

CAO Daoheng

## The eastward transition of Chinese culture in the Eastern Han Dynasty and the north-south difference of scholarship & literature in the Eastern Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties

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**Abstract** The text investigates into the historical background of the formation of Guanzhong cultural center and its eastward transition since the Eastern Han Dynasty moved its capital to Luoyang. It further analyzes the complicated causes of the literary flourishing in such places as Runan, Yingchuan, Nanyang and its influences upon the contemporaneous literature development, so as to elucidate various reasons for the great different scholarship and literature between the North and the South in the Eastern Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties. Among them one of the most important causes was that they had inherited different traditions.

**Keywords** Eastern Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, cultural center, sectional culture

**摘要** 历时性地考察周秦以来关中文化中心形成, 以及东汉定都洛阳后文化中心东移的历史背景, 并在此基础上重点分析汝南、颍川、南阳等地文风炽盛的复杂原因, 以及对当时文学发展的影响, 说明东晋南北朝时期, 南北学术文艺形成巨大差异的原因是多方面的, 而双方所继承的不同传统则是其中最重要的因素之一。

**关键词** 东晋, 南北朝, 文化中心, 地域文化

The scholars of history of scholarship and literature have already observed

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CAO Daoheng (✉)

Research Institute of Literature, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing 100732, China

various differences between the North and the South in the Eastern Jin (Dong Jin 东晋 CE 317-420), Southern (Nan Chao 南朝 CE 420-589) and Northern (Bei Chao 北朝 CE 386-518) Dynasties, and made abundant explorations on the causes. Unfortunately, most of them were confined to the geographical elements. For example, *Nanbei wenxue butong lun* 南北文学不同论 (*On the Difference of Southern and Northern Literature*), written by the modern scholar Liu Shipai 刘师培, explicated the different literary styles in the North and the South from the perspective of different water and soil; *Weijin nanbeichao wenxue shi* 魏晋南北朝文学史 (*The Literature History of the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties*), written by Hu Guorui 胡国瑞, argued that besides the wars, the barren land in the North also resulted in the difference. However, the explanations are still not very satisfying, for doubt still remains whether the geographical environment can influence the literary styles directly. In addition, it is too arbitrary to say that the northern land was barren, for there was no lack of fertile land in the North. Furthermore, according to Vol. 4 of *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛阳伽蓝记 (*Notes to the Temples and Gardens of Luoyang*), the financial situation in the late Northern Wei Period (Bei Wei 北魏 CE 386-534) was not to such an extent as to cause the academic and literary decline. In reality, it is still disputable whether the scholarship and literature in the North were inferior to those in the South. Quite a few scholars since the Qing Dynasty (Qing Chao 清朝 CE 1644-1911) agreed that the study of Confucian classics in the North had its fortes, and the unique prose style of the Northern Dynasty was not necessarily eclipsed by that in the Southern Dynasty. I will never deny the great difference of the scholarship and literature in the North and the South, but hold that the difference results from much more complicated causes. I have illustrated this point in my *Nanchao wenxue yu beichao wenxue yanjiu* 南朝文学与北朝文学研究 (*The Literary Study on the Literature in the Northern and Southern Dynasties*) viewed from the different social background in the North and South, here I try to make a further study from the point of different inheritance of literary traditions on both sides. Please oblige me with your valuable comments when you find something inadequate in this paper.

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## 1 The development of culture in the Shang and Zhou Dynasties

There is no agreement among many views on the origin of our ancient civilization, but according to the surviving ancient textual materials, the oracle-bone inscriptions in the Shang Dynasty (Shangchao 商朝 1600-1046 BCE) were the earliest. Though experiencing several moves, the Shang tribe lived only in eastern present Henan Province, and its culture extended mainly in present Shandong and Henan, plus some places in northern Jiangsu and Anhui. The Zhou tribe, facing off

the Shang tribe, firstly lived in present Bin County 彬 (邠) 县, and then moved to Feng 丰 and Hao 镐 (in present Chang'an County, Shaanxi Province). At first Zhou was weak and submitted to Shang. Its culture was inferior to and deeply influenced by Shang culture. Later, as the Zhou tribe became more and more powerful, they eventually annihilated Shang, conquered the area of Shang culture, and established the Zhou Dynasty (Zhou Chao 周朝 1066-256 BCE). The king of Zhou became the common topmost ruler of China. After that, Zhou endeavored to learn from Shang culture, hence the saying "Zhou inherited the rites of Shang" in *Shangshu* "Hongfan" 尚书·洪范 (*Book of History* [with reference to] "Inner Chapter of the Great Norm"). Though the saying probably was supplemented by later generations, it tended to be true that the Zhou monarchs had consulted the Shang people on administration. With the establishment of the Zhou Dynasty, Guanzhong 关中 (Central China), where the capital Haojing 镐京 was located, naturally became the cultural center. The surviving works such as *Shangshu* "Zhoushu" 尚书·周书 (*Book of History* [with reference to] "Chronicles of Zhou"), *Shijing* "Zhou song" 诗经·周颂 (*Book of Poetry* [with reference to] "Odes in Zhou"), *Shijing* "Xiaoya" 诗经·小雅 (*Book of Poetry* [with reference to] "Small Pleasure"), *Shijing* "Daya" 诗经·大雅 (*Book of Poetry* [with reference to] "Great Pleasure"), were all created in this area, and many famous bronze vessels were made in this area too. Therefore, Guanzhong was the new cultural center in the Western Zhou Dynasty (Xi Zhou 西周 1066-771 BCE). As for the former Shang regions, due to the insufficient historical materials, it is hard to decide whether the culture there had declined or not.

After the Western Zhou Dynasty fell, King Ping of Zhou (Zhou Pingwang 周平王 770-720 BCE) moved the capital to Luoyang, thus changed the national cultural layout. The extant documents show more than half of the fifteen feudal states' ballads in *Shijing*, such as the ballads of Bei 邶, Yong 邶, Wei 卫, Zheng 郑, Qi 齐, Chen 陈, Hui 桧, Cao 曹 and "Lusong" 鲁颂 ("Odes in Lu"), "Shangsong" 商颂 ("Odes in Shang"), were created in East China. And wider attention should be paid to the fact that most of the cultural achievements since Shang and Zhou were preserved there too. For example, it was recorded in *Zuozhuan* "Zhaogong ernian" 左传·昭公二年 (*The Commentary of Zuo* [with reference to] "The Second Year of the Duke Zhao") that Han Qi 韩起 from the Jin 晋 state uttered, "The rites of Zhou are all in the state of Lu!" after he read *Yi xiang* 易象 (*Yi Images*) and *Lu chunqiu* 鲁春秋 (*Spring and Autumn of Lu*) on his visit to Lu. "Xianggong ershijiu nian" 襄公二十九年 ("The Twenty-ninth Year of the Duke Xiang") also stated that Ji Zha 季札 from the Wu 吴 state "asked for appreciating the Zhou music" on his visit to Lu. Furthermore, according to *Lunyu* "Shuer" 论语·述尔 (*The Anelects of Confucius* [with reference to] "Transmitting"), when Kongzi (孔子 Confucius) heard *shao* 韶 (The Music in Shao) in the Qi state, he said, "I returned to Lu from the Wei state, and then the music was reformed, and the pieces in the imperial

songs and praise songs found all their proper places.”

The wider attention we should pay is that many outstanding thinkers in the Spring-Autumn and Warring States Periods (770-221 BCE) were born in southern present Shandong and Henan. For example, Kong Zi was in Lu; Mengzi (孟子 Mengcius) was in Zou 邹; Laozi 老子 was in Kuxian 苦县 (in present Luyi 鹿邑, Henan); Zhuangzi 庄子 was in Meng 蒙 (near to present Shangqiu 商丘, Henan). Others argued it was in present Zhuangzhaiji 庄寨集 in Dongming 东明, Shandong); Mozi 墨子 was said to be born in the Song 宋 state, but the Qing Dynasty scholar Sun Yi 孙诒 said he was born in Lu. The birthplaces of all the pre-Qin outstanding thinkers were confined to southwestern Shandong and eastern Henan. The cultural prosperity expanded from the Spring-Autumn Period (770-477 BCE) to the Warring States Period, but was still confined to East China. Accordingly, it was said in *Wenxin diaolong* “Shixu” 文心雕龙·时序 (*The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* [with reference to] “The History and Historical Introduction”) that during the Warring States Period (476-221 BCE), “Only Qi and Chu 楚 saw the literary prosperity.” Certainly this had something to do with the different state policies, but the local cultural tradition was the more important factor. Though the Qin Dynasty (Qin Chao 秦朝 778-207 BCE) annexed West China, especially Shaanxi, its culture was relatively backward. To make things worse, the intercommunications with East China were blocked by the Jin state, and the truceless civil strives added fuel to the flames. No wonder it was recorded in *Shiji* “Qin benji” 史记·秦本纪 (*The Historical Records* [with reference to] “Chronicles of Qin”) that the Duke of Xiaogong (Qin Xiaogong 秦孝公 381-338 BCE) in Qin once sighed, “The feudal lords all despised Qin!” Qin was not powerful until Duke of Xiang (Xianggong 襄公 777-766 BCE) and Duke of Xiao’s periods. In addition, Shang Yang 商鞅, who assisted the Duke of Xiao to reform, expelled the other cultures. In *Shangjun shu* “Jinling” 商君书·靳令 (*Book of Lord Shang* [with reference to] “Making Orders Strict”), *Li* 礼 (*Book of Rites*), *Yue* 乐 (*Book of Music*), *Shi* 诗 (*Book of Poetry*), *Shu* 书 (*Book of History*) were categorized into *liushi* 六虱 (six vermins) and firmly prohibited. The prime minister of Qin, Lü Buwei 吕不韦, once organized his retainers to compile a book entitled *Lüshi Chunqiu* 吕氏春秋 (*The Spring and Autumn of Lü Buwei*) before Emperor Qinshihuang (Qinshihuang 秦始皇 259-210 BCE) united China. “Chajin” 察今 (“Observing the Present Times”) in the book stated that “People in dongxia (东夏 east of China) had different laws and decrees from the ancient times.” the modern scholar Yang Shuda 杨树达 argued that “Buwei was from Qin, which was in the west of China, so I think ‘dongxia’ refers to Central China.” Wang Liqi 王利器 argued that “‘Dongxia’ means East China or the eastern feudal states. Generally speaking, it refers to the east to Han’gu Guan 函谷关 (Han’gu

Pass).”<sup>1</sup> Therefore, it can be concluded that most of the classics before the late Warring States Period were created in the east to Han’gu Guan. Despite Emperor Qinshihuang’s atrocious policy of *fenshu kengru* 焚书坑儒 (to burn books and bury the literati in pits) after he annexed six feudal states, the advanced culture in Qi and Chu was less damaged because of its long distance from Qin. Therefore, after the downfall of Qin and the establishment of the Han Dynasty (Han Chao 汉朝 202 BCE-CE 220), most of the scholars were in East China. For example, among the earliest ones, Shusun Tong 叔孙通 was from Xue 薛 (present Xuecheng 薛城 District, Zaozhuang 枣庄 City, Shangdong Province), and Lu Jia 陆贾 was from Chu.<sup>2</sup> Among the later Confucians, Shen Pei 申培 was from Lu; Yuan Gusheng 辕固生 was from Qi; Fu Sheng 伏胜 was from Jinan 济南; Gao Tangsheng 高堂生 was from Lu. The initiator of *Gongyang chunqiu* 公羊春秋 (*The Gongyang Interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals*) was from Qi; the initiator of *Guliang chunqiu* 穀梁春秋 (*The Guliang Interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals*) was from Lu; the earliest initiator of *Yi* 易 (*Book of Changes*), Tian He 田何, was from Qi too. Likewise, the writers in the early Han Dynasty were mainly from Wu, Liang 梁, and Huainan 淮南 etc. As for the earlier writers, Mei Cheng 枚乘 was from Huaiyin 淮阴 (in present Jiangsu Province), and Zou Yang 邹阳 was from Qi. Obviously the culture in East China was more prosperous then.

However, the establishment of the centralized system, and especially the failure of the rebellion of the seven states, which was put down by Emperor Jing of Han (Han Jingdi 汉景帝 188-141 BCE), gradually weakened the feudal states in the east. Furthermore, Emperor Wu of Han’s support (Han Wudi 汉武帝 157-87 BCE) of Confucianism and passion for such literary works as *Cifu* 辞赋 (*Sentimental and descriptive composition, usually rhymed*) caused the literati all over the country to swarm into the capital Chang’an 长安 (present Xi’an 西安). At that time the only way for the literati to make careers was to seek positions in imperial court, as Dongfang Shuo 东方朔 put it in “Da ke nan” 答客难 (“On the Difficulties of Retainers”), “A retainer would be a general if respected by the monarch, while a POW if abused; he would go up in the world if promoted, while go down to the bottom if repressed; he would be a tiger if used, while a mouse if deserted.” Therefore, most of the literati had to swarm into Guanzhong, where

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<sup>1</sup> Wang Liqi, 2002, Vol. 15.

