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The Changing Degrees of Chinese 'Chineseness' —
Ancient 'Zhongguo' and the 'Other'

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(handout)

1. **Ethnicity, a definition** (Dragadze 1980, ap. Renfrew 1993: 23):

“Ethnos .. can be defined as a firm aggregate of people historically established on a given territory, possessing in common relatively stable particularities of language and culture, and also recognising their unity and difference from other similar formations (self-awareness) and expressing this in a self-appointed name (ethnonym).“

2. **Ethnic diversity in China: overview**

2.1 **Modern China** (Census of 1996, *Ethnologue*)

- percentage of ethnic Han: 93,3%
- number of minorities: officially recognized: **55**, non recognized: **120+**
- number of languages spoken (in 1997): **191**
- percentage of endangered languages (< 5000 speakers in 1997): **92%**

2.2 **Ancient China**

2.2.1 Political entities: some figures

- 'lateral countries' (*fangguo* 方國) in oracle bone inscriptions: **69+** (Shima 1958)
- of non-Shang clans & -lineages in oracle bone inscriptions: **216+** (Ding 1988)
- range of pre-Qin kingdoms/statelets quoted in pre-Qin edited literature: between '99' and '**3000**' (Lin Yun 1981, Wang Wenyan 1984)
- countries with barbarian 'stereotypes' in pre-Qin edited literature: **360+** (Pan Ying 1985)
- unambiguously 'foreign' countries with diplomatic relations to Tang court: **79** (*Tang Huiyao* 94-100, cf. Li Fang 1994)

3. Linguistic diversity in Ancient China

3.1 Current competing hypothesis on linguistic genealogy of Old Chinese

(1) Unrelated / Isolate (Miller 1988; Branner 1999)

(2) “Standard” Sino-Tibetan (Matisoff's 1991 revision of Benedict 1972)

[SINO-TIBETAN [CHINESE [... dialects ...]] [TIBETO-BURMAN ^a[Kamarupan] ^b[Himalayish] ⇔
^c[Qiangic] ^d[Kachinic] ^e[Lolo-Burmese] ^f[Baic] ^g[Karenic]]]

⇓ —^a[KAMARUPAN [Kuki-Chin-Naga] [Abor-Miri-Dafla] [Bodo-Garo]]
 —^b[HIMALAYAISH [Bodic] [_{Himalayan} [Central] [Kiranti]]]
 —^c[QIANGIC [... Qiang dialects ...]]
 —^d[KACHINIC [... Kachin/Jingpo dialects ...]]
 —^e[LOLO-BURMESE [_{Burmish} [Burmish lgs.] [Burmese]] [_{Loloish} [N] [C] [S]]] [_{Baic} [Bai]]
 —^f[KARENIC [... Karen dialects ...]]

• but cf. Bradley's (1997) Tibeto-Burman

[TIBETO-BURMAN ^a[North-Eastern-India] ^b[Kuki-Chin] ^c[Western] ^d[Central] ^e[South-Eastern]
 ⇔
^f[North-Eastern]]

⇓ —^a[_{NEI} [Baric=Bodo-Garo-Konyak=Sal] [Jingpo=Kachin] [Sak=Luish] [Pyu=Tircul (?)]]

⇓ —^b[_{KUKI-CHIN} [S. Naga] [Kuki] [_{CHIN} [N][C][S]] [Arleng-Karbi-Mikir]]

⇓ —^c[_W [Bodic] [Himalayan]]

⇓⇓ —[_{BODIC} [Bodish] [Himalayan]]

⇓⇓⇓ —[_{BODISH} [_CTibetan] [_W Gurung-Tamang][_E Bumthang-Mönpa] [Tshangla] ⇔
 [W. Himalayish=Kanauri]]

⇓⇓⇓ —[_{HIMALAYAN} [Kiranti=Rai] [_{W/C}[Newari] [Chepang] [Kham] [Magar] [Raute]]

⇓ —^d[_C [Lepcha] [W. Arunachal] [Tani=Adi-Mising-Nishi] [Digarish] [Keman] ⇔
 [Nungish=Rung]]

⇓⇓ —[_{NUNGISH} [Genong] [Rawang]]

⇓ —^e[_{SE} [Burmish] [Karenic]]

⇓⇓ —[_{BURMISH} [Mruish] [Gongish] [Burmish] [Loloish]]

⇓⇓⇓ —[_{BURMISH} [Burmese] [Arakanese] [Tavoyan] [...] [...] [...]]

