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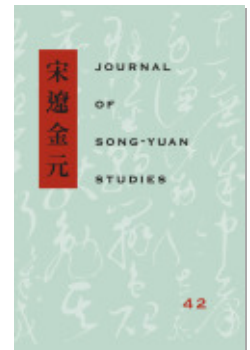
## The Jin Revisited: New Assessment of Jurchen Emperors

Julia Schneider

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# THE JIN REVISITED:

## NEW ASSESSMENT OF

## JURCHEN EMPERORS

Julia Schneider GHEENT UNIVERSITY

In scholarship specializing in the Jurchen (*Nüzhen* 女真 or *Nüzhi* 女直)<sup>1</sup> Jin dynasty (1115–1234), the prevailing trend is to draw certain lines between the imperial reign times. The earlier Jin emperors beginning with the second, Taizong 太宗 (r. 1123–1134),<sup>2</sup> Xizong 熙宗 (r. 1135–50)<sup>3</sup> and Hailing wang 海陵王 (r. 1150–61)<sup>4</sup> are labelled as ‘sinicized’ emperors.<sup>5</sup> The fifth, Shizong 世宗 (r. 1161–89),<sup>6</sup> is seen as the emperor who tried to resist this sinicization by initiating a Jurchen ‘revival’ or ‘nativistic movement.’<sup>7</sup> However,

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1. In modern academic literature the Chinese name of the Jurchen is mostly given as *Nüzhen*, but in older sources like the *Jinshi Nüzhi* is used more often.

2. Jurchen name Wuqimai 吳乞買.

3. Jurchen name Digunai 迪古乃.

4. Jurchen name Hela 合剌.

5. A family tree of the Jurchen emperors appears at the end of this article.

6. Jurchen name Wulu 烏祿.

7. The term ‘nativist movement’ is also used. By using ‘nativistic’ I refer to the basic introductory article by Ralph Linton, which remains the basic reference for anthropology until today. He writes “we may define a nativistic movement as, ‘Any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society’s members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture.’” (Linton, Ralph: 1943. “Nativistic Movements,” in: *American Anthropologist, New Series* 45.2: 230–240, 230.) (For Linton as the seminal reference for present-day anthropology see article on “Nativistic movements,” in: Barfield, Thomas (ed.): 1997. *The Dictionary of Anthropology* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers), 339–340; and the article on “Millennial movements, millenarianism,” in: Barnard, Alan and Jonathan Spencer, (eds.): 2009. *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology* (London and New York: Routledge), 471–472.) Anthony F. C. Wallace takes over Ralph Linton’s definition for nativistic movements for all revitalization movements. According to Wallace, nativistic movements are a subclass of revitalization movements. (Wallace, Anthony, F. C.: 1956. “Revitalization Movements,” in: *American Anthropologist, New Series* 58.2: 264–281, 265, 267.)

It is noteworthy that Linton refers to the then not yet published manuscript of Karl A. Wittfogel

this characterization is not as assured as it might seem. By re-analyzing the political, cultural and educational measures of that time, it will become obvious that the Jin emperors were closely connected to one another in their political aims—that is, a resolute centralization of the government in imperial hands—and also in their ways of achieving them.

A new analysis will show that neither the hypothesis of a promotion of sinicization by Taizong, Xizong and Hailing wang nor of a ‘nativistic movement’ by Shizong is solid. All four of them had a way of ruling and of using political measures for their own sake, which cannot be described as either favoring or rejecting assimilation to the Han culture.<sup>8</sup> They used Han politics to secure their own positions of power but also adjusted parts of the Han system to suit their needs. At the same time all of them were also well aware of the necessity of maintaining their distinct ethnic identity as the legitimacy of their rule was based on it. My analysis shows that the Jurchen Jin emperors, especially Taizong, Xizong, Hailing wang and Shizong, were strongly connected in their way of consolidating their power by centralization and by further institutional and cultural political measures also aimed at an ethnic differentiation. This leads directly to the research questions asked when re-analyzing the well-known sources from Jin, Song and Yuan times, which are: do they confirm the assumption of sinicization as well as of a ‘Jurchen revival movement’? And, if not, how can the reign times of the four Jin emperors in question be evaluated?

In analyzing the writings of modern Jin scholars, my main research questions are: Where and when did the idea of a break between Shizong and his predecessors develop? On what sources and evidences is it based? Who perpetuated it?

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and Feng Chia-sheng (*History of Chinese Society, Liao*, ms.) to confirm the idea of a nativistic movement of the perpetuative-rational form initiated by a dominant-superior group: “Thus the various groups of nomad invaders who conquered China all attempted to maintain much of their distinctive culture and at the height of their power they issued repressive measures directed not only against the Chinese but also against those of their own group who had begun to adopt Chinese culture.” (Linton: 1943, 237.)

A general critique of sinicization as a hypothesis underlying sinological research was prominently made by Evelyn Rawski in 1996. Especially in Qing research, the attitude towards the Manchu culture of the emperors has consequently changed since the last two decades. (Rawski, Evelyn S.: 1996. “Presidential Address: Reenvisioning the Qing: The Significance of the Qing Period in Chinese History,” in: *Journal of Asian Studies* 55.4: 829–850, 839.)

8. About definitions of ‘sinicization’ and ‘assimilation’ see Conclusion.

The first part of this article analyzes the sources about the Jurchen Jin, thereby referring both to those sources dating from the Jin, Song and Yuan times, and to modern scholarship. In the second section I will turn to the emperors themselves and analyze their reign periods. The article will end with a conclusion embedding the analytical results gained by re-visiting the Jurchen emperors into the framework of Jin research of the 20th and 21st centuries.

### *State of the Art*

In finding answers to the research questions given above, the distinction between ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ sources becomes blurred. As the theses and assumptions of modern Jin scholars are questioned, their works become ‘primary’ sources, while the early sources from Jin and Yuan times are used to reconsider the assumptions made in referring to them. Hence, I will introduce sources from Jin and Yuan times as well as contemporary scholarly works on the Jin.

### SOURCES FROM JIN, SONG AND YUAN TIMES

The most extensive sources about the Jurchen and the Jin dynasty are written in Chinese and date from the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1271–1368).<sup>9</sup> There also exist some contemporary sources like travel records written by Song envoys. Only very few sources in Jurchen script — mainly commemorative steles — have been found.<sup>10</sup>

The foremost work about the Jurchen and also their dynasty is the *Jinshi* 金史.<sup>11</sup> It was composed under the editorship of Toghto (Chinese name Tuotuo 脫脫) (1314–1355) and presented to the court in 1345.<sup>12</sup> The actual authors and

9. Regarding early sources see also the bibliographical essay “The Chin Dynasty,” in: Franke, Herbert and Dennis Twitchett (eds.): 1994. *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States*, 907–1368 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press): 678–689, 677–682.

10. Jin Guangping 金光平 and Jin Qicong 金启琮 give a complete list of records in Jurchen script found until 1980. (Jin Guangping and Jin Qicong: 1980. *Nüzhen yuyan wenzi yanjiu* 女真语言文字研究 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe).)

11. Tuotuo 脫脫 et al.: 1975. *Jinshi* 金史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju). Herbert Franke translated the first chapter completely. (Franke, Herbert: 1978b. “Chinese Texts on the Jurchen II: A Translation of Chapter One of the *Jinshi*,” in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 12: 413–452.)

12. Toghto was the Chief Compiler of the Dynastic Histories (*jianxiu guoshi* 監修國史) of

compilers were the twenty-six officials—six Compilers (*zuanxiu guan* 纂修官) and twenty Supervisors (*tidiao guan* 提調官)—who worked under Toghto, among them sixteen Han scholars, the rest being Mongols and Turks.<sup>13</sup> The *Jinshi* is based on several official records from Jin times<sup>14</sup> and the works of three private historians written shortly after the decline of the Jin.<sup>15</sup> All three were from the Jin empire, but of Han origin: Yuan Haowen 元好文 (1190–1257),<sup>16</sup> a scholar who was also a well-known poet, Liu Qi 劉祁 (1203–1250),<sup>17</sup> who was also known for his beautiful style, and in particular Wang E 王鶚 (1190–1273).<sup>18</sup> When the Mongols defeated the Jin, Wang E found refuge at the house of a Mongol leader, where the True or Veritable Records (*shilu* 實錄)—the day-by-day narratives of court activities written mainly by the officials of the True Records Institute (*shilu yuan* 實錄院)—of the Jin dynasty had been stored. Wang wrote abstracts of them and also composed a report about the Mongol conquest. He made a draft of chapters for the *Jinshi* that was adopted by the compilers later.<sup>19</sup>

The *Da Jin guozhi* 大金國志 (*Record of the Great Jin Kingdom*), ascribed to Yuwen Maozhao 宇文懋昭 (dates unknown) is another source about the Jin dynasty.<sup>20</sup> It is said that Yuwen Maozhao, a Jin official who defected to the Song, presented the work to the Song court already in 1234, the year the Jin dynasty was defeated by the Yuan. In fact, the date of its compilation remains

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the Yuan dynasty. Chan Hok-lam states that “[a]lthough the official compilation of the Chin-shih was begun under the Yüan, much of the ground work had been laid during the Chin Dynasty.” (Chan Hok-lam: 1970. *The Historiography of the Chin Dynasty: Three Studies*. *Münchener Ostasiatische Studien* 4 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag) 3.)

13. *Jinshi*, appendix, 2902–2095. See also Franke, Herbert: 1974. “Chinese Historiography under Mongol Rule: The Role of History in Acculturation,” in: *Mongolian Studies* 1: 15–26, 16–17. The *Jinshi*, the *Songshi* 宋史 and the *Liaoshi* 遼史 were all compiled during Yuan times. The groups of compilers only differed slightly, most officials worked on all three histories. (Tuotuo 脫脫 et al.: 1974. *Liaoshi* 遼史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), appendix, 1557–1559; Tuotuo 脫脫 et al.: 1977. *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), appendix, 14256–14260; *Jinshi*, appendix, 2902–2095.)

14. Chan: 1970, 3–5, 22f.

15. Chan: 1970, 5–12.

16. Zi Yuzhi 裕之, *hao* Yishan 遺山, *jinshi* 1221.

17. Zi Jingshu 京叔, *hao* Shenchuan 神川 遜士.

18. Zi Baiyi 百一, *jinshi* 1224. (Chan Hok-lam: 1993. *The Fall of the Jurchen Chin: Wang E's Memoir on Ts'ai-chou under the Mongol Siege [1233–1234]* [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag], 7–16.)

19. Chan Hok-lam discussed the sources of the *Jinshi* very detailed. (Chan: 1970, 22–37.)

20. Yuwen Maozhao: 1986. *Da Jin guozhi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju).

uncertain, although it is assumed that it indeed dates from the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>21</sup> This work is sometimes seen as a supplement to the *Jinshi*.

The *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編 (*Compendium of Treaties with the Northern [Neighbours] during the Three Reigns [of Emperors Huizong, Qinzong, and Gaozong]*) is important as it was already written during the Jin dynasty. The Song official Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘 (1126–1207) especially refers to the contacts between Song and Jin, but also gives important data about the peculiar traditions and history of the Jurchen in the third chapter.<sup>22</sup>

Other important sources are the travel records written by Song envoys sent to the North. They are valuable as they were also written during Jin times, although they are referred to only rarely: Fan Chengda's 范成大 (1126–1193) *Lanpei lu* 攔轡錄 (*Register of Grasping the Carriage Reins*),<sup>23</sup> Cheng Zhuo's (1153–1223) 程卓 *Shi Jin lu* 使金錄 (*An Account of an Embassy to the Jin*),<sup>24</sup> Lou Yue's 樓鑰 (1137–1213) *Beixing rilu* 北行日錄 (*A Daily Account of a Northern Excursion*),<sup>25</sup> and Zhou Hui's 周輝 (dates unknown) *Beiyuan lu* 北轅錄 (*An Account of Northbound Thills*).<sup>26</sup>

All of the sources above shed light on the Jurchen Jin dynasty. Regarding imperial policy, the *Jinshi* is by far the most helpful source as the emperors' political activities, edicts, measures and sometimes also their personal opinions — or

21. Franke and Twitchett (eds.): 1994, 679; Chan, Hok-lam: 1984. *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussion under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (1115–1234)*. (Seattle/London: University of Washington Press), 79.

22. 1973 (Shanghai: Shanghai gujin chubanshe). Herbert Franke translated the third chapter completely. (Franke, Herbert: 1975. "Chinese Texts on the Jurchen: A Translation of the Jurchen Monograph in *San-chi'ao pei-meng hui-pien*," in: *Zentralasiatische Studien* 9: 119–186.)

23. Hargett, James Morris: 1984. "Fan Ch'eng-ta's (1126–1193) *Lan-p'ei lu*: A Southern Sung Embassy Account," in: *Tsinghua Journal of Chinese Studies, New Series* 16.1/2: 119–177; Hargett, James Morris: 1989. *On the Road in Twelfth Century China: The Travel Diaries of Fan Chengda (1123–1193)*, München Ostasiatische Studien 52 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag).

24. Franke, Herbert: 1981b. "A Sung Embassy Diary of 1211–1212: The Shih-Chin lu of Ch'eng Cho," in: *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient* 69: 171–207.

25. Chen Xuelin 陳學霖 [= Chan, Hok-lam]: 2003. "Lou Yue shi jin suo jian zhi Hua bei cheng zhen: 'Beixing rilu' shiliao ju yu 樓鑰使金所見之華北城鎮: '北行日錄' 史料舉隅," in: Chan, Hok-lam: *Jin Song shi luncong* 金宋史論叢 (Xianggang: Xianggang Zhongwen daxue); Walton, Linda: 2002. "Diary of a Journey to the North: Lou Yue's Beixing Rilü," in: *Journal of Sung-Yüan Studies* 32: 1–38.

26. Chavannes, Edouard: 1904. "Pei Yuan Lou: Récit d'un voyage dans le Nord," in: *T'oung Pao* 5.2: 163–192. For a full list of travel records about Song missions to the Jin see Franke, Herbert: 1981b, 172–173.

personalized opinions the writers ascribed to them—are recorded. Therefore, I will use the *Jinshi* most extensively, referring to other sources to a lesser degree. This situation stems from the special interest of this analysis in institutional and political history, for which the *Jinshi* is the most important source. Of course, even the *Jinshi* cannot be seen as displaying the contemporary ‘reality’ completely. However, given the fact that it was based on works of historians who had lived during Jin times, the *Jinshi* exhibits a close temporal connection to the Jin dynasty, and given the fact that an ethnically mixed team of compilers and supervisors worked on it, a certain absence of ethnic bias among the writers seems to be prevalent.

#### RECEPTION OF JURCHEN JIN POLICIES IN MODERN SCHOLARSHIP: GENERAL TRENDS

In what follows, I link academic literature to certain trends in the attitudes towards Taizong, Xizong, Hailing wang and Shizong as well as ways of using source materials proceeding chronologically. I thoroughly re-examine these works in terms of their analyses of the reigns of the four central Jin emperors mentioned above.

##### *Until the 1960s*

Japanese scholarship turned to what is known as Manchurian (*manshū* 滿洲) history in Japanese and Northeastern (*Dongbei* 東北) history in Chinese, as early as the demise of the Qing dynasty in 1912,<sup>27</sup> and more prominently after 1931 following the so-called Mukden Incident.<sup>28</sup> At about the same time, the historian Mikami Tsugio 三上次男 (1907–1987) began to specialize in the

27. Yanai Watari 箭内互, Inaba Iwakichi 稲葉岩吉, and Matsui Hitoshi 松井等撰: 1912–1914. *Beiträge zur historischen Geographie der Mandschurei*. Ed. by Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥庫吉 (Tokyo: Verlag der Südmanchurischen Eisenbahn A.G., 2 vols., originally published in Tōkyō, 1913 as *Manshu rekishi chiri* 滿洲歴史地理). One chapter in the second volume of this work is dedicated to the Jin empire. It lists those areas of Jin administration located in Manchuria, especially referring to place names and geographical positions. (Watari, Iwakichi, and Hitoshi: 1912, 115–205.)

28. A railroad in Manchuria, owned by a Japanese company, was dynamited on September 18th, 1931. As a reaction, Japan invaded Manchuria the following year and established the puppet regime of Manchukuo. About the geopolitical intention and impact of Japanese historiography on Manchuria see Parng Ming-fwee: “Minzuzhuyi shixue de xingqi: yi kaoju yu jingshi wei zhuzhou de taolun (1919–1949) 民族主義史學的興起: 以考據與經世爲主軸的討論 (1919–1949),” in: *Conference papers, Chinese Historiography in Comparative Perspective: International symposium*.

research of the Jurchen Jin dynasty.<sup>29</sup> After having already published his first monumental monograph about the Jurchen Jin in 1937<sup>30</sup> he published an article in 1938 about his thesis of a 'Jurchen culture restoration movement (*Joshin bunka no sakkō undō* 女真文化の作興運動)' initiated by Shizong.<sup>31</sup> There he claimed that Shizong initiated this 'movement' because of the poverty and degeneration of the Battalions (Thousand Households) (*meng'an* 猛安)<sup>32</sup> and Companies (Hundred Households) (*mouke* 謀克),<sup>33</sup> Jurchen socio-military units introduced by the first Jin emperor Taizu. According to Mikami, Shizong feared that an increasing laziness and extravagant lifestyle robbed the Jurchen of their political power and their fighting strength.<sup>34</sup> However, Mikami claims that the most important reason for the degeneration of the Jurchen was in fact their migration to the South.<sup>35</sup> Therefore, Shizong's measures could not be

29. He states that he came to Manchuria as a foreign student in 1933 and began to study the history of this region. (Mikami Tsugio: 1984. *Jin dai Nūzhen yanjiu* 金代女真研究. Translated by Jin Qicong 金启琮 [Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, originally published in Tōkyō: 1937 as *Kindai Joshin no kenkyū* 金代女真的研究]. 4.)

30. Mikami Tsugio: 1937. *Kindai Joshin no kenkyū* 金代女真的研究 (Tōkyō: Zauhō Kankōkai). This work was later re-published as one volume of the *Kindai kenkyū* 金史研究. Mikami Tsugio's several monumental works about the Jurchen Jin were later compiled into three volumes under the general title *Kindai kenkyū*. (1972. *Kinshi kenkyū* I. *Kindai Joshin shakai no kenkyū* 金史研究一. 近代女真社會の研究 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu shuppan, originally published in Tōkyō: 1937 as *Kindai Joshin no kenkyū* 金代女真的研究); 1970. *Kinshi kenkyū* II. *Kindai seiji seido no kenkyū* 金史研究二. 金代政治制度の研究 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu shuppan); 1973. *Kinshi kenkyū* III. *Kindai seiji shakai no kenkyū* 金史研究三. 金代政治: 社會の研究 (Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Bijutsu shuppan). In the third volume there can be found a chapter about the 'restoration movement.' (Mikami: 1973, 233–267.) See also Herbert Franke's reviews on the three books. (Franke, Herbert: 1971. Untitled Review, in: *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 57.5: 320–325; 1973. Untitled Review, in: *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 59.1/5: 311–314; Untitled Review, in: *T'oung Pao, Second Series* 60.1/3: 182–186.)

31. Mikami Tsugio: 1938. "Kindai chūki ni okeru Joshin bunka no sakkō undō 金代中期に於ける女真文化の作興運動," in: *Shigaku zasshi* 史學雜誌 49.9: 1–51; Parng Ming-fwee: 1995.

