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# Истоки китайской цивилизации



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Данная книга — посмертное издание труда известного петербургского синоведа К.В.Васильева, автора многочисленных исследований по истории и культуре древнего Китая. Это первая и пока единственная в отечественном Китаеведении монография, специально посвященная анализу процесса исторического развития Китая, начиная с возникновения государственности на территории страны до образования в конце III в. до н.э. первой древнекитайской империи Цинь, знаменующей переход к новой исторической эпохе поздней древности.

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Монография «Истоки китайской цивилизации» — посмертное издание труда известного петербургского синоведа Кима Васильевича Васильева, автора многочисленных исследований по истории и культуре древнего Китая<sup>1</sup>. Оно представляет собой итог двадцатилетних штудий автора. Начало ему положила плановая работа К.В.Васильева «История древнекитайского общества от зарождения цивилизации до конца III в. до н.э.», предназначенная для многотомного коллективного издания «История древнего Востока»<sup>2</sup>. В 1983 г. вышла первая часть<sup>3</sup>, в 1988 г. — вторая часть первого тома этой серии<sup>4</sup>. Главы К.В.Васильева составляли значительную часть второго тома «Истории древнего Востока». Однако из-за ряда объективных и субъективных причин и непредвиденных обстоятельств дальнейшая публикация серии задерживалась, сроки сдачи второго и последующих томов неоднократно переносились, пока все издание не оказалось прерванным. К.В.Васильев же продолжал исследование своей темы, поднимая все новые уникальные материалы источников, в частности надписи на чжоуских бронзовых сосудах начала I тыс. до н.э. и циньские юридические документы

<sup>1</sup> Список основных научных трудов К.В.Васильева см. в конце работы.

<sup>2</sup> Многотомное коллективное издание научной монографической серии «История древнего Востока» было задумано и предпринято учеными Отдела древнего Востока (московской и ленинградской его групп) Института востоковедения АН СССР как первое в отечественной и мировой науке фундаментальное обобщающее исследование истории и культуры древних цивилизаций стран Востока — от Северной Африки до Восточной Азии.

<sup>3</sup> История древнего Востока (отв. ред. акад. М.А.Коростовцев). Зарождение древнейших классовых обществ и первые очаги рабовладельческой цивилизации. Часть первая. Месопотамия (под ред. доктора историч. наук И.М.Дьяконова). М., 1983.

<sup>4</sup> История древнего Востока (отв. ред. акад. Б.Б.Пиотровский). Зарождение древнейших классовых обществ и первые очаги рабовладельческой цивилизации. Часть вторая. Передняя Азия. Египет (под ред. чл.-кор. АН СССР Г.М.Бонгард-Левина). М., 1988.



К.В.Васильев  
1932—1987

портфеле не послужили им на пользу. Появилось множество книг и статей, где они, естественно, не учитываются и не упоминаются. Вообще я как автор не существую. Сейчас я работаю над „осовремениванием“ глав по чжоускому Китаю. Больше у меня такой возможности не будет. Если в ближайшие годы не будет предпринято энергичных шагов к изданию ИДВ, то единственная возможность спасти остатки моего приоритета состоит в сдаче в печать в расширенном виде моих глав в виде отдельной книги.

С уважением К.В.Васильев<sup>7</sup>.

Поскольку никакой определенности с продолжением публикации «Истории древнего Востока» не было, К.В.Васильев стал целенаправленно работать над осуществлением своего замысла. Исследование было фактически завершено, когда К.В.Васильев — ленинградский блокадник — скоростно скончал-

на бамбуковых планках IV—III вв. до н.э., которыми тогда никто из наших китаеведов специально не занимался<sup>5</sup>.

По истечении десяти лет работы над рукописью своих глав К.В.Васильев прислал в редколлегию «Истории древнего Востока» письмо — настоящий крик души.

«Прошло уже 10 лет, — писал он, — с тех пор, когда я написал главы по древней истории Китая для ИДВ<sup>6</sup>... Написанные мною главы были созданы только на основании первоисточников, и многие их положения были сделаны впервые. 10 лет пребывания в редакционном

ся (14 июня 1987 г.)<sup>8</sup>. Минуте еще десять долгих лет. И только сейчас оказалось возможным выполнить волю автора и издать его монументальный труд, посвященный одной из важнейших эпох истории Китая, заложившей глубинные основы всего дальнейшего развития китайской цивилизации.

Сознавая всю трагичность судеб авторских рукописей, которые многие годы пролежали в редколлегии «Истории древнего Востока», и понимая то катастрофическое положение, в котором оказалось наследие безвременно ушедшего из жизни одного из крупнейших китаеведов-древников, я, член редколлегии «Истории древнего Востока» и ответственный секретарь этого издания, посчитала своим научным и профессионально-гражданским долгом взять на себя руководство проектом издания монографии К.В.Васильева «Истоки китайской цивилизации» и подготовку рукописи к печати. Благодаря финансовой поддержке Российского гуманитарного научного фонда это удалось осуществить.

«Истоки китайской цивилизации» К.В.Васильева — первая и пока единственная в отечественном китаеведении монография, посвященная специальному исследованию процесса исторического развития Китая, начиная с возникновения государственности на территории Китая до образования в конце III в. до н.э. первой древнекитайской империи Цинь, знаменующей переход к новой исторической фазе эпохи поздней древности<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> См. некролог «Памяти Кима Васильевича Васильева» в журнале «Восток», 1988, № 2, с. 220—221.

<sup>9</sup> В настоящее время в отечественном востоковедении насчитывается всего три-четыре монографических исследования, так или иначе посвященных истории доциньской эпохи. Например, работа Л.С.Васильева «Аграрные отношения и община в древнем Китае» (1961); коллективный труд «Древние китайцы: проблема этногенеза» (отв. ред. Л.С.Переломов, Н.Н.Чебоксаров. М., 1978), который посвящен формированию этнической общности древних китайцев, собственно исторической тематики касается лишь косвенно; монография Л.С.Васильева «Древний Китай» (т. I. М., 1995), которая охватывает только начальный этап доимперской эпохи (периоды Шан-Инь и Западное Чжоу). По типу исследования последняя работа является сочинением скорее повествовательного жанра, чем проблемно-исторического характера, что делает ее по установочным задачам несопоставимой с монографией К.В.Васильева. К начальному этапу доимперской эпохи относится и новаторская монография В.М.Крюкова «Ритуальная коммуникация в древнем Китае», в которой Инь-Западночжоуская эпоха рассматривается в строго определенном ракурсе архаического дарообмена и которая специально не исследует проблем собственно исторического процесса развития древнекитайского общества доимперской эпохи.

<sup>5</sup> Единственной отечественной монографией, исследовавшей надписи на бронзе, была вышедшая в 1961 г. книга Л.С.Васильева «Аграрные отношения и община в древнем Китае», не утратившая свою научную значимость поныне. В самые последние годы к изучению надписей на бронзе обратился молодой ученый В.М.Крюков, только что издавший монографию «Ритуальная коммуникация в древнем Китае» (М., 1997). Что касается циньского «бамбукового» судебногоника, то до сих пор у нас никто им специально не занимается.

<sup>6</sup> Автор имеет в виду издание «История древнего Востока».

<sup>7</sup> Письмо датировано 10.10.1978 г. по почтовому штемпелю на конверте, сохранившемся в архиве редколлегии «Истории древнего Востока».

Несмотря на огромную задержку с публикацией, монография К.В.Васильева отнюдь не утратила научной актуальности и представляет глубокий исследовательский интерес.

Оценивая значение труда К.В.Васильева как своего рода научный подвиг, необходимо иметь в виду, какие огромные трудности стояли перед автором, решившимся поднять сложнейшую историческую тематику, которая многими маститыми синологами считалась в то время «науконеподъемной». Парадокс ситуации, породивший у знатоков китайской древности синдром «непреодолимости» этих научных трудностей, состоял в том, что они были вызваны не негативным, а позитивным фактором — бумом сенсационных археологических открытий. Поток новой уникальной информации поставил ученых перед необходимостью коренного пересмотра многих устоявшихся понятий и отказа от казавшихся безусловными исторических истин. Прежде всего это касалось эпохи ранней древности: периодов Шан-Инь, Западного Чжоу, Чуныцю и Чжаньго, т.е. именно тех исторических этапов, которые составляли содержание научных поисков К.В.Васильева.