⇓⇓⇓ —[_{LOLOISH} [N] [C] [S]]

⇓ —^f[_{NE} [Tangut=Xixia] [Baima] [Jiarong] [Qiang] [Egrong] [Zaba] [Guiqiong] ⇔
 [Muya] [Ersu] [Namuyi] [Shixing] [Pumi] [Naxi] [Moso] [Tujia] [Bai]] (unclassified)

- (3) **Sino-Bodic** (Simon 1930; Bodman 1980; van Driem 1993, 1995, 1999, forthcoming)

[**TIBETO-BURMAN** [_{WESTERN} [Baric] [Sal] [Kamarupan]] [_{EASTERN} [N] [S]]]

↓ —[_E [_{N=SINO-BODIC} ^a[NW=Bodic] ^b[NE=Sinitic]] [_S ^c[SW] ^d[SE]]]

↓↓ —^a[_{NW=BODIC} [Himalayan=Kiranti +] [Bodish=Tibetan +]]

—^b[_{NE=SINITIC} [Bai] [... Ch. dialects...]]

—^c[_{SW} [Lolo-Burmese] [Karenic]]

—^d[_{SE} [Qiangic] [Rung]]

- (4) **Sino-Tai** (Wulff 1934; Li Fang-kuei 1976; Prapin Manomaivibool 1975, 1976; Xing Gongwan 1990-93; countless PRC scholars; relation to TB unclear)

[**SINO-TAI** [_{SINITIC} [Bai (?)] [Ch. dialects]] [_{KADAI} [_{TAI} [[Be] [Zhuang-Tai]] [Kam-Sui]]] ↯

[_{PROTO-LI} [...]]]

- (5) **Sino-Austronesian (-Tibeto-Burman)** (Wulff 1942; Sagart 1992, 1993c,d, 1994, 1995.a,b)

[**SINO-AUSTRONESIAN-TB** [Tibeto-Burman] [Sinitic] [Austronesian]]

- (6) **Sino-Caucasian** (Starostin 1984, 1994, 1995)

[**SINO-CAUCASIAN** [_{SINO-TIBETAN} [_{SINO-KIRANTI} [_{Sinitic} [... Ch. dial. ...] [Bai]]] ↯

[Kiranti]] [_{TIBETO-BURMAN} [...TB lgs. ...]] [_{Yeniseian}] [_{North Caucasian}]]

- (7) **Sino-Austric** (Zheng-Zhang Shangfang 1995, Pan Wuyun 1995, 1998)

[**SINO-AUSTRIC** [_{(MACRO-)AUSTRIC} [Austronesian] [Austroasiatic] [Tai-Kadai]] ↯

[Hmong-Mien] [_{SINO-TIBETAN} [Sinitic] [Tibeto-Burman]]]

- but cf. Peiros (1998):

[**AUSTRIC** [_{MIAO-AUSTROASIATIC} [Miao-Yao] [Austroasiatic]] [_{AUSTRO-TAI} [Kadai]] ↯

[Austronesian]]]

- (8) **Sino-Austroasiatic** (Gorgoniev 1967)

[**SINO-AUSTROASIATIC** [_{SINO-TIBETAN} [Sinitic] [Tibeto-Burman]] [_{AUSTROASIATIC} [N] [E]] ↯

[S]]

- (9) **Sino-Tibetan-Indo-European** (Pulleyblank 1965, 1975, 1983, 1993, 1995; Shafer 1963, 1965)

[**ST-IE** [_{SINO-TIBETAN} [Sinitic] [Tibeto-Burman]] [_{INDO-EUROPEAN} [...]]]