32. Chinese: *qianhu* 千戶.

33. Chinese: *baihu* 百戶. Actually, when Taizu introduced this unit, it consisted of three hundred households. (*Jinshi*, 2.25.)

34. Mikami: 1938, 3. See also Mikami: 1973, 233–234.

35. In this context Tsang Chun Yu wonders if the sheer power of the Mongols was not reason enough for the decline of the Jin dynasty. He thus doubts the search for an inside reason for a dynasty's decline usually looked for (and found) in traditional Chinese historiography. (According to Tsang Chun Yu 曾震宇 [Zeng Zhenyu]: 2007. "Hailing wang yu Jin chao zhengzhi 海陵王與金朝政治 (= Hai-ling Wang (1122–1161) and the Politics of the Jin Dynasty (1115–1234)),") (Dissertation at Hong Kong University), 105.)



successful as they were aimed at the wrong target. Mikami's idea of a 'Jurchen culture restoration movement' was not referred to until the 1970s when Tao Jing-shen wrote an article about this assumed 'movement' (see below).<sup>36</sup> Regarding the contacts of Jurchen and Han and their possible effects, Mikami Tsugio takes a differentiated standpoint. He analyzes how parts of the Han population living in the northern mostly Han inhabited-regions of the Jin empire adopted Jurchen culture, especially fashion styles, whereas those Han people living in the southern part of the Jin empire kept their Han ways.<sup>37</sup> By contrast, he states there was a cultural change of the Jurchen, which would ultimately result in their decline. However, he does not claim that this change was in any way an assimilation or acculturation to Han culture.<sup>38</sup>

Toyama Gunji 外山軍治 (1910–1999) is another Japanese historian who published influential works on the Jurchen.<sup>39</sup> In his work, neither a 'nativistic movement' nor a 'Jurchen culture restoration movement (*Joshin bunka no sakkō undō* 女真文化の作興運動)' is mentioned. However, Toyama states, that during Xizong's reign the Jurchen state had been deeply influenced by Song politics, economy and culture. He also does use the term 'sinicization' to describe the process of cultural change undergone by the Jurchen.<sup>40</sup> On the one hand, Shizong, who would have been confronted with the weakness and poverty of the Battalions and Companies, tried to save the frugal Jurchen traditions.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, by claiming that the foremost reason for the decline of the Jurchen was the migration of the Jurchen to the South, Toyama followed Mikami's opinion.<sup>42</sup>

Chinese historians gained a deeper interest in the history of Northeast Asia only in the 1930s and 1940s. When they began to analyze the Jin emperors,

36. Tao Jinsheng 陶晉生 [Tao Jing-shen]: 1970a. "Jindai zhongqi de Nüzhen bentuhua yundong 金代中期的女真本土化運動," in: *Si yu yan* 思與言 (= *Thought and Word*) 7.1: 328–332.

37. Mikami: 1973, 397.

38. Mikami: 1973, 233–235, 261.

39. Toyama Gunji: 1964. *Kinchō shi kenkyū* 金朝史研究 (= Studies in History of Chin Dynasty) (Kyōto: Tōyōshi Kenkyūkai) Tōyō shi kenkyū sōkan 東洋史研究叢刊 (= Oriental Research Series) 13; 1993: *Kinshi* 金史 (Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppansha, originally published in Tokyo: 1975).

40. In his index, Toyama Gunji lists the heading "Joshinjin (chūgen ijū no) Kanka 女真人 (中原移住の) 漢化." On the pages following this heading the term 'sinicization' (*kanka* 漢化) does not reappear in this way. However, Toyama states there that the Jurchen adopted Han culture heavily. (Toyama: 1964, 'Sakuin 索引', 10, referring to 37–39.)

41. Toyama: 1964, 45–48; 1993, 6.

42. Toyama: 1964, 45.

they perceived them as being closely connected through an equal interest in Chinese culture and their sinicization.<sup>43</sup> The historian Jin Yufu 金毓黻 (1887–1962) argued that all Jin emperors equally promoted the sinicization of the Jurchen. Shizong repeatedly reminded his fellow kin not to forget their roots in Jurchen culture, but then introduced measures, which supported further sinicization.<sup>44</sup> The historian Lü Simian 呂思勉 (1884–1957) stated that “[t]he decline of the Jurchen resulted from Hailing wang’s and Shizong’s relocation to the South. When people of their ethnic group entered the Central Plains in large numbers, they lost their brave and fearless customs from old times and consequently were no longer capable of being diligent and productive (女真之衰啊由於海陵、世宗之南遷。其種人多入中原，既失舊時強悍之風，而又不能勤事生產).”<sup>45</sup>

Also, in early—and very scarce—Western works about the Jurchen Jin nothing can be found on the hypothesis of a Jurchen ‘nativistic movement.’<sup>46</sup> Only Lucien Gibert (dates unknown) in his *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie* (1934) wrote about Shizong’s attempts to preserve the Jurchen customs: “However, notwithstanding all his [= Shizong’s] efforts and orders to preserve the ancient Jurchen traditions he could not avoid his subjects sinicizing further every day (Cependant, malgré tous ses efforts et ses ordonnances pour préserver les antiques traditions Joutchen, il ne put empêcher ses sujets de se chinoiser chaque jour davantage).”<sup>47</sup>

The Sinologist Otto Franke (1863–1946) in his fundamental *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches [History of the Chinese Empire]* (1948)<sup>48</sup> described Xizong

43. Jin Yufu 金毓黻: 1996. *Song Liao Jin shi* 宋遼金史, in: *Minguo congshu*, series 5. Lishi. Dili lei 民國叢書. 歷史. 地理類, v.63 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, originally published in Shanghai: 1946), 100–101; Lü Simian 呂思勉: 1989. *Zhongguo minzu shi* 中國民族史, in: *Minguo congshu*, series 1. Lishi. Dili lei 民國叢書. 歷史. 地理類, v.80 (Shanghai: Shanghai shudian, originally published in Shanghai: 1934), 162–164.

44. Jin: 1996, 100–101.

45. Lü: 1989, 164.

46. See for example Howorth, Henry Hoyle: 1876. “The Northern Frontages of China. Part II. The Manchus. (Supplementary Notice),” in: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series 9.1: 235–242; Howort, Henry Hoyle: 1876. “The Northern Frontages of China. Part II. The Kin or Golden Tartars,” in: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series 9.1: 243–290; Gibert, Lucien: 1934. *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la Mandchourie* (Hong Kong: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions-Étrangères), “Joutchen,” 374–384, “Kin,” 473–484, “Oulou,” 703–705.

47. Gibert: 1934, 705.

48. Franke, Otto: 1948. *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches: Eine Darstellung seiner Entstehung*,

and Shizong as sharing a certain admiration for Confucianism. Hailing wang is merely described as a cruel despot. However, Franke neither claimed there was for either man a strong drive towards sinicization nor mentioned a 'nativistic Jurchen movement,' but only opines: "Similar to Xizong he [= Shizong] greatly adored the Confucian education, but by no means wanted to see the peculiarity of his folk disappear in the Chinese way (Ähnlich Hi tsung, hatte er eine große Verehrung für konfuzianische Bildung, wollte aber keineswegs die Eigenart seines Volkes im Chinesentum verschwinden sehen)."<sup>49</sup>

Then in 1949, the Sinologist and sociologist Karl A. Wittfogel (1896–1988) and the historian Feng Chia-sheng [Feng Jiasheng 馮家昇] (1904–1970) mentioned in their monumental work about the Khitan Liao (*Qidan Liao* 契丹遼) dynasty (907–1125) that a 'nativistic movement' had been initiated under the Jurchen.<sup>50</sup> But they did not provide an explanation or further analysis of this idea as it was planned to publish a work about the Jurchen Jin as part of the Chinese History Project (1939–1968) led by Karl A. Wittfogel. In 1971, Herbert Franke (1914–2011) was still optimistic and announced the resumption of this project.<sup>51</sup> However, although some works of the researchers associated with the project appeared in print—Morris Rossabi published his work on *The Jurchen in the Yüan and Ming* in 1983<sup>52</sup> and Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖 [Chen Xuelin] (1938–2011) and Herbert Franke, two of the most influential Jurchen Jin specialists, published a collection of essays in 1997 as a kind of replacement—the planned book project was never realized.<sup>53</sup>

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*seines Wesens und seiner Entwicklung bis zur neuesten Zeit. IV. Band: Der konfuzianische Staat II: Krisen und Fremdvölker* (Berlin: Verlag von Walter de Gruyter). According to one of the most important Jin scholars in the West, Herbert Franke, this work was "the most detailed description of the foreign policy, the appearance and dispersion of the Jin empire in a Western language" until the 1970s. Franke, Herbert: 1978a. *Nordchina am Vorabend der mongolischen Eroberung: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft unter der Chin Dynastie* (1115–1234) (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag), 10.

49. Franke, O.: 1948, 253.

50. Wittfogel, Karl A. and Feng Chia-sheng: 1949. *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society), 8.

51. Franke, Herbert: 1971. "Chin Dynastic History Project," in: *Sung Studies Newsletter* 3 (1971), 36–37.

52. Rossabi, Morris: 1983. *The Jurchen in the Yüan and Ming* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell China-Japan Program).

53. Chan, Hok-lam and Herbert Franke: 1997. *Studies on the Jurchen and the Chin Dynasty* (Aldershot, GB and Brookfield, USA: Ashgate). Actually this book contains translations and articles, which have been published between 1970 and 1981 in Herbert Franke's case and in 1979 and 1992 in Chan Hok-lam's case.

In the 1950s, the historian Yao Congwu 姚從吾 (1894–1970),<sup>54</sup> who had immigrated to Taiwan in 1949, published several works on the Jurchen Jin and on the northeastern regions in general. In his profound work *Dongbei shi luncong* 東北史論叢 (1959) he discusses Shizong at length.<sup>55</sup> He claims that the Jin dynasty in general was shaped by sinicization. Shizong, on the one hand, wanted to maintain Jurchen traditions but, on the other hand, also wanted to promote Han ways, as both cultures had their advantages and disadvantages. “Shizong thought that Jurchen energy could redress the deficiencies of Han ethnic culture and therefore promoted the harmonization of the civil and martial attitudes (世宗認為女真精神可以補救漢化文化的不足，因此提倡文武合一).”<sup>56</sup> For Yao, Shizong is one of the greatest emperors and he holds him in high esteem in his chapter referring to him.<sup>57</sup> By promoting sinicization and “choosing what is good and follow it (擇善而從)”<sup>58</sup> Shizong had shown an awareness of the advantages of Han culture, which made him the first non-Han emperor in establishing the second mainstream of East Asian Chinese or Zhonghua culture consisting of the two Tungusic dynasties Jin and Qing. As the first mainstream, Yao defined the Han, Tang, Song and Ming dynasties.<sup>59</sup> For Yao, it becomes clear, the Jin only became an historically noteworthy dynasty when Shizong started to promote sinicization. Consequently, Yao does not mention a ‘nativistic movement’ initiated by Shizong.

The last work I want to mention in this section is Mikhail Vasil’evich Vorob’ev’s (Михаил Васильевич Воробьев, 1922–1995) profound book on the Jurchen, *Chzhurchzhêni i gosudarstvo TSzin’: X v.–1234 g.: istoricheskii ocherk* (Чжурчжэни и государство Цзинь: X в.–1234 г.: исторический очерк), published in 1975.<sup>60</sup> Here, Mikhail V. Vorob’ev criticizes several basic assumptions

54. He was director of the Document Section of the Palace Museum and escorted the collection to Taipei in 1949.

55. Yao Congwu: 1976. *Dongbei shi luncong* 東北史論叢 (Taipei: Zhengzhong shuju, originally published in Taipei: 1959).

56. Yao Congwu 姚從吾: 1953. “Nüzhen hanhua de fenxi 女真漢化的分析,” in: *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 (= *The Continent Magazine*) 6.3: 91–102, 99. See also Yao: 1976, 2: 128–131.

57. Yao: 1976, 2: 4.118–174.

58. Yao: 1953, 99.

59. Yao: 1953, 99.

60. Vorob’ev, Mikhail Vasil’evich (Воробьев, Михаил Васильевич): 1975. *Chzhurchzhêni i gosudarstvo TSzin’: X v.–1234 g.: istoricheskii ocherk* (Чжурчжэни и государство Цзинь: X в.–1234 г.: исторический очерк) (Moskva: Nauka), later complemented by Vorob’ev, Mikhail Vasil’evich:

of Jin scholarship as misleading, most importantly the general disregard for the Jurchen as civilized people with an independent culture. Therefrom, the assumption of the Han ethnicity assimilating the “barbarian ethnicity” has been generally accepted in Asia and Europe and is used to explain the decline of the Jin dynasty.<sup>61</sup> Mikhail V. Vorob’ev does not mention a ‘nativistic movement’ initiated by Shizong. On the contrary, he claims that Shizong and his successor Zhangzong tried to give the Jurchen an understanding of Han culture by establishing many schools and initiating the translation of several Chinese classics into Jurchen.<sup>62</sup>

*After 1976 until today*

Since the 1970s it seems to be common among Jin scholars to accept the thesis that emperor Shizong promoted or organized a movement to stop sinicizing tendencies among the Jurchen. This movement has been called ‘Jurchen movement for revival’ by the historian Tao Jing-shen 陶晉生 [Tao Jinsheng] (b. 1933),<sup>63</sup> ‘nativistic revival’ or ‘nativistic movement’ by the historian Chan Hok-lam<sup>64</sup> and ‘national return’ by the German sinologist Herbert Franke.<sup>65</sup> In a more moderate way, Herbert Franke later claimed that Shizong “attempted to preserve their [= the Jurchen] national identity through edicts prohibiting

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1983. *Kul'tura chzhurchzhēni i gosudarstvo TSzin, X v.–1234 g.* (Культура чжурчжэней и государство Цзинь, X в.–1234 г.) (Moskva: Nauka). In my opinion, Mikhail V. Vorob’ev’s work is outstanding, and it is extremely unfortunate that there exists no complete translation of his work into English. There exists a Chinese translation of the conclusion: Wuluobiyuefu, M. B. 沃罗比约夫, M. B. [Vorob’ev, Mikhail Vasil’evich]: 1990. “Nüzhen ren yu Jin guo 女真人与金国,” in: Wang Chengli 王承礼 (ed.): 1990. *Liao Jin Qidao Nüzhen shi yiwēnjī* 辽金契丹女真史译文集 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe), 119–153. Although there exist further works in Russian—especially about archaeological findings and material culture—they cannot be included in this article (see Mikhail V. Vorob’ev’s bibliography, Vorob’ev: 1983, 286–304). See for example Shavkunov, Ernst Vladimirovich (Шавкунов, Эрнст Владимирович): 1990. *Kul'tura chzhurchzhēni-udigē XII–XIII vv. i problema proiskhozhdeniia tungusskikh narodov Dal'nego Vostoka* (Культура чжурчжэней-удиге XII–XIII вв. и проблема происхождения тунгусских народов Дальнего Востока) (Moskva: Nauka).

61. Wuluobiyuefu [Vorob’ev]: 1990, 119–120.

62. Vorob’ev: 1983, 220–221.

63. Tao, Jing-shen: 1976. *The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China: A Study of Sinicization* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press), 68–83.

64. Chan, Hok-lam: 1984. *Legitimation in Imperial China: Discussion under the Jurchen-Chin Dynasty (115–1234)* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press), 51, 68.

65. Franke, H.: 1978a. 15.

them from adopting Chinese names or dress.”<sup>66</sup> Although Mikami Tsugio had introduced the idea that Shizong initiated such a movement already in 1938, it only became a widespread theory in the 1970s when Tao Jing-shen published a Chinese essay analyzing this movement in 1970, and an English book devoted to the Jurchen in 1976.<sup>67</sup> Tao noted that so far only two Chinese articles existed about the process of sinicization of the Jurchen both neglecting the possibility of a Jurchen revival movement.<sup>68</sup> One can therefore say that Tao Jing-shen was the first one to publish an analytical approach to the thesis of a ‘Jurchen nativistic movement,’<sup>69</sup> which became widely accepted at least among non-Chinese historians.

When Tao Jing-shen published his detailed work about the Jin dynasty—*The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China*<sup>70</sup> in 1976 it was actually “the first English-language monograph treatment of the Jurchen dynasty”<sup>71</sup> and soon became one of the few standard works referred to until today.<sup>72</sup> It was followed by two works, Chan Hok-lam’s *Legitimation in Imperial China* (1984)<sup>73</sup> and the

66. Franke, Herbert: 1994. “Chapter 3: The Chin Dynasty,” in: Franke and Twitchett (eds.): 1994, 215–320, 244–245.

67. Tao: 1976.

68. Tao: 1976, xii–xiii. Tao Jing-shen lists two articles by Song Wenbing 宋文炳 and Yao Congwu. (Song Wenbing: 1939. “Nüzhen hanhua kaolüe 女真漢化考略,” in: Kuwabara Jitsuzo 桑原鷲藏. *Sui Tang shidai xiyuren huahua kao* 隋唐時代西域人華化考, trsl. and ed. by He Jianmin 何健民 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju), 172–194 and Yao: 1953.

69. About the definition of ‘nativistic movements’ in general see the basic introductory article by Ralph Linton. (Linton: 1943, 230–240.)

70. Tao: 1976.

71. Dunnell, Ruth: 1977. “Book Review: The Jurchen in Twelfth-Century China, A Study of Sinicization,” in: *Sung Studies Newsletter* 13: 77–81, 77.

72. In their reviews on Tao Jing-shen’s book, Herbert Franke and Michael C. Rogers praise the book highly, Franke even especially regarding its contribution to the study of sinicization of foreign conquerors, which both authors do not doubt at all. (Franke, Herbert: 1978c. Untitled Review, in: *The American Historical Review* 83.1, 250–251, Rogers, Michael C.: 1981. Untitled Review, in: *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.3, 389–390.) In contrast to them, both Ruth Dunnell and John Dardess especially criticise Tao Jing-Shen’s reference to sinicization, which, in their view, is an outdated concept. (Dunnell: 1977, 77; Dardess, John: 1978. Untitled Review, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 37.2, 329–330, 330.)

73. This work by Chan Hok-lam is generally not evaluated too positively for its analytical approach. However, that he made certain sources accessible by translation is appreciated. (Bol, Peter K.: 1987a. Untitled Review, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.1, 285–298, 298; Hucker, Charles O.: 1986. Untitled Review, in: *The American Historical Review* 91.4, 976; Dardess, John: 1986. Untitled Review, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 45.5, 1051–1052; Clunas, Craig: 1987.

chapter on the Jin dynasty in the *Cambridge History of China* (1994)<sup>74</sup> by Herbert Franke, which both adopted not only Tao Jing-shen's thesis of a revival movement, but also the general assumption of the inevitable sinicization of non-Han conquest dynasties. Two collections of essays dating from 1994 and 1997 about the Jin dynasty complement these studies. One is a collection of essays by diverse authors—among them, Tao Jing-shen—who deal with varied and rather specialized topics.<sup>75</sup> The other work is the previously mentioned collection of essays by Chan Hok-lam and Herbert Franke published in 1997, products of the actually never realized Jurchen Jin portion of the Chinese History Project under Karl A. Wittfogel.<sup>76</sup> Afterwards no substantial monograph and only very few articles have been published about the Jurchen Jin in languages other than Chinese.<sup>77</sup>

Although Tao Jing-shen had presented his hypothesis of a 'Jurchen nativistic movement' already in his Chinese article of 1970, it was not adopted so readily in Chinese academic literature and opinions of it vary.<sup>78</sup> Most Chinese

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Untitled Review, in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 50.2, 409–410.)

