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Сборник, в который вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, посвящен 80-летию известного российского востоковеда, доктора исторических наук, профессора Е.И. Кычанова. Проблематика сборника задана основными доминантами многолетнего исследовательского творчества юбиляра, который, являясь в первую очередь тангутоведом и опираясь на широчайшую источниковедческую базу, блестяще разработал многие актуальные проблемы истории государственности, права, этногенеза, письменного наследия народов Китая и Центральной Азии. Большинство авторов статей постарались показать, как вопросы, поставленные в свое время в работах Е.И. Кычанова, получили дальнейшее развитие в науке.

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Li Huarui

A Reexamination of the Status of Confucianism in Tangut Culture

Related issues were discussed by the author in 2006,¹ and four years of further reflection and research have propelled a reexamination of this subject, particularly as regards Confucianism.

Considering the status of Confucianism in Tangut kingdom, we are sure that there was no Confucian ideological growth in Xi-Xia that could increase its popularity there, and that Confucian impact was fairly limited in terms of ideology. This stood in sharp contrast to Buddhism, which dominated in scholarship and ideology in Xi-Xia. By now, we are left only to consider Confucianism a means providing a kind of bureaucratized political ideology for Xi-Xia and the relatively advanced Confucian education in its mid and waning years.

A New interpretation of three pieces of historical records

Scholars have often used two references to argue for Emperor Yuanhao's support for and development of Confucianism in Xi-Xia:

“Emperor Yuanhao personally invented a writing system for his people and ... undertook to translate the *Book of Filial Piety*, *Erya*, *Four-Word Miscellaneous Words* into the local language.”²

In the 7th year of Jiayou (1062), “Yichou, King Liangzuo of Xia requested the Emperor's cursory style poetry script and pledged to build a special treasure house for storing it. [The King] also contributed fifty horses in exchange for the *Nine Classics*, *Tang History*, *Cefu yuangui*, and the official *Book of etiquette and rituals*. [The emperor] granted the Nine Classics as gifts while returning those horses.”³

¹ Originally published in Chinese as Li Huarui 2006.

² *Song shi*, ch. 485 (夏國傳), p. 13995.

³ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 196 (嘉祐七年夏四月), p. 4745.

This information can be interpreted and amended from other perspectives, however. So, even though the *Book of Filial Piety* and *Erya* were Confucian scriptures, they were not included as part of the *Five Classics* or the *Nine Classics* which were used as texts in schools and for taking imperial examinations from Han to Tang, nor as part of the *Nine Classics* or the *Three Classics* for school and imperial examination purposes during the Song dynasty. The *Book of Filial Piety* was later promoted as a classic as well, so it was often termed *jianjing* 兼經 or “as-well-classic.” Its is for its filial and moral values rather than for scholarly considerations that it was promoted during Tang and Song. For this reason, the early Tangut promotion of Confucian classics was more due to advocating moral ethics than to propagating Confucianism. Or, as other scholars have pointed out, “since Emperor Yuanhao was seeking independence from the Song government, his advertisement of a few Confucian booklets was intended more as a medium for spreading Tangut scripts than developing Confucian culture.”⁴ The fact that “Confucian” or “Confucianism” seldom appeared in collections of Tangut scripts as started by Yuanhao and Yeli Rongren testifies further to their lack of interest in it.