- (10) **Sino-Indoeuropean** (Edkins 1871; Schlegel 1872; Ulenbrook 1967, 1998; Ulving 1968-69, Georgievskij 1888; Chang 1986, 1988, 1999)
 [SINO-INDOEUROPEAN [Sinitic] [Indo-European]]
- (11) **Sino-Na-Dene** (Sapir 1925, Shafer 1952, 1957)
 [SINO-NA-DENE [SINO-TIBETAN [Sinitic] [Tibeto-Burman]][NA-DENE [Athabaskan- Eyak-Tlingit] [Haida]]]
- (12) **Sino-Dene** (Leer 1999)
 [SINO-DENE [SINITIC [ATHABASKAN-EYAK-TLINGIT [Tlingit] [Eyak-Athabaskan]] [Tibeto-Burman]]]
- (13) **Dene-(Sino-)Caucasian** (Bengtson & Blažek 1995, Nikolaev 1996)
 [DENE-CAUCASIAN [Na-Dene] [SINO-CAUCASIAN [Sino-Tibetan] [Yeniseian]] [North-Caucasian]] [Sumerian] [Burushaski] [Basque]]

3.2 Direct recordings of sentences in foreign languages during the pre-Qin through Han periods

- 2.2.1 song of Yue 越 (OC *^bwat) boatman, believed to represent an early form of a Tai-Kadai language, transcribed into Chinese characters and 'rendered into Chu' (*Chu shuo* 楚說), i.e. into a poetic form of the *Chuci* 楚辭, by a native from Chu in 538 B.C. (*Shuiyuan* 11.13: 89; Wei 1981, Zheg-Zhang 1991)
- 2.2.2 several lines of a military command in what is presumed to be the same language, issued by the Yuè king Gōujiàn 句踐 (OC *^ak(-r-)o-s=^bdzan) after return from his captivity in Wú 吳 in 484 b.c. (*Yuejueshu* 4: 16, cf. Zheng-Zhang 1999)
- 2.2.3 the famous Xiōngnú 匈奴 couplet of the second B.C., assumed to be explainable via an ancient para-Yeniseian language (*Suoyin* on *Shiji* 110.50: 2909, n.4, quoting from the lost *Xīhé gùshì* 西河故事, cf. Ligeti 1950, Pulleyblank 1962, Vovin 1997, Georg 2000)
- 2.2.4 three of songs by the king of Báiláng 白狼 (OC *^ab-r-ak=^AC-raŋ), presented during an embassy in a.d. 74 in Chinese transcription and translation, assumed to represent an ancient Tibeto-Burman (Lolo-Burmese) language (*Hou Hanshu* 86.76: 2855, texts in *Dongguan Han ji* 22.4161-163, cf. Coblin 1974, Zheng-Zhang 1993).

3.3 Indirect evidence of written diplomatic correspondance in foreign languages

- (1) “皇帝敬問匈奴大單于，無恙？” (*Hanshu* 96.94A: 3758)
 "The emperor respectfully asks the great *shānyú* of the Xiōngnú, are you well?"

3.5 Linguistic diversity as a social phenomenon: bilingualism vs. sinification

3.5.1 Bilingualism as a non-elite phenomenon

(2) *Song on Cutting the Willows* (*Zhe yangliu ge* 折楊柳歌)

	EMC	Rhyme
“ 遙看孟津河	*ya	A
楊柳鬱婆娑	*sa	A
我是盧家兒	*ji ^ä	X
不解漢兒歌。”	*ka	A

“Looking at the [Yellow] River at *Ferry of Mèng* from afar
Willows are sadly rocking, drooping.
I am a boy from a slave's family,
Do not understand the Chinese boys' song.” (*Yuefushi ji*)

3.5.2 Ancient theoretical explanations

(3) “羌、氐、僰、翟嬰兒生皆同聲。及其長也，雖重象狄駮，不能通其言，教俗殊也。”

”When the children of the Qiāng (*^bk-hlaŋ), Dī (*^ati), Bó (*^ap-kək), and Dí (*^alewk) are born, they all sound the same, but when they reach their adulthood, even if repeatedly ‘representing’ (*xiàng*) and *dídí*-interpreting, one cannot comprehend their language, because their education and customs are different.” (*Huainanzi*, ZZJC 21: 172)

(4) “又北，狗國，人身狗首，長毛不衣，手搏猛獸，語爲犬皦，其妻皆人，能漢語，生男爲狗，女爲人…”

”Further to the north [of the Qidān 契丹, EMC *k^hit-tan], lies the Dog country, [where men] have human bodies and the head of a dog. They grow long hair and do not wear clothes, they catch wild beasts with their hands and when they speak it is like the howling of dogs. Their women are all human, and they know Chinese. If they give birth to a boy it will become a dog, if to a girl, it will become human.” (*Xin Wudai shi* 73.B: 907).

