

Roman Sławiński

CONTEMPORARY CHINESE HISTORIOGRAPHY,  
WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS  
ON TAIWANESE HISTORIOGRAPHY.  
PART ONE

The beginnings of Chinese historiography are remote and glorious indeed. The earliest Chronicles date as far back as the 9th century BC. The famous *Records of the Grand Historian*, written by Sima Qian (145-90 BC) and his father Sima Tan, completed at the beginning of the first century BC, became the first model for dynastic chronicles which not only recorded historical events in a chronological order but also offered a certain synthesis of these events, as stated by Jacques Gernet, the French author of the monumental history of China aptly entitled *Le monde chinois*<sup>1</sup>. Twenty six dynastic chronicles were written according to this model; in order to ensure objectivity, each chronicle was written only after the following dynasty came into power.

Contemporary Chinese historiography can be said to have originated in the 1940s; however, its development in mainland China was not uninterrupted. After the short period in the 1950s, which saw the publication of many historical works and when the foundations were laid for the development of historical studies in China, among others by developing higher education and popularising Chinese history as well as general history (albeit to a far more limited extent), there came the 1960s and 1970s dominated first by aggressive Maoist propaganda, and later on by the infamous Cultural Revolution. The education system collapsed, scholars were sent to the

---

<sup>1</sup> J. Gernet, *Le monde chinois*, Paris 1972, p. 147.

countryside, and a wave of nihilism and strife against anything that did not come from Mao Zedong swept the publishing sector.

It was only after Deng Xiaoping's 'thaw' of the 1980s that historical studies (Chinese historiography included) were revived on the mainland. This is why almost all the greatest achievements of PRC historiography date from the last two decades of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st century. The amount of publications is impressive and difficult to describe. One of the most significant historical publications is the two-volume, monumental *Great dictionary of Chinese history*<sup>2</sup> with 3502 large-format pages. However, the difficulty with appraising the achievements of Chinese historians does not lie only in the dimensions of the many-volume series of publications dedicated to all historical periods. One can distinguish at least three main sources of difficulty:

1. The hard to surmount barrier originating in the Chinese historiographical tradition, which has not adopted the Western model of historiographical publications that would at least include an index of names. Chinese historians are used to memorising texts: when leafing through a book, they are usually able to find the target fragment fairly quickly; moreover, they remember the author. Such a practice certainly does not favour comparative research.
2. Although Chinese historiography has already discarded the most radical Maoist concepts, such as the "ever-sharpening class fight" or the alleged "dictatorship of the proletariat", historical works in the PRC still reveal the authors' fascination with historical materialism, and they still emphasise the enormous historical and social role played by outstanding figures, or even contain quotations from Mao Zedong's works that illustrate his concept of historical development in China as "anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle", while pushing aside into the background the economic and social transformations resulting from China's process of modernisation. Following the fast development of market economy and Western influence, modernisation issues have only begun to surface; this change is partly caused by the slow-going generation change.
3. The history of China is studied in isolation from general history and Western historiography. The causes of such an isolation are not difficult to find: China's centuries-long isolationism as well as the far-reaching influence of nationalist or anti-foreign attitudes during the apogee of Maoist indoctrination.

While keeping in mind the above-mentioned sources of difficulty, one cannot nevertheless fail to notice the enormous amount of publications which can provide a basis for both a more thorough and complete future appraisal of the achievements of the past five decades and a more modern insight into China's past. For an objective reevaluation, the sorting of the existing materials and the collection and publication of various historians' opinions concerning their own country's past would undoubtedly be of great help. This is one of the goals of historiographical works (in Chinese) by mainland Chinese and Taiwanese scholars, listed below:

Wang Shumin's 252-page *Outline history of China*, published in 1997<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Zhongguo lishi da cidian*, joint publication edited by Zheng Tianting et al., Shanghai 2000.

<sup>3</sup> Wang Shumin, *Zhongguo shixueshi gangyao* (Outline of Chinese historiography), Beijing 1997.

Qiu Lindong's 604-page *Studies and appraisal of history*, published in 1998<sup>4</sup>.

The large, 509-page volume of collected papers from the Fifth Symposium entitled "The history of Chinese society and social transformations in the 20th century" held in Chongqing in November and December 1997. The book was edited by the Association of Modern Chinese History and published in 1998.

The synthetic survey of the works of mainland historians – *Fifty years of research in modern Chinese history*, edited by Zeng Yayin, published in 2000<sup>5</sup>.

Wang Shumin's *Outline of Chinese historiography* is a historiographical analysis of classical historical, philosophical and literary writing. This review is noteworthy for its more modern approach to the subject matter, discernible in the clear distinction made between historiographical works and historical sources. This makes it easier to single out the most valuable Chinese works, milestones in the development of historical studies, which do not concentrate exclusively upon recording military and political events.

Zhang Yinlin's unfinished *Outline history of China* was the leading historical work of the period before the Second World War. Later on, this position was taken by Deng Zhicheng's *Two thousand years of Chinese history* and Miu Fenglin's *Outline history of China*. In the 1940s, Fan Wenlan's work *Sketches on Chinese history* appeared in Yan'an. It was written in the troubled times of military blockade, which is why it is not free from factual inaccuracies. However, Fan's emphasis on the history-making role of the people, stronger than in traditional historiographical works, greatly influenced subsequent historical writing. The orientation on recent times is also characteristic for the works of Zhang Hesheng and Guo Tingyi (T'ing-i Kuo), and especially the latter's *Modern history of China*. Guo later became the leading representative of the Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History in Taiwan, hence the different transcriptions of his name. Such works as *The biography of Zhu Yuanzhang* (the first Ming emperor), written by Wu Han, or *Outline history of the Taiping rebellion* by Luo Ergang, as well as a number of works dedicated to the Ruzhen and the Mongols, which inaugurated a trend in studying China's other nationalities, were also published during the period discussed.

In the 1940s, the scope of historical studies was extended to other fields: the history of economy, philosophy, culture etc. From among the outstanding works, we can mention Guo Moruo's works on oracle bone inscriptions, those of Tao Xisheng on the history of Chinese economy, and Feng Youlan's history of Chinese philosophy, translated into English and Polish (2000). We can also mention Liang Qichao's works on the philosophy of the Manchu period, Hou Wailu's works on ancient and modern history, Li Yan's *History of Chinese mathematics*, Bai Shouyi's *History of communication in China*, Zheng Zhenduo's *History of Chinese literature*, Lu Xun's *Outline history of the Chinese novel*, Hu Shi's *History of colloquial literature* and *History of Song and Yuan theatre*, Wang Guangbang's *History of Chinese music*, as

<sup>4</sup> Qiu Lintong, *Shixue yu shixue pinglun* (Historiography and reviews of historical publications), Hefei 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Zeng Yayin et al., *Wushi nian laide Zhongguo jindaishi yanjiu* (50 years of research into the modern history of China), Shanghai 2000.

well as Fan Tianshou and Yü Jianhua's *History of Chinese art*. It was during this period that auxiliary sciences such as geography became independent from history in China. Pre-war archaeological works can also boast of such achievements as finding the earliest cultures of Yangshao, Longshan and Xiaodun, and the discovery of the *homo pekinensis*. The research into medieval Buddhist art and texts from the grottoes in Dunhuang, inaugurated by Stein and Pelliot, was continued by Chinese scholars including Wang Chongmin, the author of *A description of the Dunhuang manuscripts*. These findings undoubtedly made a significant contribution to expanding the knowledge related to China's history, obtained by studying source materials such as inscriptions on oracle bones, bronzeware, stone steles as well as the Buddhist manuscripts of Dunhuang.

