Master thesis for M.A. History, Arts and Culture of Asia, Leiden University

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Submission date: 28/06/2016

MA Asian Studies – History, Arts and Culture

Food and interaction between Han and non-Han peoples during the Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao period

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. dr. Anne Gerritsen for her continuous support of my research and thesis writing. I am especially thankful for her explicit guidance during the research process, which, among other things, helped me to choose and persevere with this current topic after a long period of indecision. Since her initial guidance, she has shown me and my work consistent patience, with timely feedback, valuable suggestions and positive encouragement. Without such help, I would not have been able to finish this thesis and graduate my program. I would also like to thank the Examination Board, second reader and other professors and administrative staff of Leiden University for providing me with verification, excellent courses and assistance.

I am also especially grateful to my writing tutor, Dustin Hsiao. It is his professional skill, detailed and lucid editing assistance, as well as sincere encouragement that have supported me in finally completing this thesis writing process. I have learned very much from him in terms of not only English writing, but also gaining much confidence in my own abilities. Additionally, I also want to thank my friends Ruben de Jong, Eleonora Capaccioni and Jianqiang Sun for giving me many useful ideas and resources during the writing process.

Lastly, I must express my profound gratitude to my parents as well as all my friends for their unconditional support, both financially and emotionally, during this whole studying journey. I will always cherish my experience of studying abroad, carrying it with me as I step forward into the future.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Food and food practices form a key part of cultural practices and identities. What we might refer to as a social group's 'food culture' consists of a unique combination of aspects drawn from everyday life, and the arenas of politics and the economy, which in turn connect to what we might refer to as a 'national' culture, the spirit of the time and their specific social culture of that social group (Zhao, 1997, p.17). During each period of history, various specific historical backgrounds shape aspects of people's lives, including their dietary practices. This process of continual change is an ongoing process in which societies adapt to and are shaped by the factors around them. In the history of imperial China, the turbulent Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao period (220 CE – 581 CE) is one example of a historical period in which society changed immensely. The food and food practices of this period reflect the many changes that occurred during this period, and thus can be seen as indicative both of the way in which people lived their daily lives and of larger shifts that took place during this time. Therefore, by exploring dietary practices of this period, I hope to achieve a better understanding of the people and their social practices.

The Han Dynasty (202 BC - 220 CE) was the second unified empire in Chinese history after the Qin Dynasty (221 BC - 207 BC). The name of the largest ethnic group in modern China, the Han ethnic group, comes from that period. After the fall of the Han Dynasty, various non-Han peoples invaded the central plain, starting a period of sociopolitical turbulence that lasted over three hundred years. This period is known in full as Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao (hereafter referred to simply as Nan Bei Chao), and alternatively referred to as the Six Dynasties or the Period of

Disunion.[1] During this period, there were continuous wars and conflicts between the Han Chinese and non-Han communities as various political entities were established one after another (Dien, 2007). The numerous wars and the general chaos led to large scale migration throughout the region: the nomadic non-Han groups invaded the Han territories in the central plains, causing many Han inhabitants to move further southward (Ge, 1997, p. 45). The various patterns of migration of populations naturally caused much interaction between the Han and the various groups of non-Han peoples (Wong and Heldt, 2014).

Besides the multiple socio-political shifts during this time, people's dietary practices also developed significantly. As non-Han peoples moved into Han territory, they brought their own culinary practices into the region. Some research has already been carried out on this topic. For example, K. C. Chang (1977) and E. N. Anderson (1988) have both written on the chronological development of Chinese food; Shanghai Ancient Book Press published a series of four books about Chinese food culture in 2011, covering such areas as foodstuffs, appliances and utensils, literary sources, and feasts and entertainments; Frederick. J Simoons (2000) also presented various food materials under several categories. However, studies about food changes in food culture that occurred specifically during the Nan Bei Chao period are still sparse. Part of the reason for this is that the exact definition of the period itself remains controversial. Some scholars, such as Zhao Lianyou (1997), have classified this period as part of the Qin-Han period, while some others, such as Wang (1994), have placed it with the Sui-Tang period. Still others, such as Li (1998), even put it within the larger scope of the inclusive period from the Han Dynasty to

[1] There are various terms referring to this period, such as Wei Jin Nan Bei Chao, mostly used by Chinese scholars, literally listing the realms after Han dynasty and before Sui dynasty (Zhou, 1997; Tang, 1962, etc.); the Six Dynasties, which originally refers to the six realms with their capital in Jiankang (nowadays Nanjing) during 3-6 centuries, then was used as a general term referring to the period of the Three Kingdom until the establishment of Sui dynasty (Dien, 2007); medieval, which is borrowed from western concept of the corresponding time (Wong and Heldt, 2014), etc. This paper will use the term Nan Bei Chao, in order to stay precise and avoid possible misleading.