Неудивительно, что авторы 15-томной «Кембриджской истории Китая»<sup>10</sup> вообще отказались от освещения в этой серии всей доимперской истории древнего Китая. В предисловии к изданию его редакторы в оправдание этого феноменального изъятия пишут:

«Когда более десяти лет тому назад была задумана „Кембриджская история Китая“, то, естественно, предполагалось, что она должна начаться с самых ранних периодов истории Китая. Но шли годы работы над этой серией, и наше знание как о предыстории Китая, так и обо всем первом тысячелетии до н.э. трансформировалось под влиянием огромного количества археологических открытий, которые начались в 20-х годах и с 70-х годов пошли сплошным потоком. Этот поток новой информации неоднократно менял наши представления о ранней истории Китая, и до сих пор нет еще никакого общепризнанного свода новых данных и сведений традиционных письменных памятников. Несмотря на неоднократные попытки создать один или несколько томов, где было бы представлено современное состояние наших знаний о раннем Китае, на сегодняшний день это было сделать невозможно. Должно пройти по крайней мере еще одно десятилетие, прежде чем окажется реальным осущест-

<sup>10</sup> The Cambridge History of China. Vol. I. The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 B.C. — A.D. 220. Ed. by D.Twitchett and M.Loewe. Cambridge, 1986.

вить синтез всех новых открытий и оценить их истинное значение. Поэтому мы, к большому сожалению, вынуждены начать „Кембриджскую историю Китая“ лишь со времени установления первых имперских режимов Цинь и Хань»<sup>11</sup>.

Отмеченное в этой сентенции десятилетие падало как раз на годы работы К.В.Васильева над монографией. Без творческого энтузиазма автора и его прочной методологической базы едва ли можно было преодолеть все указанные трудности, разобратся в обилии хлынувшего материала и дать ему собственную интерпретацию, не говоря уже о сугубо исследовательских сложностях анализа древнекитайских эпиграфических текстов.

К.В.Васильев — сторонник материалистического понимания истории и поступательного хода всемирно-исторического процесса. Вместе с тем его концепция во многом отличается от ортодоксальной школы В.В.Струве. В целом автор придерживается историко-методологического направления И.М.Дьяконова. Но ближе всего ему конкретно-исторический исследовательский подход Ю.Я.Перепелкина.

К.В.Васильев занимает принципиальную позицию по всем важнейшим проблемам исторического развития древнекитайского общества.

На основе комплексного изучения разноплановых древнекитайских письменных памятников — нарративных и эпиграфических (от иньских надписей на гадательных костях и черепашьих щитках и чжоуских надписей на бронзовых сосудах и колоколах до исторических хроник и документальных свидетельств периодов Чуныцю и Чжаньго), а также широкого круга археологических памятников, К.В.Васильев подробно и систематически прослеживает процесс зарождения и эволюции государства на территории Китая, начиная от первых протогосударственных образований II тыс. до н.э. до сложения раннеимперской государственности в конце III в. до н.э.

Основываясь на большом и разнообразном материале археологических раскопок, автор приводит веские доказательства многоочаговости процесса возникновения государственности в древнем Китае, охватывавшего как долину Хуанхэ, так и бассейн Янцзы, что сейчас все более подтверждается данными археологии.

Последовательно и обстоятельно в работе освещаются периоды Шан-Инь, Западного и Восточного Чжоу (Чуныцю-Чжаньго), раскрывается специфика и преемственность в развитии их общественного и политического строя. Прослеживается об-

<sup>11</sup> Там же, с. V.

щий ход социально-экономического развития древнекитайских царств в периоды Чуньцю и Чжаньго при всех особенностях и неравномерности темпов этого процесса в разных регионах.

Особое внимание в исследовании обращено на роль государства в экономическом и социальном процессе, и прежде всего в период Западного Чжоу, когда государственное начало играло весьма важную, по мнению автора, во многом определяющую роль в жизни общества.

На конкретном материале источников автор устанавливает, что западночжоуское государство берет на себя ключевые хозяйственные и социальные функции, чему соответствует и идеология обожествления царской власти в западночжоуской религиозно-политической доктрине. При этом в работе приводятся убедительные данные, заставляющие согласиться с автором, что религиозный постулат этой доктрины, провозглашающий господство вана «над всем, что под Небом» («...Нету под Небом ни пяди нецарской земли» [Шицзин, II, VI, II]), не может служить доказательством того, что чжоуская государственно-правовая доктрина рассматривала вана как верховного собственника земли, в противоположность мнению ученых, основывающих на данном постулате концепцию торжества государственной земельной собственности в чжоуском Китае.

Здесь мы подходим к важнейшей проблеме о характере государственного строя на древнем Востоке, которая является предметом неослабевающих дискуссий востоковедов-историков об азиатском способе производства и восточном деспотизме и которая «упирается» в вопрос о собственности на землю<sup>12</sup>.

Автор подводит нас к этой проблеме, неоднократно останавливаясь на специфике системы политического управления западночжоуского государства.

Являясь безусловным противником теории застоя в политическом развитии древнекитайского общества, связанной с концепциями «восточного деспотизма» и «извечного феодализма» на Востоке, К.В.Васильев неоднократно привлекает материалы, свидетельствующие о том, что полнота власти западночжоуских правителей в действительности была ограничена институтом так называемых сакральных помощников, которые фактически делили с ним власть. Автор приходит к важному заключению о том, что «западночжоуская монархия по политическому режиму не подходит под определение деспотии», расходясь в этом во-

<sup>12</sup> См., например: Феномен восточного деспотизма: структура управления и власти (отв. ред. Н.А.Иванов). М., 1993.

просе едва ли не с большинством востоковедов-историков<sup>13</sup>. По мнению К.В.Васильева, еще менее оснований считать деспотией политический строй древнекитайских царств периодов Чуньцю и Чжаньго.

Автор акцентирует внимание на материалах источников (от Шан-Инь до Чжаньго), данные которых, нередко единичные и отрывочные, могут свидетельствовать о постепенном формировании в древнекитайском обществе территориально-административных структур и социально-юридических категорий, характерных для общества публично-правового типа.

Вместе с тем, специально исследуя положение *гожэнь* — слоя лично-свободных городских жителей, «земледельцев по преимуществу», автор не находит в источниках, отражающих восточночжоускую концепцию «народа», достаточных оснований для того, чтобы рассматривать эту категорию как носителей демократических традиций, в то время как некоторые исследователи связывают именно с этим слоем идеи самоуправления городских общинно-гражданских структур (одним из первых среди них был всемирно известный советский китаевед с трагической судьбой В.А.Рубин).

Важнейший сюжет, к которому автор постоянно обращается, — это земельные пожалования. К.В.Васильев считает, что такая практика не была формой надления землей в качестве условной земельной собственности, как полагает ряд историков, а являлась своего рода «отчуждением» в пользу местных владельцев — *чжухоу* царского суверенитета. Так что речь шла в данном случае не о передаче вещных прав, а о праве на получение доходов с пожалованных территорий.

Не признавая существования верховной государственной собственности на землю в древнекитайском обществе, автор в то же время исключительно осторожно подходит к решению вопроса о зарождении и развитии частнособственнических земельных отношений, считая этот процесс очень медленным и постепенным, крайне неравномерно протекавшим в разных регионах и царствах древнего Китая.

В этой связи обращает на себя внимание уникальная трактовка К.В.Васильевым земельной реформы Шан Яна в царстве Цинь в IV в. до н.э., которая противостоит мнению абсолютного большинства ученых, обращавшихся к этой теме. По рассужде-

<sup>13</sup> Общую постановку проблемы см.: Иванов Н.А., Васильев А.С. Введение. — Феномен восточного деспотизма: структура управления и власти. с. 3—25.

нию автора, реформы Шан Яна были связаны с наступлением государства на права земледельческого общинного населения. Они не способствовали облегчению сделок с землей и не оказывали сколько-нибудь заметного влияния на развитие частнособственнических отношений в земледелии, а, скорее, тормозили их. Автор решительно не согласен с исследователями, которые, исходя из интерпретации реформ Шан Яна ханьским сановником Дун Чжуншу (II в. до н.э.), видят в них узаконение права собственности на пахотные участки земли<sup>14</sup>.