We will pass over the period of Maoist historiography to arrive at the work quoted by the Chinese historiographer Qiu Lindong as the most valuable and relatively most recent attempt at depicting China's history: Bai Shouyi's 469-page *Outline history of China*, published in Shanghai in 1980, which covers a time span from antiquity to the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Bai Shouyi (who passed away in 2001) was also the author of a 22-volume history of China<sup>6</sup>, in which he presented the contemporary view on two compelling issues: that of exactly dating of the first evidence of man's presence in China, and that of the actual length of China's history. Earlier works put forward different answers to these questions; some of them claimed that Chinese history was 5000 years long. In professor Bai Shouyi's view, on the basis of the most recent excavations, man's presence in China can be dated to 1.8 million years ago, that is much earlier than it had previously been thought, but the time span of China's history for which documentary evidence can be provided is only 3,600 years. Although the rulers are known by name, nowadays Chinese historians also prefer to dispense with the detailed chronological table of the legendary Xia dynasty and the half-legendary Shang-Yin dynasty.

Another important matter brought up by many Chinese historians is that of the prolonged 'feudalism'. We shall not discuss the conventional nature of the term 'feudalism' in China; we only intend to mention the division of feudalism into various periods by Bai Shouyi. He refers to the Qin and Han dynasties as the stage of its 'growth' (*chenzhang*); to the times of the Three Kingdoms, the two Jin dynasties, the Northern and Southern dynasties as well as to the Sui and Tang – as the stage of 'development' (*fazhan*); next, he discusses the Five Dynasties and the Song and Yuan as the stage of 'further development' (*juxu fazhan*), and finally the Ming and Qing as the 'twilight' (*shuilao*) of feudalism. As to the period between 1840 and 1949, he labels it "the era of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society", and divides it into two parts, separated by the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

Instead of the vague previous terminology that distinguished between 'large', 'medium' and 'small' landlords, Bai operates with terms from the field of historical sciences, such as the 'aristocracy', which he uses to refer to the two Han dynasties. During subsequent periods, the state tax and the tenure constituted two separate kinds

---

<sup>6</sup> Bai Shouyi, *Zhongguo tong shi* (General history of China), Shanghai 1998.

of taxes, and the private possessions of landowners were not granted by the state. Finally, during the Song and Yuan, there also was a clear line of demarcation between agricultural taxes paid to the state by the landowner, and the tenure, which had the form of a land contract signed by the tenant. This still does not mean release from the feudal relation of personal dependence; however, under certain circumstances, peasants had the possibility to leave their village, that is enjoyed a higher degree of personal liberty. This brings a certain kind of order into the terminological field, which is indispensable when discussing controversial issues of this kind.

Taiwanese historiography, not perverted by such biases as the Maoist absolutisation of class struggle, on the one hand attempts to carry on the pre-war historiographical tradition, and on the other – to fill in those enormous gaps which mainland historiographers cannot fill in. Most archive records and museum exhibits from the Peking Palace Museum were carried by the Japanese first to southern China, and later to Taiwan. On the other hand, the No. 2 Archives concerning China's modern history remained in Nanking. Such state of things leads to close cooperation, already established by historians from both camps, which in turn may contribute to a further increase of objectivity of the Chinese historical discourse and a faster filling up of blanks in the history of China.

It is in this field that Taiwanese historiography has scored its greatest successes, although it has great achievements in other fields as well, such as the Confucian heritage, as Confucian culture is especially treasured in Taiwan. It is so not only because the Taiwanese have great reverence for the Chinese tradition, which on the mainland was destroyed as 'feudal', especially during the infamous 'Cultural Revolution' of 1966–1976 and the campaign against Confucius. In Taiwan, the preservation of Chinese culture has one more aspect: it is a distinctive feature that singles out its bearer among the whole Chinese diaspora. However, below we shall restrict ourselves to the modern history of China.

Large-scale research into the modern history of China had not been undertaken in Taiwan until 1950. The events that led to the CCP's takeover of the Chinese mainland and the exodus of Kuomintang troops to Taiwan were a strong incentive for the research. The tendency to explain the historical reasons of those events created favourable conditions for in-depth research into the recent history of China.

The time has now come to point out that the division of Chinese history into periods employed by Taiwanese historians differs from the one in use on the mainland. According to the former, modern history does not begin with the foreign powers' forcing open China's gates during the first opium war (1839–1842). They prefer to regard the last years of the Ming dynasty (the last native one) and the conquest of China by the Manchus, that is mid-18th century, as the beginning of modern history. Historians who worked in Taiwan in the 1950s initially studied the Qing dynasty and previous periods, in keeping with the historiographical tradition. A special incentive for turning toward the modern and recent history of China was the determination to offer the West an alternative to the mainland interpretation of 19th and 20th century Chinese history. A significant development in the study of 20th century Chinese history is related to the name of professor T'ing-i Kuo, who as director of the Aca-

demia Sinica Institute of Modern History, delivered lectures on the history of the Republic of China and promoted the study of China's most recent history. The Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History in Taipei is now the main centre of research into both the modern (18th century on), and the recent (post-1950) history of China. The beginnings of Academia Sinica as an institution date back to 1928, when it was founded in Nanjing. The first catalogue of publications by experts of the above-mentioned Institute included the works of 56 researchers<sup>7</sup>.

### Research methodology

According to professor Yü-fa Chang, apart from the traditional methodology of Chinese historiography, Taiwanese historians also employ the following new methods:

1. they do not restrict themselves to sources in one language;
2. they emphasize making use of their predecessors' research achievements;
3. they value the academic dissertation as a form;
4. they fully employ the theory and methodology of social sciences. In what concerns theory, from the field of psychology they have taken over the view that "the environment influences man's personality"; from the field of sociology, they have adopted the concept of "social change". Apart from the widely-used comparative method (such as comparing the modernisation process in China and Japan), they often use statistic methods (for instance, when studying the descent of parliament members during the first years of the Republic of China);
5. they define the historical significance of events;
6. in the process of research, they apply the following formula: individual research – collective discussion – individual processing<sup>8</sup>.

### The subject matter of research

On the basis of the over 800-page Taiwanese study on the research into modern Chinese history between 1928 and 1988<sup>9</sup> and the *Catalogue of historical publications by researches from the Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History* mentioned above, as well as our own knowledge, we can state that the subject matter is very diversified, and the number of publications impressive. Due to the enormous diversity of topics researched, we are compelled to restrict ourselves to a sketchy discussion of only those issues that seem to be the most interesting or more significant.

---

<sup>7</sup> *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo tongren zhuzuo mulu* (Catalogue of publications by research workers of the Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History), Taipei 1996; new edition published in 2001.

<sup>8</sup> Yü-fa Chang, *Xiandai Zhongguo shi yanjiu de qushi* (Trends in the study of the recent history of China), [in:] "Ren yu shehui" ("Man and society"), Taipei 1974, vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 20-21.