Tang dynasty. In terms of the scholarship on culinary practice of this period, there are a few scholars who have focused on the issue of food during Nan Bei Chao. For example, Zhang Yuanxing (2012) has written about the causes of the specific patterns of dietary development during this period; Yao Weijun (1994) presents a general picture of the period's dietary practices, and mentions the upsurge of tea culture; Zhao Jianguo (1990) illustrates the dietary patterns and customs, among other factors. As for the communication of food between the non-Han and Han, Wang Ling (2002) has carried out extensive research for her Master's thesis (pp. 12-31; 37-46). Her project covers topics such as the communication of foodstuffs among the various regional ethnic groups and their various cooking methodologies. Despite these prior works, the depth of these studies and the usage of historical materials in this research are still lacking overall. Important aspects of how non-Han foods influenced Han cuisine during the Nan Bei Chao period, the social effects of such appropriation, and people's social reactions to such appropriation are still largely unexplored. In order to have a more complete understanding about the Nan Bei Chao period's society and people, especially the relationships and instances of cultural appropriation between the Han and the non-Han, as well as to fill the omission in studies of Chinese food history, this thesis aims to discuss the changes in food practices during this period and how they reflected wider changes in society. This thesis will focus on the middle and lower valleys of the Yellow River, which are generally known as "the Central Plain". These regions cover most of modern Henan Province, and extend into modern-day western Shandong Province as well as southern Hebei and Shanxi provinces (中国社科院语言研究所词典编辑室 CASS Institute of Linguistics, Dictionary Compilation Division. 2013. p. 1687).

The region of focus has been limited to account for the vastness of China's geographic and cultural landscapes. The area has been chosen because it is the majority of the area, where the

Han people claimed as their base and saw themselves culturally and socially superior to the non-Han people (Lung, 2011, p. 5). During the Nan Bei Chao period, after the arrival of non-Han peoples, the cultural exchange and influence between Han and non-Han in this area occurred more frequently. Choosing to focus on this region also increases the usefulness of the discussion. In comparison to the central plain, the more southerly regions became largely controlled by Han people as both the majority and leading power during most of the Nan Bei Chao period; they were culturally and socially influenced by these factors (Ge, 1997, p. 87-88). Therefore, the people in the region experienced less cultural mixing and negotiation. The main methodology employed in this thesis is textual analysis of historical documents, including the official dynastic histories, such as *Jinshu* 晋书 [History of the Jin dynasty], which was compiled by Fang Xuanling (578 - 648) and twenty other officials in the Tang dynasty, recording the history from the Three Kingdoms to the establishment of the Song realm in 420 CE. The project will also reference recipes, such as those in Jia Sixie's (ca. 6th century) *Qimin yaoshu* 齐民要术 [Essential ways of securing the livelihood of the common people], a comprehensive compilation that covers agricultural knowledge and contains several recipes. Alongside this, numerous poems and essays related to aspects of food culture will be analyzed. Other materials cited in later books will also be used where the original records are missing. One example is the *Xu Hanshu* 续汉书 [Continuation of historiography of Han dynasty], originally written by historian Sima Biao (? - 306 CE) in the Western Jin Dynasty, and cited in the encyclopedic reference book *Taiping yulan* 太平御览 [*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*], a massive encyclopedia of the Song dynasty, which is highly valued for its outstanding selection of quotations from over 2000 sources, 70 to 80 percent of which have since been lost in full.[2] Besides these primary sources, secondary resources about

[2] *Taiping yulan* 太平御览 [*Imperial Readings of the Taiping Era*], compiled by Li Fang (925 - 996) under the instruction of the

the Nan Bei Chao period and Chinese food history are also referenced. Additionally, I consider the social situation of the time, in order to analyze the materials in their specific socio-historical contexts.