Глубоко и всесторонне в работе исследуется положение производителей материальных благ: свободных земледельцев и категорий населения, находившихся в рабской, но особенно нерабской зависимости. Надо сказать, что К.В.Васильев отрицает рабский характер целого ряда категорий непосредственных производителей (*юн, ли, шужэнь, байту, ман* и др.), которых многие ученые как в нашей, так и особенно в китайской историографии безоговорочно считают рабами. Обращаясь к надписям на бронзе и другим документальным свидетельствам, анализируя данные традиционных письменных источников, автор пытается восстановить все грани отношений подчинения и зависимости трудового и эксплуатируемого населения. Подробнейшим образом останавливаясь на каждой категории «неполноправных работников», автор отмечает значительные различия в их социально-правовом положении, прослеживает эволюцию форм зависимости и изменение статуса «подневольного контингента», идет ли речь о пополнении за их счет рядов свободных земледельцев или же категорий рабского населения, в частности таких, как *ну*, ставшей «стандартным термином рабства».

Что касается института рабства как такового, то автор прослеживает его с конца эпохи Шан-Инь. Обращая внимание на стертость видов рабской зависимости, он по анализу надписи на сосуде *Ху дин* приходит к заключению, что были и развитые формы рабства, при которых подневольные работники «находились в полной собственности» своих господ, причем речь шла об использовании их в земледелии. Практика применения рабского труда в ремесле подтверждается в работе чрезвычайно показательными археологическими свидетельствами. Использование труда рабов в хозяйстве, как государственном, так и

<sup>14</sup> Конкретно автор полемизирует с А.С.Переломовым, ссылаясь на его работу «Книга правителя области Шан» (М., 1968, с. 102), но этой же точки зрения придерживаются и другие историки, как отечественные (например, М.В.Крюков, Т.В.Степугина), так и зарубежные, в том числе китайские.

частном, шло по восходящей линии. Это становится заметным к концу Чжаньго, о чем свидетельствуют статьи циньского судейника, позволившие автору говорить о «целом секторе экономики, основанном на принудительном труде».

Все эти, казалось бы, весьма красноречивые данные не приводят автора к каким-либо обобщающим выводам о характере социально-экономического строя, он даже не ставит этот вопрос. И не потому, как он неоднократно подчеркивает, что «многое еще остается без ответа»; что из-за специфики имеющихся в нашем распоряжении первоисточников открытым, в частности, остается вопрос о процентном соотношении свободного, зависимого и рабского труда в процессе общественного производства. Дело в принципиальном исследовательском подходе автора.

Воссоздавая картину эволюции древнекитайского общества на протяжении двух тысячелетий, подробно освещая все стороны его жизни в историческом аспекте (экономику, социально-политическую структуру, положение разных слоев эксплуатируемого населения и господствующего класса), К.В.Васильев ничего не говорит о его «формационной принадлежности».

В связи с этим мне вспоминаются слова замечательного египтолога Ю.Я.Перепелкина, чьим горячим поклонником был К.В.Васильев: «Я историк, а не социолог. Я хожу по древнему Египту и описываю все, что там вижу, — и только», и еще: «Когда я вижу на фресках египетских пирамид изображения петухов и не вижу изображений кур, то я и пишу лишь о петуховодстве».

Автору был бы чужд «диагностический подход» к истории И.М.Дьяконова, блистательно продемонстрированный им в последней книге<sup>15</sup>, его интересует, образно говоря, не эпикриз, а сама «болезнь» с ее анамнезом и всеми проявлениями в живой действительности.

Особый интерес представляет глава, посвященная истории древнекитайских письменных текстов, созданных в эпоху складывания древнекитайской цивилизации и составляющих ее квинтэссенцию. Как подчеркивал В.А.Яacobson, раскрывая суть первичных цивилизаций, «культуры ранней древности — это культуры текстов»<sup>16</sup>.

Из всего комплекса тем, поднимаемых в монографии, мы остановились лишь на некоторых из тех, которые, на наш взгляд,

<sup>15</sup> Дьяконов И.М. Пути истории. От древнейшего человека до наших дней. М., 1994.

<sup>16</sup> Яacobson В.А. Предисловие к первому тому. — История Востока. Т. I. М., 1997, с. 21.

особенно ярко показывают нетривиальный подход автора к изучаемому материалу. Как показывают наши исторические исследования, опубликованные в середине 90-х годов<sup>17</sup>, они относятся к тому кругу злободневных научных проблем, которые находятся сейчас в центре востоковедческих дискуссий.

Монографическое исследование К.В.Васильева «Истоки китайской цивилизации» продолжает классические традиции отечественного востоковедения, находясь на уровне высоких достижений российской дореволюционной и советской исторической науки.

Автор не ставит своей задачей дать окончательное решение поставленных в работе проблем, но скрупулезным, тщательным подбором материала источников и глубоким, детальнейшим его осмыслением как бы открывает перед читателем свою исследовательскую лабораторию, наводя его на собственные размышления и поиски ответов. Монография К.В.Васильева будит живую научную мысль, и в этом одно из ее несомненных достоинств.

В заключение необходимо еще раз обратить внимание на то, что работа К.В.Васильева поступила в издательство по истечении десятка лет со времени ее завершения автором, не успевшим «довести» ее во всех деталях: остались повторы, кое-какие противоречия и т.д. При редактировании повторы были сняты, но только там, где это представлялось безусловным. В тех случаях, где не удалось определить позицию автора, они были оставлены, тем более что по логике изложения они и там и там казались равно уместными и что-то уточняющими в контексте.

В некоторых местах автор не успел дать необходимые уточнения историографических данных и ссылок на источники. В процессе работы над рукописью не все, к сожалению, удалось восполнить, в частности это касается списка использованных в работе надписей на бронзе.

Основная задача и направленность редактирования при подготовке монографии к печати, основной ее принцип заключались в том, чтобы попытаться максимально сохранить текст рукописи, не нарушить и не исказить мысль автора.

К очень большому сожалению, в недоработанном виде оказалась историографическая часть. Однако было решено ее все-таки не снимать, а оставить в почти нетронутым виде (хотя это единственная из всех частей работы, которая требовала бы

<sup>17</sup> См., например: Феномен восточного деспотизма: структура управления и власти М., 1993; Васильев А.С. Древний Китай. Т. I. М., 1995; История Востока. Т. I. Восток в древности (отв. ред. В.А.Якобсон). М., 1997.

«осовременивания»), так как и в ней отражается концептуальный подход и «почерк» автора. Мы ограничились лишь правкой названий, где это было необходимо.

Нетривиальное, оригинальное, глубоко научное исследование К.В.Васильева «Истоки китайской цивилизации» несомненно станет заметной вехой в истории отечественного китаеведения. Оно, безусловно, привлечет самое пристальное внимание специалистов-востоковедов и историков широкого профиля. Книга найдет своего читателя среди аспирантов и студентов гуманитарных вузов и университетов, а также всех интересующихся историей и культурой Китая и всего региона стран Восточной Азии.

Монография К.В.Васильева не увидела бы свет, если бы не активное участие в ее подготовке к печати молодых петербургских ученых — китаиста, научного сотрудника Отдела Востока Эрмитажа Н.Г.Пчелина и историка-археолога, старшего научного сотрудника ИИМК РАН, кандидата исторических наук С.С.Миняева, не говоря уже о самоотверженной помощи в работе над рукописью вдовы автора Н.К.Качаловой, кандидата исторических наук, ведущего научного сотрудника Эрмитажа.

Карты были составлены отв. редактором издания доктором исторических наук Т.В.Степугиной, ею же подобраны материалы для оформления книги.

*Т.В.Степугина*

## SUMMARY

*K.V. Vasil'ev*

### The Sources of the Chinese Civilisation

Modern investigations of historians, archaeologists and botanists prove that the proximity of the hearth of cultural plants genetic fund promoted an early transition towards productive economy in East Asia and the development there of agricultural societies. The materials obtained in the course of regular excavations in the People's Republic of China show that the process of changes and development of local cultures was very complicated, and that the genesis of vast ethno-cultural communities was going against multiple background under the influence of interwoven cultural trends.