<sup>9</sup> *Liushi nian lai de Zhongguo jindai shi yanjiu* (Sixty years of research into the modern history of China), Special first edition of the Academia Sinica Institute of Modern History, edited by the Editorial Board of the above-mentioned Institute, Taipei 1988, vols 1-2.

## 1. The history of Chinese thought

The rather vague Chinese term ‘history of thought’ covers a broad field of research that includes both the ‘history of ideas’ as defined by Benjamin I. Schwarz, and a significant number of works dedicated to philosophy, history of religion or the history of science in modern times.

The history of Chinese thought *sensu stricto* was studied mainly by Western scholars, many of them of Chinese descent. We shall only mention such monumental figures as Joseph R. Levenson, Mary C. Wright, Benjamin I. Schwarz, Jerome B. Grieder, Charlotte Furth, Paul Cohen, Thomas A. Metzger, Yu-sheng Liu, Y.C. Wang, Chuan-hsiao Wang, Chow Tse-tung, Joseph T. Chen, Daniel W.K. Kwok and others. Their works can be grouped under two main themes: the great thinker Liang Qichao, who advocated introducing a constitution already during the Manchu rule, and the so-called May Fourth Movement of 1919, which refers to the student movement against the resolutions of the treaty of Versailles ratified after the First World War, disadvantageous to China, as well as to the so-called New Culture Movement, related to the May Fourth Movement.

The precursors of the study of Chinese thought in the modern era were T’ing-i Kuo and Han-sheng Chuan. The former divided into periods the process of introduction of Western thought in China, and reached the conclusion that it went on too slowly, and China had to pay a high price for that – the Self-Strengthening Movement ended up in a failure, and China had to give in to foreign powers and turned into what mainland historians call a ‘semi-colonial and semi-feudal’ country. The latter historian studied the causes of the emergence of anti-foreign theories so widespread in China under the Manchu rule, and put forward a theory very fashionable at the time, which he coined in order to legitimise the reformers’ activity. Following his concept, it was China (!) that was the source of modern ideas, and the West only took them over and perfected them, in order to pass them back subsequently to China<sup>10</sup>. This theory, naturally has nothing in common with historical facts; however, this was the way that the advocates of China’s modernisation had to take in order to persuade the court in Manchu times. They even managed to gain the emperor’s approval, which resulted in the ‘Hundred Days’ Reform’, which the empress dowager Cixi so brutally repressed.

In the 1950s and the 1960s, Taiwanese historians mainly focused on the central historical figures, which they regarded as representatives of individual trends of thought. It was only in the 1970s that they shifted their attention towards particular philosophical concepts, which can be used to illustrate the development of ideas. Both methods above are nowadays simultaneously employed and universally accepted. The issues studied are very diverse: ‘Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism’,

---

<sup>10</sup> T’ing-yi Kuo, *Jindai xiyang wenhua zhi shuru ji qi renshi* (The introduction of Western culture and its perception), “Dalu zazhi” (“Mainland”), vol. 3, no. 7, pp. 20-32; Han-sheng Chuan, *Qing mo xixue yuanchu Zhongguo shuo* (The theory of the Chinese origin of Western science during the late Qing dynasty), “Lingnan xuebao” (“Lingnan University academic journal”), vol. 4, no. 2.

'the intelligentsia and the ideas put forward by the reform movement', 'the concept of harmony in China and the West', 'nationalism', 'concepts of world power status', 'adventurism and conservatism', 'people's rights, human rights and women's rights', 'concepts of trade wars', 'the movement for regaining extritoriality rights', 'the concepts of people's welfare and appreciation of commerce', 'socialism', 'enterprise policy and employment of foreign capital as means of rescuing the country', 'crisis consciousness', 'popular education and dissemination of knowledge', 'constitutionalism and revolution', and many more<sup>11</sup>.

A major feature of Taiwanese research work is the dialogue conducted with American researchers, although Taiwanese historians are always quick to emphasise their own superiority in what concerns the knowledge of Chinese sources. They also question the American thesis that Confucianism was an obstacle in the country's modernisation. Taiwanese historians claim that, on the contrary, the advocates of modernisation were also advocates of this ideology. According to Erh-min Wang, over 80 scholars forwarded petitions to the Manchu throne demanding changes, and their reason for doing so was not only the Western pressure upon China, but above all the ideas of the Song Confucianist, Shao Yong. The symposium held at the Academia Sinica in August 1983 was the apotheosis of Confucianism in recent times. The outcomes of this symposium were, among others, the performance of classical music by an orchestra attired in clothes styled to resemble those worn in the Confucian era, as well as the propagation of Confucian ethics. Shih-ch'eng Huang, the secretary of the National Council for Cultural Affairs, was among the leading figures of the latter.

On analysing the change of the course in China's 19th century international policy, Erh-min Wang notices that at that time a change of orientation was under way, from the Sinocentric view to equal treatment of all nations. The thinkers of the time were drawing comparisons inspired by the history of the wars that ended with China's unification by the state of Qin – England was compared to the state of Chu, France to Qi, Germany to Jin, Russia to Qin, and the USA to Yan.

The demands for the country's modernisation, frequent after 1860, were studied by many Taiwanese historians, such as Kuo-chih Lee, En-han Lee, and Mien Tuo. They compared China's attempts at modernization to the Japanese Meiji period. China's ignominious defeat in 1895 in the war against Japan became a new incentive for carrying out previously impossible reforms.

It was the reforms put forward by Chinese intellectuals during the latter half of the 19th century, partly carried out at the beginning of the 20th century, which became the subject of two conferences organised by the Academia Sinica in 1978 and 1981. Those reforms were mainly aimed at strengthening China's defences and at increasing the population's living standards; both directions were modelled after the West, which naturally provided impetus for introducing many fields of science. The

---

<sup>11</sup> Erh-min Wang, Tsun-i Cheng, *Zhongguo jindai sixiang shi yanjiu de huigu* (Reminiscences of the study of Chinese thought in modern times), [in:] *Liushi nian ...*, Taipei 1988, p. 25 *et passim*.



leading researchers of this topic in Taiwan are Erh-min Wang<sup>12</sup> and Hsian-chia Wang<sup>13</sup>. The latter has dedicated more attention to the figure of Wei Yuan, the advocate of the defence of China's sea coast by Western models.

In the latter half of the 19th century there emerged a special kind of private enterprises controlled by Manchu officials. This category of enterprises is still very negatively appraised by mainland historians (Jin Chongji, 1985), although it was thoroughly analysed by Taiwanese historians already in 1961 and 1962. They reached the conclusion that this formation, supported by the magnate Li Hongzhang, boiled down to supporting native trade at the expense of foreign merchants; given the circumstances at that time, this could only happen with the endorsement of the Manchu court.

Among the sea of works dedicated to the Boxer rebellion at the turn of the 19th century, we are bound to find Taiwanese publications on the ideology of that anti-foreign uprising. They emphasise the emergence of an 'economic nationalism', which manifested itself in China's attempts at gaining back control over tariff, inland sailing rights, the post, the right to build railways and exploit mines. En-han Lee<sup>14</sup> and Erh-min Wang, whom we mentioned above, are two outstanding figures in this field. The latter in particular associates the ideas of trade war with the concept of support for native trade, which resulted in China's fight for gaining back the rights mentioned above from the foreign powers<sup>15</sup>.