74. Franke, H.: 1994. In her review article about *The Cambridge History of China. Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States*, 907–1368, Naomi Standen complains about having to deal with sinicization at all: "It is frustrating that this review is having to consider the sinicisation issue at all. For how much longer will respected scholars insist on treating China as a special case? For despite debunkings by Crossley et al., sinicisation is still used by some scholars, if not as the framework for their analysis of situations involving sino-foreign contact, then at least as the basis for judging the outcome of the contact." (Standen, Naomi: 1997. "Review: Alien Regimes and Mental States," in: *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 40.1: 73–89, 76.) Also Mark Elliott criticizes the whole volume's rather undifferentiated approach referring to sinicization. (Elliott, Mark: 1996. Untitled Review, in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 55.1: 146–149, 147–148.) Whereas Nicola Di Cosmo and Edwin G. Pulleyblank in their review articles readily accept sinicization of foreign conquest dynasties as a legitimate theoretical basis (Di Cosmo), or by contrast do not mention it at all (Pulleyblank). (Di Cosmo, Nicola: 1996. Untitled Review, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 56.2: 493–508; Pulleyblank, Edwin G.: 1996. Untitled Review, in: *The International History Review* 18.2: 382–384.)

75. Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland and Stephen H. West (eds.): 1995. *China under Jurchen Rule: Essays on Chin Intellectual and Cultural History* (Albany: State University of New York).

76. Chan and Franke, H.: 1997.

77. Endymion Wilkinson in his *Chinese History: A Manual* gives Tao Jing-shen's *Study of Sinicization* (1976), the mentioned chapter about the Jin in the *Cambridge History of China* by Herbert Franke (1994) and Chan Hok-lam's and Herbert Franke's collection of essays (1997) as the three secondary studies recommended by him. (Wilkinson, Endymion (ed.): 2000. *Revised and Enlarged* (Cambridge [Mass.] and London: Harvard University Press), 870.)

78. Tao Jinsheng: 1969. "Jindai de zhengzhi jiegou 金代的政治結構," in: *Zhongyan yan-*

historians do not use the term 'Jurchen nativistic movement,' although they do claim that Shizong had a special interest in Jurchen culture and traditions and tried to preserve them. Alternative terms like 'Jurchen policy measures (*Nüzhen zhengce* 女真政策)<sup>79</sup> or 'Jurchen culture restoration movement (*Nüzhen wenhua fuxing yundong* 女真文化復興運動),' based on the term Mikami Tsugio introduced in 1938, are used.<sup>80</sup>

In the early 1990s, Jin research in the People's Republic of China (PRC) was quite isolated, which reflects a general attitude of PRC academics at that time. Secondary sources were only scarcely used and, if at all, they were in Chinese. Chinese Jin historians kept citing from and referring only to Jin, Song and Yuan sources. Having said that, it must be admitted that they were nevertheless able to analyze the sources without being overly prejudiced by the theses with which they were acquainted. Therefore, on the one hand they are more limited in their research but, on the other hand, they reveal a more independent way of analysis, at least regarding the idea of a 'nativistic movement.'

The historian Zhang Boquan 張博泉 (1926–2000)<sup>81</sup> writes that Shizong took measures to "preserve the Jurchen ethnicity and its traditions (待女真族及其舊俗)," although he does not call this a 'nativistic movement.' Zhang Boquan lists four of these measures: first, the enhancement of ethnic differences; second, the preservation of traditional Jurchen social and military organization; third, the prohibition of female slave sales and the lease of land; and fourth, the promotion of Jurchen traditions.<sup>82</sup> He also praises Shizong as being an exceptionally able emperor, whose abilities are especially praiseworthy because he belonged to a 'minority ethnicity': "that an emperor from a minority ethnicity had such a correct self-awareness of his origin is commendable given

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*jiuyuan lishi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊 (= *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica*) 41: 567–593, 574–575; Tao: 1970.

79. Hsu Ping-yu 徐秉倫: 2001. "Jin Shizong shiqi Nüzhen minzu de weiji: Jin Shizong Nüzhen zhengce de beijing 金世宗時期女真民族的危機: 金世宗女真政策的背景," in: *Hanxue yanjiu* 漢學研究 (= *Chinese Studies*) 19.2: 249–279.

80. Liu Pujiang 劉浦江: 2000. "Nüzhen de hanhua daolu yu Da Jin diguo de fuwang 女真的漢化道路與大金帝國的覆亡," in: *Guoxue yanjiu* 國學研究 (= *Studies in Sinology*) 7: 176–213, 176; Tsang: 2007, 103.

81. Zhang Boquan was of Manchu origin. However, this seems not to be mirrored in his works about the Jurchen.

82. Zhang Boquan et al.: 1992. *Jinshi lun gao* 金史論稿 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe), v.2, 131–133.



the difficulty (在對於出身一個少數民族的皇帝, 能如此正視自己, 是難能可貴的).<sup>83</sup> However, “Jin Shizong’s major credit was the continuance of Hailing wang’s reforms (金世宗的最大功績是繼承了海陵改革).”<sup>84</sup>

The historian Song Dejin 宋德金 (b. 1937), chairman of the Chinese Liao Jin history study group (*Zhongguo Liao Jin shi xuehui* 中国辽金史学会) divides the Jurchen emperors into convenient pairs—Taizu and Taizong, Xizong and Hailing wang, Shizong and his successor Zhangzong 章宗 (r. 1189–1208).<sup>85</sup> He does not so much observe gaps between them but rather sees the three periods as one line of increasing sinicization. In an essay about the sinicization of the Jurchen he claims: “On the basis of the reforms [initiated] by Xizong and Hailing they [= Shizong and Zhangzong] took a step further and curtailed the old Jurchen system and adopted the Han system (在熙宗海陵改革的基礎之上, 進一步消除女真舊制, 採用漢人制度).”<sup>86</sup> About Shizong he writes elsewhere: “The negative attitude Shizong had towards the sinicization of the Jurchen is revealed most clearly in his support of preserving certain Jurchen ways of living and ethnic peculiarities, but without altogether rejecting Han ethnic cultural traditions (世宗對女真漢化所持的消機態度, 主要表現在他主張保持女真某些生活方式和民族特點, 然而對漢族傳統文化並不排斥).”<sup>87</sup> Song Dejin claimed that Shizong had a deep understanding of Han culture and put the old Jurchen traditions on a par with Confucian doctrines.<sup>88</sup> However, he did not identify any planned movement or tactic measures by Shizong to stop the sinicization of his clansmen.

On the contrary, the historian and jurist Cheng Nina 程妮娜 (b. 1953), professor at the Jilin University, ascribes the wish to maintain an ethnic consciousness to Shizong and Zhangzong.<sup>89</sup> However, like her mentor Zhang Boquan she does not mention a ‘nativistic movement’ in her book about

83. Zhang: 1992, v.2, 134.

84. Zhang: 1992, v.2, 134.

85. Jurchen name Madage 麻達葛.

86. Song Dejin: 1991. “Jindai Nüzhen de hanhua, fengjianhua yu Hanzu shiren de lishi zuoyong 金代女真的漢化, 封建化與漢族士人的歷史作用,” in: Cui Wenyin 崔文印: *Song Liao Jin shi luncong* 宋遼金史論叢 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju), 315–325, 320.

87. Song Dejin: 1990. “Zhengtong guan yu Jindai wenhua 政統觀與金代文,” in: *Lishi yanjiu* 歷史研究 1: 70–85, 76.

88. Song: 1990, 76.

89. Cheng Nina 程妮娜: 1999. *Jindai zhengzhi zhidu yanjiu* 金代政治制度研究 (Changchun: Jilin daxue chubanshe), 274.

the system of government of the Jin dynasty from 1999.<sup>90</sup> In her work she examines most thoroughly the diverse systems of government—Jurchen, Khitan, Bohai and the Han systems from Tang and Song times—that the Jin emperors merged into each other. She concludes that the Jurchen created their own highly developed system of government.<sup>91</sup> Yet, instead of claiming that the Jurchen were sinicized she writes: “This system of government could secure the Jurchen ruling class by solidly controlling the state’s authority, as well as protect the Jurchen households, even though they were scattered in the shoreless sea of the Han feudal system, and it could held up the ethnic peculiarities for a comparatively long time, thereby stabilizing the position of the Jurchen as the ruling ethnicity (这种政治体制既可以保证女真统治集团牢固地掌握国家政权, 又可以保证女真族人户即使是分散在汉族封建制度的汪洋大海中, 也能在较长的时期内保持自己的民族特征, 从而稳固女真人统治民族的地位).”<sup>92</sup>

One year later, in an article about the sinicization of the Jurchen and their decline, the historian Liu Pujiang 刘浦江 (b. 1961), a professor at Beijing University, defended the thesis of the Jurchen’s sinicization vehemently.<sup>93</sup> He writes: “Chinese and foreign scholars have always disagreed about how to judge the Jin dynasty’s process of sinicization. [The author of] this text maintains that the Jin were a typical sinicized dynasty of northern ethnicity (應當如何評價金朝的漢化程度, 中外學者歷來各執一詞. 本文認為金朝是一個典型的北方民族漢化王朝).”<sup>94</sup> He then repeats the somewhat exotic view of the Jurchen as fierce warriors who were sinicized and thus lost their primitive but pure martial culture.<sup>95</sup> Shizong and also his successor Zhangzong tried to prevent this by a ‘Jurchen culture restoration movement (*Nüzhen wenhua fuxing yundong* 女真文化的复兴运动),’ but in the end the Jurchen nevertheless became corrupt and dissolute and finally lost their ability to fight, causing their defeat by the Mongols.<sup>96</sup> Unfortunately, Liu Pujiang refers to none of those ‘foreign scholars (*wai xuezhe* 外學者),’ with whom he claims to disagree.

90. Zhang Boquan also wrote a foreword to her book. (Cheng: 1999, 1–3.)

91. Cheng: 1999, 308. See also Zhang Boquan’s foreword. (Cheng: 1999, 2.)

92. Cheng: 1999, 308–309.

93. Liu Pujiang: 2000.

94. Liu: 2000, 176.

95. Liu: 2000, 176. See also Hsu: 2001, 274; Yao: 1976 [1959], 131.

96. Liu: 2000, 176.

The historian He Guangyue 何光岳 (b. 1939) wrote a book about the history of origin and development of the Jurchen which was published in 2004.<sup>97</sup> Here he interprets Shizong's measures concerning ethnicity as follows: "Jin Shizong brutally oppressed and exploited the Han people, taxes and dues were heavy, Han people received all kinds of discriminations and limitations, it was prohibited for Jurchen and Han people to intermarry, it was prohibited for Jurchen to change family names into Han names and to wear Han dress, the borders between Jurchen and Han people were strictly upheld, Han people were considered as slavish characters (金世宗残酷压迫剥削汉人, 税赋繁重, 汉人备受歧视和限制, 不准女真人与汉人通婚, 不准女真人改汉姓, 穿汉装, 严格划分女真人与汉人的界限, 把汉人看成是奴隶性质)."<sup>98</sup> He Guangyue takes a Han-centered and exaggerating point of view, interpreting Shizong's measures as not being aimed at the Jurchen, but in fact discriminating the Han people, what seem not quite logical in view of the measures he lists himself. However, he does not claim that the Jurchen were generally sinicized.<sup>99</sup>

In the first decade of the 21st century, publications from Taiwan and Hong Kong approached the field from a different academic standpoint, making skilful use of both primary and a wide range of secondary sources. In an article about Shizong published in 2001, the historian Hsu Ping-yu 徐秉愉 [Xu Bingyu] analyzes the motives for Shizong's 'Jurchen policy measures (*Nüzhen zhengce* 女真政策).'<sup>100</sup> Although she interprets them differently from Tao Jing-shen, she nevertheless accepts the presumption of a political and cultural-political gap between Shizong and his predecessors.<sup>101</sup> However, Hsu Ping-yu emphasizes that Shizong's measures did not only aim at reviving old Jurchen customs, but were concerned with the social and economical position of the Jurchen living among Han people, their education and the strengthening of their solidarity.<sup>102</sup> Shizong tried to solve several political problems the Jin government faced at this time, such as the military threats at the northern borders and the internal conflict between the Jurchen centralized government and the traditional Jurchen chieftains in the North.<sup>103</sup>

97. He Guangyue 何光岳: 2004. *Nüzhen yuanliu shi* 女真源流史 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe). Actually, one third of the book is concerned with Jurchen family names and clans. He Guangyue is above all a specialist on Han or Zhonghua history.

98. He: 2004, 79.

99. He: 2004, 3.

100. Hsu: 2001, 249ff.

101. Hsu: 2001, 253–255.

102. Hsu: 2001, 254.

103. Hsu: 2001, 254–255.

In his 2007 dissertation about Hailing wang, the historian Tsang Chun Yu 曾震宇 [Zeng Zhenyu] examines the assumptions of a 'Jurchen culture restoration movement (*Nüzhen wenhua fuxing yundong* 女真文化復興運動)' and of a general sinicization of the Jurchen critically.<sup>104</sup> He compares diverse opinions about the reason for the decline of the Jurchen, which would normally be seen as the outcome of their sinicization and their consequent loss of political and especially martial power.<sup>105</sup> Also, Tsang Chun Yu disputes the idea of a 'Jurchen culture restoration movement' being based on the assumption of a strong sinicization before Shizong's reign, writing: "In reality, what was the most important factor of the political reforms of the Jin dynasty was the promotion of the central power of the Jin governance and of the autocracy of the Jin emperors (事實上, 金朝的政治改革, 最重要是提升金朝統治中原的力量, 以及金朝君主的權力)."<sup>106</sup> This central interpretation of Jurchen politics by Tsang is a new basis for Jurchen Jin history and will be taken on here.

Obviously, Tao Jing-shen's publications from the 1970s encouraged especially non-Chinese researchers to accept his assumption of a 'Jurchen movement of revival' whereas Chinese researchers in most cases did not accept this assumption. Thus, Tsang Chun Yu especially marks a shift in Jurchen Jin analysis. He tries to overcome long-established views of the Jurchen Jin as *the* prototype of a sinicized foreign conquest dynasty in Chinese history and also questions the idea of a 'nativistic movement.'

However, regarding non-Chinese—and for several decades that has meant mainly English-language—literature about the Jurchen Jin, the basic assumptions of their sinicization and a consequent 'nativistic movement' have not been overcome, although in their review articles of 1977 and 1978 Ruth Dunnell and John Dardess did criticize Tao Jing-shen's work.<sup>107</sup> On the contrary, for lack of other literature, the works by Tao Jing-shen, Chan Hok-lam and Herbert Franke are still the most standard analyses of the Jurchen Jin. Thereby, their characterizations of the Jurchen Jin emperors has been accepted in sinology in general. Of course, their works are profound studies and have

104. Tsang: 2007, 103.

105. Tsang refers to Mikami Tsugio and Tao Jing-shen. (Tsang: 2007, 103 and FN 243).

106. Tsang: 2007, 105.

107. Ruth Dunnell writes that Tao Jing-shen fails "to break out of the bonds of traditional attitudes toward barbarians and sinicization" and John Dardess casts doubt on Tao Jing-shen's general analytical approach based on assimilation. (Dunnell: 1977, 78; Dardess: 1978, 330.)

contributed greatly to the knowledge of the Jurchen Jin dynasty. However, it seems about time to acknowledge that not everything has been said about the Jurchen and to rethink what has been said so far.

*Taizong, Xizong, Hailing wang and Shizong Revisited:  
Analyses of Their Reigns*

Jurchen Jin scholars promoting the sinicization thesis differ in their conclusions about when the phase of sinicization during the Jin dynasty started—either already in 1123 under Taizong (Tao Jing-shen) or only in 1135 under Xizong (Chan Hok-lam).<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, a break between the reigns of Hailing wang and Shizong is observed by all of them. The phase before 1161 is marked by the ambition “to establish a state with a strong central government. To attain this goal these rulers had to employ Chinese ideas and institutions.”<sup>109</sup> Centralization was used to control the military organization, which stayed a Jurchen institution. Therefore, “bureaucrats favoured sinicization whereas the generals were against it.”<sup>110</sup> Special emphasis is laid on Hailing wang’s reign. It “marked the climax of centralization and sinicization”<sup>111</sup> and was “the last phase of transition from a more collective and clan-dominated leadership to monarchic autocracy.”<sup>112</sup> During his reign “many reforms that tended to sinify the Jurchen state and society were introduced, in ritual and ceremony as well as in fiscal policy and administration.”<sup>113</sup> It is claimed that sinicization took place in politics, fiscal policy, administration, institutions, ideas, methods, values, customs, rituals and ceremony before 1161.<sup>114</sup>

As opposed to his predecessors, Shizong is seen as the promoter of Jurchen culture. His measures regarding a ‘nativistic movement’ allude to four topics: leisure activities, language, preference for Jurchen, and reverence for the

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108. Herbert Franke tends towards different conclusions in his diverse publications. (1123: Franke, H.: 1978a, 15; 1135: Franke, Herbert: 1981a. “Jurchen Customary Law and the Chinese Law of the Chin Dynasty,” in: Eikemier, Dieter/Franke, Herbert (eds.): *State and Law in East Asia. Festschrift Karl Büniger* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz): 215–233, 223–225.; 1150: Franke, H.: 1994, 240.)

109. Tao: 1976, 37.

110. Tao: 1976, 39.

111. Chan: 1984, 60.

112. Franke, H.: 1994, 239.

113. Franke, H.: 1994, 240.

114. Tao: 1976, 37; Chan: 1984, 60; Franke, H.: 1994, 240.

Jurchen homeland.<sup>115</sup> By re-analyzing the political, cultural and educational measures of that time, it becomes obvious that the Jin emperors were closely connected in their political aims—that is, a definite centralization of the government in imperial hands—and also in their ways of achieving them.

*First Emperor: Taizu (1115–1123)*

Taizu 太祖 (b. 1068, r. 1115–1123),<sup>116</sup> who unified the Jurchen empire and proclaimed the Jin dynasty in 1115, has never been regarded as being a promoter of sinicization. Therefore, he is not discussed here in detail. After he succeeded his brother as the chief leader of the Jurchen in 1114, he had been fighting against the Khitan Liao, who reigned over large parts of the Jurchen regions since the 10th century.<sup>117</sup> In 1120, he concluded a pact with the Song to conquer the Liao and undertook the conquest of their empire.<sup>118</sup> In 1123, Taizu established a Branch Bureau of Military Affairs (*xing shumi yuan* 行樞密院) to administrate the Han-inhabited regions he had conquered from the Liao.<sup>119</sup> This was the only Han-style military institution the Jurchen took over.

The military administration for the non-Han regions of the Jin empire were derived from traditional Jurchen organizational structures. Taizu established an important socio-military system, which was similar to the Manchu banner system. He therefore introduced two titles—Battalion Commanders or Leaders of Thousand Households (*meng'an* 猛安)<sup>120</sup> and Company Commanders or Leaders of Hundred Households (*mouke* 謀克)<sup>121</sup>—and the corresponding

115. Tao: 1976, 76–79; Chan: 1984, 69; Franke, H.: 1994, 244–245.

116. Jurchen name Aguda 阿骨打.

117. *Sanchao beiming huibian* 3, 2a–b; *Jinshi* 1.2.

