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CHINA'S EARLIEST CONTACTS
WITH OTHER PARTS OF ASIA



L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH



LUTHER CARRINGTON GOODRICH

Dean Lung Professor Emeritus of Chinese at Columbia University since 1 July 1961, was born at T'ungchou near Peking in 1894 of missionary parents (Congregational). Educated at China Inland Mission Boys' School, Chefoo, and Oberlin Academy, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Williams College, Massachusetts, and the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University, New York. In 1959, he received the honorary degree of Litt.D. from Williams College. He served with the United States Army in 1918 and in 1919 with the Y.M.C.A. with the Chinese labourers working for the United States and French armies in France. From 1920 to 1925 he was in Peking as Assistant Resident Director of the China Medical Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, then successively lecturer, associate professor, and Dean Lung Professor of Chinese at Columbia University from 1927 to 1961. Professor Carrington Goodrich is author of *Literary Inquisition of Ch'ien-lung*, *Syllabus of the History of Chinese civilization and culture* (6 editions), *A short history of the Chinese people* (3 editions), and numerous articles and reviews, and has revised *Invention of Printing in China and its spread westward*, and edited *Japan in the Chinese dynastic histories*. He was Visiting Lecturer at the College of Chinese Studies, Peking, in 1937 and 1946, the University of Hawaii in 1951, Visva Bharati University, Santiniketan, West Bengal, in 1953 and 1954, and Visiting Fulbright Professor in Oriental Studies at The Australian National University in 1961.

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WITH OTHER PARTS OF ASIA

L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH

Visiting Fulbright Professor in Oriental Studies

*The twenty-third
George Ernest Morrison
lecture in ethnology*

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CHINA'S EARLIEST CONTACTS WITH OTHER PARTS OF ASIA

I AM VERY CONSCIOUS of the signal honour conferred by the Australian National University in asking me to give the twenty-third Morrison Lecture. For me the name of George Ernest Morrison is a household one. I cannot remember a time when I did not know it. In the year 1900, on 20 June, when I was a tiny tot of five, I recall marching in a long line from the compound of the Methodist Mission on Hsiao-shun hut'ung, under the shadow of the Peking city wall (where the Goodrich family had been housed for ten days), to the shelter of the British Legation. There for a month we remained along with Dr Morrison, Sir Claude MacDonald, and many another. For the second month we were in the American Legation, hard by, until the relief forces arrived from Tientsin on 14 August. In the years following until his death in 1920 I saw him occasionally, read some of his dispatches, and often heard him spoken of—always with respect. Two comments about him, penned by people who went through the Siege of the Legations with us, are worth recalling. The first is by a distinguished American missionary, Dr Arthur Henderson Smith. It reads:

Although not a military man he had proved himself one of the most important members of the garrison, being always in motion and cognizant of what was going on everywhere, and by far the best informed person within

the Legation quadrangle. To this must be added a cool judgment, total disregard of danger and a perpetual sense of responsibility to help everyone to do his best.¹

The second is by Polly Condit Smith (no relation of the former)—a pretty young woman invited to Peking by the wife of the first secretary of the American Legation to spend a few months' holiday with her:

He was the most attractive at our impromptu mess—as dirty, happy, and healthy a hero as one could find anywhere.²

Our subject is one which has interested almost every western scholar devoted to the history of China from the time of the early Jesuits down to the present. In more recent decades the Japanese and Chinese too have made their contributions. It is therefore quite out of the question for one to give a full treatment in a short paper. I shall try nonetheless to touch on some of this topic's salient features, at least for the period down to the end of the Western Han (A.D. 8).

Beginning with prehistoric times we may note that there already seem to have been intrusions into the north China plain, and doubtless elsewhere in China. In a passage concerning finds made in the years 1930-3 on the north and north-east side of the famous Lung-ku-shan, or Dragon Bone Hill, Dr Frank Weidenreich once remarked:

With respect to the late paleolithic modern man of the 'Upper Cave' of Choukoutien, careful comparison with various racial groups of present mankind compels the conclusion that the three skulls of our collection represent three different types, one skull resembling the Ainu, the second Melanesian and certain primitive Amerindians and the third Eskimo or certain pre-Columbian Texas Indians.³

In another paper, Dr Weidenreich drew attention to the fact that the earth which surrounded the skeletons of the seven individuals found in the cave was partly covered with hematite—'a widely spread custom during Upper Paleolithic of Europe and pre-historic China'.⁴ Dr E. A. Hooton concurred in general with Weidenreich's conclusions,⁵ but other anthropologists held that the Upper Cave material 'represents a single race of Caucasoids who

¹ Arthur Henderson Smith, *China in Convulsion* (1901).