Erh-min Wang, who studied the issue of 'valuing trade', which emerged at the end of the Manchu rule, stated that the term 'enterprise' did not appear in specialist literature until 1890. At the beginning, the concept of developing enterprise, as its great representative Zhang Qian understood it, was limited to the recommendation that "men should focus on study, and women on enterprise". However, it very soon turned out that the lack of significant funds made it impossible to establish schools. This spurred Zhang Qian to think up a new theory, which proposed saving the country by developing the cotton and steel industries<sup>16</sup>. This train of thought was subsequently developed by Sun Yatsen into his concept of developing the railway network, building harbours etc.<sup>17</sup> Among others, Sun Yatsen advocated building a railway

<sup>12</sup> *Ibidem*, *Guandu shangban guannian zhi xincheng ji qi yiyi* (The concept of creating enterprises founded by merchants and controlled by the state and its significance), "Academic journal of the Institute of Chinese Culture of the Chinese University of Hong Kong" 1982, no. 13, pp. 19-43.

<sup>13</sup> Hsien-chia Wang, *Wei yuan dui xifang de renshi ji qi hai fang sixiang* (Wei Yuan's knowledge of the West and his concept of coastal defence), Taipei 1964.

<sup>14</sup> En-han Lee, *Shouhui liquan yundong yu lixian yundong*, (The movement for regaining jurisdiction and the constitutional movement), "Collected papers from the 'Reformers and constitutionalists' symposium", pp. 97-107.

<sup>15</sup> Erh-min Wang, "Shang zhan guannian yu zhong shang sixiang" ("The concepts of trade wars and the appreciation of merchants"), [in:] *idem*, *Zhongguo jindai sixiang shilun* (History of modern Chinese thought), Taipei 1977.

<sup>16</sup> Erh-min Wang, "Zhonghua minguo chuqi zhi shiye jianguo sixiang" ("The concept of state construction through the development of enterprise during the early years of the Republic of China"), [in:] *History of modern Chinese thought...*, vol. 2, pp. 40-70.

<sup>17</sup> "Shiye jihua" zhi shidai beijing ji jianguo gongneng" ("The historical background of the 'Industrial Plan' and its role in state formation"), [in:] "Collected papers from the 'Chinese history and culture' symposium", Taipei 1984, pp. 60-69.

line to Tibet, which for many decades had only been a utopia and now exists in the form of the Qinghai-Tibet railway line.

Shih-chiang Lu was the originator of a new look at the issue of the officials' and gentry's hostility toward missionary activity, legalised by the treaties concluded by China with the foreign powers. Lu mentions three causes of it: the Confucian division between Chinese and 'barbarians' surrounding China's territory; the association between missionary activity and aggression upon China, as well as the officials' and the gentry's anxiety about their own economic interests<sup>18</sup>. In his subsequent works, Lu reached the conclusion that anti-missionary uprisings nevertheless had a nationalist character.

Even more issues concerning Chinese nationalism were studied – apart from Erh-min Wang – by other Taiwanese historians, including Kuo-pang Li, and Feng-hsiang Cheng. The former studied the development of Chinese nationalism from the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 until the Anti-Japanese war of 1937<sup>19</sup>. The latter studied nationalism during the May Fourth Movement of 1919<sup>20</sup>. The Chinese intelligentsia's hope to "save the country by following the Western model" made them inclined to address the large masses. However, the masses could not read works written in Classical Chinese unknown to them. Therefore, nationalism provided the movement with an incentive to introduce the vernacular in writing. It was due to this movement that Western ideas – the achievements of modern science, Darwinism, democracy, and women's rights – began to be implemented in China via translations.

## 2. The study of Chinese political parties

Modern political parties emerged in China only after the Sino-Japanese war of 1894. According to Yü-fa Chang, the Taiwanese expert in this issue<sup>21</sup>, modern parties can be distinguished from traditional societies, which sometimes also called themselves "parties", on the basis of the following six criteria:

- they should have a leader, usually appointed through democratic elections;
- they should have a party programme stating the objectives that party members wished to attain;
- they should have a hierarchical organisation and division of tasks;
- they should make use of propaganda;
- they should conduct their activity and enrol new members in an open way.

The first modern Chinese parties can be divided into two categories according to their orientation: reform-oriented parties such as the Society for Deepening

---

<sup>18</sup> Shih-chiang Lu, *Wan Qing shiqi jitujiao zai Sichuan sheng de chuanjiao huodong ji Sichuan ren de fanying* (Catholic missionary activity in Sichuan province and the Sichuanese reaction at the end of the Qing dynasty, 1860-1911", [in:] *Historical journal of the National Pedagogical School*, Taipei 1976, no. 4, p. 265-302.

<sup>19</sup> Erh-min Wang, *Wan Qing zhengzhi sixiang shilun* (History of political thought at the end of Qing dynasty), a collection of articles that discuss, among others, the well-known idea of the West's exploitation of China, Taipei 1969.

<sup>20</sup> Erh-min Wang, *Qing ji xuehui yu jindai minzuzhuyi de xincheng* (Academic societies during the Qing dynasty and the formation of nationalism).

<sup>21</sup> Yü-fa Chang, *Liushi nian ...*, pp. 167-181.

Knowledge, the Society for National Defence, the Southern Academic Society and the Society for Defence of the Emperor, which were mainly located abroad, and constitution-oriented parties, which initially comprised the Society for Preparing the Constitution, the Society for Constitutional Government, founded in Japan, as well as two other organisations. After the parliament was formed in 1910, the Society of Friends of the Constitution and the Society for Propagating Constitutional Monarchy were also founded<sup>22</sup>.

Later, such parties as the United League and the Revive China Society were founded; these two parties were well-known outside China's borders, as they were very active abroad. They can be described as revolutionary organisations of the first two decades of the 20th century<sup>23</sup>. And finally, the two main parties were founded, the CCP and the Kuomintang, which have made the object of most studies.

According to Yü-fa Chang, these works can be divided into: source-based studies, descriptive studies and monographs.

From the first category, professor Yü-fa Chang mentions: several Japanese works published in the 1920s that analysed the two main political parties, as well as Tsy-he Sun's work published in 1981 in Taiwan, entitled *Source materials for the study of the history of political parties of the Chinese Republic*. This 532-page work discusses the Kuomintang (KMT), the Chinese Socialist Party and the Chinese Youth League.

Among the leading works from the second category is Chüeh-yüan Wang's *History of Chinese political parties*, published in Taiwan. This fundamental 838-page work discusses all significant parties active between 1894 and 1959.

Among Taiwanese monograph works, there are: Shou-kung Li's prize-winning work of 1964 – *Parliament in the early years of the Republic* and his *Parliament and party fights during the early years of the Republic*, published in 1985. This work, based on sources in Chinese, Japanese, and English, employs the statistic method and contains many useful tables.