3.5.3 Bilingualism as a threat to national identity of non-majority foreign elites undergoing sinification

(5) “後魏初定中原，軍容號令，皆以夷語。後染華俗，多不能通，故錄其本言，相傳教習，謂之「國語」。”

”When the later Wèi first pacified the Central Plains, they always used the Yí- language for orders of military discipline. Later, Chinese customs crept in, and many of them could not communicate [in the Wèi language]. Therefore the original language was recorded, disseminated, taught and practised among them, and they referred to it as ‘the national language’.” (*Suishu* 32.27: 947)

- (6) “阿保機…又謂坤曰：「吾能漢語，然絕口不道於部人，懼其漢而怯弱也。」”

“[The Parhae king] Ābǎojī (EMC *ʔa=paw'=kij) ... addressed Kūn again, saying: ‘I do speak Chinese, but I keep my mouth shut and do not speak it towards my tribesmen, for fear that once they are sinified they will become timid and weak.’ (Xin Wudai shi 72.A: 890; cf. parallel version in the Jiu Wudai shi 137:1831-2)

3.6 Translation: the terms for ‘to translate, interpret’ / ‘translator, interpreter’ in Ancient China

3.6.1 Archaic period

Oracle bone inscriptions: yàshǐ 𠄎御事使 (→*^aŋ-r-a(k)-s=^bs-rə-ʔ) or ‘welcoming envoys’; xi- 西, bei- 北, nan- 南, and dongshi 東事使

3.6.2 Classical period

Definition of functions of *xiangxu* 象胥 (‘representationists-discriminators’) or ‘translating officials’ belonging to the corps of ‘travelling envoys’ (*xingren* 行人):

- (7) “象胥掌蠻夷閩貉戎狄之國。使掌傳王之言而諭說焉，以親和之。”

”The *xiàngxǔ* are in charge of the countries of the Mán (*^am-r-on), Yí (*^bN-ləj), Mǐn (*^bm-r-ən), Hé (*^agak), Róng (*^bnuŋ) and Dí (*^alek). They are charged to transmit (*^bdron) the king’s words and to expound (*^blo-s) and explain (*^alot-s) them to those [peoples], in order to mollify and appease them.” (Zhouli 38: 261, SSJ 899c; cf. Biot 1851, 2: 435f.).

Terms for ‘to translate/translator’ in the *Royal Institutions* (*Wang zhi* 王制)

- (8) “中國、戎夷、五方之民，皆有性也，不可推移。…五方之民，言語不同，嗜欲不同。達其志，通其欲，東方曰寄，南方曰象，西方曰狄鞮，北方曰譯。”

”The people of the central states, of the Róng (*^bnuŋ) and Yí (*^bN-ləj) — from [all of] the Five Regions, are unanimously equipped with an inherent nature, that can not be removed (*^athuj) or altered (*^blar). [...] The people of the Five Regions differ in words and languages, as well as in their predilections and desires. To make comprehend (*^blat) their will and communicate (*^ahloŋ) their desires is called ‘to confide’ in the eastern regions, ‘to represent’ in the southern regions, to *dídí* in the western regions, [and] ‘to translate’ in the northern regions.” (Liji 12: 110, SSJ 1338b)

3.6.2.1 analysis of *Liji* terms

• reconstruction

	<i>Char.</i>	<i>Pinyin</i>		<i>MC</i>		<i>OC</i>		<i>Guangyun / Yunjing</i>
a.	寄	jì	<	*kjeH	<	* ^b k(-r-)aj-s		居義切，見寘去三開
b.	象	xiàng	<	*zjangX	<	* ^b zaŋ-ʔ		徐兩切，邪養上三開
c.	狄鞮	dídí	<	*dek *dej	<	* ^a lek=* ^b de		徒歷切，定錫入四開 都奚切，定齊平四開
d.	譯	yì	<	*yek	<	* ^b lak		羊益切，以昔入三開

3.6.2.2 some later definitions

(9) “凡冠戴之國，舟車之所通、不用象譯狄鞮，方三千里。”

”In all countries of ‘cap and sash’ (=civilised countries), the area to which boats and carriages reach out and in which one does not need representationists, translators or *dídí* amounts to 3.000 square miles.” (*Lüshi chungiu*, ZZJC 17.6: 210-11; cf. Wilhelm 1928: 280).