The discussions will mainly be based on extrapolations from historical sources, using such resources to make best-guess estimations. Unlike more quantifiable sources, such as archaeological research, these sources are unlikely to be able to be completely traced in a quantitative way. However, qualitative research is still useful for uncovering the contemporary sociopolitical situation. That said, I am aware that many of the historical sources, such as the general history books, were written by the dominant government of the time, which were mostly made up of Han authorities or 'Han-ized' (汉化) non-Han realms. Therefore, information directly from the non-Han societies is, to some extent lacking because of the contemporary sociopolitical environment. Moreover, the information from the available materials comes mostly from the perspective of the Han rulers or Han-ized dominators, who placed the Han in a socially superior position to the non-Hans. Such a factor makes their statements biased towards the Han. Similarly, since historical books from the time were mostly compiled by the Han people, many non-Han ethnicities from the regions westerly to the Han area are simply collectively referred as *hu* within the text, only contrasting them with the Han. This, artificially collapses and simplifies many distinct communities into one. However, considering the accessibility of the materials, this thesis must resort to the idea of *hu*, or non-Han, as being the counterpart to the Han.

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emperor Song Taizong (939 - 997), covers arranged into 55 branches (bu 部), subdivided into a total of 5363 categories (lei) in 1000 *juan*, 4 volumes. It was based on existing works, naming one Northern Qi and two Tang encyclopedic anthologies, the *Xiuwen dian yulan* 修文殿御览 [Read by the emperor in the Hall for cultivating literature] (no longer extant), *Yiwen leiju* 艺文类聚 [Anthology of literary excerpts arranged by categories], and *Wensi boyao* 文思博要 (no longer extant). For more information, see Wilkinson Endymion. (2013). Chinese history: a new manual. Cambridge, MA etc.: Harvard University Asia Center.

The whole work consists of four chapters. Chapter 2 offers three case studies of foodstuffs that each have non-Han origins, namely grapes, *hubing* (胡饼), a kind of baked flatbread, and *yangpanchang* (羊盘肠), a sheep's blood sausage of fat, flour, rice and spices. Chapter 3 connects the foods discussed in Chapter 2 to wider social factors and discusses how these cases of food appropriation reflect the social interaction between the Han and non-Han, such as the dissemination of foods from upper to lower social groups, the discrimination between the non-Han and Han people and how they experienced periods of social merging. The last chapter concludes the work, considering the limitations of the research conducted and directions for further research.

Chapter 2: Foodstuffs

As food culture is an important way to understand a society in general, and its people's lives more specifically, the foodstuffs people consume within a given society are themselves a major aspect of understanding sociopolitical culture in a region. By the end of the Han Dynasty, the Han Chinese people's routine diet usually contained grains, among which millets and wheat were mainly consumed in the north, while rice mainly consumed in the south, followed by hemp and beans (Needham, 1984, pp. 26-27; Chang, 1977, pp. 71-72). Along with grains, *geng* (羹) was a type of common dish, which was a kind of stew with vegetables such as scallions, bean leaves and yam, with or without meat (Chang, 1977, pp. 74-76). Meat for consumption was not as readily available for common people; where available, chicken and pork were the most commonly consumed (Chang, 1977, pp. 75).

During the Nan Bei Chao period, when the interaction between the Han and the non-Han people was high, Han dietary practices also shifted similarly. Various non-Han foodstuffs, as well as their patterns of preparation and consumption, were further spread to the Han community. Such dietary influences can help to illustrate the direct cross-cultural interaction that occurred between the two groups, as well as social, political, and cultural influence this interaction brought about. This chapter will provide three culinary examples of food during the Nan Bei Chao period, namely *hubing* (胡饼), which is a kind of flatbread, a sheep's blood sausage, known as *yangpanchang* (羊盘肠) and grapes (葡萄).

Hubing 胡饼

One non-Han food which has been frequently mentioned by scholars is *hubing* (胡饼), a kind of flatbread (Wang, 1994, p. 51; He, 2011). It is also translated literally as "barbarian flatbread" (Serventi and Sabban, 2002, p. 278). Specifically, the character *hu* 胡 refers to the non-Han groups in the northern and western regions of ancient China (He, 2011). According to *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻译名义集 [A collection of translations regarding names and meanings] from the Southern Song Dynasty (Fa, 1922, p. 1), [3] from the Han Dynasty (206 BC - 220 CE) to the Sui Dynasty (581 CE - 618 CE), the Han referred to the western regions as '*hu* countries':

> From the Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty, all [Han people] refer to the regions west [of the Han territories] as *hu* countries.
>
> 自汉至隋皆指西域以为胡国。

The term "Western regions" generally refers to the areas west of the Yumen Pass (also called the Jade Gate) and Yangguan Pass, two passes located on the ancient Silk Road, in modern-day Gansu Province.[4] It can sometimes also refer to the Tarim Basin and its surrounding area, namely the area between the Pamirs and Yumen Pass. (Yu, 2004; Xiong, 2009, p. 589 - 590) Therefore, in the case of *hubing*, the *hu* implies the Central Asian origin of the food.