<sup>2</sup> It is hard to identify his birthplace because Chu had vast territory. According to the record “Lu Jia, crossed the Yangtze River with his offsprings” in Vol. 10 of *Yuanhexing zuan* 元和姓纂, it seemed he was born in northern Jiangsu and Anhui or the south to present Shandong and Henan. *Shiji* “Huozhi liezhuan” 史记·货殖列传 listed “Pei 沛, Chen, Runan, and Nanjun 南郡 north to Huai River” as “Western Chu”, “Donghai 东海, Wu, and Guangling east to Pengcheng 彭城” as “Eastern Chu”, and “Hengshan 衡山, Jiujiang 九江, Jiangnan 江南, Yuzhang 豫章, and Changsha 长沙” as “Southern Chu”.

the capital Chang'an was located. Emperor Wu of Han also set *wujing boshi* 五经博士 (academicians for studying the five Confucian classics) to initiate Confucian classics, and those unfamiliar with Confucian classics would have slim chance of obtaining official positions. In this case, the literati all over the country began to gather in Chang'an, hence a new national cultural center. Guanzhong, therefore, became the cradle to many scholars and writers, among which Siman Qian 司马迁 was an outstanding one. As for Sima Xiangru 司马相如, Wang Bao 王褒, and Yang Xiong 杨雄 etc., though born in Shu 蜀 (present Sichuan Province), they all lived and created their works in Chang'an. The famous father-son scholars, Liu Xiang 刘向 and Liu Xin 刘歆, lived in Chang'an too. As the capital of the Han Dynasty, Chang'an became the place for elites. As Ban Gu 班固 put it in "Xidufu" 西都赋 ("A Prose-poem on Western Capital Chang'an"), "It is the place of personages and officials, and the home to dignitaries, such as the seven premier ministers and five generals." Gradually, the Guanzhong literati became arrogant. It was recorded in *Yantielun* "Guoji" 盐铁论·国疾 (Discussions about Salt and Iron [with reference to] "The Suffering of a Country"), in the discussion on salt and iron held by Emperor Zhao of Han (Han Zhaodi 汉昭帝 95-74 BCE), Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 said, "People say, those humble Confucians [from the countryside] are no better than the intellectuals in the capital. Most of the writers were from the east to Mout Hua, and they were not entitled to discussions about important state affairs." People thought the able and virtuous intellectuals in capital might be wiser. Despite the prejudice, Guanzhong intellectuals had more access to scholarship and literature.

However, the vantage point of Guanzhong disappeared after the Western Han Dynasty (Xi Han 西汉 202 BCE-CE 8) broke down and Emperor Guangwu of Han (Han Guangwudi 光武帝 6 BCE-CE 57) moved the capital to Luoyang. The main reason for his moving the capital to Luoyang was that he rose in Nanyang 南阳 and took Henei Jun 河内郡 (Henei Prefecture) as his important rear area, and both of the places were to the east of Han'gu Guan and respectively on the southern and northern sides of Luoyang. But the more important reason was: though Guanzhong was famous for its fertility and "The land here is the best of the best", as was recorded in *Shangshu* "Yugong" 尚书·禹贡 (*Book of History* [with reference to] "The Tribute of Yu"), the fertility was only confined to the "eight hundred miles of Qin Dynasty Territory" in the center of Shaanxi Province. Despite the advanced agriculture, the food supplies still came short of the needs after people swarmed here. When Emperor Gao of Han (Han Gaodi 汉高帝 256-195 BCE) took Lou Jing's 娄敬 suggestion of choosing Chang'an as the capital, Zhang Liang 张良 pointed out that "If the feudal states are stable, the Yellow River and the Wei River can guarantee the provisions to the capital from

all the country.”<sup>3</sup> According to *Hanshu* “Shihuo zhi” 汉书·食货志 (*The History of Han* [with reference to] “Treatise on Food and Money”), during the early time the grain transported to Chang’an was no more than “hundreds of thousands of *dan* 石 (a traditional Chinese unit of dry measure, equals to 59.2 kg) annually”, but during Emperor Wu’s reign the number was up to million *dan*, and the biggest was up to six million. The transportation not only needed enormous human labors, but also “risked great dangers, losses and costs.” Some once suggested to Emperor Wu to cultivate the land in Fenyin 汾阴 (present Wanrong 万荣, Shanxi) and Pishi 皮氏 (present Hejin 河津, Shanxi) but in vain. Therefore, to save the costs of water transportation was also an important cause of moving of the capital. Some distinguished clans stayed in Chang’an after the capital was moved to Luoyang. They had not only high social status, but also profound culture. For example, Zhang Chun 张纯 from Jingzhao 京兆 Duling 杜陵 (southeast to present Xi’an, Shaanxi) was the great-great-grandson of Zhang Anshi 张安世 in the Western Dynasty. It was recorded in Vol. 35 of *Houhanshu* 后汉书 (*The Later History of the Han Dynasty*) that he served several emperors and had proficiency in history, and he set the rituals of “*Di*” 禘 (ancient sacrificing offerings) and “*Xia*” 禘 (ancient sacrificing offerings) under the order of Emperor Guangwu. Wei Biao 韦彪 from Fufeng 扶风 Pingling 平陵 (north to present Xi’an, Shaanxi) was the great-great-grandson of Wei Xian 韦贤. According to Vol. 26 of *Houhanshu*, “He was studious and regarded as a Confucian master”, and he “compiled *Weiqingzi* 韦卿子 (*The Writings of Master Wei*) with his 12 articles”. Du Lin 杜林 from Fufeng Maoling 茂陵 was the son of governor of Liangzhou 凉州 in the late Western Han Dynasty. It was recorded in the Vol. 27 of *Houhanshu* he “had large book collections”, and “was regarded as a master of Confucianism due to his good command over both paleography and Confucian classics”. He once “got *Shangshu* in lacquer calligraphy in Xizhou 西州 and cherished it very much.” On the initiative of him, together with Wei Hong 卫宏 and Xu Xun 徐巡, “The paleography became popular”<sup>4</sup>. Jia Kui 贾逵 from Fufeng Pingling had proficiency in *Shangshu*, *Maoshi* 毛诗 (*Book of Poetry, Tradition of Mao*), *Zhouli* 周礼 (*Rites of Zhou*), *Zuozhuan* 左传 (*The Commentary of Zuo Qiuming*) and *Guoyu* 国语 (*Discourses of States*), among which *Zuozhuan* was his specialty. He wrote the 21 articles of *Zuoshi tiaoli* 左氏条例 (*Items of the Commentary of Zuo Qiuming*), 30 articles of *Zuoshi zhuan jiegou* 左氏传解诂 (*Explanatory notes to the Commentary of Zuo Qiuming*), and 21 articles of *Guoyu jiegou* 国语解诂 (*Explanatory notes to Discourses of States*). He was also a master of literature, and “wrote 9 pieces including poems, odes, eulogies, histories, *Lianzhu* 连珠 (a literary genre in ancient China) and wine games. The scholars

<sup>3</sup> “Liuhou shijia” 留侯世家 (“Marquis of Liu”), *Shiji*, Vol 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Houhanshu*, Vol. 27.

viewed him as a paragon and the later generations called him a master Confucian”<sup>5</sup>. Besides, Yang Zheng 杨政 who studied Yi, Song Deng 宋登 who studied Shangshu, and Li Yu 李育 who studied *Zuozhuan*, were all from Chang’an or the neighboring areas, which proved the Guanzhong culture was still prosperous then. This was especially true for literature. For example, Feng Yan 冯衍 from Jingzhao Duling was the grandson of Feng Yewang 冯野王 in the Western Han Dynasty. He was expelled due to his failure in submitting to Emperor Guangwu in time, so he wrote “Xianzhi fu” 显志赋 (A Prose-poem on Expressing Ambitions), which won the popularity and was anthologized into *Houhanshu*. In addition, he wrote 50 pieces including prose-poems, eulogies, inscriptions, comments, “Wenjiao” 问交 (“Looking into Friendship”), “Degao” 德浩 (“Mandates on Virtues”), “Shenqing” 慎情 (“Caution against Feeling”), comments on letters, prefaces, comments on officials’ salary and answers.” His son, Feng Bao 冯豹, was adept in Confucianism and “taught *Shijing* and *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*) at the foot of Mount Li 骊山.” The famous scholar and writer Ban Biao 班彪 and his son Ban Gu, his daughter Ban Zhao 班昭 were from Fufeng Anling 安陵 (northeast to present Xianyang 咸阳, Shaanxi); Fu Yi 傅毅 was from Fufeng Maoling; Du Du 杜笃, author of *Lundufu* 论都赋 (A Prose-poem on Capital) was from Jingzhao Duling etc. Among them Ban Gu and Fu Yi were the most outstanding.

However, while Guanzhong enjoyed the cultural prosperity, the other areas also brought forth a vast group of famous literati. For example, the famous scholar Huan Tan 桓谭 was from Xiang 相 in the Pei 沛 state (in present Suixi 濉溪, Anhui); Wei Hong 卫宏 was from Donghai 东海 (in southern Shandong and northern Jiangsu); Zheng Xing 郑兴 and his son Zheng Zhong 郑众 were from Kaifeng 开封, Henan; Cao Chong 曹充 and his son Cao Bao 曹褒 were from Xue in the Lu state (in Shandong); Zhou Fang 周防 who studied *Shangshu* in paleography was from Runan 汝南 Ruyang 汝阳 (west to present Shangshui, Henan); Kong Xi 孔僖 who also studied *Shangshu* was from Lu in the Lu state (in present Qufu 曲阜, Shandong); Mou Rong 牟融, who studied *Shangshu* in modern language was from Beihai 北海 (present Weifang, Shandong); Huan Rong 桓荣 was from Longkang 龙亢 in the Pei state (east to present Mengcheng 蒙城, Anhui); Ding Hong 丁鸿 was from Yingchuan 颍川 Dingling 定陵 (north to present Wuyang 舞阳, Henan); Gao Xu 高翔 who studied *Shijing* was from Pingyuan 平原 Ban 般 (northeast to present Linyi 临邑, Shandong); Fu Gong 伏恭 was from Langya 琅琊 Dongwu 东武 (present Zhucheng 诸城, Shandong) etc. It can be seen that many scholars were born in East China then. Some of them once learned in Chang’an, some did not. Anyhow, the number of them was large. The other areas, such as the present southwestern Henan, Hubei and Sichuan also

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<sup>5</sup> *Houhanshu*, Vol. 36.



brought forth a large number of scholars. What deserves particular attention is, after two hundred years' unification in the Western Han Dynasty, the advanced culture also expanded to the backward places. The most typical example was the appearance of the Cui clan in Anping 安平 (in present Hebei), which was affiliated to Zhuo Jun 琢郡 (Zhuo Prefecture) of backward culture. In the late Western Han Dynasty, Cui Zhuan 崔篆 wrote his *Zhouyilin* 周易林 (*The Forest of Zhou Yi*),<sup>6</sup> which was composed of 64 articles, and “Weizhifu” 慰志赋 (A Prose-poem on Ambition); his grandson Cui Yin 崔骃, with his 21 articles including “Dazhi” 达旨 (“Reaching the Aims”), poems, prose-poems, inscriptions, odes, comments, historical records, memorials to the emperors, “Qiyi” 七依 (“Seven Compliance”), “Hunli jieyan” 婚礼结言 (“On Marriage”), and “Jiujing” 酒警 (“Warning for the Wine”) etc., enjoyed the same fame with Ban Gu and Fu Yi; His son Cui Yuan 崔瑗 and his grandson Cui Shi 崔寔 both distinguished themselves with their great achievements in scholarship and literature. Besides, Cui Lie 崔烈 from the clan also had literary talent. “Cui Yin Zhuan” 崔骃传 (“Biography of Cui Yin”) in *Houhanshu* stated that “The Cui clan brought forth talents for generations, and since they dedicated themselves to Confucian classics, they became a clan of Confucians.” Wang Jun 王筠 in the Southern Dynasty once compared himself to the Cui clan. Besides the mid and north part of present Hebei, Jiangsu and Zhejiang also brought forth many famous scholars and writers. The most famous of them included the following ones: the author of *Lunheng* 论衡 (*Discussion on Balance*), Wang Chong 王充, who was from Kuaiji 会稽 Shangyu 上虞 (in present Zhejiang); the author of *Wuyue Chunqiu* 吴越春秋 (*The Spring and Autumn of Wu and Yue*), Zhao Ye 赵晔, who was from Kuaiji Shanyin 山阴 (in present Shaoxing 绍兴, Zhejiang); the master of *Shijing* and *Lunyu*, and Bao Xian 包咸, who was from Kuaiji Qu'e 曲阿 (in present Zhenjiang 镇江, Jiangsu). The writer Gao Biao 高彪 was from Wu Jun 吴郡 (Wu Prefecture) Wuxi 无锡 (in present Jiangsu), and the scholar Cheng Zeng 程曾 was from Yuzhang 豫章 Nanchang 南昌 (in present Jiangxi). What's more, many famous scholars and writers were from some extremely remote places in the Han Dynasty. For example, Among the pros in the court debate about whether an academician should be set for *Zuozhuan* in the early Eastern Han Dynasty (Dong Han 东汉 CE 25-220), Chen Yuan 陈元 was from Cangwu 苍梧 Guangxin 广信 (in present Cangwu, Guangxi), while the con Fan Sheng 范升 was from Daijun 代郡 (Dai Prefecture, present Wei County 蔚县, Hebei). Besides, the writer Hou Jin 侯瑾 was from Dunhuang 敦煌 (in present Gansu). It was thus clear that the Central China civilization had expanded widely.

But the even development of culture did not last long. After Luoyang replaced Chang'an as the national political center, even the well-born in Chang'an had to

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<sup>6</sup> Some people say *Jiaoshi yilin* 焦氏易林 *The Forest of Zhou Yi* by Jiao.