The second reference mentioned the importation of the *Nine Classics* into Xi-Xia, but, as some scholars have pointed out, the *Nine Classics* were never part of the curriculum in Tangut.⁵ Here we should mention that modern scholars usually take it for granted that the *Nine Classics* of the 7th year of Jiayou (1062) include the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Zhou Rituals*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Analects of Confucius*, and the *Book of Mencius*. Yet this understanding may be wrong, for, to be sure, the *Nine Classics* had different connotations in different historical periods. The name *Nine Classics* emerged in the Tang Dynasty, and Lú Tao, a scholar of middle-to-late Song, testified that during the Five Dynasties, the Emperor of Houshu carved the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of History*, the *Chun qiu*, the *Zhou Rituals* and the *Book of Rites* in stone to make them available to scholars, and under the Song dynasty, the official Tian Kuang added the *Etiquette*, the *Gongyuan zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan* to the *Nine Classics*.⁶ Scholars of the Southern Song also testified that, in the middle of the Tang epoch, Kong Yingda and Ma Jiayun added explanatory notes to the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Chun qiu* and the *Book of Changes*. During the Song dynasty, Emperor Zhenzong ordered Xing Bing to add the explanatory notes of the *Zhou Rituals*, the *Etiquette*, the *Gongyuan zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan* to the collection.⁷ The *Book of Mencius* was officially placed on record in the *zi* (“philosophers”) section and remained so in the *Han shu*, the *Sui shu*, the *Tang shu*, and even in the *Zhaijun dushu zhi* of the Southern Song dynasty, not in the *jing* (“classics”) section. But the book caught more attention starting from mid-Tang, and with strong approval from such personages as Wang Anshi, the Cheng brothers, Zhu Xi, etc. it witnessed a rapid rise in popularity. By the time of Wang

⁴ Nie Hongyin 1990.

⁵ Li Jihe and Nie Hongyin 2002.

⁶ Lú Taj 1986, ch. 14, p. 105.

⁷ *Liuqing aolun zongwen*, p. 11–12.

Anshi's reforms, the *Book of Mencius* was already used as a textbook for civil service examinations and a Confucian classic at that. In 1124, Xi Dan, an official in Chengdu, had the *Mengzi shijing* carved in stone and formally placed it alongside other Confucian classics. Thus it can be seen that, during the Southern Song period, with the *Four Books* gradually coming into place, the *Nine Classics* also underwent some adjustments. Lǚ Zuqian revealed that "the *Nine Classics* consist of the traditional *Six Classics* plus the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Book of Mencius*, and the *Book of Filial Piety*, totaling 484,095 words."⁸ In an apt summary of the history of the *Nine Classics*, Wang Yinglin said: "In the *Jesters (Huaqi zhuan)*, the Grand Historian (Sima Qian) called the Books of *Rites*, *Music*, *Songs*, *History*, *Changes* and *Chun qiu* collectively the Six Arts; Ban Gu added to this list the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Book of Filial Piety*, giving rise to such appellations as *Five Classics*, *Six Classics*, and *Seven Classics*. The name *Nine Classics* was given by Chu Suiliang of the Tang Zhenguan era, and then, it was further subdivided into three groups as the *Greater Classics (Dajing)* comprising the *Book of Rites* and the *Chun qiu*, the *Middle Classics (Zhongjing)* comprising the *Book of Songs*, the *Zhou Rituals* and the *Etiquette*, and the *Lesser Classics (Xiaojing)* comprising the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of History*, the *Gongyang zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan*. Later the three *zhuans* were combined, and the *Etiquette* was eliminated from the list, leaving the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of History*, the *Zhou Rituals*, the *Book of Rites* and the *Chun qiu* as the *Six Classics*. With the promotion of the *Book of Mencius*, the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Book of Filial Piety* to lesser classics, we now have all the *Nine Classics* in place."⁹ From the different explanations above we realize that the *Nine Classics* had different meanings in Northern and Southern Song, and we can gather from the decree of 1063 ("the *Nine Classics* and the *Book of Mencius*, medical books, etc., be granted to Tangut as requested")¹⁰ that the *Nine Classics* here were not a newly compiled edition, but the traditional collection of the Tang and Five Dynasties era comprising the *Book of Changes*, the *Book of History*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Rites*, the *Zhou Rituals*, the *Etiquette*, the *Zuo zhuan*, the *Gongyang zhuan* and the *Guliang zhuan*.

