, and that they would have been dwarfed by the openings

3. Gabriel de Magalhaens, S.J., *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine* (Paris, 1688), pp. 312-314.

which are six to seven meters high. Then one should come back later when the gates are open and stand at various points on the central path of the Taihedian courtyard. This was the closest the ordinary minister got to the emperor; these were the stones against which he knocked his head. He must have had keen eyesight indeed even to see the emperor on his throne. Only when one has studied the palace in this way can one really appreciate the impersonality and studied arrogance at the heart of the imperial system.

If the political and familial elements in state ceremony predominate in the palace complex, the cosmological element comes very much to the fore at the Altars of Heaven (Tiantan). Here again, visitors simply have to experience for themselves the power of the place. The Round Hill Altar (Yuanqiutan) is bare and open to the sky. The roofs of the associated buildings are of an uncanny deep blue tile. The whole complex replicates twice the basic pattern of a Chinese temple. The Imperial Heavenly Vault (Huangqiongyu) stands north of the Round Hill Altar and functions as its "back hall" where the tablets used on the altar were stored. Another smaller hall stands in the same relation to the Hall of Prayer for the Harvest (Qiniandian), and to one side of the causeway that approaches the Qiniandian from the south is an area where the imperial worshiper washed himself before proceeding to the main ceremony, just as an ordinary worshiper did in an ordinary temple.

The proper location, preparation, and maintenance of imperial tombs was one of the central symbolic ceremonial activities of the court. In this, as in the importance of its ancestral temple and the ostentatious filial piety of emperors toward their widowed mothers, the imperial family was simply the Chinese family writ large, setting an example for every family in the empire. Contemporary Chinese exhibits at the tombs deplore the vast expense, and a modern American may be inclined to agree: all that money just to bury one person! But one wonders how often this particular form of ostentatious expense was deplored by traditional Chinese of any class. A thorough study of the lore of late imperial tombs would be a substantial contribution to our understanding of continuities and changes in the culture of the court and of its interactions with the practices and beliefs of the elite and the common people. On-site investigation would be a vital part of such a study.

We saw imperial tombs at the regularly visited Ming Thirteen Tombs (Shisanling) northwest of Beijing; at the Qing Eastern Tombs (Dongling), which are in Zunhuaxian about 100 km east of Beijing, and which only recently have been opened to foreign visitors; and at the tomb of the Hongwu Emperor (Xiaoling) at Nanjing. Some

common characteristics are readily seen. All locations are geomantically determined, facing south on the south side of a mountain or range of mountains. Coming into a tomb complex from the south one encounters a large stele house, an elaborate front gate, and a central "spirit road" lined with a series of great figures of animals, warriors, and civil officials. These figures deserve detailed study and comparison; there is a frequent but not invariable pattern of a seated animal on each side, then to the north of these a pair of standing animals of the same kind, then similar foursomes of other kinds. The pattern of each individual tomb begins similarly, with a gate, a stele house, and a spirit way lined with figures. Then there are more variations and elaborations, but the basics are an entrance gate, a huge hall for sacrifices, a further gate, and a towering structure fronting on the burial mound itself. Elaborate precautions were taken to frustrate grave robbers, and they also have frustrated some modern efforts to find the tomb chambers. At the Dongling the tombs of the Qianlong emperor and the dowager empress Cixi have been excavated, as has that of the Wanli emperor at the Shisanling. These three also have been refurbished above ground and opened to the public, as has the tomb of the Yongle emperor at the Shisanling. Only in the tomb of the Wanli emperor were the grave goods found intact; they are exhibited in side halls of the tomb complex, and give a vivid sense of imperial extravagance. The tomb of the Yongle emperor is the largest of the Shisanling and probably the largest we saw; the buildings at the tomb of Hongwu at Nanjing may have been larger still before they were reduced in size by the order of Kangxi.

It was the Dongling tombs that we found not only enormously impressive in their wide, remote valley, but highly instructive in the differences among individual tombs. Kangxi's tomb, which is not repaired or open, has an unusual five-arched pailou and a fine spirit road with a slight curve in it and a small stream running beside it. Cixi and Cian have twin tombs side by side, but after Cian's death Cixi had hers redone to outshine her rival's in many details of building and decoration. The underground vaults of Qianlong's tomb contain splendid wall reliefs in Tibetan Buddhist style and inscriptions in Sanskrit, compelling evidence that by the end of his life Qianlong's patronage of Lamaism was a matter of personal conviction, not just Central Asian politics.

The tomb of Hongwu at Nanjing offers several puzzles when compared to the northern complexes. Most important, the spirit road runs west from its stele house and then turns north. Can the notoriously "superstitious" emperor have put in this bend to stop evil spirits? Or could it somehow be a result of original plans for a

complex of several tombs? Or of modifications made under the early Qing? A full study of tomb lore would extend to the use of arches, statues, and steles by sub-imperial notables; we saw a few examples at the Konglin in Qufu and on the outskirts of Nanjing.

A final puzzle is derived from an exhibit in the Shandong Museum in Ji'nan of grave goods excavated from the tomb of a son of the Hongwu emperor who was enfeoffed in Shandong. They include over 400 wooden figures, about a foot high, of soldiers, horses, officials, and similar things. One is reminded of the larger figures found in Qin through Tang tombs. But nothing of the kind is on display in the goods taken from the Wanli tomb. If no such figures were placed in late Ming and Qing tombs to "serve the departed," this would represent a far-reaching shift in elite funeral practices, and perhaps even in ideas of death.

Chengde

In this middle-sized provincial town on the edge of sparsely-settled mountains, where few foreigners have been in recent decades, the delegation confronted some basic challenges to some of our well-established approaches to Qing history. We knew the Qing Court had an Inner Asian as well as a Chinese side, but we had no real conception of the exuberant way in which that court provided lakes with willows and pavilions for its Chinese officials, horse races for its Mongols, lamaseries for its Mongols and Tibetans, a huge wooden Guanyin statue for its Zungars; or of how, in so doing, it provided striking symbols of its sovereignty over all those peoples and their lands. And most of this was the work of the Qianlong reign. As the trip progressed we saw in many places evidence that that reign marked a peak of building and rebuilding, of setting up commemorative steles, of conspicuous cultural consumption under imperial and elite patronage. And this long and important reign still is sadly neglected among Western sinologists and underemphasized in their general interpretations of the Qing.

The Kangxi emperor began coming to this area to hunt early in his reign; in 1703 the first building was built in what is now a vast estate of about 5.6 square km called the Mountain Estate for Avoiding the Heat (*Bishu shanzhuang*).⁴ Although the elevation is not over 500 m and it is not far north of Beijing, the air does seem fresher during the day and the evenings cooler. The emperors were

4. On Chengde see Sven Hedin, *Jehol: City of Emperors* (New York, 1933); and *Bishu shanzhuang he wai ba miao* [Bishu shanzhuang and the outer eight temples] (Beijing, 1976).

also attracted to the area by a hot spring that gave the place its old name of Jehol (Rehe). The site of the spring, long since stopped up, still can be seen in the grounds. The audience halls and living quarters of the Bishu shanzhuang reproduce the full imperial pattern of buildings, but on a relatively modest scale and with a pleasing effect very different from the daunting monumentality of the Beijing Palaces. The courtyards contain a scattering of pine trees. The buildings are low in profile, with clear varnish over the natural wood, and there is lattice work in and above the doors that used to be open to let the breezes through. Altogether, the effect is one of unusually restrained elegance and closeness to nature. Side halls contain very interesting exhibits on the Bishu shanzhuang and of Qing weapons, Kangxi's own leopard-skin saddle, and like items. In the imperial living quarters is the chamber where the Xianfeng emperor, in flight from the French and British invasion, approved the treaties of 1860 and soon died, setting the stage for Cixi's coup.

The pavilion that was Kangxi's first building at Bishu shanzhuang looks out over a large artificial lake, overhung in some places by willows. The lake is crossed by small bridges, and has pavilions built out over the water. The whole effect is imperfectly but doubtless deliberately reminiscent of the lakes, rivers, and gardens of Jiangnan. There is even a pagoda that is said to be a copy of one on Jinshan Island in the Yangzi at Zhenjiang, and there is supposed to be another copy of the same pagoda in the Summer Palace gardens northwest of Beijing.⁵ In view of the importance of the Nanjing-Zhenjiang-Jiangyin area in the history of Ming loyalism and the fame of that pagoda, the copying of the pagoda strikes one as a deliberate symbol of the incorporation of that wealthy and initially recalcitrant area into the Qing empire. There also is a rather garishly restored pavilion, the Wenjin'ge, where one copy of the Sikuquanshu manuscript library was kept. The whole Bishu shanzhuang area was used for the private pleasure of the emperor and the court and for the entertainment of visiting tribute envoys and other dignitaries. There was a special outlying area where the Mongols could race their horses. Lord Macartney and many other visitors were taken around the lake in boats and treated to dazzling theatrical spectacles and displays of fireworks.⁶

The local authorities in Chengde are receiving generous subventions for the maintenance and restoration of their treasures, and

5. Carroll B. Malone, *History of the Peking Summer Palaces Under the Ch'ing Dynasty* (Urbana, Ill., 1934, reprint New York, 1966), pp. 20-21.

6. Hedin, pp. 124-140.

they are also making plans for the expansion of tourism.⁷ Work already is under way on some of the buildings around the lake, using traditional methods taught by old craftsmen. They will have their work cut out for them, particularly when they face the challenges of the crumbling tinderbox interiors of the great Lamaist temples.

We saw three, perhaps the most spectacular three, of the eight great temples of Chengde. All were built in the Qianlong period for visitors from Inner Asia and have stupas and other buildings in Tibetan styles as well as buildings in Chinese and mixed styles. The Puningsi was built in 1755 (somewhat prematurely, as it turned out) to commemorate the subjugation of the Zungars and to provide a place for them to worship when they came to pay homage to the emperor. A great hall with five eaves contains a fine wooden statue of a "thousand-armed Guanyin" over twenty meters high. The hall does not extend very far in front of the statue; one sees only the feet and the hem of the robe from the entrance, and has to walk almost up to it before one can see the full figure looming in the half-light. It must have been truly overwhelming to the parched and dusty believer who had ridden well over 2000 km from the Ili valley. Only in recent years have the local authorities discovered a small Buddhist figure, invisible from the floor, seated within the crown of the huge statue.

Each of the other two temples centers on a huge multi-storied building in the style of a Tibetan lamasery. These buildings are not solid blocks but partly hollow squares; on at least two sides the outer structure has inside it an open court reaching all the way to ground level, with an additional multistoried structure beyond it and a very fine temple on top of that. The Putozongchengmiao was built in 1767-1771 during the very successful Qing advance in Central Asia that included the spectacular return of the Torguts from Russia in 1770. Built as a replica of the Potala in Lhasa, it was supposed to

7. The Bureau of Cultural Relics in Chengde has been allocated 12,000,000 *yuan* (approximately U.S. \$8,400,000) for restoration work during the next three years. Old maps and plans, as well as photographs from the late Qing and Republican periods, are being used to guide the restoration work. This lavish attention may be mainly intended to make Chengde a major tourist attraction. At the same time, however, it also reflects national pride in Chengde as an ecumenical center for different minorities. See, for instance Wei Jin and Li Gong, "Wo guo tongyi duominzu guojia gonggu yu fazhan de lishi jianzheng—Chengde Bishu shanzhuang he wai ba miao" [Historical testimony to the consolidation and development of a united multiracial nation in our country—Chengde's Bishu shanzhuang and the outer eight temples], *Wenwu* 1974.12:1-10. We were told that the Qing History Research Institute at People's University is planning to publish a collection of documents on Bishu shanzhuang next year.

house the Dalai Lama, but his visit to the court never took place. It had lamas in residence down into the twentieth century, and Lord Macartney once met the Qianlong emperor going there to worship. The Golden Pavilion, sheltered in the hollow square and invisible from outside, has a fine roof of gilded bronze and some impressive images inside. The Xumifushoumiao was built in 1780 for the Panchen Lama, who unlike the Dalai, *did* come.⁸ The Qianlong Emperor is reported to have treated him as an equal, and may have even ceded the place of honor to him; we understood that two pavilions had been built, equally splendid and on the same level, for the emperor and the Panchen Lama, and one of these was pointed out to us where it still stands to the west of the top of the central block. The temple atop the central block here is almost as splendid as that at the Putozongchengmiao, and has a much more ornate roof with figures of writhing dragons and elephantine monsters.

Shandong

For over two thousand years the Chinese sense of continuity with the classic period of their civilization has been focused on a small area of western Shandong, stretching south from the summit of Taishan, that includes the home of Confucius at Qufu. This area was the focus of imperial and elite patronage at least from Tang times on and therefore has some fine buildings and forests of steles. In addition to visiting Taishan and Qufu, the delegation stopped at Ji'nan, saw the very good provincial museum there (Shandong bowuguan) with its exhibit of figures from the tomb of the first Ming prince of Lu, and saw, in two bus rides, an unforgiving, rocky countryside that made the valleys on the way to Chengde look like a farmer's paradise by comparison.⁹

In a society where the continuity of power and prestige in a particular family line usually has lasted only a few generations, the heritage of the Kong family of Qufu is staggering. Imperial grants of nobility to the senior lineal descendant of Confucius in each generation began in the Later Han, as did sacrifices to Confucius by imperial order.¹⁰ From 1008 on emperors occasionally came here to pay homage to Confucius in person, and Qianlong came here eight times during his sixty-year reign. From Tang times to the Qianlong

8. Indeed, he died there during his visit. See Schuyler Cammann, "The Panchen Lama's Visit to China in 1780: An Episode in Anglo-Tibetan Relations," *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 9.1:3-18 (Nov. 1949).

9. The excavation of the tomb in 1970-71 is described in *Wenwu* 1972.5:25.

10. John K. Shryock, *The Origin and Development of the State Cult of Confucius* (New York and London, 1932), p. 99.

reign, the magistrate of Qufu always was a Kong, and beginning in the Northern Song, the eldest lineal descendant of Confucius was enfeoffed as Yanshenggong. Although the seventy-seventh duke of that title now lives in Taiwan, there still are many Kongs in the town of Qufu. Our very knowledgeable young guide was Mr. Kong Xianglin. In Qing times the family received rents from over one million mou of land, including imperial grants of up to 600,000 mou in thirty-seven xian in six provinces. Much of the latter was granted by the Hongwu emperor in 1369, possibly from confiscated Yuan appanage lands. A full study of this family and this place, using the Kongfu archives described by Rawski, the inscriptions in the Konglin cemetery, and so on, would be very interesting, but it would scarcely be "typical" of anything about late imperial China.

The public and private positions of the family are reflected in the layout of the Kongfu, the family mansion of 463 rooms. Its front hall served as a magistrate's hall for the family member who was magistrate of Qufu. The second hall, devoted to teaching younger generations of the family, was symbolically crucial to the family's position as heirs of the Great Teacher. A side chamber was reserved for the receiving of imperial edicts. Farther back are the residential areas, where the family lived and accumulated possessions until the early years of the Republic, complete with extensive gardens. During the 1820s, the Kongfu employed over 900 servants, including guards.

On the outskirts of Qufu is the Konglin, the Kong family cemetery, also known as the Zhishenglin (Most sacred grove). The cemetery, surrounded by a wall over seven km long, is full of old trees, tall grass, grave mounds, and steles. The tombs of the ennobled lineal descendants have arches and lines of statues appropriate to their rank. At the tombs of Ming-dynasty Yanshenggong we noticed steles with inscriptions by the famous grand secretaries Li Dongyang and Yan Song. We also saw the well-preserved grave stele of Kong Shangren, author of the famous early Qing drama *Taohuashan* (Peach blossom fan), who guided Kangxi on a visit here.¹¹ The graves of Confucius, his son, and his grandson Zisi are in a special enclosure reached by an avenue that crosses a bridge across a dry moat. There is a legend that Confucius predicted that something or someone from Qin would dig a moat here, that Qin Shihuangdi dug a channel to bring a river in to destroy Confucius' tomb, but that instead it formed a moat to protect the tomb. There

11. Richard E. Strassberg, "K'ung Shang-jen and the K'ang-hsi Emperor", *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i*, 3.9:31-73.

is a big hall, the Xiangdian, in front of the tombs; we were not sure if it was used for sacrifices or simply for the storage of ceremonial paraphernalia. The places where three emperors who visited here, Song Zhenzong, Kangxi, and Qianlong, stopped to rest are marked by steles and small pavilions. The tree traditionally held to have been planted by Zisi, and about which Kangxi asked Kong Shangren, was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Also damaged at that time, and now being repaired, are the steles in front of the three grave mounds.¹² There also remains a stele in honor of Zigong, who led the disciples in mourning after their master's death and kept a six-year vigil at the grave.

Most impressive of all the Qufu sites is the Confucian Temple (Kongmiao) in the town. The approaches to it, not always open to the public, are through a long series of gates in a big parklike area containing many Ming steles and two large Han stone statues that originally were in front of the tombs of the kings of Lu. Farther north, in the main area that generally is open to the public, are two large halls originally built in 1119; although they were rebuilt in the Ming and Qing after fires, they still retain much of the solid feeling of Song architecture. The Kuiwenge, which housed imperial gifts to the Kong family, is particularly admired as an example of an old wood multieaved pavilion (*louge*). The Dachengdian, the main hall for homage to the Sage, is reminiscent in its proportions of the principal halls of the Imperial Ancestral Temple in Beijing. In front of it is a large marble-railed terrace on which ceremonial dances were performed.

The statue of Confucius that remained in this hall even after statues were removed from most Confucian temples in the ceremonial reforms of 1530 was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, as were the tablets for disciples and later great Confucians that were housed in side chambers.¹³ The Dachengdian houses an interesting collection of the musical instruments for Confucian ceremonies.

12. In 1977, after the arrest of the "Gang of Four," a stone tablet was put up at the entrance to Confucius' tomb. The tablet commemorates the meeting that was held at Qufu in October, 1948, between Deng Xiaoping and Liu Bocheng to plan their strategy for the final stages of the civil war. The meeting was convened by Zhu De.

13. The Confucian Temple was strenuously attacked as a symbol of oppression during the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Biao. Gu Qun, "Cong Qufu Kongmiao kan fengjian tongzhi jieji zun Kong de fandong shizhi he nongmin de fan Kong douzheng" [Seeing the reactionary essence of the feudal ruling class's worship of Confucius and the peasants' struggle against Confucius in Qufu's Confucian Temple], *Kaogu* 1974.1:40-45. According to our guides, Chen Boda led the Red Guards who destroyed these fabulous relics.

Farther north is a slightly smaller hall dedicated to Confucius' wife, and beyond that is another that contains a series of over one hundred stone engravings depicting traditions about the life of Confucius. Rubbings are still taken from these stones for sale to tourists. The areas between the great halls are crowded with steles dating from as early as the Tang, some of them protected from sun and rain by small pavilions.

The sage emperor Shun is supposed to have paid homage to Taishan.¹⁴ Confucius is said to have climbed it and found that from the top the world looked small. Emperors from Qin Shihuangdi to Song Zhenzong performed the great *feng* and *shan* sacrifices at the mountain's peak and base, and many more emperors paid homage in the Daimiao temple at Taian, which is at its base, or sent officials to do so. Literary men from Du Fu and Li Bai on were eager to come here and record their impressions; the Daimiao curators told us they have a storeroom full of steles ordered by Ming-Qing literati but never paid for or set up. The mountain also became associated with several important popular deities, and it has not entirely ceased to be an object of pilgrimage today. Taishan's real eminence is cultural, not physical; it loomed over the ancient state of Lu, but (to judge by photographs and relief maps) there are many more impressive mountains in China. Its central peak is only 1545 m high; it is a whole broad mass of mountainous terrain rather than a few sharp peaks, and despite occasional patches of bare rock and large trees, it is largely covered by a variety of small trees and shrubs. The total effect is surprisingly similar to some of the mountain ranges near Los Angeles.

The main route up the mountain is a well-maintained path of broad stone walks and steps that begins on the edge of Taian; a seasoned hiker can reach the summit in four or five hours. The lower stretch follows a pleasant valley with many large trees and scattered houses and farm plots. Among the many gates, inscriptions, and temples to be seen along the way are the Wanxiandian, which is built across the path; the Doumugong, a well-preserved temple to the Goddess of the Great Dipper that now contains a small refreshment stand; and, in the Valley of the Sutra Stone (Jingshiyu), a slanting face of bare rock, probably occasionally covered by running water, on which the Diamond Sutra was carved in the sixth century in large characters that are still visible. A good rest stop and small

14. Edouard Chavannes, *Le T'ai Chan: Essai de Monographie d'un Culte Chinois* (Paris, 1910); James Legge, tr., *The Chinese Classics* (reprint Hong Kong, 1970), Vol.3 (Shu Ching), p. 35.

restaurant are at the Zhongtianmen gate, to which a motor road via a valley to the west of the central path had almost been completed when we were there in June 1979. Here the fainthearted can take a look up the hundreds of stone steps leading to the Nantianmen gate on the summit ridge, and then turn back. Those who make the climb will reach the great Nantianmen and admire the Mokongge (Pavilion Touching the Void) on top of it.

The summit area of the mountain is a whole complex of peaks and ridges that end in sharp drop-offs to lower elevations. In past centuries, when there were more buildings and more activity here, the impression of a world apart must have been even stronger than it is now. The most important temples still standing are the Bixiaci, dedicated to Bixia yuanjun, the goddess of the mountain, which is roofed with iron and bronze tiles and still contains several images and bronze steles; and the Yuhuangmiao on the highest peak, where one goes to view the sunrise. The temple to Confucius here is in very poor condition. At the Yuhuangmiao is the "Stele Without Characters" (Wuzibei; now thought to have been erected by Han Wudi), whose inscription is completely weathered away after two millennia. One cliff in the summit area is almost covered with inscriptions, one of the largest and most impressive of which dates from the visit of Tang Xuanzong in 726. There is a new guest house on the summit with overnight accommodations.

Some visitors will sense the immense continuity of Taishan in Chinese culture more vividly at the Daimiao than on the mountain. The main pavilion, the Tiankuangdian, was built in 1009, is over twenty meters high, and again has the double-eaved solidity and fine proportions we found to be characteristic of the Song. It formerly contained statues of the god of the mountain and of various subsidiary deities, all of which were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. It still contains very interesting Song wall murals of the god of the mountain being taken on a tour of his city and being greeted by other deities at various points, just as is done with the images of gods on their festival days today in Taiwan province. To the northeast of the Tiankuang is an interesting small pavilion made entirely of bronze; to the northwest there is an iron container made to contain the documents Song Zhenzong supposedly received from Heaven on his visit here in 1008. The temple also has an elaborate front gate; many steles, the oldest being a fragment supposedly by Li Si of the Qin; and several cypresses said to have been planted by Wudi of the Han on his visit here in 110 B.C.

We also saw two lesser but very interesting pilgrimage sites on the north edge of Taian. One, the Puzhaosi, is a Chan temple

founded before A.D. 600 that has an old pine supposedly dating from those times, a fine bronze statue of the Buddha, a stele commemorating a Korean monk who settled here by order of the Hongwu emperor, and another stele on contributions by Yangzhou salt merchants to the repair or enlargement of the temple in the Qianlong reign. The other temple is that of the Wangmuqi, (Pond of the Goddess Mother). This temple has a special sweetwater spring; a stele on "Heshanhui," societies formed by people uniting to meet the expenses of pilgrimages to mountains; a stele on ceremonies performed at this temple; and a back pavilion where the emperor refreshed himself and watched a theatrical performance when he came to the mountain.

III

Museums and Sites in Central China

In Hebei and Shandong we had seen the monuments and sites of the core of the late imperial polity and of ancient cultural continuities of basic importance to all heirs of China's great tradition. In Jiangsu and Zhejiang we encountered a heritage that, despite the cultural, political, and economic dominance of this area in late imperial China and the great fame of Suzhou and Hangzhou, seems to have been more regional. The question of regional identities and mystiques is an important but extremely elusive one for the historian of Ming-Qing China; the experience of the delegation in the lower Yangzi suggests that personal knowledge of various areas, and especially of the traditions surrounding their famous scenes (*mingsheng*), will give us many new insights into the intricacies of regionalism.

Nanjing had an episodic but important role in late imperial China as a sort of anti-Beijing. The roots of this role can be traced to the centuries when it was the capital of the southern dynasties (317-589). It was not the Southern Song capital, of course; its role as southern center was revived by the historic accident of its being the center of the victorious power in the late Yuan civil wars. Zhu Yuanzhang's reconstruction of his capital has been brilliantly described by Frederick Mote.¹ The great palaces he built, which were very much in the pattern copied by his son in Beijing, were almost completely devastated by the battles of the rise and fall of the Taipings and of the 1911 Revolution. One still can cross the Jinshuihe stream, see a few pieces of fine palace stonework, and look south through the central portal of the Wumen and down Yudaojie (Imperial Way Street) which runs straight south from it. With expert guidance one can find in the neighborhood remains of two sidegates, Donganmen and Xi'anmen.

Other relics of this period include the mansion of Xu Da, part of which is now occupied by the Historical Museum of the Taiping

1. F.W. Mote, "The Transformation of Nanking, 1350-1400," in G. William Skinner, ed., *The City in Late Imperial China* (Stanford, 1977), pp. 101-153.

Heavenly Kingdom (Taiping tianguo lishi bowuguan), and the tombs of Xu Da and Li Wenzhong, both in the suburbs north of Purple Mountain (Zijinshan). Both have fine steles and lines of guardian figures; that of Li Wenzhong is notable for an unusual figure of a groom holding the reins of a horse and for the positioning of the stele off to one side of the "spirit road" leading to the tomb. We also saw in the northern suburbs, near the Yangzi River, the remains of the great early Ming shipyards where Zheng He's ships were built; a few pieces of wood that have been found under the water are still kept by farmers in the vicinity, but the best relics have been taken to the Museum of Chinese History in Beijing, and the main thing to see now is a series of exceptionally regular rectangular lotus ponds where the great shipbuilding ways were.

But by far the most impressive relics of early Ming Nanjing are the city wall and the Hongwu emperor's tomb, the Xiaoling. The wall is in good condition for much of its length and is partially intact almost everywhere. We got an especially good look at it east of the Xuanwu Lake; it is smooth, vertical, and over ten meters high. The Xiaoling is in the hills, east of the city and south of Purple Mountain. Some of its peculiarities have been mentioned in the general discussion of tombs. Formerly a walled area, inside which no commoners were allowed, linked the tomb to one of the city gates. Now little remains of the wall, and even the front pailou is lying on the ground. Near it is a large tablet bearing an inscription dated 1641 that forbids climbing on the tomb mound, cutting trees in the compound, and other forms of disrespect; its presence suggests how much public order had decayed here in the last years of the dynasty. From there one must make a long detour (around land now put to other uses) to reach a second gate and a great stele house, from which the "spirit way" lined by stone animals leads to the *east*, after it turns north it is lined by statues of men. At least two of the large gate and pavilion structures were rebuilt and reduced in size by order of the Kangxi emperor, and parts of the old, larger foundations still can be seen. The structure in front of the tomb mound is very large, but what makes the whole place so impressive is the thick and varied green of the southern woods pressing in on all sides and contrasting vividly with the uneven and faded reds of the structures. Even if the woods did not grow in quite so close to the buildings when they were first built, the whole effect is quite different from the two sets of tombs we saw near Beijing, where each tomb is a fairly simple and dramatic set of buildings that can be seen all at once.

Farther east, beyond the tomb of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, is a very

interesting "Hall Without Roofbeams" (Wuliangdian), located on the grounds of a twentieth-century Buddhist temple, that has vaults of arched stone rather than the usual Chinese post-and-beam construction. Originally constructed in the southern dynasties in the area later taken over for the Xiaoling, it was reconstructed on this site in the early Ming. Both the original builders and the Ming rebuilders simply piled up earth to support the vaults and arches until they were completed and then dug the earth out.

Much less can be seen to remind us of Nanjing's distinctive role in the Ming-Qing transition. A branch of the Qinhuai River can be seen in the south end of the city, and some of the streets in that area have pleasant trees and old buildings, but the ambience of the Qinhuai quarter, so famous in late Ming literati culture, was hardly likely to leave many monumental traces. Some of the buildings of the old examination hall also have survived in that area and now are part of a hospital. Wills discovered a great deal about the geography of Zheng Chenggong's 1659 attack on the city that he could not have learned without being there and without having the expert guidance of Professor Hu Yungong of Nanjing University.

For Nanjing's role as capital of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, the main source of understanding and information is the Historical Museum of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom. The exhibits are thorough, varied, and well displayed. The nonspecialist could spend days taking notes here; the specialist will find that he already has read about many of the documents and objects displayed, but some will be new to him. Exhibits of firearms used in the Taiping wars, including pistols and long-guns, would be valuable for the study of firearms outlined above. Here and at the museums in Wuxi and Suzhou we were especially impressed by new and thoroughly researched maps of the military campaigns of the Taipings and their opponents.

Important Taiping documents and materials, as well as a wide assortment of other materials on the history of Nanjing and on Ming-Qing social and economic history, are also to be found in the Nanjing Museum (Nanjing bowuguan). Now containing important exhibits on every period of Chinese history, the Nanjing Museum was originally the Provincial History and Arts Museum, founded in 1933 as a preparatory commission for the preservation of artworks under the central government of the Guomindang. During the anti-Japanese war, the museum's collection was taken to Sichuan province, and then returned to Nanjing after the armistice. However, it was not reopened to the public until 1949, when it became a regional museum serving all of east China as a kind of Cultural Objects

Bureau. Much of its effort during these early years was devoted to neolithic archaeology in the lower Yangzi region. Later it became the provincial museum of Jiangsu, and eventually it was renamed the Nanjing Museum. At present it is mainly involved in the organization of materials and in the display of objects to the public. It also engages in the development of conservation techniques to preserve lacquer and bronze wares. According to Director Yao Qian, there are 140 members of the staff, and annually 140,000 people visit the museum. The museum's extensive collections of materials on Ming and Qing social history are described in Chapter Seven of this volume. Here mention might be made of the Nanjing Museum's holdings of the unpublished papers of Qing scholars. The papers of Xue Fucheng and Weng Tonghe are now being organized for eventual publication.

For the Taiping period it also is worth noting that a map at the Taiping Museum, not published, shows the locations of the residences in Nanjing of many of the Taiping kings. It is not clear how much one would see if one tried to find all these locations. The mansion next door to the Museum, previously noted as having been built by Xu Da, is a sort of capsule of Nanjing history and lower Yangzi elite culture: in the early Qing it was the residence of the provincial treasurer; later it served as the headquarters of the Taiping king Yang Xiuqing; and after 1928 it was used by the Guomindang secret police. It has a famous garden with a name taken from a Su Shi poem. In the northwest part of the city is the former residence of a Taiping prince of the fourth or fifth rank in which very interesting wall paintings can be seen. The house usually is referred to simply as the Tangzijie house after the street on which it is located. Such wall paintings apparently were very common in the residences of the Taiping leaders; most, including these, are lavish in their depiction of landscape and animals but do not include human figures.

We saw four more cities south of the Yangzi: Wuxi, Suzhou, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, in that order. On our short train rides from city to city we got good views of the rich and distinctive countryside, with its rice paddies, mulberry plantations (especially near Wuxi), and dense boat traffic on the many canals. Wuxi is being promoted as a major tourist stop and has a new ten-story hotel on an arm of Lake Tai west of town. The standard tourist ride on the lake is pleasant but not very rich in historic insight, unless one wants to imagine outlaws and Ming loyalists hiding in the tall reeds around the edges. There are still many big fishing junks working on the lake; on-the-spot observation here and on the Yangzi (of which we saw very little) would be vital to studies of traditional Chinese

shipping and to studies of the river and lake warfare that was so important in late imperial China. We also visited the famous Donglin Academy, whose buildings now house a primary school; there a Qing gate and a few inscriptions can be seen. The lintel of the gate was destroyed during the Cultural Revolution, and an inscription from the Wanli period in the former lecture hall was plastered over to escape destruction, but now it can be seen again. We also saw the Wuxi Museum, small but containing some very good Qing and Taiping materials; it is housed in a very pleasant public park, at the foot of Huishan, that has a complex heritage reaching back to include a famous Tang temple and a Tang evaluation of its springwater as the second best in the empire for tea. It has been the estate of a distinguished Song literary man; a Guandi temple; and a memorial temple to soldiers of the Huai and Xiang armies who fought against the Taiping. A wavy "dragon wall" and a garden pond located in the park are especially fine.

Like everyone else, we went to Suzhou to see the gardens. No student of China should miss them; life in and around gardens and the appreciation of gardens were important parts of literati culture, and there is no substitute for seeing them. The city was also famous for the beauty of its houses along the canals, and some of this beauty still can be seen. The old houses usually are painted white, with a low second story of natural wood and frequently with lattice windows on that second story. Many features go together in the complex artistry of the gardens: the nice compositions of the Suzhou-style buildings and the ponds and bridges; the many varieties of lattice-work on the windows; and especially the compositions made up of the different leaf shapes, tree shapes, and greens of many varieties of trees. The latter has not been much emphasized in earlier studies of Chinese gardens, but it may be one of the most important and most consciously worked-out aspects of the aesthetics of Chinese gardens.² Emphasis on compositions of leaf and tree shapes and different greens can also be seen in many Chinese landscape paintings and in the miniature plantings (*penjing*), something like the better-known Japanese bonsai, that can be seen in the Suzhou gardens and in the Horticultural Garden at Hangzhou.

Also very important in these gardens are the intricately pitted and channeled stones associated with Lake Tai. The production and the aesthetic of these stones both need more study. We understood that they were carved to roughly the shape desired and then kept under water in the lake for some years for further shaping. The

2. See, for example, O. Siren, *Gardens of China* (New York, 1949).

Chinese appreciation of them probably can be linked partly to the late imperial taste for the intricate and fantastic, and partly to the exaltation of the individual and idiosyncratic that was one strain of literati culture. Of the four gardens the group visited in the city, the most food for thought on the above themes was provided by the large and intricate Liuyuan and the small but perhaps equally fine Wangshiyuan. A third garden, the Xiuyuan, actually is primarily a large Buddhist temple reconstructed after the Taiping period, with three big images in the main hall and images of the five hundred lohan (arhats) in a second hall. Much of the iconography, exuberance, and garishness of decoration in this temple, and in those seen in Shanghai and Hangzhou, will be familiar to those who have seen modern Chinese Buddhist temples outside the Chinese mainland. The fourth garden, the Zhuozhengyuan (Garden of one clumsy in government), is more expansive, less tidy and elaborate, and larger in its expanses of water; it has a good deal of the feel of a public park and is now very much used as one. There are modern concrete bridges and many other marks of rebuilding, so it is hard to be sure what the original may have looked like.