² Polly Condit Smith (Mary Hooker), *Behind the scenes in Peking* (1910).

³ Peking Union Medical College *Weekly Calendar* XXXV: 11 (16 Nov. 1938), p. 63.

⁴ *Peking Natural History Bulletin*, 1938-9 (March 1939), XIII, 3, pp. 161-74. This custom is known, *inter alia*, in Iran; see R. Ghirshman, *Iran* (Penguin Books), 1954, p. 31. I am grateful to Dr Edith Porada of Columbia University for this second reference.

⁵ *Up from the Apes*, rev. ed. (1946), p. 402.

populated eastern Asia at the very close of the Pleistocene'.⁶ Whatever the end result of this discussion, it is clear that there were movements of peoples to the eastern part of Asia some ten to twenty thousand years ago.

During the Neolithic, or New Stone Age, in China, polychrome pottery made its appearance. The discovery of this ware in the early 1920s by Dr J. G. Andersson in various sites in north China has caused no end of speculation. It has been maintained that the pottery was an intrusion from the west and comparisons were made between that of the village of Yang-shao (in central China) and that of Susa and elsewhere. For example, Wolfram Eberhard contended that the centre of painted pottery was in Iran and Iraq in the fourth millennium B.C.; he inclined to the striking notion that Turks introduced the art to Yang-shao.⁷ How one can speak of the Turks at so distant an age defies credulity, when one considers that they appear as a people only some four thousand years later. Alexander C. Soper took issue with Eberhard on the question of the origin of Chinese painted pottery in Iraq and Iran and remarked: 'Comparisons with Anau have become almost completely irrelevant.' He then went on to say something even more astonishing:

It is the late incised and painted spiral-meander ware of Rumania and the Ukraine that remains relevant, beyond anything else in the West; and there the similarities are far too close and numerous to be dismissed as 'fortuitous'.⁸

The Chinese archaeologist, Hsia Nai, entering into this controversy in a recent article, is willing to admit similarities between Yang-shao ceramics and 'those of the somewhat later Tripolye culture in the Ukraine (c. 1900-1400 B.C.)', but goes on to remark that [Yang-shao painted pottery] 'is not derivative, having its own original style'.⁹

It is well at this point to recall the words of the late Folke Bergman,¹⁰ which I summarize as follows: The discoveries of polychrome pottery in Iran, Beluchistan, India, Russian Turkistan, Jehol, and Inner Mongolia have not simplified the question of connection between East and West. Vase painting is a complicated phenomenon. It presupposes a highly-developed

⁶ W. A. Fairservis, Jr., *The Origins of Oriental Civilization* (1959), p. 70; also J. B. Birdsall in *American Jo. of Archaeology* 56 (1952), pp. 234-6.

⁷ *Annales de l'Univ. d' Ankara* (1947), pp. 316-17.

⁸ *Jo. of the Amer. Oriental Soc.* 71 (1951), p. 67.

⁹ 'Our Neolithic ancestors', *China Reconstructs* V, 5 (1956), pp. 24-5.

¹⁰ *Sino-Swedish Expedition VII* (1939), 1, pp. 23-6. But it is possible to question Bergman's assertion that 'the carriers of painted pottery were sedentary, not nomadic'. Stanley Casson, in an interesting article in *Antiquity* XII (1938), maintains (p. 467) that some potters are itinerant and nomadic. The Cypriots of modern times, he relates,

ceramic art with skilled workmen well acquainted with the fabrication of hard-burnt wares; furthermore, knowledge of the production of certain colours, and familiarity with the brush. It is very unlikely that the art evolved in different centres in chalcolithic time. The carriers of painted pottery cultures were agriculturalists who were sedentary, not nomadic. Several painted pottery sites have been found in the Turfan basin, but they are relatively scarce, possibly because Sinkiang was merely a transit province, an alternation of fertile oases and stretches of desert, too sterile, in his opinion, to attract agricultural communities.

Before we take leave of neolithic pottery let us not forget that the *li* tripod¹¹ is generally considered to be of Chinese origin. The design did not remain solely in China, however. One large tripod of similar type was excavated not long ago by the Russians near Chita, Siberia, and now occupies an honoured place in the Hermitage at Leningrad.¹²

Certain other features of the neolithic stage also appear to be introductions from outside. I refer to the cowry shell and to certain food grains and domesticated animals. The cowry has been found extensively in late stone age and early bronze age sites.¹³ Whence did it come? Andersson remarks that an especially important source is in the Laccadive and Maldivé Islands. And indeed the late Mr Howland Wood of the American Numismatic Museum once informed me that in his opinion the early cowry shells found in China were from the Maldives. Pelliot leaves the question open. If the earliest cowries did derive from the Maldives it gives one pause to think of the immense journey they took in hand to hand trading across the sea,

'will set out with their donkeys and with a load of pots for sale. They will also convey with them a consignment of wet clay. Arrived in a village they will sell pots ready made and also make pottery to commission. They will even mend damaged pots and partly remake others. They work on the spot and then move on. The transport of clay from the region where it is found to another where it is not is a fact of prime importance to archaeologists.' I owe this reference, too, to Dr Porada.