118. About the contract: Thiele, Dagmar: 1971. *Der Abschluß eines Vertrages: Diplomatie zwischen Sung- und Chin-Dynastie, 1117–1123*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 64–107. About the conquest of the Liao capitals: *Jinshi* 2.39;

119. *Jinshi* 55.1216. The Bureau of Military Affairs (*shumi yuan* 樞密院) has probably been established during the Later Liang dynasty (907–923) or already in Tang times. Already in the first year of the Later Liang it was renamed Bureau of Highest Government (*chongzheng yuan* 崇政院). (Xue Juzheng 薛居正 et al.: 1976. *Jiu Wudai shi* 舊五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 4.50; Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修: 1974. *Xin Wudai shi* 新五代史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 2.14; Hucker, Charles O.: 1985. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 436.)

120. *Meng'an* is the transcription of the Jurchen term, whereas *qianhu* 千戶 is the Chinese name for this military title.

121. Again, *mouke* is the transcription of the Jurchen term (Chinese: *baihu* 百戶). Actually,

units of people under the same designation, usually translated into English as Battalions and Companies.<sup>122</sup> These units were stationed in the conquered regions among the Han inhabitants.<sup>123</sup> Under later emperors, these units appeared again as important markers for ethnic differentiation.

#### TAIZONG (1123–1134)

The first of the Jurchen emperors to be understood as a promoter of sinicization was Taizong (b. 1075, r. 1123–1134). He followed his brother Taizu on the throne in 1123, in a mode of succession accepted in the Jurchen tradition.<sup>124</sup> His nephew Wanyan Zongwang 完顏宗望 (d. 1127)<sup>125</sup> and his second cousin Wanyan Zonghan 完顏宗翰 (1078–1136)<sup>126</sup> were two powerful generals, and both assisted him in defeating the Liao dynasty in 1125. In 1126, Taizong continued Taizu's methods of establishing non-Jurchen institutions and structures for the Han-inhabited regions, which the Jin had seized from the Liao and the Song, against whom he had started a war campaign in 1126.<sup>127</sup> As the Khitan Liao had done before, Taizong employed a dualistic system of administration by taking over the existing bureaucratic system with its former Liao officials for the newly conquered regions inhabited by Han people. North of the Jin empire remained under the traditional and comparatively independent control of local Jurchen leaders, to whom the official hereditary

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when Taizu introduced this unit, it consisted of three and not one hundred households. (*Jinshi*, 2.25.)

122. *Jinshi*, 2.25.

123. *Jinshi*, 44.991f. Most part of Mikami Tsugio's work *Jindai Nūzhen yanjiu* is preoccupied with the analysis of this Jurchen socio-military system. (Mikami: 1984, "Di er bian: Meng'an, mouke zhi de yanjiu 第二編: 猛安謀克制的研究"; "Fen lun 紛論," 128–526.) Cheng Nina also analyzed it thoroughly. (Cheng: 1999, "Di si zhang: Fu zhou xian yu meng'an mouke zhidu 第四章: 府州縣與猛安謀克制度," 78–97, "Fengjian guanzhi tixi xia de meng'an mouke guanzhi 封建官制體系下的猛安謀克官制," 186–200.)

124. See the appended family tree. Chan Hok-lam: 1999. "From Tribal Chieftain to Sinitic Emperor: Leadership Contests and Succession Crisis in The Jurchen-Jin State, 1115–1234." In: *The Journal of Asian History* 33.2, 105–141, 113.

125. Jurchen name Wolibu 斡離不.

126. Jurchen name Nianhan 粘罕. For more about Wanyan Zonghan, see Winston W. Lo: 1966. "Wan-yen Tsung-han: Jurchen General as Sinologist." In: *Journal of Sung-Yüan Studies*. 26: 87–112.

127. At the end of this article, you will find a graphic representation of the introduction of non-Jurchen political institutions during the reign times of Taizong, Xizong and Hailing (though not of Shizong, as he did not introduce profound ones).

title Chief (*bojilie* 勃極烈) had already been bestowed by Taizu.<sup>128</sup> In 1127, Taizong conquered further parts of Song territory and caused the southern exodus of the Northern Song by seizing their capital Bianjing 汴京<sup>129</sup> and capturing the imperial family.<sup>130</sup>

Taizong did not promote sinicization by introducing Han political and administrative systems to Jurchen government in general. Nevertheless, he was the first of the Jurchen rulers to have to deal with the fact that large parts of the population were not of Jurchen ethnicity. Therefore, he decided to adhere to the previous Khitan Liao way, by maintaining the Han system in the regions of his empire inhabited mainly by Han people.

### *Institutional Changes*

In 1125, Taizong's political decisions set what would become a general trend of Jurchen emperors' policies: the concentration of power in the hands of closer kin and ultimately in those of the emperor himself. Taizong subordinated the Bureau of Military Affairs, which had been established by Taizu in 1123 to administrate the regions conquered from the Liao but mainly inhabited by Han people, under the Chief Military Command (*du yuanshuai fu* 都元帥

128. Taizong's biography: *Jinshi*, 3. His political measures see *Jinshi*, 2.31–32; 55.1215; 78.1777; Wittfogel and Feng: 1949, 6–7; Hucker: 1985, 53–55.

129. Today's Kaifeng. It was called Dongjing 東京 after 1127. Hailing renamed it as Nanjing 南京 in 1153.

130. Taizong's capture of Bianjing in 1127 was once seen as important confirmation of Jurchen assimilation to Chinese ways. In his influential work *Zhongguo wenhua shi* 中國文化史 (*History of Chinese Culture*) (1928) Liu Yizheng 柳詒徵 (1879–1956) sees the conquest of the Song capital and of its cultural treasures as the beginning of a passive sinicization of the Jurchen: “Even if taking the cruelty of the Jurchen into consideration, who could barely study it [= the cultural heritage of the Northern Song] one by one or making use of it, the wealth they inherited could not but influence these people (雖以女貞之虓暴, 未必能一一研索而得其用, 然其所承受之豐, 自必影響于民族).” (Liu Yizheng: 1988 [Shanghai: Zhongguo da bai ke quan shu chubanshe, originally published in 1922] 2:536.) And also Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929) had stated in 1922 with similar words: “When the Jurchen first invaded inner China, they were extremely cruel. But after they moved to Bian[jing] they totally assimilated to China (金人初內侵時, 備極殘暴, 自遷汴後, 全同化於中國).” (Liang Qichao: 1983 [essay originally published in 1922]. “Zhongguo lishi shang minzu zhi yanjiu 中國歷史上民族之研究,” in: Liang Qichao: *Yinbingshi heji. Zhuanji* 飲冰室合集專集 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju], 8:42.27.) This approach of regarding the capture of Bianjing as an important factor in the sinicization process has not found its way into modern influential Jin studies and was only adopted by few historians. (Jin: 1996, 100; Hucker: 1985, 55.) However, Taizong seems to have taken no sinicizing measures directly linked with the conquest of Bianjing. (Compare *Jinshi*, 3.56; 125.2713.)



府), an institution derived from the Liao dynasty (see also appended *Institutional Changes—Graphic*).<sup>131</sup> The Chief Military Command was led by the generals Wanyan Zongwang and Wanyan Zonghan mentioned above, who now became Vice Marshalls (*fu yuanshuai* 副元帥). Consequently, these two men exercised the supreme military and administrative power over the Han-inhabited regions.<sup>132</sup>

In 1126, Taizong pushed on centralization by establishing two major Han-dynasty institutions—the Censorate (*yushi tai* 御史臺) and the Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省).<sup>133</sup> The Censorate was one of the most important political institutions “with the paramount and characteristic responsibility of maintaining disciplinary surveillance over the whole officialdom.”<sup>134</sup> The Department of State Affairs was in charge of the general administration of the central government.<sup>135</sup> Thus, with the aid of these organs the emperor was in a better position to control all officials and administrative affairs.

#### XIZONG (1135–1150)

Following the death of his father Wanyan Zongjun 完顏宗隲 in 1124,<sup>136</sup> a son of Taizu, Taizong’s successor Xizong (b. 1119, r. 1135–1150) grew up in the house of his uncle, Wanyan Zonggan 完顏宗幹 (d. 1141),<sup>137</sup> together with his cousin and later successor Hailing wang. He ascended the throne as a juvenile in 1135, following his grandfather Taizu and his granduncle Taizong. He had been promoted as the heir apparent by powerful men—his uncle Wanyan Zonggan, the Left Vice Marshall (*you fu yuanshuai* 左副元帥) Wanyan Zonghan and the influential politician and shaman<sup>138</sup> Wanyan Xiyin 完顏

131. *Jinshi*, 55.1239. See also *Liaoshi* 46.735, 746.

132. *Jinshi*, 3.53; 74.1698–1699, 1705.

133. In fact, the Department of State Affairs is one of the traditionally Three Departments (*san sheng* 三省). The other two were later established by Xizong. (*Jinshi*, 55.1216, 1241–1242.) The Censorate was first established under the same name during the Later Han dynasty (25–220). The Department of State Affairs developed from the Imperial Secretary (*shangshu tai* 尚書臺) of the Former Han dynasty (206 BC–9 AD). (Hucker: 1985, 412.)

134. Hucker: 1985, 593.

135. Hucker: 1985, 412.

136. Jurchen name Shengguo 繩果.

137. Jurchen name Woben 斡本.

138. It is only mentioned in the *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, where he is called Wushi 悟/兀室 that “the people of the state called him shan-man 珊蠻 [. . .]. This was because he understood changing conditions like a god.” (*Sanchao beimeng huibian*, 3.12a. Translation based on Franke, H.: 1975, 155. See also 150–151.)

希尹 (d. 1140).<sup>139</sup> They enabled him to follow his granduncle on the throne. After years of guidance of these promoters, Xizong became more and more independent and eliminated politicians who opposed him. Also due to an 'image campaign' initiated by Hailing wang, who killed his cousin in 1150 to usurp the throne, Xizong was later known for his cruelty in handling political and private affairs and for his countless murders.<sup>140</sup>

*Abrogation of Traditional Titles*

One of the first political actions during the reign of Xizong was the abolition of the official titles Chief (*bojilie* 勃極烈) and Chieftain (*bojin* 勃謹) in 1134.<sup>141</sup> The Chiefs and Chieftains had been in charge of the Northern territories inhabited by tribal Jurchen before the founding of the Jin dynasty. The first Jin emperor Taizu had transformed their pre-dynastic nonofficial positions into official governmental posts. They had been the local leaders of Jurchen tribes<sup>142</sup> and ranked above the Battalion Commanders or Leaders of Thousand Households and Company Commanders or Leaders of Hundred Households. However, the titles Chief and Chieftain had existed in parallel with another official title for tribal chieftains—the Leader for Ten Thousand Households (*wan hu* 萬戶). This title was mainly bestowed on Jurchen leaders who were in charge in the South of the empire. In contrast to the chieftains in the North, who got their positions due to tradition, the Southern leaders got their title through imperial protection. The title Leader for Ten Thousand Households persisted after 1134. Xizong's abrogation of the titles Chief and Chieftain ended the existence of two systems with similar functions—one in the North for traditional chieftains (Chiefs and Chieftains) and one in the South for designated leaders who had no traditional power (Leader for Ten Thousand Households). It was an attempt to diminish the power of the Northern traditional leaders, which posed a threat to the central government. By depriving them of their official hereditary titles, their power positions might

139. Jurchen name Gushen 谷神. More about the succession crisis under Taizong see Chan: 1999, 115–116 and below.

140. Xizong's biography: *Jinshi*, 4. About his bad reputation: 4.86–87; 63.1503–1504. About the designation as successor: 4. 69. On his political measures: 4.70, 73, 74; 54.1193; 55.1239–1240 and also below.

141. Although his official reign began only in 1135, he nevertheless obtained his power after Taizong's death in 1134.

142. *Jinshi*, 55.1215–1216.

have been weakened. Yet, even without official titles they remained a distinct and powerful threat opposing centralization not only under Xizong, but also under his successor Hailing wang, who in the end was murdered by one of them.<sup>143</sup> A further aspect was that “[a]s the former chiefs were transformed into a more conventional nobility and integrated into the Chinese imperial system, the semi-egalitarian aspect of the old tribal customs began to wane.”<sup>144</sup> Simultaneously, new official posts were introduced, which hardened the much more hierarchical central government.

### *Institutional Changes*

In 1135, two major institutions were established. First, the Han-style Three Departments (*san sheng* 三省) were installed—the Secretariat (*zhongshu sheng* 中書省), the Chancellery (*menxia sheng* 門下省) and the Department of State Affairs, the latter having been in existence since 1126.<sup>145</sup> Second, the Three Preceptors (*san shi* 三師), who formed the head of the central government and commanded the Three Departments, were also introduced: the Grand Guardian (*taibao* 太保), the Grand Preceptor (*taishi* 太師) and the Grand Mentor (*taifu* 太傅).<sup>146</sup> This institution had been established by the Tuoba (Northern) Wei dynasty (386–534), superseding the ancient Han-style Three Dukes (*san gong* 三公).<sup>147</sup>

Five years later another major institution of traditional Han government was established—the Six Ministries (*liu bu* 六部) which were put under the control of the Department of State Affairs.<sup>148</sup>

To further strengthen the central government, the Bureau of Military Affairs, which had independently controlled the regions conquered from the Song

143. *Jinshi*, 5.117; 129.2788; Hucker: 1985, 55.

144. Tillman, Hoyt Cleveland: 1995. “An Overview of Chin History and Institutions,” in: Tillman and West (eds.), 3–38, 28.

145. The Three Departments had been founded during the time of the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420–589). The Secretariat was an outgrowth of the Han dynastic Palace Secretaries (*zhongshu* 中書). The Chancellery had only been introduced as one of the Three Departments during the Southern and Northern Dynasties. (Hucker: 1985, 194, 329.)

146. One of them was also appointed Concurrent Controller of the Three Departments (*ling sansheng shi* 領三省事), thus being the chairman of the Three Preceptors.

147. Hucker: 1985, 399, 401.

148. *Jinshi*, 4.70, 73; 55.1219. The Six Ministries had developed during the time of the Southern and Northern dynasties. However, at that time their number was still not fixed. Only in Sui times (581–618) six became their final quantity. (Hucker: 1985, 318–319.)

under the surveillance of the Chief Military Command, was displaced in 1138 by the Branch Department of State Affairs (*xingtai shangshu sheng* 行臺尙書省) under the direct surveillance of the Department of State Affairs and thus bringing it under closer central control.<sup>149</sup>

*Ethnic Differentiation among Socio-military Units*

The Jurchen were at least partly organized in socio-military units, the so-called Battalions and Companies, which bore the same title as their Commanders already mentioned. The subjects living in Battalions and Companies had various advantages. They were assigned to land, did not have to do corvee and paid less taxes than normal subjects.<sup>150</sup> Membership to these Battalions and Companies was granted to all kinds of people loyal to the Jurchen since the time when they came into power.<sup>151</sup> However, during Xizong's reign these advantages became connected to ethnicity. The number of non-Jurchen, that is, Han and Bohai 渤海<sup>152</sup> holders of the hereditary titles of the Battalion and Company Commanders was gradually diminished. The status of non-Jurchen households as Battalions and Companies was cancelled and they had to move to the South, where they would be put under the dominance of the Branch Department of State Affairs. In 1140, Xizong "abrogated Han and Bohai Battalion Commanders and Company Commanders (罷漢渤海千戶謀克)."<sup>153</sup>

In 1145, he

also abrogated Han and Bohai Battalion and Company Commanders with hereditary titles in Liaodong, by and by bringing the supreme military command [back] to his countrymen.

又罷遼東漢人，渤海猛安謀克承襲之制，浸移兵柄於其國人。<sup>154</sup>

149. *Jinshi*, 4.73, 55.1219.

150. *Jinshi*, 47.1062–1063.

151. *Jinshi*, 3.55. See also Mikami: 1984, 150–151.

152. Bohai originally was the name of an kingdom founded by the Mohe 靺鞨 in today's Manchuria during Tang times. It was conquered by the Liao Khitan. Later dynasties also called the people who inhabited the former Bohai kingdom Bohai. The Mohe are also often mentioned as being ancestors of the Jurchen. (*Jinshi*, 1.1; *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, 3.1–2.)

153. *Jinshi*, 80.1809. Mikami Tsugio argues that the two abrogations from 1140 and 1145 are in fact one. Liaodong was the only Route where Han Battalions and Companies existed, therefore the abrogation from 1140 was also aimed at the Han people in Liaodong. He claims that the text passage assigning the abrogation to 1145 is unreliable. (Mikami: 1984, 153.)

154. *Jinshi*, 44.993.

In the same chapter a reason is given for this order:

When they [= the Jurchen] succeeded in getting the Middle Kingdom, they were aware that the imperial family and their fellow countrymen were too few. Therefore, they set aside land to dignify with rank and title, to be administered by Han surrogates charged to hold sway there. The Battalions and Companies were scattered among Han lands. They were allowed to form fast connections by marrying Khitan and Han people. When it came about that the power of the empire grew to full strength, they cashiered the lands, rescinded the ranks and titles and abolished the hereditary titles of Battalion and Company Commanders for Bohai and Han people in Liaodong, and, incrementally, military control reverted to the core descent group.

及其得志中國，自顧其宗族國人尙少，乃割土地、崇位號以假漢人，使爲之效力而守之。猛安謀克雜廁漢地，聽與契丹、漢人昏因以相固結。迨夫國勢寢盛，則歸土地、削位號，罷遼東渤海、漢人之襲猛安謀克者，漸移兵柄歸其內族。<sup>155</sup>

Taizong obviously wished to concentrate the military power in the hands of the Jurchen Battalions and Companies.<sup>156</sup> By further dividing all Battalions and Companies into three ranks—high, middle and low (*shang zhong xia* 上中下), with only ranking the members of the imperial family in the highest one, Xizong further tried to enlarge his family branch's power and weaken others, who could lay claim to the throne, especially the branch of Taizong.<sup>157</sup>

Xizong was the first Jurchen emperor to emphasize the identification of people via their ethnicity rather than via their loyalty.<sup>158</sup> Originally, his predecessors Taizu and Taizong had granted access to the Jurchen socio-military units to loyal non-Jurchen people. By excluding Han and Bohai from the possibility of participating in the advantages Battalion and Company members had, Xizong manifested their inferior status as defined by their ethnic identity.

155. *Jinshi*, 44.991–992. Shizong was the one who also abrogated Khitan Battalions and Companies and subordinated their households under Jurchen Battalion and Company Commanders. (*Jinshi*, 8.132.)

156. Mikami: 1984, 150–154, 254.

157. *Jinshi*, 44.993.

158. This process was later repeated by the Manchu Qing, who also originally had incorporated loyal Han into their Banner ranks. However, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Hanjun 漢軍 were degraded. (Rawski, Evelyn S.: 1998. *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles and London: University of California Press), 60–61.)

However, just how this ethnic belonging was defined—family name, home region, and spoken language—we do not know.

*Civil Service Examinations and Han Learning*

When the civil service examination system was instituted in 1138, another elementary institution of Han-style governance was put on a firm basis.<sup>159</sup> It consisted of

“decreed tests for the South and the North, each in two disciplines of classical exegesis and *ci* and *fu* composition in order to recruit officials.