“serve the monarch in Luoyang”. As a large number of aristocrats, officials, intellectuals and merchants moved eastward, the population in Guanzhong declined drastically. For example, the population of Jingzhao recorded in “Dilizhi” 地理志 (“Monograph on Geography”) in Vol. 28 of *Hanshu* was over 190,500 households, about 680,200 people; while it was 50,000 households, about 280,5000 people in “Junguo zhi” 郡国志 (“Monograph on Prefectures”) in *Xuhanshu* 续汉书 (*Continuation of History of the Han*). The population of Fengyi 冯翊, which was east to Jingzhao, was 23,500 households, over 910,700 people in *Hanzhi* 汉志 (*Chronicles of Han*), while it was 30,700 households, about 140,500 people in *Xuhanzhi* 续汉志 (*Continuation of Chronicles of Han*). Likewise, the population of Fufeng, which was west to Jingzhao, was 210,600 households, about 830,000 people in *Hanzhi*, while it was 17,700 households, 90,300 people in *Xuhanzhi*. For most of the prefectures and principalities, the population recorded in *Hanzhi* was larger than that in *XuHanzhi*. Were the records reliable? Was the reduction of population caused by the deaths and escapes in the wars of the late Western Han Dynasty? Or was it caused by the concealment due to the chaotic political situation of the Eastern Han Dynasty? It is hard to conclude. The drastic reduction of the population of Guanzhong resulted from various causes, and one of them was the eastward movement of political centre. This cause was within the rulers’ expectation, and it was even welcomed by the government, for it could save costs of food transportation. But the more important cause of the reduction was beyond Emperor Guangwu’s expectation when he moved the capital. In present Qinghai and Gansu there lived the Qiang 羌 people, who had had intercommunications with the Central China, and were at peace with the Han government until the early Western Han Dynasty. Then Emperor Wu established *Hexi sijun* 河西四郡 (four prefectures in Gansu), blocked the intercommunications and drove them away. During Emperor Xuan’s (Han Xuandi 汉宣帝 91-49 BCE) reign, the Qiang people crossed the Huangshui 湟水 River into the inner land, and the Han government sent Zhao Chongguo 赵充国 to go on the punitive expedition. During Emperor Yuan’s (Han Yuandi 汉元帝 75-33 BCE) reign, the Qiang people waged war again and but finally were put down by Feng Fengshi 冯奉世. Since then, from Wang Mang’s 王莽 (45-23 BCE) reign to the early Eastern Han Dynasty, the Qiang people started wars over and over. During Emperor Guangwu’s reign, the riots were put down by a Han general Ma Yuan 马援. To tighten control of the Qiang people, Ma moved them to the three prefectures: Tianshui 天水, Longxi 陇西 and Fufeng (in western present Shaanxi and eastern Gansu). The Eastern Han Dyansty was at its zenith then, and its military power guaranteed the peace for a period. But as was recorded in “Xiqiang zhuan” 西羌传 (“The Western Qiang”) in Vol. 87 of *Houhanshu*: “Living with Han people, the Qiang people hated the heavy conscriptive labor recruited by Han officials and despots.” “Jiang Tong zhuan” 江统传 (“Biography of Jiang Tong”) in Vol. 56

of *Jinshu* 晋书 (*Chronicles of Jin*) also stated that “The Qiang people became populous and powerful later, and they hated the Han people’s bullying”, henceforth the riots. The Qiang people’s riots took place as early as in the early Eastern Han Dynasty, but they were too sporadic to make a difference then. The big riots took place during Emperor An’s reign (Han Andi 汉安帝 CE 94-125), when the Eastern Han Dynasty was quite corrupted. According to “Bianyi” 边议 (“On Frontiers”) in *Qianfulun* 潜夫论 (*On Hermit*) by Wang Fu 王符, “At the early stage of the riots, the Qiang people did not have stratagems, unification, or weapons. They were only armed with sticks or even nothing. Without food and leadership, they were easy to be defeated. However, the Han officials didn’t dare to fight with them, so they became more and more powerful with their victories. They took one prefecture after another and threatened the farther places after capturing *sanfu* 三辅 (three prefectures in Shaanxi).” The Han officials of the frontiers were from the inner land. Not having any ways to pacify the Qiang people or any love to protect the Han people and land, they just suggested to the court to move the prefectures to the inner land. As was mentioned in “Shibian” 实边 (“Strengthening the Frontiers”) in *Qianfulun*, “The officials and troops took the grains, destroyed the houses, razed the barracks, and ruined the business. They plundered everywhere and forced the civilians to move to the inner land. On the way they deserted the weak and left them to die. The civilians shed tears and blood in their deep distress and even the gods felt sorry for them. The civilians dared not violate the despotic officials and officers. After the loss of their farms, they suffered the locust plague and had to move eastward. Drifting from place to place, they lost each other on the way. The population in You Zhou 幽州 (You Prefecture), Ji Zhou 冀州 (Ji Prefecture), Yan Zhou 兖州 (Yan Prefecture), Yu Zhou 豫州 (Yu Prefecture), Jing Zhou 荆州 (Jing Prefecture), Yang Zhou 扬州 (Yang Prefecture), Shu and Han reduced to a half. The frontier thus became desert and uninhabited.” Here the word “frontier” actually refers to Liangzhou 凉州 (in present Gansu). As was mentioned in “Jiubian” 救边 (“Saving the Frontiers”), “Liangzhou became the frontier after the three prefectures were lost.” Actually, during the Qiang’s riots, Guanzhong suffered most wars. The Guanzhong people, including the notable clans, had to move eastward. For example, the famous scholar and master of prose-poem Ma Rong 马融 was from Fufeng Maoling. He was the grandnephew of Ma Yuan, and belonged to the same clan of Empress Ma of Emperor Ming (Han Mingdi 汉明帝 CE 28-75). He was enlisted in the early stage of Emperor An (about CE 108-110) by Deng Zhi 邓鹭, a relative of the emperor, when “The Qiang people rose in army and the frontier was in turmoil. In the west of Han’gu Guan, the grain became expensive and numerous people starved on the roads.” Since then Ma Rong had stayed and created most of his compositions in Luoyang. According to “Rulin zhuan” 儒林传 (“Biographies of Intellectuals”) and “Wenyuan zhuan” 文苑传

(“Biographies of Literati”) in *Houhan shu*, few outstanding figures stayed in Guanzhong after the Qiang riots. Most of literati were in southern and eastern present Shandong and Henan, and northern present Jiangsu and Anhui. Besides, present Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Hubei in the South, present Sichuan, Chongqing in Southwest China, present Hebei, Beijing and Tianjin in the North also brought forth some eminent figures. Clearly the cultural centre had moved eastward and southward.

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## 2 The development of culture in the Han Dynasty and Three Kingdoms Period

In the process of eastward-transition, the culture development was uneven even in East China. Generally speaking, the prosperous cultural to the east of Han’gu Guan expanded from the east to the west. Most of the famous intellectuals after the mid Eastern Han appeared in Runan, Yingchuan, Nanyang, Peijun 沛郡 and Jiyin 济阴. Runan, Yingchuan and Nanyang were in southern present Henan; Jiyin was in southwestern present Shandong; Peijun was in the border region of Jiangsu, Anhui, Shandong and Henan. Among them Ruyang and Yingchuan brought forth most eminent figures. Most of the heroes in the Eastern Han Dynasty in *Shishuo xinyu* 世说新语 (*New Account of Tales of the World*), especially in the sections of “Dexing” 德行 (“Virtues”), “Yanyu” 言语 (“Sayings”), “Zhengshi” 政事 (“Politics”), and “Fangzheng” 方正 (“Uprightness”), were from Runan or Yingchuan. In the Han-Wei periods, arose disputes about superiority of the literati in the two places. It was recorded in Vol. 27 of *Yiwen leiju* 艺文类聚 (*Categorical Medley of Literary Texts*) that Kong Rong 孔融 in the Eastern Han Dynasty deemed “The literati in Runan are superior to those in Yingchuan”, but Chen Qun 陈群 from Yingchuan refuted him, so Kong wrote an article to restate his point. The dispute between Kong and Chen does not make much sense today, but it indicated the special positions of the literati in the two places. According to historical record, the rise of the literati in the two places did not appear simultaneously. It seemed that the literati in Runan appeared earlier. For example, Yuan An 袁安 from Runan Ruyang initiated *Yijing* for generations. His sons Yuan Jing 袁京 and Yuan Chang 袁敞, his grandson Yuan Tang 袁汤, his great grandsons Yuan Feng 袁逢 and Yuan Wei 袁隗, and his great-great grandson Yuan Hong 袁闳 were all famous figures. Zhan Pu 张酺 from Runan Xiyang 细阳 initiated *Shangshu* for generations. Emperor Zhang (Han Zhangdi 汉章帝 CE 58-88) once “regarded himself as a pupil to him.” Zhou Fang 周防 from Runan Ruyang was famous for his proficiency in *Shangshu*, and his son Zhou Ju 周举 was a famous minister serving both Emperor An and Emperor Shun (Han Shundi 汉顺帝 CE 115-144). His grandson Zhou Xie 周勰 was a famous celebrity with no

official post. Ying Shun 应顺 from Runan Nandun 南顿 served as governor of Henan and chamberlain for the palace buildings during Emperor He's reign (Han Hedi 汉和帝 CE 88-105). Many of his descendants served as high officials. His great grandson Ying Feng 应奉, who was erudite and adept at literature, wrote *Hanshu houxu* 汉书后序 (*The Complementary Preface to Chronicles of Han*) and abridged *Shiji*, *Hanshu* and *Hanji* 汉记 (*Note of Han*) etc. He also wrote 17 articles in *Hanshi* 汉事 (*Events in Han*), and 30 articles in *Gansao* 感骚 (*Feelings of Lamentation*). His son Ying Shao 应劭 was even more famous. He wrote *Hanguan liyi gushi* 汉官礼仪故事 (*Stories of Etiquettes of Han Officials*), *Zhonghan jixu* 中汉辑序 (*Preface to the Anthology of Mid-Han*), and *Fengsutong* 风俗通 (*Knowing the Customs*) etc. It was recorded in Vol. 48 of *Houhanshu* that "He wrote 136 articles and commentaries on *Hanshu*, and all were popular." Ying Yang 应瑒 and Ying Qu 应璩, sons of his brother, were famous writers in Wei in the Three Kingdoms Period (CE 208-280). Ying Qu's son Ying Zhen 应贞 was a famous poet in Wei-Jin Periods. The majority of Runan in the Han Dynasty was affiliated to Chu in the Warring States Period, and the rest small part was affiliated to Wei, so Runan was in the border region of Central Plain culture and Chu culture. "Dilizhi" in *Hanshu* stated "People in Runan were bold and aggressive." And "Dangguzhuan" 党锢传 ("Biographies of Factionalists") in *Houhanshu* stated "The factional fight started from Ganling 甘陵 and Runan." "Ganling" refers to the factionalism between Fang Zhi 房植 and Zhou Fu 周福, who were both from Ganling under Emperor Huan's reign (Han Huandi 汉桓帝 CE 132-167). Actually neither Fang nor Zhou had bad reputation, and their contradictions were just a matter of emotion. As for Runan, it refers to governor Zong Zi's 宗资 assistant, Fan Pang 范滂 from Runan Zhengqiang 征羌 (in present Yancheng 郾城, Henan). He dared to contend with the imperious officials, therefore was hated by eunuchs but respected by intellectuals. Finally he died in the chaos of wiping out the factionalists. One of the leaders of the so-called factionalists was Chen Fan 陈蕃 from Runan Pingyu 平舆 (in present Henan). The other intellectuals categorized as factionalists included Yin Tao 殷陶, Huang Mu 黄穆, Cai Yan 蔡衍 and Chen Xiang 陈翔, who were all from Runan. The non-factionalists such as Zhou Xie and Huang Xian 黄宪 also enjoyed great fame.

Yingchuan was also the cradle to many celebrities. According to "Han Yanshou Zhuan" 韩延寿传 ("Biography of Han Yanshou") in Vol. 76 of *Hanshu*, "Yingchuan was difficult to govern due to the indisciplinable civilians. The government often chose excellent officials as the governors." When Han Yanshou governed here he "civilized the people with rituals" and ordered Confucians to perform the rituals of funeral and marriage with the right dress and instruments, which were gradually learned and followed by the civilians. The next governor Huang Ba 黄霸 followed suit and Yingchuan was in great order. "Dilizhi" in *Hanshu* also stated "Yingchuan was the capital of Han 韩. Deeply