In the third year of Renqing (1146), Emperor Renzong of Xi-Xia revered Confucius as King Wenxuan,¹¹ a fact recorded in almost all history books about Tangut as a testimony to the supreme status that Confucius enjoyed in Chinese history. This archival piece is henceforth of particular interest to scholars as a clue to the uniquely flourishing Confucianism in Tangut. It is also taken to indicate Tangut's profound grasp of the Han culture as represented by Confucianism. Yet, in fact, to put this piece of historical evidence in proper perspective, two other aspects merit serious attention: on the one hand, it shows that the emperor himself had great admiration for Confucius; on the other hand, it betrays his superficial understanding of Confucianism.

⁸ Lǚ Zuqian 1986, p. 244.

⁹ Wang Yinglin 2003, ch. 42 (藝文經解·總六經), p. 783.

¹⁰ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 198, p. 4802.

¹¹ *Song shi*, ch. 486 (夏國傳), p. 14025.

We can see that the titles given to Confucius were basically in line with a transmitter sage, or a holy teacher. From the Han dynasty onward, especially under Song, the Confucian culture has entrusted Confucius and the ruling emperors with respective duties: Confucius, Mencius and other Confucian scholars were the preachers, while Yao, Shun, Yu, Emperor Wen of Zhou, Duke Zhou, and all other emperors were practitioners, the former apparently more brilliant than the latter. That was why Confucius has been held in higher esteem than even Yao and Shun.¹² Throughout the ages, assisting the emperor and transforming him into a likeness of Yao and Shun remains the sacred duty of generations of Confucian scholars. They certainly do not wish Confucius to be confluent with the emperor; in fact, it is impossible. And the fact is, nearly eighty years before Confucius was proclaimed the King of Wenxuan in Xi-Xia, in 1074, Emperor Shenzong of Song was already prepared to do exactly that. Owing to resistance from the protocol officers, who deemed it unreasonable, the move was finally canceled.¹³ Confucianism developed and flourished during the Xining period, but protocol officials rejected the emperor's suggestion to honor Confucius as a king. Apparently, it had to do with the tradition of the Confucians' "esoteric way" of self-expression: this does not constitute eligibility to kingship. Seen in this light, Emperor Renxiao of Xi-Xia's worship of Confucius as King Wenxuan does not exactly indicate Tangut's thorough understanding of the subtleties of Confucianism.

The Causes of Confucian developments in Tangut: A tentative argument

Some scholars argue that, since Hexi 河西 and Shuofang 朔方 occupied by Tangut used to be part of the central government where Confucianism had a solid foundation, that very fact may have led to the flourishing of Confucianism in Xi-Xia state. But we need to view the phenomenon from multiple perspectives if we do not want to jump to conclusions on the basis of a few fragments or vague impressions. First, starting from Zhang Qian's "cutting through" the West during the Western Han, there was certainly substantial progress in the enculturation of Hexi and Shuofang by the Confucian regime, but with the onslaught of Anshi Rebellion in mid-Tang and the Tibetan occupation of Helong (western Gansu), there was actually an ethnic mix in those regions, where Chinese and barbarians coexisted. This was the common view of Song and Yuan historians as well as of the Confucian scholar-gentry of the era. Ouyang Xiu, the compiler of the *New History of the Five Dynasties*, had references to this area. He believed that Helong was a land of Chinese-barbarian cohabitation during the Five Dynasties, basically cut off from the central land:

“When Emperor Suzong, then in Lingwu, summoned the troops of Hexi to help quell the Anshi Rebellion, the Tibetans took the opportunity to occupy Hexi and Longyou, resulting in a million Chinese falling into barbarian rule. Emperor

¹² *Song shi*, ch. 427 (道學一), p. 12709.

¹³ *Song shi*, ch. 105 (禮八, 吉禮八, 文宣王廟), p. 2548.

Wenzong used to dispatch envoys to the western regions, who found the urban setup basically unchanged in Gan, Liang, Gua, Sha, etc.”