At what is now the back end of the Zhuozhengyuan stands an old Ming mansion, now entered from the street outside, that houses the Suzhou Museum, founded in 1960. Originally that mansion was the front entrance to the garden, and according to local lore the painter Wen Zhengming (1470-1559) stayed there while he drew up plans for the Zhuozhengyuan. Today the large main hall of the museum contains several wooden panels with the calligraphy of Wen Zhengming and of his friends, the painters Shen Zhou (1427-1509) and Tang Yin (1470-1524). These panels were, however, brought from elsewhere to be displayed in the museum after it took over the building. During the Taiping administration of Suzhou as the capital of "Sufu province" (eastern Jiangsu) from 1860 to 1863, the mansion became the headquarters of Li Xiucheng, the Loyal Prince (Zhongwang). There are paintings from that period on the eaves and roof beams, and museum guides claim that the stage in the main hall was used for Taiping theatrical performances. Because of the Taipings' ban on theatre, however, we thought it rather more likely to have been a stage used later by the Manchu bannermen who made the mansion their *huiguan* (*Landsmannschaft*) during the so-called Tongzhi Restoration.³ The museum has an excellent collection

3. At the urging of Hong Ren'gan, the Taipings prohibited theatrical performances after 1859. It should be pointed out, however, that this may not have been enforced. An inhabitant of Taiping-occupied Wuxi reported seeing a noisy dramatic performance early in 1863. Colin Patrick Mackerras, "Theatre and the Taipings," *Modern China* 2.4:482.

of materials on the Taiping reign in Suzhou, but the major and most important part of its holdings is the set of stele that have been used to provide evidence of the "sprouts of capitalism" in Jiangnan in the late Ming and early Qing.⁴ The museum's collection of these materials is described in Chapter Seven.

In Suzhou we also saw the large North Temple Pagoda (Beisita) dating from the late Ming, along with a temple that is now being renovated nearby; and a very interesting complex of buildings and sites at Huqiu (Tiger Hill), outside the city. This is a small but very famous hill with a large, rather shaky Song pagoda on top and a variety of pavilions and gardens on the slopes. There seem to be strong echoes of a Jiangsu regional mystique here. Some of the last Fushe (Restoration Society) meetings were held here in the early Qing. A king of Wu is supposed to have been buried here around 500 B.C., and a sheer-walled little gorge is pointed out as the site of the tomb, in front of which is a flat rock surface over ten meters square called the "Thousand-Men Rock." According to one story the succeeding king had all the tomb builders executed there so that they could not reveal the secrets of the tomb, and the rock still bears the markings indentified as stains of their blood. Later, according to another story, Qin Shihuangdi ordered the tomb robbed of the thousand swords that were supposed to be buried in it, but the attempt was frustrated by water rising in the little gorge, which still is called "Sword Pond." So a sacred site of Wu, the land of water, was saved by water from violation by the centralizing power of Qin. The similarities to the myth mentioned above about the moat at Confucius' tomb are striking.

No one interested in China should miss Shanghai, but sightseeing there does not seem to offer much to the scholar of pre-Opium War China. One can see the Yuyuan, a garden begun in the late Ming, that has some spectacular dragon walls and some very ornate buildings. Part of the Yuyuan was the headquarters of the Xiaodaohui rebellion of the 1850s and now houses a small museum on the rebellion; scholars familiar with the Chinese source collections knew all the documents that were displayed there. The Yuyuan is in what once was the Chinese walled city, where we also saw the Temple of the City God (Chenghuangmiao), apparently under reconstruction, located in the middle of a dense shopping district as most such temples were; we do not know what is planned for its future.

4. *Jiangsusheng Ming-Qing yilai beike ziliao xuanji* [Selected stone-inscription source materials in Jiangsu since Ming and Qing times], edited by the Jiangsu Provincial Museum (Beijing, 1959).

Elsewhere in Shanghai the famous Temple of the Jade Buddha (Yufosi), formerly headquarters of the Shanghai Buddhist Association, can be visited; it still has monks in residence and is open to Chinese worshipers on a few holidays.⁵ It has two impressive jade statues, a fine Qing set of the scriptures, and an atmosphere of isolation and artificial preservation. The Shanghai City Museum is a museum of art, not history; its collections of Ming-Qing painting and porcelain are very fine, and some of them are easier to appreciate under the soft light from the high windows than they are under the bright artificial light found in many museums.

In Hangzhou we spent almost all our time around West Lake (Xihu), except for one brief excursion to the large, solid Song Dynasty Liuhe Pagoda overlooking the Qiantang River. There seems to be little of historical interest in the city itself. Since Song times West Lake has accumulated an enormous lore of literary connections, of famous scenes, and of the best times of year for viewing them. It is a quiet lake surrounded by wooded hills, a peaceful and refreshing setting that really does live up to its literary reputation. One can take a boat ride to an island that encloses some fine lotus ponds; walk along a dike named after Su Shi; visit a shop on a hillside by the lake where seals have been made and sold since Qing times; visit the horticultural garden whose miniature plantings are mentioned above; feed squash bits to the giant carp; or admire the big jars full of varietal goldfish at the Yuquan (Jade Spring). Soon the temple dedicated to Yue Fei, badly damaged during the Cultural Revolution, will be fully repaired and reopened. By far the most interesting site to us was the Lingyinsi temple in a valley near the lake. The first Buddhist foundation in this area is said to have been made in 320, the work of a missionary from India. The temple and its statue are modern, but in front of it are two stone stupas dating from 960. Many Buddhist reliefs and statues dating from the Song and Yuan are cut into the cliffs along a rushing stream that runs in front of the temple. Some are quite Indian in style, others Chinese, including a fat Maitreya said to date from the Song. There are more statues and grottoes farther up the hill, but we did not see them.

5. The renowned Huayan master Yingci lectured on the Avatamsaka sutra here in 1955. In 1961, visitors noted large crowds at the Yufosi, consulting divination slips and having rites performed for the dead. At that time there were fifty monks in residence. In August 1966 the temple was closed down, and a Japanese Buddhist monk visiting Shanghai in 1967 was told the Jade Buddha was no longer there, and that only one monk—the abbot—remained. Holmes Welch, *Buddhism under Mao* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 301-305, 333. After our visit, a vegetarian (*sucai*) restaurant was opened in the temple for tourists.

The deep green shade, the rushing water, the fine sculpture, all combine to create a place of great peace and beauty and a deep sense of continuity with China's Buddhist past.

For American scholars, China was for decades abstract and unattainable, then for some years rare and challenging, every moment in it to be attended to with maximum intensity because one might never be back. Now being there becomes almost a normal part of life, which is as it should be for a China scholar. We have tried to point out some of the specific insights and opportunities of this new situation, but the more general consequences may be even more important. We find that, having traveled in China, when we begin to read about it again we always have in mind landscapes, the people in them, and the ties of culture, trade, and government that have held them together over areas that still seem immense when seen from a fast train.

Part Two

Institutions Visited

and Their Library

and Archival Collections

IV

Libraries

Generally speaking, libraries in China at present are struggling to get on their feet after the years of neglect, closure, damage, and scattering of holdings that took place from the Cultural Revolution through the reign of the Gang of Four. The task is made more difficult by a recognized serious dearth of persons trained in library science, and even of persons who can read unabbreviated characters. Every library we visited, or about which we inquired, was undergoing major renovation or expansion, or proceeding with the construction of an entirely new building. This is promising for the future and is a concrete indication of current state planning priorities, but the physical disruption that such progress entails will hamper use of library holdings, especially old books and rare materials, for several years to come. For instance, the Suzhou Municipal Library and the Zhejiang Provincial Library at Hangzhou simply were not in proper order to receive visitors; and the Nanjing Library (under the Qing it was the Jiangsu Provincial Library, which became the Central Library during the tenure in Nanjing of the Guomindang) was closed because of the construction of a large new wing and preparations for reorganizing and moving the collection.

During the recent revival of emphasis on study, higher education, and scholarly pursuits (primarily in science and technology, and only secondarily in the social sciences), libraries have been hard put to meet even local demand, and in most cases little thought has been given to regular procedures for serving foreign users.¹ This was true most surprisingly at the Shanghai Library, which had received only

1. Since our visit a more primary emphasis has been placed upon the social sciences, and especially on developing a firm theoretical base for a socialist social science. Eight fields are to be developed: philosophy, economics, political science (*zhengzhixue*) and sociology, legal studies, literature, history, journalism, educational theory and personnel management (*rencaixue*). "Taolun shehui zhengzhi shenghuozhong de yixie lilun wenti" [Discussing several theoretical problems of sociopolitical life], *Guangming ribao*, October 24, 1979; "Baijia zhengming, zongjie jingyan, tantao xin de lilun wenti" [A hundred schools of thought contending, summing up experiences, and probing into new theoretical problems], *Guangming ribao*, October 20, 1979.

one foreign user in the memory of the current staff, who suggested that requests for photo-duplication be processed through China Travel Service or some other foreign tourist agency! The coming few years will be formative in this respect. We could help both the Chinese and ourselves in two ways: by providing them with information about standard procedures for dealing with nonnative users, especially research scholars, in other parts of the world; and by encouraging Chinese libraries to adopt or maintain a favorable and facilitating attitude toward foreign users by conducting our inquiries and handling materials with special care. In particular, under current conditions it would be best for American scholars to make inquiries and request duplications through major U.S. East Asian libraries rather than as individuals, and to arrange compensation through interlibrary exchange rather than by monetary payment, at least until more convenient procedures can be worked out. This would both help Chinese libraries to avoid fiscal complications and foster enduring institutional ties.

We encountered great willingness on the part of library staff members to be of assistance to us as members of an official delegation and as foreign scholars who had "complied with certain procedures." These procedures surely will continue to include gaining affiliation with some well-established Chinese academic institution and, especially in nonmetropolitan areas, obtaining approval and introduction through the local branches of the Ministry of Culture called Culture Bureaus, which in turn cooperate with local branches of the Bureau for the Handling of National Cultural Objects.² Ming-Qing scholars who wish to use old books, rare editions, manuscripts, or archival materials will have to operate through both of these intertwining hierarchies.

Of the libraries visited, only the Beijing Library has completely cataloged its rare book collection.³ Work has been proceeding slowly in this area, partly because there have been no successors to the deceased or very elderly scholars who alone have had the requisite background in traditional bibliographic research and specialized knowledge of rare editions and printing practices. So now the Beijing Library is heading a project first proposed by the late Zhou Enlai to create a central catalog of all rare books in the country. When completed, this catalog will greatly facilitate the tasks of all historians of

2. (See Chapter Two).

3. A *Beijing Library Rare Books Catalog* (*Beijing tushuguan shanben shumu*) was published by Zhonghua shuju in 1959. A catalog of rare books in the Shanghai Library, *Shanghai tushuguan shanben shumu*, was published in 1957 but now is out of date.

premodern China and should bring greater consistency to the locally disparate definitions of "rare book" that we encountered. A temporary drawback, however, is that other libraries rich in rare books, such as the Nanjing University Library, have stopped their own work on rare books in anticipation of receiving assistance and direction from the national level.

Similarly, a national project is under way, centered at the Beijing Astronomical Observatory (Beijing tianwentai) and headed by Zhu Shijia, to create a union catalog of all local histories (*difangzhi*) held in various libraries throughout the country (an estimated 5,500 titles). This, too, has led local and university libraries to postpone their own work on cataloging *difangzhi* until the means and methods for participating in the national project become clear. However, this project is much more advanced than the rare books project and should be completed soon. Another organizational problem, on which only gradual progress has been made, is the unification of subject classification systems. Most major libraries have had their own internal systems, and in addition, have inherited collections of books categorized by the Library of Congress, Dewey, and three different Chinese systems: the Beijing University Library Classification (*Beijing tushuguan fenleifa*), created by Liu Guojun; the Chinese Academy of Sciences Classification (*Zhongguo kexueyuan fenleifa*); and the Chinese Library Classification (*Zhongguo tushu fenlei fa*). The last now has been designated as standard, and all libraries are in the process of unifying their catalogs under it. This task probably will take a long time to complete for old holdings; but unification for new acquisitions is being aided by provision of standard catalog cards from the Beijing Library to all "important" provincial and municipal libraries in China (1,000-3,000 in number, by loose estimate).

Information on Specific Libraries

The Beijing Library (Beijing tushuguan)

The Beijing Library, headed by Liu Jiping, is managed by an Administrative Office (Yewu bangongshi) and contains seven Sections (*bu*): Acquisitions (Caifang), Cataloging (Bianmu), Circulation (Yuelan), Reference (Cankao), Periodicals (Baokan), Librarianship (Tushuguan yanjiu), and perhaps of most interest to Ming-Qing scholars, Special Collections (named, somewhat misleadingly, the Shanbenbu.) This Special Collections Section, in particular, contains five units (*zu*): Epigraphy (Jinshi), Maps (Yutu), Minority Languages (Xiongdi minzu yuwen), Cordbound Books (Xianzhuangshu), and Rare Books (Shanbenshu). The library holds a

total of approximately 9,800,000 volumes (a sevenfold increase since 1949). Of these, approximately 2 million *ce* are cordbound, or "old-style," books, and of these, 260,000 are designated as rare volumes, the oldest dating from the thirteenth century. This is the largest collection of rare books in China, and features many old European volumes, including probably the complete surviving Jesuit Beitang Library collection.⁴

For some time, the library has been in the process of microfilming all its rare books in order of age (the oldest first), and the task is now about half finished, according to the head of the Rare Books Unit, Li Zhizhong. Users who request to see rare works of which microfilm copies have been made will be given the microfilm to read, not the original work. Foreign libraries and institutions may request additional copies of Beijing Library microfilms, or they may request that the library depart from its regular microfilming schedule to copy a work that normally would not be microfilmed until some time in the future. Both kinds of request must go through an application process, initiated with the Administrative Office (headed by Li Xunda), and should include suggestions of materials that the requesting institution would be willing to offer in exchange, a matter that eventually would be handled by the Exchange Unit (Jiaohuanzu) of the Acquisitions Section (unit head, Xu Mian). Nonrare materials may be xeroxed to a limit of thirty pages per request, with no limit on the number of requests, except that no entire work would be copied.

The Beijing Library is open daily, except Saturday, from 8:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. Because it is the national library, its principal service—like that of our Library of Congress—is to help the government with reference work. There are three reading rooms: one for government workers, one for university students, and one for middle school students. Usually every spot is filled. Any foreign visitor can obtain a reader's card by bringing adequate identification (e.g., one's passport) and two small pictures; however, a foreign user may borrow books from the library only through some professor, researcher, or other responsible person of the academic institution with which he or she is affiliated in China.

The greatest problem, at present, in using the Beijing Library arises from the circumstance that virtually all books acquired before 1949 (except rare books) are kept in branch depositories (*fenju*), and the public catalog contains cards only for books in the main building.

4. J.S. Cummins, "Brief Note [on the] Present Location of the Pei-t'ang Library," *Monumenta Nipponica* 22.3-4:482-887.

There is no public access to the catalogs of branch holdings. This means not only a retrieval time of at least one day for books held in branch depositories; it also means that many requests must be made "blind." Fortunately, a site has been selected in the western suburb of Beijing for the construction of a much larger, new building that will house all collections in one place. This new library should be completed within a few years, but it remains to be seen whether the general public then will have access to all materials held.

The Nanjing University Library (Nanjing daxue tushuguan)

The Nanjing University Library, headed by the university vice president, Fan Cunzhong, is the second largest library in China, next to the Beijing Library, and holds a total of approximately 2,700,000 volumes. Of these, about 1,300,000 are old-style Chinese books, and of these, over 1,000 titles are classified as rare books—mostly Ming or, for the Qing, pre-Qianlong editions. Also of particular interest to historians are the local histories and the old Chinese newspapers and periodicals. In both of these categories, the Nanjing University Library has the largest and most complete collections in the country.

The library has compiled a complete catalog, for internal use, of all its local histories, including about 10 percent more titles than are listed in Zhu Shijia's national survey published in 1958.⁵ The rare books index, however, is only about 50 percent finished. At present, if a user wishes to see rare books, he must hold an academic position and have a letter of introduction from a Nanjing University professor. The staff is prepared to xerox, microfilm, or photograph parts of any book or periodical; however, the reproduction of whole works requires special application. Inquiries about all books, their reproduction and exchange, should be sent to the Reading Unit (Yuelanzu; responsible persons, Tang Chunhe and Fan Zhizhong), and all such inquiries about newspapers and periodicals should be sent to the Periodicals Unit (Qikanzu).

To house the expanding main collection, a much larger building now is under construction and will be completed in about two years. In the present main building are housed the general collection for student use, as well as all rare books, local histories, and periodicals. In addition, each department in the university maintains its own research collection. The central catalog contains cards for all library books in the university and indicates in which departmental

5. *Zhongguo difangzhi zonglu* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshu guan, n.d.)

library a work is held, if it is not in the main collection; but users must obtain letters of introduction from department heads or senior professors in order to gain access to the respective departmental research libraries.

The Nanjing University History Department Research Library keeps books on hand for the research work of professors and graduate students, unusual works of particular historical value, and some materials of an archival nature, including rent books, contracts, and some Ming fish-scale registers. No index has yet been compiled for these documents, but we were told that in the near future a departmental committee will meet to decide on procedures for putting them in order. The card catalog was in sections and in need of rationalization and cross-referencing, but it was certainly usable. Western-language books, including many in Russian, generally were quite old and almost all on European, not Chinese, history.

The Shanghai Library (Shanghai tushuguan)

The Shanghai Library, headed by Gu Tinglong, was established in 1952 through the combination of several theretofore separate local libraries, perhaps the most important among them being the Historical Materials Library (Lishi wenxian tushuguan), which previously had been formed from the private collections of several persons (including Zhang Yuanji and Ye Jingkui) and the Zikawei Repository (Xujiahui cangshulou), which now consists of the old Jesuit library of that name, the former collection of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and other Western-language books from the former Haiguang tushuguan. In the 1950s catalogs were published of certain holdings in some of the constituent libraries.⁶

With over 6.7 million volumes, subscriptions to 5,000 foreign journals (predominantly in the natural sciences), and an estimated daily clientele of 3,000 readers, the library operates several specialized branches in various parts of the city. Its central facility, located in the former administrative building of the Shanghai race track, is maintained primarily to serve research needs. It is an important member of the Shanghai Libraries Committee (Shanghai tushu weiyuanhui), which facilitates the circulation of materials among the various public libraries, schools of higher education, and scientific

6. *Xujiahui cangshulou suocang difangzhi mulu chubian* [First list compiled of books held in the Xujiahui Repository] (n.p., 1957); *Shanghai tushuguan cang qian Haiguang tushuguan shumu* [Catalog of books from the former Haiguang Library now held in the Shanghai Library], 2 vols. (n.p., 1959); *Qian Yazhou Wenhui tushuguan tushu mulu* [Library catalog of the former Asia Literary Association], 2 vols. (n.p., 1955).

institutions in the Shanghai metropolitan area. Internally, an Administrative Office (Bangongshi), headed by Sun Bingliang, oversees a Professional Training Unit (Yewuzu) as well as four sections (*bu*): Acquisitions and Cataloging (Caibian); Bibliography (Shumu); Reading (Yuelan), which includes Reference and Periodical Reading Rooms; and Preservation (Baoguan). This last section handles all the old-style Chinese books and the Xujiahui collection (the head of the old-style books unit, Gujizu, is Shen Jin).

The library's 1.3 million *ce* of cordbound books include 150,000 rare volumes. Because of the lack of space (a new building is under construction), not all the old-style Chinese books are kept in the main facility, and retrieval may take about twenty-four hours; but all of the rare books are housed there and can be retrieved immediately. This collection is especially rich in Chinese and Western-language newspapers from the nineteenth century, local histories (over 6,000 *ce*), genealogies, and fish-scale registers for Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang; and it also holds the personal papers of Sheng Xuanhuai. Most of these are listed in a *General Catalog of Old [Chinese] Books (Guji zongmulu)*, printed in 1958 but now in need of updating. Work on cataloging the library's rare books and *fangzhi* is being coordinated with the national projects. There is no complete card catalog of all the library's holdings.

The main library is open seven days a week, 8:30 a.m.-8:00 p.m., and foreign visitors may come in and read freely among the ordinary books with only some identification to obtain a reader's card. Regarding foreigners' obtaining access to old-style and rare books, however, the library had not yet worked out a definite set of regulations or procedures at the time of our visit, and the general impression was one of restrictiveness. For instance, according to policy, *no one* is allowed to see or use any single surviving copy of a rare book. The library makes xerox and microfilm copies upon application from foreign institutions with which it has exchange relations, but individual foreigners still must process requests for reproductions through a travel agency or the Shanghai Municipal Foreign Affairs Office. Moreover, the copying of treaties, maps, or rare books is not permitted.

The Wuxi Municipal Library (Wuxishi tushuguan)

The Wuxi Library, established in 1914, was the only library we visited in any smaller locale outside the large metropolitan areas. Whether or not it is representative of middle-sized city libraries is therefore not clear.⁷ A large, new multistoried facility had just been

7. Other small district libraries may contain much richer collections. We were told at Beijing Normal University, for example, that the library at Wujin (Changzhou) has an

completed, and when we arrived, the staff, led by Vice-Director Hu Qiqing, was preparing to transfer the library holdings from the adjacent, curiously constructed old building topped by a handsome clock tower.

On an upper floor, the person responsible for old-style books, Cheng Guangxiong, showed us a large room filled with old materials that included, we were told, 200,000 *ce* of rare books, more than half of those dating from the Ming, and even one Yuan edition. Especially prized was the only known surviving porcelain-print book in the country, which dates from the Kangxi period. The library also contained Wuxi *fangzhi* dating back to the Hongzhi reign, genealogies (particularly of the Wuxi An family), maps, and some land registers.

A card catalog has entries for most of the cordbound works; an index to rare books is being prepared, but may not be finished for several years; and the staff is planning to catalog all of their materials pertaining to Wuxi local history. Foreigners who wish to use such materials would have to be introduced through the Wuxi Culture Bureau. At present, the Wuxi Library has no photocopying or microfilming equipment.

extensive collection of Qing dynasty *wenji* (collected writings) consisting of more than 2,000 titles. Before 1949 they were in the possession of a wealthy landlord. It was suggested that these materials were being cared for by archivists who understood their value, and that it would not be impossible for a foreign scholar to visit there.

V

Ming and Qing Archives

In the course of our trip, the delegation learned about a number of small collections of government documents from the Ming and Qing dynasties.¹ The primary repository for such materials and the largest collection is, however, the Ming-Qing Archives (Ming-Qing dang'anbu) in Beijing. It is sometimes known as the Number One Archives in order to distinguish it from the collection of Republican-period documents stored in Nanjing and called the Number Two Archives. It is on the Ming-Qing Archives collection that this section will focus.

These archives are located inside the Palace (Gugong) in Beijing, along the western wall of what used to be the Forbidden City, and just north of the Xihua Gate. The archives staff and the documents themselves are housed in a new building complex some five stories high and nearly a block long that was completed in 1975. Ordinarily, there is no access to the archive buildings from the interior of the palace (the area open to tourists), and security is tight at the Xihua Gate, where permission is required before entry is allowed.²

Our first visit to the archives took place on the afternoon of June 5, 1979 and lasted about two hours. On that day we were given a tour of several storerooms, a briefing by Messrs. Shen, Li, and Ju³ and a display of documents in which the staff thought we might be interested. The following day Kuhn, Naquin, Peterson, Rawski, Wang, and Wills returned for the morning, spending that time reading and taking notes on catalogs and looking at more documents that the staff was good enough to bring up for us on a moment's notice. On June 29, with permission arranged through our hosts at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Naquin returned, spent the whole day at the archives, and called up several dozen memorials

1. See Appendix Two.

2. The use of the area inside that gate for the training of PLA soldiers seems to account for this.

3. See below.

from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴

The organizational relationship of the Ming-Qing Archives to the State Council has shifted several times since 1949. From 1950 until 1955 this collection was under the Palace Museum (Gugong bowuyuan, wenxianbu); between 1955 and 1970 it was placed directly under the National Archives Bureau; between 1971 and 1979 it reverted to the control of the Palace Museum. In 1979 the Ming-Qing Archives was placed once more under the National Archives. Dealings between foreigners and the Ming-Qing Archives, formerly handled by the Foreign Affairs Sections (Waishichu) of the Palace Museum, are now to be handled by the National Archives Bureau. Because this change had just taken place, the staff members were unable to provide us with the name of a specific office or individual within that bureau with whom we should be in contact.

We learned a few details about the internal organization of the Ming-Qing Archives. In addition to the Preservation and Utilization Unit (Baoguan liyong zu), there are sections for editing and publications, sorting and cataloging, restoration, photoreproduction, and administration. Archival training is provided by the Historical Archives Department at People's University.⁵ We were introduced to the Ming-Qing Archives by Director Shen Hongtang, Deputy Director Li Pengnian, and Deputy Chief of the Preservation and Utilization Unit Ju Deyuan.⁶

The documents themselves are stored in twenty-six temperature-controlled camphor-pervaded storage rooms (*kufang*) in the archives building complex. The storerooms are numbered and the different collections stored separately. The offices for the archival staff appeared to be primarily on the first floor. The working space for outside scholars consists of a large room on that floor in the north wing, with tables and carrels to which visitors come and documents are brought. There is a smaller adjacent room with several large bookcases containing hundreds of slender catalogs to the Ming-Qing Archives collections. (As far as could be determined, there is not a catalog of the catalogs, although one would be most useful.)

4. James Lee, a graduate student in history at the University of Chicago, was using these archives in late June and provided us with information on these and other collections.

5. See Chapter Eight. Programs in Manchu language training are also again underway, see Chapter Ten.

6. We met a number of others on the archives staff, including Shan Shikuei, a staff member in his seventies who is one of the few surviving members of the Wenxianguan, the agency in charge of Qing archives in the nineteen-twenties and thirties.

For Chinese scholars, permission to use the archives is given after submission of a request detailing the materials to be seen, and permission is then given only for a specified period of time, after which a new request must be made. Working hours are 8:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m. year round. Visitors check the catalogs and make their daily requests in writing. Documents are brought, usually that same day, and may be left out overnight in the reading room. No limits are specified for what one might see in a day, but visitors are expected to be reasonable in their requests. In Beijing and elsewhere we spoke with a number of scholars from a variety of organizations who had had access to these archives, some easily, some with much more difficulty. Those with the greatest ease of access appeared to be scholars in the history department at People's University and those attached to the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Director Shen and Deputy Director Li expressed their willingness to have foreigners come and use the Ming-Qing Archives.⁷

Permission to use these archives must come from the National Archives Bureau in Beijing, and requests should be directed to them, with a copy going to Director Shen at the Ming-Qing Archives. Requests should be accompanied by a description of the project in question, some indication (if possible) of the materials to be consulted, the time period of the research, the planned length of stay, and a statement as to how one will use the archives (i.e. taking notes oneself, having others make handwritten or mechanical copies, or some combination of the two). Copying facilities, for which written permission must be requested and given in each instance, include handcopying (by a staff member or, with permission, by oneself), xeroxing, and microfilming. For Chinese scholars, handcopying appears to be the most common procedure (it may be the cheapest); for foreigners, it was suggested that from the point of view of the archives staff, microfilming would be more convenient than xeroxing, at least with present facilities. Relative costs were not specified.

The collections to which access will be the easiest are those that have been sorted and rearranged since 1949 (see the discussion below). Those that have not been recataloged since that time may be more troublesome; catalog numbers from the 1930s may not be readily correlated with documents as currently filed, and there are other collections that were scarcely processed at all, even before 1949, and to which catalogs may not yet exist. On the other hand, for our group the staff appeared to have little difficulty putting their

7. By December, 1979, Professor Philip Huang (History, UCLA) was doing research in the archives as a Senior Scholar of the CSCPRC.

hands on a specific document when asked, and a recent publication stated that "the great majority of these archives may be called up and used."⁸ The visiting scholar should not expect easy access to all documents, and only experience will reveal what the real difficulties in retrieval will be.

In date, the Ming-Qing Archive holdings range from a few documents of early Ming (fourteenth century) through materials relating to the last emperor (Puyi) from as late as 1940. The great majority of the documents (easily 90 percent) come from the Qing central government archives for the period 1644-1911, and most of them from after 1700. The latter materials were dispersed in this century, a large portion being held by the Office of Cultural Treasures (Wenxianguan) of the Palace Museum, some being taken to Taiwan, and the rest having been brought back together again after 1949.⁹ The Ming-Qing Archive holdings were further enlarged as they became the repository for a variety of other small collections of private and government documents from the Qing period.¹⁰ The total number of documents (a very problematic figure since many items are in fact record books of several hundred pages each) is estimated at some eight or nine million.¹¹

Most of the documents are in Chinese, but the language used varies with the collection. There are foreign language materials (not many) among the Zongli yamen materials, and in other collections there are documents in Tibetan, Mongol, Uighur, and particularly Manchu. Naturally, it is the collections specifically concerning Manchus and the security of the northern and western frontiers where Manchu-language documents are most numerous (e.g. records of the Eight Banners, Imperial Household, Imperial Clan, and frontier military officials). Manchu materials tend also to date from the first century and a half of Qing rule, and they extend into the nineteenth century only in diminishing numbers. (Some documents have separate Chinese and Manchu texts joined together as the back

8. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1979.1:20 (see the bibliography at the end of this chapter).

9. Some documents now in the Ming-Qing Archives were previously housed at the Beijing University Research Institute of the Faculty of Arts and Letters, at the History Museum (Beijing), and at Dongbei University.

10. See items marked with an asterisk in Appendix Two.

11. Ming and Qing Archives taken to Taiwan are now housed at the Palace Museum, and at the Institutes of Modern History and of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica. Documents at the Palace Museum are estimated at nearly 400,000 items. For more on these collections, see the bibliography at the end of this chapter. Beatrice Bartlett's knowledge of these archives has been of assistance in the writing of this part of the report.

and front portions of one document.) All three major memorial collections have Manchu-language documents.

In understanding these archives, the researcher must bear in mind that the Qing collections have in effect been processed three times: by the Qing recordkeepers themselves; by the staff of the Museum's Wenxianguan between 1926 and 1937; and by the staff of the Ming-Qing Archives (or by the Palace Museum in Taiwan) since 1949. Because large parts of each collection remain in their pre-1911 or pre-1949 state, it is essential to understand each of the cataloging systems in order to use these archives effectively. The articles listed in the bibliography at the end of Chapter Five should be of help to prospective users of these archives, and will be occasionally referred to in this report. Portions of these archival collections have already been published by successive custodians, and most of these publications are readily available outside China. Chapter Fifteen lists some of the more recent PRC publications as well as on-going and future projects.

In a recent article by the Zhengli Section of the museum published in the *Palace Museum Journal* (*Gugong bowuyuan yuankan*), and in sequels to appear soon, the contents of the Ming-Qing Archives are described in some detail.¹² The Ming-Qing Archives is said to include seventy-four different documentary collections (they differ vastly in size). Some are the private papers of individuals or families, some are the records of provincial-level government offices, all acquired after 1949.¹³ There are also, among the the Qing materials, records of the administration of the Eight Banners and papers of a number of Manchu military garrisons in the northeast and in Beijing. There are documents from the new ministries created as part of the late Qing reforms, and there are the files of the Lifanyuan, Beijing Gendarmerie, Fanglueguan, and State History Office. It is our understanding that few of these materials have been reorganized since 1949, but the reader is referred to the journal article for details. This chapter will concentrate on the four major collections of Qing documents (Grand Secretariat, Palace, Grand Council, and Imperial Household), giving first some brief account of Ming sources, maps, and documents relating to the Imperial Clan and to the Zongli yamen.

12. See the bibliography at the end of this chapter; the first article also has photographs of the storage rooms, offices, and reading room at the archives.

13. See Appendix Two.

Ming Dynasty Documents

This collection numbers some 3,600 items; a few antedate the seventeenth century, but most are from the Tianqi and Chongzhen reigns. There are more than 100 *ce* of registers of military appointments (*xuanbu*) by unit (e.g. Embroidered-uniform Guard), by province (e.g. Yunnan), and by prefecture (e.g. Suzhou, Fuzhou). This collection also contains the Veritable Records (*Shilu*) of the reigns before 1620, documents from the Nanjing Ministry of War, and fragmentary manuscripts of the *Da Ming huidian* and the *Da Ming lu jijie*.

The great majority of Ming materials are memorials, nearly 3,000 *tiben* and *zouben* that deal with military affairs and were received by the Ministry of War or by the Office of Scrutiny for War (Bingke) during the last two reigns of the dynasty. There are a few items from the end of the Wanli reign and a few Southern Ming documents; there are also *tiben* relating to the Embroidered-uniform Guard in 1632 and 1640.¹⁴

Maps

The maps in the Ming-Qing Archives come from many of the different collections housed there, but they are now all stored in one place. The maps were cataloged before 1949 by each being given a 3 x 5 card with a brief (sometimes too brief) description. The card catalog for these maps takes up a great many drawers, but the files are not readily accessible to visiting scholars. Maps from the Imperial Household collections alone fill something close to ten foot-long drawers. Those from the Grand Council are somewhat less numerous as are the maps prepared for the *Da Qing huidian* (Qing regulations), which were originally in the Grand Secretariat collection. There is also a *Yutu huiji* collection of miscellaneous Ming and Qing maps acquired after 1911. Although foreign scholars may be permitted to see these maps, it is unlikely that reproduction will be allowed. Maps that appear to have originated in the Ming-Qing Archives are now displayed in many museums throughout China.

14. Some of these materials (those dealing with peasant uprisings) were published by Zheng Tianting and others at Beida in 1952 in *Mingmo nongmin qiye shiliao* [Historical materials on peasant uprisings at the end of the Ming]. Others were published before 1949. A partial catalog of Ming holdings as of 1934 is the *Daku shiliao mulu* (see the bibliography at the end of this chapter). Some Ming materials were published in *Ming-Qing shiliao*. According to Professor Hok-lam Chan (History, University of Washington), who visited the Ming-Qing Archives later in January, 1980, the Embroidered-uniform Guard materials go back to early Ming times.

Imperial Clan Household (Zongrenfu) Records

These materials date from 1632 and include elaborate genealogies of the Qing imperial family; reports on births, deaths, marriages, and similar matters; and reports on legal cases involving family members. They may be a source of systematic demographic data. They are in Manchu through 1817 and in Chinese thereafter.