The works concerning China's party system mainly focus on the beginning of the 20th century. This results from the fact that each of the two major parties aimed at establishing a monoparty system, and they only permitted smaller parties to exist on the political firmament temporarily or symbolically. The KMT and the CCP only joined forces during the Northern Expedition of the 1920s against warlords, and in the face of Japanese invasion between 1937 and 1945. This is why it is worth mentioning Kuo Ching-lu's work *Party cooperation during the period before the Anti-Japanese War*. It is a graduation thesis defended in 1984 at the Institute of Political Sciences of the Military and Political Academy. It discusses many parties, which due to the Japanese menace were allowed to cooperate with the Kuomintang.

---

<sup>22</sup> Yü-fa Chang, *Qing ji de lixian tuanti* (Constitutionalist organizations during the Qing dynasty), Taipei 1971.

<sup>23</sup> Yü-fa Chang, *Qing ji de geming tuanti* (Revolutionary organizations during the Qing dynasty), Taipei 1975.

### 3. The structure of Chinese society

As shown by the surveys conducted by Wei-an Chang, professor at the National Ts'ing Hua University<sup>24</sup>, the field of research into China's social structure is extremely broad. The publications concerning only the class structure of the Chinese society are extremely numerous, although they discuss only two social classes of the modern period – the landed gentry (*shenshi* in Chinese), and the merchant class. There is already a very large amount of literature on the *shenshi*: the works of Robert M. Marsh, P'ing-ti Ho, T'ung-tsu Chun, Fei Hsiao-tung, Chung-li Chang, Wolfram Eberhard<sup>25</sup>, and others. These works are all based on very reliable first-hand materials from a 800-year time-span in the case of Eberhard, a 300-year time span in the case of Marsh, and a 543-year time span in that of Ho, which in Wei-an Chang's view make them a very solid basis for the analysis of the structure and mobility of the *shenshi* class, which may lead to further insights if the current research methods are applied. The *shenshi* class is known in Western literature by the not-too-fortunate term of gentry<sup>26</sup>.

The number of works dedicated to the merchant class, however, is still scarce. There are only a few Taiwanese works in this field<sup>27</sup>, yet very significant for the study of the structure of Chinese society, the relations between the gentry and the officials, the gentry and the merchants, and the gentry and the peasantry. Nonetheless, this group's views, the role of tradition, especially with reference to modern times, require further and more in-depth research.

### 4. The issue of traditional Chinese secret societies

Taiwanese specialists divide the issue of the Chinese secret societies into two large fields: the history of secret societies, which they refer to as *mimi huidang shi* (a term somewhat different from the one used on the mainland), and the history of folk beliefs, that is *minjian xinyang shi*. The activity of these societies dates back to very remote times, but only began to be studied in the 20th century. Chih-fa Chuang be-

<sup>24</sup> Wei-an Chang, *Jindai Zhongguo shehui jiecong jiegou – shisheng yu shangren jiecong wenxian zhi jiantao* (Chinese social structure in modern times – Review of publications on the *shenshi* and the merchants), [in:] *Liushi nian* ..., pp. 183-212.

<sup>25</sup> Robert M. Marsh, *The Mandarins: Circulation of Elites in China 1600-1900*, Glencoe 1961; Ho P'ing-ti, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: aspects of social mobility, 1368-1911*, New York 1962; Chu T'ung-shu, *Chinese Class structure and its Ideology*, [in:] J. F. Fairbank (ed.), *Chinese Thought and Institutions*, Chicago 1957, 1979, pp. 235-250; Fei Hsiao-tung, *Peasantry and gentry: an interpretation of Chinese social structure and its change*, *AJS* 1961, no. 52 (1), pp. 1-27; Chang Chung-li, *The Chinese gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society*, Seattle 1955.

<sup>26</sup> *Liushi nian* ..., pp. 205-206.

<sup>27</sup> Kuang-cheng Chen, *Jiegouxin shehui liudong* (Structural social mobility), "Academic Journal of the Taiwan University, Demography", no. 4, pp. 103-126; Tsu-yü Chen, *Maiban – jindai chuqi Zhongguo de xinxing zibenjia* (Compradores – new capitalists at the dawn of modern times in China), "Lishi yuekan" (Historical monthly) 1988, no. 1; Hsuan-chih Tai, *Bailianjiao de benzhi* (The essence of the White Lotus), "Pedagogic School Journal" 1976, no. 12.

believes that the earliest work was Tao Chengzhang's *History of the Hongmen society*, written in Burma and published in 1910 in the *Guanghua ribao*. Two years later, Hirayama Shu, the Japanese government envoy, published a work on China's major societies, such as the White Lotus, the Triad, the Brother and Elder Society, and the Revive China Society. It was followed by another significant source material, the anthology of original writings of the Heaven and Earth Society, bought from them by the British Mrs Ball, and edited by Xiao Yishan in 1935. The following collected sources on that society were published in 1937 and 1943 thanks to the efforts of Luo Ergang. Gustav Schlegel also published important materials concerning this society in 1940, based on documents of the Heaven and Earth Society, obtained by the police in Sumatra already in 1863. In 1940, Liu Lianke's fundamental work *300 years of revolutionary activity of Chinese secret societies* was published in Macao. At the end of the 1940s, several collected sources on the Hongmen Society were also published.

After a long break, a collection of materials concerning the Small Sword Society and another one on the Golden Coin Society, were published in Shanghai in 1958. The interviews with over 300 elder inhabitants of Hubei province resulted in a collection of records on the secret societies' support of the 1911 revolution. The collected materials on the Taiping in Guangxi province, published in 1978, also included reports on the activity of the Heaven and Earth society in that province. The five-volume *Tiandihui* (the Heaven and Earth Society) was published much later, between 1980 and 1986; it is a fundamental compendium edited by the Renmin University and China's First Historical Archives, which covers the period between 1786 to the Opium War. In 1981, other publications on the Taiping Rebellion in Guangdong province were issued, and in 1983 documents on the rebellion led by Lin Shuangwen, with connections in the Triad, were published.

In 1964, Ssu-yu Teng's works on the contribution made by the secret societies to the 1911 Revolution were published, followed in 1978 by the publication of archive materials on the Heaven and Earth Society, held by the State Palace Museum in Taipei. Certain materials held by Academia Sinica are published in the series *Historical sources from Ming and Qing times*, founded in 1930. Since 1973, the Palace Museum has been publishing archive materials from the times of emperors Kangxi (9 *juan*), Yongzheng (32), Guangxu (36), Qianlong (75 *juan*).

As can be seen from this cursory listing, the source basis for research is enormous. The sources and studies of the traditional Chinese secret societies were published with significant interruptions. In my opinion, they were the result not only of political events (wars, revolutions, ideological campaigns), but also of an underrating of this subject. We can mention various reasons for this state of things: some preferred to study and write history on the basis of official court chronicles, others could discern threats to the power monopoly in the study of secret societies. In any event, the publication of the above-mentioned compendiums undoubtedly made research work easier, although it has to be admitted that Western sinologists-historians displayed much more initiative in this field. The studies of the Taiping are an exception to this rule; many authors regard them as a separate category, surely because they conducted their activity in an open way and were closer to Protestantism than to Chi-

nese folk beliefs. A series of works on the Taipings and the Shanghai Small Sword Society was published on the mainland, undoubtedly as a result of the publication of many sources on these issues. From among the Taiwanese publications, it is worth mentioning a book edited by Yün Kuan – *Comparison between secret societies and Mafias*, published in 1973 and enlarged on the basis of new material the following year. The year 1975 saw the publication of Pao-chien Lu's work, *Heaven and Earth Society leadership at the end of Qing dynasty*, and the year 1981 – the publication of a book by Chih-fa Chuang, archivist of the Palace Museum – *Study on the sources of the Heaven and Earth Society during the Qing dynasty*.