influenced by Shen Buhai 申不害 and Han Fei 韩非, the intellectuals worshipped laws and decrees, and the civilians were indulged in greed, meanness, and taste for lawsuits. When Han Yanshou took over the position of the governor, he taught them comity and courtesy. Huang Ba followed suit. Finally the civilians were greatly moralized, and in some prisons there were no felons for eight years.” It showed that on one hand, the people here were deeply influenced by Confucianism promoted by Han Yanshou and Huang Ba; On the other hand, they were influenced by legalism of Shen Buhai and Han Feizi. Accordingly they could safeguard legal system and contend with venal officials. Therefore, Yingchuan brought forth many factionalists in the late Eastern Han. For example, one of their leaders, Li Ying 李膺, was from Yingchuan Xiangcheng 襄城 (in present Henan). The list also included Du Mi 杜密 from Yingchuan Yangcheng 阳城 (southeast to present Dengfeng 登封, Henan), Jia Biao 贾彪 from Yingchuan Dingling (north to present Wuyang, Henan), and Xun Yi (Yu) 荀翌 (昱) from Yingchuan Yingyin 颍阴 (present Xuchang 许昌, Henan) etc. Yingchuan was also the cradle to many celebrities, among whom the Xun clan was particularly famous. Xun Shu 荀淑, living during Emperor An’s reign, was famous and worshipped by Li Gu 李固 and Li Ying. His eight sons: Jian 俭, Hun 緄, Jing 靖, Tao 焘, Wang 汪, Shuang 爽, Su 肃 and Zhuan 专 were called “eight tigers”. His nephew Xun Yi (alias name of Xun Yu) was killed together with Li Ying because of the case of factionalists. Xun Yu’s brother Tan 昱 was also put into jail. Among Xun Shu’s sons Shuang was the most famous. In Vol. 62 of *Houhanshu* it stated that he was “well versed in *Chunqiu* and *Lunyu*”, and he “wrote *Li* 礼 (*Rites*), *Yizhuan* 易传 (*Annotation to Book of Changes*), *Shizhuan* 诗传 (*Annotation to Book of Poetry*), *Shangshu zhengjing* 尚书正经 (*Orthodox Annotation to Book of History*), and *Chunqiu tiaoli* 春秋条例 (*Items of Spring and Autumn*). He also wrote *Hanyu* 汉语 (*On Han*) with the historical events in the Han Dynasty serving as warning examples. He wrote over 100 articles including “Gongyang wen” 公羊问 (“Questions about Gongyang”), “Bianzhen” 辩讖 (“On Prophecy”), and other comments and prefaces etc. and compiled them into *Xinshu* 新书 (*New Book*).” Xun Yue 荀悦, son of Xun Shuang’s brother Xun Jian, was also a famous scholar in the late Eastern Han. He wrote 30 pieces in *Hanji* and “tens of articles such as ‘Chongde’ 崇德 (‘Worshipping Virtues’) and ‘Zhenglun’ 正论 (‘Upright Statements’) etc.” The surviving book *Shenjian* 申鉴 (*Extended Reflections*) was also written by him. Xun Shuang’s another nephew, Xun Yu 荀彧, and Xun Yu’s nephew Xun You 荀攸, were both famous ministers in the Three Kingdoms Period. The Xun clan even brought forth celebrities in the Western Jin Dynasty (Xi Jin 西晋 CE 265-316). For example, Xun Xu 荀勖 and his sons Xun Fan 荀藩 and Xun Zu 荀组, were from the same clan. Han Shao 韩韶 from Yingchuan Wuyang 舞阳 (in present Henan) and his son Han Rong 韩融 were called “grand masters”. Zhong Hao 钟皓 from Yingchuan Changshe 长社 (present Chang’ge 长葛, Henan) was at

home in *Shijing* and decrees. Though dwelling in seclusion, he was much venerated by contemporaneous intellectuals. His grandson Zhong You 钟繇 was a famous minister and calligrapher of Wei in the Three Kingdoms Period. Zhong You's son Zhong Hui 钟会 was more than a writer: his *Daolun* 道论 (*On Dao*) actually was a book on laws and decrees. He also wrote *Sibenlun* 四本论 (*On Four Origins*), *Zhouyi jinshenlun* 周易尽神论 (*Debate on Capacity and Nature*), *Zhouyi wu huti* 周易无互体 (*No Interlocking Trigrams or Hexagrams in Book of Changes*) and *Laozizhu* 老子注 (*Commentary to Laozi*) etc. Later he was killed due to his rebellion against Sima Zhao 司马昭, but his clan still had a particular position among intellectuals. Zhong Ya 钟雅 in the Eastern Jin Dynasty and Zhong Rong 钟嵘 in Liang 梁 (CE 502-557) in the Southern Dynasty were both from the clan. Chen Shi 陈寔 from Yingchuan Xu 许 (east to present Xuchang, Henan) and his sons Chen Ji 陈纪 and Chen Chen 陈谌 all were venerated by scholar-bureaucrats. Chen Ji's son, Chen Qun, was the minister of public works. Chen Qun's son, Chen Tai 陈泰, was also a celebrity. These celebrities brought Runan and Yingchuan great honor. The cultural prosperity was by no means fortuitous. Runan and Yingchuan had been densely populated since the Western Han Dynasty. According to "Dilizhi" in *Hanshu*, there were over 460, 1000 households, 2,590,000 people in Runan in the Western Han Dynasty. "Junguozhi" in *Xuhanshu* recorded there were over 404,400 households, 2,100,000 people. In Yingchuan there were over 432,000 households, 2,210,000 people in the Western Han Dynasty, and 263,000 households, 1,436,000 people in the Eastern Han Dynasty. The population in the Eastern Han was much smaller, but compared with other areas in the whole country, it was still large. For example, compared with Henan, where the capital Louyang was located, Yingchuan still had a larger population even after it had drastically reduced. The large population indicated the economic prosperity, which in turn promoted the cultural prosperity.

Certainly, there were some scholars and writers who were not from Runan and Yingchuan, but the number of them was much smaller. However, more and more areas became the homes of celebrities from the late Han to the early Three Kingdoms Period. For example, the great scholar Zheng Xuan 郑玄 was from Beihai 北海 (present Changle 昌乐, Shandong); Gaomi 高密 (in present Shandong), while Lu Zhi 卢植 was from Zhuojun Zhuo; Fu Qian 服虔 was from Henan Yingyang 滎阳 (in present Henan). Among the famous writers, Cai Yong 蔡邕 and his daughter Cai Yan 蔡琰 were from Chenliuyu 陈留圉 (south to present Qi County 杞县, Henan); Kong Rong was from Lu (present Shandong); Mi Heng 祢衡, was from Pingyuan Ban (northeast to Linyi, Shandong); Zhong Changtong 仲长统 was from Shanyang 山阳 Gaoping 高平 (north to Yutai 鱼台, Shandong); Wang Can 王粲 was from Shanyang Gaoping; Xu Gan 徐干 was from Beihai; Liu Zhen 刘桢 was from Dongping 东平 Ningyang 宁阳 (in present Shandong); Chen

Lin 陈琳 was from Guangling 广陵 (present Baoying 宝应, Jiangsu); Ruan Yu 阮瑀 was from Chenliu Weishi 尉氏 (in present Henan); Ying Yang was from Runan Nandun; Yang Xiu 杨修 was from Hongnong 弘农 Huayin 华阴 (in present Shaanxi); Handan Chun 邯郸淳 and Fan Qin 繁钦 were from Yinghchuan; Wu Zhi 吴质 was from Ji Yin (present Dingtao 定陶, Shandong). Besides, some figures won great esteem with their great virtues though they achieved few literary achievements. A long list is as follows: Guo Tai 郭泰, venerated by the Eastern Han factionalists, was from Taiyuan 太原 Jiexiu 界休 (in present Shanxi); Xu Ru 徐孺 was from Yuzhang Nanchang (in present Jiangxi); Liu Shu 刘淑 was from Hejian 河间 Lecheng 乐成 (southeast to present Xian County 献县, Henan); Liu You 刘祐 was from Zhongshan 中山 Anguo 安国 (east to present Anguo, Hebei); Wei Lang 魏朗 was from Kuaiji Shangyu (in present Zhejiang) etc. The celebrities were almost everywhere. Generally speaking, East China saw more celebrities than West China, and the south to the Yellow River and both sides of the Huai River saw more than the north to the Yellow River and Jiangnan. The area between the south of the Yellow River in Shandong and the northern Anhui and Jinagsu, together with the area between the south of the Yellow River in Henan and the east of Luoyang, accounted for the most part. This was probably resulted from their prosperous economy and advanced culture. A few years ago, a scholar argued the more backward culture and rarer talents in the north to the Yellow River resulted in the defeat of Yuan Shao 袁绍.<sup>7</sup> The statement is disputable, but it is true that the area to the south of the Yellow River had more advanced culture and more talents. Actually, the culture in the area north to the Yellow River in the Eastern Han Dynasty was much developed, but most of the intellectuals moved southward. For example, Lu Zhi was the disciple of Ma Rong, who moved to Luoyang during Emperor An's reign. Therefore, Lu must have learned from Ma in Luoyang. The development of the culture in the north of the Yellow River probably had something to do with the political situation in the late Han Dynasty. The area south to the Yellow River was torn by frequent wars after Dong Zhuo's 董卓 rebellion, while the north, controlled by Yuan Shao, escaped from the catastrophe. The famous scholars Zheng Xuan and Ying Shao both submitted to Yuan in their late years and died in Yecheng 邺城 (present Linzhang 临漳, Hebei). After Yuan was defeated, Cao Cao 曹操 continued taking Yecheng as his serious ground. Many famous writers such as Wang Can, Liu Zhen etc. lived here for long and imposed non-negligible influence here. However, after Cao Cao died, Cao Pi 曹丕 usurped the state power of Han Dynasty and moved the capital to Luoyang, resulting in the reduction of literati in Yecheng. The academic and artistic activities after mid Cao-Wei period (CE 220-265) were mainly confined to the area south to the Yellow River, where

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<sup>7</sup> Li Quan, 2002, Vol. 5.



the center was Luoyang. The leading scholars were mainly from Shandong, Henan and northern Jiangsu and Anhui. Some of the *zhulin qixian* 竹林七贤 (Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove), such as Shan Tao 山涛 and Xiang Xiu 向秀, still represented the culture in the area south to the Yellow River, though they were born in the area north to the Yellow River. Despite that, the culture in the area north to the Yellow River developed really quickly. Apart from the Cui clan in Anping and the Lu clan in Zhuojun which were mentioned above, Cui Yan 崔琰 from Qinghe 清河 Dongwupo 东武坡 (present Wucheng 武城, Shandong) was another typical example: His descendants enjoyed great fame till the Southern and Northern Dynasties. The area south to the Yellow river also brought forth many eminent figures in the Wei period. For example, Wei Ji 卫觊 from Hedong Anyi 安邑 (present Xia County 夏县, Shanxi), the author of *Weiguanyi* 魏官仪 (*Rites of Wei Officials*), was an essayist and calligrapher. His son Wei Guan 卫瓘, who was killed by Prince of Chu, Sima Wei 司马玮, in the civil strife under Emperor Hui 's reign (Jin Huidi 晋惠帝 CE 250-306), was a famous minister in the Western Jin Dynasty. Wei Guan's son Wei Heng 卫恒, who was killed with him, was a calligrapher and the author of *Siti shushi* 四体书势 (*Four Calligraphy Styles*). Wei Guan's grandson Wei Jie 卫玠, who luckily escaped from the disaster, was a master of metaphysics. He died in Jiangnan 江南 (Lower Yangzi Delta) at the age of 27 in the last year of Yongjia (CE 312). Pei Qian 裴潜 from Hedong 河东 Wenxi 闻喜 (in present Shanxi) was the chamberlain for the national treasury and director of the Imperial Secretariat in Wei. His son Pei Xiu 裴秀, serving Jin, was a master of geography and the author of the 18 articles in *Yuditu* 舆地图<sup>8</sup> (*Maps and Records on the Geography*). Pei Xiu's son Pei Gu 裴顾 was a famous minister in the Western Jin Dynasty, and he wrote "Chongyoulun" 崇有论 (Importance for the Being) to debate with the pure conservationists such as Wang Yan 王衍. Later he was killed together with Zhang Hua 张华 by Sima Lun 司马伦, the Prince of Zhao. Pei Gu's clansman Pei Kai 裴楷 was also a celebrity with his accomplishments in *Laozi* and *Yijing*. Liu Shao 刘劭, the author of *Renwuzhi* 人物志 (*Chronicles of Celebrities*), was from Guangping 广平 Handan (in present Hebei). The author of "Yunminglun" 运命论 ("On Fate"), Li Kang 李康, was from Zhongshan (present Ding County 定县, Hebei); the author of "Yu Ji Maoqi shu" 与嵇茂齐书 ("A Letter to Ji Maoqi"), Zhao Zhi 赵至,<sup>9</sup> was from Daijun 代郡 (present Wei County 蔚县, Hebei). Sun Zi 孙资 from Taiyuan Zhongdu 中都 (present Pingyao 平遥, Shanxi) was the General of the Flying Cavalry in Wei and

<sup>8</sup> *Weishu* "Pei Qian zhuan" 魏书·裴潜传 (*Chronicles of Wei* [with reference to] "Biography of Pei Qian"), *Sanguozhi* 三国志 (*Chronicles of the Three Kingdoms*), Vol. 23, quoted from *Wenzhang xulu* 文章叙录 (*Collection of Prefaces*). The name of the book in "Pei Xiu zhuan" in Vol. 35 of *Jinshu*, is *Yugongdiyutu* 禹贡地域图 (*Maps and Records on the Geography of Yugong*).

<sup>9</sup> Some people argue "Yu Ji Maoqi shu" was another name of "Yu Ji Kang shu" written by Lu An 吕安. Here the author followed the record in *Wenxuan* 文选 (*Selected Literature*).

played an important role in Sima clan's usurping Wei. His grandson Sun Chu 孙楚 was a famous poet in the Jin Dynasty. Sun Chu's posterities, such as Sun Sheng 孙盛 and Sun Chuo 孙绰 etc., were famous in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. Many writers in the Western Jin Dynasty were from Heshu 河朔 (area north to the Yellow River). For example, Zhang Hua was from Fanyang 范阳 Fangcheng 方城 (present Gu'an 固安, Hebei); Zhang Zai 张载 and Zhang Xie 张协 were from Anping Wuyi 武邑 (Present Anping, Hebei); Ouyang Jian 欧阳建 was from Bohai 渤海 Chonghe 重合 (northwest to present Leling 乐陵, Hebei). It showed Heshuo culture was booming. Without the political confrontation between the South and the North, the culture could have rivaled with that in the area south to the Yellow River, and the north-south cultural difference would not have occurred.