Zongli Yamen

Documents on this foreign affairs office date from 1860 to 1901. The collection numbers some 100,000 items and includes documents dealing with some fifty foreign countries, a few of them in foreign languages. The materials were arranged in the pre-1949 period, and it is not known if they have since been recataloged.¹⁵

Grand Secretariat (Neige) Collection

This collection includes the Neige routine memorials (*tiben*), Yellow Registers (*Huangce*), Six Board record books (*Liuke shishu*), and the Outer Court record books (*waijidang*). The record books are organized by month and year (the cataloging of memorials and Yellow Registers will be discussed below). These Grand Secretariat documents consist of both routine and urgent provincial reports to the throne prior to the late Kangxi reign, when the palace memorial system began to develop as a supplement; routine memorials for the rest of the dynasty; and copies of memorials preserved in record books. The collection provides invaluable documentation of the ordinary business of government: finance, population, public works, justice, bureaucratic administration, ritual, and defense.

Also included are daily registers for offices in the Grand Secretariat, court diaries (*qijuzhu*) in Chinese and Manchu, copies of the *Qing shilu* (Veritable Records) in Chinese and Manchu, and drafts made and materials used during the compilation of both the *Qing shilu* and the *Da Qing huidian*. Documents relating to the compilation of the *Siku quanshu* literary compendium are also part of the collection, and they may well include materials relevant to Ming and Qing intellectual history.

Some Grand Secretariat materials, especially memorials, were published before 1949; others were taken to Taiwan. Most of the cataloging of this collection was done in the 1930s, and in those

15. Portions of this collection, some 6,000 record books, are now at the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. Many have since been published and the collection itself is open to foreign scholars.

years several catalogs were published, some of which are still being used by the archives staff.¹⁶ Only parts of this collection have been reclassified since 1949. There are approximately two million Grand Secretariat *tiben*, half of which are still filed as they were early in this century. It was not possible for us to look at more than a fraction of the catalogs for these documents, and we must therefore judge the corpus on the basis of only a few examples.

The Punishments memorials (*Xingke tiben*) for the early Qianlong reign can illustrate the arrangement of the routine memorials that are still organized in traditional fashion. During the Qing, memorials received by the Grand Secretariat were filed in categories corresponding to the Six Boards (Civil Office, Finance, Rites, Defense, Punishments, and Works). Those relevant to the Board of Punishments were then subdivided for filing purposes into categories defined by major crimes (e.g. assault and battery, capital cases, embezzlement, autumn assizes, and so on); within each subcategory they were filed in bundles arranged chronologically. Each bundle (*bao*) contains roughly ten memorials, and each memorial consists of a sometimes lengthy case record, sometimes several documents pasted together. For the first year of the Qianlong reign (1736) there are a total of 326 bundles in the Punishments category. For the subcategory "embezzlement," for example, there are 43 bundles for that year; for "marriage and family conflicts," 31 bundles.

In making up the catalogs, archivists in the 1930s simply listed, for each year, the titles of each of the subcategories and the number of bundles in it. They did not rearrange any of the materials. These rather uninformative catalogs are available in the Ming-Qing Archives for consultation. Other parts of the Grand Secretariat collection described as "not sorted" (*meiyou zhengli*) are presumably in a similar state.¹⁷

The Ming-Qing Archives have already published, for internal distribution only, a selection of routine Punishments memorials on hired laborers (*guyong*); and a new volume of some two million words containing selections on tenancy and hired labor (*zudian guyong*) is now being prepared. The editors have selected documents on these topics from the Qianlong reign, documents that they felt were relevant to the economic issues of the period.¹⁸

16. See the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

17. Those *tiben* taken to Taiwan are now housed in the Institute of History and Philology at the Academia Sinica. Some were published in *Ming-Qing shiliao*, but this collection is not open to scholars. It appears to be in the same state of organization as the Ming-Qing Archives, although somewhat the worse for wear.

18. See Chapter Fifteen.

By contrast with the Qianlong reign, the routine memorials from the Shunzhi and Yongzheng reigns, and presumably the Kangxi reign as well, were reorganized by the Wenxianguan prior to 1949. These archivists abandoned the traditional Six Boards arrangement and divided all the routine memorials for a single reign into thirty to fifty new categories. The catalogs that they prepared list each item chronologically within each of these categories, briefly specifying the memorial's contents. There are about 8,000 memorials so cataloged for the Shunzhi reign (eighteen years), and well over 2,400 for Yongzheng (thirteen years). These may not represent all the routine memorials for these reigns. (We did not inspect catalogs for the Kangxi reign or for any reign after 1796.) Some of these newly created categories include corruption (Shunzhi reign, 1,300 items; Yongzheng, 135), criminal cases (Shunzhi, 1,479; Yongzheng, 1,096), tribute grain (Shunzhi, 341; Yongzheng, 20), accounts received (Shunzhi, 88; Yongzheng, 62), examinations (Shunzhi, 35; Yongzheng, 23), appointments (Shunzhi, 133; Yongzheng, 47), miscellaneous (Shunzhi, 659). There are forty-six categories for the Shunzhi reign, thirty-two for the Yongzheng.

Just prior to the Cultural Revolution, work was supposedly begun on the further rearrangement of these Grand Secretariat routine memorials. The 1959 *Lishi yanjiu* report states that the basic classification according to the Six Boards would be maintained (reinstated?), but that within these six divisions new subcategories were being devised.¹⁹ We saw no evidence of such reclassification.

In this confusion, a few things are clear. A number of different schemes are all in existence at the Ming-Qing Archives, and undetermined portions of the Grand Secretariat collections are filed according to one or the other. In general, it seems that the earlier the reign the greater the likelihood that post-1911 or post-1949 rearrangements have taken place. Only experience (or a complete list of the titles and dates of the handwritten catalogs held by the Ming-Qing Archives) will reveal the extent of the variety.

Huangce (Yellow Registers) are also an important part of the Grand Secretariat collection. They contain various sorts of figures sent in by provincial officials on a regular basis, record books being a convenient format for the presentation of lengthy data of this sort. In the case of registers sent by provincial officials, figures are generally given by prefecture, not county. The registers themselves are square record books approximately 20 by 11 inches and perhaps half

19. See the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

an inch thick. They were sorted by the Wenxianguan and catalogs were made up; these catalogs, some of which were published, are still being used today.²⁰ Most Yellow Registers date from the Yongzheng and subsequent reigns. We inspected an unpublished catalog for the Yellow Registers of the Yongzheng reign that divided the registers into thirty-three subcategories under which each individual volume was listed with a long title, the name of the memorializer, and the date. The subcategories include land and head taxes (114 books for the entire reign), salt taxes (30), population (61), horse purchases (23), and Board of Works expenditures (85). There was a total of 956 Yellow Registers for the thirteen-year reign.²¹

Some Yongzheng Yellow Registers are still housed in the History Museum in Beijing. Some Ming Yellow Registers are said to be in the Beijing wenwu guanlibu. No Yellow Registers were taken to Taiwan. Copies of Yellow Registers, called Blue Registers, (*Qingce*), were made for the Grand Council; they are part of that collection described below and can be used to supplement the Yellow Registers.

Palace Collection (Gongzhongdang)

This collection includes imperial edicts and decrees of various sorts, records and ledgers for the Memorial Transmission Office (*Zoushichu*), and, most importantly, the so-called secret memorials and some of their enclosures.²² The wide range and detailed contents of these documents relating to matters of importance to the throne make them an extremely valuable source for the period.

The palace memorials that received vermilion endorsements (called either the *gongzhongdang zouzhe* or the *zhupi zouzhe*) are the main feature of this collection and number some 400,000 items. They date from the late Kangxi period, when the secret memorial system began, through the end of the dynasty. Originally, they were stored chronologically without regard to subject matter or place of origin. Since 1949, the Ming-Qing Archives staff has taken these documents and completely rearranged them by topic and subtopic. The Zhengli Section article lists the eighteen categories into which these materials have now been divided: internal administration, foreign affairs, military affairs, finance, agriculture, water control,

20. One catalog is still in print. See the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

21. For Yellow Registers from other reigns, see the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

22. For the first two, see the Zhengli Section article listed in the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

industry and manufacture, business and trade, transport and communications, public works projects, culture and education, law, minority peoples, religion, astronomy and geology, peasant uprisings, imperialist aggression, and miscellaneous.²³

These eighteen categories have then been further subdivided. For example, "minority peoples" is divided into sections for twenty-six tribal groups so memorials on the Miao are all filed together for the entire dynasty. Similarly, "water control" is subdivided into such groupings as rivers and lakes, sea coast, irrigation, embankments, floods; "astronomy and geology" into eclipses, sun and moon, comets, earthquakes, and so on; and "peasant uprisings" into Taiping, Nian, Boxers, secret societies. It is according to such categories and subcategories that the catalogs to the Palace Collection are arranged. (The same set of classifications is used for the Grand Council memorials discussed below.)

Even within each subcategory, the memorials are not cataloged individually or chronologically. Both in the catalogs and in the storage rooms, they have been still further subdivided into small topical packets, each dealing with what is defined, sometimes loosely, as one incident. Each packet contains from half a dozen to several dozen items. The catalogs list these packets, giving for each the inclusive dates, the number of documents, and a one-line description of the topic or incident that relates them. For example, under the general heading of "peasant uprisings," under the subcategory of "secret societies," grouped together with other packets relating to White Lotus groups (followed by Triads and so forth) one might find a packet (one of several hundred for the dynasty) described as "Governor so-and-so of such-and-such province: memorials relating to the arrest of such-and-such a sect member—twelve items dating from Qianlong 22/11/24 through Qianlong 28/2/5." Only by then calling up that packet (itself a light cardboard box of the appropriate size and shape), inspecting the handwritten table of contents made up for it, and then examining the memorials and enclosures themselves can one discover the exact date and precise subject of each.

There are obvious advantages and disadvantages to this system

23. Some 160,000 palace memorials (and enclosures) were taken to Taiwan to the Palace Museum. Memorials for several reigns have already been published. That collection remains in its original chronological order (index cards describing each memorial have been prepared), and is open to foreign scholars. See references in the bibliography at the end of this chapter. Bartlett's chart in her 1979 article (showing for which periods there are memorials in the Taiwan collection) can also serve as a very useful indication of what is now in the Ming-Qing Archives in Beijing.

of classification, and only experience with these archives will make clear its limits. At the moment, neither a comprehensive chronological index, nor any system of cross-referencing exists. Each memorial is filed in one and only one category.

Some of the enclosures that were originally sent in with these palace memorials are filed along with them; the two kinds of documents are not distinguished in the catalogs because both are contained in packets. Some enclosures were removed and filed separately, most notably in the case of maps (see above), monthly weather reports, and monthly grain price reports.²⁴

The monthly provincial weather reports, which also include general statements about the price of grain, are filed together in the Ming-Qing Archives, have their own separate catalog, and are stored chronologically in boxes. There are more than 35,000 such reports for the dynasty, beginning with the Qianlong reign, and they are distributed over time as follows: Qianlong, 16,192; Jiaqing, 6,953; Daoguang, 5,922; Xianfeng, 485; Tongzhi, 890; Guangxu, 4,638; Xuantong, 417.

Monthly grain price reports, of great value because they indicate the price ranges for major grains by prefecture within each province, are similarly stored and cataloged. They are also most numerous for the Qianlong reign and are distributed over time as follows: Yongzheng, 147; Qianlong, 9,247; Jiaqing, 355; Xianfeng, 115; unknown, 293. They are unevenly distributed in space as well, being most numerous for the lower Yangtze region (2,574 out of a total of 10,157 reports). Arranged alphabetically the distribution of reports by provinces is: Anhui, 428; Fengtian, 140; Fujian, 458; Gansu, 403; Guangdong, 493; Guangxi, 527; Guizhou, 337; Henan, 333; Hubei, 424; Hunan, 443; Jiangsu, 1668; Jiangxi, 575; Shaanxi, 432; Shandong, 386; Shanxi, 446; Sichuan, 366; Urumchi, 7; Yunnan, 280; Zhejiang, 906; Zhili, 358; two or more provinces, 747.

Grand Council (Junjichu) Collection

Grand Council documents date from the formation of the Junjichu circa 1729 and extend through the rest of the dynasty. This collection includes patents of credentials, notifications from metropolitan and provincial officials to the Grand Council, and copies of Yellow Registers. Maps and drawings of military campaigns, troop deployments, river networks and repair work, imperial tours, and

24. Some enclosures are presumably interfiled in the Grand Council collection of memorials.

similar subjects are stored separately (see above). Other major features of this collection are its record books and its memorials.

The Grand Council made and kept file copies of imperially endorsed palace memorials (described above under the Palace Collection), and approximately 600,000 such items are in this collection. Like the palace memorial collection, these memorial copies (*lufu zouzhe*) have been completely rearranged since 1949, and in a similar manner. The same eighteen categories (and presumably sub-categories) have been employed in classifying them. Handwritten, often hurriedly, they are much more difficult to read than the palace memorial originals, which are written in a very clear hand, but they do provide a useful supplement to that collection.²⁵

A variety of valuable record books are also included in the Grand Council collection. They include the *Suishou dengji*, a daily ledger of incoming and outgoing Grand Council and imperial communications traffic for which the Ming-Qing Archives has a complete run for 1736-1911; the *Shangyudang*, of which in its very useful *fangben* form (containing texts of Grand Council memorials as well as imperial edicts) the Ming-Qing Archives has two complete sets, the second filled out with xeroxes from the first; special-event record books like the *Jiaobudang*, Grand Council recommendations in series like the *Yifudang*, and telegrams for the period 1884-1911. Because of the centrality of the Grand Council in decision-making, these records of their proposals and recommendations are extremely useful. Archival accounts of imperial edicts constitute a fuller range of texts than those in the Veritable Records.

Imperial Household (Neiwufu) Collection

This collection includes materials from the period 1654-1924 relating to the empirewide business of the Imperial Household. It should contain information not only on the workings, finances, and people of the various imperial palaces and the top three banners, but on banner landholdings and the numerous commercial and manufacturing enterprises with which this organization was intimately involved. Köster notes that this collection has the texts of a great

25. There are some 190,000 memorial copies in Taiwan (Bartlett's 1979 article is a good guide to their distribution). Portions of the Grand Council record books were also taken to Taiwan and are described in articles listed in the bibliography at the end of this chapter. It seems fair to assume that any items not removed to Taiwan may be sought in the Ming-Qing Archives and in some cases (e.g. the *Shangyudang fangben* or the *Suishou dengji*) sets are partially duplicated. There is a total of some 560,000 palace memorials in Beijing and Taipei and some 790,000 memorial copies, and both collections appear to contain memorial enclosures as well.

many theatrical pieces performed by the Court Theatrical Bureau, and that the role of the Imperial Household in the production and purchase of fabrics, jewelry, porcelain, enamelware, and so forth suggests that it may have data of interest to art historians.²⁶ Maps were an important part of the collection.

This collection was the repository for all documents either sent or received by the Neiwufu, so original memorials concerning the Imperial Household should be sought here, not in any other memorial collection. Some of the catalogs to the collection, apparently done in the pre-1949 period, are arranged not by topic but by type of document—for example, *zouxiao* (accounts reported), *yuzhi* (edicts and decrees received), and *wenyi* (lateral communications). Within each catalog the items were listed chronologically, with their dates, but usually with no indication of the sender or the contents. For example, under "edicts and decrees," 752 items were listed for the period 1796-1911; in another catalog, under "lateral communications," there were some 1,480 items listed, although not in strict chronological order.

One catalog, entitled "Fiscal Affairs" (*Caiwu*), suggests that more topical classifications also exist. It includes seasonal reports of the stipends (and possibly the population figures) for the three imperial banners in the second half of the nineteenth century. For 1895-1911 there are seemingly complete runs of about three hundred record books (*ce*), listed item by item in this catalog, and covering each banner.

A preliminary sample suggests that a substantial portion of these Imperial Household records are in Manchu. For example, in the catalog for "accounts reported," of which there were 915 record books, the first 177 were in Manchu, the next 400 are in both Chinese and Manchu, and only after number 582 (the year 1835) does one find, from time to time, accounts that are only in Chinese. This particular catalog shows that the records are not complete, for there are frequent but random gaps of months or even years.

Little if any archival work appears to have been done on the Imperial Household collection since 1949—indeed, since 1911. None of these materials were removed to Taiwan, and given the lack of reorganization and the high percentage of Manchu items, this may be the least accessible of the four collections here described.

26. See the bibliography at the end of this chapter.

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VI

Number Two National Archives

(Dier lishi dang'anguan)

Documents in this collection date from the period 1912-1949. All are from organs of the central government: until 1928 it was the Beijing government under the Beiyang warlords; afterwards, the Nationalist Government. There was much scattering of documents during the period covered; many were taken away by officials upon retirement from office and had to be recovered from various parts of the country. Some were taken to Taiwan by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), others were burned. Some, we were told, were taken by foreigners. After 1949 there was an effort to organize the material, but work was stopped during the Cultural Revolution. The reorganization is now proceeding.

Materials from the Nationalist period still have no unified system of filing, as the Guomindang government devised none. We were unable to determine in any comprehensive way what system was being used now, save that files are by major government units (*yuan, bu*) and then by cases (*an, anzi*). Materials we were shown on the attempted coup by Zhang Xun came under the State Council (Guowuyuan) and then under the section entitled Army Affairs (*Lujunwu*). Under these rubrics, the Zhang Xun case would be a subcategory. We do not know whether there is going to be a master index that will trace individual cases across the government structure. Other materials we were shown included proclamations from the provisional government of 1911 on the protection of private property, and telegrams and proclamations on the election of Li Yuanhong as vice-president, on the second revolution in Jiangxi, on Yuan Shikai's attempt to become emperor, and on the election of Cao Kun. What we saw were mainly public documents, as distinct from internal operational documents of the bureaucracy. Documents are filed in manila folders, with one to several documents in each, and the markings on the fronts of folders seem to represent older filing systems no longer in use. In sum, the retrieval system for

materials in these archives is very much in process of formation.

The director of the archives is Mr. Tang Biao. These archives were under the protection of the People's Liberation Army during the Cultural Revolution, but are now under the Institute of Modern History in Beijing. Members of the Institute, which is directed by Mr. Li Xin, have access to these materials by request. Others who want to use the materials fill out forms explaining their research projects. The archival staff is responsible for searching for relevant materials, but since there is no overall catalog system, and since individual scholars are not allowed into the files themselves, the collection of materials for any project depends on the archivists' ability to find appropriate sources on a case-by-case basis. There is so far no policy or procedure that would permit foreign scholars to use the archives, though we were told that this stage might be reached after the materials are completely cataloged. And there are at present no plans for editing and publishing materials from these archives. So even though our delegation was admitted inside the archives, being perhaps the first group of foreigners permitted to enter the guarded offices, these archives should not be considered a realistic research source for American scholars in the near future.

VII

Collections of Primary Sources

for Research in Ming-Qing

Socioeconomic History

In addition to the Ming-Qing Archives in Beijing, primary sources for Ming-Qing history exist in great abundance in the museums, libraries, and local archives scattered throughout China. We inspected some of these collections, as noted below, and expect that our findings could be duplicated in many other cities in the country. Noteworthy items included large numbers of economic materials: contracts, landlord rent books, firm account books, tax collection records, and the like. Together with collections of stele inscriptions from various localities, these materials constitute an extremely important and valuable resource for the study of Chinese socioeconomic history, especially since they are so rare outside of China.

The collections listed below have been relatively little studied in the People's Republic itself, and our inquiries suggest that there are very few major projects using these materials. In China economic history before 1840 is the specialty of historians, who lack the training to do quantitative and statistical analysis. One consequence is that projected plans for publication envisage the selection of "representative" documents, but without statistical analysis of the whole body of documents. This poses interpretive problems for Western-trained social and economic historians who will question the mode of selection involved. No doubt many will prefer direct access to the primary sources, but in general these collections are not open at present for foreign scholars to use. Microfilming and xeroxing facilities sometimes exist, but permission to reproduce rare books is problematic. In the next few years foreign scholars are likely to encounter resistance in attempts to gain entry to collections of

primary sources that could greatly enhance our study of Ming-Qing social and economic life.

Beijing, Institute of Economics, Academy of Social Sciences.

Deputy Institute Chief: Yan Zhongping

Although we did not personally inspect the documentary holdings of this institute, we were told that they include:

1. Rent books and similar documents from Huizhou, for the Qing period.
2. Account books of firms from the nineteenth century.
3. Memorials (*tiben*) from the Board of Punishment relating to economic matters. These files were probably housed not at the Board but in the Grand Secretariat in Qing times.

Beijing, Museum of History (Lishi bowuguan).

Director: Wang Hongjun

Among the materials in this museum are the following:

1. Land deeds, rent books, contracts. The museum holds about 5,000 such documents, some turned in during land reform. A few date from the Song and Yuan dynasties, but the bulk of the collection falls into the Ming-Qing periods. The contracts and rent books come from various parts of China and cannot always be identified by region, which poses a problem in using them as primary sources. A selection of these documents will be published by the museum in the near future.
2. Fish-scale registers (*yulin tuce*). The museum holds many of these registers, dating from the Song dynasty on. The bulk of the registers are for Anhui province.
3. Genealogies. The museum holds some genealogies.
4. Account books of firms. A few nineteenth-century account books are also held by the museum. See entry under Shanghai City Museum.

Huizhou Materials.

Although the delegation did not visit Huizhou, a great many Huizhou documents were found scattered in various libraries and museums; the Nanjing Provincial Museum, Nanjing University's history department library, and the Institute of Economics, Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing all have holdings. Apparently this is because the materials were purchased from old book dealers when they came onto the market after 1949. The materials have been used by several Chinese scholars.¹

Nanjing, Provincial Museum (Nanjing bowuguan).

Director: Yao Qian

The Ming-Qing exhibits in the museum included many documents of interest to socioeconomic historians:

1. *Changshu Lujia shouzhizhang*: A record from 1712 to about 1745 of the income and expenditures of one landlord family. The museum expects to publish this record in its entirety in the near future.

2. Land sales, tenancy, and mortgage contracts. There are some Ming contracts, but the majority seem to be of Qing date, especially the Kangxi and Yongzheng reigns. Approximately 3,000 contracts are held by this museum, those from Huizhou being the most numerous. The museum hopes eventually to compile a catalog of all its land contracts, but work on this project has not yet begun.

3. Documents of Ming date recording the tax collected on land sales. The museum holds several dozen of these forms, part of its collection of materials from Huizhou.

4. Landlord rent slips (*zupiao*). These forms record the name of the tenant, the plot rented, and amount of rent to be paid. The museum

1. Articles using Huizhou materials include Zhang Youyi's studies in *Wenwu* 1974.4:36-47, 1975.6:34-46; Fu Yiling's article in *Wenwu* 1960.2:11-19; and Ye Xian'en's recent articles in *Zhongshan daxue xuebao* 1979.2:57-84, and *Xueshu yanjiu* 1978.4:90-98. During the summer of 1979, Chao Kang (Economics, University of Michigan) used 400 volumes of these land records going back to the fifteenth century that are stored in the Institute of Economics in Beijing. According to what Professor Chao learned, the Nanjing University collection is even larger. There are plans to publish some of these land records in the next few years, but only after the archivists of the several collections have agreed upon the best format.

holds several dozen documents of this kind for the Qing period from Jiangsu and Anhui provinces. Suzhou and Huizhou slips seem to be prominent.

5. Law cases. The museum holds complete records of several hundred civil cases emanating from a subprefectural office called the Taihu liminfu that was under the Suzhou prefect with administrative headquarters at Dongshanzhen on a small peninsula in Lake Tai. These are Qing materials, and we saw cases dated 1820, 1843, and 1851 involving such matters as the improper impounding of a boat, a dispute over the sale of land and a problematic debt collection. According to our hosts, the materials were found after 1949 in an official's house in Dongshanzhen.

6. Maps. A catalog of the museum's maps will be included in the forthcoming list of holdings on science and technology, *Nanjing bowuguan yuancang kexue jishu wenwu ziliao mulu* (Catalog of materials on science and technology preserved in the Nanjing Museum).

7. Personal servitude. The museum holds one contract, dated 1826, selling a daughter's services for a period of ten years. Another contract, of Qianlong date, trades a daughter for a daughter-in-law.

8. Rent resistance. The museum holds a stele from Shanyangxian (the current Huaiyanxian) dated 1827 and another rent resistance stele from Kunshanxian dated 1834.

9. Shexian (Huizhou, Anhui province) fish-scale register dated 1740.

10. Stele inscriptions. The museum's 1959 publication *Jiangsusheng Ming-Qing yilai beike ziliao xuanji* (Selected stone-inscription source materials in Jiangsu since Ming and Qing times) is to be reprinted. There are an additional 300 to 500 stone inscriptions that will soon be published. Stele inscriptions held at Suzhou have also been culled to tabulate a list of Suzhou guild halls (*gongsuo*) giving current street addresses.

11. Tax records include grain tribute tax receipts of Kangxi to Qianlong date and inland customs receipts.

12. Temple records of income and expenditure from the Shangxing dashe, Xiuning county, Anhui province, dating from Chongzhen to Kangxi 38 (1700).

Nanjing, University of Nanjing, History Department Library.

Host: Hong Huanchun, Associate Professor of Ming-Qing History

The library of the department houses primary sources of the following kinds:

1. Rent books. Perhaps twelve to fifteen were brought out for our inspection; Professor Hong noted that the departmental library holds two to three times the number we were shown. The rent books seem to be from the mid or late nineteenth century and were from several landlord tang in the Huizhou area. These materials may be published in the near future.
2. Single contracts for land sales, and the like. There is no catalog for this material, and no one seems to be working on it at present.
3. Fish-scale registers of Ming (Wanli) date.

Qufu, Confucian Estate Archives (Kongfu dang'an).

Archivist: Luo Chenglie²

Because the archives are not yet sorted out, the delegation was unable to visit it, but our repeated requests for information about the holdings of the archive did produce a meeting where samples of the holdings were brought out for our inspection. The following information comes from the briefing we received and inspection of the documents brought out for us to see.

Materials housed in the archives, located in the former Kong family residence, cover the period from late Ming (Jiajing reign period) through 1948. The bulk of the materials fall into the Qing period. A three-volume catalog of this collection is planned for publication in fall 1979. These archives are the basis for a forthcoming publication by the Qing History Institute (Qingshi yanjiusuo) in cooperation with the staff at the Kongfu dang'an; it is to be entitled *Qufu Kongfu guizu zhuangyuan jingji yanjiu* (Economic research on the Qufu Confucian aristocratic estate).

In addition, publication of selected documents is underway by the Qufu archival group (Qufu dang'an bianji weiyuanhui) in

2. Luo has written about the rebellion of Li Zicheng: "Cong Da Shun 'Chuangjian Xinnü qiao' beikan Li Zicheng qi yi jun zai Shandong diqu de yixie huodong" [Several activities of the rebel army of Li Zicheng in the Shandong area as seen in stele of the great Shun "constructing Xinnü bridge"], *Wenwu* 1974.6:38-40.

cooperation with the Institute of History, Academy of Social Sciences; the Shandong branch of the Academy; Shandong University; and Qufu Normal College (Qufu shifan xueyuan). The first ten volumes, entitled *Kongfu dang'an xuanbian* (Selections from the Confucian Estate Archives) are scheduled for publication by the Shandong People's Press by October 1, 1979, and a further fifteen volumes are contemplated in this project. The completed work will represent only a portion of the materials held in these archives and will not include documents from the Republican period, although these may eventually be published in cooperation with the Number Two Archives in Nanjing.

The material has been arranged into the following categories:

1. Kong family genealogies.
2. Genealogies of Confucius's disciples.
3. Organization of the Kong family and its spheres of influence.
4. Kong family landholdings.
5. Kong tenants, servants, boatmen, slaves.
6. Taxes and rents.
7. Resistance to rent and tax collection.
8. Exemption from state corvee.
9. Market activities.
10. Commerce, wages, and usury.
11. Punishment and prosecution of offenders.
12. Peasant uprisings.

The material in the archives is arranged in *juan*. Each *juan* consists of a folder with perhaps a dozen original items, and has its own table of contents. Some 9,000 *juan* have already been arranged, but many thousands of documents have yet to be classified.

Samples of documents brought out for our inspection included a volume on Kong market organization and relations with local

officials that records attempts by outsiders to set up independent markets and cases involving the bypassing of legal channels of tax collection; a volume on peasant wars describing tie-ins with a White Lotus case in 1812-1813; and a volume covering rent and tax collection that includes detailed lists of rents on rooms and buildings owned by the estate, rent payments, and many cases of rent arrears. The materials seem to be very rich, and they would permit close analysis of the workings of this highly atypical landlord estate. The Kongs enjoyed government support and subsidies on a scale unavailable to most commoner families. Close cooperation between government officials and estate managers undoubtedly influenced Kong relations with tenants and their general economic behavior. The massive publication project now underway promises to publish "representative" documents, but socioeconomic historians may be dissatisfied with the modes of selection employed.

The archive is institutionally distinct from other remains in the Qufu area such as the Confucian temple. Its history during the campaigns to criticize Confucius has brought political overtones to this large documentary collection.³ Inquiries about using the collection were met with two responses: either the materials could not be made available to foreign scholars in other than printed form; or the archives would have to be put in order first, and current manpower was insufficient.

Shanghai, Shanghai City Museum (Shanghaishi bowuguan).

Host: Wu Guifang, Archaeology section

Historical materials for the Shanghai area are divided among various institutions. In 1954 the museum conducted an investigation to find out which unit had which documents, but no final report was issued. Materials held by the former Shanghai tongzhiguan, an institution that existed under the Guomindang government, are now housed in the Shanghai City Museum.⁴ There is also a separate Shanghai Municipal Archive (Shanghaishi dang'anguan) containing,

3. Studies using Ming-Qing stele at the temple have been published in *Wenwu* 1974.2:1-9, 1974.3:20-28, and 1973.9:2-6. Articles based on the archives have been published in *Wenwu* 1974.3:20-28, 1974.5:28-38, and 1974.7:23-26. Nagel's *Encyclopedia Guide to China*, 1978 ed., p. 740, presents a long description of the archives.

4. The Shanghai tongzhiguan was established to compile a comprehensive local history of Shanghai. The materials this office collected consist of local gazetteers (including *zhen* and *xiang* level) and some of the documents that appeared in Fang Shiming, *Shanghai Xiaodàohui qi yi* [The small sword society uprising in Shanghai] (Shanghai, 1965).

among other records, documents from the Wang Jingwei government, from the international settlement, from the French concession, and from the municipal government of Shanghai during the Guomindang period. We were told of this government archive but could not visit it. Indeed, very few Chinese scholars have used these documents. In addition, economic records of various firms are held by the administrative organs of the industry; for example, the records of the British-American Tobacco Company are held by the tobacco industry, of former banks by the People's Bank of China, of Standard Oil by the petroleum industry, and of the French Electric Light Plant by the utilities industry.⁵ Not only records, but the histories of specific firms, written during the early 1950s as part of the "Four Histories" movement, are dispersed in this way. Also preserved in the city in various locations are records of the former Imperial Maritime Customs. Although said to contain vast amounts of statistical data, these documents are mainly wrapped up and stored away.

Among items brought out for our inspection at the Shanghai City Museum were the following:

1. Subdistrict gazetteers, held in manuscript form, were reprinted in a series of 13 volumes, entitled *Shanghai shiliao congbian Wurong zhiyi* (Editions of Wurong gazetteers selected from Shanghai historical materials), compiled by the Shanghai shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui for limited circulation in 1963. In 1962 this committee also compiled the *Su-Song diqu Taiping tianguo shiliao* (Historical materials on the Taiping tianguo in the Su-Song area).
2. *Shanghai difangzhi wuchan ziliao huiji* (Compilation of proletarian historical materials from Shanghai gazetteers), published in 1961 by Zhonghua shuju.
3. Materials used in preparing local gazetteers, some of it previously published in a magazine entitled *Shanghai tongzhiguan jikan* (Periodical of the Shanghai Gazetteer Office).
4. The museum is said to hold several dozen land contracts of Qian-long date.

5. Zhang Zhongli (Chang Chung-li), author of *The Chinese Gentry: Studies on their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society* (Seattle, 1955), is compiling a history of the British-American Tobacco Company using these materials supplemented by oral histories. It is due to appear soon.

Shanghai, Shanghai Library (Shanghai tushuguan).

Director: Gu Tinglong

In addition to the local-government tax records cited elsewhere, this library holds 6,000 gazetteers and numerous genealogies. It also holds several thousand fish-scale registers (*yulin tuce*) of Jiajing and Wanli date from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui provinces. The fish-scale registers are said to be listed in this library's *Guji zongmulu*.

Suzhou, Suzhou Museum (Suzhou bowuguan).

Director: Chen Enguan

The Suzhou Museum holds several thousand stele inscriptions covering a broad range of subjects—temple inscriptions, guildhall repairs, market exchanges, poems, bridge dedications, and so on. There is no plan to publish all of the inscriptions, but a project to publish new Ming-Qing inscriptions of economic interest is underway in cooperation with Nanjing University and Jiangsu Normal College (Jiangsu shifan xueyuan). The work, entitled *Ming-Qing Suzhou beike xuanji* (Selection of Ming-Qing Suzhou stone inscriptions), will include stelae dealing with strikes, huiguan, merchants, gongsuo, markets, and the Jiangnan Textile Works. The museum has a catalog of all stelae dealing with economic matters.

The museum also plans to publish funerary inscriptions, especially those relating to merchants. In addition, the museum holds several dozen contracts, a few account books of business firms, and a few genealogies. Local land records that were turned in during the land reform are not stored in the Suzhou Museum, which did not then exist, but rather in the Nanjing Museum.

Wuxi, Wuxi Museum (Wuxi bowuguan).

Vice-Director: Gu Wenbi

The Museum's collection, a fairly small one, holds the following items:

1. Contracts. Only ten to twenty of these, dating from the Qianlong reign on, are held by the museum.
2. Rent books. About ten rent books, mainly dating from the post-Taiping period, are held by the museum.

3. Local fish-scale registers of Wanli date. About 140 pages of a register for the year 1582 are held by the museum.

The museum staff is very cooperative.

VIII

Universities, with Special Reference to Departments of History

The pervasive damage suffered by universities and their departments of history during the Cultural Revolution will take years to repair, despite the evident dedication of the scholars we met. The dimensions of the catastrophe emerge slowly as one gathers personal reminiscences and records melancholy statistics. Just for openers, the number of suicides at *one* major university was placed at seventy. Beyond the physical damage to lives, health, research materials, and libraries lies a more pervasive kind of damage to academic morale. This can be only dimly imagined by American visitors, whose personal experience has not prepared them to comprehend the intellectual and emotional results of such a reign of terror. The pressure to remain uninvolved, to avoid intellectual risks, to adopt safe lines on safe topics must be enormous.