詔南北選各以經義詞賦兩科取士。”<sup>160</sup>

Thus, the basis for Han learning was provided, although the examination system was not used to recruit Jurchen office holders who would have obtained high official posts through protection and their degree of relationship to the emperor.

In the *Da Jin guozhi*, Xizong's general interest in Han learning is mentioned. It is said that Xizong took lessons with the Han official Han Fang 韓昉 (d. ca. 1150), who worked in the Ministry of Rites (*libu* 禮部), and also with other Confucian scholars. The effect of Han Fang's teaching is described with the following words:

159. Taizong had already begun to introduce the civil service examination system in 1123, but is not entirely clear what kind of examinations were held or when. (Bol, Peter K.: 1987b. “Seeking Common Ground: Han Literati under Jurchen Rule,” in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 47.2: 461–538, 471, endnote 24.) The *Jinshi* writes: “The first time they [= civil service examinations] were established in the eleventh month of the first year of Taizong's [reign period] Tianhui [= 1123], that time he urgently wanted to select Han literati to pacify the recently submitted [regions], at first there was no fixed number and also no fixed date, therefore, in the second and eighth month of the second year [= 1124] they were held twice altogether. In the fifth year [= 1127], when Hebei and Hedong were first subdued, appointed officials were lacking, taking the difference of the Liao and Song systems into account, [Taizong] declared that all would be chosen corresponding to the study they had practiced according to their origin from the South or the North, and they were called the Southern and Northern examinations (其設也, 始於太宗天會元年十一月, 時以急欲得漢士以撫輯新附, 初無定數, 亦無定期, 故二年二月、八月凡再行焉. 五年, 以河北、河東初降, 職員多闕, 以遼、宋之制不同, 詔南北各因其素所習之業取士, 號爲南北選).” (51.1134.)

160. *Jinshi*, 51.1134. See also *Jinshi* 4.72. It is not entirely clear which areas are meant by “North” and “South” here. Peter K. Bol and Hoyt Cleveland Tillman claim that “North” means the regions which were formally ruled by the Liao Khitan, and “South” those which were ruled by the Song. (Bol: 1987b, 470–471; Tillman: 1995, 33.)

He [=Xizong] fetched Han Fang from Yanjing 燕京<sup>161</sup> and other trained Confucian scholars from the Middle Kingdom to instruct him. Afterwards he ‘did not know the [way of the] Yi and Di [barbarism] anymore.’ When a former Minister came to see him, he remarked: ‘He just seems like one young man from a Han household.’

得燕人韓昉及中國儒士教之，後無知夷狄。及舊臣視之，則曰：宛然一漢戶少年子也。<sup>162</sup>

It is an interesting fact that notes of this kind, ascribing a special interest for Han culture to Xizong and later to Hailing wang, only appear in the *Da Jin guozhi* and not in the *Jinshi*. One can only speculate about the reasons. Was there a certain anxiety on the part of the Mongols when compiling the *Jinshi* not to reveal a too strong attraction of these conquest emperors for the culture of the conquered? Or did they just not consider these aspects interesting? Did the author of the *Da Jin guozhi* especially want to show the superiority and force of Han culture? Or did he have access to sources the compilers of the *Jinshi* did not have? However, it has to remain an open question for the moment.

#### Law

In 1145, Xizong enacted a law code—the *Huangtong zhi* 皇統志 (*Regulation of the Huangtong Period*).<sup>163</sup> He ordered the appropriation of selected laws from the Jurchen, the Sui, Tang, Liao and Song dynasties and the combining of them afresh.<sup>164</sup> Unfortunately, the *Huangtong zhi* is not preserved, so one has to rely on those few sources referring to it. Jurchen traditions seem to have found their way into the code, as Herbert Franke notes, in the form of a “relatively important role of customary law and the differentiation according to nationality,” especially “in the sphere of family law,” anyhow, altogether “[i]t was a mixture of previous legal rulings, but seems to have been following mostly Chinese precedents.”<sup>165</sup> Herbert Franke also cites a revealing passage from the *Sanchao beimeng huibian*:

When they [= the Jurchen] control a prefecture, the officials of this prefecture are allowed to pass sentence on their own, and when they control a county, the county officials, too, are allowed to pass sentence on their own.

161. Today's Beijing.

162. *Da Jin guozhi*, 12.179. See also Song: 1991, 317. For a discussion between the emperor and Han Fang see also *Jinshi*, 4.74.

163. Huangtong 皇統 was his last reign title (1141–1150).

164. *Jinshi*, 45.1015f.

165. Franke, Herbert: 1981a, 224, 226–230.

守一州則一州之官許專決。守一縣則一縣之官許專決。<sup>166</sup>

According to Herbert Franke “[t]he point is that the Jurchen originally handled their criminal cases differently from the Chinese. Jurchen officials in the local administration could pass sentences of all kinds on their own, whereas in the Chinese legal system sentences for heavier crimes had to be referred to higher authorities.”<sup>167</sup> The reason why Xizong enacted a general law code was to gain stronger control over local officials and to monopolize jurisdiction in the central government.

*Xizong's Promoters and Their Influence on His Policies*

Altogether, during Xizong's reign, six major reforms took place: first, the abolition of traditional titles for Northern chieftains in 1134; second, the installation of the Three Departments and Three Preceptors in 1135; third, the abolition of the Bureau of Military Affairs in 1138; fourth, the firm installation of *jinsi* examinations in 1138; fifth, the ethnic privilege regarding Battalions and Companies starting in 1140; and sixth, the enacting of the *Huangtong zhi* in 1145. It becomes clear that these measures were attempts to enlarge or in fact create the power of a hierarchical central government and to diminish that of Jurchen Chieftains.

Xizong had neither the personal power nor the inclination to direct the Northern chieftains in his own will, as his predecessors had been able to. After all, he had acceded to the throne as a teenager only by the strong promotion of powerful men. Actually, there had been others who claimed to be legitimate successors—Taizong's eldest son Wanyan Zongpan 完顏宗磐 (d. 1139),<sup>168</sup> Taizu's eldest son Wanyan Zonggan and also the powerful general Wanyan Zonghan, who was only a distant cousin of both (see appended family tree).<sup>169</sup> Taizong solved the problem by following the advice given by Wanyan Xiyin, Wanyan Zonggan, Wanyan Zonghan and Wanyan Zongyao 完顏宗堯 (1096–1135),<sup>170</sup> the father of the later emperor Shizong, and supporting a compromise candidate—Taizu's grandson Xizong.<sup>171</sup> These men

166. *Sanchao beiming huibian*, 3.7b. Translation based on Franke, H.: 1981a, 221.

167. Franke, H.: 1981a, 222.

168. Jurchen name Puluḥu 蒲魯虎.

169. Chan: 1999, 115.

170. Jurchen name Eliduo 訛里朵. He was also called Wanyan Zongfu 完顏宗輔. His son Shizong bestowed the posthumous name Ruizong 睿宗 on him when he became emperor. (*Jinshi*, 6.124; 19.408.)

171. *Jinshi*, 4.69; 73.1685–1686; 74.1699.



also had recommended Xizong because they must have thought him easy to manipulate, as he was only sixteen years old when he ascended the throne, and dependent on their support. It is therefore important to take a closer look at Xizong's promoters when analyzing his policies.

It is claimed that especially Wanyan Xiyin and Xizong's uncle Wanyan Zonggan were protagonists of Han culture in general or that they were sinicized.<sup>172</sup> Actually, I could not find evidence for a strong bond of these men to Han culture in the sources given by those who assume their sinicization. But even if this is true, this was not their main motive for the political measures described above. Rather, they sought more centralization, to break the dominance of the Northern chieftains and to bring to a halt the ongoing group rivalries among the elite.<sup>173</sup> The second of these two urgent problems concerned the balance between two Jurchen rival groups: on one side the descendants of the first Jin emperor Taizu with Wanyan Zonggan as their front man and on the other side those of his brother and successor Taizong with Wanyan Zongpan as their leader.

The attempt to harness this rivalry was mirrored in the creation of powerful official posts. When the Three Departments were founded in 1135, Xizong's promoter Wanyan Zonghan, who belonged neither to Taizu's nor Taizong's family branch, became Grand Guardian. After half a year, he was joined by another promoter, Grand Mentor Wanyan Zonggan (Taizu's son), and by Grand Preceptor Wanyan Zongpan (Taizong's eldest son).<sup>174</sup> Thus, the two clans ensured that the central power was fairly shared between them. But early in 1139—two or three years after Grand Guardian Wanyan Zonghan's death<sup>175</sup>—another one of Taizu's sons, Wanyan Zongjun 完顏宗隲 (d. 1139)<sup>176</sup> took over his post and became Grand Guardian.<sup>177</sup> Consequently, a power imbalance now arose as two sons of Taizu and only one of Taizong shared the posts of the Three Preceptors. Later in the same year, promoter Wanyan Xiyin and Grand Mentor Wanyan Zonggan (Taizu's son) accused Grand Preceptor Wanyan Zongpan (Taizong's eldest son) and Grand Guardian Wanyan

172. Tao: 1976, 40; Song: 1991, 317; Chan: 1984, 56, 60.

173. Chan: 1984, 60.

174. *Jinshi*, 4.70–71; 74.1694; 76.1730, 1742.

175. His biography in the *Jinshi* says 1136 (74.1699), in Xizong's biography 1137 is given (4.71).

176. Jurchen name Eluguan 訛魯觀. Please note that Xizong's father had the same Chinese name, but his Jurchen name was Shengguo 繩果 (d. 1124). (*Jinshi*, 19.407.)

177. *Jinshi*, 4.73.

Zongjun (Taizu's son) of having planned a rebellion. Both were executed.<sup>178</sup> Although both family branches thus lost one post, this was more crucial for Taizong's branch. With the execution of Wanyan Zongpan, this branch lost its only man among the head of the Three Departments and would never manage to regain one. Xizong's promoter and already Grand Preceptor Wanyan Zonggan (Taizu's son) became Grand Mentor and seems to have held the two offices simultaneously.<sup>179</sup> Another one of Taizu's sons, Wanyan Zongbi 完顏宗弼 (d. 1148)<sup>180</sup> became Grand Guardian.<sup>181</sup>

However, of the four powerful men who had promoted Xizong, two had already died early—Wanyan Zongyao in 1135 and Wanyan Zonghan in 1136. Of the other two Wanyan Xiyin had to commit suicide in 1140, because Xizong mistrusted him,<sup>182</sup> and Wanyan Zonggan eventually died in 1141.<sup>183</sup> So finally, in 1141, the 22-year-old Xizong was free to take over the government himself and act more independently.<sup>184</sup> Most of the major political measures introduced during Xizong's reign occurred before 1141, that is, before the death of the last and probably most influential promoter of Xizong, his foster-father Wanyan Zonggan. Only the adoption of a new law code happened later. Knowing who initiated those measures—powerful men rather than the youthful emperor himself—also clarifies their meaning and motive, which was not sinicization, but creation and thereafter preservation of central power in their own hands.

*Jurchenizing Movement and 'Fashion Victims'*

During Xizong's reign, the Left Vice Marshal and later Grand Guardian Wanyan Zonghan was in charge of the Southern regions of the Jin empire conquered from the Song. He is said to have initiated a dress and hairstyle campaign: It was "forbidden for the people to wear Han dress and cut the

178. *Jinshi*, 4.74; 69.1604; 76.1730. About the accusation: 73.1686.

179. *Jinshi*, 76.1743.

180. Jurchen name Wuzhu 兀朮.

181. *Jinshi*, 77.1754.

182. Maybe it was instead the other remaining promoter, Wanyan Zonggan, who ordered his suicide, as Xizong himself later regretted his judgement and rehabilitated Wanyan Xiyin in 1143. (*Jinshi*, 73.1686.)

183. *Jinshi*, 73.1684–1686.

184. Chan Hok-lam even claims that Xizong could not make his own decisions until Wanyan Zongbi died in 1148. But as Wanyan Zongbi had not been one of Xizong's promoters, Xizong probably liberated himself earlier. However, it might also have been a gradual process. (Chan: 1984, 62.)

hair. Whoever did not follow this law was sentenced to death (禁民漢服及削髮不如法者死).<sup>185</sup>

From this short reference it is not entirely clear, what this campaign—if it can be called such—was like. Probably it was aimed at the Han, for rarely are the Jurchen called ‘people (*min* 民)’ in the sources. Tao Jing-shen interprets it as a ‘short-lived Jurchenizing movement.’<sup>186</sup>

During Song times, similarly prohibitive orders had been in existence. Edicts directed to nobles and normal subjects at that time forbid them from imitating Khitan-style riding and dressing and later from either dressing or capping themselves in ‘barbarian red (*fanzi* 番紫),’ a colour used by Jin officials.<sup>187</sup> Especially at the beginning of the twelfth century there seemed to have been a strong official interest in banning non-Han dress as the prohibitions appear in rapid succession.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, trying to influence peoples’ dress style was a concern of Jin as well as of Song emperors. However, the Song envoy Fan Chengda wrote in his travel diary about his embassy mission to the Jin supreme imperial capital<sup>189</sup> in 1170:

The people [= the Han people<sup>190</sup>] indeed have long since adopted barbarian customs. [...] This is most apparent in their varieties of dress and adornment, the styles of which are now completely barbarian. From where we crossed the Huai [River] and proceeded north, this has been the case, but in the capital city it is especially so. Only in the costumes of women there was not much change, but those wearing hats are extremely few. Most enfilade [their hair] into a chignon. In fact, members of honourable families use beads that tinkle and jingle as their coiffures, (that is, the chignons), calling them ‘square chignons.’

民亦久習胡俗。[...] 最甚者衣裝之類。其制盡爲胡矣。自過淮已北皆然而京師尤甚。惟婦女之服不甚改而戴冠者絕少。多綰髻。貴人家即用珠瓏聰冒之謂之方髻。<sup>191</sup>

185. *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, 132.5a. The *Jinshi* does not mention this story.

186. Tao: 1976, 34.

187. Liu Mingshu 劉銘恕: 1946. “Songdai Liao Jin wenhua zhi nanjian 宋代遼金文化之南漸,” in: *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiu huikan* 中國文化研究彙刊 6: 91–105, 94.

188. Liu Mingshu went into this topic. (Liu: 1946, 92–96.)

189. Fan Chengda refers to this capital as Dongjing (today’s Kaifeng), as this was its name before the Jin conquered it from the Northern Song. (*Jinshi*, 5.100; Hargett: 1984, 145/FN 112, 148/FN 129.)

190. When Fan Chengda refers to the Jurchen he uses the term “caitiffs (*lu* 虜);” only the Han people are called “people (*min* 民).”

191. Hargett: 1984, 154 (English translation), 173/12b (Chinese original). As Yuwen Maozhao

However, we cannot know whether Wanyan Zonghan's orders succeeded or whether the Han people simply changed their dress and hairstyle voluntarily under Jurchen rule. It is interesting, nonetheless, that the goal of making Han people dress like their conquerors was achieved most successfully by the successors of the Jurchen, the Manchu.<sup>192</sup>

#### HAILING WANG (1150–1161)

In 1150, Hailing wang (b. 1122, r. 1150–1161) murdered his cousin and succeeded him on the throne. He furthered the centralization begun under Xizong to weaken powerful chieftains in the Northeastern areas and made his own position more influential. Being a grandson of the first emperor Taizu, he also tried to eliminate the family of Taizong to stop any claims on the throne from that side. In 1161, he killed tribal members in the North, who had become too powerful. He led an unsuccessful military campaign against the Song, thus breaking the peace treaty Xizong and Wanyan Zongbi had concluded with them in 1141.<sup>193</sup> Finally, his cousin, the later emperor Shizong, took advantage of the general discontent and revolted in the North. He declared himself new emperor already before Hailing wang was killed by the chieftain and Manager of Governmental Affairs (*pingzhang zhengshi* 平章政事)<sup>194</sup> Wanyan Yuanyi 完顏元宜 (d. 1164).<sup>195</sup> Shizong posthumously degraded Hailing wang to a normal subject (*shu ren* 庶人).<sup>196</sup>

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tells us about the Jurchen women “they plaid their hair to braids and curl it up in a knot. They also do not wear headdresses.” (*Da Jin guozhi*, 39.552.)

192. Mikhail V. Vorob'ev claims that not only the Jurchen, but before them the Khitan and Tuoba and afterwards the Mongols had similar edicts. He also writes that these edicts were indeed successful also during Jin times and resulted in a dress style of mixed Jurchen and Han characteristics. (Vorob'ev: 1983, 91–95.)

193. About this treaty see Franke, Herbert: 1970. “Treaties between Sung and Chin,” in: Aubin, Françoise: *Études Song in Memoriam Étienne Balazs* (Paris: Mouton and Company), sér. 1, pt. 1: 55–84, 69–76, 76–80.

194. Nominal title of two heads of the Department of State Affairs, who served as Grand Councilors (*zaixiang* 宰相).

195. Jurchen name Alie 阿列. He was also called Yitenian 移特輦. He originally stemmed from the Yeli 耶律 clan, the family of the Khitan emperors. Wanyan Yuanyi's biography: *Jinshi*, 132.2829–2832.

196. On Shizong's declaration: *Jinshi*, 6.127. Hailing's biography: *Jinshi*, 5. About his bad reputation: 4.86–87; 63.1503–1504. On his political measures: 5.96, 98, 106; 44.1002–1003; 55.1216

*Institutional Changes and Abrogation of Titles*

Hailing wang abolished some of the institutions, especially those which had only been introduced under his predecessor's rule to broaden his power and independency. Indeed, he modified offices to serve his interests without hesitation, but it would be rash to assume that he did so because he "did not fully understand the function of certain complicated institutions and [ . . . ] preferred a more simplified government" as Tao Jing-shen suggests.<sup>197</sup> On the contrary, it was due to his ambition of power and also his evidently full understanding of complex political and administrative systems that he was able to adopt and change them according to his purposes.

Hailing wang abandoned the dualistic system of administration. In 1150, he abolished the Branch Department of State Affairs and the Chief Military Command, which had been responsible for the civil and military affairs of the conquered Song regions. He put the civil affairs in the Song regions under the direct control of the Department of State Affairs incorporating it into the central government.<sup>198</sup> The Chief Military Command was replaced by a new Bureau of Military Affairs,<sup>199</sup> which was also part of the central government.<sup>200</sup>

In the same year Hailing wang abolished the last powerful hereditary title for local chieftains, the Leader for Ten Thousand Households, sparing only the lower ranked Battalion and Company Commanders.<sup>201</sup> This was an important attempt to ensure Hailing wang's growing power and further independence from Jurchen chieftains. The dividing system for Battalions and Companies into high, middle and low ranks, introduced by Xizong, was abolished by Hailing wang. Instead, he seems to have used a different system to weaken his political enemies. During the first months of his reign, and also later, he ordered the murder of anyone who would pose a threat to him.<sup>202</sup>

In 1151, Hailing wang divided the empire into nineteen proto-Provinces or Routes (*lu* 路) to replace the chieftain-system, which he had abrogated at least

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and also below. About the end of his reign and his murder: 5.116–117; 89.1989; 129.2788. On his degradation: 8.179. See also Tsang: 2007, 41–42.

197. Tao, Jing-shen: 1970b. "The Influence of Jurchen Rule on Chinese Political Institution," in: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 30: 121–130, 127.

198. *Jinshi*, 5.96; 55.1219.

199. The first one had been in existence in 1123–1138. (See above.)

200. *Jinshi*, 5.96; 44.1003.