(10) “譯即易，謂換易言語使相解。”

“‘To translate’ (*^blak) is ‘to change’ (*^blek-s), that is to say to alter and change the words of languages to make them mutually understandable.” (Kong Yingda 孔穎達, commentary on *Liji* 12: 110, SSJ 1338b-c).

(11) “譯之言易也，謂以其所有，易其所無。故以此方之經，而顯彼土之法。”

“To ‘translate’ something means to ‘exchange’, i.e. ‘to exchange what one does have for what one does not’. That is why one replaces the teachings (*fǎ*, *dharma*) of another country using the canonical scriptures of this region here.” (*Fanyi ming yiji*, Taishō 54.2131, 1: 2131^a).

Word-family connections:

- a. yi 易 < OC *^blek-s ‘change, exchange’
 cì 賜 < OC *^bs-hlek-s “grant, bestow’ (cf. Latin *intepres* ← *inter-partium* !)
- b. yì 易 < OC *^blek ‘be at easy, easy’
 yì 懌 < OC *^blak ‘pleased, at ease’ (cf. *Zhouyi* 46 xi B: 3).
- c. yì 譯 < OC *^blak ‘translate, expound’
 shì 釋 < OC *^bhlak ‘let go, unloose; analyze, explain’

- (12) “戎者，強惡也，狄者，易也，…”
 “*Róng*, means to be strong and bad, *dí* to be flippant …” (*Bohu tong* 7: 16).
- (13) “今通西言而云譯者，蓋漢世多事北方，而譯官兼善西語。故摩騰始至，而譯四十二章經，因稱譯也。”
 “The reason for the fact that even those who understand the languages of the west are called ‘translators’ (*yì*) today is probably, that the period of the Hàn was predominantly concerned with the northern territories and the *yì*-translator-officials were well-versed in the western languages as well. Mo-teng (*[Kāśyapa] Māta ga), since he arrived as the first [translator] and translated the *Sìshí’èr zhāng jīng* (*Sūtra in forty-two sections*), was consequently called *yì*-translator.” (*Fanyi ming yi ji*; Fǎyún’s 法雲 preface of 1157)

3.6.3 major post-classical period term: *fānyì* 翻譯

- first attested in connection with the earliest translations of Buddhist texts and since the *Suishu* and *Jiu Tangshu* in the dynastic histories
 - the term *fan* 翻 ~ 繙 (this later variant used predominantly since the late Yuán) ‘leaf through books and notes’ reflects the collective process of comparing written translations based on oral explanation by foreign monks in *yichang* 譯場 ‘translation-assemblies’, which counted several thousand people at most; typical procedure during phase I (148-316) and first part of phase II (317-617) of Buddhist translations in China: cf. Tso Szu-bong (1963), Luo Zongtao (1982), Ma Zuyi (1984: 17-40).
 - later popular etymologizations like the following:
- (14) “夫翻譯者，謂翻梵天之語，轉成漢地之言。音雖似別，義則大同。《宋僧傳》云：「如翻綿繡，背面俱華，但左右不同耳。」”
 “To ‘translate’ means to ‘turn over’ (*fān*, EMC *p^huan) words of the ‘heavens of *brahman* (*fàn*, EMC *buam^h, *brahmaloka*, i.e. Indian words) and to transform them into the language of the Hàn territories. Even if the sounds are seemingly different, meanings by and large correspond. In the Biographies of [Eminent] monks compiled under the [Great] Song it is said (cf. *Taishō* 50.2061, 3: 723^a): ‘It is like turning over a brocade embroidery: front and back are both gorgeous, but left and right are reversed.’” (*Fanyi ming yi ji*; Fǎyún’s 法雲 preface of 1157)