By the time of the Five Dynasties, with the decline of the Tibetan rule, this land was divided by the Uighurs (Huihu) and Dangxiang, but the latter did not submit any people there. China proper was in turmoil then, struggling hard to hold itself together. The four areas of Gan, Liang, Gua, and Sha had frequent contact with the Central Land, however. With the exception of Gan, which borders on the Uighurs, the government officials of Liang, Gua, and Sha still called themselves Tang officials and frequently offered to assist the Central government. Since the time of Emperor Taizu of Liang, the Lingwu military governor was also entrusted to govern Hexi while keeping an eye on Gan, Su, Wei, etc., although this was in name only, since Liang, for example, had its own governor instituted. In the 4th year of Changxing of Tang, Liang Governor Sun Chao sent his general Tuoba Chengqian, together with his entourage of Buddhist and Daoist monks, seniors, communication officers, etc. to the capital city to seek official banners from the emperor. When asked by Emperor Mingzong, Chengqian replied: “After Liang fell into Tibetan rule, a certain Zhang Yichao of Zhangye recruited an army and drove them out. Then he was named the local military governor, with 2,500 militias from Yunzhou in garrison. But then as Tang fell, it again became chaotic, and with the Turks and Uighurs on the east, Liang was isolated. Even the militias from Yunzhou could not find their way home. So the people of Liangzhou are mostly descendants of the garrisoned troops from Yunzhou.”¹⁴

It is obvious from the above that, during the later stages of the Five Dynasties, Hexi was basically sealed off from the central regime, and dominating the scene was the mixed-up cohabitation of Chinese and barbarians under Dangxiang and Turks.

There were indications that the Song people regarded these regions as part of China proper. For example, when Emperor Renzong was changing the title of his reign, he issued a decree which said that “the people of Hexi have always been part of China. As their emperor, how I lament [their tragic fate].”¹⁵ Zhang Fangping said: “The Qiang and Rong, more farmers than hunters and herders, used to live under Han and Tang as prefectures and counties ... judging from their music and education, the peoples of the five prefectures in Shuofang, Lingwu, and Hexi are probably Chinamen.”¹⁶ Yet despite this, when Qingtang 青唐 fell during the time of Yuanfu of Emperor Zhezong of Song, the Song scholar-gentry took it as an attempt to transform a barbarian region to a Chinese land, as was recorded in *Zhezong jiulu* 哲宗舊錄: “The slackening Tang rule led to successive Tibetan rebellions, and shortly after, Longyou and Hexi fell into barbarian hands. From the year of Qianyuan to Zhide, no less than twenty prefectures went barbarian, a situation that has lasted for more than three years up to now.” “Shortly thereafter Zhang Chun, *et al.*, wrote a short congratulatory note, saying that although Longxi and Heyuan had long been under barbarian rule, local peoples soon adopted the Chinese way. And owing to the slack

¹⁴ *Xin wudai shi*, ch. 74 (四夷附錄第三), p. 914.

¹⁵ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 134, p. 3198.

¹⁶ *Song zhuchen zouyi*, ch. 133, p. 1475.

control there, the Chinese soon gained the upper hand and ruled the area as if it were under the Tang regime.”¹⁷ Ma Duanlin of the Song-to-Yuan era interpreted the history from mid-Tang to the founding of Tangut basically as the Chinese transforming the barbarians, or in his own words, “after the year of Tianbao of Tang, Hexi and Longyou fell into Tibetan control. The name of Dazhong was but name only, although it persisted throughout the Five Dynasties and even to Song <...> Xichui was decidedly under Tibetan rule, giving rise to clear distinctions between Chinese and the barbarians. It was a fate to be pitied that after being part of China for centuries, these regions were perennially ruled by the barbarians.”¹⁸ Obviously, in the eyes of Chinese scholar-gentry, these were cases where China was disrupted by barbarians, where even the Chinese were assimilated into barbarian ways. That was why, when relating Yuanhao’s setting up of the *Fanxue* 蕃學 in Tangut, the Qing scholar Wu Guangcheng gave the following surmise: “Ever since the Five Dynasties, Xiazhou had been outside of the Chinese administration. The official titles there were either inherited or installed by the military, with no civil service examinations in place. Yuanhao was setting up the *Fanxue* mainly to confront the Chinese system.”¹⁹ In such a historical context, it is no longer valid to stress that Hexi and Shuofang had boasted a solid Confucian foundation before Xi-Xia was founded.