The development of agriculture in the basin of Yangzi could be hypothetically dated to the chronological stratum of the late 7th–early 6th millennium B.C.

The active part belonged here to the Neolithic Qujialing culture discovered along the middle course of the Yangzi in the modern province of Hubei. Pieces of fired clay discovered on the sites contain admixture of rice husk. It proves, that one of the principle occupations of the Qujialing people was the cultivation of rice in the wetlands.

The sites of the developed primitive society which gave names to the Neolithic cultures of the Huanghe basin were discovered in the late 19th century and studied from the beginning of the 20th century. One of the well-known is the Yangshao culture. The background for the reconstruction of Yangshao economy and its connections with the botanical and geographical environment of the Huanghe basin and of neighbouring areas is provided by material remains, among them stone mattocks, grinding stones, stone pestles and mortars as well as carbonised millet.

In the course of the Yangshao period covering the 5th and the 4th millennia B.C., the whole vast area over which this culture had spread demonstrates a stable typological unity of stone implements,

pottery shapes and decorations, building techniques, etc., indicating that the exponents of this culture belonged to a single ethno-cultural unity.

In the middle of the 3d millennium B.C. Qujialing tribes started to invade the Huanghe basin. The excavations of a multi-layer site near Xichuan (South-West Henan) revealed a stratigraphic sequence of the Yangshao, Qujialing and Longshan cultures–Eneolithic complex with characteristic black varnished pottery and grey wheel-made ware. Longshan people were the first to discover metallurgy. Their sites demonstrate the first features of social stratification and difference in wealth developing within tribal communities.

In 1930 in the course of excavations on a multi-layer site at Hougang near the city of Anyang (Henan province), scholars first took notice of the genetic link between the Eneolithic remains of the Longshan period and the artefacts of the Early Bronze culture which had come later. The latter belonged to the highly developed culture discovered in 1928 on the site near the village of Xiaotun. The inscriptions found on tortoise-shells and shoulder-blades of domesticated cattle used for divination found in Xiaotun showed, that once there had been a city, the capital of the Shang people and the centre whence from they settled around. In the following years the continuity between Longshan and the Shang culture in the manufacture of stone implements, funerary rites and especially in the tradition of making and decorating pottery became more evident. However the presence of a considerable chronological span between the two cultures put on numerous questions concerning the actual way of development of the Shang civilisation. The answers came from the excavations of the Early Shang sites at Erligang (near the city of Zhengzhou) and Erlitou (the region of Luoyang). The presence among the materials from Erlitou III layer of fragments of crucibles, forms for moulding pottery, metal slag and of a wide range of bronze artefacts reflects the indisputable fact, that by that time an independent centre of metallurgy and metal-working has already developed in the Huanghe plain. Its creators had evidently long before that mastered the art of making and working on metal, learned to produce copper and lead alloy.

The Erlitou culture took roots within the Longshan culture of Henan at the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. Local tribes inherited and developed the techniques and traditions of the Eneolithic population of the Huanghe basin. They mastered metal casting and masonry, their development was rapid. In the course of three or four centuries, from primitive forms of society they



reached the first stages of civilisation. The information obtained by archaeologists on the advance which took place at the time corresponding to Erlitou III and IV layers reflects the principal changes in the social structure of the Early Shang society—the formation of estates, the creation of the state and the development of a new ideology. Along with palace- and temple-structures these layers revealed burials with numerous human sacrifices. Those people were most probably prisoners of war turned into slaves.

The discovery and study of the sites later than Erlitou is connected with the excavation of one site in the Zhengzhou area in the Henan province. It was a prominent industrial centre. A considerable expansion of the whole Shang cultural complex took place at that time. In the middle of the 2nd millennium there appeared a number of new types of bronze tools and weapons. The development of the technique of bronze-working is most clearly illustrated by sets of ritual bronze utensils used in sacrifices and for storing sacrificial food and drink found in the vicinity of the Zhengzhou site.

The Zhengzhou site revealed remains of a palace-temple structure: a vast platform of rammed-earth, 300 m from west to east and 150 m from north to south, with circular pits—postholes. There was also a 15 m trench containing about a hundred skulls of sacrificed enslaved captives.

One of the features characteristic of the development of local tribes in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C. is that many of them have already reached the stage of transition from tribal unions to early states. Another feature was the penetration of a number of elements of the Shang type material culture far beyond the province of Henan. One of the examples is a settlement and burial grounds near the village of Taixi (the Gaocheng district of the province Hubei), where archaeologists discovered numerous bronze objects, among them a bronze battle-axe with an iron blade, which opens the possibility of finding there one of the most ancient centres of iron-working in East Asia.

Fortified settlements of the Shang time are found in the Yangzi basin and further to the south. These were created by societies which stepped over the threshold of civilisation. Among them is the site of Panlongcheng located near the confluence of the Yangzi and Hanshui rivers in central Hubei, where the remains of a temple-palace structure have been found. In this case we most probably deal with one of the centres of the ethno-political consolidation of local tribes, the creators of the South-Chinese kingdom of Chu.

Another ancient cultural centre maintaining permanent relations with the Erligang–Zhengzhou area and then with the region of Anyang was found in the province of Jiangxi near the city of Qingjiang. It was a settlement by the village Wucheng. Bronze tools and weapons found in Wucheng demonstrate distinctive local features. Stone moulds for casting bronze provide an example of local technology.

Of great interest was the discovery of samples of local writing in layers I, II and III of Wucheng. Writing from Wucheng was probably of logographic nature, the initial form of literacy similar to the divination inscriptions from Xiaotun. The settlement of Wucheng was probably inhabited by the Yue people, the founders of the Yue kingdom.

Due to the discoveries made in the last decades, urban settlements of the Early Shang and the Middle Shang periods came to light not only in the Huanghe basin but also in the basin of the Yangzi. In some places, ruins of vast structures with numerous rooms built upon huge platforms have been found. The reconstruction of the facades and the ground plans of these buildings makes us suggest that these could be temple-palace structures and residences of rulers. This may be considered as one of the features of the state in making. The analysis of group burials including human sacrifices testifies to a far-gone transformation of social structures connected with the transition of the difference in wealth into social inequality. It seems possible to consider the above listed sites as political and trade centres of the early states which developed in the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C. in the Huanghe and the Yangzi basins. The process of making a monotype culture over a vast area was very complicated, and it was not confined to the spread of the northern influence to the south. Southern regions, in their turn, probably also actively affected the Shang society.

The history of the early Shang state at the time of its maturity and decline (13th–11th centuries B.C.) can be reconstructed from the materials found at the site near the Xiaotun. Queries to the Xiaotun oracle show that the official specialists in scapulimantics were trying to discover the god's opinion on such matters as sacrifices, military campaigns and hunting trips, the beginning of agricultural works, prospects of harvest, rain, wind, snow, visits of representatives from dependent tribes, eclipses of the sun, moon, etc. The divination texts may provide valuable information on the Shang ideology, administrative system and social structure.

Foundations of temples and palaces were excavated in the southern part of the Xiaotun site along with numerous mud-huts used as dwellings and store-rooms and different kinds of workshops.

Of special interest are the Shang royal burials excavated near Xibeigang, some of them 12 m deep, with a great quantity of grave-goods: arms, ritual utensils, decorations. Special trenches and pits surrounding them were intended for chariots, horses, numerous servants and warriors who followed the Shang rulers to the other world. Remains of slaves sacrificed at the funeral were buried in special pits.

The results of the excavations of the Shang sites in the Anyang area testify to a rapid progress of the material culture both in quality and quantity. Due to the development of bronze-working in the Anyang time, the technical possibilities of this leading element of the Shang industry reached a very high level. Shang foundry-men brought to perfection the technique of bronze-casting in sectional moulds. It resulted in the spread of new types of weapons, mass-production of bronze helmets, and an entire industry producing bronze parts for chariot equipment came into being.

The flourishing state of bronze-casting and the variety of bronze artefacts was followed by the spread of the Late Shang type objects over the territories of the neighbouring tribes and ethno-political alliances. The influence of the Shang state grew up, which resulted in the increase of its contacts with the outer world. It seems that the appearance of horses and chariots in the Huanghe valley was one of the sequences of these political contacts.