¹¹ H. G. Creel, *The Birth of China* (1937), p. 44. Vadime Elisséeff, however, does not agree. In his opinion the tripod with solid feet (in Chinese: *ting*) which appears contemporaneously with painted pottery is a product of western influence, and the tripod with hollow feet (the *li*) is an adaptation of this type by the Chinese. See his contribution to *L'homme avant l'écriture* (Paris, 1959), p. 302. I am grateful to Dr W. Loofs for drawing this paper to my attention.

¹² See *Catalogue of the Hermitage—Chinese and Central Asian objects* (1956), p. 1, for an illustration. Max Loehr asserts that this type of tripod (with hollow legs) 'occurs as far west as Anatolia (Manisa, third millennium B.C.)'. See his article on Chinese archaeology in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 1961, vol. V, pp. 514-18.

¹³ Cf. J. G. Andersson, *Children of the Yellow Earth* (1934), pp. 297, 323; Wang Yü-ch'üan, *Early Chinese coinage* (1951), pp. 55-6; P. Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* (1959), I, no. 184.

plain, mountain, and desert to reach the heart of China's most ancient culture centre.

We are probably on safer ground in respect to food grains. Millet is the only grain which seems to be a native development within China.¹⁴ Wheat, rice, and sorghum, however, seem definitely introductions to the Chinese economy. Wheat has been identified in a neolithic site in northern Anhui; rice in other neolithic sites in Hupei and southern Anhui; and sorghum in tombs of the Han period.¹⁵ Now wheat was already old in western Asia by the time it appears in China; so too was rice in the lands washed by the Bay of Bengal. Sorghum is a problem. Its home was, according to Candolle¹⁶ and Vavilov,¹⁷ Africa. Vavilov held that it may have been disseminated from Abyssinia and spread thence to India and China. According to the researches of Michael J. Hagerty, its value was not truly appreciated until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D.¹⁸

As to domestic animals, the Chinese had the pig and the dog in early neolithic times.¹⁹ Then the sheep appears, a descendant, Carl W. Bishop has told us, of the breed raised in the mountainous regions of central and western Asia.²⁰ By the end of the Neolithic there are as well cattle and horses.²¹

Lastly we may mention something about the appearance of dolmens on the coast of Shantung and Manchuria.²² Here is an architectural feature which aroused the curiosity of the late G. Elliott Smith, and rightly so, because they appear over such a wide surface of the earth: Europe, Africa, Asia, and Oceania—but not in the New World.²³ They seem roughly identical. Who introduced to China the custom of erecting these great stone monuments?

¹⁴ See N. I. Vavilov, *Selected Writings*, translated by K. S. Chester, in *Chronica Botanica* (1949-50), p. 13.

¹⁵ Council for Old World Archaeology (known as COWA) *Bibliography*, area 17, I (1959), no. 173; *COWA Survey*, area 17, I (1959), p. 2.

¹⁶ *Origin of Cultivated Plants* (1902), pp. 381-2.

¹⁷ 'Studies on the origin of cultivated plants', *Bull. of Applied Botany and Plant Breeding* XVI (1926), p. 151.

¹⁸ *Harvard Jo. of Asiatic Studies* V (1941), pp. 234-60. The earliest reference to sorghum thus far brought to light in Chinese literature is in the *Hsin-an chih*, or Local Record of Hsin-an (Anhui), by Lo Yüan (1136-84). I owe this reference to Professor Ho Ping-ti of the University of British Columbia.

¹⁹ Carl W. Bishop in *Antiquity* (Dec. 1933), p. 396.

²⁰ *The American Scholar* V (1936), p. 3; Lauriston Ward in Erich (ed.), *Relative chronologies in Old World Archaeology* (1954), p. 137; Hsia Nai, *China Reconstructs* V (1956), 5, p. 28; Chêng Tê-k'un, *Prehistoric China* (1959), p. 78.

²¹ Liang Ssu-yung, *Quarterly Bull. of Chinese Bibliography*, n.s., I (1940), p. 3; Li Chi (ed.), *Ch'êng-tzu-yai, the black pottery culture site* (1956), p. 152.