201. *Jinshi*, 5.98, 44.1002–1003.

202. *Jinshi*, 5.94–95, 100.

officially. Five of the Routes were administered by Regents (*liushou* 留守), residing in the five capitals.<sup>203</sup> The other fourteen stood under the control of Area Commanders-in-chief (*zongguan* 總管), whose titles were not hereditary and who were a kind of powerful regional governors.<sup>204</sup> The Battalion and Company Commanders also were under their control.<sup>205</sup> By laying the disposal of the Routes into the hands of officials with non-hereditary titles, Hailing wang tried to secure his power in the entire empire. Anyway, these measures were not entirely successful. The Northern chieftains remained in their positions even without official titles, owing to the loyalty of their clans and local dynamics.

In 1156, Hailing wang abolished those two of the Three Departments which had been established only in 1135 — the Secretariat and the Chancellery — sparing only the Department of State Affairs which had been in existence since 1126.<sup>206</sup> The Secretariat's nominal area of responsibility had been the promulgation of the emperor's orders, but it also had had policy-formulating duties.<sup>207</sup> The Chancellery had been responsible "for advising the emperor about proposals submitted through the Secretariat [ . . . ] and serving as the channel through which imperial pronouncements were put in final form and transmitted to the Department of State Affairs."<sup>208</sup> Both departments were absorbed into the Department of State Affairs, which again became the core administrative organ of the centralized government. This abolition left a deep imprint also on the administrative systems of the subsequent dynasties, as the system of the Three Departments would never be reinstated.<sup>209</sup> With this measure Hailing wang got rid of two institutions, which had originally been founded to control

203. Before 1153, Shangjing 上京 was the supreme imperial capital. The other capitals were situated at different locations, their names and status changing over time.

In 1153, major changes happened: The supreme capital Shangjing was deprived of its name and status as a capital (until 1173). A new supreme capital was founded and named Zhongdu 中都. Also, the locations and names of the other capitals were changed. The name Beijing 北京 was given to former Zhongjing 中京, and former Beijing seems to have been abandoned. Nanjing 南京 shifted to the former Northern Song capital Kaifeng, and Dongjing 東京 was reinstalled as a capital. (See the appended chart, "Shifting Capitals"; *Jinshi*, 5.100; 24.550, 557, 572; Hucker: 1985, 55. See also Tan Qixiang 譚其驤 (ed.): 1982. *Zhongguo lishi ditu ji. Di liu ce: Song, Liao, Jin shiqi* 中國歷史地圖集: 第六冊: 宋, 遼, 金時期. (Shanghai: Ditu chubanshe), 42–43. There is also a most comprehensible graphic of all Jin capitals and their changes in Vorob'ev: 1983, 72.)

204. *Jinshi*, 44.993, 1003; Hucker: 1985, 55, 531; Tillman: 1995, 35.

205. *Jinshi*, 44.1003.

206. *Jinshi*, 5.106; 55.1316.

207. Hucker: 1985, 194.

208. Hucker: 1985, 329.

209. All Three Departments were only shortly reinstalled during the Mongol Yuan dynasty

politics and prevent the concentration of power in few hands. This was a step not only towards centralization, but also towards autocratic rule.

*Educational Politics and Han Learning*

The claim that Hailing wang most fervently promoted sinicization is also based on his cultural-political measures. The two major ones are the introduction of palace examinations (*dianshi* 殿試) and the establishment of the Directorate of Education (*guozhi jian* 國子監).<sup>210</sup> Hailing wang ordered a notable change:

In the second year of the reign period Tiande [= 1151] the commoner Hailing for the first time established the system of palace examinations and fixed the dates for the examinations. In the third year [= 1152] he fused the Southern and Northern selections and united them into one, he abolished the two tests on the classics and on *ce*-essays, and only used those on *ci*- and *fu*-poetry to recruit officials.

海陵庶人天德二年，始增殿試之制，而更定試期。三年，併南北選爲一，罷經義策試兩科，專以詞賦取士。<sup>211</sup>

Thus, Hailing wang finally abolished the dual examination system which had been introduced by Xizong in 1138 and centralized it. In 1152, Hailing wang established the Directorate of Education.<sup>212</sup> Thereby he complemented existing schools and put them into an centralized institutional system.<sup>213</sup> Especially these cultural measures are repeatedly linked to a certain fondness of Han culture ascribed to Hailing wang. This assumption originally stems from the *Da Jin guozhi*:

“He [= Hailing wang] loved to read books, he learned to play *xiang xi*<sup>214</sup> and to brew tea, he invited and welcomed Confucian scholars and discussed how to perfect human abilities.

(1271–1368). The Secretariat was abolished definitely in 1380 at the beginning of the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368–1644). (Hucker: 1985, 329; Tao: 1970b.)

210. The others are claimed to be the allowance to wear Chinese costumes, the adoption of Chinese carriage, the expansion of patronage of Confucianism and the adoption of the *shanhu* 山呼 ceremony (make a kowtow and exclaim “Ten thousand years!” to the emperor three times). (Tao: 1976, 44; Chan: 1984, 64.)

211. *Jinshi*, 51.1134–1135.

212. *Jinshi*, 5.96; 51.1131.

213. Tillman: 1995, 35. About public schools in Jin times see also Tao Jing-shen: 1995. “Public Schools in the Chin Dynasty,” in: Tillman and West (eds.), 50–67.

214. An elder variant of the Xiangqi 象棋 game, also called Chinese chess in English.

好讀書，學弈象戲、點茶、延接儒士，談論有成人器。<sup>215</sup>

Another reason for Hailing wang's educational measures was a "serious official interest in maintaining a group of well schooled men directly under the authority of the court."<sup>216</sup> Peter K. Bol especially refers to the unified examination system and the establishment of the Directorate of Education, when he suggests a tendency toward 'promoting *wen*' under Hailing wang's reign. However, "this system [= the new educational and examination system] does not appear to have been capable of providing sufficient personnel for subprefectural posts. Neither was it large enough to encourage the formation of an elite defined by education."<sup>217</sup> To create an intellectual elite would be the task of Hailing wang's successor and rival, the emperor Shizong.

*The Relocation of the Capital*

The relocation of the capital in 1153 from Shangjing 上京<sup>218</sup> to the location of today's Beijing, which was renamed from Nanjing 南京 to Zhongdu 中都, is said to have been another important step towards sinicization.<sup>219</sup> In fact, Hailing wang's successor Shizong was probably the first to announce this: "[S]ince Hailing moved the capital to Yong'an [= Yanjing/Zhongdu],<sup>220</sup> the Jurchen people gradually forgot the old customs (自海陵遷都永安，女真人浸忘舊風)."<sup>221</sup>

Especially the destruction of all old palaces in Shangjing linked with the relocation of the capital ordered in 1157 is interpreted as a sign to show Hailing wang's "admiration for China and firm decision to leave the uncivilized environment forever."<sup>222</sup> But aside from the emperor's unlikely hope to leave 'the uncivilized environment' behind, other convincing reasons can be found

215. *Da Jin guozhi*, 13.185. Elsewhere it writes: "As a child Hailing knew books, the older he was the more he improved himself." (*Da Jin guozhi*, 15.212.)

216. Bol: 1987b, 473.

217. Bol: 1987b, 473.

218. Located ca. 16 km southeast of Harbin, near today's Acheng 阿城 in Heilongjiang province. (Yanai, Inaba, and Matsui: 1912, 2: 116.)

219. *Jinshi*, 5.100; 24.572; 83.1862–1863; Tao: 1976, 44; Yao: 1976 [1959], 47–64. See also the appended chart, "Shifting Capitals."

220. Yong'an is an elder name for Yanjing, later Zhongdu. (*Jinshi*, 24.573.)

221. *Jinshi*, 7.158.

222. Tao: 1976, 44. See also Chan: 1984, 65. Destruction of the palaces: *Jinshi*, 24.550–551.



for the relocation and the destruction: “difficulties in controlling the whole country [ . . . ], and economic considerations.”<sup>223</sup> Shangjing was situated near the upper course of the Sungari River<sup>224</sup> in a small valley in the Eastern part of Manchuria. Although it must have been a quite fertile region it was probably not rich enough to feed the increasing population, which came along with the centralization. Transport of food was expensive and also difficult. Another important aspect was the abrogation of the dualistic system of administration and the incorporation of the conquered Song regions into the central government. Therefore, it was necessary to move the capital to the geographical center of the empire. And no less important was Hailing wang’s wish to disunite the traditional Jurchen chieftains, who were very powerful in the North: “Hailing moved the imperial clan not only to prepare his grand plan of the Southern attack, but another aim of his was to ward off the old powers in Shangjing (海陵遷移宗室除了準備南伐大計之外,另外的目的是防範上京路的舊勢力).”<sup>225</sup>

Unfortunately for him, he did not succeed and was in the end put to death by exactly those ‘old powers.’ But also in another respect his relocation of the capital and consequently of Battalions and Companies brought a certain vulnerability to the Jurchen dominance in the North. A Khitan rebellion arose coterminously with Hailing wang’s manoeuvre in the South and it would be Shizong, then only Regent of Dongjing 東京,<sup>226</sup> who would suppress it after his rise to power.<sup>227</sup>

#### SHIZONG (1161–1189)

Having usurped power illegitimately, Shizong started a kind of ‘image campaign’ against Hailing wang to legitimize his own enthronement. Shizong succeeded in defaming Hailing wang, making him into the cruel despot he is sometimes seen as today, whereas he himself became a good and wise,

223. Tao: 1976, 44. Chan Hok-lam uses nearly the same words as Tao Jing-shen: “The motives [ . . . ] stemmed not only from Emperors Liang’s admiration of Chinese culture, but also from geopolitical, economic, and military considerations.” (Chan: 1984, 65.)

224. Chinese: Songhuajiang 松花江.

225. Hsu: 2001, 261.

226. Near today’s Liaoyang in Liaoning province.

227. *Jinshi*, 133.2849. A detailed study of the Khitan rebellion can be found in Hsu: 2001, 262–268.

even sage-like emperor.<sup>228</sup> Hailing wang's biography in the *Jinshi* writes: "By character he [= Hailing wang] was rude and short-tempered, often mistrustful and grudging. His vicious cruelties were ever so many (爲人慁急, 多猜忌, 殘忍任數)."<sup>229</sup>

And Shizong—as quite the Confucian emperor he was praised as being later—said about him: "Hailing lost the Way, only I resumed it. But if one just takes care to cultivate one's virtue, what else will merit worry (海陵失道, 朕乃得之. 但務修德, 餘何足慮)?"<sup>230</sup>

Compared to Hailing wang's evaluation, Shizong's reads quite differently:

At that time [= the reign of Shizong] many officials occupied posts, the upper and lower people lived in mutual peace, the families were well provided for, the people had enough, in the storehouses and granaries there was a surplus, the Ministry of Justice annually sentenced to the death penalty just seventeen, or twenty men, so his [= Shizong's] signet of praise was 'little Yao and Shun,'<sup>231</sup> and that was evidence of his accomplishment.

當此之時，群臣守職，上下相安，家給人足，倉廩有餘，刑部歲斷死罪，或十七人，或二十人，號稱‘小堯舜’，此其效驗也。<sup>232</sup>

Shizong (b. 1123, r. 1161–1189) was a cousin of Xizong and Hailing wang and therefore also a grandson of the first emperor Taizu. He did not change the political direction, which aimed towards a stronger centralization, and therefore did not cancel Xizong's and Hailing wang's measures. His regency is often seen as the height of Jurchen Jin rule.<sup>233</sup> Shizong undertook reforms to strengthen the weak financial budget. He tried to stop impoverishment of the Jurchen by land and fiscal reforms. In 1165, he renewed the peace treaty with the Song from 1141, which had been broken by Hailing wang in 1161.

The reign of Shizong has been characterized as a new era in Jurchen rule, as Shizong has been interpreted on the one hand as the preserver of the Jurchen heritage and on the other hand as the Confucian sage emperor. It is assumed

228. Tsang has given a very good summary of Hailing's reception from Shizong's time until today. (Tsang: 2007, 49–90.)

229. *Jinshi*, 5.91.

230. *Jinshi*, 7.157.

231. In Chinese legends, the two semi-mystic emperors Yao and Shun are supposed to have reigned in China in the 23<sup>rd</sup> to 22<sup>nd</sup> century BC. They were later perceived as perfect sage-kings.

232. *Jinshi*, 8.204.

233. Chan: 1984, 68; Zhang: 1992, 2: 120; Franke, H.: 1994, 245.

that he took measures to revive Jurchen culture in rather marginal areas like hunting, ball games, shooting and dress, and in more substantial ones, such as language and the traditional way of life. It is often even assumed that he initiated a 'nativistic movement.'

### *Hunting and Riding*

Below I analyze Shizong's leisure activities, which have been repeatedly linked to a 'Jurchen movement for revival.' Especially hunting is seen as one of his more important measures to revive the Jurchen culture.<sup>234</sup> Indeed, Shizong went hunting very often—in some years up to four hunting parties are recorded.<sup>235</sup> However, his predecessors had also gone hunting regularly. Shizong also ruled twenty-nine years, more than any other Jin emperor. It should therefore not astonish us that in total he went hunting more often than the others.<sup>236</sup> Shizong actually attained some notoriety as

[h]e was so good at mounted shooting that his fellow countrymen ranked him as number one. Every time he went out hunting, the seniors and the elderly came along to watch.

善騎射，國人推爲第一，每出獵，耆老皆隨而觀之。<sup>237</sup>

Whether true or not, such skill no doubt strengthened his link to the founder of the dynasty, his grandfather Taizu, the only Jin emperor before him who had been noted for having been a good shot.<sup>238</sup> Thus, this ability would further legitimize his usurpation through the murder of Hailing wang.

234. Tao Jing-shen also mentions ball games as being part of the movement. (Tao: 1976, 76.) But ball games were not specific Jurchen activities. On the contrary, the Jurchen most probably became acquainted with ball games through the Northern Song who played ball in Kaifeng or through the Liao, among whom ball games were also popular. (Franke, Herbert: 1979. "Some Folkloristic Data in the Dynastic History of the Chin (1115–1234)," in: Allen, Sara et al. (eds.): *Legend, Lore, and Religion in China: Essays in Honor of Wolfram Eberhard on His Seventieth Birthday* (San Francisco: Chinese Materials Center), 135–153, 147–149; Hargett: 1984, 166/FN 249.)

235. *Jinshi*, 6–8.

236. According to the *Jinshi* Taizu went hunting five times, Taizong never, Xizong six times, Hailing fifteen times and Shizong forty-eight times, one time more than his successor Zhang-zong. (*Jinshi*, 2–9.)

237. *Jinshi*, 6.121.

238. *Jinshi*, 2.19–20.

*Dress Codes and Family Names*

At the least, Shizong's decrees concerning clothing also involve a certain concern for Jurchen way of life. In 1188, the emperor "forbade the Jurchen [...] from imitating the people of the South [= the Song people] in dress and adornment. Violators shall incur criminal sanctions (禁女直人 [...], 學南人衣裝, 犯者抵罪)."<sup>239</sup> This prohibition was a twofold one as at the same time Shizong "forbade the Jurchen to change family names into Han names (禁女直人不得改稱漢姓)."<sup>240</sup> In contrast to the decree referring to dressing, the 1188 decree prohibiting the translation of names was not the first one. Earlier, in 1173, Shizong had stated that it was "prohibited for Jurchen people to translate their family names into Han names (禁女真人毋得譯爲漢姓)."<sup>241</sup>

In fact, it is not clear, whether Shizong forbade it because many Jurchen already wore Han style dress and had changed their names or because he wanted to prevent such changes.<sup>242</sup> Repeating the prohibition concerning names indicates that the first prohibition was not followed as strictly as Shizong had wished.<sup>243</sup> These measures if anything reveal Shizong's concern for further clarifying the outstanding position of the Jurchen as the ruling minority. He wanted them to remain distinct not only in appearance—hence, the dress prohibition—but also in their self-perception by not adapting Han family names.

*Language and Han Learning*

Tao Jing-shen and, in a somewhat more moderate way, Chan Hok-lam base their assumption of Shizong's 'lifelong task' to promote Jurchen language on the hypothesis that the Jurchen, especially those with official posts, were actually losing the Jurchen language.<sup>244</sup> According to them, Shizong's translation projects were aimed at making Jurchen retain and use their native tongue. Actually, no substantial evidence indicates that the Jurchen ever lost their native speaking ability. On the contrary, the Jurchen language existed well after

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239. *Jinshi*, 8.199.

240. *Jinshi*, 8.199.

241. *Jinshi*, 7.159. In 1207, Zhangzong also prohibited the translation of Jurchen family names into Chinese and the imitation of the Southern people's attire. (*Jinshi*, 12.282.)

242. As mentioned above, a prohibitive policy regarding foreign dress styles was not limited to the Jin, but also appeared repeatedly under Song rule.

243. Zhangzong repeated the prohibition of translation of names. (*Jinshi* 12.282.)

244. Tao: 1976, 76, 80–81; Chan: 1984, 69.

the fall of the Jin dynasty and was the forerunner of the Manchu language.<sup>245</sup>

Tao Jing-shen sees the concern with language not only as part of a Jurchen language campaign, but also as part of Shizong's general policy that would have traditional Han education become accessible to the Jurchen. In 1183, Shizong had initiated the translation of at least nine Chinese classics and histories into Jurchen—the *Yijing*, the *Shujing*, the *Lunyu*, the *Mengzi*, the *Daodejing*, the *Yangzi* 揚子,<sup>246</sup> the *Wenzhongzi* 文中子,<sup>247</sup> the *Liuzi* 劉子,<sup>248</sup> and the *Xin Tangshu*.<sup>249</sup> Three years later he

ordered that all Battalion Commanders and Company Commanders should first study the classics and histories in Jurchen script and only then take over their posts.

制猛安謀克皆先讀女直字經史然後承襲。<sup>250</sup>

It is assumed that the Jurchen could not speak their language properly anymore and that Shizong wanted them to relearn it by reading translated texts.<sup>251</sup> More probable, however, is that they spoke only Jurchen and therefore were not able to read the Chinese classics and histories in original, but—if they could read at all—instead only in Jurchen. However, Shizong wanted them to study these books and therefore had them translated:

We ordered the translation of the Five Classics because We sincerely wish that the Jurchen people should be aware that benevolence and righteousness, way and virtue had their abiding place.

245. See Morris Rossabi's substantial work about the Jurchen after the fall of the Jin dynasty in 1234. (Rossabi: 1983).

246. The *Yangzi*, also *Yangzi fayan* 揚子法言 (*Words of strict rebukes of Master Yang*), is a moral-philosophical work by the *fu*-poet and philosopher Yang Xiong 揚雄 (53 BC–18 AD), *zi* Ziyun 子雲.

247. This work was written by the Confucian scholar Wang Tong 王通 (ca. 584–617).

248. It is not clear who wrote the *Liuzi*, which is also called *Liuzi xinlun* 劉子新論 (*New Discussions of Master Liu*). According to its preface it stems from the Northern Qi dynasty (550–577).

249. This seems a bit out of line. However, the Jurchen emperors seemed to have been especially interested in Tang rulership. (Bol: 1987b, 480.) According to Korean sources it seems that even more Chinese works must have been translated into Jurchen, like military treatises and the *Qianzi wen* 千字文 (*Thousand Character Classic*). (Franke, H.: 1974, 184.)