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### 3 The development of culture in the Wei and Jin Dynasties

The period from the late Eastern Han to Wei-Jin saw the changes of various ideologies. Daoism was initiated again in the Western Han Dynasty in the hope of resisting the ruling Confucianism, but in vain. The Daoism movement did not gain its momentum until Yan Zun 严遵 wrote his *Laozi zhigui* 老子指归 (*Directions to Laozi*) in the late Western Han Dynasty. The peace in the early Eastern Han Dynasty secured Confucianism's dominating position. However, after Emperor He, the relatives of emperors and eunuchs began to monopolize power and disorder the state affairs. Some upright scholar-officials tried to express their protest with Confucian classics, but they made no difference and even fell on the offenders. Furthermore, when the monarchs implemented the policies which were obviously wrong, they often quoted the Confucian classics to varnish over them. Above all things, even some famous Confucians fell low to the high ministers' accomplices. The fact that Ma Rong framed Li Gu up for Liang Ji 梁冀 was a typical example. Accordingly, some scholars questioned Confucianism and turned to Daoism. This grew in intensity after the mid-late Eastern Han Dynasty. "Hanguo" 汉过 ("The Faults of Han") in *Baopuzi* 抱朴子 (*Master Embracing Simplicity*) stated that some scholars "departed from Confucian classics, rebelled against orthodoxy, accepted the heretical beliefs and called themselves Daoists." The social contradictions led to the Yellow Turbans Uprising and separatist warlord regimes, and the breakdown of the centralized system greatly destabilized Confucianism. As Fu Xuan 傅玄 in the early Jin Dynasty put it, "Emperor Wu of Wei (Wei Wudi 魏武帝 CE 155-220), Cao Cao, had a passion for law, so the people had a passion for penalty; Emperor Wen (Wei Wendi 魏文帝 CE 187-226), upheld nature, so the people despised moral integrity. Consequently the moral ethics were deserted and the Bohemianism

became popular.”<sup>10</sup> Therefore, the political situation after Cao-Wei was not clean. In the Jin Dynasty, Liu Song 刘颂 argued in his memorandum to Emperor Wu of Jin (Jin Wudi 晋武帝 CE 236-290) that despite the rectification of Cao Cao, the two succeeding emperors, Cao Pi and Cao Rui 曹睿, would lose their country due to their extravagance and dissipation.”<sup>11</sup> The literati had different reactions to the decline of Cao-Wei and growing sharp contradictions between the Cao and Sima clans. For example, Xu Hangsheng 许杭生 once rightly pointed out that, He Yan 何晏, the famous representative of metaphysical school, “strongly pleaded for Cao-Wei regime” and upheld many Confucian ideas.<sup>12</sup> As for Ji Kang 嵇康 and Ruan Ji 阮籍 in the later time, they favored Daoism rather than Confucianism due to their detestation to the corruption and conspiracy of the Cao and Sima clans. He Yan died in CE 249, i.e, the 10th year of Zhengshi under the reign of Cao Fang 曹芳 (Prince Li of Shaoling 邵陵), and Wang Bi 王弼, who enjoyed equal fame with him, died in the same year. Ji and Ruan died in the 3rd year of Jingyuan (CE 263) under the Emperor Yuan of Wei’s (Wei Yuandi 魏元帝 CE 246-302) reign. Wang and He died over 60 years before the fall of the Western Jin Dynasty in CE 316, while Ji and Ruan died over 50 years before it. Though formed in Luoyang, which was south to the Yellow River, their theories should have been spread to Heshuo and Jiangnan during such a long period. However, they were not. This surely had something to do with the social and political background. Taking Jiangnan as an example, when metaphysics boomed, it was still under the rule of Sun-Wu regime (孙吴 CE 222-280), and it was not united with Central Plain until Emperor Wu of Jin annexed Wu in CE 280. Naturally the recognition of the theories from the Central Plain would take a long time. As for Heshuo area, it did belong to Wei, but the originators of metaphysics such as He Yan and Ji Kang were both killed by the Sima clan then, and consequently the spread of their theories was held back. In addition, there was 30 years’ peace during the half century, and the endless coup d’etat after Emperor Hui of Jin reduced scholars’ academic interest. More importantly, under the deep influence of Zheng Xuan and Lu Zhi, the Heshuo scholars admired Confucianism and deprecated metaphysics. Taking Pei Gu as an example, according to Vol. 35 of *Jinshu*, “Pei Gu keenly detested the dissipation and desolation of Confucianism. Regardless of their high fame and important positions, He and Ruan just indulged in the favor of monarchs, talked impractically and acted without proprieties, without doing a stroke of work. So did the people like Wang Yan. They fashioned up each other and ignored the proprieties.” So Pei wrote “Chongyoulun” 崇有论 (“Importance for the Being”) to expound the negative

<sup>10</sup> “Fu Xuan zhuan” 傅玄传 (“Biography of Fu Xuan”), *Jinshu*, Vol. 47.

<sup>11</sup> “Liu Song zhuan” 刘颂传 (“Biography of Liu Song”), *Jinshu*, Vol. 46.

<sup>12</sup> Xu Kang sheng, 1989, pp. 55–77.

influences of metaphysics.” Clearly the literati in the area south to the Yellow River repulsed the new-rising metaphysics, so did Jiangnan literati. For example, “Jimiu” 疾谬 (“Abhorrence of Absurdity”) and “Jihuo” 讥惑 (“Satire on Indulgency”) in *Baopuzi* showed the same attitude of the author Ge Hong 葛洪. “Lu Ji zhuan” 陆机传 (“Biography of Lu Ji”) in Vol. 54 of *Jinshu* stated that Lu Ji “adhered to Confucianism and never violated rites”, which also showed the same attitude of Jiangnan literati. This attitude did not change during the short 30 years after Jin united China.

The politics was not clean in the period between Wei and Jin, so when analyzing the potential crises, Liu Song said to Emperor Wu, “Your accession to the throne and commitment to the pioneering work are complied with the heaven’s will and people’s aspiration, but it is a decadent time now.”<sup>13</sup> Even He Zeng 何曾, who didn’t have any political achievements, also pointed out that Emperor Wu “did not have the aspiration to build a stronger state.” He predicted that “He could only secure his throne, and his posterities will probably be in danger!”<sup>14</sup> Besides the struggles for power in the royal family and their relatives, the Xiongnu 匈奴 and Qiang nationalities’ invasions in the Western Jin Dynasty added fuel to the flames. After migrating into inner land in the Han and Wei Dynasties, the minorities became more and more hostile to Han government due to the heavy bully and compulsory enrollment in the civil strives in the late Han. At that time Jiang Tong had already predicted “Their greed, boldness and hatred would result in riots when chances come”, and he suggested forcing them to migrate out of the inner land. His solution sounded impractical, but his prediction was altogether right. Things happened exactly as he predicted. When Emperor Hui of Jin, an idiot, succeeded to throne after Emperor Wu, Yang Jun 杨骏, a relative of the royal family, grabbed all the power. Soon Queen Jia killed Yang and took the power. Later Prince of Zhao, Sima Lun 司马伦, killed Jia and came to throne. Then Prince of Qi, Sima Jiong 司马冏, Prince of Changsha, Sima Yi 司马义, Prince of Chengdu, Sima Ying 司马颖, Prince of Hejian, Sima Yong 司马颢 and Prince of Donghai, Sima Yue 司马越 fought one another for years. Liu Yuan 刘渊 of Xiongnu nationality, grasped the opportunity and established Han in Pingyang 平阳 (present Linfen 临汾, Shanxi). Later he renamed it Zhao, i.e., Former Zhao (Qian Zhao 前赵 CE 304-329). Then Shi Le 石勒 of Jie 羯 nationality rose against Jin and established Later Zhao (Hou Zhao 后赵 CE 319-350). Emperor Huai (Jin Huaidi 晋怀帝 CE 284-313), Sima Chi 司马炽 and Emperor Min (Jin Mindi 晋愍帝 CE 313-317), Sima Ye 司马邺, were captured respectively in Luoyang in CE 312 and in Chang’an in CE 316, and the Western Jin was over. Some literati from the inner land escaped to Jiangnan and

<sup>13</sup> *Jinshu*, Vol. 46.

<sup>14</sup> “He Zeng zhuan” 何曾传 (“Biography of He Zeng”), *Jinshu*, Vol. 33.

enthroned Prince of Langya, Sima Rui 司马睿, henceforth the Eastern Jin, which retained sovereignty in the South, and the Central Plain fell into the battlefield of the five minority nationalities including Xiongnu, Jie, Di 氐, Qiang and Xianbei 鲜卑. The confrontation between the North and the South didn't occur until the North was united when Emperor Wu of Song (Song Wudi 宋武帝 CE 363-422), Liu Yu 刘裕, attacked Jin in CE 420 and Emperor Taiwu of Wei (Wei Taiwudi 魏太武帝 CE 408-452) annexed Northern Liang (Bei Liang 北凉 CE 397-439) in CE 439, and it lasted to the reunification of the whole China in the 9th year of Kaihuang when Emperor Wen of Sui (Sui Wendi 隋文帝 CE 541-604) annexed Chen 陈(CE 557-589).

The social life in the North and South became quite different after the Western Jin Dynasty, hence the different cultures. The South, once ruled by Wu, had already seen the prosperous economy and culture since the late Eastern Han Dynasty and the Three Kingdoms Period. Zuo Si 左思 once described the richness in Jiangsu and Zhejiang in "Wudu fu" 吴都赋 ("A Prose-poem on the Capital of Wu"), in which he mentioned the notable clans such as Yu, Wei, Gu an Lu. Lu Ji in his "Wuquxing" 吴趋行 ("Fast Travel in Wu") boasted that "The excellent scholars arose as the times required, and they were as bright as the spring flowers. Every prefecture had its scholars, and Wu had the most." Undoubtedly, some Wu literati were admired by the Central Plain scholars after moving to Jin. For example, after the brothers Lu Ji and Lu Yun 陆云 moved to Luoyang, Zhang Hua uttered: "The reward of annexing Wu was the two talents."<sup>15</sup> "Shangyu" 赏誉 in *Shishuo xinyu* stated "Seeing Zhu Tao 褚陶, Zhang Hua told Lu Pingyuan 陆平原 (alias of Lu Ji) "You brothers distinguished yourselves in Yunjin 云津, and Gu Yanxian 顾彦先 (alias of Gu Rong) displayed his talents in Chaoyang 朝阳. I thought there were no more talents in Wu anymore, but unexpectedly I encountered Zhu Tao." Lu answered, "That is because you haven't seen their hidden talents." The Wu native Cai Hong 蔡洪 made a list of the Wu scholars to praised them, among which included Wu Zhan 吴展, Zhu Dan 朱诞, Yan Yin 严隐 and Zhang Chang 张畅 etc. He said "Writing with their brilliant pens as farmers farming with their hoes and ploughs, they contributed a lot to metaphysics and philosophies. They admired pure conversations and forgiveness, and wrote brilliant essays and commentaries to five classics. They spoke highly of modesty and meekness, and attached great importance to affection and moral." These words show that the Wu scholars, with their great academic and artistic achievements, were not necessarily inferior to the Central Plain scholars. However, according to the words, it seems the Wu people attached more importance to Confucianism, which was different from the followers of metaphysics in the Central Plain. But generally speaking, the scholarship in Wu

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<sup>15</sup> "Lu Ji zhuan", *Jinshu*, Vol. 54.

drew heavily on that in the Central Plain. For example, the surviving *Wu guchuiqu* 吴鼓吹曲 (*Percussion and Wind Ensembles in Wu*) by Wei Zhao 韦昭 from Wu undoubtedly was modeled on *Wei guchi* 魏鼓吹曲 (*Percussion and Wind Ensembles in Wei*) by Miao Xi 缪袭 from Wei. Zhong Rong from Liang claimed that Lu Ji's poems "drew heavily on Chen Si 陈思". "Ren Dan" 任诞 (Frivolity) in *Shishuo xinyu* stated that Zhang Han 张翰 from Wu was called *jiangdong* 江东 (area east to the Yangtz River) Buling 步兵 (alias of Ruan Ji)" for his self-indulgence. As the Central Plain had been the political, economic and cultural center since the ancient times, and the Western Jin annexed Wu, some Wu scholars abased themselves and modeled on the Central Plain scholars in almost every aspect. Ge Hong, living between the Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties, expressed his discontent with this in "Jimiao" and "Jihuo" in *Baopuzi*. It needs a concrete analysis to make a judgement on the Wu scholars' emulation, and it is too hasty to simply accept or reject a single point of view." Obviously, it was the pure conversationists' deprecation of rites that resulted in the unconventional and uninhibited activities mentioned by Ge Hong, and it even influenced some famous ministers in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. It was recorded in "Ren dan" in *Shishuo xinyu* that Wen Qiao 温峤 "liked talking randomly", and Zhou Yi 周顛 (often "talked about taboos and was rash in his words and deeds." Zhou was addicted to wine and once was "dead drunk for three days", which was incredible in the Sixteen States Period (CE 309-480) and Northern Dynasty. However, it was common in the Jin Dynasty, for most of the literati escaping to Jiangnan in the Eastern Jin Dynasty were from Luoyang, Henan, Shandong, Jiangsu and Anhui. For example, among the eminent scholars, there were Wang Dao 王导 from Langya 琅琊 Linyi 临沂 (in present Shandong), Zhou Yi 周顛 from Runan, Ancheng 安城 (south to present Pingyu 平舆, Henan), Yu Liang 庾亮 from Yingchuan Yanling 颍川鄢陵, Jiang Bin 江彬 from Chenliu Yu 陈刘圉 (south to present Qi County, Henan), Zhuge Hui 诸葛恢 from Langya Linyi, Xie Kun 谢鲲 from Chenjun 陈郡 Yangxia 阳夏 (present Taikang 太康, Henan), He Chong 何充 from Lujiang 庐江 (north to present Huoshan 霍山, Anhui), Xi Jian 郗鉴 from Gaoping Jinxiang 金乡 (in present Shandong), Yuan Huan 袁瓌 from Chenjun Yangxia, Zhu Pou 褚裒 from Yingchuan Yangzhai 阳翟 (present Yuzhou 禹州, Henan), Liu Tan 刘惔 from Peiguo Xiao 萧 (in present Jiangsu), Xun Song 荀崧 from Yingchuan LinYing 临颖 (northwest to Linying, Henan), Huan Yi 桓彝 from Qiaoguo Longkang (between Meng County and Huaiyuan 怀远 County in Anhui), Xu Ning 徐宁 from Donghai Tan 鄆 (in present Shandong), Zhong Ya 钟雅 from Yingchuan Changshe 长社 (present Changge, Henan), and Yin Hao 殷浩 from Chenjun Changping (present Xihua 西华, Henan). Only the Wang clan (Wang Zhan 王湛 and his posterities) from Taiyuan Jinyang 晋阳 and the Sun clan (Sun Sheng, Sun Chuo etc.) were from Heshuo, but they had already lived in Xu and Luoyang since the late Han Dynasty, so they were deeply influenced by