Somewhat earlier, two important works were published outside China: Sasaki Masaya's *Secret societies at the end of the Qing dynasty*, part 1, *Origins of the Heaven and Earth Society*, published in 1970, and a collective work published the same year in France, edited by Jean Chesneaux: *Mouvements populaires et sociétés secrètes en Chine aux XIXe et XXe siècles*. The last of these was the outcome of an international research project with the participation of 16 historians including the author. The book was translated into English and published by Stanford University in 1972. An abridged version of this book was also published in Hong Kong in 1971. This was how the study of secret societies took on an international character and to some extent caused an increase in the number of research programmes concerning the history of illegal associations. These societies played an important role in overthrowing the Manchu rule, although both the leaders of the 1911 revolution and the CCP were not quick to acknowledge their cooperation with such allies. However, it is a known fact that both Sun Yatsen and marshal Zhu De had connections in them. The 1980s saw the publication of numerous articles dedicated to various secret societies. We cannot mention all of them here, but we should mention a few names of Taiwanese researchers as bibliography signpost: Yü-fa Chang, Han-chu Cheng, and Chih-fa Chuang.

The issue of folk beliefs is closely related to that of secret societies. A characteristic feature of Chinese folk beliefs is the symbiosis of ancestor worship and elements from the three main religious and philosophical trends: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. A combination of all these three factors (thanks to the well-known religious syncretism of the Chinese, which allowed the combination of elements belonging to various beliefs) constituted the religious contents of secret societies. The White Lotus Society, for instance, which is a typical example of a society dominated by the cult of Maitreyi, the Chinese Messiah, was the organizer of the 18th-century great anti-Manchu uprising, and today is rightly regarded as the precursor of the whole system of secret societies of Northern China, which lasted until mid-20th century. The works of the well-known Taiwanese historian Hsuan-chih T'ai, now resident of Singapore, are dedicated to this very society<sup>28</sup>. The origin of another very interesting cult, popular among secret society members – that of the Unborn Mother (*Wusheng laomu*), was studied by other Taiwanese historians, such as Shih-ming

---

<sup>28</sup> Chin-ming Cheng, *Wusheng Laomu xinyang shuoyuan* (The origin of the Unborn Mother cult), Taipei 1986.

Cheng<sup>29</sup>, Kuang-yü Sung<sup>30</sup>, Wen-hsin Yeh<sup>31</sup> and Chih-fa Chuang. The latter also discussed places of worship of the Unborn Mother in Henan and Shandong provinces, known already in Manchu times, and especially her preserved temple in Luozhoudun, 30 km north of the capital of Ji county in Henan province. We should add that many Japanese and Western works by Daniel L. Overmayer, Richard Shek, Sudan Naqin etc., were also dedicated to this mysterious cult. It was thanks to these numerous works that the White Lotus Society and the folk beliefs related to the cult of the Unborn Mother became less mysterious.

Another issue that made the subject of many academic disputes was the origin of the so-called Red Gang (*Hongbang*) and the Green Gang (*Qingbang*). Some, such as Shen-chao Chang<sup>32</sup> regard the Green Gang as a branch of the *Hongmen*, others, such as Shan-chou Ping<sup>33</sup>, deem the Red Gang an orthodox organisation of the Brother and Elder Society (*Gelaohui*); the Green Gang, in their opinion, joined the former society later as one of its branches. I-shan Hsiao, on the other hand<sup>34</sup>, proves that it was a faction of the Heaven and Earth Society (*Tiandihui*). Hsuan-chih Tai<sup>35</sup> relates the Green Gang to the *Luo* sect and states that its name (*Qingbang*) is a corrupted form of *qing* (a word with the same pronunciation but written by another character), part of the name of Anqing town. Chih-fa Chuang<sup>36</sup> presents evidence to support the fact that both the Red and Green Gang were two rival gangs of inland sailors who transported grain from Southern to Northern China, followers of the old and new Anjiao sect respectively. The Red Gang wore red badges during fights, and the Green Gang often got bruises on their bodies while fighting for control over wharfs, hence their names. In Chih-fa Chuang's view, neither of these gangs was very religious, but their fighting spirit justifies their being classed as secret societies. They did not after all originate either in the *Hongbang* or in the Heaven and Earth Society, and they were not orthodox factions of the Brother and Elder Society or their derivatives, either. They were simply secret societies founded by grain carriers, followers of folk beliefs<sup>37</sup>. The later history of these gangs are widely known; this was a sad period of degeneration of secret societies, which now did not differ much from the Sicilian mafia.

We should add that the folk beliefs of the secret societies have been studied not only by Taiwanese historians, but also by specialists in religious and museum stud-

<sup>29</sup> Kuang-yü Sung, *Shilun Wusheng Laomu jiao xinyang de yixie tezhi* (Certain features of the Unborn Mother cult), "Historical and Philological Sciences Quarterly" 1981, no. 52 (3).

<sup>30</sup> Wen-hsin Yeh, *Ren shen zhitian - qianlun shiba shiji de Luo jiao* (Between god and man - some considerations on the 18th-century Luo faith), "Shixue pinglun" ("Reviews of historical works") 1980, no. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Sheng-chao Chang, *Anqing xitong lu* (The Anqing system), Taipei 1975.

<sup>32</sup> Shan-chou Ping, *Zhongguo mimi shehui shi* (History of Chinese secret societies), Taipei 1975.

<sup>33</sup> I-shan Hsiao, *Tiandihui qi yuan kao* (A study of the origin of the Heaven and Earth Society), Taipei 1975.

<sup>34</sup> Hsuan-chih Tai, *Qingbang de yuanliu kao* (A study of the origin of the Green Gang), "Shihuo yuekan" 1973, vol. 3, no. 4.

<sup>35</sup> Chih-fa Chuang, *Qing dai Hongbang yuanliu kao* (A study of the origin of the Red Gang during the Qing dynasty), "Hanxue yanjiu" ("Sinological studies") 1983, vol. 1, no. 1.

<sup>36</sup> *Liushi nian...*, p. 299.

<sup>37</sup> Yu-ching Chiang, *Zao qi guo gong guanxi de yanjiu* (A study of the relations between the KMT and the CCP at an early stage), [in:] *Liushi nian...*, pp. 367-400.

ies. The best example is probably Chang-rue Juan, an ethnologist and specialist in religious studies from the National Museum of Taiwan; among his publications is an extensive, richly illustrated work called *Study of Chinese folk beliefs*, Taipei 1990, 394 p. This study naturally refers to beliefs of the Taiwanese populace, both of aborigines and of people coming from Southern China.

## 5. Studies of the KMT-CCP relations in an early stage

This is a hot topic on both sides of the Taiwan Strait. The relations between these two main parties looked very differently in different periods. In what concerns the history of the KMT, the following periodisation is used in Taiwan: the period of Communist membership (1923–1927), the period of purges and fight against the Communists (1927–1937), the period of cooperation with the Communists (1937–1945), and the period of resistance against the Communists (from 1945 to our days). The Communist Party of China has adopted a different periodisation: the first civil war (1924–1927), the second civil war (1927–1937), the Anti-Japanese War (1937–1945) and the liberation war (1945–1949). During the first and third period the KMT and the CCP cooperated, during the remaining periods they fought each other.