²² R. Torii, *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko* V (1930), pp. 165-9, and *Yenching Hsüeh-pao* 31 (1946), pp. 119-36; Chuta Ito, *Architectural Decoration in China* (1941), II, plate 1.

²³ R. Torii, *Mem. of the Toyo Bunko* I (1926), pp. 94-5.

With the emergence of the bronze age, many problems are posed for the inquirer. Whence the idea of making bronze, known in Mesopotamia before 3000 B.C.? Whence the knowledge of the wheel and of the chariot, known also in Mesopotamia and on the Iranian plateau about the same time? Whence the idea of writing, already old in Mesopotamia and Egypt? Whence the custom of making tamped earth foundations for important buildings and tamped earthen walls for towns and enclosures, known in Jericho in the seventh²⁴ and in Babylonia in the fourth millennium B.C.? These questions and others like them receive different answers from different people. Creel has written of the beginnings of bronze as follows:

The technique of making and casting bronze was almost certainly not invented in China . . .

and again:

The rudiments of the technique of making and casting bronze were almost undoubtedly learned by the Chinese from elsewhere. Its fundamentals were possibly, even probably, learned from the west. But it was cast in forms which are typically Chinese, and decorated with motifs which had their roots deep in the life and thought of the Chinese people. In this sense, then, the bronze casting of the Shangs cannot be called entirely a borrowed art.²⁵

But not all historians agree. Indeed Chêng Tê-k'un in his recent book on Shang China seems convinced that the Chinese owed nothing to the outside world in the casting of bronze.²⁶ It is countered also that the ancient people of Mexico and Peru developed bronze making independently; so why not the Chinese? But were the early settlers of central and south America independent? Such scholars as Diamond Jenness,²⁷ Robert Heine-Geldern, and Gordon F. Eckholm²⁸ have indicated how much the peoples of north-west America and the eastern coast of Central America were indebted to Asia.

²⁴ According to Jacquetta Hawkes (Mrs J. B. Priestley), Jericho by 7500 B.C. 'had become a substantial farming village, and within another 700 years had a population of up to 2,000 living in neat rounded pisé (moulded clay) huts defended by well-built stone walls and a large round tower'. *New York Times*, Magazine section, 20 March 1960, p. 57.

²⁵ *The Birth of China* (1937), pp. 122-4.

²⁶ *Archaeology in China II* (1960), p. 156. Vadime Elisséeff (*op. cit.* 305) believes that bronze was introduced to China from Siberia—the region of Lake Baikal.

²⁷ 'Prehistoric culture waves from Asia and America', *The Smithsonian Report for 1940*, pp. 383-96.

²⁸ 'Significant parallels in the symbolic arts of Southern Asia and Middle America', *Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of Americanists* (1951), pp. 299-309; 'A possible focus of Asiatic influence in the late classic cultures from Meso-America', *American Antiquity XVIII* (1953), pp. 72-89.

Creel's belief that the motifs of Chinese bronzes are basically Chinese has also come under attack. Helen Chapin once pointed out that

the spiral, the whorl, the wheel, various forms of the swastika, together with the 'thunder pattern' (Greek fret) occur in early and middle Minoan and other civilizations (i.e. 3400-2100 B.C. and 2100-1580 B.C.).²⁹

Dr Li Chi,³⁰ too, notes the resemblance of the *fei-i* pattern found in a Shang tomb to a similar pattern discovered in a site a thousand years earlier in the Mesopotamian region. This is only one of several motifs to which he draws attention in subsequent pages.

As to the potter's wheel, there seems little doubt that the black pottery of late Neolithic was made in some instances with such a device, probably made of wood. Dr Wu Chin-ting, the discoverer of the ware in 1928, has admitted in his monograph that 'it seems to have come suddenly'.³¹ Some scholars consider it related to the ware produced earlier in Hissar II (Tajikistan) and Anau I (Turkmenistan); also in Mesopotamia and Anatolia.³²

Chariots were first drawn by asses in western Asia, then by horses around the year 2000 B.C. Some six or seven centuries later the horse-drawn chariot also appears rather suddenly in China with no indication of its origins. The use of pounded earth for platforms and walls shows up in the recently discovered early Shang site at Chêngchou,³³ and later at Anyang,³⁴ c. 1300 B.C. As to script, the first tentative beginnings of which reach back to the late Neolithic,³⁵ perhaps the most recent paper of any importance on this thorny subject is that of Tung Tso-pin, published in 1952.³⁶ It is his conviction, reached after comparing early Chinese characters, Egyptian hieroglyphics, and Moso pictograms, that Chinese script has an independent origin. This is now generally agreed, but the spur to its start in the Yellow River valley may have been one from the west.³⁷ Dr Li Chi, following a discussion of the introduction of rice, the domesticated buffalo, and certain tortoises used for divination purposes, sums up the problem of foreign importations in Shang times by saying 'My thesis is that the culture of the Shang is a very composite affair and represents a fusion of many cultural streams'.³⁸ To his own list of importations in early times one may add that of jade which is known

²⁹ *Leaves from a Western Garden* I (April 1938), p. 30.