the scholars in the area south to the Yellow River. The Hebei scholars seldom moved southward, for Jizhou was far from Luoyang, so it was less damaged by the wars in the Eight-King Rebellion. During the time of Xiongnu and Jie's invasions, Youzhou and Jizhou were garrisoned by Wang Jun, with the help of the Duan clan of Xianbei nationality, who were cooperative with the Jin government. Accordingly, they were relatively safe and neither the Former Zhao nor the Later Zhao dared to attack them. Therefore, some scholars escaped to Hebei at the beginning of the wars. For example, the famous writer Zuo Si "moved his whole family to Jizhou" during the Eight-King Rebellion period.<sup>16</sup> The Zheng clan from Yingyang also moved to Jizhou on the Former Zhao invasion.<sup>17</sup> After Wang Jun was killed by Shi Le, Youzhou and Jizhou were involved into wars, and the ways to the South were blocked by the endless wars in the area south to the Yellow River. For example, Cui Hong 崔宏 of the Cui clan from Qinghe tried to "escape to Jiangnan" in the turmoil of wars in Former Qin, but in vain.<sup>18</sup> Some scholars who managed to reach Jiangnan also encountered discrimination there. For example, Lu Chen 卢湛, who followed Liu Kun 刘琨 to fight against the two Zhao in the North, was from a notable clan in Hebei: He was the descendant of Lu Zhi. His descendants moved to Jiangnan after his death but were so prejudiced that his great-grandson Lu Xun 卢循 participated in the rebellion against the court. The Wang clan in Taiyuan, glorious in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, was wiped off by Liu Yu and declined. The Sun clan didn't occupy high positions in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, and no well-known figures arose after Sun Sheng and Sun Chuo. It is safe to say that the majority of the Eastern Jin Dynasty literati were from present Shandong and Henan, which were south to the Yellow River and north to present Jiangsu and Anhui. They inherited the scholarship and literature there in the Wei and Jin Dynasties. Before the Eastern Jin Dynasty moved southward, the academic and literary styles in Jiangnan were different from those in the Yellow River and Huai River areas, which have been expounded by Tang Changru 唐长孺.<sup>19</sup> However, as was proved by the materials such as *Baopuzi*, many scholars in the South had modeled on the academic and even life style in the Central Plain since the Eastern Jin Dynasty, and gradually they also gained outstanding achievements. At first they did not understand *Laozi* as well as the Central Plain scholars did.

<sup>16</sup> "Zuo Si zhuan", *Jinshu*, Vol. 92.

<sup>17</sup> "Wei zhongshuling mishujian yanzhou cishi Zheng Xi bei" 魏中书令秘书监兖州刺史郑羲碑 ("Inscription for Zheng Xi, Secretariat Director, director of the palace library and Governor of Yanzhou in Wei").

<sup>18</sup> "Cui Xuanbo zhuan" 崔玄伯传 ("Biography of Cui Xuanbo"), *Weishu*, Vol. 24.

<sup>19</sup> "Du *Baopuzi* tuilun nanbei xuefeng de yitong" 读《抱朴子》推论南北学风的异同 ("The Inference of Contrast and Comparison between the Academic Styles in the South and North on Reading *Baopuzi*"), *Weijin nanbeichao shi luncong* 魏晋南北朝史论丛 (*Tribune for History of the Wei and Jin Dynasties*), Sanlian Press, 1955.

Liu Jingshu 刘敬叔 in the Southern Dynasty told such a story in Vol. 6 of his *Yiyuan* 异苑 (*Anecdotes*): One night Lu Ji entered Wang Bi's tomb in Yanshi 偃师 and talked about *Laozi* with him.<sup>20</sup> This story can also be found in “Wanglu shixu” 王陆诗叙 (“Prefaces to Poems of Wang and Lu”) by Yuan Shi 袁氏, which was quoted in “Gushui zhu” 穀水注 (Notes to Gushui River) in *Shuijing* 水经 (*Classic of Waterways*), and “Lu Yun zhuan” 陆云传 (“Biography of Lu Yun”) in Vol. 54 of *Jinshu*.<sup>21</sup> Lu Ji and Lu Yun were outstanding scholars but *Jinshu* stated “Lu Yun knew little about metaphysics, but after that he suddenly became adept at *Laozi*.” It showed that the Wu scholars were still inferior to their peers in the Central Plain. But in the Southern Dynasty the South brought forth a vast group of scholars who were at home in metaphysics. “Wang Sengqian zhuan” 王僧虔传 (“Biography of Wang Sengqian”) in Vol.33 of *Nanqishu* 南齐书 (Chronicles of the Southern Qi) recorded that Wang Sengqian once warned his son not to call himself a “pure conversationist” in case that Zhang Wuxing 张吴兴 (alias of Zhang Dai 张岱 from Wujun) would ask him to talk about *Laozi*.” According to “Zhang Yu zhuan” 张裕传 (“Biography of Hang Yu”) in Vol. 31 of *Nanshi* 南史 (*History of the Southern Dynasty*), Zhang Xu 张绪, Zhang Dai's nephew, “was proficient in *Zhouyi* and regarded as a master due to his concise but profound theories.” Despite contradictions between the native scholars and the immigrants from the North, their cultures had been integrated into one, which was the inheritance and development of the culture in the Yellow River and Huai River areas since the Han, Wei, and the Western Jin Dynasties. It should be said that the scholarship, especially the literature, had been greatly improved after about 270 years' development in the Eastern Jin and Southern Dynasties. The emergence of various writing styles such as *yuanjiati* 元嘉体 *yongmingti* 永明体 and *gongti* 宫体 greatly enriched the artistic contents, styles and techniques, and laid a solid foundation for the literary prosperity in the Tang Dynasty (Tang Chao 唐朝 CE 618-907). The literary prosperity was the result of the economic prosperity. In the Eastern Jin Dynasty, a vast group of Central Plain people moved southward and greatly promoted the agriculture in Jiangnan with the irrigating systems they built. It was said that “One *mu* 亩 (a traditional Chinese unit of area, equals to 666.667 m<sup>2</sup>) of the fertile land [in Jinagnan] was worth a tael of gold. Even the fertile land between Yue 鄞 and Du 杜 could not be so expensive.”<sup>22</sup> The scholars in the South, natives or immigrants, benefited a lot from the economic prosperity and they built considerable farmsteads. Furthermore, the Jin government implemented the policy of “favorable treatment to literati”. The scholars' affluence entitled to be engaged in scholarship and literature. “Yanyu” 言语 (“Sayings”) in

<sup>20</sup> Liu also stated this was probably Lu Yun's anecdote.

<sup>21</sup> The former said it was Lu Ji's story, while the later said it was Lu Yun's.

<sup>22</sup> “Kong Jigong zhuan” 孔季恭传 (“Biography of Kong Jigong”), *Songshu* 宋书 (*Chronicles of Song*), Vol. 54.



*Shishuo xinyu* recorded that Xie An 谢安, Xie Lang 谢朗 and Xie Daoyun 谢道韞 often “talked about literature and philosophy together”. “Wenxue” 文学 (“Literature”) recorded that Xie An and Xie Xuan 谢玄 once had an argument about “which line in *Maoshi* was the best”, and Wang Gong 王恭 and his brother Wang Du 王睹 once argued about “which line in the ancient poetry was the best”. Such discussions about literature were among family members. As for the pure conversations among Wang Dao, Huan Wen 桓温, Wang Meng 王濛, Wang Shu 王述 and Xie Shang 谢尚, the discussion about *Zhouyi* between Yin Hao and Sun Sheng in the period of Emperor Jianwen of Jin (Jin Jianwendi 晋简文帝 CE 320-372),<sup>23</sup> and the debate between Sun Sheng and Yin Hao in which “They did not stop arguing until the dishes were reheated four times. During dinner they kept attacking each other with their horsetail whisks, which fell off the dishes, and occasionally they forgot to eat” were among friends. These discussions and arguments more or less promoted the artistic and literary prosperity in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. Certainly, the affluent life also led to the scholars’ “flauntiness and flamboyance”, and they could deal with neither government nor family affairs. The impractical life style ultimately blocked their artistic visions and creativity. Take metaphysics as an example. As Xu Hangsheng put it, “The metaphysics in Cao-Wei period and the Western Jin Dynasty, still on the rising, was positive and fresh. But it declined in the Eastern Jin Dynasty and became negative and decadent.”<sup>24</sup> It became even worse in the Southern Dynasty, when Confucianism was declining and few remarkable achievements were achieved. Relatively speaking, the literature saw more achievements than scholarship, but it also declined later. In Song 宋 (CE 420-479) and Qi 齐 (CE 479-502) periods between the late Eastern Jin and the early Southern Dynasties, some eminent writers such as Tao Yuanming 陶渊明, Xie Lingyun 谢灵运, Bao Zhao 鲍照 and Xie Tiao 谢朓 came to the world. They not only shadowed the writers in the Eastern Jin Dynasty but also came up to any in Jian’an (CE 196-220) and Taikang (CE 280-289) periods. However, the masters in the Liang period such as Shen Yue 沈约 and Jiang Yan 江淹 were not on a par with Tao, Xie and Bao. In addition, they had become mature in the Song and Qi periods. The writers from the mid-Liang period to Chen were also far inferior to their peers in Yuanjia (CE 151-53) and Yongming (CE 483-493) periods. Likewise, the calligraphers in the Southern Dynasty were not comparable with Wang Xizhi 王羲之 and his son Wang Xianzhi 王献之 in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. Apart from the more inferior personal aptitude, *Houjing zhiluan* 侯景之乱 (Riots led by Hou Jing, general of Liang, in CE 548) also caused the drastic decline of literature in the South. The poet in the Southern Dynasty, Yu Xin 庾信, created better poems than before after he moved to the North; the famous writer Xu Ling 徐陵, who lived between Liang

<sup>23</sup> i.e., Sima Yu 司马昱. He was the Prince of Kuanji then.

<sup>24</sup> *Weijin xuanxue shi*, 魏晋玄学史 (*History of Metaphysics in the Wei and Jin Dynasties*), p. 471.

and Chen, created his outstanding parallel prose “Yu qishangshupuye yangzunyan shu” 与齐尚书仆射杨遵彦书 (“To Yang Zunyan, Executive State Secretary of Qi”) in Ye Cheng. These examples proved that the literary creation was influenced by the writer’s social environment and practice, so was scholarship.

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#### 4 The north-south difference of scholarship and literature in the Southern and Northern Dynasties

After the Western Jin Dynasty, the vast Yellow River area fell into the battlefield of various minority nationalities. The artistic activities almost came to a standstill. In the Sixteen Kingdoms Period (CE 304-439), “the Central Plain was in turmoil as the minorities invaded the inner land. As usurpers occurred one after another, the people plunged into an abyss of misery and the literature fell into disuse and became rusted.”<sup>1</sup> It was recorded in “Rulin zhuan” in Vol. 84 of *Weishu* 魏书 (*Chronicles of Wei*) that “After the Yongjia period, the world was going to rack and ruin. Wars were almost everywhere and rites were completely ignored.” In the early Northern-Wei (Bei Wei 北魏 CE 386-534) period, despite the establishment of the Imperial Academy and the advocating of Confucianism, the academic prosperity did not occur until Emperor Xiaowen ascended the throne. Although it was promoted by Emperor Xiaowen, the literature renaissance came even later. Even in the late Northern-Wei, “the learners were innumerable but the masters were rare”, as was put in “Wenyuan zhuan” 文苑传 (“Biographies of Intellectuals”) in Vol. 85 of *Weishu*. It showed that during the Sixteen Kingdoms Period, the culture in the Yellow River area lagged behind that in the South. But to be specific, the development was quite uneven in the vast North. Generally speaking, the area south to the Yellow River in Shandong and north to the Huai River in Jiangsu and Anhui was called “Seven Prefectures along the Yellow River” in the Northern Dynasty and “Four Prefectures north to the Huai River” in the Southern Dynasty. The area was once occupied by Jie and Xianbei after the Western Jin Dynasty. However, after Liu Yu annexed the Southern Yan (Nan Yan 南燕 CE 398-410) in the 6th year of Yixi (CE 410) under Emperor An of Jin’s reign (Jin Andi 晋安帝 CE 382-418), it was not conquered by Northern Wei until in the Taishi period (CE 467-468) under Emperor Ming of Song’s (Song Mingdi 宋明帝 CE 439-472) reign. Under the rule of the Southern Dynasty, its scholarship and literature flourished. Some famous scholars and writers in the mid and late Northern Wei such as Liu Fang 刘芳, Cui Guang 崔光, Cui Hong 崔鸿 and Wen Zisheng 温子升 were all from this area. Li Daoyuan 酈道元, the author of *Shuijingzhu* 水经注 (*Commentary to the River Classic*) claimed that he “grew up in the Eastern Qi” though he was not born here. The area west to it, i.e., the area south to the Yellow River in Henan, suffered most in wars, as it was the