In addition to the geographic concept, the origin of such food is also shown from a linguistic perspective. Foods whose names start with *hu* 胡 were mostly introduced to Han people

[3] *Fanyi mingyi ji* is a collective book based on translation and explanation of Buddhist scripts. It was originally written by Monk Shi Fayun in the Southern Song dynasty, and has been recorded in *Sibu congkan* 四部丛刊 [The four branches of literature collection], which is a modern compilation of various Chinese texts. *Fanyi mingyi ji* is recorded in book 525 – 532. The passage quoted is from book 525.

[4] Yumen. (2016). In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. **http://academic.eb.com/EBchecked/topic/654376/Yumen** Retrieved on May 5th. 2016

from Central Asia during the Han-Jin period, such as *husui* (胡荽, literally foreign *sui*, i.e. coriander)[5], *hudou* (胡豆, lit. foreign bean, i.e. broad bean), *hutao* (胡桃, lit. foreign peach, i.e. walnut) (Li, 2010). As for *hubing*, wheat flour products became widespread during the Han-Jin period, due to the relatively concurrent development of water power and powered mills and hullers (Yu, 2011, p. 143). Linguistically, the word *bing*, as a generic term for kneaded wheat flour products, occurs with increased frequency from the Later Han Dynasty onward (Serventi and Sabban. 2002. p. 274). These factors taken together suggest that the popularization of *hubing*, as one kind of *bing*, can be dated to approximately the period of the Later Han and Jin dynasties. It follows then that *hubing* was likely introduced from the non-Han places to Han areas.

Today, the word *bing* (饼) refers mainly to a sort of flatbread, usually round or elliptical in shape. However, more than a thousand years ago, the concept of *bing* 饼 was different, and the foods that *bing* referred to were more varied than today. At that time, the character generally represented various kinds of flour products. As Sabban points out (2002, p. 278), in the book *Shi Ming* 释名 [Explaining Names] (Liu, 1922, p. 30), an ancient dictionary, it is explained as a dough-making process:

> [The character] *bing* [flatbread], [literally means] to combine; to knead wheat flour with water in order to make a dough.
>
> 饼，并也。溲麦面使合并也。[6]

[5] Sui (荽), mostly referred to as *husui* (胡荽) or *yansui* (芫荽), both meaning coriander. In *Shuowen Jiezi* 说文解字 (Xu Shen and Xu Xuan, 1963, p. 16), a dictionary from the Han Dynasty, the character is described as being able to freshen breath.

[6] *Shi Ming* 释名 [Explaining names] is an exegetic book of early Chinese texts. It was written by Liu Xi in ca. 200 CE, and it was the first book especially explaining the naming methods of things. The whole book is collected in *Sibu Congkan* (1922).

Thus, *bing* refers to essentially anything made by adding water to flour until it combines into a dough. For example, according to Serventi and Sabban (2002), “steamed *bing*” (*zhengbing*) were little leavened breads cooked in steam, and “broth *bing*” (*tangbing*) were noodles boiled or cooked in a soup.

Until the Song dynasty (960 CE - 1279 CE), the character *bing* 饼 was still seen as a general term for all kinds of flour products, as is said by Huang Chaoying in *Jingkang Xiangsu Zaji*, a book of textual criticism, originally dated to ca. 1100, in the Song dynasty (1986, p. 17):

For all food made of flour, they are called *bing*.

以面为食具者，皆谓之饼。

In other words, *bing* was a category of foods that used flour as their base material. Therefore, in terms of *hubing*, generally it can be understood as a kind of flour product originally from non-Han regions.

Additionally, there was a specific type of stove used to make *hubing*, called a *hubing* stove 胡饼炉. Such stoves were mentioned in *Qimin yaoshu* (Jia, 1978, p. 480 - 481) for making *suibing* (髓饼), literally translated as marrow *bing*, another kind of flatbread:

To make the flatbread, put it on the stove and heat until it is ready.