Secondly, a look at Confucian classics education in China proper may give some clue as to how Confucian education was developed in Longxi. The above argument says that the spread of Confucianism was closely connected to school education, but to be sure, access to Confucian education was fairly limited before Song, even in the Central Plain area. This is because, before Song, school education was provided mainly for the nobility and the powerful. The *Hongwenguan* and the *Chongwenguan* of Tang were both institutions for the nobility; the *Guozixue* and the *Taixue* generally received students from families ranked three to five or above; the *Simenxue* admitted students from families of the eighth rank and landowners’ descendants, while the common rank and file barely had a chance for school. The situation began to change only under the Song dynasty, which featured an important transition from the old nobility/clan society to a new civil society. This means that the rank and file had much more access to school education. But even so, Confucian moral ethics, political thought and basic knowledge were made accessible only during the later Southern Song. It is worth pointing out that school education was decidedly undeveloped during the Five Dynasties and the first sixty years of Song;²⁰ it witnessed substantial growth only during the reigns of Emperors Renzong, Shenzong and Huizong, having received strong impetus from Fan Zhongyan, Wang Anshi and Cai Jing respectively. Compared with the decline of education under the Five Dynasties and the early Song, there was a substantial Confucian revival in the reign of Qingli of Emperor Renzong of Song. The Confucian Revival has two primary objectives: firstly, it was revived in order to sustain Confucianism. Song Confucian scholars claimed that Zhou Dunyi

¹⁷ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 516, p. 12265.

¹⁸ Ma Duanlin, ch. 322 (輿地考 8: 古雍州), p. 2537.

¹⁹ *Xi-Xia shu shi*, ch. 13, p. 152.

²⁰ Cf. Yuan Zheng 1991, pp. 7–9.

and the Cheng brothers were the direct descendants of Mencius. Secondly, it was to restore the supremacy of Confucianism that was disrupted by the prevalent Buddhism and Daoism ever since Sui and Tang. This is another reminder that Confucianism was far from flourishing in China proper before Xi-Xia was founded, to say nothing of the fact that ever since mid-Tang there had been a great flourishing of Buddhism in Helong region. A more accurate picture was Confucianism steadily backtracking. With the exception of a few Dunhuang documents that contain references to Confucian classics, there is little else that testifies to the development of Confucianism in this area throughout the later Tang, the Five Dynasties and the early Song. On what grounds, then, can we claim that Confucianism had a solid foundation in Tangut? All considered, it seems wise for us not to overestimate the development status of Confucianism in Tangut from the later Tang through the Five Dynasties to the early Song.

In fact, the development of Confucian culture or Confucian education in Tangut state found recourse in conscious or unconscious absorption of Confucian political culture by the founders of Xi-Xia in the process of the latter's state-building. As Fu Bi 富弼 of Song remarked shortly after Yuanhao founded Xi-Xia (1044), "The Tuoba took an active employment of all talents after they won the regions west of Lingxia. Occupying the Chinese land, taking advantage of the Chinese human resources, claiming Chinese titles, mimicking Chinese official institutions, employing Chinese elites, reading Chinese books, wearing Chinese costumes aboard Chinese carts, practicing Chinese laws and ordinances, <...> in all these, they were very similar to the Chinese."²¹ The "Chinese" as quoted refers to the Tang and Song Chinese regimes, and the political institutions, laws and ordinances, etiquette and rituals, books and utensils mentioned were deeply embedded in Confucian culture. So despite Yuanhao's alleged effort to use "barbarian rites and *Fanxue* to confront the Chinese system," to cut off hair and to use locally invented writing systems, the contents of these rites and the *Fanxue* were inescapably Chinese. What they did was simply to use their local scripts to explicate the Chinese classics. Therefore, it can be said that even after Yuanhao started the local writing systems and the *Fanxue*, the Chinese culture remained the intellectual basis for the Fan rites and Fan studies. Not only were these Fan rites and Fan studies unable to escape the impact of Chinese culture, the latter went on to become a crucial mechanism that enabled the Dangxiang rulers to stabilize and extend their political control. It is truly unthinkable that these Dangxiang rulers were to extend their influence to Shuofang and Hexi or even Guanzhong and central plains relying on militarized nomads alone without trying to absorb parts of Chinese culture. So the development of Confucianism in Tangut state in this period was in essence an attempt to learn and benefit from the Chinese bureaucratic system and political culture. In other words, a distinction has to be made between passive acceptance of Confucian politics and moral ethics induced by efforts to mimic the Chinese politically, economically and culturally, and active pursuit and explication of Confucian classics finally giving rise to new schools of thought and new ideas.