Nevertheless, scholars we met are responding to the new situation with courage and energy. The sense of a "second liberation" has led to a frank enthusiasm for Western contact, a hunger for knowledge about how we work, and a visible exhilaration at the chance to rebuild academic programs. Some Western-trained scholars are finding it possible to renew their academic links with foreign colleagues. Though there is little doubt that the strictly native political determinants for scholarship on Chinese history will remain dominant, at its outer edges the history profession is going to be in contact with the profession worldwide, with unpredictable long-term results.

Efforts to repair the damage to the profession's human resources are, we learned, engaging the attention of universities nationwide. Although formal programs of graduate study are still in their very early stages, there does exist an informal and flexible program of remedial postgraduate training for young scholars whose education or early careers were seriously damaged by the politics of

the past decade. This rescue operation takes the form of adding to departmental payrolls scholars in roughly the twenty-to-thirty age bracket; one university uses the term "teaching assistant" (*zhujiao*) to cover such persons. In some departments they are assigned teaching duties, and in others not. The main objective is further training under the guidance of regular faculty for a term lasting up to two years. This is not a formal system regulated by the Ministry of Education, but rather a local and flexible system of co-optation of young talent. Such personnel are chosen by various methods, depending on the institution. Some enter by application, having had their academic qualifications scrutinized by the "scholarship committees" (*xueshu weiyuanhui*) selected from various work or academic units. Others are assigned to such status by state bureaus. The admissions system is purposely kept flexible in an environment where formal qualifications are no longer helpful in evaluating academic potential.

The best students may be kept on as university faculty members, others posted to lesser educational slots. Actual duties and terms differ considerably from one institution to another. Research institutions and university departments also co-opt talent in this way. Numbers are not large, considering the need: the Department of History at Fudan University has twenty-two such persons, for example; the Qing History Research Institute has twenty-four classed as "practical studies personnel" (*shixiyuan*). Yet the system, if such it can be called, is impressive evidence of a general determination to rebuild the country's intellectual structure after years of political terror and official neglect.

It should be pointed out that our delegation did not visit all of the major centers of Ming and Qing studies in China. For instance, even though Fu Yiling came to Beijing to see us and participate in seminars, we did not get to Xiamen University in Amoy, where he and his research group are compiling a history of the Ming. Nor did we get to Nankai University in Tianjin, where the Ming and Qing Historical Research Office (Ming-Qingshi yanjiushi) is compiling a counterpart history of the Qing under the supervision of Professor Zheng Tianting.¹ Liaoning University, another major center,

1. According to a recent interview with Zheng, each of these histories will be 300,000 characters in length. The Nankai office, which was at the time of its founding in 1955 the first Ming-Qing history research group of that sort, was inactive during the Cultural Revolution and only recently resumed work. Lu Zheng, "Yu Zheng Tianting jiaoshou tan Ming-Qingshi de yanjiu yu jiaoxue" [Discussing teaching and research in Ming and Qing history with Professor Zheng Tianting], *Dousou* 34:60. Zheng Tianting was also to preside over a Nankai-sponsored international academic symposium on the history of the Ming and Qing dynasties to be held August 4-9, 1980, in Tianjin.

emphasizes the history of the Manchu dynasty before 1644.

The People's University of China (Zhongguo renmin daxue)

The forerunners of Renmin daxue were the cadre-training institutes that grew up in the period of the war of resistance against Japan: Northern Shaanxi University, North China Union University, Northern University, and North China University. These schools, according to the university's handbook, "produced large numbers of party and government officials as well as cultural and educational personnel." In 1950 People's University was founded on the basis of the old North China University (Huabei daxue), with the aim of becoming "the first new-type socialist university." People's University now sees itself as "a comprehensive social-science university," and has in fact developed very impressive academic programs in the areas we were able to observe. During our visit there to hold a seminar we were told that units of the People's Liberation Army brought in during the Cultural Revolution were still occupying highly coveted dormitory space on the campus. Later, in September-October, 1979, faculty and students of Renda demonstrated against the continuing presence of these military units in their university.

The warm welcome accorded the Ming-Qing delegation by the Department of History was symbolized by the fact that the department chairman, Professor Shang Yue, who is in frail health, left the hospital especially to preside over our meeting. (Administrative management of the department is temporarily in the hands of Professor Sha Zhi.) The university handbook lists under history four "teaching and research" sections (*shi*): ancient Chinese history, Chinese modern and contemporary history, world ancient and medieval history, and world modern and contemporary history. Discussions with the faculty revealed extraordinary strength in Ming-Qing social and economic history, probably the most impressive concentration of talent in this field that we saw in China. The following information about departmental faculty was obtained from an information sheet prepared by the department, as well as from discussions.

Shang Yue: Department Chairman. Early Chinese history, Ming-Qing history.

Sha Zhi: Department Vice-Chairman. Sui-Tang and Five Dynasties history, Ming-Qing history. He has a book on Xinjiang in press.

Zhang Xingbo: Director of the Office for Teaching and Research on

Modern and Contemporary World History. Qing peasant wars, contemporary world history. He is working on a large-scale documentary source book on the White Lotus.

Han Dacheng: Director of the Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History. Ming history, sprouts of capitalism.

Zheng Changgan: Member of the Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History, Pre-Qin history, Ming-Qing history.

The Department of Archives (Dang'an xi) is a unit administratively separate from the Department of History, but clearly in close relations with it. The Department of Archives is an important national unit for the training of archivists. (The Number Two Historical Archives at Nanjing, for instance, draws personnel from among its graduates.) It is also concerned with the scholarly compilation and publication of documentary sources. It has seven sections: archival management, compilation and editing of archival materials, bibliography, Chinese governmental institutional history, archival curatorial techniques, archival preservation, and the history of archives. There is a four-year program for undergraduates and a three-year program for graduate students. Courses include the history of Chinese governmental institutions, the development of CCP organization, premodern bibliography, documentary editing and compilation, history of foreign archives, and such. The department chairman is Wu Baokang, a specialist in archival studies. The faculty member present at our discussion was

Wei Qingyuan: Director of the Office for Teaching the History of Chinese Political Systems. Qing social and economic history; Chinese institutional history.

The Qing History Research Institute (Qingshi yanjiusuo) is one of six specialized research institutes at People's University. It is engaged in both research and documentary compilation. The university handbook lists the chairman as Professor Lo Tiaoyu, though we did not meet him. The vice-chairman is Professor Dai Yi, a prominent specialist in Qing and modern history. We met

Li Hua: Director of the Second Research Office (early Qing, through Yongzheng). Ming-Qing history, Qing economic history, economic development, local marketing systems. He has also done research on the Qing taxation system.

Lin Tiejun: Director of the Third Research Office (mid-Qing, Qianlong through Daoguang), Qing history, history of the CCP, Ming-Qing peasant wars, resistance to the Qing (including Zheng Cheng-gong).

Also present at our People's University seminar was Professor Fu Yiling of Amoy University, whose new study of Ming-Qing land relations is in draft form.²

Our impression was that there exist close collegial relations among the three units of People's University just discussed; the personnel of the Historical Research Institute (Lishi yanjiusuo) of the Academy of Social Sciences (Wang Rongsheng, deputy director of the Qing Research Section, is a graduate of People's University, where he studied under Professor Shang Yue); and the personnel of the Ming-Qing Archives (Mr. Ju Deyuan was also Professor Shang's student).

Beijing Normal University (Beijing shifan daxue)

Hucker, Langlois, and Peterson visited Beijing Normal University while the delegation was in the capital. They were greeted by the following leading members of the History Department:

Chen Jimin: Chairman. He is currently collaborating with historians from Hebei Normal College (Hebei shifan xueyuan) at Baoding to produce a new general history (*tongshi*) of China. At present they are still using a draft text in 500,000 characters that was prepared in 1973 by Beijing Normal University, Beijing University, and Hebei Normal College. This text is unsatisfactory for political reasons, and consequently they are planning to write a revised version.

Gu Cheng: Professor. He is the senior professor of the department. Most recently he has gained considerable fame for an article that he published on Li Zicheng and Li Yan, in which he denies the existence of Li Yan. He has a good deal of unpublished material in manuscript form. He also works on the Japanese invasions.

Guo Peng: Professor. He reported that there is considerable difficulty at present getting manuscripts published because of a shortage of paper and of printers who can read nonsimplified characters.

2. Fu Yiling later brought the draft with him to the United States and circulated copies of it to Chinese historians at Berkeley and Stanford.

These professors told the delegation members that they had a serious literacy problem with their students, who were not well prepared to read *wenyan* texts. At Shida the history department has launched a course entitled "selections in classical historical prose" (*lishi gudai wenxuan*). Students devote twelve to eighteen months to this course. The materials presently used include fifteen to twenty selections from the *Zuozhuan*, fifteen to twenty from the *Shiji*, and fifteen from the *Hanshu*. Other subjects taught at Shida include intellectual history (by which is meant primarily political thought). The thought of Wang Yangming is taught, but he is treated primarily as a representative of the ruling class.

Beijing University

Probably visited by more foreign scholars than any other university, Beida nevertheless has entertained few historians. In fact, the chairman of the Department of History, Deng Guangming (who specializes in Song history), said that the Ming-Qing delegation was the first group of foreign historians received at Beijing University. Because the university has been described so frequently by other visitors, we will restrict our brief comments here to the work being conducted on Ming and Qing studies.

Xu Daling, Professor of History, is well known for his work in Ming and Qing economic history. Indeed, he and Shang Hongkui were formerly heads of the Ming-Qingshi jiaojiuzu (Unit for the Research and Teaching of Ming-Qing History) at the university. At present he is mainly devoted to teaching, but he is also acting as head of the Ming-Qing section of a joint project being undertaken by five different schools in the Beijing and Tianjin area (Beijing University, Beijing Normal University, Beijing Normal College, Nankai University, and Hebei Normal College) to prepare reference materials for all periods of Chinese history.³ Professor Xu is now of the view that the "sprouts of capitalism," which he mainly locates in the sixteenth century, were much stronger than scholars earlier believed, and he is interested in locating and analyzing the factors that impeded their growth.

Professor Lou Yulie of the Department of Philosophy is interested in Ming and Qing thought. He views Wang Yangming as having broken through the absolute authoritarianism of the Confucian school by challenging the way in which followers of Zhu Xi used "heavenly principle" (*tianli*) as an external restraint upon the

3. This may be the same project as the *tongshi* described just above.

individual. Paradoxically, however, Wang Yangming ultimately increased the sway of traditional thought over the individual by internalizing the notion of *li* and making it an inner agent of social control. Lou Yulie is also interested in the thought of Wang Fuzhi, Huang Zongxi, and Tang Zhen, although he denies that these thinkers actually renovated the Confucian tradition after the fall of the Ming dynasty. In general, in fact, Professor Lou plays down the importance of what were once viewed as "progressive forces" during the Ming-Qing transition. He feels, for example, that the role of the Donglin Academy has been exaggerated.

Shang Hongkui, Professor of History, is currently completing a biography of the Kangxi emperor. This has not been a topic that Chinese scholars have studied very carefully, though Professor Shang knows of the work of foreign scholars like Jonathan Spence. His research is based on published sources, not on the material in the Ming and Qing archives, and Shang is interested in showing how Kangxi combined the traits of both a Manchu noble and a Chinese emperor during his monarchy.

Shandong University (Shandong daxue)

Located in Ji'nan (Tsinan), the provincial university of Shandong is beginning to rebuild its academic programs after serious losses in both human and material terms during the Cultural Revolution. The university was founded in 1926, and the history department was founded in 1951. Before that time, history was administratively part of the Chinese literature and language department. Like other departments we visited, this one is divided into history and archaeology divisions. At present there are 166 students studying with a faculty of perhaps eleven (counting only those we met). The plan is to have 500 enrolled within four years. Also within four years a Ph.D. program is to be in operation. The departmental reference library, which we did not visit, contains 65,000 volumes, and the university library as a whole has 1.5 million. The university publishes its own journal, *Wen shi zhe* (Literature, history, philosophy). The department's strength seems to lie particularly in the Wei, Jin, and Nanbeichao periods, because Shanda and Wuhan University have been designated as the two national centers for research on the fourth through sixth centuries. The current chairman, Professor Wang Zhongluo, is a specialist on Chinese Buddhism during that period. In Ming-Qing history, the department's focus is directed towards Shandong local history, with emphasis on popular uprisings such as the White Lotus and Boxers. Faculty members include:

Chen Yueqing: modern history, Boxers.

Luo Lun: Ming history, sprouts of capitalism.

Guan Meidie: Kong family archives.

Ge Maochun: Republican period, Kong family archives.

Huang Miantang: Ming-Qing economic history.

Meng Xiangcai: White Lotus.

Lu Yao: Taiping rebellion.

Chen Zhian: Sui-Tang period, modern history.

Zheng Hesheng: Sino-Western maritime relations, fourteenth through seventeenth centuries.

Xu Xudian: Taiping rebellion, Boxers, modern history.

Zhang Weihua: Ming history, Sino-Western relations.

The Department of History has fourteen graduate students. Their program of study, which is designated by the expression "three-year system" (*sannianzhi*), does not lead to a degree. They said that this course of study was somewhat more demanding than a master's degree program, but not as rigorous as a Ph.D. program. Eventually they will change to a "four-year system," which will be closer to the Ph.D. in terms of scholarly rigor and depth.

Nanjing University

The history of Nanjing University goes back to 1902 (it was named National Central University, Zhongyang daxue, under the Guomindang). It is wholly devoted to arts and sciences and is organized into fourteen departments that have within them forty-four specialized sections (for instance, the Department of History is divided into archaeology and history sections.) The university faculty number 1,700 (400 of them in social sciences), of which roughly a third constitute a graduate faculty devoted largely to research. At present there are only 4,000 undergraduate and 160 graduate students, plus 40 students from foreign countries. This represents a great reduction since pre-Cultural Revolution days, and the plan is to

raise enrollment to 8,000 within four or five years. In addition to departments, the university has, or is setting up, specialized research institutes (*yanjiusuo*) in Yuan-Ming-Qing history, philosophy, theatrical arts, foreign literature, and religion. (Those we know to be established already are in Yuan-Ming-Qing history and religion.) Ming and Qing history are important fields of study at Nanjing University; and, because of location, the history of the Taiping tianguo is especially emphasized.

Of all the institutions we visited, Nanjing University, which has been selected as a "keypoint (*zhongdian*) university" by the Ministry of Education, was the most deeply engaged in exchange relationships with foreign universities. At a national meeting held last year, exchange pairings were set up among six Chinese universities and U.S. counterparts. Nanjing drew the University of Wisconsin. A delegation has already visited Madison, and a plan has been worked out for an initial exchange: Nanjing is to send eleven teachers and graduate students (including two associate professors, seven lecturers, and two students) of which nine are in natural sciences, two in liberal arts, and one in English language. Wisconsin is sending a group of four faculty and graduate students in Chinese literature and history. We were informed that discussions are also underway with New York University for a faculty exchange. A few others are being placed in Japan (Nagoya), Romania, and Yugoslavia.

The Nanjing University Library holds 2.7 million volumes, the second largest university collection after the Beijing Library. A new library building is under construction. The History Department Library is a modest-sized reference collection, divided into East Asian, Russian, and Western-language rooms. The Western reference collection shows the result of sparse contacts since Liberation, with very little material acquired since the early 1950s. Like the rest of the university staff that we met, library personnel seem enthusiastic about expanding contacts and exchange of materials with foreign institutions. Among the materials shown us were local archival materials from Huizhou.⁴

We met the following members of the Nanjing faculty:

Hu Yungong: Professor of Ming-Qing History, Department of History. Ming-Qing peasant uprisings and resistance to Qing, Zheng Chenggong, historical figures of the Ming-Qing transition.

4. See Chapter Seven.

Hong Huanchun: Associate Professor of Ming-Qing History, Department of History. Sprouts of capitalism in Jiangnan, sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, peasant wars of the seventeenth century, studies of Gu Yanwu and Li Dingguo.

Lü Zuoxie: Lecturer, Department of History. Late Ming thought, economy, and peasant wars; history of Nanjing in Ming, studies of Li Zhi, Kangxi.

Qiu Shusen: Director of the Office of Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History, Department of History. Late Yuan peasant wars, late Yuan-early Ming society, a study of Zhu Yuanzhang.

Jiang Zanchu: Director of the Office of Teaching and Research on Archaeology, Department of History. Local history of Nanjing—Six dynasties to Ming; Ming-Qing archaeology.

Fang Zhiguang: Lecturer in Modern History, Department of History. Taiping Rebellion, studies of Li Xiucheng and Yang Xiuqing.

Xu Rulei: Researcher, Institute of Religion. Taiping Rebellion and Christianity, Christian theology.

Luo Zhenfang: Researcher, Institute of Religion.

Fudan University

Perhaps because of its Catholic missionary origins (it is the former Aurora University), Fudan suffered especially serious losses during the Cultural Revolution. The picture now is of an institution struggling courageously to return to serious academic work, even while trying to cope with the opening to the West, which must represent a very small part of the business of most members of the staff. The senior faculty comprises six members trained in China and four trained abroad. The most senior member, Zhou Gucheng, aged about 82, was not able to meet us, but is apparently still working. Senior faculty are encouraged to give most of their time to research and writing, but they teach some specialized courses. Most of the teaching of the more general sort is conducted by middle-level professors and assistant professors.

In all, there are 104 members of the history faculty, including 10 full or associate professors. Forty percent of the staff are primarily assigned to research. Students number over 150, of whom 17

are graduate students. The plan is to have a student enrollment of 200-250 by 1985, including 30-40 graduate students. The department is planning to publish a *Journal of Historical Geography* (*Lishi dili lunwenji*), the first issue of which is projected for 1980. Among other forthcoming publications is Cai Shangsi's *History of Buddhist Studies* (*Zhongguo Foxueshi*); a posthumous work of Chen Shoushi on land systems (*Zhongguo tudi zhidu*), edited by Zhao Keyao and Fan Shuzhi; and a work on the Opium War by Yang Liqiang and Shen Weibin. Past publications include works on historical geography, intellectual history, pre-Qin history, and Sino-Western relations. Projects currently under study (planned for publication by 1985) are in the fields of historical geography, cartography and placename indices, intellectual history (both early and modern), early Chinese history, maritime commerce, the thought of Liang Qichao, Sino-U.S. relations, the Pacific war, and U.S. and Latin American history. Faculty members include

Wang Xi: Sino-U.S. relations, economic history, early modernization.

Ying Wei: Economic history.

Chen Kuangshi: Intellectual history.

Tian Rukang: Southeast Asia, Chinese emigration, sociology. Professor Tian is going to be spending the academic year 1979-80 at Clare Hall, Cambridge University. He is also organizing a Department of Sociology at Fudan.

Shen Weibin: 1911 Revolution.

Xia Lin'gen: Early modernization.

Chen Jiang: Economic history, early modernization.

Yang Liqiang: Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895), economic history.

Fan Shuzhi: History of land systems.

Zhao Keyao: History of land systems.

Part Three

Discussions of Historical Issues

IX

General and Institutional

Ming History

Interest in the Ming period among historians we met in China is focused principally on two topics that are dealt with elsewhere in this report, the sprouting of capitalism and late Ming peasant wars.¹ In addition, the Ming History Research Office (Mingshi yanjiushi) of the Institute of History (Lishi yanjiusuo) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is preparing the Ming portion of the extension of Fan Wenlan's unfinished general history and may be working on specialized topics that we did not hear about. Professor Zheng Hesheng of Shandong University, still active at the age of eighty, told us he is revising for republication his early writings on the eunuch admiral Zheng He,² and we learned that a senior specialist who died during the recent years of turbulence, Zhang Hongxiang, left massive manuscript writings on the history of the Great Wall and of Ming-Mongol relations that have not yet been organized for publication. Fu Yiling, Professor of History and Vice-President, Xiamen University, is also preparing a general history of Ming, and he will be spending September-December, 1980, at Nanjing University working closely with Hong Huanchun on that project. Otherwise, we learned of no substantial publications that can be anticipated, on the general or institutional history of Ming times, produced either by individual scholars or by research organizations. Our informants had to reach back into the 1960s and even the 1950s to cite "recent" work on

1. For example, works in progress in the History Department of Nanjing University include *Ming-Qing jingjishi* [Economic history of Ming and Qing]; *Ming-Qing dongnan diqu zibenzhu yi mengyashi* [History of the sprouts of capitalism in the southeastern region in Ming and Qing], both edited by Hong Huanchun; and *Mingmo nongmin zhanzhengshi jinian* [Chronology of the history of peasant wars at the end of Ming], edited by Lü Zuoxie.

2. Professor Zheng presumably referred to his books *Zheng He* (1945) and *Zheng He yishi huibian* (1948, reprint Taiwan, 1970). He also reported he has been called on to write a script and serve as consultant for a movie about Zheng He.

Ming that might be of interest to us.³

One possible reason for the relatively low level of interest in general Ming history and institutions is that two of China's foremost modern Ming specialists, Wu Han and Li Guangbi, died during the troubled years following the outbreak of the Cultural Revolution. However, a number of senior specialists survived the years of trouble and remain active. These include Xie Guozhen, Li Wenzhi, Gu Cheng, Xu Daling, and Shang Hongkui in Beijing; Zheng Tianting in Tianjin; Zhang Weihua, Huang Miantang, and Zheng Hesheng in Ji'nan; Hu Yungong, Song Boyin, and Hong Huanchun in Nanjing; and Fu Yiling in Fujian. Wang Yuquan is in charge of the Ming History Unit of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.⁴ Hucker and Langlois repeatedly asked such specialists why, given the current interest in peasant wars, there is not more work being done on Zhu Yuanzhang and the founding of the Ming. Answers were fairly consistent: Wu Han's 1948 biography of Zhu, revised in 1965 and just being reprinted in 1979, is satisfactory enough for the time being, so it would be impractical for anyone to undertake a reevaluation of the abundant source materials. Besides, we were told, Zhu after all was Chinese history's "worst tyrant," "a clever dictator," "a ruffian" who is not admired; and in any event it has seemed imprudent during the past decade to write about emperors. The fact that Zhu led a peasant revolt that won him the throne seems to make him, like Liu Bang of Han, a source of some embarrassment to those devoted to the study of peasant wars, which almost by definition were vain struggles against the "feudal" establishment.

Despite the often expressed view that Wu Han's work on Zhu Yuanzhang is reliable, and although few new interpretations have appeared in print, our informants reported that somewhat conflicting attitudes about Zhu are actually current. We were told some scholars believe Zhu cannot properly be considered to have been a peasant hero at any time. On the other hand, when Hucker asked a Shanghai group if Zhu was a counterrevolutionary there was a chorus of negative responses; and Langlois has noted a recent article by Feng Erkang, whom we did not meet, that argues that Zhu's regime was always a peasant regime (*nongmin zhengquan*), protecting the

3. Such citations include Wang Yuquan's *Mingdai de junyun* [Ming dynasty military colonies] (1965), Li Xun's *Ming-Qingshi* [Ming-Qing history] (1956), and most often the 1965 revision of Wu Han's *Zhu Yuanzhang zhuan* [Biography of Zhu Yuanzhang] (1948). The 1965 edition, which is rarely found outside China, was republished in 1979 by Sanlian shudian, Beijing.

4. Wang was to spend March-July, 1980, in the United States, surveying Chinese studies in America.

right of peasants to keep lands they had seized during the Yuan collapse and curtailing the property rights of landlords.⁵

Between these two extremes, the predominant scholarly view seems very close to that of Wu Han: Zhu began with the peasant ideals of "smashing the rich and benefiting the poor" and of attaining "equality and fairness," but during the 1356-1364 transitional stage he gradually became "feudalized" and eventually accepted "the landlord view of the world" taught him by Liu Ji. Thereafter he betrayed the peasant class, became the agent of the landlord class, and built a wholly "feudal" regime, so that by 1368 his military campaigns had ceased to be part of any peasant war. This is the view found by Langlois among members of the Yuan History Unit (Yuanshizu) of the Nanjing University History Department's Yuan-Ming-Qing Research Institute.⁶ The members of this Yuan group seem to have a lively interest in the rise of Zhu Yuanzhang and other rebels in the Yuan-Ming transition. A leading member, Qiu Shusen, coauthored a recent article with Shi Yikui (who now teaches at Fudan university in Shanghai but was reported ill in the hospital when we visited there) in which they reconsidered their earlier opinion that Zhu Yuanzhang's betrayal of the peasantry occurred in 1367 and concluded that it no doubt occurred earlier, though not earlier than 1364.⁷ They referred to critics who date Zhu's transformation in 1360-1361. Others at Nanjing told Hucker that the consensus there made 1358 the critical year, on the ground that Zhu then began

5. "Lun Zhu Yuanzhang nongmin zhengquan de 'jimin huyou'" [On Zhu Yuanzhang's peasant regime's "aid the people and protect the young"], *Lishi yanjiu* 1978.10. A strong argument that Zhu Yuanzhang deserves favorable reconsideration because "his measures were progressive in the situation at that time" has been published under the title "On Zhu Yuanzhang's Measures to Tighten Up the Government Machinery" by Chen Wutong in *Guangming ribao*, 16 October 1979, p. 4. It is translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service: *Daily Report—People's Republic of China*, Vol. 1, No. 214 (2 November 1979), pp. 11-16.

6. The Yuan History Research Section at Nanjing University is preparing a new work on Yuan history entitled *Yuanshi gangyao* and since 1977 has been issuing for limited local circulation a serial entitled *Yuanshi ji beifang minzushi yanjiu jikan* [Studies in Yuan history and the history of the northern nationalities]. In appraising Khubilai Khaghan, members of this group point out that although he unified China and therefore deserves high praise, he also became the representative and agent of Han Chinese landlord interests and of Mongol slaveholder interests. In order to promote these interests, Khubilai adopted the techniques of class and ethnic repression. Beyond these, he also employed Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian thought and religion to dupe and paralyze the people. Ultimately these methods provoked massive resistance in the form of people's uprisings.

7. "Zailun Zhu Yuanzhang ji qi zhengquan xingzhi de zhuanhua" [Reappraisal of Zhu Yuanzhang and the shift in the nature of his regime], *Nanjing daxue xuebao (Zhhexue shehui kexue)* 1978.3.

repudiating his former Red Turban connections.

In general, then, Ming specialists in China continue to accept Wu Han's view of Zhu as a leader of peasant origins who was transformed into an oppressive ruler partly because of the "objective historical conditions" on his becoming emperor if not before then, and partly because of qualities of his personality. Minor controversies over aspects of this interpretation can be expected to continue, however.

As for institutions, there seems to be a general willingness to believe that nothing of significance happened after 1380, when Zhu Yuanzhang "abolished" the Secretariat (Zhongshusheng) and in other ways acted to centralize governmental authority in his own hands.⁸ We repeatedly heard that there was a perceptible increase in imperial autocracy in Ming times, that this reflected the personal idiosyncrasies of Zhu Yuanzhang and his son Zhu Di, and that China's experience of Mongol domination in Yuan had nothing to do with it. It was even stated that Ming institutions were little more than perpetuations of Sui-Tang antecedents, in essence. There is a minority view giving some weight to the Mongol impact on Chinese governance, but it is apparently held by a very small minority.

A possible reason for the current lack of emphasis on what foreign scholars often regard as the brutalization of life in Yuan times is that the Chinese are redefining their concept of nation (*guojia*). This interesting trend became most apparent during the investigations of Langlois and Struve into the Yuan-Ming and Ming-Qing transition eras, respectively. They were plainly told that talk about barbarians invading China is no longer acceptable. Instead, it is now deemed appropriate to think of all minority peoples as partners with the Han majority in a single nation, and that such peoples as the Mongols and the Manchus had every right to rise into dominance when circumstances warranted. What we think of as conquest dynasties are now commonly interpreted as alliances between minority peoples and elite members of the Han majority that perpetuated "feudal" patterns of ruling-class dominance and at the same time gave new impetus and direction to the historical development of an integrated nation incorporating Han and non-Han peoples. Although this point of view has the potentiality of confusing such concepts as nationalism and loyalty, it has obvious political

8. However, according to S. Anderson, an Australian scholar recently studying at Nanjing University, Hai Rui's reforms are again being studied. See Thomas S. Fisher, "The Play's the Thing': u Han and *Hai Jui* Revisited," paper presented to the California Regional Seminar on China, Berkeley, December 1, 1979, pp. 1,35.

advantages in accommodating the aspirations of domestic non-Han groups and in countering Soviet Union propaganda and territorial claims, and it can probably be expected to yield startlingly fresh interpretations of some major themes in China's overall history.

X

The Ming-Qing Transition

The Ming-Qing transition has declined as a topic area of special interest to Chinese historians primarily because of a generational shift from one form of Chinese nationalism to another, and from the more traditional heroes-and-villains approach toward more thorough application of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist analysis.

Regarding nationalism, the anti-Manchu feelings that motivated so much writing on the Qing conquest from the beginning of this century through the 1950s, have now given way to what might be called "one-nation-ism," that is, an emphasis on how the Manchus and all other non-Han peoples have become integrated into a single, unified country. (This development has run parallel to the reevaluation of the Mongol Yuan dynasty, as discussed in Chapter Nine.) Chinese historians no longer speak of the "Manchu-Qing conquest" or the atrocities and hardship that accompanied it; rather, they now tend to speak of how the Manchus succeeded to the rulership of China, how their relations with the Mongols and Tibetans enabled them to establish the territorial borders of present-day China, and how their social, economic, and political policies laid the basis for the great prosperity of the eighteenth century. Correspondingly, the view that the Manchus enleagued themselves with the Chinese ruling class in a reactionary counterattack on antifeudal forces in the society and economy now has been rejected in favor of the view that the Manchus promoted socioeconomic progress by making concessions to those forces. These more recent emphases, which not only support internal policies toward minority peoples but also are employed to argue against Russian territorial claims, tend to draw attention away from the conquest period and the Southern Ming resistance against the Manchus, and direct it toward the early Qing, especially the consolidations of Kangxi and Yongzheng times.

Of course, especially since liberation, the popular rebellions (i.e., "peasant wars") of late Ming and early Qing times—Zhang Xianzhong, the rebel adherents of the Southern Ming, and especially the great "people's hero" Li Zicheng—have been very popular topics among Chinese historians, and they continue to be so.¹ But

1. For a bibliography and a thorough exposition of Chinese historiographical approaches to the late Ming rebellions up to the Cultural Revolution, see James P.

interpretive problems are now fostering greater reserve in approaching these rebellions.

Earlier, the mid-seventeenth-century rebels were extolled not only for trouncing the late Ming "landlord-bureaucratic class" and overturning the "corrupt, feudal" Ming central government, but also for recognizing, once the Manchus had entered Shanhai Pass, that the "national struggle" had become paramount, and for then turning their main effort to opposing encroachment by the "foreign enemy."² This led to claims that the peasant rebels were more loyal, as defenders of the whole people, than were Ming loyalists of upper class or official background, such as Shi Kefa, who were only defending narrow, selfish class interests.³ The difficulty of explaining loyalism within a framework of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist class analysis has stirred up a muddiness in contemporary Chinese historiography that many would prefer to avoid.

Moreover, the debate in praise-and-blame style over whether former supporters of Li Zicheng and Zhang Xianzhong were correct

Harrison, *The Communists and Chinese Peasant Rebellions: A Study in the Rewriting of Chinese History* (New York, 1969). In spite of the plethora of books and articles published since Liberation, the single most important scholarly work on the late Ming rebellions still is Li Wenzhi's *Wan Ming minbian* [Popular revolts of the late Ming] (Shanghai, 1948). Li Zicheng has been lionized for the popular mind through publication of the multivolume (five to date) historical novel, *Li Zicheng* (Beijing, 1976-77), by Yao Xueyin, who also writes for scholarly consumption (e.g., *Lishi Yanjiu* 1978.5:51-61). For recent criticism of Yao's novel, see Dong Jian in *Nanjing Daxue xuebao* (Philosophy and Social Sciences edition), no. 4.4:87-93.

2. For examples see Xie Guozhen, *Nan Ming shilue* [Short history of the Southern Ming] (Shanghai, 1957); idem, *Qingchu nongmin qiyi ziliao jilu* [Compilation of documents on peasant uprisings in the early Qing] (Shanghai, 1957); Shang Yue, *Zhongguo lishi gangyao* [Outline of Chinese history] (Beijing, 1955), chap. 6; Ye Huosheng, *Mingmo nongmin qiyijun lian Ming kang Qing xiaoshi* [Brief history of the late Ming peasant rebel armies union with the Ming to oppose the Qing] (Beijing, 1951); and Li Guangbi, *Mingchao shilue* [Short history of the Ming dynasty] (Wuhan, 1957), chap. 7. See also, idem, ed., *Zhongguo nongmin Zhanzhengshi lunji*, [Essays on the history of Chinese peasant wars] (Shanghai, 1955), for articles by Li and Lai Jiadu.

3. One year after the publication of his book on the Southern Ming, Xie Guozhen was criticized for his nationalistically favorable treatment of the Hongguang regime by Liu Yi'nan in *Lishi yanjiu* 1958.9:56-62. Shi Kefa first was attacked by Ding Zhenghua and Luo Yuanzhen in the pages of *Lishi jiaoxue* in May and September of 1952 (pp. 10-13 and 18-19, respectively), but he was defended by Cong Bi in the June 7 issue of *Guangming ribao* ("Lishi jiaoxue" section) and again several years later by Qi Xia in Li Guangbi and Qing Junye, eds., *Zhongguo lishi renwu lunji* [Essays on Chinese historical figures], (1957). A full-scale debate took place in successive issues of *Wenhui* in 1966, and these writings, compiled by Liu Hui and others, have been published together under the title *Shi Kefa pingjia wenti huibian* [Collected articles on the problem of evaluating Shi Kefa] (Hong Kong, 1968?). This debate has been continued by Li Tingxian in the first 1979 issue of *Zhonghua wenshi luncong*, pp. 275-289.

or incorrect, self-directed or "tricked and lured," into collaborating with the Southern Ming courts has not been fruitful.⁴ This is because explanations must emphasize either realistic self-interest, which demeans the rebels, or strategy in fighting against the Manchus, who, as pointed out above, are no longer seen as historically retrogressive or inimical to Chinese national development.

Also, in the current trend to "criticize and evaluate historical figures," that is, to find fault with over-lauded revolutionary heroes, the tendency of the late Ming rebels rapidly to adopt Ming forms and imperial pretensions has been called to special attention.⁵ So now in Chinese scholarly circles emphasis is being placed on more careful study, compilation, and publication of primary materials on the Ming-Qing rebellions so that more thoroughly informed interpretations can be advanced at a later date.