3.7 Chinese lack of interest in foreign languages

- (15) “We find nothing remotely like this [i.e., Roman] fascination for foreign languages in China ... in spite of the fact that the Chinese-speaking people lived in an exceptionally rich and variegated linguistic environment. [...] Such Chinese interest in foreign languages as there was, was entirely practical. There is, as far as I know, no deep intellectual curiosity with respect to foreign languages. A few people were interested to see that somebody in

China knew foreign languages, but nobody was particularly concerned to understand them or learn more about them. In this the Chinese were rather like the Greeks.” (HARBSMEIER 1998: 82-83)

3.7.1 Interest in writing and writing materials rather than languages

(16) “奚…語與契丹小異。”

“As to the Xi ... their language is slightly different from Kitan.” (*Wudai Huiyao* 28: 452)

(17) “…其〔占城〕表文以貝多葉，檢以香木函。”

“... they [the Champa] use *pātra*-leaves in order to display texts, and collate them in sandalwood boxes.” (*Wudai Huiyao* 23: 480)

(18) “其月（→後唐天成三年十月）王晏球等又獲契丹絹書二封來進。明宗命宣示群臣，莫有識其文字者。契丹本無文記，唯刻木信，漢人陷番者以隸書之半，就加增減，撰為胡書，周光之後，稍稍有之。”

“In that month [i.e., November 928] Wáng Yǎnqiú and the others again came to deliver two silken letters obtained from the Kitan. Mingzong ordered them to be proclaimed to the officers, but nobody was acquainted with their writing. Originally, the Kitan had no writing, carving only wooden tallies. But after the involvement of the Hàn people, the barbarians took over half of the servant's (*lishū*) script, and, adding embellishments and deletions, composed it into a barbarian (*hú*) script, that came slowly into existence after the *zhōuguāng* period (923-25).” (*Wudai Huiyao* 29: 457)

(19) “…華蓋以目傳，故必有詳於書，梵以口傳，如曲譜然書。”

“Chinese apparently gets transmitted by the eye, and therefore has to be meticulous in its script; Sanskrit is transmitted orally, so that it is written like a musical score.” (*Tongzhi* 24: 5.19^b/510^c)

(20) “…大抵華人不善音。今梵僧咒雨，則雨應，咒龍則龍見，頃刻之隨聲變化。華僧雖學其聲，而無驗者，實音聲之道，有未至也。”

“The majority of the Chinese are not good at sounds. Now if an Indian monk intones a rain-spell, the rain reacts, if he chants a dragon spell, the dragon appears — within a second there is a change in accordance with his voice. Although the Chinese monks do study their voices, there is not a single successful one among them, and they have not yet attained the dao of the real sounds and voices.” (*Tongzhi* 24:5.19^b/511^a)

(21) “…梵有無窮之音，而華有無窮之字。梵則音有妙義，而字無彩。華則字有變通，而音無錙銖（…）天下以識字人為賢智，不識字人為愚庸。”

“In Sanskrit there are infinite numbers of sounds, while in Chinese there are infinite numbers of characters. The sounds of Sanskrit, on the one hand, have wonderful nuances of meaning, whereas the characters lack aesthetical refinement. The characters of Chinese, on the other hand, are capable of flexibility, whereas the sounds dispose of no subtle delicacy. (...) In the empire of China, people who are knowledgeable about characters are considered to be wise and learned, those who are not — stupid and mediocre.” (*Tongzhi* 24: 5.19^c/511^a).

4. Biological diversity

4.1 Genetic diversity:

4.1.1 Phylogenies constructed by neighbour-joining method, based on 15 microsatellite markers (CHGDP, Chu et al. 1998, Cavalli-Sforza 1998):

- 4.1.2 Dendrogram of 22 Mongolid populations based on HLA-A/-B allele frequencies (Tokunaga, Imanishi, Takahashi & Juji 1996):

4.2 Physical anthropology

- 4.1.2 Phylogenies based on cranial morphology measurements of 22 NE Asian populations (Ishida & Dodo 1996)
 - a. locations

b. cluster analysis

5. Ethnonyms and related expressions

5.1 earliest attestations

- *Zhōngguó* 中國: first safe attestation in HÉ ZŪN 何尊 bronze-inscription (*Mingwenxuan* #32: 7c-d), period WE II = reign of king Chéng 成 (1042/35-1006 in Shaughnessy's chronology):