political center in the Wei and Jin Dynasties, and it once was the scene of seesaw battles from the Eastern Jin to the mid-Song Period. Emperor Wen of Song (Song Wendi 宋文帝 CE 407-453) once laid claim to Luoyang, but Emperor Taiwu of Northern Wei did not give away. Eventually the Northern Wei won and Emperor Xiaowen moved the capital. The area became a political center again, but the scholarship and literature remained backward for a long period. As for Guanzhong, west to the area, was in a more complicated situation, for it had been inhabited by both Han and minority nationalities since the Han Dynasty. In his “Quan fa hebei biao” 劝伐河北表 (“Expostulation of Punitive Expedition to Hebei”), Xie Lingyun said “Guanzhong was inhabited by different nationalities”.<sup>25</sup> The activities of scholarship and literature in this area did not occur until the Western Wei (CE 535-557) and Northern Zhou (CE 557-581) periods in the late Northern Dynasty, and they were confined to southern and eastern Hebei. The scholarship and literature in the further western area, i.e. Hexi area in Gansu, were more flourishing, because it did not suffer the wars when the Western Jin Dynasty fell. In the Jin Dynasty it was garrisoned by Zhang Gui 张轨, the governor of Liangzhou, and his posterities, and became a cultural center after many Central Plain scholars took refuge here. It was recorded in “Husou zhuan” 胡叟传 (“Biography of Husou”) in Vol. 52 of *Weishu* that Cheng Boda 程伯达 once said “Under the governing of the Zhang clan, the inhabitants in Hexi area gradually had the Han style.” Emperor Taiwu of Wei migrated many scholars and skilled craftsmen to Pingcheng 平城 (present Datong 大同, Shanxi) after he annihilated the Northern Liang, hence the decline of Hexi scholarship and literature. However, the scholars moving eastward made great contributions to the renaissance of the Northern Dynasty. The ancestors of paleographer Jiang Shi 江式 and the writer Chang Jing 常景 in late Northern Wei once resided in Liangzhou; the monk Tan Yao 昙曜, the first to construct the famous Yungang Grottos, and Zhao Fei 赵馥, who created the calendar of the Northern Wei were from Liangzhou. As for Heshuo area, it mainly included present Shanxi and Hebei provinces, the area north to the Yellow River in Shandong, and the western Liaoning. Shanxi was inhabited by various minorities such as Xiongnu, Jie and Qiang etc. Pingyang was the base area of the Liu clan of the Former Zhao, and Shangdang 上党 was the hometown of the Shi clan of the Later Zhao. The Liu clan of Xiongnu such as Liu Yuan and Liu Cong 刘聪 were deeply sinicized, and they were not only familiar with Confucian classics but even able to create poems and prose-poems. Shi Le was not well educated, but he attached much importance to using the Han scholars in the late time. However, Han scholars were hostile to two Zhao because of their annihilation of the Western Jin and the cruel slaughters of Han people at the beginning, and few of them would serve

<sup>25</sup> “Xie Lingyun zhuan” 谢灵运传 (“Biography of Xie Lingyun”), *Songshu*, Vol. 67.

them then. Therefore, there were almost no scholarship and literature activities in the Sixteen Kingdoms Periods in Shanxi. But it was quite different in Hebei. As Hebei was the home to Cui Yin and Lu Zhi, the culture here was profound but different from that in the Yellow River and Huai River areas. The metaphysics, flourishing in Luoyang between the Wei and Jin periods, was founded by the scholars from the Yellow River and Huai River areas, such as He Yan from Nanyang, Wang Bi from Shanyang Gaoping, Ruan Ji from Chenliu Weishi, Ji Kang from Qiaoguo Zhi, Xiang Xiu from Henei, and Guo Xiang from Henan (present Luoyang). Moving about only in Luoyang, Mengzhou 孟州 and Wenxian 温县, which were north to the Yellow River, they imposed little influence on Hebei. In addition, the Heshuo scholars, deeply influenced by Lu Zhi and Zheng Xuan who lived in Yecheng, still held Confucianism when metaphysics flourished in the Yellow River and Huai River areas. Some of them fled to present eastern Hebei and western Liaoning on Later Zhao's invasion. They attached themselves to the Murong 慕容 clan of Xianbei and gathered a large number of Han scholars there. But the Murong regime was soon overthrown by the Tuoba 拓跋 clan. After their hometowns were occupied by the Later Zhao and Northern Wei, the scholars usually lived in "Wubi" (forts) in which one or several clans gathered together to protect themselves. The intensity of harassments they suffered from the minorities can be seen in "Shi Le zaiji xia" 石勒载记下 ("Section II of Biography of Shi Le") in Vol. 105 of *Jinshu*:

Shi Le promoted *canjun* 参军 (secretary) Fan Tan 樊坦 to *zhangwu neishi* 章武内史 (royal secretary) due to his honesty. When Fan bid farewell to him, Shi Le was surprised to see that Fan was clad in rags. He asked, "Why are you so poor?" Fan, who was honest, answered frankly, "The evil Jie are bandits! They plundered my property up." Shi Le laughed and said, "We Jie people really bullied and plundered too much! I should compensate you for that!" Fan was scared and he cried and knocked the head begging for pardon. Shi Le said, "My laws are applicable to the vulgar, not the scholars like you." He then bestowed him a wagon, some dresses and 3,000,000 strings of cash to warn the greedy Jie.

The story clearly indicated the insensitivity of the cruel pillages of Jie to Han people which is quite understandable if we take into account the Han officials' tyranny over the Jie people in the Western Jin Dynasty. The Han officials often "put two Jie people in one pillory" and sold them to Jizhou as slaves. Shi Le once was sold in this way.<sup>26</sup> Fan, who had already attached himself to and served Shi

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<sup>26</sup> "Shi Le zaiji shang" 石勒载记上 ("Section I of Biography of Shi Le"), *Jinshu*, Vol.104.

Le, was plundered in this way, let alone the common civilians. Most of Wubi residents belonged to one clan, and generally speaking, their patriarch was also the leader in Wubi. They lived a self-supporting life. As was mentioned in “Zhijia” 治家 (“Governing the Family”) in *Yanshi jiaxun* 颜氏家训 (*Admonitions for the Yan Clan*), “The basic way to better life is to farm for food and plant mulberry and hemp for clothes. The vegetables are planted in yard, and the poultry and livestock are raised in pens. Even the houses, tools, firewood, faggots, oil and candles were all made from the plants. So the people good at governing his family can obtain enough supplies except salt even when they were confined to their houses. Now the northerners are frugal while the southerners are extravagant.” The northerners’ frugality was a result of their life experience in Wubi. The invasions of the two Zhao in the late Western Jin put every part of the North in the turmoil of wars. Apart from the pillages of minorities, the civilians, having no means of support, also had to plunder to make a living. Consequently the roads for the traveling merchants were blocked. Pan Ni 潘尼, nephew of the famous writer Pan Yue 潘岳, once tried to flee to his hometown Yingyang right before the fall of Luoyang, but he failed and died in Wubi on the way. Under such circumstances, the civilians had to stay in Wubi to help each other, so the minorities and other forces dared not invade them. As Tang Changru put it, “It was not that Liu Cong and Shi Le wanted to accept the partition, but that they did not have enough strength to sweep the Wubi away.”<sup>27</sup> Actually Wubi had occurred in the earlier time. “Fan Hong zhuan” 樊宏传 (“Biography of Fan Hong”) in Vol. 32 of *Houhanshu* mentioned that Fan Hong once sought safety in Wubi during the Red Eyebrows Rebellion period (CE 18-25). Tian Chou 田畴, a native of Youbeiping 右北平 Wuzhong 无终 (present Jixian 蓟县, Tianjin) once resisted warlords such as Yuan Shao in Wubi.<sup>28</sup> Laws, rituals and schools were established in Tian’s Wubi, and naturally the people in it must obey the master absolutely. Actually, they were willing to obey, for unification was the only way to resist the invasions. Wubi was established on the basis of a clan; as a result, the northerners had a stronger clan consciousness than the southerners. “Yang Bo zhuan” 杨播传 in Vol. 58 of *Weishu* recorded that the Yang siblings never divided up their family and they strictly followed the family etiquettes. Among the clans in Northern Wei, the Yang siblings and Lu Yuan’s 卢渊 siblings in Fanyang followed the etiquettes most strictly. Yang Bo’s ancestors “claimed themselves natives of Hengnong 恒农 Huayin. His great-great-grandfather Yang

<sup>27</sup> “Jindai beijing gezu bianluan de xingzhi ji wuhu zhengquan zai Zhongguo de tongzhi” 晋代北境各族变乱的性质及五胡政权在中国的统治 (“The Essence of the Riots of the Minorities in the Northern Frontier in the Jin Dynasty and the Rule of the Five Minorities in China”), *Weijin nanbeichaoshi luncong*.

<sup>28</sup> “Tianchouzhuan” 田畴传 (“Biography of Tian Chou”), *Weishu, Sanguozhi* 三国志 (*Chronicles of Three Kingdoms*), Vol.11.

Jie 杨结 served the Murong clan and died as the premier of Zhongshan; his great grandfather Yang Zhen 杨珍 returned to his hometown during the time of Emperor Daowu, Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 (Wei Daowudi 魏道武帝 CE 371-409), and died as the governor of Shanggu 上谷.” It is unsettled whether they were descendants of Yang Zhen 杨震 in the Han Dynasty, but there is no denying that they were deeply influenced by Heshuo culture. As to Lu Yuan, he was a descendant of Lu Zhi. In such a clan of Confucian scholars, it was natural that he inherited the tradition. Actually, the reason why the Heshuo people kept rituals also had something to do with the social background, for they had to rely on rituals to keep solidarity and discipline in Wubi. At that time one had to attach much importance to his clan, to which he had to resort. “Wang Yi zhuan” 王懿传 (“Biography of Wang Yi”) in Vol. 46 of *Songshu* 宋书 (*Chronicles of Song*) recorded:

The northerners had a regard for cognominal people and viewed them as their own blood and flesh. They did their utmost to provide their help for them; otherwise they would be considered unrighteous and dispelled by the villagers. Zhongde 仲德 (alias name of Wang Yi) heard that Wang Yu 王愉, a native of Taiyuan, lived in Jiangnan, so he went to him for help, but unexpectedly he was treated coldly....

As a matter of fact, Wang Yi and Wang Yu were not from the same clan. Wang Yi claimed he was from Taiyuan Qi (present Qi County 祁县, Shanxi), while Wang Yu was from Jinyang 晋阳 (present Taiyuan). Despite the same surname, they did not belong to the same clan.<sup>29</sup> After the Sixteen Kingdoms Periods, some clans in the North recognized the people with the same surnames and in the same prefectures as their kindred in order to strengthen themselves. Having lived in the South for long and without such experiences, Wang Yu did not have the same attitude. However, the people who stayed in the North for long usually had a strong sense of clans. “Xiahou Dan zhuan” 夏侯奭传 (“Biography of Xiahou Dan”) in Vol. 28 of *Liangshu* 梁书 stated:

Xiahou Yi 夏侯溢, a clan member of Xiahou Dan, was appointed the secretary of Hengyang. When he bid farewell, Xiahou Dan was sitting by the emperor Gaozu, Emperor Wu of Liang (Liang wudi 梁武帝 CE 464-549). Gaozu asked him, “Is Xiahou Yi your clan member?” Dan answered, “He is my cousin.” Gaozu knew they were not intimate and said, “You don’t

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<sup>29</sup> “Wang Chang zhuan” 王昶传 (“Biography of Wang Chang”), *Sanguozhi* Vol. 27; “Wang Ling zhuan” 王凌传 (“Biography of Wang Ling”), *Sanguozhi*, Vol. 28.

recognize your kindred, and that's rough." Xiahou Dan answered, "I heard that the kindred were easy to be estranged, so I did not recognize him."

Xiahou Dan was from Qiao 譙 (present Boxian 亳县, Anhui), which was seized by the minorities before. His ancestors once lived in Wubi, so he had a strong sense of clan. However, the scholars moving southward tended to lay stress on their own fame rather than their clans. "Yaliang" 雅量 (Magnanimity) in *Shishuo xinyu* stated:

One day Zhou Zhongzhi 周仲智 (alias of Zhou Song 周嵩 in the Eastern Jin Dynasty) got drunk. Staring angrily at Zhou Boren 周伯仁 (alias of Zhou Yi), he said, "You are less talented than me, but you enjoy the greater fame!" Then he threw the candle at him. Boren laughed, "It is really a worst strategy to attack me with fire!"

Song was Yi's younger brother; such an event was incredible in the Northern Dynasty. Nor was that all, Wang Dun 王敦 murdered his cousin Wang Cheng 王澄,<sup>30</sup> and Wang Gong and Wang Chen 王忱 nearly fought with each other due to their controversy<sup>31</sup>. The anecdotes showed the different clan senses of the scholars in the North and South. The difference was partly caused by the different traditions: the southerners attached importance to metaphysics and deprecated rituals, while the northerners laid stress on Confucianism and respected rituals. More importantly, it was also related to the different social environments.

Indeed, the Southern and Northern Dynasties had different tastes for scholarship, which was mentioned in "Rulinzhuan" in Vol. 75 of *Suishu*. "Rulinzhuan" in Vol. 84 of *Weishu* also stated:

In the Han Dynasty, Zheng Xuan annotated Confucian classics, and Fu Qian and He Xiu 何休 also had their theories. *Yi, Shu, Shi, Li, Lunyu, Xiaojing* 孝经 (*Book of Filial Piety*) annotated by Zheng Xuan, *Zuoshi chungqiu* annotated by Fu Qian, and *Gongyangzhuan* annotated by He Xiu all spread widely in Hebei. *Yi* annotated by Wang Su 王肃 was also popular. Du Yu 杜预 in the Jin Dynasty annotated *Zuoshi*. His great-great-grandsons Du Tan 杜坦 and Du Ji 杜骥 both served Liu Yilong 刘义隆 as governor of Qingzhou 青州, and most of the Qi people learned from the scholarship handed down by them.