Also, it should be pointed out that neither nationalistic nor class-struggle approaches lead Chinese historians to be interested in the evolution, function, or malfunction of governmental institutions (i.e., the "superstructure"), that Americans have found so interesting in their studies of the seventeenth century. The Ming-Qing Archives in Beijing should be useful to some extent in this area. Although the great majority of the Archives' holdings date from the Yongzheng period, resources for the study of the Shunzhi and early Kangxi reigns are considerable. A substantial number of the 20,000 routine memorials in the Grand Secretariat collection date from the seventeenth century, the Imperial Clan records begin in 1652, and among the Yellow Registers there are 50 volumes from Shunzhi and 590 from Kangxi. Of interest for literary as well as institutional history are materials on the Cao household (of Cao Yin and Cao Xueqin), which are being collected by the Archives' staff. The relatively incidental late Ming documents held there seem to be of potential use mainly for the study of military history.⁶

We were told informally that a "large number" of unpublished manuscripts recounting the experiences of persons in the conquest period survive in the municipal libraries of such former *xian* capitals in the Jiangnan region as Changshu. But precisely what and where

4. For a recent exchange on this issue, see articles by Hong Huanchun and Lin Tiejun in *Lishi yanjiu* (1978.5:83-92 and 1978.12:39-52, respectively).

5. On this issue, see Harrison, pp. 136, 295-97. For a recent defense of Li Zicheng on this score, see Hong Huanqun in *Nanjing daxue xuebao* (Philosophy and Social Sciences edition), 4:68-78.

6. Examples of the *Mingmo bingbu tixinggao* have been published in Zheng Tianting, ed., *Mingmo nongmin qiye shiliao* [Historical materials on the late Ming peasant uprisings] (1954).

such manuscripts are remains to be ascertained.

A great deal of Manchu material survives in the Ming-Qing Archives, most of it dating from mid-Kangxi through Daoguang, and most of it paired with Chinese text in the form of memorials, but also including records only in Manchu of the Imperial Clan Court (*Zongrenfu*) and the Eight Banners. Manchu materials are far from being fully cataloged or carefully studied, however, because there is a great dearth of persons in China now who can read Manchu script. Indeed, this knowledge seems almost to have died out; but a program has been established recently among Northeastern University (Dongbei daxue) and several research institutions in the Beijing area to train about twenty to thirty students in Manchu. Among those few scholars who do specialize in Manchu history, the major focus at present is on the nature of the Manchu sociopolitical order prior to 1644, that is, on its relative "tribal" versus "feudal-bureaucratic" elements.

Chinese scholars who maintain an interest in problems of the Ming-Qing transition include Xie Guozhen of the Beijing Academy of Social Sciences History Research Institute, whose interests and competencies remain very broad, but who recently has been writing on seventeenth-century intellectual history; Fu Yiling of the Amoy University History Department, who has been continuing his study of the late Ming "slave revolts"; Lin Tiejun of the Chinese People's University History Department, who recently has changed his concentration from Shunzhi/Kangxi to Yongzheng/Qianlong but continues to write on the conquest period; Shang Hongkui of the Beijing University History Department, who is interested in early Qing economic history and is writing a biography of the Kangxi Emperor; Fan Shuzhi of the Fudan University History Department, who is planning to write a general history from Wanli to Qianlong; and three scholars in the Nanjing University, History Department—the chairman, Hong Huanchun, who is most interested in late Ming rebellions; Hu Yungong, an expert on Zheng Chenggong and also the chief editor of his department's projected fifty-chapter "History of the Late Ming Peasant Uprisings and the Anti-Qing Struggle" (*Mingmo nongmin qiye he kang Qing douzhengshi*), volume 1 of which now is complete in draft form; and Lü Zuoxie, who is writing mainly on late Ming and early Qing intellectual history but is knowledgeable in various aspects of the transition period.

XI

The Sprouts of Capitalism in China

In the past three decades economic history has occupied a prominent place among historians in the People's Republic of China. In their effort to reevaluate the past within a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist framework, they have focused their attention on such issues as feudal landownership, imperialism, and the sprouts and development of capitalism. Within this ideological framework, however, there are considerable variations in methodology. In our discussions with economic historians in the PRC we found that on the whole those specializing in the pre-1840 period seem to rely on anecdotal and conventional historical approaches of analysis, while those interested in modern economic history (i.e., the post-1840 period) make more extensive use of statistical and quantitative methods. The contrast results partly from the survival of far greater amounts of quantitative data and data of better quality for the modern period, and partly from the availability of many specialists in modern economic history who are trained in economics. Nevertheless, large bodies of quantifiable economic data for the pre-1840 period do exist, and therefore there is great potential for fruitful research in the near future.

In the PRC the term "sprouts of capitalism" refers to the phenomenon in the development of China's premodern economy, which we may simply call commercialization, that is manifested in the proliferation of market-oriented handicraft workshops and factories, the emergence of free wage earners and the growth of commercial cities and towns. The idea of "sprouts" and their historical significance can be seen in Mao's earlier writing. For it was he who wrote in 1939, "As China's feudal society developed its commodity economy and so carried within itself the embryo of capitalism, China would of herself have developed slowly into a capitalist society even if there had been no influence of foreign imperialism." But it was not until the 1950s that a nationwide debate on this issue unfolded following the appearance of essays by Shang Yue and a few other leading scholars. It soon became an issue of critical importance to the study of Chinese economic history because, given the fact that China

had a considerable degree of commercialization and remarkable demographic growth even as early as Song times, many historians felt compelled to search for an answer to China's economic backwardness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Journals and newspapers carried numerous articles on the subject, and out of such efforts several collective volumes have been published and more are in preparation.¹

Amid the general revival of teaching and research activities in academic institutions following the fall of the "Gang of Four," there appears anew among Chinese historians interest in the sprouts of capitalism as well as in a number of other scholarly issues. During our visit we had lively discussions on this topic with Chinese scholars at seminars in Beijing, Ji'nan, Nanjing, and Shanghai. We learned that they are collecting new source material and writing new works on the issue.² We were, moreover, impressed by the ubiquitous museum exhibits of commercial and technological developments as illustrations of the sprouts in the Ming-Qing period.

It will be remembered that the sprouts of capitalism theory, along with its main proponent, Shang Yue, came under heavy attack in the early 1960s during the period of extreme tension between China and the USSR. Albert Feuerwerker has suggested that the reason lay in Shang's alleged neglect of the "imperialism factor" in explaining China's economic history since the Opium War.³ The sprouts approach, which emphasizes an internalist line of causality for China's economic history, might have been seen as insufficiently conscious of the evil (as well as the good) effects of foreign economic penetration. Does the present reemergence of the sprouts theme therefore correlate with a more open attitude toward foreign contact? Some of us had the impression that the insistent reiteration of China's early commercial and technological development is relevant to the current modernization campaign, in that it demonstrates a native Chinese capacity to handle technology and to

1. *Zhongguo ziben zhuyi mengya wenti taolunji* [Discussions of the question of the sprouts of capitalism in China], 2 vols., (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1957); *Zhongguo ziben zhuyi mengya wenti taolunji, xubian* [Continuation of the discussions of the question of the sprouts of capitalism in China] (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1960).

2. There will soon be published by Jiangsu renmin chubanshe a collection of essays on the issue of the sprouts of capitalism entitled *Zhongguo ziben zhuyi mengya wenti lunwenji*. These are articles published since 1949 and not included in the 1957 and 1960 volumes of discussions on the issue. For other works on economic history about to be published, see Chapter Fifteen.

3. See Feuerwerker's valuable article in A. Feuerwerker and H. Kahn, eds., *History in Communist China* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1968).

generate economic growth.⁴ An internalist argument would serve as an essential complement to an economic development policy that, by the nature of things, must rely to some extent on the technology and credit resources of friendly foreign nations.

Our discussion with historians in the PRC on the sprouts of capitalism centered on three crucial questions: (1) what evidence was there to show the sprouting of capitalism? (2) where did it take place? and (3) why did those Chinese sprouts fail to develop into a full-fledged capitalism like that of the West? For lack of time on each occasion we could not pursue these issues as thoroughly as we might have wished. However, we did gain some understanding of current viewpoints on these matters.

In the 1950s the timing of the sprouts was a highly controversial issue. Some scholars asserted that the sprouts appeared as early as Song and Yuan times. Others, like Li Shu and Cong Hanxiang, contended that the mode of production in China before the Opium War can hardly be called "capitalist," because her economic structure before then was essentially one of small-scale farming in combination with cottage handicraft industry, while in the cities guilds still dominated virtually all aspects of handicraft production. In the face-to-face discussions during our visit, Chinese historians did not break new ground on the subject.⁵ However, a consensus appears now to have been reached in the PRC that China's feudal economy (which means, according to Chinese historians, one under the control of landlords even though most peasants were legally free) had begun to disintegrate by the period 1500-1800 and a new or capitalist mode of production had become increasingly common in certain areas, particularly the Yangzi delta. Our impression of this consensus was confirmed by museum exhibits, such as one at the renowned History Museum in Beijing, which displayed documents and objects to illustrate this dynamic development of the Ming-Qing economy.

4. We also noted the recent publication of *Zhongguo gudai keji de chengjiu* [Accomplishments of ancient Chinese science and technology] (Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe, 1978).

5. According to Professor Huang Miantang at Shanda, there have been five major *pai*, or schools of thought, regarding the first appearance of the sprouts of capitalism: (1) that the Tang dynasty was an era when the sprouts first appeared; (2) that it was the Northern Song (this was the view of Su Shizhen); (3) that it was the Southern Song (this was originally Shang Yue's view); (4) that it was the Yuan-Ming transitional era (this was the view of Wu Han and Li Guangbi); (5) that it was the Jiajing era (this is the majority view at present).

Of all the talks we had on this subject, that presented by Luo Lun at Shandong University was by far the most illuminating. He affirmed the thesis of the sprouts of capitalism on the basis of four major developments he observed for the period from Jiajing (1522-1566) to Qianlong (1736-1795): growth of internal markets, differentiation of the peasantry, changes in relations of production, and the spreading use of money. The first development—the rise of a commodity economy and the emergence of new cities and towns like those in Jiangnan or at Zhoucun in Shandong—was the most remarkable feature of this period. According to Luo Lun, trade flourished in the newly emerging cities and towns because feudal control by government and guilds was much weaker there than in the big cities. The second—the differentiation of the peasants in the countryside—contributed significantly to the growth of handicraft factories in urban centers. Some peasants who were successful in adapting themselves to market conditions eventually emerged as factory owners, while others who failed became hired workers in those factories. Meanwhile the differentiation among the villagers also produced managerial landlords and farm laborers.⁶ In his observation, many managerial landlords in the period originated from among the independent peasants. In earlier periods few peasants could move up to the position of landlord. During this time, however, by a slow process of capital accumulation they first advanced to the status of rich peasants and finally to that of landlords. The third—changes in production—resulted in the feudal relationships of bondage common in early periods gradually giving way to employer-employee relationships in industry as well as agriculture. In other words, workers could sell their own labor without legal restriction. The fourth—the use of money—was manifested in this period in the increasing substitution of currency for commodities in the payment of wages and rents.

In addition, two more scholars emphasized certain changes in the superstructure during that same period. Professor Li Minli of Fudan University mentioned the implementation of the single-whip reform—a tax measure in the late Ming that simplified the fiscal

6. In discussing the question of social differentiation (*fenhua*) and the rise of managerial landlordism (*jingying dizhu*), Luo Lun explained to us that this entails the acquisition of up to 500 *mou* of land in the case of Shandong, where one begins as a self-sufficient farmer and winds up becoming a commercial landlord with ties to officialdom. This process of differentiation is examined in detail in Jing Su and Luo Lun, *Landlord and Labor in Late Imperial China: Case Studies from Shandong*, translated by Endymion Wilkinson (Cambridge: Harvard university Press, 1978); see especially pp. 106-180.

system by converting taxes in kind and labor services into single cash payments—as reflecting the progress of a commodity economy. And Xie Guozhen called our attention to the spread of printing and the appearance of books and novels catering to the interests of urban residents, particularly tradesmen.

On the second question historians we met in China generally agreed that the sprouts appeared primarily in Jiangnan, though embryonic capitalism also grew in scattered pockets outside that area. To account for the presence of embryonic capitalism in Jiangnan and other spots, Xie Guozhen advanced two seemingly contradictory theses: one might be called the affluence thesis, the other the scarcity thesis. According to Xie's affluence thesis, Jiangnan was the most agriculturally developed area of the empire. In contrast to landlords in the north who were generally conservative and who simply buried their accumulated fortunes underground, those in the Jiangnan area were more enlightened and progressive. Many of them turned farming into a profit-making business and invested in trade and industry. For example, they grew cash crops such as cotton and mulberry trees instead of rice; they purchased spinning wheels and looms and established themselves as owners of handicraft enterprises. Similarly, many peasants planted commercial crops or turned themselves into small handicraft producers. The lower Yangzi valley thus witnessed a vigorous growth of commodity economy.

Xie Guozhen's scarcity thesis is used to explain the rise of two powerful groups of merchants—the Shanxi merchants and the Huizhou merchants—in the same period. In both areas food crops were insufficient to meet the needs of the people, so scarcity compelled many of them to make a living in trading. The fortune of the Shanxi merchants originated from trade in fur and hides that were produced in the northwestern provinces, while that of the Huizhou merchants came from trade in paper and ink, of which the principal material (wood) was in ample local supply.⁷

Finally, what prevented the capitalist sprouts from developing into mature plants in China? Fu Yiling suggested that the incipient capitalism was then simply too weak and too confined to break through, but he did not elaborate upon his view.⁸ Other scholars like

7. Fu Yiling also pointed out in our seminar discussion at Renda that in the mountainous areas of Fujian where the soil was poor, many people engaged in growing tobacco, bamboo, and timber for sale. This too led to the development of a commodity economy in that area.

8. Later, in a lecture at Berkeley on November 13, 1979, entitled "The Precocious nature of Ming-Qing Society and Economy" (*Ming-Qing shidai shehui jingji de zaoshuxing*),

Xu Daling, Shang Hongkui, Zhang Weihua, and Li Minli generally agreed that feudal forces were simply too strong to overcome before the Opium War. These included, among other factors, the anticommercial system of feudal landownership and guilds, and a state bureaucracy based on the civil service examination. The system of feudal landownership was extremely exploitative, and therefore it engendered intense class conflict between landlords and peasants, who generally lost in the struggle. According to these historians' assertions, over the period there was not just a virtually continuous concentration of landownership; there was also an increasing rise in land rent. Under these circumstances, most peasants were reduced to extreme poverty. They had to engage in handicraft production to supplement their income from farming, yet they had little purchasing power to buy beyond what they themselves produced. Consequently a mass market for factory-manufactured goods could not develop.

If one regards capital accumulation as a prerequisite for industrial development, one would come to the same conclusion. In premodern China merchants were handicapped by all kinds of restrictions imposed by the government, by guilds, or by sheer convention. They were theoretically considered the lowest class in the society and lacked legal protection for their capital investment and property. To seek security and advance their social status, many successful businessmen would therefore divert a large part of their capital from trade or industry to land investment, thus turning themselves into landlords and hastening the concentration of landownership in the countryside. Consequently, capitalist enterprises could not but stagnate.

The civil service examination system had the effect of absorbing the best talents in the pursuit of learning Confucian classics, poetry, and calligraphy. Wealthy merchants would have their sons trained in Confucian scholarship in the hope that they might succeed in the civil service examinations and advance into officialdom. Or they would purchase official gentry status whenever that was possible. In either case, there was an inevitable drain of both entrepreneurial talent and productive capital from the business sector.

The presentation above is no doubt an oversimplification of the views of the historians with whom we met all too briefly in the PRC to discuss this important historical issue. Consequently, we hope that there will be other opportunities in the future to resolve the

Professor Fu explained at greater length why he believed economic development was both advanced and stagnant (*you fazhan you tingzhi*) at that time.

ambiguities that remain—for some of us, at least. A number of questions obviously are still to be answered. First, in the thinking of most Chinese historians today, the system of feudal landownership played a key role in the embryonic growth of capitalism as well as in the retardation of its development. Land concentration led, so they reason, to polarization of the peasants, which in turn brought into being the differentiation of owners and workers in handicraft factories. At the same time the process of land concentration and rural social differentiation constituted a strong force retarding capitalist development. How could the same system play such a double role at one and the same time? And is there truly adequate documentation to substantiate the argument that at that time land concentration really was a universal phenomenon? To what extent does this phenomenon correlate with commercialization? Can we detect different patterns of development in various areas with different natural endowments and with varying degrees of commercialization? Questions like these will have to be answered by historians inside and outside China before one can assess the effect of traditional systems of landownership upon the economy.

Second, was there not an extremely significant correlation between the development of the upper Yangzi valley and the accelerating commercialization of the Jiangnan area during this period? South China, particularly the Jiangnan area, had been the key economic area of China ever since Tang and Song times. By the sixteenth century, however, the lower Yangzi valley and southeastern coast had become overpopulated. For the next few centuries there was a continuous migration of people from southeastern provinces on the coast to the middle and upper Yangzi valley. This massive interregional migration brought about the agricultural development of Huguang, Sichuan, and southern Shaanxi, and relieved to a large extent the pressure of overpopulation in southeast China. Larger and larger quantities of surplus grain from those newly developed provinces were shipped annually along the Yangzi river to the coastal provinces in return for cotton textiles and other manufactured goods that were in great demand in the interior. The development of inland China thus appears to have contributed directly to the emergence of commercial and industrial towns in the Yangzi delta.

Third, the role of foreign trade should not be neglected. The unfolding of overseas trade following the Great Discoveries also generated a strong demand for tea, silk, and cotton goods, all of which were produced in the lower Yangzi valley. These two powerful sources of demand for handicraft products and processed goods, one

from the interior and the other from abroad, provided strong stimuli to the Jiangnan economy. Moreover, the influx of silver, which foreign and Chinese merchants brought into the country through trade, helped ease the expanding demand for money resulting from the growth of domestic trade.⁹ Nevertheless, by the early nineteenth century the net flow of silver had reversed its direction; China had begun to lose her stock of silver as a consequence of the opium trade. This produced a deflationary impact upon the economy leading to a precipitous fall in prices and numerous business failures, especially in the Jiangnan area.

These are only a few of the points that need to be covered in ongoing scholarly discussions with our Chinese colleagues in economic history. Perhaps future conferences and symposia will provide Ming and Qing historians with the opportunity we hope for to exchange more ideas on these and other questions.

9. Williams S. Atwell, "Notes on Silver, Foreign Trade, and the Late Ming Economy," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 8.3:1-33.

XII

The Study of Peasant Uprisings

The field of "peasant uprisings" (*nongmin zhanzheng*) has been an extremely active category of scholarly endeavor in China before, during, and since the Cultural Revolution. In each of the seminars that we held with Ming and Qing historians there were always a few and frequently up to a dozen people who identified their research field as *nongmin zhanzheng*, altogether we met some forty people in this field. Scholarly conferences, publication of primary source materials, and debates in scholarly journals all indicate that peasant uprisings will continue to be a field with substantial vitality. Work on *nongmin zhanzheng* ranges in time from the end of the Qin dynasty (second century B.C.) through the feudal period into the early twentieth century, but the great majority of publications have so far dealt with the Ming and Qing dynasties.

One reason for the vitality of this topic—indeed one reason that peasant uprisings can exist at all as a field—is the circumstance that in China this topic is fundamentally a comparative one. There are certain issues that Chinese scholars see as appropriate and rewarding for study in any and all peasant uprisings in China's long feudal period. Scholars can (and we met not a few who did) work in more than one time period and shift from one uprising to another without feeling that they are changing their field. It is the larger issues, which transcend the individual problems of specific uprisings, that define this field. Many of these *nongmin zhanzheng* issues have long been debated, but there has also been continuing development and change. As in much else, scholars are now distancing themselves from the period of the "Gang of Four" by asking different questions and by criticizing the scholarship of that time.

Some of the long-standing issues of this field include rebel ideology, class composition and historical contribution of the movement, and analysis of its causes and failures.¹ During the Cultural

1. See James Harrison, "Chinese Communist Interpretations of Chinese Peasant Wars," in Albert Feuerwerker, ed., *History in Communist China*, Albert Feuerwerker, ed. (1968), and Harrison's *The Communists and Chinese Peasant Rebellions* (1969). Also Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "Rebellion and Revolution: The Study of Popular Move-

Revolution these historical issues, like many others, became more closely entangled in contemporary politics. No longer was one's interpretation of a certain peasant movement merely a reflection of one's attitude toward the revolution in general and those in power in particular; discussion of peasant uprisings became a vehicle for commentary on current events. To write about Hong Xiuquan was to write about Mao Zedong; lightly veiled statements (*yingshe*) about rebels of the past were intended primarily as comments on the present. It appears that there were many—at least many among those who talked with us about this—who were unwilling or unable to write at all under these conditions. Certain individuals and organizations that did play prominent roles during this period appear to be suffering for it now. We were told, for example, that the Confucian Estate Archives (Kongfu dang'an) were misused during the mid-1970s, the documents being doctored and misapplied, and the extreme cautiousness of those in charge of this collection seemed testimony to their present vulnerability. During this period academic writing, such as it was, concentrated on the glorification of rebel leaders (and thus of those then in power in the People's Republic), criticism of those rebels who betrayed their class or their cause, and denunciations of the ruling class and other reactionary forces, including the Russians, who suppressed popular movements.

Current scholarship, that produced since 1976, is in many ways a reaction to the work of the Cultural Revolution. In part this has meant a return to the problems and activities of the 1950s and 1960s; in part it has meant the emergence of certain new issues and questions.

There is a continuing interest among historians in explaining peasant uprisings through analysis of the class background of the participants and their enemies, in questions of collaboration and class loyalties, and in the impact of each rebellion on the course of history, that is, on the reaction it provoked and its role as a "motive force." Most of these questions relate to issues of power—power relations within the peasant movement and between the rebels and the larger society.

There is also now substantial interest in the evaluation and re-evaluation of rebel leaders. This has meant reappraisal of the adulatory and uncritical attitudes now associated with the "Gang of Four" and presentation of opinions that allow for more complexity.² The

ments in Chinese History," *Journal of Asian Studies* 36.2 (1977).

2. See, for example, the collection of short statements by a number of scholars of peasant uprisings (Luo Ergang, Wang Rongsheng, Sun Zuomin, Sun Daren, and others) in "Guanyu lishi renwu pingjia wenti" [On Evaluating Historical Figures], in

belief that passing judgment on historical figures is one of the proper activities of the historian appears alive and well.

Many scholars are interested in the ideology of these peasant uprisings. We had many long discussions in seminars on the role of religion in movements like the Taiping, the White Lotus, and the Boxers. To a certain extent this was a reflection of our own interests, but our Chinese colleagues were not hesitant about discussing this subject. Although the study of Chinese religions has not been especially encouraged in the PRC since 1949, there are many indications that this situation may be changing, and that the study of world religions in China is growing. A history of Christianity in the world and in China is being written jointly by the Nanjing University Institute of Religious Studies, the Religion Section of the Shanghai Social Sciences Academy, and the World Religions Section of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing. These three organizations appear to be most active in this field, and each includes Islam, Buddhism, and Taoism within its purview. There have been a few articles on Muslim uprisings in the Qing, and an increasing interest in pre-Ming Buddhism. Chen Guofu (Yunnan University) also attended the Third International Taoist Symposium in Switzerland in the summer of 1979.

Nevertheless, the study of Chinese popular religion either as history or as anthropology is nonexistent, and although scholars working on the Taiping rebellion have begun to take more interest in the role of Christianity in Taiping ideology, historians of peasant uprisings in general appear most interested in assessing the revolutionary contributions of religion (most thought them to be minimal), and in identifying the "superstitious" elements in religions used to mobilize credulous followers by leaders who wore the religion as a kind of "cloak" (*waiyi*). In general, the scholars we met had little appreciation of the view that rebel leaders might have shared a system of common belief with their followers, that any leader might have been genuinely moved to rebellious action by religious ideas, or that the rank and file might, by their expectations, have forced their leaders to act in certain ways.³

Another aspect of rebel ideology that is of much greater interest to Chinese scholars is determining to what extent the ideology of a given uprising reflects the class viewpoint of the peasantry. This line of inquiry touches on issues like identifying the elements

Zhonghua wenshi luncong, No. 2 (Shanghai: Guji, 1979).

3. An important exception to this is some of the most recent work on Taiping historiography. See Chapter Thirteen.

of peasant thoughts and values (*nongmin sixiang*, the least problematic is egalitarianism, *pingdeng sixiang*); assessing how revolutionary the ideology was; distinguishing the feudal influences; and, rather interestingly, calling attention to the despotic or autocratic (*huangquan zhuyi*) elements. The debate is basically about the progressive versus reactionary elements in peasant rebels' ideologies, with an emphasis on the latter.⁴

Connected with this last issue is a more general and very active interest in the nature of rebel regimes (*zhengquan*); the degree to which these regimes do, or can reflect revolutionary or feudal values; and the way in which revolutionary goals are abandoned.⁵ Again the question of the emergence of autocratic tendencies is being raised. This problem appears to be closely related to contemporary issues and might be interpreted as an interest in how revolutionary goals are routinized and compromised. Based on the people we met, the books we bought or were given, articles we saw in scholarly magazines, and projects described to us, the main outlines of recent work on Ming-Qing *nongmin zhanzheng* are relatively clear.

There is some interest in late Yuan and early Ming peasant uprisings; a collection of documents is being prepared, and some short articles have appeared, but the question of how Zhu Yuanzhang will be interpreted is still uncertain.⁶

The question of slave revolts (*nubian*) and rent resistance, especially in the late Ming and early Qing, has seemingly been preempted by scholars working on the sprouts of capitalism and is not readily considered part of the field of *nongmin zhanzheng*.⁷

The publication of the popular novel on the life of Li Zicheng by Yao Xueyin in 1976 has seemingly encouraged a preexisting interest in the peasant movements of the mid-seventeenth century. Well over a dozen articles have appeared recently concerning not simply Li and his movement but other peasant uprisings of the time;

4. There was a seminar, held in March 1979 on the subject of despotism in peasant rebellions, sponsored by the Guangdong Historical Association (Guangdong lishi xuehui)

5. This was the focus of a paper that Wang Rongsheng gave at a conference at Chengdu in March 1979. The paper was later published as Rong Sheng, "Zhi you nongmin zhanzheng cai shi fengjian shehui fazhan de zhenzheng dongli ma?" [Are peasant wars the only true motive force of the development of feudal society?], *Lishi yanjiu* 1979.4:49-57. This essay was reprinted in the 1980 New Year's day edition of *People's Daily* (p. 3), and singled out for special praise as being one of the most interesting historical essays of the past year.

6. See Chapter Nine.

7. See Chapter Eleven.

they analyze the leadership struggles within the risings and discuss such topics as whether there was such a person as Li Yan (supposed adviser to Li Zicheng) and whether it was correct for rebels of this period to ally with the Ming against the Qing.⁸

Some work is being done on minority uprisings, but largely by scholars in the minority areas of the southwest and northeast, which we did not visit. We were told that histories of individual tribal groups are being written, and in fact some articles on their uprisings have appeared recently.⁹

A few people are interested in White Lotus rebellions and related subjects, and publication of documents from the Ming-Qing Archives is under way. Some scholars have worked on Boxer fighting traditions and religious leaders, others on the White Lotus rebellion of 1796- 1805.¹⁰

The most popular focus for the study of *nongmin zhanzheng* is the Taiping rebellion.¹¹ Interest in the Taiping has spilled over to other contemporary popular disturbances, and there are scholars working on such groups, especially in South China, and particularly on the Triads.¹²

8. Yao Xueyin, *Li Zicheng*, 5 vols., (Beijing, 1976-77). Portions of this novel were translated and published in *Chinese Literature* (Beijing) 1978.4-8. For articles on Li Zicheng, see the following journals: *Lishi yanjiu* 1976.3, 1978.5-12, 1979.3; *Nanjing daxue xuebao* 1978.4; *Shandong shiyuan xuebao* 1979.3; *Beifang luncong* 1979.2; *Xueshu yanjiu* 1979.3; and *Beijing shifan daxue xuebao* 1979.2. Also see Chapter Eleven.

9. For some articles on minority uprisings see: *Wenwu* 1976.4; *Gansu shida xuebao* 1979.1; *Xueshu yanjiu* 1979.3; *Lishi yanjiu* 1979.3. The study of national minorities (*shaoshu minzu*) is theoretically an important part of Qing historical research in the People's Republic of China, not simply because this was a non-Chinese dynasty, but because the Qing period is now being characterized as a time when one nation was created from many different ethnic groups. There are substantial archival resources for the study of Qing minorities, including documents in Manchu, Mongol and Tibetan, and at the 1979 Taiping conference about twenty papers dealt with south and southwest minority groups. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences has an Institute of Minorities (whose director is Yun Beifeng), and a new journal is being published in Beijing entitled *Minzu yanjiu*. It is not clear how much of this work is specifically historical. The study of minorities in general has certainly been encouraged, but this work is concentrated in areas of the country where minorities are majorities (the west, southwest, and northeast). There was, we were told, a national conference on minorities held in Kunming in 1978 attended by 300 to 400 people, which indicates a field of some size. We were also told that a national conference on the history of the Mongols was to be held in August, 1979, in Huhehaote.

10. See articles in *Lishi yanjiu* 1975.4; *Wenwu* 1976.3; *Tianjin shiyuan xuebao* 1978.3; *Nankai daxue xuebao* 1979.2.

11. See Chapter Thirteen.

12. We heard of no work being done on the Nian. Jiang Shirong in Nanjing mentioned that there was a third volume of his *Nianjun shiliao congkan* published in 1958. For works on Taiping-related rebels, see *Lishi yanjiu* 1976.1, 1978.6; *Wenwu* 1977.6;

The Boxers are also a topic of continuing interest. Just as a nationwide conference was held in May 1979 on the Taiping, so is a similar conference on the Boxers planned for 1980. It will be called the "Symposium on Boxer Scholarship" (Yihetuan xueshu taolunhui) and will be held in Ji'nan, Shandong. The person in charge of local arrangements is Professor Xu Xudian of Shandong University's History Department.¹³ This conference, which will include some 150 people who will present papers that may later be published, will be jointly sponsored by the Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute, Shandong University, Shandong Normal College, Tianjin Municipal Historical Research Institute (Tianjin lishi yanjiusuo), and the Jilin Provincial Social Science Institute. As the location of these five organizations suggests, the most active centers for Boxer studies are Shandong, Hebei, and the northeast. Recent articles on this subject have discussed such topics as Russian actions against the Boxers, the relation between the Boxers and the White Lotus tradition, and Boxer activities in Shandong and Tianjin.¹⁴

One of the reasons for the vitality of studies of *nongmin zhanzheng* is the development of a field whose scholarly concerns are relevant not only to a wide variety of peasant movements in the past but may also be used, directly and indirectly, to evaluate the ongoing revolution. A second reason is the excellence of the documentation for the seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries. The mere availability of this source material has enabled peasant uprisings to become a flourishing topic in PRC research on Ming-Qing history. Although historical relics related to uprisings of this period have been discovered and publicized (Taiping murals, coins belonging to Zhang Xianzhong, Boxer weapons), and although surveys in the field (interviews, photographing of sites) were and are continuing to be carried out, especially on late nineteenth century movements, the primary sources for the study of Ming and Qing peasant uprisings are the documents of the period. The compilation and publication of such materials have been projects of nearly unassailable value that have provided work for historians in universities and research institutes since 1949 and promise to do so for some time in the future.

and *Taiping tianguo geming shiqi Guangxi nongmin qiye ziliao* [Materials on the Guangxi peasant uprisings of the Taiping tianguo revolutionary period], 2 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1979).

13. Although we met and spoke with Professor Xu during our seminar at Shanda, we only learned of his key organizing role later from Dr. Joseph Esherick, who is spending the academic year 1979-80 in that department doing research on the Boxers under the auspices of the CSCPRC.

14. See *Wenwu* 1975.3, 1976.3, 1976.5, and 1977.10

The most important source of documents on peasant uprisings has so far been the Ming-Qing Archives in Beijing (see Chapter Five). Materials from these archives were published in the past and a flood of new works is planned. A number of the collections are known outside of China.¹⁵ Others were prepared in previous years for internal distribution only (*neibu cankao*) on such subjects as the Gelaohui (Society of Elder Brothers), the Tiandihui (Triads), the Taiping, the Qingcha sect, and popular disturbances of the 1910-1911 period.¹⁶ We were told that future projects include the Taiping, missionary case incidents, the Tiandihui, the White Lotus, and peasant uprisings as a whole for the period before and after the Opium war periods. Each of these new collections will consist of selections of documents from the archives that will be transcribed into simplified characters and, where appropriate, edited to "avoid unnecessary repetition." All these projects are now in progress in Beijing and should be out within one or two years. In the meantime, as an example of what will be done, there is a new series being published by the Ming-Qing Archives staff entitled *Historical Materials from Qing Archives* (*Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*). Two volumes were out as of June 1979 that include documents on a 1902 Canton-Hong Kong uprising and on a movement led by one Li Yuanfa in Hunan in 1849.

Publications from the Ming-Qing Archives are not the only sort of documents being compiled. We were told of a collection of many different sorts of materials on late Yuan peasant uprisings under the charge of a group including Chen Gaohua (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences) that, although begun some time ago, is still delayed by the question of Zhu Yuanzhang. Zhonghua Bookstore in 1978 published two volumes of source materials on peasant uprisings in Guangxi at the time of the Taiping rebellion.¹⁷ Documents will be appearing in another new publication series compiled by the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing entitled *Jindaishi ziliao* (Materials on modern history), two issues of which appeared in 1978. In the future, there will be materials on the period 1840-1919 in general, and specifically on Liang Afa and the Taiping, on the Boxers in Shandong, and on Sun Yatsen. The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences' *Qingshi ziliao* (Materials on Qing history) is a parallel

15. For earlier compilations, see Albert Feuerwerker and S. Cheng, *Chinese Communist Studies of Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: Harvard East Asian Research Center, 1970).

16. *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* 1979.1:20.