An enormous amount of literature has been written on this topic, there are compendiums of documents published both in China and abroad, and the number of publications will undoubtedly still increase, as not everything has been revealed and can be appraised in the same way throughout the years. As time goes by, further archive materials will be made public. However, it is worth considering the Taiwanese historians' appraisal of the relations between these two giants, at least during the earliest stage.

In his appraisal of the sixty years of research into modern history, Yung-ching Chiang<sup>38</sup> from the Institute of History of the State Political Academy points to the fact that the journals and monographs published so far have been dedicated to the main actors of the political scenes of those times: Chen Duxiu, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Peng Bai, Zhang Guotao etc. from the CCP, and Sun Yatsen, Hu Hanmin, Wang Jingwei, Tsu Lu, Dai Jitao, Wu Zhihui etc. from the Kuomintang. This facilitates the study of the above-mentioned period.

Generally speaking, Taiwanese historians believe that the reason why the Communists were allowed to join the Kuomintang was the alliance with Russia. However, why did Sun Yatsen make such a decision? According to Yung-ching Chiang, historians' opinions in this issue differ: some believe that the cause of the alliance was the Western powers' refusal to support Sun Yatsen; others believe that Sun Yatsen was fascinated by the Russian revolution and wished to make good use of its experiences, and yet others believe that he wished to avoid a possible alliance between Russia or the CCP with the enemy. Following Mao Zedong, mainland histo-

---

<sup>38</sup> Dai Lumin, *Diyici guo gong hezuo yi caiqu dangnei hezuo de xingshi* (The inner-party form of co-operation during the first alliance between the KMT and the CCP), "Shixue qinbao" ("Historical sciences guide") 1984, no. 1, p. 52.



rians emphasise the fact that Dr Sun regarded Russia as his 'teacher'. Western historians, such as Martin Wilbur, believe that Sun Yatsen had been leaning toward socialism for a long time; he admired the Russian revolution and needed support. However, he had different goals than the Comintern. In order to attain them, each party was trying to use the other. According to Taiwanese historians, the reason for this was the will to obtain support and to prevent Russian occupation in Mongolia, the wish to avoid a Russian invasion by means of an alliance with Northern China warlords and the implantation of Communism in China. Naturally, there was also the other party, that is Russia, willing to form the alliance. According to mainland historians, Sun Yatsen did indeed wish to develop the national liberation movement in China. The Russian historian S. L. Tikhvinsky states that the reason for forming the alliance was working China's warm reception of Russian aid. Lastly, according to Taiwanese historians, Sun Yatsen's goal was developing the national revolution, while Russia's goal was transforming China into a significant factor stimulating the development of world revolution – hence Sun Yatsen's alliance with Russia.

There are various reasons why Sun Yatsen accepted the Communists, or why they joined the KMT. The CCP emphasises Sun Yatsen's 'invitation' and 'the Comintern's support', as well as the initiative of certain Communists. There are also more sincere statements: such as that there was a wish to use Sun Yatsen's authority in order to secure a military basis in Guangdong province for Russia. Other mainland voices state the will to use the Kuomintang's banner in order to gain over leadership of the party<sup>39</sup>.

For a long time, the appraisal of the first Kuomintang convention of 1942 has been the bone of contention between mainland and Taiwanese historians. To be more precise, the dispute concerned Sun Yatsen's interpretation of the Three democratic principles by adding the concept of admitting Communists into the KMT (the 'alliance' with the CCP in CCP's own words) and of the alliance with Russia and the idea of supporting the worker and peasant movement. In Mao Zedong's opinion, and that of mainland historians as well, that new interpretation meant precisely those so-called 'new democratic principles' which were widely propagated by the CCP later. As a matter of fact, neither the Manifesto of the first convention of the KMT itself nor Sun Yatsen's later works contained *expressis verbis* the expression 'new democracy'. The last edition of the *Three Democratic Principles* with Sun Yatsen's handwritten annotations, which I had the opportunity to see in Chongqing, did not contain that expression either. The famous mainland researcher Chen Xiqi explained this contradiction by pointing out that the documents of the first KMT convention contain no mention of the alliance with Russia, the alliance with the CCP and supporting workers and peasants as three great principles; this was only a generalising interpretation made at a later date<sup>40</sup>. Both the Taiwanese historian Yung-ching Chiang and Martin Wilbur proved that Sun Yatsen did not announce any three political principles, and that the term comes from Communist sources. At a first glance, it may

---

<sup>39</sup> Chen Xiqi, *Sun Zhongshan yu Guomindang "Yi da"* (Sun Yatsen and the first KMT convention), collected papers of the first convention, pp. 79-80.

<sup>40</sup> Yun-lung Shen, *Zhongguo gongchandang zhi lai yuan* (Origin of the CCP), Taipei 1987, pp. 79-80.

seem that this is only a pointless terminological dispute. As a matter of fact, the two rival parties fighting for power in China, the KMT and the CCP, both consider themselves the heirs of the same leader, Sun Yatsen, whose portraits can be seen in places of honour in Beijing and Taipei. In either party it is believed that the party has best carried out his ideas!

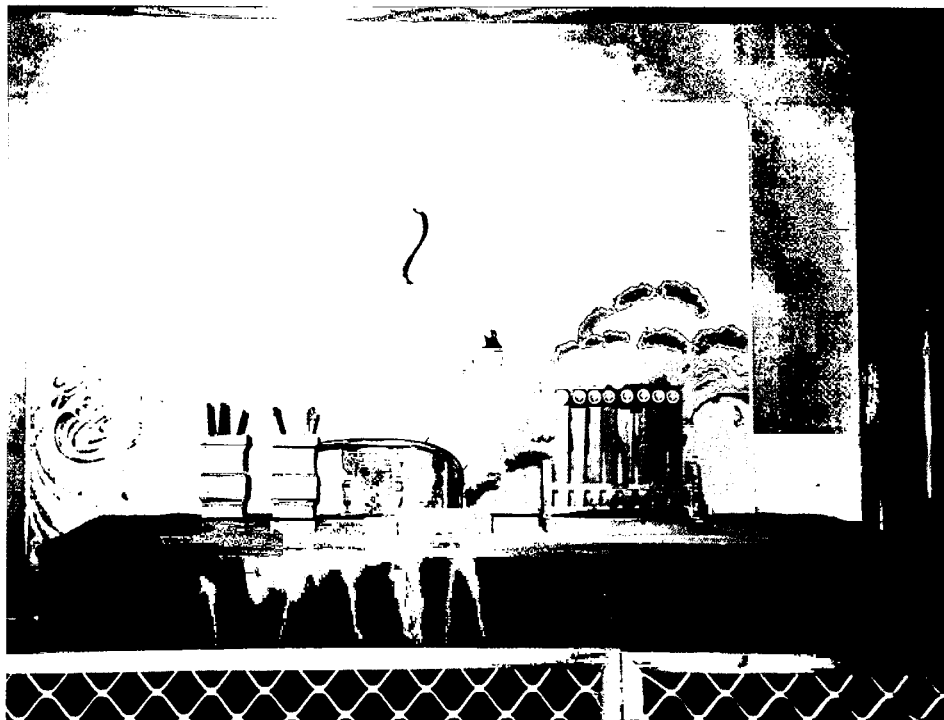
The views on the activity conducted by Mikhail Borodin (alias of Mikhail Gruzenberg), the KMT's leading political counsellor for three years and a representative of the Comintern with this party, are also divided. Some believe that he set the KMT leadership at variance<sup>41</sup>, but others emphasise his services to the CCP, which they regard as more important than his faults<sup>42</sup>. In Taiwan, however, the most popular view is that by reorganising the Kuomintang Borodin divided it into three factions – leftist, rightist and centrist, but by imposing a proletarian party structure upon the KMT he strengthened it, thus unwittingly harming its rival, the CCP. As we can see, each problem can be seen from different and often contradictory points of view. In the opinion of Taiwanese historian Yung-ching Chiang, it is very likely that further sources will be made public, which will push forward research in this issue<sup>43</sup>.