The study of the process of development of the Shang people and of the tribes related to them in the course of the Erlitou and the Zhengzhou–Erligang periods presents their culture as the result of local achievements enriched by permanent direct contacts with other tribes in the north and in the south of East Asia. The material culture of the Shang was based upon the techniques and traditions which had developed there in the Eneolithic period. Agriculture, the foundation of the Shang economy, was also the heritage of the autochthonous Proto-Chinese civilisation.

Cities were among the most important elements of the Shang civilisation which came into being due to the social division of labour. These were the outposts of the social and economic development of the Shang society, where changes in its structure, way of life, culture and psychology were being revealed first of all.

According to the Zhou historical tradition, the first ruler of the Late Shang period was Pan Geng. He transferred the Shang capital

to a new site named Yin. In Zhou epigraphic and literary sources this place-name became the principle term for the land of Shang and its people. The only source which may help to reconstruct adequately enough certain aspects of the Late Shang history are divination texts. The classification of diviners' names and observations over the evolution of the script allows to distinguish five prominent groups of divination texts, each of them belonging to a certain period. To the first one belong divination texts composed in the reign of Wu Ding, to the second one—under Zu Geng and Zu Jia, to the third—under Lin Xing and Kang Ding, to the fourth—under Wu Yi and Wen Ding, to the fifth—under Di Yi and Di Xin. The sum of the regal years of these nine *wangs* marks the time of the activity of the Anyang oracle and the flourishing period of the Late Shang culture.

The Shang pantheon combined animated natural forces and ancestral spirits. One of the gods, Shangdi, was endowed with the functions of the supreme ruler of the universe, of the divine and human aspects of being. The legendary forefathers of the royal family appeared as mediators between the god and human beings. In later genealogical legends present in Zhou records Shangdi integrates with the legendary ancestors turning into the immediate progenitor of the Shang people.

The model of the world which developed in the Shang time was a reflection of the real administrative and territorial division of the Shang lands. The Shang capital was the centre around which four peripheral regions (*bi*) were located according to the four sides of the horizon. The Shang land occupied the territory of the present-day Henan province. Beyond its limits and between the ring of fangs, usually treated in the divination texts as an alien and hostile power, there were regions over which the Shang *wangs* executed direct or indirect administrative control. The available data demonstrates that the Late Shang period was the time when the territorial-administrative structure of the Chinese state was formed.

The formation of the ruling class which developed due to the growth of social and property differences in the Late Shang period was closely connected with the development of the earliest religious and political doctrines. The notion of *wang* as the focus of this world determined a number of characteristics of the ruling class, the formation of a corporation of professional administrators.

The evidence of the Shang sources reflect one of the earliest stages of the making of a state structure, when it was confined only to a number of primitive administrative units represented by a loose

group of officials. A considerable number of these officials were just executors of the *wang's* will with no specific permanent functions. By that time, however, there appeared a number of offices whose names explain the functions of the administrators holding them. The presence in the archives of the Xiaotun diviners of a great number of texts containing queries to the gods concerning regular works performed for the *wang's* house testifies to the significance of the part played by the Late Shang state in the exploitation of peasants. The actual producers are mentioned almost exclusively as the members of *zhong*. It is often indicated that *zhong* performed the functions of free agricultural population and were used as soldiers on the frontiers.

In the social lexicon of the divination texts there is no word which could be assuredly accepted as a term for slave. However, in the narratives of the Shang campaigns against the neighbouring tribes, captive warriors and settlers are mentioned. Some inscriptions record thousands of captives. Captivity is known to be the primary source of slavery all over the world. In the Shang China captives were for the most part sacrificed to the ancestral spirits of the ruling clan, some of them, however, were evidently turned into slaves. Among the divination inscriptions dedicated to the Qiang—a tribe of herdsmen dwelling on the western borders of the Shang realm—there are frequent queries concerning the use of captive Qiang as grooms in the royal stables and beaters for royal hunts. The very absence of any terms for slaves in the divination texts does not exclude the actual state of slavery for thousands of people sacrificed to the Shang deities or employed in the royal household.

The military and political expansion of the Shang rulers gradually increased from the time of Wu Ding. Step by step Shang established its control over their neighbours, making them accept their symbols of power, turning them into regular tributaries and using them as crack-troops against still un-subdued or fallen away tribes.

From the divination texts and from later chronicles it follows that one of those tribes was Zhou. In the opinion of archaeologists, the initial shaping of the material culture and the ethnic type of the Zhou people was connected with the Wei basin, which was culturally influenced by different ethno-cultural communities. For a long time remaining within the administrative sphere of the Shang-Yin state, the Zhou had been struggling against it, and this struggle terminated in the fall of the Shang.

The common concept found in the recent works on the history of China is that the Zhou people were far behind of the Shang in

their economic and social development, and that in the first decades after the defeat of the Shang they were preoccupied acquainting themselves with the culture of the conquered nation. The study of the objects found in Zhangjiapo, as well as some other facts, show that by the time when the Zhou people began their eastern campaigns, their material culture had been already well-developed.

The capture of the Shang capital by Wu-wang of the Zhou and the death of Di Xin of the Shang were not followed by the destruction of the administrative system of the state. According to the historical tradition the rest of the “All under Heaven” retained its traditional order under the control of three relatives of the Zhou *wang*. That was how the unstable unity of the Zhou and the Shang people was achieved within the frames of a temporary political union.

The relative or the exact date of Wu-wang's victory over the Shang Di Xin appears in the Chinese sources at a comparatively late date—in the 4th–3rd century B.C. The only way to establish the starting point of the Western Zhou chronology is the analysis of inscriptions on bronze vessels, where dates are given after the regal years of the West Zhou *wangs*. One absolute date in the Western Zhou chronology is relevant—that is of the dethronement of Li-wang, which corresponds to 841 B.C. Starting from this date, the chronology of events of the 9th–8th centuries coincide in “The Bamboo Annals” and in the “Historical Records” by Sima Qian. According to the calculations which enable to estimate the approximate span of time between the establishment of the Zhou on the Huanghe plain and 841 B.C. it turns up that the beginning of the Western Zhou comes to some point between the middle and the end of the 9th century.

The successor of Wu-wang was his son Cheng-wang. Under his reign the relative independence of the Shang, the symbols of its power and the remains of its administrative system were abolished. Zhou built the foundation of its government of the conquered territories upon the system of granted estates. The Shang population became directly dependent on the governors of the Zhou *wang*.

After the conquest of the Shang metropolis Zhou directed its military activity against other realms. Under Cheng-wang four cities—Fengyi and Hao (to the south-west of Xi'an), Zongzhou with its ancestral temples of the royal Zhou family (in Qishan, the present-day province of Shanxi) and Chengzhou (by Luoyang)—were, judging by the inscriptions, the principal political, administrative and religious centres of the land. They were probably also the

places where most of the Zhou population was concentrated. Moreover, their settlements and garrisons were placed in all strategic points of the conquered lands.

According to the epigraphic sources the “realm” of Cheng-wang had all the features of the state. The state authority was the organising element of the society where the relations of private property were at the initial stage of development. Under these compulsion was the most important part of the social structure of the society. The state functioned here as the only and the universal political institution of the ruling class. The developing state took active part in the reconstruction of the social and economic structure adapting it to the new tasks of government.

The granting of recently conquered lands to the followers of the *wang* which had been practised at the beginning of Western Zhou has not yet become the regular form of supporting and rewarding state officials. It should be mentioned that for the later stages of Western Zhou history there are some facts testifying that the granted estates were within the jurisdiction of governmental agents. The practice of creating granted land possessions characteristic of that time was not a form of endowment with plots of land on the conditions of conventional ownership, as it is supposed by some scholars, but a kind of alienation in favour of local rulers *zhuhou* of the royal sovereignty.