The reason why *Zuozhuan* annotated by Du spread widely in Qi was that Qi once was under the jurisdiction of the Southern Dynasty in mid-Liu-Song period.

<sup>30</sup> "Wang Dun zhuan" 王敦传 ("Biography of Wang Dun"), *Jinshu*, Vol. 98.

<sup>31</sup> "Fenjuan" 忿谗 ("Hatred and Impetuosity"), *Shishuo xinyu*.

Du's theories had already spread in the Eastern Jin Dynasty. According to "Xun Song zhuan" in Vol. 75 of *Jinshu*, even in the early Eastern Jin, "Nine court academicians had been set respectively for *Zhouyi* by Wang Bi, *Shangshu* by Zheng Xuan, *Guwen Shangshu* falsely attributed to Kong Anguo 孔安国, *Maoshi* by Zheng, *Zhouguan* 周官 (*The Officers of Zhou*) and *Liji* by Zheng, *Chunqiu zuozhuan* by Du Yu and Fu Qian, *Lunyu* and *Xiaojing* by Zheng. But no academicians were set for *Yili* 仪礼 (*Book of Rituals*), *Gongyang*, *Guliang* and *Yi* annotated by Zheng." Xun Song advised that the academicians be set for them. Emperor Yuan of Jin (Jin Yuandi 晋元帝 CE 317-323) approved the proposal, but he disagreed to set the academician for *Guliang*. However, the proposal was not brought into practice due to Wang Dun's Rebellion. "Lu Cheng zhuan" 陆澄传 in Vol. 39 of *Nanqishu* stated "In the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Taixing (CE 321) of the Jin Dynasty, Xun Song, chamberlain for ceremonials, made a proposal of setting an academician for *Zhouyi* annotated by Zheng Xuan, hence the academician in the previous times." Clearly, it was Xun Song's proposal that was implemented finally. Later in the Southern Dynasty, sometimes both Wang Bi's and Zheng Xuan's *Yi* spread widely, but sometimes only Wang Bi's *Yi* was spreading. Fu Qian's and Du Yu's *Zuozhuan* had already spread side by side since the Eastern Jin, but *Weishu* laid more emphasis on the scholarship of Du Tan and Du Ji. This was probably because their theories became more popular after they were appointed the governor of Qingzhou. Wang Bi's theories on *Yi* were purely metaphysical, consequently were not welcomed by Heshuo scholars who preferred Confucianism. The reason why *Zuozhuan* annotated by Du Yu did not spread to the North was that he published them too late rather than that his theories were different.<sup>32</sup> Worth noting is that, *Gongyangzhuan* used to be rife in the Northern Dynasty. As we all know, in the Wei-Jin periods, among the three commentaries of *Chunqiu*, *Zuozhuan* was the only prevailing one. There were some reasons for that. One of them was the tradition that the northerners in the Sixteen Kingdoms Period laid stress on the idea of "honoring the emperor and expelling the barbarians" in *Gongyangzhuan*. Another reason was that the rulers of the Northern Dynasty took much count of *Yinyang* 阴阳 (Positive and Negative Forces) theory and divination, which were similar to the "Natural Calamity" theory in *Gongyangzhuan* and the "Interaction of Heaven and Man" preached by Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒. "Cui Hao zhuan" 崔颢传 ("Biography of Cui Hao") in Vol. 35 of *Weishu* stated "Taizong (太宗, i.e. Emperor Mingyuan of Wei, Tuoba Si 拓跋嗣, CE 391-423) had a liking for *Yinyang* and divination. He thought highly of Cui Hao's

<sup>32</sup> According to "Du Yu zhuan" in Vol. 34 in *Jinshu*, he "did not finish the book until his being very aged." Du Yu died in the late 5<sup>th</sup> year of Taikang (CE 270), about 30 years before the downfall of the Western Jin Dynasty, and less than 10 years before the Rebellion of Eight Princes.



explanation of *Yi* and *wuxing* 五行 (Five Elements) theory in “Hongfan”, and ordered Cui to practice divination to clear up his doubts.” “Gao Yun zhuan” 高允传 (“Biography of Gao Yun”) in Vol. 48 stated Gao Yun “had a command over Confucian classics and divination, especially *Chunqiu gongyang*.” Gao Yun was highly respected in Northern Wei, and Cui Hao, though killed eventually, was much valued by Emperor Taiwu of Wei for long periods because of his proficiency in *Yinyang* and divination. Certainly, this situation changed after the sinicization of the Tuoba Clan and the development of northern scholarship. “Rulinzhuan” in Vol. 84 of *Weishu* recorded that the Confucian Liu Lan 刘兰 in the late Northern Wei “excluded *Gongyangzhuan* and deprecated Dong Zhongshu.” Nonetheless, some ideas conveyed by *Gongyangzhuan* continuously imposed influences on the northerners. For instance, “Houqu” 后娶 (“The Concubines”) in *Yanshi jiaxun* stated “The people in Hebei considered concubines humble and of no dignity.” This was probably related to the principles such as “The heir should be the eldest son of the first wife even if he is younger than the sons of the concubines” and “A son is worthy by the worthiness of his mother, and vice versa” preached in *Gongyangzhuan*.<sup>33</sup> According to Yan Zhitui 颜之推, there were no such principles in the Southern Dynasty. For all that, the southern scholarship finally transcended the northern scholarship. Kong Yingda 孔颖达 in the Tang Dynasty quoted mostly from the southern documents when writing his *Wujing zhengyi* 五经正义 (*The Correct Explanation of Five Classics*). Quite a few scholars had quoted *Shangshu* on many occasions as early as in Northern Wei. Emperor Xiaoming (Xiaomingdi 孝明帝 CE 510-528), Yuan Xu 元诩, and Emperor Xiaojing (Xiaojingdi 孝景帝 CE 524-551), Yuan Shanjian 元善见, also studied *Zuozhuan* annotated by Du Yu, and they even specially invited the brothers, Jia Sibao 贾思伯 and Jia Sitong 贾思同 from Qi to explain it.<sup>34</sup> Living in Wubi for long, the northerners had slim chances of having teachers or friends, and the scholarship could only be handed down from fathers to sons, which blocked their artistic visions and hindered the development of scholarship and literature. After Emperor Xiaowen advocated sinicization, the northerners felt ashamed of their inferiority when they saw the southern scholarship. Such was the case. “Wang Tanshou fu Wang Jun zhuan” 王昙首附王筠传 (“Biography of Wang Tanshou with an Attachment of Biography of Wang Jun”) in Vol. 22 of *Nanshi* 南史 (*History of the South*) recorded that Wang Jun “read the Five Classics for 70-80 times at his childhood. He loved *Zuoshi chunqiu* so much that he often recited it, and even selected the important parts and copied them three to five times. As to the other classics and *Zhouguan*, *Yili*, *Guoyu*, *Erya* 尔雅 (*Approach to the Proper*), *Shanhaijing* 山海经 (*The Classic*

<sup>33</sup> “Yingong yuannian” 隐公元年 (“The 1<sup>st</sup> year of Prince Yin”).

<sup>34</sup> “Ji Sibao zhuan” 贾思伯传 (“Biography of Jia Sibao”), *Weishu*, Vol. 72.

of *Mountains and Seas*) and *Bencao* 本草 (*Classic of Materia Medica*) he copied twice; as to the books of history, philosophy and belles-letters, he copied once.” It is clear that he was more than a writer; he also had a command over Confucian documents and gained profound scholastic attainments. Despite that, the Confucians in the Northern Dynasty had their limitations. “Mianxue” 勉学 (“Exhortation on Study”) of *Yanshi jiaxun* mentioned that some northern Confucians did not know *Wang Can ji* 王粲集 (*Anthology of Wang Can*) or *Hanshu* which explained Confucian classics, consequently limited their learning. According to “Jingjizhi” 经籍志 (Record of Canonical Books) of *Suishu* 隋书 (*Chronicles of the Sui Dynasty*), there were a large number of Confucian classics in the Southern Dynasty, and quite a few of them survived though most of them were lost when the South was annexed by the Sui Dynasty (Sui Chao 隋朝 CE 581-618), while the works by the northerners were rare. Kong Yingda and Jia Gongyan 贾公彦 quoted little from the northerners when annotating Confucian classics, which proved the southerners had transcended the northerners in scholarship.

So was literature. No important writers appeared in the North after the Sixteen Kingdoms Period. In early Northern Wei, when the Tuoba clan was less sinicized than other nationalities, it had little interest in literature, and the writings were simple and plain. The eminent writers and poets did not occur until Emperor Xiaowen moved the capital to Luoyang in the late Qi period of the Southern Dynasty. The masters in literature, such as Bao Zhao and Xie Lingyun, had already died then. Xie Tiao and Shen Yue had already been mature in literary creation, but the northern writers, such as Zheng Daozhao 郑道昭, were still immature. Though the northern writers had improved themselves, they were still incomparable with the southerners. For this reason, both Yu Xin, who was sent on a diplomatic mission to the Eastern Wei, and Xu Ling, who returned to Jiangnan, despised the northern writers. However, the northerners developed their unique writing styles. After Qi and Liang periods, the southern literature tended to express the personal and exquisite sentiment. Its advantage lay in its elaboration and fineness, while its disadvantage lay in its emasculation. However, the northern literature, though sometimes a little coarse and immature, reflected more social realities and thus had a broader vision, and had imposed great influences on the southern writers moving to the North. For example, the prose-poems written by Yu Xin in the Southern Dynasty, despite their elegance, were no better than Xiao Gang’s 萧纲 or Xiao Yi’s 萧绎. But “Ai jiangnan fu” 哀江南赋 (“Lamentation on Jiangnan”) by him after he moved to the North surpassed his previous writings because of its “extensive theme and intensive contents”. Likewise, Yan Zhitui’s “Guan wo sheng fu” 观我生赋 (“A Prose-poem on Recalling My Life”), more or less influenced by the northern writers such as Li Qian 李骞 and Li Xie 李谐 etc., can be listed into the top poems in the time between late Liang to Qi and Zhou periods. As for poetry, it

was true that the northerners modeled themselves after the southerners, but indeed they had much more social practice than the well-off southerners. Take the Frontier Fortress Poems as an example. The southerners usually wrote about the allusions of the two Han, while the northerners, such as Lu Sidao 卢思道 etc., drew on their own experiences. The critics had always agreed that the late Northern Dynasty poets such as Lu Sidao had already matched and even exceeded the southern poets. In recent years, some people spoke highly of *Gongtishi* to oppose the previous unfair comments on it. They claimed that the northern poets still lagged behind the southerners until the Sui Dynasty. In fact, most of the excellent poems of *Gongtishi* were written by Xiao Gang and Xiao Yi, who died over 30 years before the Sui Dynasty. During the time no excellent poems occurred. Certainly, the writers who were listed in Chen period such as Xu Ling, Yin Keng 阴铿, Jiang Zong 江总 etc., did write some excellent poems. But Xu Ling wrote few poems, and his best parallel prose “Yu Qi Shangshupuye Yang Zunyan shu” was created before Xiao Yi came to throne. Yin Keng’s best works were created in the Liang period. His “Du qingcaohu” 渡青草湖 (“Crossing the Green-grass Lake”) was written in present Hunan, which was occupied by Wang Lin 王琳, the general of Liang then. Yin Keng escaped here to seek shelter, and probably had been dead for long when Wang Lin retreated. As for Jiang Zong’s good poems, a part of them were created in the Liang period when he took refuge in Guangzhou, and another part of them were created after Sui annexed Chen. Despite their excellent poems, Yin Keng and Jiang Zong did not necessarily exceed the Northern writers such as Lu Sidao and Xue Daoheng 薛道衡. As for the poets such as Chen Shubao 陈叔宝, Zhang Zhengjian 张正见, and Chen Xuan 陈暄 etc, they did not work out eminent poems. Yan Yu 严羽 in the Song Dynasty (Song Chao 宋朝 CE 960-1279) expressed his disapproval of Zhang Zhengjian in his *Canglang shihua* 沧浪诗话 (*Canglang Poetry Talks*), while Chen Shubao and Chen Xuan were even inferior to Zhang. As for the essays such as *Shuijingzhu* and *Luoyang jialan ji*, they were “documentary articles”, not “literary works”, so it is hard to compare them with the parallel prose in the Southern Dynasty. Wei Shou’s 魏收 *Weishu*, Shen Yue’s *Songshu* and Xiao Zixian’s 萧子显 *Nanqishu* were historical narratives. As far as the language was concerned, Wei was not inferior to Shen and Xiao at all. Therefore, it is still disputable to state that the northern literature lagged behind the southern literature.

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### Notes on contributor

Cao Daoheng (1928-2005), alias name Wenquan, former fellow in Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. His works include: *Zhonggu wenxueshi lunwenji* 中古文学史论文集 (*Anthology of Papers on History of Literature in Middle Ancient Times*), *Han wei liuchao wenxueshi lunwenji* 汉魏六朝文学史论文集 (*Anthology of Papers on History of Literature in Han, Wei and Six Dynasties*), *Nanchao wenxue yu beichao wenxue yanjiu* 南朝文学与北朝文学研究 (*Studies on the Literature in the Southern and Northern Dynasties*), *Lanling Xiaoshi yu nanchao wenxue* 兰陵萧氏与南朝文学 (*The Xiao Clan in Lanling and the Literature of the Southern Dynasty*) etc.

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### Notes on translator

Du Yixiang, English teacher of College of Foreign Languages and Communications, Shaanxi University of Science and Technology. He was born in Yinan, Shandong in 1975 and graduated from School of Foreign Languages of Lanzhou University in 2005. Works include: "Humanity and Transcendence of Humanity", "The Significance of Violence: A Study on the Archetype of *Book of Job*", "The Tragicomedy in *Luolita*" etc.