17. *Taiping tianguo geming shiqi Guangxi nongmin qiyi ziliao* [Documents on peasant uprisings in Guangxi during the period of the Taiping revolution].

project that will appear in the future with comparable pre-Opium War documents. Selections from the Confucian Estate Archives are also being published and will include materials from that collection relating to the relationship between that family and a wide variety of disturbances with which they were closely or distantly connected.¹⁸

In addition to documentary collections, we can also expect the appearance of collections of articles, some old, some new, on peasant rebellions in general and on certain rebellions in particular. Some of the ones that we were informed about include (1) a selection of articles from the Taiping conference of 1979; (2) a selection of articles from the Boxer conference scheduled for 1980; (3) a collection of old articles on the Taiping published by Renmin chubanshe (Beijing); (4) a republication of fifty articles on peasant uprisings, not including the Taiping, to be done by Renmin chubanshe (Shanghai). Sun Zuomin (Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute) plans to republish most of his old articles and some new ones. Lu Yao and others of the Shandong University History Department plan a jointly written book of articles on the Boxers. A new and important forum for discussion of peasant uprisings as a general field will be a new periodical entitled *Zhongguo nongmin zhanzhengshi luncong* (Essays on the history of Chinese peasant uprisings), to be published five times a year in Shanghai.

We can also expect a number of general histories of particular peasant movements.¹⁹ Some of these may continue the trend toward popularization that was especially noticeable during the Cultural Revolution (Hong Kong booksellers have been distributing PRC maps of peasant uprisings for the late Qin and the Red Eyebrows, and more may be forthcoming).

Organizationally, the field of *nongmin zhanzheng*, like much else, is in a state of flux but is generally concentrated in national research institutions like the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences and their growing number of local affiliates, universities that are now resuming regular graduate and undergraduate programs, and museums. There is a nationwide organization called the Chinese Association for the Study of Peasant Uprisings (*Zhongguo nongmin*

18. See Chapter Seven.

19. We were told about the following: a 500,000-word history of the Boxers by Chen Yueqing (Shandong University); *Mingmo nongmin zhanzhengshi jinian* [Chronological record of the history of the late Ming peasant wars], edited by Lǚ Zuoxie (Nanjing University); a 300,000-word book entitled *Nongmin zhanzheng jianshi* [Brief history of peasant wars] by Xie Tianyou (Shanghai Normal University); and a history of late Ming peasant movements by Sun Zuomin (Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute).

zhanzheng yanjiuhui), with its headquarters in Shanghai.²⁰ The field of peasant uprisings also has strong ties to the educational media, and scholars find a forum for their ideas in books and articles in national and university journals.

In addition to the major universities and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (whose history sections are, it should be noted, still structured by dynastic rather than topical dividing lines), museums play a major role in the development of the field of *nongmin zhanzheng*. Exhibits relating to peasant uprisings are a prominent part of museum displays, the Taiping Museum (Nanjing), the Nanjing Museum, and the History Museum (Beijing) being unusually good in this regard. Such exhibits include displays of artifacts (weapons, coins, seals), documents (histories, texts of rebel proclamations), photographs of sites, maps both from the period and of recent creation, and modern statuary (Li Zicheng larger than life). To the extent to which new materials are being discovered, staff members have been active in taking responsibility for identifying and preserving them.²¹ In the areas we visited, sites connected with peasant uprisings were rare, but there are still a few buildings occupied by the Taiping in Nanjing and Suzhou and by the Small-Sword Society in Shanghai, and a few places in the Forbidden City associated with Li Zicheng or the 1813 Eight Trigrams Rebellion.

An institutional feature of the study of peasant uprisings that is characteristic of current Chinese scholarship is the tendency toward regional specialization. Museums, universities, and research institutes in a particular place appear to have specialized in peasant uprisings associated with that place. Scholars with a particular interest may be transferred there to work. Thus one finds work on the Taiping rebels and the founding of the Ming in Nanjing, on the Boxers in North China, on Zhuang uprisings in Guangxi, on Li Zicheng in Shaanxi, and so forth. All other things being equal, foreigners should perhaps be encouraged to go to a place that has geographic connections with the subject of their research. Because of the relative vitality of *nongmin zhanzheng* studies in general, and those of the Ming and Qing periods in particular, this field should be one where foreigners can find grounds for fruitful discussion and exchange with Chinese colleagues.

20. Wang Rongsheng of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences is the vice-chairman of this organization.

21. Regional museums are apparently in danger of losing new or unusual finds to higher-level museums.

XIII

New Developments

in Taiping Historiography

Taiping historical study has remained one of the most active fields of scholarship in China since the Cultural Revolution began in 1966.¹ This was partly so because of the way in which Taiping historiography became an ideological weapon during the struggles for political succession after 1971. As Dai Yi pointed out in a recent article, the "Gang of Four" constantly used historical innuendo (*yingshe lishi*) to attack contemporary leaders, so that when they attacked Taiping figures like Yang Xiuqing or Shi Dakai, they were really aiming at Zhou Enlai or Hua Guofeng. And because Hong Xiuquan was also identified with Mao Zedong, the Taiping emperor was conversely elevated to a superhuman level, beyond criticism altogether. Not only was this kind of historical misuse representative of a "rigid metaphysical point of view"; it also made it impossible to understand the Taiping rebellion itself. "If Hong Xiuquan had been so completely perfect a man, the final failure of the Taiping rebellion would be hard to explain."² By early 1979, then, there were numerous calls for a new understanding of the Taiping tianguo, and for the replacement of the formulaic orthodoxy of the "Gang of Four" by a new pluralistic historiography under the revived banner of a "hundred schools of thought."³

1. For earlier accounts of Taiping studies since 1974, see Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "A Conversation with Four Chinese Historians in Nanking," *China Quarterly* 60:767-772; and "Historiography in China after 'Smashing the Gang of Four,'" *China Quarterly* 76:891-911.

2. Dai Yi, "Seek Truth from the Facts and Be Fearless in Creating Things New," *Lishi yanjiu* 1978.8, translated in *Joint Publications Research Service* 72431:7-8 (December 13, 1978).

3. Fang Zhiguang, "Taiping tianguo geming de lishi bu rong cuangai" [The revolutionary history of the Taiping tianguo cannot be permitted to be distorted], in Nanjing daxue Taiping tianguoshi yanjiu shi, comp., *Taiping tianguoshi luncong* [Anthology of articles on the history of the Taiping tianguo] (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue xuebao bianjibu, 1979), pp. 135-148.

From May 23 to June 3, 1979, a national conference on the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (Taiping tianguoshi taolunhui) was held in Nanjing. The major hosts for the meeting were two "popular scholarly organizations" (*minjian xueshutuan*): the Beijing and Nanjing Municipal Committees for Research on the Taiping tianguo (Beijing/Nanjingshi Taiping tianguo yanjiuhui). Their chairmen, Dai Yi and Zhou Cun, convened the conference under the basic direction of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, which also paid for the costs of the meeting.⁴

There were 300 regular participants at the conference. Although this was not billed as an international conference and had no interpretation facilities, sometime after September, 1978, when the meeting was announced, 10 foreign guests were invited to join the gathering. These included: P. Clarke (Monash University), Charles Curwen (SOAS), Huang Yuhuo (Sydney), Françoise Lauwert (Belgium), Edgar Wickberg (University of British Columbia), Erwin Wickert (West German Embassy, Beijing), Wu Weip'ing (Bridgeport University), and three Japanese scholars led by Kojima Shinji (Tokyo University).⁵ One of the CSCPRC Advanced Training Students, Dr. Vera Schwarcz (Wesleyan University), also came down from Beijing University to attend part of the conference.

The format of the conference was mixed. It opened with a plenary session conducted by Zhou Cun, Dai Yi, and Liu Danian. The conference then divided into eight small discussion sections (*xiaozuhui*) which were individually chaired by a single scholar. The sections were not divided according to any particular criterion; each discussed the same three common topics: the evaluation of personalities in the Taiping movement (*renwu pingjia*), Taiping thought, and the nature of Taiping political power (*zhengquan de xingzhi*).⁶ During these discussions, 208 essays were presented. These essays, which ranged in length from 6,000 to 30,000 words, were not read in advance. Some of them will be published later in a volume containing proceedings of the conference. Members of the conference also were given time to visit local museums, historical sites, and the

4. This and the following information were provided by Wang Rongsheng, who briefed the delegation thoroughly on the conference. Because he had to come north to welcome us to Beijing on June 4, he missed the last day of the meeting.

5. Although Professor Kojima is best known for his histories of modern Chinese thought, his most recent book—*Taihei Tengoku kakumei no rekishi to shisō*—is on the Taiping tianguo.

6. Although Zhonghua Bookstore republished *Taiping tianguo geming shiqi Guangxi nongmin qiyi ziliao* in 1978, there appears to have been relatively little attention paid to the Jintian uprising itself during the conference.

Taiping murals on Tangzijing discovered in 1952 by Luo Ergang.⁷ Finally, during the last several days of the conference, the plenary session was reconvened to hear reports from the foreign scholars present and final talks summing up the results of the discussion sessions.

According to a later conversation with Xu Rulei (Institute of Religious Studies, Nanjing University), who gave one of the key papers at the Taiping conference, there were many different points of view expressed. That there could be such diversity of opinion was one of the most important and useful aspects of the gathering. Moreover, views of historical figures like Li Xiucheng were no longer completely one-sided; Li had formerly been considered a mere "renegade" (*pantu*) during his entire time with the Taipings, but now he was seen to have made considerable contributions to the movement. The same was true for Wei Changhui, who had been described as always having been a bad person because he had later killed Yang Xiuqing during the "Heavenly Capital incident" of 1856.⁸ Naturally, Yang Xiuqing himself was reevaluated at the Taiping conference.⁹ In the past, Yang Xiuqing had been single-mindedly attacked because, as Wang Rongsheng explained, he stood in some people's minds first for Zhou Enlai, then for Deng Xiaoping, and finally for Hua Guofeng. Now the evaluation of Yang Xiuqing was much more mixed. Most recognized his great contributions to the Taiping movement, but they were also troubled by his arrogance.

7. In 1952 the owner of this house, Li Fengxian, announced the existence of these frescoes to the authorities. Luo Ergang and his student, Jiang Zanchu, came to study them and concluded that they were of Taiping origin because there were no human figures in the depictions, and because there was a picture of a Yangzi River watchtower showing it to have a flat platform on the top, which was characteristic of Taiping structures. They concluded from other evidence that the building had then been the official residence of a fourth or fifth ranking prince under the Dongwang, Yang Xiuqing. (Although Luo Ergang has argued that Taiping paintings never contain human figures, there are representations of persons in paintings recently discovered in Shaoxing in the dwelling belonging to the younger brother of Li Xiucheng.)

8. For a recent reevaluation of the death and purge of Yang Xiuqing and his followers, see Zhou Zisheng, "Dui 'Tianjing bianishi' jige youguan wenti de tantao" [An inquiry into several questions concerning the 'Heavenly Capital incident'], *Lishi yanjiu* 1979.3:36-49.

9. According to a paper presented by Yao Qian, director of the Nanjing Museum, and Wang Shaohua, Yang Xiuqing had extraordinary organizational and military abilities, having established the land regulations of the Taiping tianguo. Both he and Hong Xiuquan had held high the banner of the Taiping movement; but, like Hong, Yang was also subject to the limitations of the period. To say, however, that Yang Xiuqing had represented the "Confucianist line" was utterly "absurd" (*huangmiu*). Yao Qian and Wang Shaohua, "Yang Xiuqing lun" [On Yang Xiuqing], paper presented at the Taiping History Conference, 16pp.

Discussion of this issue at the Taiping conference had centered on Yang's speaking in tongues. It was generally agreed that when he first spoke as the voice of God in 1849, this had been a good moment for the Taiping movement, which needed leadership because Feng Yunshan was in jail and Hong Xiuquan was in Guangdong. The second time Yang Xiuqing spoke in God's name (at Yongan in 1851) it was also a good act because Yang was using religion to expose the spy, Zhou Xineng. But when Yang used religion in Nanjing to threaten Hong Xiuquan with a public flogging in the palace, he had gone too far in the eyes of most of the scholars attending the Taiping conference.¹⁰

Shi Dakai was another Taiping leader who was reevaluated at the national conference. According to Wang Rongsheng, attacks on Shi Dakai for being a "splittist" (*gao fenliede*) were really attacks on Deng Xiaoping and others at the time. If one looked at Shi Dakai "empirically," then one discovered that he was basically a very faithful and reliable person. Some people had attacked Shi Dakai for having been too friendly to landlords and for not carrying out a revolutionary peasant line when his army was in Anhui and Jiangxi. This matter was still in dispute, but it now seemed that Shi Dakai had adopted a perfectly correct position during the 1856 "Heavenly Capital incident." Indeed, it was probably the only correct position of the entire group, Wang Rongsheng declared, and a book published in part in 1962 is now being revised to reflect this point of view.¹¹

10. The sincerity of Yang Xiuqing's own belief in possession also fascinated Taiping scholars whom the delegation met. During the seminar the delegation held at Nanjing University, it was repeatedly pointed out that shamanism was commonly practiced in Guangxi and that Yang Xiuqing may have actually believed that he was possessed by the spirit of God. Certainly there was no reason to doubt Hong's belief in his own divinity, at least by the time he had established a monarchy. In fact, it was suggested that by the end of his life Hong Xiuquan's belief had turned into a kind of mental illness. Yang Xiuqing, on the other hand, may have used shamanism as a device to lead the movement, wearing popular religions like a "cloak" (*waiyi*). Again, there was a clear division of opinion over this issue. Wang Rongsheng believed that Yang Xiuqing was consciously using religion for practical ends. He was sincere insofar as he was pragmatic, working for the success of the movement but not necessarily believing in spirit-possession himself. Xu Rulei thought that there could be cases of leaders opportunistically using religion in order to further their own interests. But he thought it was far more likely that belief and self-service went unconsciously hand-in-hand: most people were true believers. Chen Zemin simply commented on his part that it was extremely difficult to assess the intentionality of any single actor in such a case.

11. The book is called *Taiping tianguo geming zhanzheng* [Revolutionary wars of the Taiping tianguo], and it is being written by a small group under the supervision of Jia Shucun, Luo Ergang's son-in-law. The book, which is about 300,000 words long, should be available next year.

Finally, Hong Xiuquan's role was reevaluated at the conference. Until quite recently, the Taiping scholars admitted, Hong Xiuquan had been virtually deified. In fact, he was not beyond reproach, and a number of speakers at the conference pointed out his faults and his evolution over time from a revolutionary and egalitarian leader to an autocratic and despotic one. Other participants, however, felt that these criticisms were going too far. Hong Xiuquan was, after all, a revolutionary peasant leader, and one should therefore show preference for him and not be too critical. In sum, Hong must be viewed as a person who had both faults and merits at the same time.¹²

There was also considerable diversity of opinion about the second major topic of discussion, Taiping ideology. The conference members had singled out three main sources of Taiping thought: popular rebellious ideology, Confucianism, and Protestantism. The last of these aroused great interest, and over twenty of the papers at the meeting were about Christian influences on Taiping ideology. One of the most influential papers was given by Xu Rulei, who is a Christian himself; and if his remarks at our seminar with him later are any indication of his earlier point of view, then his position at the conference was that the character of the fundamentalist Christianity that Hong Xiuquan absorbed had a decisive impact upon the character of the Taiping movement itself. In fact, argued Xu Rulei, the "primitive Christianity" (*yuanshi Jidujiao*) Hong Xiuquan learned from missionary tracts may even have been the source of the "revolutionary character" of the Taiping uprising.

To a limited extent, this is also the opinion expressed in a thoughtful article by Wang Qingcheng on Hong Xiuquan's early thought published in *Lishi yanjiu* just after our visit.¹³ After

12. Obviously, *yingshe lishi* is not altogether defunct. There continues to be much innuendo in these latest historical evaluations. Although it is not openly admitted, Hong Xiuquan still stands for Mao Zedong. As the Taiping emperor's standing slips, that of Hong Ren'gan, who is identified with Zhou Enlai, rises. In the 1950s Hong Ren'gan was viewed by many historians as only gradually becoming a committed revolutionary after he joined the Taiping movement in 1850. See, for example, Li Chun, *Hong Ren'gan* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1957), which was reprinted in 1978. Now, in a recent edition of his selected poetry and prose, Hong Ren'gan is described as having been from the very beginning a progressive leader who tried to strengthen and consolidate the Taiping revolution by introducing science and democracy and by taking charge of foreign relations. His work, *Zicheng xinpian* (New essays to aid government), is also hailed as a major revolutionary relic. See: Yangzhou shifan xueyuan zhongwenxi, comp., *Hong Ren'gan xuanji* [Selected writings of Hong Ren'gan] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1978), pp. 2-3.

13. Wang Qingcheng, "Lun Hong Xiuquan de zaoqi sixiang ji qi fazhan (shang)" [On Hong Xiuquan's early thought and its development (part one)], *Lishi yanjiu*

establishing that Hong was not advocating revolution at the time of his breakdown, which is clearly defined as a mental crisis, the author carefully analyzes the impact of Liang Afa's missionary tract *Quanshi liangyan* (Good words to exhort the age) on Hong Xiuquan. The appearance of the tract is related to the social crisis of the Jiaqing-Daoguang period, which also produced the social criticism of Gong Zizhen and other writers who argued for either political renovation at court or social reform in the provinces. Like them, and like the Taoist preachers of that era, Liang Afa singled out the inequality between high and low, and spoke of the need to change the order of things by replacing the evil principles of the age with the good values of Christianity. Making fun of those civil service aspirants who worshiped the God of Literature while still failing the examinations, Liang Afa urged his readers to turn to the true God, *Shangdi*. And, according to Wang Qingcheng, this is precisely what Hong Xiuquan did. For, as Engels once pointed out, the Christian religion in its initial stages was a protest movement of the socially deprived that called at the time for a "primitive communism" (*gongchan zhuyi*) and demanded social change. To be sure, religions like Christianity ultimately promised only deliverance on the other shore, and they were therefore correctly described by Marx as opiates. Nevertheless, Liang Afa's religious tract retained some qualities of social protest, and these had appealed to Hong Xiuquan, who turned away from Confucius to worship the Christian god. As Wang's article explains, "Hong Xiuquan accepted this new kind of teaching in the belief that it represented the truth. For the sake of this truth, he made a great personal sacrifice, sublimating his feelings into a higher new realm; he abandoned the road to scholarly honors and an official career to 'oppose the world's undesirable customs' by accepting a mission to preach sincerely and wholeheartedly of the Gospel and God in order to deliver society from its evils."¹⁴

The new teaching, however, was not a revolutionary creed as such. Hong's preaching the Gospel and counseling conciliation and pacifism did not point directly to ultimate peasant rebellion, not to speak of revolution. Wang Qingcheng therefore significantly differs from Xu Rulei in his belief that the impact of Liang Afa's tract was not decisive in the formation of Hong Xiuquan's role as a revolutionary peasant leader. In order to effect that transformation, Hong had to abandon his original Christian beliefs and select new concepts that better met the needs of peasant war. *Quanshi liangyan* merely

1979.8:32-41.

14. Wang Qingcheng, "Lun Hong Xiuquan (shang)," p. 41.

turned Hong Xiuquan into a preacher of the Gospel; only class struggle could impel Hong Xiuquan toward the establishment of a new national political revolution.¹⁵

Although Wang Qingcheng distinguishes between religious influences and revolutionary thought, he at least acknowledges the fundamental importance of the former. However, Xu Xudian of the Department of History at Shandong University places much less stress than Wang upon the Christian sources of Hong Xiuquan's thought. Professor Xu's paper at the Taiping conference argued that although Hong Xiuquan had borrowed some aspects of Taiping ideology from the Bible, he had failed to understand the main elements of biblical thought. The impact of religion upon the movement was therefore quite minimal. In fact, Xu Xudian distinguished sharply between religion and revolution, arguing that the latter was a reflection of class contradictions and that the Taiping movement had merely used Christianity as an instrument that accidentally happened to be at hand. Xu Xudian even went so far as to typify the Society of God Worshipers as a "revolutionary organization" (*geming zuzhi*) rather than as a religious sect.¹⁶

Between the extreme positions of Xu Rulei on the one hand and Xu Xudian on the other were a variety of opinions more or less summed up by Wang Rongsheng, for whom religion appeared to play an ambivalent role. At times religion was a "sugar coating" (*tangyi*) for the peasantry, which turned to it for solace. This aspect of religion could be used by the ruling class to comfort the masses and render them docile. But popular religion also promised equality and a "Heavenly Kingdom." It thereby articulated people's revolutionary demands for social justice, and thus was capable of inspiring revolution.¹⁷ Wang personally believed that it was the comforting aspect of

15. Wang Qingcheng, "Lun Hong Xiuquan de zaoqi sixiang ji qi fazhan (xia)" [On Hong Xiuquan's early thought and its development (part two)], *Lishi yanjiu* 1979.9:68.

16. Professor Xu summarized his paper for us during a seminar at Shandong University in Ji'nan on June 16. He also pointed out the differences between the earlier stages of the movement and the later phase. By the time Western missionaries visited the Taiping revolutionaries in their "Heavenly Capital," there was very little common religious ground between them. There were religious aspects of belief, including egalitarianism and salvationism, but there was clearly no church, nor were there people whose sole task it was to proselytize others. Most of the followers of the Taiping *tianguo* by then did not believe in the movement's doctrine. What is more important, after the Taipings had disappeared there was no religion left behind, sure proof that the religious content had virtually disappeared.

17. This opinion is expressed in an essay by Wang Rongsheng, Long Shengyun, and He Lingxiu, "Shilun Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng he zongjiao de guanxi" [Tentative discussion of the relationship between Chinese peasant wars and religion], which originally appeared in *Renmin ribao* on October 17, 1960. See also the discussion of Tai-

religion that initially characterized the Christianity that Hong Xiuquan absorbed from Liang Afa's *Quanshi liangyan*, but his was the minority view; most Taiping scholars thought that from the very inception of the Society of God Worshipers, Hong Xiuquan was intending to rebel.¹⁸

The relationship between religion and the rise of the Taipings dominated most of the delegation's own seminar discussions on popular movements. In part this was due to the delegation members' special interests and presentations. In Nanjing, for instance, the lectures by Naquin and Wakeman were on peasant culture and popular religion, and on the Taipings as a revivalist movement (*fixing yundong*). The following day, when a seminar was held at Nanda, it was only natural for Chen Zemin (Institute of Religious Studies, Nanjing University) to turn the discussion in that direction. He and Xu Rulei were both interested in the nature of the Christianity that Hong Xiuquan had received, and specifically whether it was of a revivalist or more orthodox sort.

In response Kuhn pointed out that much of the *Quanshi liangyan* is drawn from the Old Testament and is very apocalyptic in tone. Thus, while there were certainly antirevolutionary elements in Liang Afa's translation, his writings also contained a potentiality for revolt that could be readily seized upon by individual readers. Moreover, the Protestant emphasis on a direct relationship between the self and God could lead to a radically new conception of the individual as well as to a demand for social equality and a need for heroic self-sacrifice. The *Quanshi liangyan* also contained the notion that there could be a heaven on earth, and that too must have influenced the actual plans for rebellion that Hong Xiuquan nurtured. Xu Rulei agreed that, even though the concept of a Heavenly Kingdom

ping religion as an "ideological overcoat" (*yishi xingtai waiyi*) in Huang Yan, "Taiping tianguo you yige 'geming zhexue sixiang tixi' ma?" [Did the Taiping tianguo have a 'system of revolutionary philosophy and thought'?), *Lishi yanjiu* 1978.12:58.

18. There are presently only three copies of the *Quanshi liangyan* in China: one at Nanjing University, one at Guangdong University, and one in the Institute of History of the Academy of Social Sciences. However, the Institute soon hopes to publish a copy in *Modern Historical Materials (Jindaishi ziliao)*. During the delegation's seminar at Nanjing University, Rawski told the Taiping historians about the project at Harvard funded by the Luce Foundation to analyze early missionary tracts in Chinese. Some of these have turned out to be very apocalyptic, and they include at least three missionary versions of a "three character classic" (*sanzijing*) produced since 1815 outside of China at places like Malacca. Chen Zemin reported that there were very few of these materials available in China and that it would be very useful to compare them with some of Hong Xiuquan's early writings. Philip Kuhn promised to send microfilms of the Harvard tracts to scholars in Nanjing.

(*tianguo*) was fairly common, being found in Chinese Buddhism, the idea which is found in Liang Afa's work that there could be a heaven on earth may have had a powerful effect upon Hong's doctrine. In any case, he agreed that Hong's understanding of the *Quanshi liangyan* lay behind the intention to revolt.

Quite another point of view was expressed by the well-known Taiping historian, Fang Zhiguang (History, Nanjing University), at this same seminar on June 19. Prompted by Naquin's observation concerning a possible connection between China's defeat in the Opium War and Hong Xiuquan's religious conversion, Fang declared that the major reason for Hong's choice of Christianity was its association with the victorious European powers. It was not its primitive character as Christianity that made it so attractive; rather, it was appealing because it seemed to be effective, insofar as it was linked with the West's military supremacy. Yet, in order to make it palatable to his fellow Chinese, Hong had to sinify (*Zhongguohua*) Christianity, claiming that it had formerly been the Central Kingdom's original religion.¹⁹ Chen Zemin strongly agreed with this last observation, saying that Christianity had four times come to China, and each time it had failed to penetrate deeply because the Chinese basically opposed foreign religions. Hong Xiuquan was not a missionary, of course; he was a revolutionary leader. But he could not have gone as far as he did without changing Christianity from a foreign-style religion into a Chinese creed by giving the figure of Shangdi (God) the kind of features with which Chinese could identify. This was proof that the primary aspect of Taiping Christianity was not salvationism, but rather its revolutionary nature.²⁰

The third topic of discussion at the national Taiping history conference was the nature of the Heavenly Kingdom's political structure. The issue at the heart of this topic was the evolution of the Taiping movement from an initial stage of primitive communism and social egalitarianism to a final phase of imperial autocracy and support of landlords' property rights. Because the latter coincided most visibly with the Taiping occupation of Suzhou after 1860, it had been

19. For a recent discussion of the way Hong Xiuquan claimed to be "restoring the past" (*fu gu*) by reviving what he supposed to be native Christianity, see Mao Jiaqi, "Jidujiao, rujia sixiang he Hong Xiuquan" [Christianity, Confucian thought and Hong Xiuquan], in *Taiping tianguoshi luncong*, p. 5.

20. This view was shared by Lu Yao at Shandong University. During our seminar there Lu Yao declared that few members of the Taiping movement actually believed in Taiping religion. Hong Xiuquan may have been a true believer, but he mainly used religion as a way of organizing an uprising in Guangxi where there happened to be extreme class conflict.

possible in the past to blame this "betrayal" of the revolutionary peasant line upon the Zhongwang, Li Xiucheng. But before and during the national conference, Li Xiucheng's role was reappraised.²¹ Moreover, several scholars noted—so Wang Rongsheng informed us—that as early as 1853, when Nanjing was occupied, the decision had been taken by Hong Xiuquan himself to collect taxes in such a way as to lend support to existing property rights. Even though the Taiping land regulations called for the redistribution of land, the structure of local government that the Taipings actually used made this impossible.²²

Thus, one might speak of a new revisionist historiography in China that is beginning to define the evolution of the Taipings in particular, and peasant movements in general, in structural rather than personal terms. Based on "solid historical facts," the argument advanced by Sun Zuomin (Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute) in his paper at the conference was that even at the time of its formation, the Taiping government in Nanjing was modeled upon feudal institutions. Not only were the officials either landlords or "intellectuals" (gentry), the local policies of the Taiping government amounted to recognition of landlord power and support of the collection of rents. Of course, the government was indeed established by "peasant heroes," and they continued to lead spontaneous uprisings against tax and rent collection, serving a positive function at the time. But the fundamental significance of the founding of the Heavenly Kingdom at Nanjing in 1853 was that the decision to establish a government *necessarily* meant adopting feudal structures and principles.²³

21. Cai Shaoqing, "Li Xiucheng yu Taiping tianguo zai Jiang-Zhe diqu de tudi zhengce" [The local land policy of Li Xiucheng and the Taiping tianguo in Jiangsu and Zhejiang], in *Taiping tianguoshi luncong*, p. 173. Cai argues that because the Taipings were so hard pressed by imperial and imperialist armies, and because the Heavenly Capital was so short of supplies, Li Xiucheng was perfectly justified in co-opting landlords and local gentry leaders if that was what was necessary in order to get supplies.

22. Wu Lanfang, "Shilun Taiping tianguo de xiangguan zhidu" [Tentative discussion of the Taiping tianguo system of local government], paper presented at the Taiping History Conference, 6 pp. The observation that the land-equalization scheme outlined in the *Tianchao tianmu zhidu* was never carried out, that title deeds were confirmed and taxes collected according to the Qing system after 1853, and that members of the local gentry were simply appointed Taiping local administrators has been made by many scholars publishing outside of China. See, for example, Kawabata Genji, "Enforcement of *Hsiang-kuan chih-tu* System of Rural Officials in the T'ai-p'ing T'ien-kuo and Its Background," *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, 12:42-69.

23. Sun Zuomin, "Shilun Taiping tianguo zhengquan de xingzhi—san lun guanyu 'nongmin zhengquan' wenti" [Tentative discussion of the nature of Taiping political power—three theses on the problem of 'peasant political power'], paper presented at

Sun Zuomin's position was the most revisionist of all those taken at the national conference. According to Wang Rongsheng, there were basically three different opinions about the nature of Taiping political power, as well as of "peasant political power" in more general terms. One was that peasants could never form a government of their own; there was simply no such thing as a "peasant regime," because all governments in premodern China were essentially feudal in substance. The second opposing view was that peasant political power was revolutionary political power; it was revolutionary government. The third position, which Wang himself took, was that peasants were quite capable of establishing regimes that were not entirely feudal, especially with regard to policies toward landlords. Indeed, the critical question as to the extent of peasant political power was whether or not they attacked landlords. Nevertheless, this revolutionary element existed alongside feudal, autocratic, and aristocratic elements, which could overcome the revolutionary side. We can see this clearly in the development of the Taiping movement. From the Yong'an siege onwards, the feudal element grew constantly stronger, and government became increasingly despotic and hereditary in nature.

The delegation was impressed by the significance of this willingness to recognize that, however ardent its initial zeal, a radical social movement may become transformed into an institutionalized political structure as it comes to terms with established economic forms. Not only does this reveal much more fundamental transformations in the social theory current in China today, it also coincides with a growing interest among Western historians in what might be called post-revolutionary social movements. There are other new trends in Taiping studies in China that interested the delegation members as well. Up until quite recently, there has been little or no

the Taiping History Conference, 38 pp. Naturally, Sun concludes that, lacking Communist leadership, no peasant movement can succeed in overcoming these structural limitations. The contemporary relevance of this observation is obvious. At the meeting of the History Group of the Beijing area, which held a symposium in October 1979 to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the PRC, one comrade said, "Rebellion (*zaofan*) is absolutely not equal to revolution (*geming*); this has been so from ancient times to the present. Slave uprisings were not revolutions. Peasant uprisings, including the Taiping tianguo uprising, cannot be called revolutions either; they can only be called peasant movements (*nongmin yundong*) because they did not change the old mode of production and establish a new mode of production. And when it comes to the 'rebellion' (*zaofan*) in the Cultural Revolution, it is even more intolerable [to call it a revolution] because the rebellion it waged was against the proletariat." "Lishi yanjiu bixu tichang zhenshi xing he kexue xing" [Historical research must promote authenticity and scientific quality], *Guangming ribao*, October 27, 1979.

attention paid to the Hakka element in the early years of the Taiping movement. In fact, Hakka-Punti ethnic rivalries have in the past been deliberately underestimated in order to emphasize the importance of class conflict in the southern Chinese countryside.²⁴ During the seminar at Shandong University, however, we learned—after Kuhn had mentioned his own work on such ethnic conflict—that there had been a number of papers at the conference on the problem of minorities and the Taiping movement. According to Professor Zheng Hesheng, work on this topic was only just beginning, but scholars had already concluded that minorities had a relatively strong "revolutionary character," and that this is a promising new area of research.

Finally, we noted an important new concern for the economic impact of the Taiping movement upon Chinese society of the time. During the delegation's seminar at Nanjing University, Fang Zhi-guang recalled Fan Wenlan's hypothesis that the Taiping tianguo may have actually impeded the "sprouts of capitalism" in China. Fang himself has recently become interested in this question and has sent a group of his own students to Dongshan peninsula, south of Suzhou on Lake Tai, to analyze local materials and assess the impact of the Taiping revolutionary movement on local elites. So far they have discovered that during the Taiping occupation of the area many local landlords fled to Shanghai where they eventually changed from absentee landlords to urban merchants. However, they did not become industrial entrepreneurs, so that even though the Taiping tianguo may have had the effect of encouraging more commercialization, it did not accelerate industrial development. A similar, though much stronger, conclusion has been drawn recently by Liu Yao in an article in *Historical Research*. Not only did the Taiping movement in its early stages destroy already developed sprouts of commercial capitalism, it was throughout its history in contradiction with industrialization.²⁵ Although this assertion may be another way of attacking radical social movements in the People's Republic of China today, it does help open the way for cooperative research between American and Chinese historians on the greater implications of the Taiping tianguo for nineteenth-century social and economic developments.

24. This was the impression that Wakeman received during a discussion with three local historians at Sanyuanli, outside Guangzhou, in June, 1974.

25. Liu Yao "Cong Changjiang zhongxiayou diqu nongcun jingji de bianhua kan Taiping tianguo geming de lishi zuoyong" [The historical role of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom in light of the changes in rural economy in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangzi River], *Lishi yanjiu* 1979.6:32-48.

Collections of Taiping Historical Materials

Listed below by institution are a number of different collections of Taiping historical sources that we saw during our delegation's visit.

Taiping Revolutionary Museum, Nanjing

1. Some of the papers of Wu Xu, circuit intendant of Su-Song during the rebellion, are stored here.²⁶ These materials are still being sorted, and the collection is not currently available for use, although some documents will eventually be published in installments.
2. The museum has some Taiping *baojia* placards, called *menpai* and *liangminpai*, but there are very few of these.
3. The museum has recently reprinted the *Taiping tianguo yinshu* (Printed works of the Taiping tianguo), which is a complete collection of all known Taiping printed writings. Originally published in 1961, this reprint contains some minor changes and a few different versions, now in simplified characters.
4. Handwritten materials will appear soon in a work of 400,000 to 500,000 words entitled *Taiping tianguo wenshu huibian* (Compilation of Taiping tianguo writings). To be published by the museum in conjunction with institutes in Beijing, this work will supplement the material published in 1963 under the title *Taiping tianguo jianbian* (Concise edition of the Taiping tianguo), which represented just a fraction of the museum's holdings.
5. There were three collections of illustrations of Taiping material relics and drawings published in the 1950s.²⁷ A fourth collection of drawings and relics recently displayed in conjunction with the proceedings of the Taiping conference will be published soon under the title *Taiping tianguo wenwu tulu* (Historical relics and illustrations of the Taiping tianguo).