In the course of consolidation of the civilian-legal type of society which took place at the initial stage of Western Zhou, the social group which usurped the administrative sphere turned into a power alien in relation to the rest of the population. It developed along with the secularisation of power and of the very person of the ruler. The presumption of the divine origin of the supreme authority, characteristic of early civilisations in general, revealed itself in the acceptance by the Zhou *wang* of the title “the Son of Heaven”. It sanctified the principle of the Western Zhou religious and political doctrine establishing the authority of the *wang* “over all that is under the Heaven”. This religious thesis can in no way be used to prove that the Zhou religious-political doctrine regarded the *wang* as the supreme owner of all the lands in the state. In the Zhou period there developed the notion of Space as of a single continuum in which the supreme ruler (*wang*) the double of the Celestial Sovereign, appeared as an organiser and guarantor of social harmony, the only intermediary between earth and Heaven, between the people and the Supreme Deity. In real life the authority of the Western Zhou rulers appeared to be limited by such circumstances as the

domination of *wang*'s close relatives and the heads of strong families from which the “sacral assistants” of the ruler originated. The *wang* actually shared the supreme power with them. In this way the political regime of the Western Zhou “monarchy” does not come under the definition of despotism.

The historical tradition on the rules of inheritance within the Zhou ruling family testifies that it was founded upon the principle of primogeniture. In the course of the 10th–9th centuries B.C., the Zhou administrative system developed into a hierarchy with numerous offices and various titles, with strict submission of one official to another. The *wang*'s palace functioned as the central administrative department. Along with officials connected with *wang*'s personal activities and private life, the sources mention a number of services regulating the sphere of material production.

In the Western Zhou period, when the state was not powerful enough to exploit dependent territories and their population, the primary source of state revenue were governmental estates, including the lands belonging to the *wang*, which were tilled by dependent labourers whose alienation to *wang*'s household was somewhat more than ordinary public duties. The officials ruled the people belonging to the *wang*'s household as his deputies. Under the conditions of the Western Zhou society their authority in some cases could become personal.

Judging by the few facts we know, by the middle of the 9th century, Ancient China developed elements of a stable territorial and administrative system both on recently acquired lands and in family estates. There were also militarised administrative districts where troops were dislocated in special settlements founded along the frontier. These troops were formed upon the principle of conscription, and their principle obligation was to defend the border and to perform other military duties. Different regiments, palace and frontier guards along with state servants attending to them were the beginning of a regular army.

The evidence obtained by archaeologists makes us think that there was no real difference between the material culture of the early Zhou people and that of their Shang predecessors. Tools, including agricultural implements, were made, like in the Yin era, mainly of wood, stone and bone. However, the cultivation of lands in the middle and the lower parts of the Huanghe basin rich in alluvial sediments, as well as the acquaintance with a greater number of cultural plants than in the former period, demonstrates a considerable progress in agriculture, which was ensured obviously

by the increase of agrotechnical experience and by the development of irrigation technique.

The material culture of the Western Zhou period was basing upon the synthesis of the Early Zhou and the Shang industrial techniques of bronze-casting, pottery, masonry, etc. Archaeological remains of the 11th–8th centuries B.C. show that the Zhou conquest did not result in any regression or stagnation of industry; on the other hand, the unification of vast territories within the borders of the Western Zhou realm ensured the increase of contacts among local cultures, which mutually enriched each other.

Inscriptions dealing with donations made in the name of the *wang* or any of the local rulers subject to him show, that none of the rights or commissions given to the owners of the charts on bronze vessels was connected with private land ownership. It was not a grant of ownership, but a transition of the right to collect duties from certain lands. The productivity level was still too low in the Western Zhou period to enable the possibility of maintaining a fully self-sufficient household; only a community could function as a kind of productive unit. To the middle of the 9th century B.C. date the evidence on the division of lands and on graded allotment of plots within rural communities, none of the Western Zhou sources, however, record any free alienation of land.

The peculiar feature of the social structure of that time was that the state, acting as a specific order of the ruling class, artificially created special groups within peasantry to ensure the exploitation of rural population. The status of these social groups reflected the character of relations between the state and the peasantry, so that its hereditary duties resulted from these political relations but not from economic dependence.

In the Western Zhou period there was a group of population, each member of which, on reaching a certain age, was registered in special lists which regulated the amount and character of his duties. In some cases the Western Zhou state treated the subdued peoples of other tribes as its own citizens, in other cases - as slaves. To the first group belonged, probably, the members of those tribes which became part the Western Zhou state system on the basis of treaties. To the second one belonged all those who had been enslaved or became dependent on the *wang's* administration after their lands had been conquered by the Zhou troops. Those forms of dependence which we know from inscriptions resulted from deliberate actions of the Western Zhou state. Due to these actions the *wang's* administration had vast contingents of people not possessing full rights

placed under its disposal, some of them liable to different state services and works, others distributed by the *wang* or his officials among the members of the ruling class. Because of the specific form of the Western Zhou social and economic structure, as well as of the specific character of the available sources, it is hardly possible to find any distinction among different forms of dependence resulting from private ownership. Only the *Hu ding* inscription shows that in the households belonging to the members of the ruling class there were labourers treated as their master's property. Some facts make us presume, that in the Western Zhou period slave labour could be used in agriculture. At that time the decisive part in the formation of different social groups within peasantry as well as of different groups of dependent population belonged to the state. The character, forms, and the amount of compulsive measures applied by the state to different groups of population of the Western Zhou determined their status.

The reconstruction of the foreign policy of the Western Zhou is rather problematic because of the absence of any definitely authentic texts going back to the 11th–8th centuries B.C. On the borders and within the Western Zhou realm there existed numerous ethnopolitical formations. Judging by the available data, the first Western Zhou *wangs* were undertaking resolute attempts to explore the "barbaric" outlying area. Repeated military campaigns against the northern and the southern "barbarians" exhausted the economic system and undermined the stability of the administrative and political system of the Western Zhou.

From the time of Xuan-wang the external political activity of the Zhou state was concentrated on the north-western Rong outlying area. They were not only making war on the *rong* but were trying to attach them by means of dynastic marriages. It resulted in the development of a pro-Rong lobby by the Western Zhou court. Under You-wang its conflict with the rulers of Central China produced a long crisis of the central power, which finally resulted in the increase of the authority of local rulers.

In 770 B.C. the Western Zhou army invaded the Rong land, was defeated and You-wang was killed. The two rival parties simultaneously enthroned two of the You-wang's sons. The diarchy came to an end when one of them, Ping-wang, was declared the "legitimate" heir to the throne. By that time the lands of the Western Zhou domain, between the Wei and the Jing rivers came under the power of the *rong*s, which made Ping-wang transfer the capital to the east. The shift of the center to the east reflected serious changes in the

social and political system of the Zhou state. The size of the territory directly subject to the Zhou *wangs* was considerably diminished. The *wangs* still retained their religious and magical prerogatives, though from the supreme rulers regulating relations between local governors they turned into political figures of secondary importance. The resettlement of the Zhou *wangs* to the East marked the end of the Western Zhou and the beginning of a new era, which received the name of Eastern Zhou.

A considerable fund of Ancient Chinese literacy was accumulated during the Western Zhou period. It is quite possible that along with divination inscriptions on bones and on bronze ritual vessels which survived to the present time, in the Shang and at the beginning of the Zhou period there had been texts on bamboo and wooden slips or on bone plaques. The Yin divination inscriptions display pictographic characters looking like schematised representations of bundles of bamboo or of wooden slips. In the Western and the Eastern Zhou periods bamboo was widely used as writing material. Bamboo “books” with their narrow and thin «pages» stitched into separate bundles-chapters were very convenient under all circumstances.

In the Zhou period documentary records and books held a prominent place in the life of the Ancient Chinese society, driving back the oral tradition. The very evidence on the spread of the art of book in Ancient China is enough to prove that it had a rich literary tradition behind it. Numerous references and quotations scattered over the pages of the 8th–3d century B.C. books preserve the memory of dozens of literary works lost in the ancient times. The share of historical knowledge was great in the Ancient Chinese culture—most of the references are made on works on history.

With the beginning of the Western Zhou (8th–3d centuries B.C.) they started to keep precise and systematic records not only in the Zhou domain but also in the capitals of numerous kingdoms growing upon the ruins of the Zhou statesmanship. An interesting attempt of creating a general ancient history of China combined with the chronicles of the Wei kingdom is found in the “Bamboo Annals” (*Zhu shu ji-nian*) discovered in the 3d century in a Wei tomb in Ji. In this chronicle, of which only several fragments have survived, it is impossible to find traces of any pragmatic narrative. Apparently, ancient records, namely the chronology of the Xia, Shang, Zhou and Wei rulers, were artificially combined there.