²¹ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 150, p. 3641.

Confucian education witnessed some real progress only in later Xi-Xia, when local rulers were switching from the original mimicking of Tang and Song political institutions and culture to conscious or unconscious acceptance of Confucian culture, active study of Confucian classics, and finally active promotion of Confucian education. Frederic Engels once said that “a theory is realized in a certain state to the degree it satisfies the state’s needs.”²² Likewise, the later Tangut’s Confucian worship was dictated by the sociopolitical needs of the time. This has been studied extensively and will not be repeated here. What merits emphasis here are the major aspects of Confucian development in Xi-Xia. Tanguts practiced a civil service examination system, which provided avenues for both Fan and Han landlords and common people to participate in politics. This was certainly different from the early Tangut practices, when the court was trying to attract renegade Han intellectuals, serving as a haven for those “failed [Song] candidates, who would emigrate there and were entrusted by Yuanhao as marshals, generals, or courtiers.”²³ There was a popular story about certain Zhang Yuan and Wu Hao who at the Tangut court were helping to plan against Song—a typical example of the above situation. After civil examination was instituted and Confucian temples erected during the Renxiao era, there was a clear improvement. Not only was Confucian education promoted in Xi-Xia, the court also spent handsomely on importing Confucian classics and translating them into the local language. Among those translated were the *Analects of Confucius*, the *Book of Mencius*, the *Book of Filial Piety*, the *Erya*, etc. Besides, there was a number of partially translated compilations titled the *Jingshi zachao* 經史雜抄, the *Xinji Cixiaozhuan* 新集慈孝傳, the *Dexing ji* 德行集, as well as some independent collections like the *Shengyi lihai* 生義立海, the *Xin jijin chengdui yanyu* 新集錦成對諺語. Though the quality of translation was barely passable,²⁴ these represent a big progress on the part of the Dangxiang. With the popularity of Confucian education in Tangut, it happened that many Confucian political ideas and moral concepts found their way into local dictionaries. For example, in the *Fanhan heshi zhang zhongzhu*, a Tangut-Chinese dictionary of the later Xi-Xia compiled by Gule Maocai, one finds the following entries:

Man: saints, sages, wise men, silly men, gentlemen, petty men

Human affairs: the unity of Yin and Yang; benevolence, justice, and faithfulness; kindred affinity; the study of Sacred Canons; self-cultivation; good fame; propriety and virtues; loved by the people; a yardstick for the people; sensitivity and care for the people; gentlemanly manners; petty men’s misdemeanor; cannot do harm to your hair and body as these were given by parents, says the *Book of Filial Piety*; such single-minded fidelity belongs to piety; please allow for my ignorance of the world; even the hearing of this is my own fault.²⁵

²² Marx and Engels 1995, p. 11.

²³ *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian*, ch. 124, p. 2926.

²⁴ See Nie Hongyin 1990a; Nie Hongyin 1990b; Nie Hongyin 1997; Nie Hongyin 2002; Nie Hongyin 2008.

²⁵ *Fanhan heshi zhang zhongzhu*, pp. 36–37, 112, 127–128, 131–136.

This is an important indicator of Confucianism permeating political consciousness and social morality of the era.

As for the development of Confucianism in other sectors, Confucianism and the Yuan politics, for example, readers can turn to a huge number of available studies that are not to be repeated here.

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