26. Some of these famous records appeared in Jing Wu and Zhong Ding, eds., *Wu Xu dang'an zhong de Taiping tianguo shiliao xuanji* [Selection of historical materials on the Taiping tianguo in the Wu Xu archives] (Shanghai: Shanlian Bookstore, 1958).

27. The *Taiping tianguo geming wenwu tulu*, *Taiping tianguo geming wenwu tulu (xubian)*, and *Taiping tianguo geming wenwu tulu (bubian)*, published in 1952, 1953, and 1955.

Nanjing Library

1. A larger portion of Wu Xu's papers are here than are in the museum; they were brought here from Shanghai in the 1950s.
2. There are several *menpai*, mainly from Zhejiang. In addition there is a collection of Taiping local government documents, books, and marriage contracts.

Suzhou Museum

1. There are commercial licenses for restaurants and teahouses, ownership permits for boats, property titles and deeds, and military maps—all of Taiping origin.
2. The museum holds the collection of documents printed for internal circulation only by the Suzhou Cultural Relics Committee in 1962 entitled *Su-Song diqu Taiping tianguo shiliao* (Historical materials on the Taiping tianguo in the Su-Song area).

Xihui Museum, Wuxi

1. There are rent records (*bu*) from landlord "halls" (*gongtang*) during the Taiping period.
2. The museum also holds Taiping tax receipts, four exemption certificates for traveling merchants, and population registration placards.

In addition to the material listed here, there are numerous *tiben* and palace memorials in the Ming-Qing Archives in Beijing that contain new material related to the Taipings.²⁸ These are being collected for publication by a team of scholars under the direction of the Qing History Research Unit of People's University.

28. See Chapter Five.

XIV

Other Fields of Ming-Qing Studies:

Sino-Western Relations, Legal

History, and Intellectual History.

During the delegation's visit to China, individual members took responsibility for inquiring about specific fields of history in addition to those covered in earlier chapters. Naquin, for instance, sought information on religious studies and on research about minorities; her findings are incorporated in the section on peasant uprisings. Wills inquired about the state of research on maritime trade and early Sino-Western relations; Langlois, about legal history; and Peterson, about intellectual history. It should be noted that as a group we were not in a very favorable position to learn much about ongoing activity in these fields. We did not travel in southern China, where most of the research on maritime trade is conducted. Nor were we hosted by the organizations best equipped to tell us about legal history or intellectual history. In the latter case, for example, we might have learned much more had our hosts been mainly in departments and institutes of philosophy or literature. We therefore recognize that our perceptions may be somewhat myopic. Nevertheless, we made every effort to find out all that we could about these subfields of Ming and Qing studies, and brief reports on the results of our endeavors follow.

Maritime China and Early Sino-Western Relations

Scholars outside China are beginning to sense the possibility of new ways of looking at the South China coast and at China's maritime foreign relations before the Opium War. Instead of projecting backward the Opium War picture of a passive and defensive China assaulted by a greedy and aggressive West, we now can begin to see a "maritime China" with a vigorous life of its own, extending its networks of trade and emigration into Southeast Asia, bending Chinese government policy to its own ends, and producing culturally syncretic Chinese communities in Manila, Bangkok, Batavia, and many other ports. Europeans and some Southeast Asians, especially Thais and Vietnamese, were normal participants in this world but did not dominate it, were shaped by it as they were shaping it. Sources in European and Southeast Asian languages are very important for all our studies of the maritime south.¹ With Western scholarly interest growing in Chinese popular religion and in Ming-Qing intellectual history, we can expect some researcher to take up the challenge of studying the history of Roman Catholic missions before the Opium War from those perspectives as well as from the "mission-history" perspective still dominant in the Western literature. There is a growing awareness among Western students of Ming-Qing economic history of the importance of silver imports and more tentatively of the growth of maritime trade as part of the general Chinese economic expansion of the eighteenth century.²

At first glance, scholarly trends in the PRC would not seem to offer great promise for active Chinese participation in the near future in the shaping of these new views.³ Work in this field frequently is multilingual and multicultural, must be up-to-date on scholarship in one or more fields of non-Chinese history, and often requires the use of archives outside China. These are not easy requirements to meet in a country where instruction in foreign languages other than English and sophisticated knowledge of non-Chinese history are in

1. See John E. Wills, Jr., "Early Sino-European Relations: Problems, Opportunities, and Archives," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 1974.2: 50-76; and "Maritime China from Wang Chih to Shih Liang: Themes in Peripheral History," in J. Spence and J. Wills, *From Ming to Ch'ing* (Yale, 1979), pp. 204-238; and especially Sarasin Viraphol, *Tribute and Profit: Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853* (Harvard, 1977).

2. William S. Atwell, "Notes on Silver, Foreign Trade, and the Late Ming Economy," *Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i* 1977.8:1-33.

3. Mention should be made, however, of the recent growing interest in Matteo Ricci. See, for example, Lü Tongwen, "Goutong zhong xi wenhua de xianqi zhe, Li Madou" [Matteo Ricci, a pioneer linking Chinese and Western culture], *Renmin ribao*, November 21, 1979, p. 4.

short supply, and where few scholars travel or study abroad. Not every Chinese scholar interested in the "sprouts of capitalism" is even prepared to acknowledge the great importance of silver imports for his subject, as we learned in our discussions at Shandong University. Chinese scholars will have considerable difficulty seeing early Christian missions as anything more than an aspect of early imperialism.

In fact, the situation is more promising than this first appraisal would suggest, in part because of Chinese interest and pride in past maritime achievements such as the Zheng He voyages, and in part because studies in this area have some relevance to substantial practical interests of the Chinese government in its relations with overseas Chinese and with the governments of Southeast Asia. Almost all scholarly work in this field is concentrated in Fujian and Guangdong. Since we did not visit those provinces, this information is drawn almost entirely from Wills' conversations with scholars elsewhere in China and his subsequent correspondence with some of the institutions named below.

This field has shared in the recent revival of scholarly meetings. A national conference on studies of Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines—bringing together historical, sociological, and anthropological approaches—was held in August 1979. About two hundred attended, and a symposium volume is planned. A similar conference on economic conditions in those four countries was held in September 1979, and a conference on the history of the overseas Chinese is in the planning stages. There is also a scholarly organization called the Society for the Study of the History of Maritime Relations (Haiwai jiaotongshi yanjiuhui), of which Professor Zhu Jieqin of Ji'nan University in Guangzhou is chairman, and Professor Tian Rukang of Fudan University, Shanghai vice-chairman. It had its third annual meeting in Quanzhou, Fujian, in April 1979; this organization has produced no publications so far.

The most important research group is the Nanyang yanjiusuo, located at Xiamen University, Xiamen (Amoy), Fujian. It published a monthly journal called *Nanyang yanjiusuo jikan* from 1959 to 1966 and resumed publication in 1978. Its contents frequently are summarized in the *Nanyang xuebao* published in Singapore. The institute has about one hundred research workers, professors and graduate students. The strongest emphasis of both the institute and its journal is on current economic conditions in Southeast Asia. It has a library of Western and Chinese materials. Also located at Xiamen but much less fully known to us at this time are the Zheng Cheng-gong jinianguan (Zheng Chenggong Memorial Hall), dedicated to the

memory of the most famous maritime Chinese and having some research collections, a Taiwan yanjiushi (Taiwan Research Office), and a Dongnanya lishi yanjiushi (Southeast Asian Historical Research Office) associated with the History Department at Xiamen University.

On the grounds of the Kaiyuansi temple in the old trading city of Quanzhou, Fujian, there is an important Museum of Maritime Relations (Haiwai jiaotong bowuguan) with special collections and research interests in the history of Chinese ships and foreign trade. It has published eight volumes in this area under the titles *Quanzhou guchuan ziliao* and *Quanzhou guchuan yanjiu taolunhui lunwenji*; these were published in small editions and probably are not widely available outside China.

In Guangzhou there are two smaller research centers, each with ten to twenty research workers, that only began in 1978. The Dongnanya yanjiusuo (Southeast Asian Institute) at Ji'nan University is directed by Professor Zhu Jieqin, who has used European sources in his work on the conflict between Zheng Chenggong and the Dutch on Taiwan.⁴ At Zhongshan University the Dongnanyashi yanjiusuo (Institute of Southeast Asian History) has about thirty research workers, and irregularly publishes a journal, *Zhongshan daxue Dongnanyashi yanjiusuo yuekan*, in which among other things it publishes abstracts of Western and Japanese scholarship in the field. Recently it has published two volumes entitled *Dongnanya lishi luncong* and a study of Chinese laborers in the Dutch East Indies, 1900-1940, entitled "*Juzi*" *huagong fangwen lu*.

Legal History

We met two scholars in Beijing who are working in Ming legal history, Gao Heng and Liu Hainian. They have just begun their work, and their research apparently centers upon the official Ming Code (*Da Ming li*) and its antecedents. We also learned that Qu Tongzu is planning to do research on the Ming Code.

Because of the dearth of Ming-Qing legal historians, Langlois requested to see Yang Tingfu, who has published a number of articles on the *Tanglü shuyi* in recent periodicals. He is Associate Professor of History at the Shanghai Education College (Shanghai jiaoyu xueyuan), and he is now working on a new collation and printing of the *Tanglü shuyi* for publication by Zhonghua shuju.

4. Zhu Jieqin, *Zheng Chenggong shoufu Taiwan shiji* (Shanghai, 1956).

Since the delegation's visit, there has appeared the first issue (November 1, 1979) of *Faxue yanjiu* (Studies in law). In it there is a "Preliminary Study of the Qing Code" by Zhang Jinfan.⁵ The author shows that the Qing code was harsher in some respects than the code of the Ming. It supported the literary inquisition and favored the superior position in society of the Manchus and of those in official posts. The article is outlined as follows:

1. The process by which Manchu customary law from the period prior to the entry of the pass developed in the direction of printed law.
2. The establishment of the Qing code on the foundation set forth in Dorgon's statement "Set punishments in accordance with the Ming code."
3. Important characteristics of the Qing code:
 - a. Using draconian laws to pursue high-handed policies toward politics and thought.
 - b. Guaranteeing the running of the great national machine with the emperor as its pivot.
 - c. Maintaining the feudal hierarchical system in which the Manchus occupied the highest position.
 - d. Weakening the personal dependency relationships.
 - e. Deepening and strengthening judicial jurisdiction in minority people's areas.
 - f. Further developing the tradition of citing statutes by analogy and deciding cases by reference to substatutes.
 - g. Demanding that government officials know the law and apply the law, that the populace know the law and uphold the law, and that there be strict prohibitions against manipulation of the law by clerks.
 - h. Maintaining the rule of feudal ethical morality and familism.

The research upon which these conclusions are based is not very deep and the study is indeed a preliminary one.

During our visit we heard references to a National Discussion Conference on Chinese Legal History and Legal Thought (Zhongguo fazhishi falü sixiang xueshu taolunhui) to be held in Changchun

5. Zhang Jinfan, "Qing lü chutan" [A preliminary study of the Qing code], *Faxue yanjiu* 1979.1.

during September 12-18, 1979. The fifth issue of *Faxue yanjiu* contains a report on this conference, which over eighty persons attended and which was sponsored by the Legal Studies Institute (Faxue yanjiusuo) of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.⁶ The conference outlined some of the following important areas of research that deserve to be studied in the future.

1. The creation of legal institutions; the development of legal systems in different types of states; the nature, special characteristics, contents, legislative principles, effect, and form of various legal systems.
2. Special characteristics and regulations (*guilü*) of judicial principles, institutions, and their activities in various states throughout history.
3. Classes in different societies and their attitudes toward legal institutions.
4. Influences on the formation, application, and development of legal institutions brought about by the legal thought of representative persons in societies, and through the political measures taken by the ruling classes in these societies.
5. The encouragement or hindrance that legal institutions in various kinds of societies have exerted on the development of the social forces of production in different stages of history, and the functions of legal institutions in the economic base and in parts of the superstructure.
6. Slogans, proclamations, and doctrines promulgated by regimes established by peasant uprisings under feudal regimes, and especially the legal institutions of the Taiping tianguo.

Given the current emphasis upon law, the recent convening of this national symposium on legal history, and the appearance of a new journal on legal studies, we can expect that there will be much more to report in the future.

6. Xiao Yongqing, Zhang Jing, Han Yanlong, and Liu Hainian, "Guanyu fazhishi yanjiu duixiang he fangfa de taolunfayan zheyao" [Subjects and methods of research on the history of the legal system: summary of speeches in discussion conference], *Faxue yanjiu* 1979.5:17-20, 31.

Intellectual History

The delegation's experience during the trip confirmed an inference that might have been drawn from the recent pattern of publication: scholarship on intellectual history is still in a dormant state compared to the activity of the mid-1950s, but it is reviving, at least in certain subfields.

With a few exceptions, we learned of almost no current research in the history of ideas that will soon come to fruition as a publication. At each university we met with historians who were introduced as "working on intellectual history," or who in conversation declared an interest in the topic, or who were about to start some research on, for example, "the thought of Gu Yanwu," but we had no contacts suggesting important new work in progress. Discussions were not fruitful, either. At Shanghai, "intellectual history" was added at the last minute as a topic for the group meeting on Shanghai local history, and it was clear that their participants had no professional competence in intellectual history. One of the members of the delegation said of an exchange at Beijing University about Wang Yangming and *xinxue* that "it was the only substantive conversation on Ming-Qing thought that I had during the trip," and that it had remained essentially within the framework established by Hou Wailu's *Zhongguo sixiang tongshi* (Complete history of Chinese thought) of the 1950s.⁷

Further evidence of the inactivity in intellectual history can be found in the social science periodicals published at universities throughout the country. To judge by those that were made available to us, little is appearing in print on "history of ideas," "history of the endeavors of the literate elite," or "history of the shared consciousness of the human environment" in Ming and Qing times, although

7. It should be noted, however, that delegation members often failed to ask about work in intellectual history when meeting scholars identified as specialists in other fields. For example, although we learned at Shandong University that Professor Ge Maochun works on Cheng-Zhu Confucianism in the early Qing, we did not discover until later that the chairman of the department, Wang Zhongluo, is the head of an editorial committee collecting the surviving works and writing a critical biography of Zhang Binglin, whose student Professor Wang was. (This information was provided by Dr. Joseph Esherick.) Moreover, had we asked to visit departments of philosophy at the various universities we visited, we would have received a much different impression from the one written about here. More recent visits by Professor Donald Munro (who co-chaired the delegation from the Committee on Studies of Chinese Civilization and the Joint Committee on Contemporary China of the ACLS/SSRC that visited China in December, 1979) and Professor Tu Wei-ming (currently a Senior Scholar at Beijing Normal University) reveal a great deal of activity, especially in the study of Neo-Confucian thinkers like Zhu Xi and Wang Yangming.

articles on the ideology of peasant uprisings and studies on fiction are being produced.⁸

The relative dearth of research and publication on Ming-Qing intellectual history is not unrelieved. For example, Song Yingxing has received attention in several articles. We were told that in the near future Xie Guozhen will be publishing a collection of materials on the life and thought of Fang Yizhi, and Zhu Dongrun has long-term plans for a biography of Chen Zilong. These examples of work by eminent scholars in their eighties underscores the general lack of current interest in the topic. The signs are more promising in two subfields of intellectual history. Hou Wailu is still nominally the head of the *Zhongguo sixiangshi yanjiushi* (Office for Research on the History of Chinese Thought) of the Institute of History of the Academy of Social Sciences, and the history of philosophy in Ming-Qing may be attracting scholars. The group that includes He Zhaowu (a senior scholar who will be spending six months in the U.S. in 1980) recently published *A History of Modern Chinese Philosophy* (*Zhongguo jindaizhexue shi*), which stems directly from Hou Wailu's earlier multivolume work. There has also appeared a work reevaluating figures like Yan Fu, Zhang Taiyan, Liang Qichao, and Wang Guowei, entitled *Zhongguo jindai sixiangshi lun* (On the history of modern Chinese thought).⁹ For Song intellectual history, Zhang Danian in 1978 published a useful introduction along with the texts of Zhang Zai's philosophical works. History of science also may move ahead; representatives from the History of Science Institute of the Academy of Sciences with whom we met could not report on any current research on the Ming-Qing period, but they pointed out that their recently published collection of articles, *Zhongguo gudai keji de chengjiu* (China's scientific and technological achievements in early times), includes a few pieces on Ming and Qing subjects.¹⁰ Furthermore, the effort to achieve China's "Four Modernizations" is leading to increased interest in the study of scientific development, and consequently in the history of science itself.¹¹

8. Shi Daqing, *Honglouloumeng yu Qingdai fengjian shehui* [Dream of the Red chamber and feudal society in the Qing period] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1976). There is also a series of volumes on economic thought, the first of which was published last year: *Zhongguo jingji sixiang jianshi* [Simplified history of Chinese economic thought] (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1978).

9. *Guangming ribao*, February 3, 1980.

10. Beijing, 1978.

11. According to *Renmin ribao*, September 1, 1979, the first meeting of the Symposium on the Study of Science (*Kexue xueshu taolunhui*) met recently in Beijing under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences. Topics that were discussed included the object and significance of research on the study of science, the characteristics and rules of the development of modern science and technology, standards of scientific

For the moment, however, the study of Ming and Qing intellectual history seems to reverberate too closely with issues involving intellectuals in the recent past as well as the present. It is too soon to say whether or not a policy or attitude will quickly evolve that will desensitize historical research in this field in general.

efficiency of scientific research, the proper function of systems engineering in the management of science, and the recruitment and training of scientific and technological personnel and management.

Part Four

Epilogue

XV

Future Publications and Research Opportunities

Time and again during our visit we were told how difficult it is to get manuscripts published quickly in China. This is partially because of the scarcity of newsprint and the lack of printers who know non-simplified characters, but it is also owing to the great backlog of materials prepared for publication in recent years. Some of these publications have already been mentioned in earlier portions of the report, and they mainly consist of collections of documents—the premise for their publication now being that individual scholars must be able to see the documents, and hence judge history, for themselves.¹

Some of these documentary collections are being compiled by the Ming-Qing Archives jointly with the Qing History Institute of People's University (Renmin daxue Qingshi yanjiusuo). In general, each collection will consist of selected documents on a particular topic, with the text reset in simplified characters and, where deemed appropriate, abbreviated to delete duplicate or "unnecessary" information. Topics currently underway include missionary cases, the grain transport system, Taiping tianguo, and the coolie trade.² Soon

1. An additional advantage to having documents published is that historians can use these projects to gain access to state archives, which have not always been freely opened to them. Recently, Beijing area historians at a symposium to celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the PRC discussed the importance of being allowed to use the archives. "In the discussion, comrades again appealed to the National Archives (Guojia dang'an bumen) to make public as quickly as possible documents from the historical archives, and to relax the requirements for historical workers to use historical archives." See "Lishi yanjiu bixu tichang zhenshixing he kexuexing" [Historical research must promote authenticity and scientific quality], *Guangming ribao*, October 27, 1979.

2. Naquin has suggested that these projects may be related to collections previously published for internal distribution only and mentioned in Zhenglizu [Sorting and Cataloguing Section], "Ming-Qing dang'an" [Ming-Qing Archives], *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* [Palace Museum Bulletin], 1979.1:11-20. The earlier collections included docu-

to be published is a collection of documents containing more than 1,000,000 characters on peasant uprisings—especially the White Lotus sect's rebellions—from 1644 to 1840. This work (*Bailianjiao qiye ziliao huibian*) is scheduled to appear in 1980. Another six-volume work, due before then, is devoted to documents on class struggle, and especially on tenancy and bondservant disputes.³ Yet a third forthcoming work, this one involving the Qing History Research Office of the Institute of History, will be a selection of some 1,000,000 characters on rent relations taken from a collection of 58,000 documents from the *Xingke tiben* (Grand Secretariat memorials, Board of Punishments section) of the Qianlong reign. These documents are legal reports of disputes between landlords and tenants, and are used to show the relations of production prevailing then.⁴ Another documentary collection on Ming history is being compiled by Xie Guozhen. It will be entitled *A Collection of Materials on the Society and the Economy during the Ming Period* (*Mingdai shehui jingji ziliao bian*), and according to Xie, it will be published by the Fujian renmin chubanshe.

As we learned after leaving Beijing, there are also many local documentary collections being published:

1. The Suzhou Museum, in cooperation with Jiangsu Normal College and the Ming-Qing History Research Office of Nanjing University, is going to be printing a new selection of stele rubbings on local economic conditions (*Ming-Qing Suzhou beike xuanji*).

2. The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences is now publishing a series called *Shanghaishi ziliao congkan* (Collection of historical

ments on the Opium War, Gelaohui (Elder Brothers Society), Taiping tianguo, Qingcha sect, popular disturbances from 1901 to 1911, Sino-Russian relations, and hired laborers in the Qianlong reign.

3. Numerous articles have appeared in *Wenwu* in recent years based on and frequently quoting at length from documents in the Ming-Qing Archives. Some issues include photographs of documents. Documents are also published in the collection edited by the Ming-Qing Archives, *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* [Collection of historical materials from the Qing dynasty archives]. There have been two issues so far (1978.1, 2). We were told that some central government documents from the post-Opium War period now held in the Nanjing Museum might also be published in this series.

4. See *Wenwu* 1975.9:69-75. This collection is also well described in Philip C. C. Huang, "Chinese and Japanese Scholarship and Research Materials: Current Research on Ming-Qing and Modern History in China," *Modern China* 5.4:3-4. In Beijing we were also told that Li Hua has edited a forthcoming book called *Beijing gongshangye huiguan beike ziliao xuanbian* [Selection of historical materials from stone stele on industrial and commercial guilds]. The preface to this was published in *Lishi yanjiu* 1978.4:63-79.

materials on the history of Shanghai). One of the volumes in this series will include copies of stone rubbings concerning economic development during the Qing in the Shanghai area (*Qingdai Shanghai jingji beike*).

3. The Shanghai Academy is also about to publish a new collection of materials on the Small Sword Society uprising of 1853, and a collection on Shanghai during the Taiping period. These collections will be accompanied by histories of Shanghai, including one soon to appear on the International Settlement and French Concession. Mention has already been made of the project on the British-American Tobacco Company headed by Zhang Zhongli. The team headed by him and Ding Richu plans to use these materials, along with other documents and information from interviews with former managers and workers, to write a comprehensive history of the development of capitalism in modern China, as seen in three types of modern enterprises: foreign enterprises, those of national capitalism, and those of bureaucratic capitalism.⁵

4. In Nanjing, Hong Huanchun is preparing for publication a collection of materials from stone rubbings on the regional economy of Jiangsu (*Jiangsu jingji beike ziliao*).

5. In Canton, Zhongshan University is about to publish Liang Fangzhou's work on historical source materials on China's population, land, and tax statistics (*Zhongguo lidai renkou tudi fuyi tongji ziliao*).

As recovery has been made from the disruptions of the Cultural Revolution, scholarly periodicals have been appearing again on a regular basis. In Zhonghua book stores and periodical subscription outlets that members of the delegation visited from Beijing to Shanghai, copies were on sale not only of the well-known national publications such as *Lishi yanjiu*, *Kaogu*, and *Wenshizhe*, but also journals that had restricted circulation, ones that had been published sporadically or not at all in recent years, and journals that have

5. The Economic Research Institute of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences is in the process of publishing at least fourteen different histories of individual companies or specific industries, along with two works on international trade, two books on foreign economic investment in China from 1901 to 1937, and a history of the development of Chinese capitalism. The latter work is being prepared in cooperation with Nankai University, according to Dr. Robert Eng, who visited the institute in 1979.

commenced publication in the last two years.

The bulk of the periodicals are published by universities. In addition to the journals from universities in Beijing, Nanjing, and Shanghai, we saw 1978 or 1979 copies of *xuebao* from Liaoning, Wuhan, Zhongshan, Hangzhou, Xiamen, and Sichuan universities; from Tianjin and Shandong normal universities; and from Huazhong normal college; and that list can hardly be exhaustive of the institutions of higher learning currently producing scholarly journals. Research institutions are also publishing journals with articles of interest to Ming-Qing historians. The newly founded *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* of the History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing promises to be a significant organ for the dissemination of new research. The Qing History Research Office of the Institute is going to bring out a quarterly entitled *Qingshi ziliao* (Materials on Qing history), with each issue containing 150-200,000 characters. That same office will also publish a journal once a year called *Qingshi luncong* (Symposium on Qing history). The 1979 issue, which appeared in August, 1979, contains essays on the evolution of peasant social and economic relations during the Qianlong period, on the origin of permanent tenancy rights in the Qing, on early Qing landlord-tenant altercations, on the Qing archives, on the Qing taxation system, and on the relationship between cultivated land and population. There are also three very interesting articles on early Qing history: one on the nature of Manchu society in the period 1540-1580, another on the land system of the Eight Banners prior to entering the Central Plain, and a third on the contradictions between the landlords of Jiangnan and the central government during the late seventeenth century. The second issue of *Symposium on Qing History* was in press by December, 1979, when its editor, Wang Rongsheng, gave Frederic Wakeman a list of its contents. This issue included articles on the bondservant system of the Qing, agrarian tenancy in early Qing, the state policy of land reclamation in early Qing, social conflict in early Qing, the White Lotus uprisings of the Jiaqing period, a study of Liu Zhixie's role in the uprisings in Sichuan and Hubei, the effects of replacing local hereditary chiefs (*tusi*) with state-appointed administrators in national minority regions, the aristocracy of the Eight Beiles, Nurhaci, the enthronement of Fu Lin by Dorgon, the history of the summer palace in Chengde, and the historian Quan Zuwang.

There is also a new bimonthly, begun in 1979, entitled *Shanghai shehui kexue yanjiu* from the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences. Occasionally there are articles on Ming-Qing topics in the new *Gugong bowuyuan yuankan* (Palace Museum bulletin) published

by the Palace Museum in Beijing. In addition to the university *xuebao*, which cover a wide range of subjects, there are specialized historical journals such as the *Shixue luncong*, which appeared last year from Nanjing University. On October 1, 1979, there also appeared the first issue of *Jindaishi yanjiu* (Research on modern history), published for the Institute of Modern History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences by Beijing's Xinhua shuju. In addition to reminiscences by Peng Dehuai and praise of Fan Wenlan, there were articles on the May Fourth movement, on historical empiricism, on the relationship between the Tongmenhui and the Guangfuhui, and on Tang Caichang's revolt. Other issues of this new serial are expected to follow.

In these journals much space is given over to discussions of methodological and interpretative questions (e.g. debate on the evaluation of the May Fourth movement), and articles on Ming-Qing history are not to be expected in each issue of each journal, but they occur often enough to warrant paying attention to this flood of periodicals. Some articles must be reckoned as useful. For example, the discussion by He Zhaowu of Song Yingxing's thought in *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (1979.1) is a helpful examination of the contents and implications of the newly published manuscripts by Song. Many other articles, however, are plowing old ground, but perhaps only until new research comes to fruition. For instance, the papers presented at the conference on peasant wars held in March, 1979, are bringing about the appearance of a new periodical, *Zhongguo nongmin zhanzheng yanjiu jikan* (Research periodical on Chinese peasant wars), which will feature some of those essays as well as future research papers.

There should be no problem getting most of these journals, many of which are already being subscribed to by U.S. libraries. Acquiring published books, however, is another matter. During the delegation's visit, we were repeatedly struck by the number of titles of books published during the 1960s that never got out of China—or at least never reached our own university libraries. One reason for this is simply that many of them were published under a *neibu* imprimatur: for internal distribution only. This practice will no doubt continue in China, where it is very common to circulate manuscripts in draft for other scholars' comments long before actual publication. For instance, a research group at Liaoning University has been circulating a draft called the *Qingshi jianbian* (Concise Qing history), which was found wanting by other units both in terms of research results and the ideas contained in the text. The same can be said for a work put out by the Shanghai Normal College called *Zhongguo*

nongmin zhanzhengshi (History of Chinese peasant wars). Renmin University has also been circulating a text, *Jianming Qingshi* (A simple Qing history), which is now at the printers and should be out soon. Other works in press or under preparation at present include:

1. *Zhongguo jindai jingjishi* (Modern Chinese economic history), being prepared by the Institute of Economics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.
2. Fu Yiling's book on the Ming-Qing feudal landownership system (*Ming-Qing fengjian tudi suoyouzhishi*).
3. Han Hengyu's work on Qing tenantry conditions (*Lun Qingdai diannong dianquan de youlai*).
4. Hong Huanchun's book called: *Ming-Qing Jiangnan diqu ziben zhuyi mengyashi* (History of the sprouts of capitalism in the Jiangnan region during the Ming and Qing).
5. The Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Institute of History's *Shanghai difangshi* (Local history of Shanghai).

Other significant new or forthcoming publications include lists and indices of articles and books on Chinese history. In August, 1978, the Institute of Modern History published a book entitled *Guoneiwai youguan Zhongguo jinxiandaishi shumu yilan, 1949-1977* (A bibliographic survey of publications on modern and contemporary Chinese history in China and abroad, 1939-1977; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, Beijing, 1978). Prepared for a June, 1978, conference on historical research in China that was held in Tianjin, the survey lists 189 titles on modern Chinese history, 91 titles on contemporary Chinese history, and 306 titles of collections of materials on modern and contemporary Chinese history. There is also a list of English, French, German, Japanese and Russian monographs on Chinese history.⁶ Sometime soon there will also appear in Liaoning an index to articles on Qing history (*Qingshi luncong suoyin*). The project has been delayed because it has not been decided whether to write the foreign names in the original language, or translate them into Chinese.

6. A copy of this publication can be purchased from the Center for Chinese Research Materials in Washington, D.C.

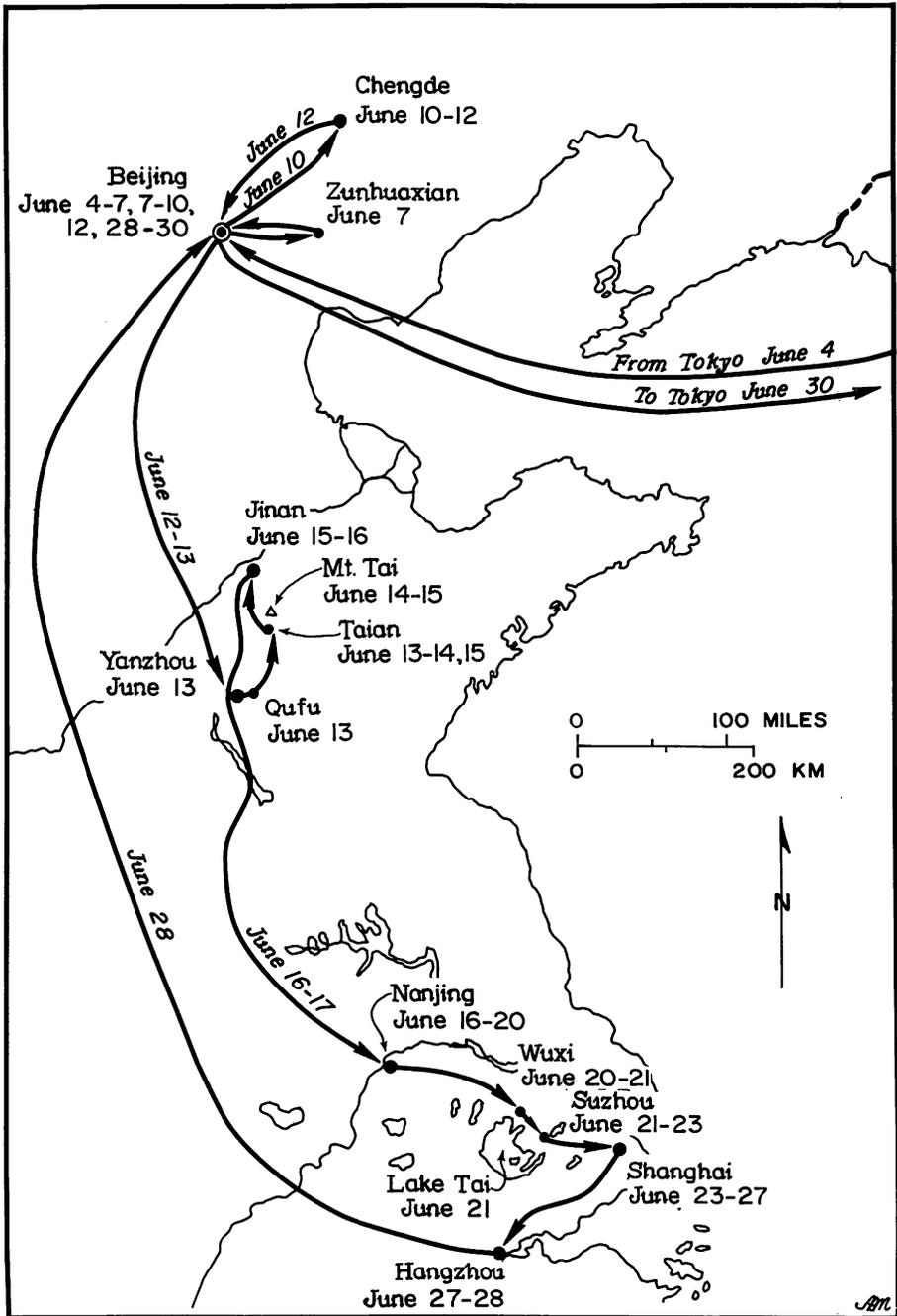
This latter problem reflects the considerable impact that foreign scholarship is now having on Chinese Ming and Qing historians. In the list of books published abroad in the bibliographic survey mentioned just above, there is a total of 1,754 titles in English, Japanese and Russian on modern and contemporary history. Knowledge of this burgeoning research work abroad, which far overshadows work in China during the last three decades, has spread throughout the country. It may even account for the recent resurgence of interest in Ming and Qing history. As one historian very candidly told us, Chinese academic authorities felt that Ming, and especially Qing, studies were going to have to receive much more emphasis because they were of such great interest to scholars in the United States, in Japan, and "to the north" (in the U.S.S.R.). Besides, this historian added, it is impossible to understand the development of modern economic history, in particular, if you do not understand the development in the Ming-Qing periods: "*Ming bu ming, Qing bu qing*" (Ming is not apparent, Qing is not clear).