³⁰ *The Beginnings of Chinese Civilization* (1957), p. 27.

³¹ *Prehistoric Pottery in China* (1938), pp. 135-6. ³² Lauriston Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

³³ Hsia Nai, *China Reconstructs* VI (Dec. 1957), p. 18.

³⁴ Li Chi, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5. ³⁵ Li Chi (ed.), *Ch'êng-tzu-yai*, pp. 124-8.

³⁶ In the *Ta-lu tsa-chih* V, 10 (1952), pp. 6-16; it is entitled *Chung-kuo wên-tzu ti ch'i-yüan* (or *The origin of Chinese script*). See also his remarks in 'An interpretation of the ancient Chinese civilization', *Taipei* (1952), pp. 23-5.

³⁷ Li Chi, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

throughout the Shang period and earlier and appears to have derived from Khotan and Yarkand in central Asia.³⁹

When the Chinese come into the iron age, around the fifth century B.C., we find them confronting a cluster of importations from the outside world. Whether this was due to more favourable conditions for trade across Asia, or to stimuli generated by the conquests of Darius (521-485), who seized Gandhara c. 517, or to a combination of both, is unknown. (We may rightfully recall as well the comparable conquests of Alexander, who died in 323.) The fact remains, however, that not only goods and domestic animals were added to China's culture, but also ideas and possibly one or two motifs during the three centuries before the beginning of the Han in 202 B.C. These importations included in all probability the following: the traction plough, glass beads, the two-humped camel, followed by the ass and the mule, the practice of riding on horseback, with the concomitant change in costume (trousers, leather belt, buckle, scabbard slide, and boots),⁴⁰ and the designs known as the flying gallop and crenelated mane.⁴¹ Ideas are more difficult to trace, but it seems within the range of possibility that certain cosmological, geographical, political, and even philosophical notions may have been derived from India or Iran, and beyond.⁴²

The writings about the K'un-lun shan suggest the mythical mountain of the Indians: Meru; the description of the world as divided into nine continents with China as only one part of eighty-one parts of the whole is singularly un-Chinese; the division of the octave into twelve semi-tones of

³⁹ Chêng Tê-k'un, 'The carving of jade in the Shang period', *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Soc.* 29 (1954-5), pp. 13-30; Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilization in China* III (1959), p. 665. A good summary of contacts between nomadic tribes on China's northwestern frontier and the earliest Chou (state and kingdom) chiefs and kings, between the twelfth and sixth centuries B.C., based on Chinese literary records, is given by Max Loehr, in *Archives of the Chinese Art Soc. of America* IX (1955), p. 70. Vadime Elisséeff (*op. cit.*, p. 304) makes the earliest source of jade in China not Central Asia but the Glaskovo culture.

⁴⁰ Mrs Esther H. Farrior of Washington, D.C., has drawn to my attention report of an excavation (the 13th) made by the Academia Sinica at Hsiao-t'un which seems to have uncovered the grave of a mounted bowman. Cf. Shih Chang-ju: Yin-hsü tsui-chin chung-yao fa-hsien (Recent important discoveries at the Yin site), *K'ao-ku hsüeh-pao* (1947), pp. 14-24. This is interesting, but the fact remains that there is no literary reference to such a custom until 307 B.C. (Cf. E. Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques* V (1905), pp. 46, 81, not even in the *Sun-tzu ping-fa* (Sun-tzu on the art of war, translated by Lionel Giles, 1910).

⁴¹ On the scabbard slide and crenelated mane see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *Central Asiatic Jo.* III (1957), pp. 85-138; and on the flying gallop see my notes in *Jo. of the Amer. Oriental Soc.* 74 (1954), pp. 275-8.