A formidable group of works was made by historical compositions of the *chun-qiu* genre. In the Late Zhou time they already

began to use the combination of hieroglyphs *chun-qiu* in a general sense, turning it into a terminus technicus for numerous local and other histories. *Chun-qiu* mentioned in other sources probably also included different kinds of historical works and narratives reflecting the semi-fantastic Ancient Chinese notions of the past. The evidence we have on the Eastern Zhou *chun-qiu* are rather incomplete and fragmentary. It is possible to suggest, that historical events were described there in chronological order. The last one enabled the compilers of similar work to include different kinds of stories from history. In some cases these stories were founded upon historical tradition developed either simultaneously with the event described or immediately after it.

It is evident, however, that it is impossible to judge about the nature and origin of the orations which once held such a prominent place in the *chun-qiu* historical works only on the evidence of later quotations. Such possibility is offered by the contents of the *Guo yu*, a collection of 8th–5th century historical texts, including speeches made by rulers and statesmen of that time. According to the tradition and to the opinion of some modern scholars, *Guo yu* contains some authentic orations really delivered by those to whom they are ascribed. The study of the *Guo yu* orations brings us, however, to a different conclusion. Usually these orations appear to be “compositions on the occasion” brought to life by different political events. The assurance and the precision of the predictions in the speeches of the *Guo yu* (“The Narratives of the Kingdoms”) show that the “predictions” were doubtless made after the event. In other words, the orations containing “predictions” were definitely made after the events “predicted” in them had taken place.

In the records of *Zuo zhuan* going back to the 6th century B.C. there is a mention of criminal codices of the Zheng and the Jin kingdoms, and of the Deng Xizi criminal codex written on bamboo slips. There is some indefinite mention of certain books on the art of war. All these facts demonstrate, that the volume of the Ancient Chinese literature had been much more considerable than the number of the books which have survived to the present time.

The disintegration of the state administrative system of the Western Zhou was accomplished by the middle of the 8th century B.C. Numerous “local governors” turned from the *wang's* deputies into the holders of the supreme administrative authority within the limits of the lands they controlled, thus actually becoming the heads of new independent states. The new period of the Chinese history was marked not so by the transition of the capital to the

east as by the downfall of the Zhou center. In the later tradition this time is called the Chun-qiū period (“Springs and Autumns”).

The number of documentary inscriptions on bronze vessels of the Chun-qiū period available to historians is not large. The principle sources on the history of that time are two vast codices containing different types of narratives. The first of them—*Zuo zhuān* (“The Commentary by Zuo [Qiuming]”) composed on the verge of the 4th–3d centuries B.C., the second one—*Guo yu* (“The Narratives of the Kingdoms”), a collection of historical texts dedicated for the most part to the Chun-qiū period. Religious, magical and cosmological interpretation of the historical events, political disturbances, social and moral phenomena present in the Eastern Zhou historical texts makes it difficult to use “The Commentary by Zuo” and “The Narratives of the Kingdoms” as historical sources. Most of the historical events described there require special decoding basing upon a thorough reconstruction of the principles of modelling natural and social phenomena professed by their authors.

Among the most important indicators of the development of productive forces in the Chun-qiū period is the further improvement of bronze-casting and the appearance of iron. To the Chun-qiū period belong the first reliable evidence on the construction of irrigation systems. In the 8th–5th centuries B.C. Chinese peasants continued to cultivate most of the plants which had become widespread in the earlier periods. In the Chun-qiū period the development of agricultural technologies provided the economic background for running individual farmsteads.

The available information on reforms in the field of land-ownership and land-use, in spite of its scantiness, provides some materials for the reconstruction of those processes which were going on within all the numerous social strata of the 7th–5th century Chinese peasantry. The sources reflect a far-gone individualisation of the plots of lands within rural communities. It is evident that at least some part of the peasants living on clan lands became free from the clan administration and were turned into tax-payers subject directly to the state, liable to duties and military service.

The practice of land-grants continued in the Chun-qiū period. *Hou* and *gongs* were granting several thousands of fields to their dignitaries. A considerable increase in the number of fields granted in one turn in comparison with the former period was brought about by the split of plots of land, caused by the transition from collective to private ownership. Along with the individualisation of rural households, the sources mark also the growth of social differ-

entiation within rural communities. The use of hired labour in agriculture is first mentioned at that time. Till the end of the Chun-qiū period, however, plots of land did not become freely alienated property.

In the Chun-qiū period the former Western Zhou state was replaced by a great number of practically independent possessions, where the traditional principles of division and organisation of space remained in force. In each realm the whole administrative territory was divided into two unequal zones: the central one—*guo*, and the peripheral—*bi* or *ye*. Both these zones had their own physical, political, administrative and moral qualification. The first one was more valuable and dear to a governor than the second. The social and political status of the population of the center and of the outskirts was different. Different were probably also the legal, administrative and cult establishments functioning there.

In the sources of the Chun-qiū period special significance is given to the term *guoren* indicating free people living on the lands directly subject to the administration of the *wang*, *hou* or *gong* who did not belong to the clan system. They were liable to a number of duties, first of all to military service. In the sources the term *guoren* is usually applied to urban population; artisans and traders could be among them, though most of them were occupied with agriculture. The *guoren* represented a force valued by the authorities of different kingdoms. There are cases when rulers of kingdoms or heads of influential clans were making treaties with the *guoren* confirmed by solemn oaths. The ultimate form of the social activity of the *guoren* class were assemblies of its representatives at the courts of rulers held on the initiative of state authorities.

Attempts to find any “democratic tradition” in some of the texts of ideological character and to view the *guoren* as its bearers appear to be an illusion. The Eastern Zhou concept of the “people” can not be applied to reconstruct the political regime of the kingdoms and realms and to reveal the nature of relations between their population and state authorities.

In all kingdoms and lands in the 8th–6th centuries B.C. the most important political and administrative functions were concentrated in the hands of several powerful families connected by their origin with the royal houses. At the foundation of their power there was usually a royal grant. Maintaining their authority over the granted territory the heirs of the first “local ruler” preserved their territorial, social, political and economic unity, by forming a clan—*shi*—

a patrilinear group of hierarchically interdependent families firmly cemented by common ancestor cult. Clans appear as privileged units of kinsmen, their members performing certain hereditary functions in the central administrative system of the kingdoms and realms. From the 6th century B.C. there started a mass attack on the clans and their privileges gradually turning into the regular factor of the political and social life of the Chun-qiū period. In this struggle the *guoren* class offered the principal social support to the central government.

The evidence of the sources on the employment of the *guoren* in different kingdoms in the course of internal wars and conflicts as the principal anti-clan power even more clearly outlines its character as of a definite social stratum. For the second half of the Chun-qiū period it is typical to see *guoren* mentioned in connection with political events. It should be taken into account, that this social status never developed any political line of its own and had no distinct political ideals, always being used as a tool by other forces.

The labourers of the Chinese kingdoms of the Chun-qiū period appear as a whole number of social strata and groups. The principal differences among these groups were mainly dependant on the attitude of the state towards them. Administrations of different states played active part in creating different forms of dependence, regulating where and how different groups of dependent labourers should work. The state created whole new settlements of dependent people transferring the population of annexed territories or small dependent kingdoms to depopulated lands.

One of the lowest groups of people controlled by the royal administration were *pu*—“servitors”. This social group was formed not only of criminals but also of some groups of population from conquered territories. This form of dependence, in its private-legislative version, was connected with mortgage of a person. There is nothing in the Eastern Zhou sources to make us think, that *pu* had been slaves in the full meaning of this term. They were not regarded as a kind of property. Their labour was widely used in household works and services. It is impossible, however, to estimate the specific weight of their labour in the productive sphere of the Chun-qiū period.

The antagonism between the clans and the central power often urged the last one to take different measures preventing the creation of autonomous territories within kingdoms. Sometimes clan possessions were even confiscated. The consolidation of the state in

the second half of the Chun-qiū was connected with the transition of a large number of peasantry from clans under the direct control of local administration. In the course of political and administrative centralisation of the Chun-qiū period clan aristocracy was actively forced out from all spheres of administration. Its place was everywhere occupied by those groups of officials who were directly subject to the state and dependent upon it.