Thus, the prospect for future research cooperation between American and Chinese students of Ming and Qing history seems very promising at present. In China there is a new spirit of critical historiography stirring among academic historians throughout the land. It is characterized on the one hand by a commendable sense of ideological prudence and methodological skepticism, and on the other by the awareness that the very best history develops in a climate of thought free from dogmatism and doctrinaire pronouncements. Recently, Wang Qingcheng wrote in *Historical Research* of his work on the Taiping leader, Hong Xiuquan, that

It is not easy to have a correct understanding of history. Objectively, one is limited by the historical materials. Subjectively, regardless of the level of one's knowledge and ability, the research scholar's field of vision is inevitably influenced by various social factors. Consequently, historical knowledge is only a process. By inquiring into several questions concerning Hong Xiuquan's early thought, this essay is not meant to attach a new label or establish a different [line]. Rather, it hopes to make its own contribution to the advancement of that process of knowledge.⁷

Foreign scholars, too, want to contribute to the advancement of historical research on China, both in the People's Republic and around the world. We believe that such an important task deserves our best joint efforts, and that the time has now come for historians there and abroad to work more closely together.

7. Wang Qingcheng, "Lun Hong Xiuquan (shang)," p. 32.



Appendix I

Itinerary

June 4—Tokyo (10:00) to Beijing (15:05)

Eve.: Meeting with the representatives of the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

June 5—Beijing

a.m.: History Museum

p.m.: Palace Museum and Ming-Qing Archives

Eve.: Banquet hosted by Vice-President Huan Xiang of the CASS

June 6—Beijing

a.m.: 1) Beijing University History Department
2) Ming-Qing Archives

p.m.: Seminars with members of the Institute of History and the Institute of Modern History at the International Club

June 7—Beijing to Dongling, Zunhuaxian and return

Visit to the Eastern Tombs (Dongling)

June 8—Beijing

a.m.: Research reports to Beijing area historians at the International Club

p.m.: National Beijing Library

June 9—Beijing

a.m.: 1) Seminar on Ming history at Beijing Normal University
2) Seminar on Qing history at Chinese People's University

p.m.: Meeting with American students at Beijing University and Beijing Language Institute

Eve.: Variety show

June 10—Beijing (10:00) to Chengde (17:15)

Eve.: Banquet hosted by the Deputy Head of the Revolutionary Committee of Chengde

June 11—Chengde

a.m.: Qing summer palaces

p.m.: Outer temples (Puning Temple, Putuozongcheng, Yumifushou)

Eve.: Performance of First Provincial Hebei Acrobatic Troupe

June 12—Chengde (9:30) to Beijing (16:48); Beijing (19:20) to Yanzhou (5:35)

Eve.: Dinner at International Club; night train to Yanzhou

June 13—Yanzhou (5:35) to Qufu (6:30); Qufu (19:00) to Taian (23:00)

a.m.: Confucian Grove and Confucian Household

p.m.: Confucian Temple; meeting with the Committee for the Confucian Family Archives

Eve.: Dinner in Qufu, then bus to Taian

June 14—Taian

a.m.: Ascent of lower slopes of Mt. Tai; lunch at Zhongtian Gate

p.m.: 1) Ascent of Mt. Tai; overnight in the hostel
2) Return to Taian via Heilongtan and Puzhao Temple

June 15—Taian (15:00) to Ji'nan (17:00)

a.m.: 1) Descent from Mt. Tai
2) Daimiao

p.m.: Taian to Ji'nan by bus

Eve.: Banquet hosted by the Director of the Provincial Bureau of Foreign Affairs

June 16—Ji'nan (21:42) to Nanjing (6:19)

a.m.: Seminars at the Department of History, Shandong University

p.m.: Shandong Provincial Museum; Yellow River dikes

Eve.: Movie, *The Opera of Huaiyin* (The spreading of locust trees); night train to Nanjing

June 17—Nanjing

p.m.: Ming walls and tombs; Sun Yatsen Memorial; Wuliang Temple, Qinhuai district

Eve.: Banquet hosted by the Vice-Director of the Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences

June 18—Nanjing

a.m.: Nanjing University; Taiping Historical Museum

p.m.: Research reports to Nanjing area historians at Nanjing University

June 19—Nanjing

a.m.: Seminars with historians at Nanjing University

p.m.: Nanjing Museum

Eve.: Movie, *Taohua shan* (Peach blossom fan)

June 20—Nanjing (15:00) to Wuxi (17:00)

a.m.: 1) Zhenghe shipyard; Ming palace remains; northern portion of city; Ming graves

2) Taiping murals at Tangzijie; Ming palace remains; No. 2 National Archives

p.m.: Train to Wuxi

June 21—Wuxi (16:32) to Suzhou (17:20)

a.m.: Grounds of Donglin Academy; Wuxi Library; Xihui Museum and gardens

p.m.: Boat tour of Lake Tai; train to Suzhou

June 22—Suzhou

a.m.: Suzhou gardens (Liuyuan, Xiyuan); Tiger Hill

p.m.: Zhuozhengyuan and individual tours of downtown Suzhou

June 23—Suzhou (16:52) to Shanghai (18:02)

a.m.: Suzhou Museum

p.m.: Individual visits to Suzhou gardens and pagodas; train to Shanghai

June 24—Shanghai

a.m.: Lu Xun Museum and residence

p.m.: Yuyuan and the Small Sword Society Museum

June 25—Shanghai

a.m.: Research reports to Shanghai area historians at Jinjiang Hotel

p.m.: Seminars with Shanghai area historians at Jinjiang Hotel

Eve.: Banquet hosted by the Vice-Director of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences

June 26—Shanghai

a.m.: Seminars at the Department of History, Fudan University; visit to the temple of the Jade Buddha

p.m.: Shanghai Municipal Library; Shanghai Museum

June 27—Shanghai (6:00) to Hangzhou (9:14)

a.m.: West Lake

p.m.: Lingyin Temple and the Botanical Gardens

June 28—Hangzhou (12:45) to Beijing (14:35)

a.m.: Liuhe Pagoda

p.m.: Airplane to Beijing

June 29—Beijing

a.m.: 1) Ming-Qing Archives

2) Great Wall and Ming tombs

Eve.: Banquet hosted by the U.S. Delegation in honor of Chinese historians and social scientists led by Vice-President Huan Xiang, CASS

June 30—Beijing (15:00) to Tokyo (20:00)

a.m.: Individual sightseeing in Beijing

p.m.: Airplane to Tokyo

Appendix II

Provincial Archives and Private Papers

I. Provincial-level Archives

Altchucu (Alachuke) Military Lieutenant-Governor

Qing documents from the office of this Jilin official. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Changlu Salt Commissioner's office (Changlu yanyunshi si)

Materials primarily relating to Zhili (Hebei) province, mostly from the late Qing. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Hunchun Military Lieutenant-Governor

Qing documents from the office of this Heilongjiang official. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Heilongjiang Military Governor's office

Documents in both Manchu and Chinese, extending over the period 1684-1911. Indices exist in both Chinese and Russian. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Imperial Maritime Customs

Shanghai, several repositories. Some material previously published.

Ningguta Military Lieutenant-Governor

Qing documents from the office of this Jilin official. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Shandong Governor

No details. Supposedly in the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Sichuan Province

Mostly post-1911. In Chengdu.

Tibetan Amban

Materials relating to Qing Sino-Tibetan relations, in both Chinese and Tibetan. In Lhasa.

Tibetan Potala Palace archives

Materials largely in Tibetan belonging to the Tibetan religious establishment, dating from the Yuan period through the twentieth century. In Lhasa.

Yunnan Province

Documents from 1889-1911. In Kunming.

II. Prefectural-level Archives

Chongqing Prefecture (Sichuan)

No details. In Sichuan.

Shuntian Prefecture

No details. In Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Sichuan Circuit Censor

No details. In Yaan, Sichuan.

Taiping Documents

There are documents relating to the Taiping stored in the Nanjing Library (Zeng Guofan materials?); in the Suzhou Museum (see *Wenwu* 1973.4); in the Taiping Museum, Nanjing (Luo Ergang's collection); and in the Nanjing Museum (Taiping *menpai*). (For a fuller list, see Chapter Thirteen.)

Wu Xu Archives

Includes documents preserved by descendants of this Qing official, his correspondence while serving in the lower Yangzi in the 1860s, and captured Taiping materials. Some were published in 1958 as *Wu Xu dang'an zhong de Taiping tianguo shiliao xuanji*. The collection, discovered in 1953, has since been divided: some are in the Taiping Museum, Nanjing (not yet "organized" and thus not open for use), but the greater part are in the Nanjing Museum.

(There are some unspecified government documents from the post-Opium War period housed in the Nanjing Museum.)

III. County-level Archives

Huolu County (Zhengding Prefecture, Zhili)

County-level village and tax records including documents called *zhengshou wence* (tax records) and *cuntu* (village lists). These materials have information on household and village population size, landholding, and land tenure. They extend from the Shunzhi through the Guangxu periods. The size of the collection was not specified. The materials are kept by the Beijing Municipal Archives Bureau (Beijingshi dang'an guan). Our informant, a man who is working closely with these documents, was Professor Wei Qingyuan of People's University, Beijing.

Taihu Area (Jiangsu Province)

The Nanjing Museum holds a collection of legal documents from a sub-prefectural office under the Suzhou prefect whose administrative headquarters was at Dongshanzhen on a small peninsula in Lake Tai. (See Chapter Seven.)

Changshu (Jiangsu Province)

According to Professor Fu Yiling of Xiamen University, there are numerous local records in the municipal library of Changshu. While visiting the United States in November, 1979, Professor Fu told Wakeman that these materials are especially important for research on the Taiping period.

Lower Yangzi: County level

The Shanghai Library holds a collection (acquired through purchase) of some 500 items, largely post-Opium War, that includes tax records (*zhengshou wence*) and similar materials. Those that we saw included a likin record book for Jiujiang, Jiangxi, a financial account book for Jishui county (also Jiangxi), a visitors list, and a Wanli record of tax revenues. These materials come generally from Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Jiangxi.

Shanghai

The Shanghai Museum houses the collection of county-level documents that were used in the 1950s to compile the local gazetteer. Some of these documents were previously published in a magazine called *Shanghai tongzhiguan jikan* (Bulletin of the

Shanghai Gazetteer Office). We saw record books from several subcounty units in the area, including some detailed maps. Materials are not cataloged.

The Shanghai Municipal Archive Bureau (Shanghaishi dang'an guan), which we did not visit, is said to house the county archives, mostly from the Guangxu reign, including tax data. Chinese researchers may use these materials with permission. This bureau also houses the archives of the Shanghai Municipal Council (late nineteenth and early twentieth century) and the French Concession, and other Republican period materials. However, these latter materials do not appear to be readily accessible even to Chinese researchers.

Zhejiang: County level

We were told third hand that the Zhejiang Provincial Library in Hangzhou has late Qing magistrates' records. We were unable to visit this library because it was under repair. (For fish-scale registers and other land records, see Chapter Seven.)

IV. Family Papers

Cao Family

Materials relating to the family of Cao Xueqin and Cao Yin have been collected by the Ming-Qing Archives (Beijing). Feng Qiyong, whom we did not meet, has published articles on these papers, including a genealogy, in *Wenwu* (1974) and *Shehui kexue zhanxian* (1978).

Confucian Estate Archives (Qufu, Shandong)

Papers of the Kong family, late Ming to 1948. (See Chapter Seven)

Li Zhi

The Shanghai Museum and the Quanzhou Municipal Cultural Relics Commission (Quanzhou wenwu guanli weiyuanhui) in Fujian apparently hold documents relating to this late Ming thinker and his descendants.

V. Individual Papers

Duanfang (1861-1911)

In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Puyi (1906-1967)

Documents extend through 1940. In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Sheng Xuanhuai (1849-1916)

Papers in the Shanghai Municipal Library. Being edited.

Weng Tonghe (1830-1904)

The Nanjing Museum holds his memorials and letters, including his *Nengjingju riji*. They have begun organizing these materials for publication.

Xue Fucheng (1838-1894)

Papers in the Nanjing Museum. Preparations for publication are beginning.

Zhao Ersun (fl. 1910)

In the Ming-Qing Archives, Beijing.

Zhao Liewen

"Many boxes" in the Nanjing Museum.

VI. Business Records

Shanghai

We were told that in 1954 a survey had been carried out by the Shanghai Municipal Library and the Shanghai Municipal Archives Bureau of the existing collections of business records of foreign firms in the city in the nineteenth century. The survey was never published. Since that time, the records of many firms, foreign and Chinese, have been taken over by the appropriate national organizations. For example, bank records from Shanghai are now in the custody of the People's Bank, textile company records are held by the Chinese Textiles Corporation, and tobacco company records are held by the Chinese Tobacco Monopoly.

The Shanghai Social Science Institute is undertaking a survey of the British-American Tobacco Company in China during the late Qing and Republican period; it will publish the documents. Scholars involved in this project include Zhang Zhongli (Chang Chung-li).

Appendix III

Nationally Protected

Ming-Qing Historic Sites

This is a reorganization of a copy made for the delegation in Shanghai of the Ming-Qing portion of a list of nationally protected places. It thus indicates some of the most important sites that the visiting Ming-Qing historian may want to ask to see in various areas.

Site	Location
------	----------

I Beijing

Palaces	Palace Complex
Tiananmen	Palace Complex
Zhenjuesi	Haidianqu
Tiantan	Chongwenqu
Beihai and Tuancheng	Xichengqu
Zhihuasi	Dongchengqu
Guozijian	Dongchengqu
Yonghegong	Dongchengqu
Yiheyuan	Haidianqu

II North China

Great Wall (Wanlicheng) three locations:	(1) Badaling, Yanqingxian, Beijingshi (2) Shanhaiguan, Qinhuangdaoshi Hebei (3) Jiayuguan, Jiuquanxian, Gansu
Shisanling	Changpingxian, Beijingshi
Qing Dongling	Zunhuaxian, Hebei
Qing Xiling	Yixian, Hebei

Haibaota	Yinchuanshi, Ningxia Hui autonomous region
Foguangsi	Wutaixian, Shanxi
Huayansi	Datongshi, Shanxi
Guangshengsi	Hongdongxian, Shanxi
City walls of Xi'an	Xi'anshi, Shaanxi
Stone inscriptions at Yaowangshan	Tongchuanshi, Shaanxi
Baimasi	Loyangshi, Henan
Kongmiao and Kongfu Palace	Qufu, Shandong
Puningsi	Shenyangshi, Liaoning
Pulesi	Chengdeshi, Hebei
Putuozongchengmiao	Chengdeshi, Hebei
Xumifushoumiao	Chengdeshi, Hebei
Bishu shanzhuang	Chengdeshi, Hebei

III Western China

Budalagong	Lasashi, Xizang (Tibet)
Gadansi	Lasashi, Xizang
Zhashilunbusi	Rikezexian, Xizang
Ta'ersi	Huangzhongxian, Qinghai
Wuhouci	Chengdushi, Sichuan
Du Fu caotang	Chengdushi, Sichuan
Emeishan, Shengshou si, and Wanniansi: bronze and iron Buddhist statues	Emeixian, Sichuan

IV Central and Southern China

Wudangshan jindian	Guanghuaxian, Hubei
Zhouzhengyuan	Suzhoushi, Jiangsu
Liuyuan	Suzhoushi, Jiangsu
Ming Xiaoling	Nanjingshi, Jiangsu
Site of the Battle of Sanyuanli	Guangzhoushi, Guangdong
Site of the Jintian uprising	Guipingxian, Guangxi Zhuang autonomous region

Appendix IV

Institutions and Sites Visited,

With a List of Personnel

Beijing

1. Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan)

Huan Xiang, Vice-President (*fuyuanzhang*)

- A. Foreign Affairs Bureau (Waishiju)

Wang Ping, Deputy Bureau Chief (*fuzhuzhang*)

Xia Sen, European and American Section: Section Head
(Oumeichu: *chuzhang*)

Jiang Hanzhang, Reception Section: Responsible Person
(jiedaichu: *fuzerenyuan*)

Cui Jianjun, Translator (*fanyirenyuan*)

Zhou Ziqin, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)

Lin Huaxiong, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)

- B. Organization Bureau (Zuzhiju)

Bao Zhenggu, Deputy Bureau Chief (*fuzuzhang*)

- C. Institute of Modern History (Jindaishi yanjiusuo)

Li Xin, Deputy Institute Chief (*fusuozhang*)

Long Shengyun, Researcher (*yanjiurennyuan*)

Fan Baichuan

Ding Shinan

Cong Hanxiang

- D. Institute of Economics (Jingji yanjiusuo)

Yan Zhongping, Deputy Institute Chief (*fusuozhang*)

Peng Zeyi

Li Wenzhi

- E. Institute of Law (Faxue yanjiusuo)
 Gao Heng
 Liu Hainian
- F. Institute of History (Lishi yanjiusuo)
 Xiong Deji, Deputy Institute Chief (*fusuo zhang*)
 Hou Wailu
 Yin Da
 Guo Hanbing
 Lin Ganquan
- G. Research Offices (*Yanjiushi*)
1. Pre-Qin History (*Xian-Qinshi*)
 Hu Houxuan
 Tian Changwang
 2. Qin-Han History (*Qin-Hanshi*)
 Lin Ganquan
 3. Wei-Jin, North-South Period, and Sui-Tang History
 (*Wei-Jin, Nanbeichao, Sui-Tangshi*)
 Huang Lie
 Song Jiaquan
 4. Song-Liao-Jin-Yuan History (*Song-Liao-Jin-Yuanshi*)
 Li Jiaju
 Chen Gaohua
 5. Ming History (*Mingshi*)
 Wang Yuquan
 Liu Chongri
 6. Qing History (*Qingshi*)
 Yang Xiangkui
 Wang Rongsheng Research Office: Deputy Director
 (*Yanjiushi: fushizhuren*)
 7. Ancient Foreign Relations History (*Gudai zhongwai
 guanxishi*)
 Sun Yutang
 Ma Yong
 8. History of Chinese Thought (*Zhongguo sixiangshi*)
 Hou Wailu

9. Chinese Historical Geography (*Zhongguo lishi dili*)

Yao Jiayi
Chen Kewei

10. Ancient Literary Texts (*Gudai wenxian*)

Zhang Zhenglang
Li Xueqin
Zhou Yuanlian

H. Other Research Staff

Guo Songyi
Xie Guozhen
Feng Zuozhe
Cao Guilin
Zhang Jiefu
Du Wanyan

2. History Museum (Lishi bowuguan)

Wang Hongjun, Research Office: Deputy Director (Yanjiushi:
fushizhuren)
Liu Ruzhong

3. Palace Museum, Ming-Qing Archives (Gugongbowuyuan,
Ming-Qing dang'anbu)

Shen Hongtang, Director (*yuanzhuren*)
Li Pengnian, Deputy Director (*fuzhuren*)
Ju Deyuan, Certification and Utilization Section: Deputy Chief
(Baoguan liyong zuzhi: *fuzuzhang*)
Shan Shikui, Researcher (*yanjiuren*)

4. Beijing University (Beijing daxue)

A. Department of History (Lishixi)

Deng Guangming, Department Chairman (*xizhuren*)
Shang Hongkui, Assistant Professor (*fujiaoshou*)
Xu Daling, Assistant Professor (*fujiaoshou*)

B. Department of Philosophy (Zhhexuexi)

Lou Yulie, Lecturer (*jiangshi*)

C. Institute of Social Sciences (Shehui kexueyuan)

Xia Ziqiang, Section Chief (*chuzhang*)

5. Eastern Tombs (Dongling)

Foreign Visitor Reception Office (Waibin jiedaishi)

Ma Ruiming, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)

6. National Beijing Library (Guoli Beijing tushuguan)

Liu Jiping, Head Librarian (*guanzhang*)

Ding Zhigang, Assistant Head Librarian (*fuguanzhang*)

Tan Xiangjin, Assistant Head Librarian (*fuguanzhang*)

Yang Dianxun, Researcher (*yanjiurenyuan*)

Li Xunda, Administrative Office (Yewu bangongshi)

Li Zhizhong, Rare Books Unit: Section Chief (Shanbenzu: zuzhang)

Xu Mian, International Exchange Section: Section Chief (Guoji jiaohuanzu: zuzhang)

7. Chinese People's University (Zhongguo renmin daxue)

A. Department of History (Lishixi)

Shang Yue, Department Chairman, Professor (*xizhuren, jiaoshou*)

Sha Zhi, Department Vice-Chairman, lecturer (*fuxizhuren, jiangshi*)

Han Dacheng, Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History: Director, Lecturer (Zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi: *shizhuren, jiangshi*)

Zheng Changgan, Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History: Professor (Zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi: *jiaoshou*)

Zhang Xingbo, Office for Teaching and Research on Modern and Contemporary History: Office Director and Lecturer (Shijie jinxiandai jiaoyanshi: *shizhuren, jiangshi*)

B. Qing History Research Institute (Qingshi yanjiusuo)

Dai Yi, Deputy Institute Chief (*fusuoizhang*)

1. First Research Office: Pre-Invasion Manchus (Diyishi: ruguanqian)

2. Second Research Office: Shunzhi, Kangxi, and Yongzheng reign periods (Diershi: Shun, Kang, Yong)

Li Hua, Deputy Office Director, Lecturer (*fushizhuren, jiangshi*)

3. Third Research Office: Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang reign periods (Disanshi: Qian, Jia, Dao)

Lin Tiejun, Deputy Office Director, Lecturer (*fushizhuren, jiangshi*)

4. Fourth Research Office: Post-Opium War (Disishi: yapian zhanzheng yihou)

Yuan Dingzhong

C. Department of Archives (Dang'anxi)

Office for Teaching the History of Chinese Political Systems. (Zhongguo zhengzhi zhidushi jiaoyanshi)

Wei Qingyuan, Office Director, Assistant Professor (*shizhuren, fujiaoshou*)

8. Beijing Normal University (Beijing shifan daxue)

Department of History (Lishixi)

Chen Jimin, Department Chairman (*xizhuren*)

Gu Cheng, Professor (*jiaoshou*)

Guo Peng, Professor (*jiaoshou*)

9. Chengde

Sun Yitai, Regional Administrative Office: Deputy Specialist (Diqu xingzheng gongshu: *fuzhuanyuan*)

Shi Haiyin, Municipal Revolutionary Committee: Vice-Chairman (Shi geming weiyuanhui: *fuhuizhuren*)

A. Municipal Bureau of Cultural Relics (Shi wenwuju)

Wang Zhonghua, Bureau Chief (*juzhang*)

Tian Ye, Deputy Bureau Chief (*fujuzhang*)

B. Regional Foreign Affairs Office (Diqu waiwu bangongshi)

Liu Baozhu, Office Director (*shizhuren*)

Yang Guodong

C. Municipal Foreign Affairs Office (Shi waiwu bangongshi)

Wang Cheng, Office Director (*shizhuren*)

Guo Qinggang

10. Beijing Miscellany

Li Guangbi

Zhang Hongxiang

Li Jixian

Liu Dehong

Shandong

1. Qufu

A. Jining Region Foreign Affairs Office (Jining diqu waishi bangongshi)

Zhao Zhumin, Deputy Office Director (*fushizhuren*)

Feng Yanwen

B. Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute (Shandongsheng shehui kexue yanjiusuo)

Sun Zuomin, Researcher (*yanjiuren*)

C. Qufu Tourist Office (Qufu daoyoushi)

Kong Xianglin

D. Qufu Municipal Reception Unit (Qufushi jiedaizu)

Xu Jingrui, Unit Head (*zuzhang*)

E. Qufu Municipal Foreign Affairs Office (Qufushi waishi bangongshi)

Meng Luying

F. Committee for the Editing and Organizing of the Archival Materials of the Confucian Family Archives. (Kongfu dang'an bianqi zhengli weiyuanhui)

Zhang Weihua, Shandong University: Chief Editor (Shandong daxue: *zhubian*)

Liu Chongri, Academy of Science, Institute of History: Assistant Chief Editor (Kexueyuan, lishixi, yanjiusuo: *fuzhubian*)

Luo Chenglie, Qufu Normal Academy (Qufu shifan xueyuan)

Kong Fanyin, Qufu Committee on Cultural Relics (Qufu wenwu guanli weiyuanhui)

Ge Maochun, Shandong University, Department of History: Professor (Shandong daxue, lishixi: *jiashou*)

Hu Mingqing, Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute (Shandongsheng shehui kexue yanjiusuo)

2. Taian

Regional Foreign Affairs Office (Diqu waishi bangongshi)

Lu Zhaoyuan, Deputy Office Director (*fushizhuren*)
Wen Qingzhou, Reception Unit (Jiedaike)
He Jinhai, Guide (*daoyou*)
Zhou Xinyuan, Translator (*fanyirenyuan*)
Wang Zongtong, Translator (*fanyirenyuan*)

3. Ji'nan

A. Shandong Province Foreign Affairs Office (Shandongsheng waishi bangongshi)

Tong Xin, Office Director (*shizhuren*)

B. Shandong Provincial Social Sciences Institute (Shandongsheng shehui kexue yanjiusuo)

Jiang Jiefu, Institute Head (*suozhang*)

C. Shandong University (Shandong daxue)

Yun Guang Vice President (*fuxiaozhang*)

Department of History (Lishixi)

Wang Zhongluo, Department Chairman (*xizhuren*)

Zhang Weihua

Zheng Hesheng

Xu Xudian

Luo Lun

Chen Yueqing (woman)

Guan Meidie (woman)

Ge Maochun

Huang Miantang

Meng Xiangcai

Lu Yao

Chen Zhian

Jing Su

Nanjing

1. Jiangsu Province Institute of Philosophy and Social Science (Jiangsusheng zhexue shehui kexue yanjiusuo)

Jiang Zhiliang, Deputy Institute Head (*fusuozhang*)

Shen Jiarong, Researcher (*yanjiurennyuan*)

Jiang Shunxing, Researcher (*yanjiurennyuan*)

2. Jiangsu Province Foreign Affairs Office (Jiangsusheng waishi bangongshi)
 - Zhao Tielong, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)
3. Nanjing University (Nanjing daxue)
 - A. Academic Affairs Section (Jiaowuchu)
 - Wang Dezhi, Deputy Section Head (*fuchuzhang*)
 - B. Foreign Affairs Office (Waishi bangongshi)
 - Zhang Huailiang, Deputy Office Director (*fushizhuren*)
 - C. Library (Tushuguan)
 - Fan Cunzhong, Head Librarian, Vice-President of the University, Professor of English (*guanzhang, fuxiaozhang, jiaoshou*)
 - Reading Room Section (Yuelanzu)
 - Tang Chunhe, Responsible Person (*fuzerenyuan*)
 - Fan Zhizhong, Responsible Person (*fuzerenyuan*)
 - D. Department of History (Lishixi)
 - Hu Yungong, Professor (*jiaoshou*)
 - Hong Huanchun, Assistant Professor (*fujiaoshou*)
 - Lü Zuoxie, Lecturer (*jiangshi*)
 - Shen Zongmei
 - Qiu Shusen, Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History: Director; Office of Yuan Historical Research: Deputy Office Director (Zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi: *shizhuren*; Yuanshi yanjiushi: *shizhuren*)
 - Jiang Zanchu, Office of Teaching and Research on Archaeology: Director (Kaoguxue jiaoyanshi: *shizhuren*)
 - Fang Zhiguang, Lecturer (*jiangshi*)
 - Shi Yigui
 - Wu Yiye
 - Wang Shi
 - Xiao Gongqin
 - Lu Kaiyu
 - Zhang Bin (woman)
 - E. Institute of Religious Studies (Zongjiao yanjiusuo)
 - Xu Rulei, Researcher (*yanjiurenyuan*)
 - Chen Zemin
 - Luo Zhenfang

4. Taiping Museum (Taiping tianguo bowuguan)
 Chen Darong, Head of Museum (*guanzhang*)
 Guo Cunxiao, Section Head (*zuzhang*)
 Han Pinzheng, Section Head (*zuzhang*)
5. Nanjing Museum (formerly Jiangsu Provincial Museum) (Nanjing bowuguan)
 Yao Qian, Head of Museum (*guanzhang*)
 Song Boyin, Deputy Head of Museum (*fuguanzhang*)
6. Nanjing Library (Nanjing tushuguan)
 Jiang Shirong, Researcher (*yanjiurennyuan*)
7. Nanjing Municipal Cultural Relics Management Committee (Nanjingshi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui)
 Ji Zhong, Researcher (*yanjiurennyuan*)
 Liang Baiquan, Responsible Person (*fuzerenyuan*)
8. No. Two Historical Archives (Dier lishi dang'anguan)
 Tang Biao, Director (*guanzhang*)
 Wang Tao
 Chen Mingzhong
9. Nanjing Miscellany
 Li Xun
 Zheng Tianting
 Li Guangbi

Wuxi

1. Municipal Foreign Affairs Office: Foreign Guest Reception Division (Shi waishi bangongshi, waibin jiedaike)
 Jiang Qichang, Assistant Division Head (*fukezhang*)
 Zheng Susu, Interpreter (*fanyirennyuan*)
2. Municipal Museum (Shi bowuguan)
 Gu Wenbi, Assistant Museum Head (*fuguanzhang*)
 Feng Puren, Archaeology Section (Kaoguzu)
 Qian Zongkui, Display Section (Chenliezu)
3. Municipal Library (Shi tushuguan)

Hu Qiqing, Deputy Head Librarian (*fuguanzhang*)
Cheng Guangxiong, Person Responsible for Ancient Books
(*gujishu fuzeren*)
Wang Zhicai, Person Responsible for Supervising the Stacks
(*guanli shuku fuzeren*)

4. Donglin Elementary School (Donglin xiaoxue)
Ju Keda, Principal (*xiaozhang*)

Suzhou

1. Municipal Foreign Affairs Office (Shi waishi bangongshi)
Yu Kaixun, Deputy Office Director (*fushizhuren*)
2. Municipal Museum (Shi bowuguan)
Chen Enguan, Museum Head (*guanhang*)
Liao Zhihao, Archaeology Section: Section Head (Kaoguzu:
zuzhang)
Ma Hongyue, Display Section (Chenliezu)
Chen Yuyan, Archaeology Section: Staff (Kaoguzu: *gong-
zuorenyuan*)
3. Jiangsu Normal College (Jiangsu shifan xueyuan)
He Chengduo, Lecturer (*jiangshi*)
Duan Benluo, Assistant Professor (*fujiaoshou*)

Shanghai

1. Municipal Social Science Academy (Shi shehui kexueyuan)
Lu Zhiren, Vice-President (*fuyuanzhang*)
Fan Jiaju, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)
Sun Jianping, Interpreter (*fanyirenyuan*)
A. Institute of History (Lishi yanjiusuo)
 1. Office of Research on Recent Chinese History (Zhongguo
jindai lishi yanjiushi)

Tang Zhijun
Wu Qiandui, Researcher (*yanjiurenyuan*)

2. Office of Ancient Chinese History (Zhongguo gudaishi yan-
jiushi)

Fang Shiming
Tang Zhenchang, Office Head (*fuzerenyuan*)

B. Institute of Philosophy (Zhexue yanjiusuo)

Gao Zhenrong

C. Institute of Economics (Jingji yanjiusuo)

Zhang Zhongli, Professor (*jiaoshou*)
Ding Richu

2. Fudan University (*Fudan daxue*)

A. Department of History (Lishixi)

Tan Qixiang, Department Chairman (*xizhuren*)
Cai Shangsi, Vice Chairman (*fuxizhuren*)

1. Office for Research in Ancient History (Gudaishi yan-
jiushi)

Yang Kuan, Director (*shizhuren*)
Xu Lianda, Deputy Director (*fushizhuren*)
Fan Shuzhi
Wang Huailing
Zhao Keyao
Wang Xi
Chen Kuangshi
Shen Weibin
Xia Lin'gen

2. Office of Research on Chinese Historical Geography
(Zhongguo lishi dili yanjiushi)

Zhang Sun

3. Office of Research on Recent Chinese History (Zhongguo
jindaishi yanjiushi)

Tian Rukang, Office Director, Professor (*shizhuren*,
jiaoshou)
Yang Liqiang, Deputy Office Director (*fushizhuren*)
Chen Jiang

B. Department of Linguistics (Yuyan wenxuexi)

Zhu Dongrun, Department Chairman (*xizhuren*)

C. Department of Economics (Jingjixi)

Office of Research on Chinese Economic History (Zhongguo jingjishi yanjiushi)

Chen Shaowen, Office Head (*fuzerenyuan*)

Wu Dange, Professor (*jiaoshou*)

Li Minli

3. Normal University (Shifan daxue)

Wu Ze, Professor (*jiaoshou*)

Xie Tianyou, Department of History, Office for Teaching and Research on Ancient Chinese History: Office Director, Assistant Professor (Lishixi, Zhongguo gudaishi jiaoyanshi: *shizhuren, fujiashou*)

4. Normal College (Shifan xueyuan)

Department of History (Lishixi)

Wei Jianyou

Cheng Yingliu, Assistant Department Chairman, Professor (*faxizhuren, jiaoshou*)

Yang Tingfu, Assistant Professor (*fujiashou*)

5. Shanghai City Museum (Shanghaishi bowuguan)

Wu Guifang, Archaeology Section, Office of Research on Local History: Researcher; Shanghai Historical Committee: Committee Chairman (Kaogubu difangshi yanjiushi: *yanjiuren*; Shanghai lishi xuehui: *huizhang*)

Zhang Lei, Display Section (Chenliezu)

Zhang Anqi, Archaeology Section (Kaoguzu) (woman)

6. Shanghai Municipal Library (Shanghaishi tushuguan)

Gu Tinglong, Head Librarian (*guanzhang*)

Sun Bingliang, Administrative Office: Office Director (Bangongshi: *shizhuren*)

Chen Zhulin, Vocational Section: Staff (Yewuzu: *gongzuoren*)

Shen Jin, Rare Books Section: Section Head (Shanbenzu: *zuzhang*)

7. Yufu Temple (Yufosi)

Yin Gu, Buddhist Monk (*heshang*)

Hangzhou

1. Zhejiang Province Institute of Social Science (Zhejiangsheng shehui kexue yanjiusuo)
Wei Qiao, Assistant Institute Head (*fuzhuzhang*)
Xu Changqin, Staff (*gongzuorenyuan*)
2. Zhejiang Provincial Museum (Zhejiangsheng bowuguan)
Wang Shilun, Taiping Tianguo Research Committee: Committee Chairman (Taiping tianguo yanjiuhui: *huizhang*)
3. Hangzhou University (Hangzhou daxue)
Zheng Yunshan, Section for Teaching and Research on Recent Chinese History: Section Head (Zhongguo jindai lishi jiaoyanzu: *zuzhang*)

Xiamen University¹

1. Department of History (Lishi xi)
Fu Yiling, Professor, Vice President (*jiaoshou, fuxiaozhang*)

1. We did not visit Xiamen. Rather, Professor Fu came to Beijing to meet us there.

Glossary Index

Note: Due to considerable confusion at the present time over how to divide words in the *pin-yin* system, the glossary that follows is alphabetized letter by letter rather than word by word, so differences in word division will not prevent the reader from finding an entry.

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