---

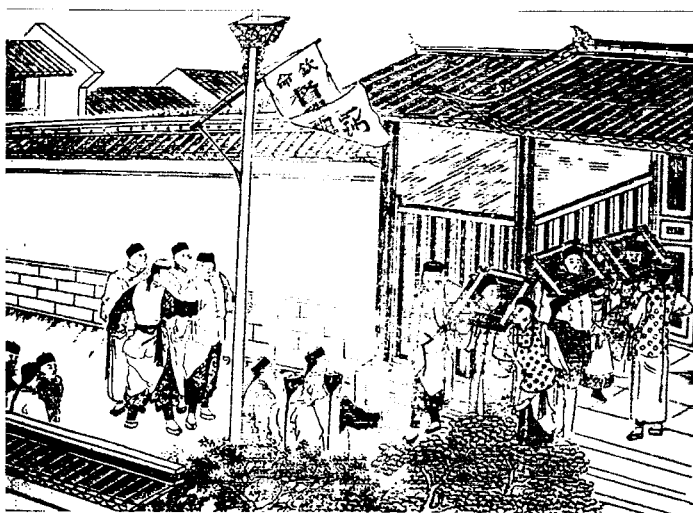
<sup>41</sup> Yuan Bangjian, *Baoluting zai Guangdong de jige wenti* (Several issues concerning Borodin's activity in Guangdong province), "Shixue qingbao" 1985, p. 58.

<sup>42</sup> Yung-ching Chiang, *Baoluting yu Zhongguo guomindang zhi gaizu* (Borodin and the reorganization of the Chinese Kuomintang), Taipei 1981.

<sup>43</sup> *Liushi nian...*, p. 400.



1. Sala sądowa gubernatora Li Hongzhang, XIX w. Muzeum rezydencji gubernatora prowincji stołecznej Zhili, Baoding, 120 km na południe od Pekinu. Wyjęcie przezeń czerwonej pałeczki oznaczało dla podsądnego dalsze życie, czarnej – karę główną (fot. R. Sławiński).



2. Kara noszenia kang. Narodowe Centrum Sztuki Tradycyjnej, Wuchieh pow. Ilan, Tajwan (fot. R. Sławiński).



3. Najmłodszy posąg Bogini Mórz Mazu, wykonany w 1995 r. ze złota, Port Suao, Tajwan (fot. Juan Ch'ang-rue).



4. Feniks wraz z plejadą legendarnych postaci z tradycyjnej sztuki teatralnej osnutej na dziejach Trzech Królestw. Dach świątyni Mazu, Port Suao (fot. Juan Ch'ang-rue).



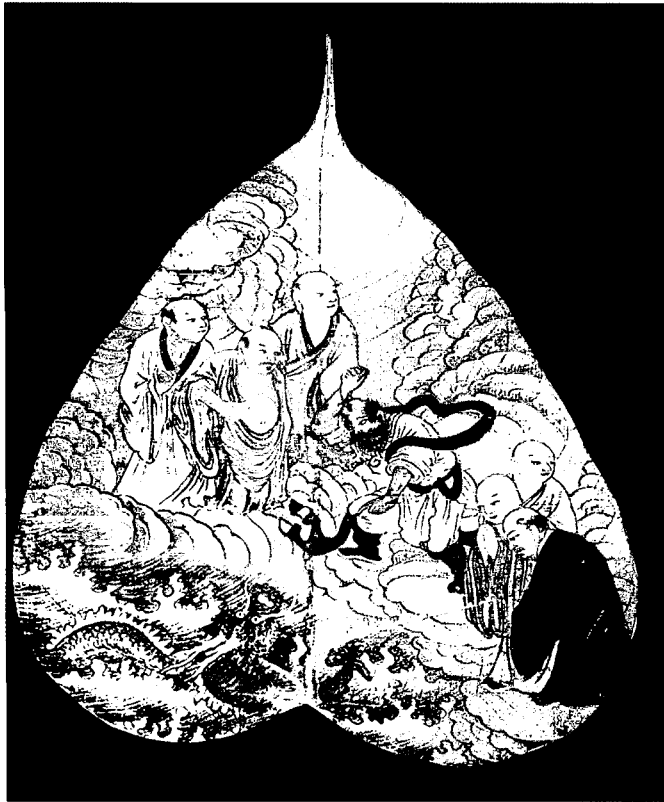
5. Nauczyciel i uczeń przed ołtarzykiem Konfucjusza. Narodowe Centrum Sztuki Tradycyjnej, Wuchieh pow. Ilan (fot. R. Sławiński).



6. Ołtarzyk z wizerunkiem Konfucjusza w tradycyjnym, prywatnym studio dla 1-2 uczniów. Narodowe Centrum Sztuki Tradycyjnej, Wuchieh pow. Ilan (fot. R. Sławiński).

學齡 科目	七 歲	八 歲	九 歲	十 歲
課程	三 字 經 大 學 正 文 中 庸 正 文 論語正文 學而 述而 先達	論語正文 孟子正文 公 孫 龍 王 時 晏 子	大 學 集 註 中 庸 集 註 學而 論語集註 述而 先達	論語集註 孟子集註 公 孫 龍 王 時 晏 子 天 時 詩 經 正 文 初 學 群 芳
詩文	五 堂 對 類	五 堂 對 類 千 字 詩 集	聲 律 啓 蒙 唐 詩 合 解	唐 詩 合 解 起 重 子 問 路
習字	順 字 上 大 人	描 字	練 法 帖	練 法 帖

7. Wykaz lektur ucznia prywatnego studio za dyn Qing. Zawiera umoralniające teksty, które uczeń w wieku 7–10 lat musiał opanować pamięciowo.  
Narodowe Centrum Sztuki Tradycyjnej, Wuchieh pow. Ilan (fot. R. Sławiński).



8. Arhat – jeden z 18 uczniów Buddy – poskramiający smoka. Miniatura na liściu, dyn. Qing. Wystawa „Ośmiu Nieśmiertelnych i Arhaci”, 12.2005–09.2006.  
Narodowe Centrum Sztuki Tradycyjnej, Wuchieh pow. Ilan (fot. R. Sławiński).