便著胡饼炉中，令熟。

The way to make *hubing* is using a specific pit oven or stove to cook it through. Moreover, another characteristic of *hubing* is that it often has sesame seeds sprinkled on top of the product (Liu, 1922, p. 30):

Hubing, make it very big and supple. It is also said to have sesame on the top.

胡饼，作之大漫沍也，亦言以胡麻著上也。

Therefore, combining all of the evidence above, we can see that *hubing* is a flatbread originally from the non-Han regions north or west of the central Han territory, which is made from a flour-based dough, baked in a special pit oven and topped with sesame. As is pointed out by Anderson (1988), when talking about the wheat consumption in the north of China, it is similar to modern-day *shaobing* ("roasted cakes", small bread loaves covered with sesame seeds) or *naan* in Central Asian and Persian cuisine (p. 54).

Evidence of *hubing*'s popularity when it was introduced into Han society can be found as early as the Eastern Han Dynasty. For example, as is recorded in *Xu Hanshu* 续汉书 [Continuation of historiography of Han dynasty] (Sima and Li, 1963, p. 3818):

Emperor Ling liked *hubing*, [therefore,] all people in the capital city ate *hubing*.

灵帝好胡饼，京师皆食胡饼。[7]

Emperor Ling (156 CE-189 CE) was the twelfth emperor of the Eastern Han Dynasty. Because of his appreciation of *hubing*, it became commonly consumed in the capital city, where modern-day Luoyang (洛阳) stands, in Henan Province (河南省). Another example during the Nan Bei Chao Period comes from the story of Wang Changwen 王长文 (ca. 238 - 302), a provincial governor of the Western Jin dynasty. When he was just nominated as the provincial governor 别驾, in order to better understand the society he ruled over, he went undercover around the city. It is recorded in

[7] Xu Hanshu, originally written by Sima Biao (? – 306 CE) in the Western Jin Dynasty, is collected in Lifang's (925 - 996) book *Taiping yulan*, published in 1983. It records the history of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25 CE – 220 CE).

Jinshu that he happened to eat a *hubing* while squatting in public doing these surveys (Fang, 1974, p. 2138):

[He] squatted in the city center of Chengdu and nibbled on *hubing*

于成都市中蹲踞啮胡饼

While undercover, the governor had to perform as a normal citizen. From his posture of squatting in public, it shows his behavior indeed copied that of a common person instead of behaving like a member of the governing elite. In line with that, the *hubing* he was eating was also considered to be a common food consumed by common people. Moreover, Chengdu (still called Chengdu, 成都 in modern-day Sichuan Province, 四川省) was a city governed by the Jin court. Han people had ruled it since the Han dynasty. Therefore, the routine life there was influenced by the Han administration. These facts suggest that by the Western Jin Dynasty, *hubing* was a non-Han food that had already been integrated into the Han community and, one might assume, was generally accepted by Han people.

Hubing not only became popular among the common Han people, it also caught the attention of the emperors. One such example is associated with Shi Jilong, the leader of the Later Zhao realm (319CE - 352CE). According to *Gujin Shiwen Leiju* 古今事文类聚 [Catagories of Events and Literature from Ancient Times to the Present], the name of *hubing* had been changed because of him (Zhu Mu, Fu and Zhu Yuan, 1983, vol. 927, p. 330):

Shi Jilong tabooed *hu*, and changed *hubing* to *mabing*.

石季龙讳胡，改胡饼曰麻饼。

Jilong (295 - 349) was the third emperor of the Later Zhao realm. He was born in *Shangdang Wuxiang* County 上党武乡 which was a town of *Jie* people, a non-Han ethnic group from modern-day Yushe County (榆社县) in Shanxi Province (山西省). As the emperor, similar to other emperors in Chinese history who had language taboos of their names, he tabooed *hu* and forbade people from using the character *hu*, since it implied his ethnicity as non-Han.[8] Indeed, during this disunited time, as is mentioned in Chapter 1, many leaders of various realms were non-Han people. Shi Jilong was one of them. Knowing the Han regarded the character *hu* as derogatory "barbarian", Jilong did not wish to be associated with such bias. Therefore, in order to keep his social standing amongst the Han, the usage of the character *hu*, which implied the social inferiority of himself and his ethnic group in the eyes of Han people, had to be avoided. Such a naming taboo shows that the emperor saw the social inequality between the Han and the non-Han as a serious matter and speaks to the relative power of the Han people over those residing in non-Han realms.