⁴² Conrady, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gessellschaft* (1906), pp. 335 ff.; Henri Maspero, *La Chine Antique* (1927), pp. 607 ff. and *Etudes Historiques* (1950), pp. 37-51 (the last paper, published posthumously, was delivered in Tokyo in 1929); Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie* (1931), p. 8.

the untempered scale (recorded in a work of the mid-third century)⁴³ suggests derivation from Babylonia; as does also the division of the day into twelve equal hours (duodecimal system).⁴⁴ In mathematics likewise it seems at least possible that some of the geometrical ideas of the followers of Mo-tzu were derivative, but this is beyond proof.⁴⁵ The theorem of Pythagoras, which goes back to Babylonian mathematicians of the first part of the second millennium B.C.,⁴⁶ shows up in China in the oldest part of the *Chou pei suan ching*, China's first preserved mathematical work, some of which may date from around 300 B.C.; this theorem too may have been suggested by unknown travellers on the great trans-Asian highways. Besides the above, previous scholars have drawn attention to at least two similar anecdotes in Greek and Chinese literature.⁴⁷ Finally one must mention the parallel policies of Darius in western Asia and Chandragupta (c. 321-297 B.C.) in northern India on the one hand and Ch'in Shih-huang (r. 221-207) on the other. All three created empires which rested in part on provincial divisions, arterial roads connecting them, a system of imperial posts, and personal representation everywhere.

That Chinese goods were going west while occidental were travelling eastward is assured by the discovery of Chinese silk and a Huai style mirror in the Pazyryk burials in the Altai, dated in the fourth to third century B.C. or earlier.⁴⁸ J. F. Haskins has drawn attention also to certain horse muzzles, sometimes decorated with t'ao-t'ieh masks, found both in mid Chou China and in the frozen tombs at Pazyryk. The latter, with their lacquer inlay, could have derived only from China.⁴⁹

At about the same time (around 300 B.C.), waves of influences streamed south into north central Vietnam on the one hand and into what is now Yünnan (then the kingdom of Tien) on the other. The first wave carried a

⁴³ Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques* III (1898), App. 2, pp. 630-45; Curt Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West* (1943), sec. 3; Homer H. Dubs, *Isis* (Nov. 1947), p. 83, n. 122.

⁴⁴ Needham, Wang, and Price, *Heavenly Clockwork* (1960), pp. 201-2.

⁴⁵ Needham thinks the Mohists 'worked quite independently of any western influence'. *Science and Civilization in China* III, p. 94.

⁴⁶ Otto Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd ed. (1957), p. 36.

⁴⁷ Lionel Giles, 'Two parallel anecdotes in Greek and Chinese', *Bull. of the School of Oriental Studies* II (1923), pp. 609-11. Cf. also Berthold Laufer in *The Open Court* XXVI (March 1912), p. 155.

⁴⁸ S. I. Rudenko, *The culture of the population in the Altai Mountains in Scythian times* [in Russian] (1953), pp. 357-8. Rudenko reports that the mirror was found in Kurgan VI and the silk embroidery in Kurgan V. His own dating is to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. See also Max Loehr, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and n. 45. (I owe to Mrs Leah Kisselgoff of New York the reference to Rudenko's work.)

⁴⁹ Paper delivered before the American Oriental Society meeting in New Haven, Conn., on 29 March 1960.

knowledge of metals, especially bronze, pottery of a higher quality than before, and numerous other cultural elements; note especially the reports of Olav Janse on his excavations in 1935-9.⁵⁰ Substantiation of the second wave comes most recently from an excavation made in 1956 at Chin-ning, when the tombs of the kings of Tien (c. 300-100 B.C.) were uncovered. These revealed thousands of burial objects, many of them showing the influence of the great state of Ch'u, centred in the middle Yangtze valley far to the north and east. The artifacts included weapons, farm implements (ploughshares, hoes, spades, and sickles), musical instruments, ornamental and ritual objects.⁵¹ The expanding Chinese civilization made its effect too on south Manchuria, north and south Korea, and even Japan and the Liu Ch'iu Islands—also in the third century before our era, or a little earlier. Two princes of the state of Ch'i (in the Shantung peninsula) both sent out explorers into the north-east, but apparently without eliciting any information worth recording. Prince Chao of the state of Yen (in the Peking area) did also, with more success for his general conquered the primitive tribes there and extended the Yen kingdom into northern Korea. Proof of this comes most explicitly from finds of Chinese knife coins from the Shantung peninsula. One hoard in a single wooden box, discovered in northern Korea by Japanese archaeologists in recent decades, contained more than four thousand of these coins.⁵²

For Japan itself we can hardly do better than draw from Sir George Sansom's *A History of Japan to 1334* (London 1958): 'The bronze culture of North China . . . spread to south Manchuria and thence to Korea by about 300 B.C. . . . Migrants or other travellers passing from Korea to the western shores of Japan began to introduce things and processes belonging to a metal culture . . . The influence of Chinese bronze culture no doubt reached Japan by about 200 B.C. if not earlier and soon began to modify or displace the neolithic culture at its points of contact'. At about the same time China's iron culture 'was passed on to Korea and thence to Japan'.