250. *Jinshi*, 8.192. The Jurchen script had only been invented in 1119. Wanyan Xiyin was ordered by the first emperor Taizu to create the first Jurchen script—the large Jurchen script (*nüzhī dà zì* 女直大字). Xizong invented another script in 1138—the small Jurchen script (*nüzhī xiǎo zì* 女直小字). (*Jinshi*, 73.1684; 4.72; 66.1558.)

251. Tao: 1976, 77; Chan: 1984, 69.

朕所以令譯五經者，正欲女直人知仁義道德所在耳。<sup>252</sup>

Shizong wanted his officials to get to know the traditional Confucian values and ideas or in other words he ‘promoted civilization (*shang wen* 尙文)’ in order to create a well-educated elite with nevertheless Jurchen background.<sup>253</sup> Peter K. Bol makes the case that under Hailing wang’s reign, but especially under Shizong’s and his successor Zhangzong’s reigns, ‘cultural accomplishment (*wen*)’ was promoted for special reasons and “a self-sustaining literati intellectual culture did take form in the 1190s.”<sup>254</sup>

To promote an educated elite Hailing wang had already established the Directorate of Education. Shizong continued this strategy by founding the National University (*taixue* 太學) in 1166 complementing the School for the Sons of the State (*guozi xue* 國子學) already in existence.<sup>255</sup> In 1173, Shizong further established two educational institutions for Jurchen only — the School for the Jurchen Sons of the State (*Nüzhi guozi xue* 女直國子學) and Jurchen Prefectural Schools (*Nüzhi fu xue* 女直府學) in all Routes — to prepare them for the *jinshi* examinations in Jurchen.<sup>256</sup> Those examinations were established in the same year, but actually, they never became very popular and only few Jurchen passed them.<sup>257</sup> The idea of the Jurchen *jinshi* examinations was that those Jurchen, who were granted the *jinshi* degree, could possibly obtain official posts by their competence without being of noble descent. For the emperor they were not only well educated civil officials, who were supposed to make him more independent from Han *jinshi*, but also without bounds to powerful clans, who wanted to promote their own interests through family members in official positions. Shizong also reveals a strong inclination to form institutions, which further ensured the ethnic separation in the Jin empire.

#### *Ethnic Differentiation among Socio-military Units*

Like emperor Xizong, Shizong was well aware of the necessity of maintaining a separate Jurchen identity and, at the same time, strengthening the social

252. *Jinshi*, 8.184–185.

253. Bol: 1987b, 486.

254. He calls it the “intellectual revival of late Chin.” (Bol: 1987b, 464. See also 467–469.)

255. He or Hailing wang must have established the School for the Sons of the State, as it is mentioned in the *Jinshi*, but I could not find the exact year. (*Jinshi*, 51.1140.)

256. *Jinshi*, 51.1131, 1133; 51.1140. See also Tillman: 1995, 34; Tao: 1995, 53.

257. About examinations in 1173 see *Jinshi*, 51.1133, 1140. About the number of Jurchen who passed examinations see 105.2321; 51.1143–1144; 17.375.

position of the Jurchen. This was comparably easy, as the ethnic differentiation of the Jurchen was manifested in their higher social status as members of Battalions and Companies. Xizong had defined the membership to these socio-military units ethnically by dismissing and even abrogating non-Jurchen Battalions and Companies in the 1140s (see above). Shizong continued this policy of ethnic differentiation when he tried to strengthen the households of the Battalions and Companies through several orders. In 1162, he ordered that Jurchen in Shandong 山東<sup>258</sup> should settle apart from the Han people:

Shizong did not want the Battalion and Company households to be scattered among the homesteads of commoners, but wanted them to gather and live together [ . . . ]. Hence, the Battalions and Companies were formed into defensive communities afterwards.

世宗不欲猛安謀克與民戶雜處，欲使相聚居之，[...]. 其後遂以猛安謀克自爲保聚。<sup>259</sup>

Shizong also tried to enforce a self-sustaining way of living on the Jurchen. Already in 1163, he ordered officials to

undertake separate visitations of each of all the Battalions and Companies in the Routes, to exhort to farming and to conduct audits.

分詣諸路猛安謀克，勸農及廉問。<sup>260</sup>

In 1169, Shizong again commanded two high officials to travel to

Western Hebei Route, Daming, Henan, Shandong and other Routes to exhort the Battalion and Company households to attend to farming.

河北西路、大名、河南、山東等路勸猛安謀克農。<sup>261</sup>

The Jurchen were not unfamiliar with farming at all. In keeping with their customary habitat in the fertile riverbeds and lowlands of Manchuria, most of them were farmers who tended stock, mostly pigs.<sup>262</sup> Although Shizong

258. A Route formerly belonging to the Northern Song in today's Shandong.

259. *Jinshi*, 70.1626.

260. *Jinshi*, 6.130.

261. *Jinshi*, 6.144.

262. *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, 4.14a; 3.4a; *Da Jin guozhi*, 39.551. About the way of live of successors of the Jurchen see also Shirokogoroff, Sergei Mikhailovitch, 1966, *Social organization of the northern Tungus, with introductory chapters concerning geographical distribution and history*

referred to all Routes in 1163, in 1169 he especially dispatched officials to those regions conquered from the Song. Shizong wished the poorer of the Battalion and Company households in the Southern Routes not merely to eke out a living by leasing their land and selling their daughters as slaves, in attempt to emulate the luxury of the richer families, but to be able to live independently by doing their own farming. For 1181, the *Jinshi* notes that

[t]he people of the Battalion and Company households in Shandong, Daming and other Routes often exhibit an arrogant and uncontrolled behaviour. They do not personally cultivate the land, nor will they have their own family members do the farm labour, and without restriction, they have Han people cultivate the land as tenants. They merely take the rent. Rich families all dress in silk and damask. They drink and dine, carouse and feast. The poor ones put forth an effort to emulate them. The wish and desire that families may be well supplied, that the folk should have enough, is quite a hard thing to accomplish. Lately, We have already forbidden the sale of female slaves,<sup>263</sup> have placed restrictions on the observances of joyous and mournful occasions.<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, We have had to dispatch officials to review the actual household figures, and according to the population census land will be apportioned. Without fail, be it ordered that cultivation should be done in person. And only where manpower cannot be supplied, let there be tenantry to strangers.

山東、大名等路猛安謀克戶之民，往往驕縱，不親稼穡，不令家人農作，盡令漢人佃蒔，取租而已。富家盡服紈綺，酒食遊宴，貧者爭慕效之，欲望家給人足，難矣。近已禁賣奴婢，約其吉凶之禮，更當委官閱實戶數，計口授地，必令自耕，力不贍者方許佃於人。<sup>265</sup>

Already in 1177, Shizong had proclaimed

further, in the vicinity of the capital, the state land granted to Battalions and Companies was as a rule all lean and infertile. Thus, where rich people had leased state land for years on end, frequently by fraud claiming it as their own holdings,

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of these groups (Oosterhout: Anthropological Publications, originally published in Shanghai: 1929), 141ff. Note also the ritual importance of agriculture during the ceremony of coronation of Taizu, when nine agricultural implements were offered to the earth. (*Jinshi*, 36.831; 73.1672.)

263. This prohibition was ordered in 1180. (*Jinshi*, 46.1034.)

264. This limitation, which Shizong ordered in 1174, was aimed at reducing the amount of animals used for sacrificial ceremonies. (*Jinshi*, 7.161.)

265. *Jinshi*, 47.1046. See also the nearly identical passage in Shizong's biography (*Jinshi*, 8.179).



it should be entered for confiscation. He made remark to the Department officials saying: 'State lands, except for common people, who should cultivate them? But the Jurchen households have moved here from their home villages three or four thousand *li* away, and in the end, they received infertile land. Unless one confiscates good land to hand over to them, they will for certain sink into poverty after some time. Therefore, you send officials to investigate this.'

復以近都猛安謀克所官地率皆薄瘠，豪民租佃官田歲久，往往冒爲己業，令拘籍之。又爲省臣曰：官地非民誰種，然女直人戶自鄉土三四千里移來，蓋得薄地，若不拘刷良田給之，久必貧乏，其遣官察之。<sup>266</sup>

Shizong tried to improve the well-being of the Jurchen who had been resettled in the conquered Song regions and to stop their impoverishment. He acted as the paternalistic emperor using the carrot and the stick. On the one hand, Shizong treated the Jurchen preferentially—they were assigned to land and were allowed tax reductions and exceptions. On the other hand, he patronized them—they had to farm and were not allowed to sell and rent their land as they wished. Of primary importance is the fact that Shizong clearly did uphold the differentiation between Jurchen and the other people in the empire and tried to support the Jurchen above all.

#### *Shizong in Shangjing*

Shizong's eleven-month visit to Shangjing in 1184–1185<sup>267</sup> is often identified as another strong indication for his ethnic revival policy. It is seen as the illustration of "his admiration of ancient Jurchen culture and his longing for his home country"<sup>268</sup> and a demonstration of "his emotional attachment to the motherland and ancient Jurchen culture."<sup>269</sup>

In fact, Shizong had strong personal and political ties to the region of Shangjing. He was not only born and raised there,<sup>270</sup> but above all, chieftains from around Shangjing had helped him accede to the throne. Furthermore, Shizong had changed Shangjing's status back to a capital in 1173, and it was the administrative center of the Superior Prefecture (*fu* 府) Huining 會寧, which indeed covered most of the Jurchen homeland. But with the supreme imperial capital being in Bianjing, Shangjing was quite far removed from the seat of the central government and home to powerful and quite independent

266. *Jinshi*, 47.1044–1045.

268. Tao: 1976, 78.

270. *Jinshi*, 6.121.

267. *Jinshi*, 8.186–188.

269. Chan: 1984, 69.

Jurchen chieftains. Shizong went there to maintain a presence in this remote part of the empire, which once had been the base that supported his own act of usurpation.<sup>271</sup> He also sought to regain the support of the Northern regions, by issuing a variety of decrees. He abated taxes and corvée not only in Shangjing, but also in Dongjing, where he passed on his way and which Jurchen mainly inhabited as well.<sup>272</sup>

### *Institutional Changes*

Remarkably, despite the assumed gap between him and them, Shizong did not cancel any of the political reforms initiated by his predecessors. By comparison, his reforms were neither as numerous nor as fundamental. Similarly, he did not extend or alter the centralizing politics they had enforced. He also did not reintroduce hereditary titles for Northern chieftains. He continued land reforms to stop impoverishment and also ordered tax reductions with the same motive. But he did not initiate reforms either to stop centralization or to reintroduce a more traditional Jurchen way of government, which would have fitted into the idea of a revival movement. Hsu Ping-yu claims “Shizong’s assortment of measures all concerned the promotion of Jurchen fighting strength, the fortification of the unification of the Jurchen, and the enhancement of the connective relationship between those Jurchen living in the Shangjing area and the Wanyan clan forming the ruling stratum (世宗的種種措置，都與振興女真的戰鬥力、強化女真的團結、增加上京地區女真與統治階層的完顏部之間的聯繫有關).”<sup>273</sup>

Shizong clearly wanted to further unify the Jurchen or at least to keep them separated from the Han people. He also strove to appease the still powerful Northern chieftains, who had been alarmed by Hailing wang’s retraction of their hereditary titles. Thereby, Shizong does not differ profoundly from his predecessors, but instead can be linked to them closely.

### *Shizong’s Personal Worries about the Jurchen*

Although it is not reflected in his political measures, Shizong repeatedly expressed a certain anxiety concerning Jurchen customs and traditions, an attitude which clearly distinguishes him from his predecessors about whom

271. Shizong called his journey an Inspection Tour (*xun* 巡). (*Jinshi*, 8.186.)

272. *Jinshi*, 8.187–188.

273. Hsu: 2001, 274.

we can verify nothing of the kind. On two occasions, both in 1173, Shizong reveals a definite worry in this respect:

Huining was the place from which our realm rose up to kingship. Since Hailing moved the capital to Yong'an, the Jurchen people gradually forgot the old customs. Over time, We often have observed the Jurchen customs and traditions and to this day, We have not forgotten them. Today, the music played at feasts is completely in the Han mode, and in the ceremonies that are arranged, We cannot find joy. The Eastern Palace<sup>274</sup> would not know Jurchen customs, only because of Us they are still in existence. I fear that in a different time these customs will be altogether changed, as there is no long-term plan. Greatly would I wish to bring them all to Huining, to make the sons and grandsons watch the old customs and make them learn to practice them.

會寧乃國家興王之地，自海陵遷都永安，女直人寢忘舊風。朕時嘗見女直風俗，迄今不忘。今之燕飲音樂，皆習漢風，蓋以備禮也，非朕心所好。東宮不知女直風俗，第以朕故，猶尚存之。恐異時一變此風，非長久之計。甚欲一至會寧，使子孫得見舊風，庶幾習效之。<sup>275</sup>

Although speaking to his ministers and officials, Shizong indirectly refers to the Heir Apparent (*huang taizi* 皇太子) when he mentions the Eastern Palace, where the Heir Apparent traditionally had his quarters. That Shizong was concerned mainly about the younger generation is revealed again when he tells the Heir Apparent and the other Princes in the following month:

Since childhood you people have only learned the customs and traditions of the Han people, and you do not know about the plain and true customs of the Jurchen. When it comes to the written and spoken language, and you do not fully understand it, then that amounts to forgetting the roots.

汝輩自幼習漢人風俗，不知女直純實之風，至於文字語言，或不通曉，是忘本也。<sup>276</sup>

Also, on other occasions Shizong emphasizes “not to forget the roots,”<sup>277</sup> that is the way of wise men (不忘本者，聖人之道也).<sup>278</sup>

274. Here lived the Heir Apparent. *Jinshi*, 6.134, 139, 150; 24.573.

275. *Jinshi*, 7.158.

276. *Jinshi*, 7.159.

277. “To forget the roots (*wang ben* 忘本) is a phrase frequently used since early sources starting with the *Shangshu*.

278. *Jinshi*, 8.191. See also 6.150.

However, in 1176, he explains this wish with Confucian values and says to the Heir Apparent:

The Jurchen customs of old were extremely pure and honest, although they did not know books, they sacrificed to heaven and earth, honoured their families, respected the aged, welcomed guests, were trusting friends, the meaning of rites and sincere feelings emerged naturally, their goodness was not different from what is recorded in the old books. You people [= the Heir Apparent and other juveniles] ought to study them, the old customs are not to be forgotten.

女直舊風最爲純直，雖不知書，然其祭天地，敬親戚，尊耆老，接賓客，信朋友，禮意款曲，皆出自然，其善與古書所載無異。汝輩當習學之，舊風不可忘也。<sup>279</sup>

These statements reveal Shizong's concern for simplicity, which is described as an universal virtue also to be found in the 'old books' by which the Chinese classics must be meant. However, Shizong's perception of the old Jurchen customs is that of plain and honourable traditions which exist naturally. His main concern is with the Heir Apparent and the Princes, whom he exhorts to study Jurchen customs and traditions. It would have been these few statements by Shizong that led in the beginning to the notion of a Jurchen movement for revival.<sup>280</sup>

#### *Shizong—Initiator of a Nativistic Movement?*

The assumption of a 'nativistic movement' under Shizong's reign has been repeatedly challenged here, and therefore it seems appropriate now to draw a preliminary conclusion, if only regarding this part of Jin history. Did Shizong or did he not initiate a 'Jurchen nativistic movement'?

The arguments on the supportive side are as follows: first, Shizong set a high value on activities assigned to Jurchen, i.e. hunting, shooting willows and playing ball. Second, he promoted the Jurchen language by translating Chinese works of importance and prohibiting the translation of Jurchen names into Chinese. The reason for these measures was that the Jurchen were supposed to relearn their native tongue. Third, Shizong reassigned land to the Jurchen and privileged them fiscally, also appointing more Jurchen officials. And last but not least, fourth, he visited Shangjing.<sup>281</sup>

279. *Jinshi*, 7.164.

280. *Jinshi*, 7.158.

281. Tao: 1976, 76–79. See also Chan: 1984, 69–72; Franke, H.: 1994, 244–245.

According to the above analysis, these arguments have to be seen critically. Regarding hunting, shooting and playing ball, these were leisure activities not only practiced by other Jurchen emperors before and after Shizong, but which were also popular during Tang, Song, Liao and even Ming times.<sup>282</sup> In this respect, Shizong was not unique and has not initiated or even revived long-forgotten Jurchen hobbies or training methods. He merely continued what had been usual not only among Jurchen, but among Khitan and Han, too.

Regarding Shizong's promotion of language, it has become obvious that the assumption that the Jurchen were no longer able to speak Jurchen by Shizong's time cannot at all be verified. It is thus much more convincing that Shizong had books translated because he wanted the Jurchen to become acquainted with Han ethics and morals.

The reassignment of land and the fiscal privileges of Jurchen cannot be called a reviving of traditions but rather a way to strengthen the social position of the Jurchen especially in the regions conquered from the Liao and the Song where the Jurchen settled in the secluded societies of the Battalions and Companies.

Shizong's visit of Shangjing, to come to the last argument for a 'nativistic movement,' is also not persuasive. This was a political visit to ensure the support of the Northern chieftains. By being present in the homeland of the Jurchen for several months, Shizong strengthened his claim to power and renewed alliances with the regional chieftains. Shizong's visits to the places where he grew up might also have been personal, but this is not mirrored in any edicts regarding Jurchen traditions.

In my opinion, these measures do not at all support the assumption of a 'nativistic movement.' As mentioned above, Ralph Linton defines a 'nativistic movement' as "[a]ny conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."<sup>283</sup> I cannot see that Shizong consciously and in any organized way tried to strengthen Jurchen

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282. Hunting: see chapter "Hunting and Riding" above (385–386). Ball games: Liu Xu 劉煦 et al.: 1975. *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 17.508; *Jinshi* 6.131, 137, 141, 8.188, 9.241, 11.248, 35.826; *Liaoshi* 12.134; *Songshi* 122.2841–2842; Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al.: 1974. *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju) 57.1441, 186.4915. Ball games are mentioned more often in each of these Histories. I selected merely representative passages. See also Hargett: 1984, 166/FN249; Franke, H.: 1979, 147–149. Shooting willows: *Liaoshi*, 3.30, 32, 4.51, etc.; *Jinshi* 2.27, 9.241, 11.248, 35.826; *Mingshi* 57.1441.

283. Linton: 1943, 230.

culture. He rather tried to strengthen the Jurchen politically and socially, promoting them as the most important part of Jin society, as the legitimacy of the government rested on the differences between the Jurchen and the other ethnicities in the empire. But this was not necessarily connected with strengthening their traditional culture. On the contrary, we have seen how Shizong tried to give the Jurchen an understanding of Chinese ethics. However, Jurchen traditions had also not disappeared at Shizong's time. Therefore, the term 'revivalistic,' used by some authors to further define the assumed 'nativistic movement,' would seem not to fit.<sup>284</sup> If at all, it would have been a 'perpetuative nativism.'<sup>285</sup> However, reevaluating Shizong's policy, there is no evidence for either a revivalistic or a perpetuative 'nativistic movement.'