However, the taboo of *hu* from Shi Jilong was unevenly applied. Words including the character *hu* were still used in the literature, such as in *Zhouhou Beiji Fang* 肘后备急方 [Handbook of Prescriptions for Emergency] (Ge, 1955), a medical book written during the Eastern Jin dynasty (317 - 420). In the book, there are several materials with the character *hu* in their names, such as *hujiao* (胡椒, literally foreign pepper, i.e. peppercorn); *husuan* (胡蒜, lit.

[8] There is a tradition of language taboo called *bihui* 避讳. It especially refers to name taboo of emperors in a narrow context, while it can also refer to other taboos in daily life in a broad context. For more information, see Li Zhongsheng. (1991). 中国语言避讳习俗 *[Custom of taboo in Chinese language]*. Xi'an: Shanxi People's Publishing House. Wang Xinhua. (20007). 避讳研究 *[Researches about the naming taboo]*. Jinan: Qilu Press. Adamek Piotr. (2015). *A good son is sad if he hears the name of his father: the tabooing of names in China as a way of implementing social values.* Volume LXVI.Maney-Monumenta Serica.

foreign *suan*, i.e. garlic)[9]; and *huma* (胡麻, lit. foreign hemp, i.e. sesame) (pp. 133; 50; 173).[10] These materials were definitively mentioned as medicine in the book, but also used as flavoring ingredients for dishes. As in *hubing*, the character *hu* in these foods also referred to their non-Han origins (Simoons, 1991, pp. 384; 174; 291). This suggests that people at the time were not very concerned about the taboo of the character *hu*, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, which was a common sociolinguistic marker that implied a critical distinction between the Han and the non-Han people. Although a bit tenuous, the fact that some records at the time show that people were not concerned about the taboo could suggest that they may have been unlikely to take it as a serious bias between the Han and the non-Han.

From the story of Wang Changwen going undercover, we can see that *hubing* may have been accepted by Han people, having become a popular foodstuff in their daily lives. The name of *hu* not only implies the non-Han origin of the food itself, but also conveys a prescribed socio-cultural inequality between the Han and the non-Han people. Socially, the Han people distinguished themselves from the non-Han by calling the non-Han *hu*. When the non-Han realized the social implications, they tabooed the character *hu* to avoid the discrepancy. However, considering the fact that the character *hu* in the names of food was still in use after the official taboo, it suggests that the distinction of ethnicity when it comes to food does not seem to be as sharp in reality. Compared to the original concept of *hu* in the sociopolitical context, which indicated the inequality of the Han and the non-Han, it implies that the use of the character in

[9] *Suan* (蒜), garlic. *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 explains it as strong-odored or pungent vegetables (Xu Shen and Xu Xuan, 1963, p. 25).

[10] *Zhouhou Beiji Fang* 肘后备急方 [Handbook of prescriptions for emergency], also known as *Zhouhou Jiuzu Fang* 肘后救卒方 or *Zhouhou Fang* 肘后方, is a book of formulas of traditional Chinese medicine, especially for emergency purpose. It was written by Ge Hong (283 - 343) in the Eastern Jin dynasty.

food names was looser, and the ethnic concept embedded in the character for food was less strong than that of other social factors.

Yangpanchang 羊盘肠

Apart from the foods containing "*hu*", a character which suggest such food's non-Han influences, there are also foods whose styles are mixed non-Han and Han, such as *yangpanchang* (羊盘肠), a kind of sheep's blood sausage made with flour, rice and various spices. The recipe for *yangpanchang* is recorded in *Qimin yaoshu* (Jia, 1978, p. 432 - 433): First, one is instructed to make the stuffing. To begin, one must prepare the sheep's blood:

> Take *5 sheng* of sheep's blood, get rid of the fibrin clots, and break them up.
>
> 取羊血五升，去中脉麻迹，裂之。[11]

Then add the fat:

> Cut 2 *sheng* of sheep fat into thin slices
>
> 细切羊胳肪二升

With the main ingredients of blood and fat ready, add the flavorings:

> Get 1 *jin* of chopped ginger, 3 slices of orange peel, 1 *ge* of smashed pepper, 1 *sheng* of light soybean paste, 5 *ge* of fermented soybean juice.
>
> 切生姜一斤，桔皮三叶，椒末一合，豆酱清一升，豉汁五合[12]