* * * *

So far we have touched on indirect contacts. Direct contacts were established in the last decades of the second century before our era. The envoys or generals or eunuchs of the emperor Wu (who reigned from 140-87 B.C.)

⁵⁰ *Archaeological research in Indo-China*, 2 vols. (1947, 1951). See also review by Paul Mus in *Jo. of the Amer. Or. Soc.* 72 (1952), p. 88.

⁵¹ *Yün-nan Chin-ning shih-chai-shan ku-mu ch'ün* (1959) and *China Pictorial*, no. 9 (5 May 1959).

⁵² Wang Yü-ch'üan, *Early Chinese coinage* (1951), pp. 168-9 and ns. 61-3. It may be added that K. Arimitsu has found in early shell mounds and tumuli in Korea many evidences of Chinese influence before the Han dynasty; see *Tohogaku* 10 (April 1955), pp. 27-56.

now began to make journeys or conduct military expeditions to all nearby lands: to Bactria beginning in 128, to Tonking in 111, to northern Korea in 108, and to the lands rimming the Indian Ocean between c. 110 B.C. and A.D. 2. Envoys from western Asia and elsewhere came to the Chinese court of Wu-ti and brought presents: pearls, glass, rare stones, remarkable birds and animals, and jugglers, while the Chinese themselves introduced, *inter alia*, the horses of Ferghana (conquered in 101 B.C.), grapes, and alfalfa. Pan Ku, who wrote in the first century A.D., composed a poem about Wu's capital, part of which runs:

In the interior of the imperial park are unicorn from Chiu-chên [modern Vietnam], horses from Ta-yüan [Ferghana], rhinoceroses from Huang-chih [Kanchi=Conjeeveram in south-east India], birds from T'iao-chih [Chaldea? Antiochia?]. The park is superior to the K'un-lun; it surpasses the great sea; [fauna and flora] of various kinds come from different countries three hundred thousand li away.

From this point on the Chinese became fully conscious of other lands and peoples, and recorded many of their contacts in histories and encyclopaedic works. Buddhism, which was to spread in China after the first century A.D., made possible many fresh importations as did also war and diplomacy and trade. We may conclude with a song of the Later Han, translated by Arthur Waley:

These itinerant foreigners, where do they come from? and what do they bring from their various lands? Rugs and carpets and frankincense; rosemary, camphor, and thoroughwort.⁵³

All but the last, as he points out, originated from lands as far away as south-east Asia and the Mediterranean.

To sum up, the Chinese from the beginnings of time seem to have been in contact with the peoples of other lands. On occasion they took over introductions and moulded them to their own purposes; others they permitted to stay for a while and then rejected. Good examples of the former are the great religions of Buddhism and of Islam. These remained, but they are admittedly very different from the faiths originally propagated in the land. Examples of the latter are the harp, and game of polo, and the religions of Mazdeism and Manicheism. These lasted for a few centuries and then were almost entirely forgotten except for representations in stone, paintings on silk scrolls, or brief mentions in literature. Also, throughout historical

⁵³ *History Today* (Feb. 1953), p. 92.

times the Chinese, developing along their own lines, were making sorties abroad by land and sea and sending out their products or ideas to countries far away. The discovery of a Han period bronze in Dane John of Canterbury is a single example of the way things could wander nearly two millennia ago.

Back in 1931, Dr Berthold Laufer, in his presidential address before the American Oriental Society, said among other things: 'We are now confronted . . . with the spectacle of an early Indian sub-stratum in Western Asia, a wide Sumerian expansion over Iran, northwestern India, central Asia and northern China, and an intimate interaction of Iranian and Chinese civilizations.'⁵⁴ The studies of the last three decades have demonstrated how inter-related these civilizations have been at all times, in spite of their differences, and in spite of the seas and mountains and deserts and jungles and boiling rivers which have always separated them.

⁵⁴ *Jo. of the Amer. Or. Soc.* 51 (1931), p. 87.

THE GEORGE ERNEST MORRISON LECTURE
IN ETHNOLOGY

The George Ernest Morrison Lecture was founded by Chinese residents in Australia and others in honour of the late Dr G. E. Morrison, a native of Geelong, Victoria, Australia.