In the course the Chun-qiū period the political structure of the “All under Heaven” underwent serious changes. The religious authority of the Zhou *wangs*, which at the beginning of Chun-qiū enabled them to control the relations between the kingdoms, was lost. By the end of that period numerous small and medium-size kingdoms fell victims to their stronger neighbours and disappeared from the political map of Ancient China. In the central part of the “All under Heaven” there came into being states which had no traditional connections with the Zhou family. It was the beginning of the Zhan-guo—the “Warring States” period.

The term Zhan-guo (“The Warring States”) first appeared in works written in the course of the 5th–3d centuries B.C. It was applied then to the seven strongest states: Zhao, Han, Wei, Qi, Yan, Qin and Chu, whose foreign and internal policies affected the course of history. Later, after the kingdom of Qin had destroyed its six rivals and created the first centralised state in China, this geopolitical term gradually became used to designate a historical period (453–221 B.C.). These consolidated states managed to get free from the Zhou-centric dogma of the political structure of “All under Heaven”. From the mid-4th century their rulers began to use the old Zhou title of “the Sons of Heaven” and to call themselves *wangs*—one of the most striking features marking the destruction of the traditional hierarchy.

Fragments of the Zhan-guo period chronicles survived in “The Hereditary Houses” by Sima Qian (c. 146–86 B.C.) included into his *Shi ji* (“Historical Records”). There is also one historical work dedicated entirely to the events of the period—*Zhan guo ce* (“Intrigues of the Warring States”). It appeared, as we know it now, not earlier than the middle of the 1st century B.C., though it was compiled on the basis of authentic texts evidently preserving actual links with the events of the 5th–3d centuries B.C. Interest for the past, however, goes there to the background, being completely replaced by certain political propaganda.

In the course of archaeological excavations of the burial grounds and sites of the Zhan-guo period abundant materials came to light,



demonstrating considerable progress in the management of productive forces. There are all kinds of agricultural implements made of iron. The rapidity with which iron penetrated into all spheres of life in the Zhan-guo period can be explained by the specific character of Chinese metallurgy. In the 4th–3d centuries B.C. moulding of cast-iron was known in many regions, both in the north and in the south. Consequently, by the late 5th–early 4th century there appeared furnaces which enabled to maintain high enough temperature to produce cast iron. The invention of cast-iron technique involved mass-production of all principle types of agricultural tools. In the Zhan-guo time Chinese metallurgists discovered how to provide cast-iron with more plasticity and how to produce “malleable cast-iron”. Among metal implements from the 5th–3d century sites and burial-grounds some tools made of welded iron are present. The achievements of Ancient Chinese metallurgists and blacksmiths affected the development of agriculture. Iron ploughshares doubtless testify to the spread of ploughing. Certain changes in the types of cultivated plants and crops took place—the leading cultures were now beans, foxtail millet and broomcorn millet.

Sources of the Zhan-guo time tell about the creation of a wide net of irrigation canals in some of the kingdoms. The intensification of agriculture and the development of irrigation increased the demands of rural population and of the royal officials in industrial products. Only well-developed urban industry could satisfy these demands. Cities flourished at that time, increasing in number and size and the amount of urban population. Archaeological materials show, that specialised craft industries were concentrated in large cities. Archaeology, along with epigraphic sources, prove that at that time there developed also elements of a complicated system of compulsory labour. A remarkable find was made at the site of Yanxiadu in 1965. There, not far from the ruins of huge kilns were found several burials of people in fetters. It proves that slaves and convicts were used as labour-force in state workshops.

Of great interest is the find made by the town of Yunmeng (the province of Hubei) of fragments of a Qin criminal codex, which revealed a whole section of the Qin kingdom economy founded upon forced labour of *li-chen's*—a class of convicts sentenced to life-time work in state workshops and rural estates. There is evidence on privately owned slaves and slave-girls, which makes it possible to speak about the development of slave-ownership in the Zhan-guo period.

There are also facts confirming the existence not only of state workshops but also of private enterprises in the cities of the Zhan-guo time. It is possible to suggest that there was a quite influential social groups of free traders and craftsmen in these cities. The structure and volume of private craftsmanship was changing through the “Warring States” period. By the end of the Zhou rural population became the consumer of industrial products. The Zhan-guo period saw not only the growth of local markets but the increase of commodity circulation between provinces and kingdoms.

The growth of industry, development of private workshops and trade brought forth the improvement of the Ancient Chinese monetary system. Several stable types of bronze coins were circulated. The evolution of urban craft and trade went on along with the rise of prominent states, disappearance of economic isolation of separate regions and removal of different kinds of inner barriers. In comparison with the former period the consumer market for industrial goods became significantly wider. New conditions for further specialisation and division of labour in the spheres of industry and trade came into being. All that ensured the importance of money-circulation in the Zhan-guo period.

In the agricultural development of the Central Chinese states of the late Zhan-guo period there is a marked tendency towards the increase of private land ownership. The first reliable information on the sale of land also belong to that time. In the 4th–3d centuries B.C., however, members of agricultural communities still could not become rightful private owners of their own plots of land. It should be taken into account that the dependence of agriculture on elaborate irrigation systems and thorough and constant care from the side of the state considerably limited the independence of single farmers.

The Zhan-guo period marked a new stage in the struggle against separatist inclinations of local governors. Dignitaries in charge of administrative regions lost not only the right to bestow their estates on their heirs but also the ability to control local military institutions. Gradually there came into being various bureaucratic forms of personal participation of the governors in the control over administrative activities. The earliest evidence of the concentration of state financial functions in the hands of several special institutions belongs to the Zhan-guo time.

Changes in the social and economic structure of the Ancient Chinese society not only brought forth new elements in the administrative system of the “Warring States” but also filled the tradi-

tional institutions with new contents. Local administrative institutions received more regular shape. One of the specific features of the territorial division of the “Warring States” was the creation of special frontier military districts known as *jun*.

The last quarter of the 4th century B.C. saw the increase of the external political activity of the most prominent states. In spite of the growth of the military potential of some of the “Warring States” none of them at that time had absolute superiority over its neighbours. Under these circumstances they could achieve their political aims only in alliance with other states. It was the time when ephemeral alliances struggled in turn rapidly replacing each other.

The result of economic and socio-political changes which took place in the second half of the Chun-qiū period was that by the beginning of the Zhan-guo in all central kingdoms autonomous clan districts were replaced by a uniform territorial-administrative system. The typical factor of the political life of the “Warring States” was the aspiration of the most powerful of them towards complete centralisation and consolidation of the state. Only the kingdom of Qin on the western borders of the Chinese world was, by the rate of its development, behind its eastern neighbours. Only in the middle of the 4th century B.C. Shang Yang undertook reforms directed to destroy the traditional forms of communal land-ownership which, in the author’s opinion, did not promote the development of private land ownership in the Qin kingdom. From the 3d century Qin gradually became the constant factor of all more or less significant military and diplomatic alliances and conflicts. It affected the character of military alliances, of which the two principal types could be distinguished: pro-Qin “horizontal” alliances and “vertical”, directed against the kingdom of Qin.

The progress of the Qin armies led to attempts to establish control over a significant part of “All under Heaven” by diplomatic means. In 280–277 B.C. the Qin army crashed the military power and prestige of the Chu kingdom. In the second half of the 260s the main goal of its aggressive policy became the kingdom of Han. In 259 B.C. Qin troops besieged the capital of the Zhao kingdom. The adversaries of the Qin failed to achieve a solid union and to make a counter attack. In 249 B.C. Qin annexed the remains of the domain of the Zhou *wangs*. Now it had at its disposal densely populated and fertile lands in the very heart of China where it created a base presenting a threat to the independence of each of the six “Warring

States”. In 241 B.C. in the initiative of the Zhao kingdom a military alliance against Qin was created, joined by Chu, Wei, Yan and Han. At the beginning the joint army achieved some success. However, after the first serious conflicts with Qin the alliance broke down. The days of independence were over. 221 B.C. was the end of the “Warring States” period. Qin became the sole master of “All under Heaven”. Its ruler, first time in the history of China, broke away with the Zhou tradition, rejected the title of *wang* and became “The First Emperor” Shi Huang-di.

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