[11] *Sheng*, *jin*, *ge* and *cun* here are all measure words. *Sheng* and *ge* are measurements of capacity, *jin* is of weight and *cun* is of length. 1 *sheng* is equivalents to 10 *ge* (Kroll and Paul. 2015. pp. 70; 156; 212; 408). The exact equivalence to the western measurement today is uncertain. Li and Lü (2013) state 1 *sheng* is 400ml; 1 *jin* is 440g; 1 *cun* is about 3 cm. Qiu (1992, pp.69; 254-256; 259) argues during the Southern and Northern dynasties, 1 *sheng* can be 395ml or 535ml depending on different vessels; 1 *jin* is 347g; 5 *cun* is 12.35cm, which means 1 *cun* is about 2.5cm.

Next, add some flour and rice to make a slurry:

Add 1 *sheng* and 5 *ge* of flour and 1 *sheng* rice. Mix all [of the ingredients] until well blended into a slurry

面一升五合和米一升作糁都合和

The last step in making the stuffing is to add some water:

Then pour in three *sheng* of water.

更以水三升浇之

Afterwards, prepare the skin and add the stuffing to make a sausage:

Take the large intestine, clean out the impurities with water, and use *baijiu* (distilled spirits) to wash the crevices through again. Then fill the sausage with the mixture.

解大肠，淘汰，复以白酒一过洗肠中屈申,以和灌肠。

Lastly, cook the raw sausage and it is ready to serve:

Boil the intestine until it reaches a curled length of 5 *cun*. When the blood does not leak out anymore, [the sausage] is ready. Cut [it] into small pieces of [1] *cun* long [to serve]. Use bitter wine [(vinegar)] and sauce [as a dip] while eating.

屈长五寸，煮之。视血不出，便熟。寸切。以苦酒、酱食之也。[13]

[12] Miao Qiyu (1982, p.470) states the *jin* (a measure word of weight) for measuring ginger may be a miswriting of *sheng*, because other elements are all measured in *sheng* or *ge*, and one *jin* of ginger will be too much for the sausage.
[13] For a modern Chinese explanation, see Shi (1961, p. 528).

Sheep's blood and fat are the main ingredients by proportion. Sheep products were largely favored by non-Han nomads, as is described by the Eastern Jin poet and musician Cai Yan's (177 - ?) poem *Hujia shibapai* 胡笳十八拍 [Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute] in the late Eastern Han dynasty:

> [The nomad people] wearing fur clothes [makes me] terrified from muscle to bone,
> [and] it is futile trying to stop my emotions with their usual strong gamy smell of sheep.
>
> 毡裘为裳兮骨肉震惊，羯膻为味兮枉遏我情。

Cai Yan, commonly known by her courtesy name Wenji, born in Yu county in the Chenliu Prefecture, was the daughter of Cai Yong (132 - 192), a famous scholar and officer in the Eastern Han court. During a period of conflict, in about 195, Yan was abducted by *Xiongnu* 匈奴 (a term referring to a confederation of nomadic peoples) to their encampment. She was forced to stay there for twelve years as the wife of the Xiongnu chieftain. The poem describes the scenes of her life with the *Xiongnu* 匈奴 community and it presents an overall picture of the life style of nomad people there.[14] In the text, the characters *jie shan* 羯膻 refer to the gamy flavor of sheep or goat, in which the character *jie* 羯 refers to the ethnicity and *shan* 膻 refers to the smell of mutton.[15] Further information on the sociolinguistic connections between the *Jie* and the *Xiongnu* will be discussed in Chapter 3. From Yan's description, we can tell that she found it difficult to accept the nomadic food, especially the gamy taste of mutton.

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[14] For more information about the poem, see the collection of the corresponding scroll *Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute: The Story of Lady Wenji*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/39569 Retrived Jan. 25th, 2016.

[15] The explanation is from *Academic Dictionaries and Encyclopedias*. http://dic.academic.ru/dic.nsf/chi_big_enc/344440 Retrived Jan. 26th, 2016.