### *Conclusion: Returning to Trends*

The authors following the trend prevailing primarily in English and secondarily in Japanese—and as we have seen, only partly in Chinese—Jin research who distinguish between sinicized and nativistic emperors base their arguments for these two distinct phases in Jin rulership on two elementary assumptions. On the one hand, they suppose a heavy sinicization of the Jurchen before 1161. This is based on the argument that the introduction of institutions—administrative, legal, and educational—means sinicization, that is, an acculturation or even assimilation to Han culture and people.<sup>286</sup> On the other hand, they assume a 'nativistic movement' or at least Jurchen 'revivalistic measures' during Shizong's reign time. This assumption is based on several measures ascribed to Shizong, which were linked together to form one "movement." However, through a new analysis of the reigns of Taizong, Xizong, Hailing wang and Shizong two conclusions come to the fore: First, the division of the Jin dynasty into reigns of 'sinicized' and 'revivalistic' emperors has to be rejected in favor of a more homogenous view. All Jin emperors had the same agenda of centralizing the empire and weakening tribal powers. Second, it becomes clear, that non-Han dynasties, empires and states in East Asia in general are still too often analyzed on the basic assumption of the possibility of sinicization and the general superiority of Han culture.

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284. Chan: 1984, 51; Tao: 1976, 68–82.

285. Linton: 1943, 231, 233.

286. See for example Chan: 1984, 60, 63, 64, 66–67; Tao: 1976, ch.4–5.

*First Conclusion—the Phases of Jin Rulership*

With respect to Jurchen historiography, it becomes clear that the reigns of the Jurchen emperors cannot be divided into a phase of officially launched sinicization before 1161 and one of a 'nativistic movement' afterwards. They can rather be seen as one continuum of proceeding towards and maintaining centralization and concentration of power in the hands of the emperors and also that of promoting a Jurchen elite, which acted as a political counterbalance to the Northern chieftains. Not only Han-style institutions from Han, Sui, Tang, Five Dynasties and Song times, but also Tuoba- and Khitan-style methods and institutions were directed towards this goal by adapting them purposively. Thus, the Jin emperors form one line of development towards a centralized state, which eventually reached its zenith under Shizong's reign.

After the conquest of Song territory, the second emperor Taizong was confronted with the question how to rule areas mainly inhabited by Han people. His brother and predecessor Taizu had already set an example by introducing the Bureau of Military Affairs (1125–1138) for the Han-inhabited regions conquered from the Liao, and Taizong further adopted the Khitan dualistic system by establishing the Chief Military Command (1125–1150) to administer the Song regions. But Taizong also introduced the first central political organs, the Department of State Affairs and the Censorate (both since 1126). He also was the first one who held civil service examinations.

The dualistic system persisted under his successor Xizong. Xizong's promoters, who in fact ruled during the first six years of his reign, enlarged the central government by establishing additional institutions like the two other Departments—Secretariat and Chancellery (both 1135–1156), the Three Preceptors (since 1135) and the Six Ministries (since 1140). Furthermore, they took the first steps towards an abolition of the dualistic system by replacing the Bureau of Military Affairs with the Branch Department of States Affairs (1138–1150), putting it under the direct control of the central government. During Xizong's reign the civil service examinations were also substantiated by further defining of their content. Some hereditary titles for traditional chieftains were abolished. At the same time, Xizong was the first Jin emperor who emphasized the ethnic division of Jurchen and non-Jurchen by dismissing Han and Bohai members of Battalions and Companies in order to keep social and military power in Jurchen hands.

Hailing wang achieved the abolition of the dualistic system that Xizong had already intended by replacing the two institutions, which had been in charge

of the conquered Song regions—the Branch Department of State Affairs and the Chief Military Command. When the Branch Department of State Affairs was abolished in 1150, the civil affairs of these regions were put under the direct control of the central Department of State Affairs. At the same time, the Chief Military Command was replaced by a newly created Bureau of Military Affairs. Hailing wang further tailored the government to his will by abolishing two of the Three Departments, which seemed confining to him. By establishing palace examinations, Hailing wang also pushed towards the ‘civilization’ of his empire, if not of the Jurchen especially. Hailing wang abolished the last powerful hereditary title for traditional chieftains. Nevertheless, Hailing wang went too far when he broke the peace treaty with the Song and tried to invade into their territory without having the support of the Northern Jurchen chieftains, who remained powerful despite their loss of hereditary titles.

By contrast, Shizong managed to gain the support of the Northern chieftains and usurped the throne with their help, although he did not reintroduce their official titles. Nevertheless, Shizong continued Hailing wang’s educational policy and enlarged the educational system to create a new Jurchen civil elite without strong ties to powerful Northern ruling clans. By moreover continuing Xizong’s policy of dividing Jurchen from non-Jurchen, he tried to maintain Jurchen power in the Jin empire and end their impoverishment. His strategy was three-fold: by strengthening the Battalions and Companies, he tried to keep supreme military power in the hands of the Jurchen; by promoting Jurchen *jinshi*, he tried to enlarge Jurchen administrative knowledge and political power while at the same time diminishing the influence of Northern chieftains in the central government; and by appeasing the Northern clans, he tried to preempt any uneasiness from there, when they realized their loss of power.

The political measures with the most far-reaching influence came into existence during Xizong’s and Hailing wang’s reigns. Still, I do not think that the reigns of Taizong or for that matter even of Taizu should be classified in a different category, as they marked the beginning of a political trend towards centralization and thus the concentration of power in the hands of a courtly elite, whereas the power of local Jurchen chieftains ceased. In their methods to achieve this aim, these emperors did not differ much and one seems to have learnt from the other and more or less accepted his political inheritance. Especially usurpers like Hailing wang and Shizong were interested in the preservation of their power. To achieve that, they furthered and retained centralizing measures introduced under their predecessors.



*Second Conclusion—Rejection of Sinicization as a Tool for Historians*

My second conclusion is that sinicization has to be rejected not only as an analyzing tool regarding the Jurchen Jin, but consequently regarding all other non-Han dynasties in East Asian history. By denying the assumption of a complete or even partial assimilation of non-Han people who founded dynasties in East Asia as an important background or even starting point for analyzing these dynasties, one also has to withdraw from taking Han ethnicity and culture as the basic focus of the analyses of these dynasties.

One important reason why these dynasties and people have been integrated into Sinology and Chinese historiography is of course the nature of the textual source material, which is in the cases of the Jurchen and Khitan nearly without exception, and in the cases of the Mongols and Manchu in large part written in Chinese. Consequently, most of their histories have been written by Sinologists and Chinese historians.

Of course, I do not deny that Sinologist and Chinese historians have not only the right but even the obligation to write the histories of the Jurchen, Khitan, Mongols and Manchu. However, what I do reject is, first, the classification of all these dynasties under the same rubrics as “foreign,” “alien” or “frontier,” that is, their aggregation as a more or less homogenous group of non-Han people as opposed to that of the Han dynasties. This way of grouping the non-Han founders of dynasties together mirrors the age-old dichotomy of the Xia 夏 as opposed to the Yi 夷 or ‘barbarians.’ And second, I reject their subordination under the pretext of sinicization and the basic assumption of their inferiority in cultural and ethnic traditions as is revealed indirectly through this assumption.

Regarding the Xia and Yi dichotomy, the most substantive counter-argument is the fact that the Tuoba, Khitan, Jurchen, Mongols and Manchu—to name only those dynasties, which are part of the official dynastic histories—were not the same people. Jurchen and Manchu were closely related and might be called Tungusic and the Khitan might be called proto-Mongols and the Tuoba proto-Tungusic. But this still leaves at least two completely distinct ethnic groups, which cannot be classified and analyzed only under the pretext of the key words ‘foreign conquest dynasties’ or ‘dynasties of conquest.’ This classification—and even more their classification as ‘border’ or ‘frontier’ people and states—refers mainly to the role these dynasties played in Han history. However, the term ‘conquest dynasty’ does not take into account that

these dynasties—apart from conquering Han regions—also ruled large areas inhabited by their own and other ethnicities. And more often than not, this situation is not taken into account by Sinological historiography, even when claiming an analysis of these dynasties in their own right.<sup>287</sup>

The examination of non-Han dynasties from the Sinological point of view has also favoured the assumption of their partial or complete sinicization, what Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng called the “simple,” “one-sided” or “traditional absorption theory.”<sup>288</sup> Although this theory is only rarely put on a solid anthropological basis,<sup>289</sup> it nevertheless appears frequently in academic literature about non-Han dynasties and people in East Asia. If at all, it is defined as assimilation.<sup>290</sup> However, this definition poses even more questions than it answers.

Assimilation is mostly used as a term describing processes of cultural change in dominated and/or inferior groups, especially immigrants. These groups undergo the process of change and eventually assimilate. However, Milton M. Gordon has already stated regarding the phenomenon in the 1950s that “it must be realized that ‘assimilation’ is a blanket term which in reality covers a multitude of subprocesses.”<sup>291</sup> At first, he only differentiated between

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287. The chapter on the Jin in the sixth volume of the *Cambridge History of China* for example is mainly an account of Jin politics and history with regard to the Song. However, this leaves us with the question, what ‘History of China’ is supposed to mean and how it is defined—politically? Culturally? Geographically? Or all together? (Franke, H.: 1994, 215–320.)

288. Wittfogel and Feng: 1949, 5, 6, 14.

289. Tao Jing-shen is one of the few who gives at least a definition of sinicization as it is also the title word of his study on the Jurchen. He writes: “The concept of sinicization is employed in this study in the same sense as assimilation.” Before, he had written that “[t]he term assimilation is used in this study in the sense of F. C. Anthony [= Anthony F. C.] Wallace’s statement that ‘in assimilation, the subordinate group attempts to abandon its existing inadequate culture by entering into the society of the dominant group and accepting its culture, almost in toto [ . . . ].’” (Tao: 1976, xiii, citing from Wallace, Anthony F. C.: 1961. *Culture and Personality* (New York: Random House), 163.)

290. In Anglo-Saxon anthropology assimilation is a subtopic of acculturation. The basic defining article about acculturation is Redfield, Robert, Ralph Linton, Melville J. Herskovits: 1935. “A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” in: *MAN: A Monthly Record of Anthropological Science* 35.162: 145–148. The same article reappeared a few month later in: *American Anthropologist*, New Series 38.1: 149–152; see also article on “Acculturation,” in: Ashmore, Harry S. (ed.): 1963. *Encyclopædia Britannica: A New Survey of Universal Knowledge* (Chicago: Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc.). 1: 83–84. For Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits: 1935 as the seminal reference for present-day anthropology see the article on “Acculturation,” in: Barfield (ed.): 1997, 1.

291. Gordon, Milton M.: 1961. “Assimilation in America: Theory and Reality,” in: *Daedalus*

cultural and structural assimilation. Later, he expanded this model by adding five more dimensions, in which assimilation can take place.<sup>292</sup> Thus, defining sinicization as a special form of assimilation taking place in East Asia without any further explanation or differentiation does not help as a definition.

Moreover, in case of the Han and the Jurchen—and the other ‘conquerors,’ if you will—it is not so obvious who is politically dominant and who is dominated, or who is culturally superior and who inferior.<sup>293</sup> In Tao Jing-shen’s view, and also in the view of all other advocates of the idea of sinicization, the non-Han ethnicities have to be received as culturally inferior. Although being dominant in political power at least at the beginning of their reigns, these authors often try to show how Han officials took over policy sooner or later, thus having not only cultural superiority, but gaining political dominance, too. Moreover, the possibility of a one-sided process of assimilation is regarded as highly probable, despite the complicated power imbalance in policy and culture.

I do not want to deny that the Jurchen adopted Han institutions and probably also other things on a more personal level, such as Han names and dress. However, what I do want to deny is that the cultural and institutional exchange was so one-sided as the term ‘sinicization’ implies. The Jurchen also left their imprints on the Han, ranging from the most politically important one being the abolishing of two of the Three Departments,<sup>294</sup> to such rather

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90.2: 263–285, 279. He refers to his essay “Social Structure and Goals in Group Relations” from 1954 (in: Berger, Morroe, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page, [eds.]: *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (Toronto, New York and London: D. Van Nostrand, 141–157.)

292. These now seven dimensions are “cultural, structural, marital, identificational, attitude receptional (absence of prejudice), behaviour receptional (absence of discrimination), and civic (absence of value and power conflict).” (Gordon, Milton M.: 1975. “Towards a General Theory of Racial and Ethnic Group Relations,” in: Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, (eds.): *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press), 84–110, 84.)

293. Anthropology states about assimilation: “It is commonly believed by members of dominant societies that the cultural assimilation of subordinated ones is inevitable. [...] Actually complete assimilation rarely takes place, unless the subordinated people are relocated and their family units broken up.” (Article on “Acculturation,” in: *Encyclopædia Britannica*: 1963, v.1, 83.)

294. There were also other Jurchen influences on Han political institutions. Tao Jing-shen himself showed this in an article. (Tao: 1970.) However, he claims that “[t]hese changes were mostly negative, entailing the brutalization of the political process and the simplification of political institutions. The alien conquerors could not stand the political compromises and conflicts in the Chinese civilization, and, as represented by the shrewd tyrant Liang, they seem to have enjoyed organized brutality.” (Tao: 1970, 130.)

minor ones as probably the use of the heated brick- or oven-bed (*kang* 炕) as well as aspects of their dress.<sup>295</sup> But neither the Jurchen nor the Han ever changed or assimilated into the other completely.

Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng criticized the usage of the sinicization theory as early as the 1940s, imbedding their critique in a thorough anthropological frame:

“Thus, history and anthropology reveal that the absorption theory may obscure rather than clarify the complex character of acculturation under conditions of conquest. Instead of upholding the thesis that the Chinese have always absorbed their conquerors, it seems advisable to make a Copernican turn and ask: *Did the Chinese ever absorb their conquerors as long as the conditions of conquest and political separation persisted?*”<sup>296</sup>

The interpretation of the reigns of Jurchen emperors is a good example of how theories in academic literature can somehow become independent entities, strengthened, as they are, by being echoed over and over, such that the true tenor of the voices of the authors in question is no longer recurrent in the sources cited. Still, when this situation occurs, it leads to such ingrained preconceptions that even the authors themselves are no longer capable of assessing these sources without prejudice.

However, all the scholars mentioned and also criticized above are assuredly profound scholars in the field of the Jurchen Jin whose contributions have advanced our knowledge to its current state. The publications of their works have given Jurchen Jin research a firm basis and outlook. It is, nevertheless, time to revisit the rulers of the Jin dynasty and to reexamine critically what has been written about them so far.

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295. Herbert Franke translated the passage Xu Mengxin wrote about the *kang* in his *Sanchao beiming huibian*. (Franke, H.: 1975, 129.) However, Wolfram Eberhard is doubtful about the origin of the oven-bed. (Eberhard, Wolfram: 1942. *Lokalkulturen im Alten China. Teil 2: Die Lokalkulturen des Südens und Ostens*. (Peking: The Catholic University), 495. As said before, Vorob'ev emphasizes the great and lasting influence of Jurchen dress style on the Han people living under their dominion. (Vorob'ev: 1983, 90–96.)

296. Wittfogel and Feng: 1949, 14.

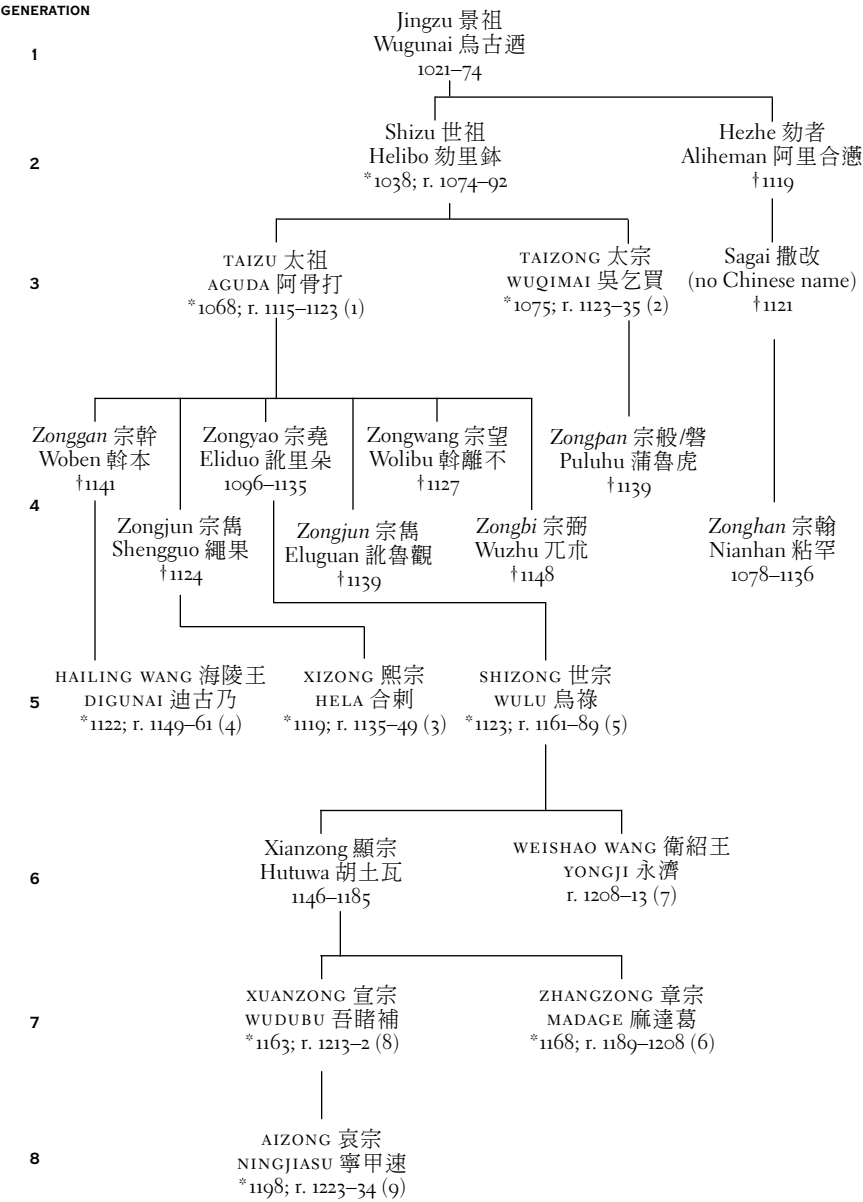
Appendices

Shifting Capitals

CAPITAL	PERIOD	MODERN NAME
1 Shangjing 上京	until 1115	Acheng, Heilongjiang Province
	1119–1138	Poluo, Inner Mongolia
	1138–1153, 1173–1234	Acheng, Heilongjiang Province
2 Beijing 北京	1138–1150	Poluo, Inner Mongolia
	1153–1215	Ulanhad = Chifeng, Inner Mongolia
3.1 Zhongjing 中京	1120–1153	Ulanhad = Chifeng, Inner Mongolia
3.2 Zhongdu 中都	1153–1214	Beijing
	1215–1233	Luoyang, Henan Province
4 Nanjing 南京	1122–1132	Beijing
	1132–1153	Liaoyang, Liaoning Province
	1153–1232	Kaifeng, Henan Province
5 Dongjing 東京	1117–1132, 1153–1212	Liaoyang, Liaoning Province
6 Xijing 西京	1122–1212	Datong, Shanxi Province

Based on Mikhail V. Vorob’ev (Vorob’ev: 1983, 72).

Family Tree Showing Important Members of the Imperial Wanyan Family



Jin emperors are printed in SMALL CAPS, numbers in parentheses give their position in the succession. Asterisks (\*) and daggers (†) mark years of birth and death. *Italics* indicate men from the Wanyan clan who occupied a post of the Three Preceptors when the institution was first introduced during Xizong's reign.