The objects of the foundation of the lectureship were to honour for all time the memory of a great Australian who rendered valuable services to China, and to improve cultural relations between China and Australia. The foundation of the lectureship had the official support of the Chinese Consulate-General, and was due in particular to the efforts of Mr William Liu, merchant, of Sydney; Mr William Ah Ket, barrister, of Melbourne; Mr F. J. Quinlan and Sir Colin MacKenzie, of Canberra. From the time of its inception until 1948 the lecture was associated with the Australian Institute of Anatomy, but in the latter year the responsibility for the management of the lectureship was taken over by the Australian National University, and the lectures delivered since that date have been given under the auspices of the University.

The following lectures have been delivered:

Inaugural: DR W. P. CHEN (Consul-General for China in Australia), *'The Objects of the Foundation of the Lectureship, and a Review of Dr Morrison's Life in China'*, 10 May 1932.

Second: W. AH KET (Barrister at Law), *'Eastern Thought, with More Particular Reference to Confucius'*, 3 May 1933.

Third: J. S. MACDONALD (Director, National Art Gallery, New South Wales), *'The History and Development of Chinese Art'*, 3 May 1934.

Fourth: DR W. P. CHEN (Consul-General for China in Australia), *'The New Culture Movement in China'*, 10 May 1935.

Fifth: DR WU LIEN-TAH (Director, National Quarantine Service, China), *'Reminiscences of George E. Morrison; and Chinese Abroad'*, 2 September 1936.

Sixth: DR CHUN-JIEN PAE (Consul-General for the Republic of China), *'China Today: With Special Reference to Higher Education'*, 4 May 1937.

Seventh: A. F. BARKER (Professor of Textile Industries, Chiao-Tung University, Shanghai, China), *'The Impact of Western Industrialism on China'*, 17 May 1938.

Eighth: PROFESSOR S. H. ROBERTS (Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sydney), *'The Gifts of the Old China to the New'*, 5 June 1939.

Ninth: His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney, HOWARD MOWLL, *'West China as Seen through the Eyes of the Westerner'*, 29 May 1940.

Tenth: DR W. G. GODDARD (President of the China Society of Australia), *'The Ming Shen. A Study in Chinese Democracy'*, 5 June 1941.

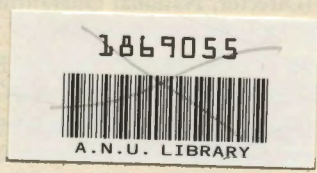
Eleventh: PROFESSOR D. B. COPLAND (Vice-Chancellor, The Australian National University), *'The Chinese Social Structure'*, 27 September 1948.

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- Twelfth: PROFESSOR J. K. RIDEOUT (Department of Oriental Languages, University of Sydney), *'Politics in Medieval China'*, 28 October 1949.
- Thirteenth: C. P. FITZGERALD (Visiting Reader in Oriental Studies, The Australian National University), *'The Revolutionary Tradition in China'*, 19 March 1951.
- Fourteenth: THE RT HON. H. V. EVATT (Leader of the Opposition in the Commonwealth Parliament), *'Some Aspects of Morrison's Life and Work'*, 4 December 1952.
- Fifteenth: LORD LINDSAY OF BIRKER (Department of International Affairs, The Australian National University), *'China and the West'*, 20 October 1953.
- Sixteenth: M. TITIEV (Professor of Anthropology, University of Michigan), *'Chinese Elements in Japanese Culture'*, 27 July 1954.
- Seventeenth: H. BIELENSTEIN (Professor of Oriental Studies, Canberra University College), *'Emperor Kuang-Wu (A.D. 25-57) and the Northern Barbarians'*, 2 November 1955.
- Eighteenth: DR LEONARD B. COX (Honorary Curator of Oriental Art, National Gallery of Victoria), *'The Buddhist Temples of Yün-Kang and Lung-Mên'*, 17 October 1956.
- Nineteenth: OTTO P. N. BERKELBACH VAN DER SPENKEL (Senior Lecturer in Oriental Civilization, Canberra University College), *'The Chinese Civil Service'*, 4 November 1957.
- Twentieth: A. R. DAVIS (Professor of Oriental Studies, University of Sydney), *'The Narrow Lane: Some Observations on the Recluse in Traditional Chinese Society'*, 19 November 1958.
- Twenty-first: C. N. SPINKS (Counsellor of the Embassy of the United States of America), *'The Khmèr Temple of Práh Vihar'*, 6 October 1959.
- Twenty-second: H. E. DR CHEN CHIH-MAI (Ambassador for China), *'Chinese Landscape Painting: The Golden Age'*, 5 October 1960.
- Twenty-third: L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH (Dean Lung Professor Emeritus of Chinese, Columbia University), *'China's Contacts with Other Parts of Asia in Ancient Times'*, 1 August 1961.



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