(22) a. rubbing & transcription

b. partial translation (rhyme words in bold face)

- 3 “ (...) [The king] said: ‘Formerly, when
 4 the clan of your deceased grandfather was able to help **King** (*^bwaj^A) Wen, King
 Wen,
 5 received the [great **mandate** (*^bmə-riŋ-s^B)]. It was King Wu, after he was able to
 conquer the great
 6 Great City of **Shang** (*^bh(l)aŋ^A), and, in an oracle, announced to **Heaven** (*^ahlin^b),
 saying: ‘I will
 7 take residence in these **central territories** → **states** (*^awāk → *^ak-wāk^C), from
 here I will rule the **people** (*^dmiŋ).’” (...)

- Hànzú 漢族: Běi-Qí shū 北齊書 (finished 636); Shuǐjīng zhù 水經注 (early 6th c.)
- Hànrén 漢人: Shǐjì 史記 (completed around 90 B.C.)
- Hànyǔ 漢語: Shìshuō Xīnyǔ 世說新語 (mid 5th c.), Nán-Qí shū 北齊書 (finished 636)
- X Hànyán 漢言 Y: Hòu-Hàn jì 後漢紀 (mid-4th century), e.g.

6. Cultural diversity

6.1 Standard clichés and regional distribution of the Barbarian ‘ways’

- (23) “中國、戎夷、五方之民，皆有性也，不可推移。東方曰夷，被髮文身，有不火食者矣。南方曰蠻，雕題交趾，有不火食者矣。西方曰戎，被髮，有不粒食者。北方曰狄，衣羽毛穴居，有不粒食者。中國、夷、蠻、戎、狄，皆安居、和味、衣服、利用、備器。”

“Les Chinois, les Joung, les I et tous les autres peuples avaient chacun leur caractère particulier qu’il était impossible de changer. Les habitants de l’est, appelés I, ne liaient pas leurs cheveux, (ils les coupaient); ils avaient le corps orné de peintures; certains parmi eux ne cuisaient pas leurs aliments. Les habitants du midi, appelé Man, se tatouaient le front; (ils prenaient ensemble leur repos) les pieds (tournés en sens contraires et) se croisant; certains tribus ne mangeraient pas d’aliments cuits. Les habitants de l’ouest, appelés Joung, portaient les cheveux courts et ne les liaient pas; ils étaient vêtus de peaux; certaines tribus ne mangaient pas de grains. Les habitants du nord, appelés Ti, portaient des vêtements tissus de duvet et de laine; ils habitaient dans des cavernes; certains ne mangeaient pas de grains. Les Chinois, les I, les Man, les Joung, les Ti et tous les autres avaient des habitations commodes, des mets assaisonnés, des vêtements convenables, tous les instruments et ustensiles dont ils avaient besoin.” (*Liji* 5.40: 34-35; trad. Couvreur 1913: 295-6)

6.2 Chineseness as civilization or 'ethos' (*wen* 文)

- (24) “子欲居九夷。或曰：「陋，如之何？」子曰：「君子居之，何陋之有！」。”

“The Master desired to live among the Nine Yi-Barbarians. Someone asked him: ‘They are crude, what about that?’ The Master said: ‘When a gentlemen lives among them, what crudeness could there be!’”

- (25) “或曰：「孰爲中國？」曰：「五正之所加，七賦之所養，中於天地者爲中國。…聖人制天下也，礙之以禮約，無則禽，異則貉。」。”

“Those people who are governed by the five principöes of virtuous conduct, who are nourished ny the seven products (the five grains, mulberry, and hemp), and who reside in the center of the empire are the people of the ‘central realm’ ... In ruling the empire, the sage uses the rites and music to establish limits. Without these, the people are wild birds. If different methods are used, the people become foxes.” (Yang Xiong 53 B.C.-18 A.D., *Fayan* 4.2b, tr. Egan in *Guanzhuibian* 376-7)

6.2 Late development of racism, nationalism: the case of Wang Fuzhi 王夫之 (1619-92)

- (26) “夷狄非我族類者也。蠱賊我而捕誅之，則多殺而不傷吾仁。如其困窮而依我，遠之防之，猶必矜而全其生。非可乘約肆淫，役之，賊之而規爲利也。”

“The barbarians do not belong to our race. If we seize and punish them because of their being pestilent robbers, then not even killing many of them will harm our humanity. When they are suffering from severe poverty and distress and depend upon us, we will have to keep them at a distance and protect us against them, but still be so compassionate as to guarantee their existence. To seize upon their straitened condition and display debauchery, to employ them as servants, and routinely consider it profitable to humiliate them, is simply impossible.” (*Du Tongjian lun* 12:13^r; cf. Vierheller 1968: 65)

- (27) “仁，莫切于篤其類，義，莫大于扶其紀。”

“As to humanity, there is nothing more urgent than affirming one’s race; as to justice, there is nothing bigger than maintaining its norms.” (*Shangshu Yinyi* 5:19^v, Vierheller 1968: 44, X: C33).

- (28) “華夏之於夷狄骸竅均也，聚析均也，而不能【不】絕乎夷狄。所以然者何也？華夏不自畛以絕夷，則地維裂矣。”

“Although the Chinese and Barbarians have (bones and cavities=) their physical properties in common, as well as their propensity to con- or segregate, [the Chinese] must not fail to cut off intercourse with the Barbarians. What is the reason for this? If the Chinese do not cut

off intercourse with the Barbarians on their own initiative, then they tear apart the bonds of the earth.” (*Huangshu* 1:1; cf. Vierheller 1968: 30)

- (29) “夷狄之彊也，以其法制之疏略。居處衣食之粗獷，養其駭悍之氣，弗改其俗而大利存焉。然而中國亦因之以免於害。一旦革而以中國道參之，則彼之利害相半矣。其利者可漸以雄長於中國，而其害也，彼亦自此而弱矣。…彼自安其逐水艸，習射獵，忘君臣，略昏宦，馳突無恆之素，而中國莫能制之。乃不知有城郭之可守，墟市之可利，田土之可耕，賦稅之可納，婚姻仕進之可榮，且中國為不可安之叢棘。而中國之人被掠以投於彼者，役怨若而不為之用。兩相忘也，交相利也。此順天之紀，因人之情，各安其所之道也。”

“The strength of the barbarians is grounded in the laxity and superficiality of their laws and institutions. As long as their housing, eating and dressing manners are unrefined and vile, and they foster their untameable ruthless temperament, great profit lies in their reluctance to change their habits. It is even the case, that China can avoid injury because of this. But as soon as they start to reform themselves and adopt Chinese ways, profit and injury will balance each other. Profit on their account may accumulate because they are stronger and more imposing than the Chinese, but injury on their account will arise, because from now onwards they too will become weaker. (...) As long as they content themselves with roaming around in search of water and pasture, practicing archery and hunting, as long as they do not know [the difference between] lord and servant, have but a faint idea of marriage or governmental service, and lead a nomadic existence without permanent predispositions, China will not be able to regulate them. And as long as they do not know, that the fortifications of cities can be protected, that fairs and markets turn out profit, that fields can be tilled and taxes levied, as long as they do not understand how to gain honours through marriage alliances and the official's career, they will in turn consider China a thicket of thorns, where one can not live in peace. And the Chinese who are captured and carried off to them, will serve them full of resentment and refuse to be employed by them. If both sides neglect each other, both will profit from each other. This is in accordance with the ordinances of heaven, and it is grounded in the feeling of man/of the other, that everyone lives in peace according to his own ways.” (*Du Tongjian lun* 28:13'; cf. Vierheller 1968: 47-48, Balazs 1965: 46 = de Bary, Chan & Watson 1960: 547-8)

6.3 The Chinese as recent 'Barbarians'

- (30) “不與夷狄之主中國。然則曷為不使中國主之？中國亦新夷狄也！”

“[In this entry the Classic] does not give the barbarians over the central realms. But then why does it neither give precedence to central realms? Because the central realms are themselves recent barbarians.” (*Gongyanzhuan* Zhao 23.8:410, tr. Egan, ap. *Guanzhuibian* 376)