Another example showing the prevalence of mutton in non-Han cuisine is the case of Wang Su (464 - 501), as we see in *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛阳伽蓝记 [Record of the monasteries of Luoyang] (Yang and Zhou, 1958, p. 63), a book compiled by Yang Xuanzhi (? - 555) in the Eastern Wei realm (534 - 550) in the Northern Dynasty. This book recorded the sociopolitical fluctuations and related anecdotes of over seventy temples in the urban and suburban areas of Luoyang City. The text indicates that Wang Su did not eat mutton or yoghurt when he first was at the Northern Wei court:

> When Wang Su first arrived at the [Northern Wei] court, he did not eat lamb or drink yoghurt. [Instead, he] always ate rice with fish stew and drank tea.
>
> 肃初入国，不食羊肉及酪浆等物，常饭鲫鱼羹，渴饮茗汁。

Wang Su was a Han person who became an official of the Northern Wei court. The Northern Wei, also known as *Tuoba Wei*, was first established as the *Dai* State 代国 by the *Tuoba* clan of the *Xianbei*, a branch of Mongolian people in the early 4th century. After being annexed by the Former Qin Realm for ten years (376 - 386), it was finally reestablished in 386 as Northern Wei, the first dynasty of the Northern Dynasties. As an originally nomadic group, the *Xianbei* diet contained a large amount of mutton and other sheep products, such as yoghurt made with ewe's milk. In Wang Su's case, it is likely that he was unaccustomed to the taste of mutton products, so he refused to eat them, instead, insisting on eating the Han foods, such as fish stew with tea.

Both the examples of Wenji and Su suggest that Han people were unaccustomed to gamy flavors. Indeed, as Knechtges has shown in discussing specific grains, vegetables, fruits consumed and the regulations of meat consumption from the Zhou Dynasty to the Han dynasty, the Han cuisine at this time consisted mainly of grains plus a few vegetables and some native

fruits. Meat, on the other hand, was less often consumed; the meat that was consumed consisted primarily of pork and poultry (Knechtges, 1997; Min, 1991). Therefore, it is understandable that the Han people would be unaccustomed to mutton and lamb products. However, for the non-Han nomadic people who raised animals on the steppes where animals could eat grass and run, eating thin, sinew-laden meat was routine, as opposed to the pork and poultry available to their Han counterparts who were sedentary agriculturalists.

As for the case of the blood sausage *yangpanchang*, the main ingredients are sheep's blood and fat, which were not common in Han society. Within the sausage, there are also a few other ingredients, such as ginger, orange peel, pepper and soy sauce. These ingredients could overpower the gamy taste of the sheep's blood and fat in the final product — even today people use them to decrease the gamy flavor of foodstuffs. As is written by the authors from the Nanlaishun Restaurant in Beijing (1985, pp. 17 - 18), the purpose of adding various flavorings, such as soy sauce, ginger and pepper, is to decrease the gamy flavors in recipes and add flavor to the dishes.

Compared to Han cuisine, non-Han cuisine features mutton more regularly. Thus, it can be reasoned that non-Han people are more accustomed to gamy flavors; their cuisine usually features fewer ingredients which are intended to decrease gamy flavors. However, since the cuisine was brought into the local Han area by the non-Han migrants, and these spices also widely exist in other Han dishes to add flavor, such as steamed pork, sliced pickled meat and fish stew.[16] It is very possible that such non-Han ingredients and techniques were adopted by the Han people as a way of appropriating dishes.

[16] Ingredients such as ginger, orange peel, pepper, etc. are commonly used as spices to add various flavor to dishes. For the recipes, see *Qimin yaoshu*: steamed pork (作悬熟法) (p. 477); sliced pickled meat (绿肉法) (p. 455) and Blotched snakehead stew (鳢鱼臛) (p. 438).

In contrast, adding rice to the blood sausage is unlikely to be a non-Han procedure. The non-Han people, such as the *Xiongnu* and *Xianbei,* originally lived a nomadic life in steppe regions on the northern and western borders of the Han regions, as is said in *Shiji* 史记 [*Records of the Grand Historian*] (Sima, 1991, p. 496):

> [They] follow the water and grass resources to migrate, but do not have a certain city where to live or to develop agriculture.
>
> 逐水草迁徙,毋城郭常处耕田之业。[17]

As these non-Hans lived a nomadic life instead of one involved in settled agriculture, their food was unlikely to have contained much rice. Therefore, adding rice to sausage does not seem to indicate *hu* influences in the style. In contrast, within Han cuisine, using rice as an auxiliary ingredient in dishes is common. For example, a slurry made of rice is called *san* 糁 and is common in Han recipes. In *Qimin yaoshu*, it has been shown to be used for two main purposes: one is to help the fermentation process in pickling fish or meat, and the other is to lightly season and bulk dishes such as stews and steamed dishes (Miao, 1992, p.458). So in the case of *yangpanchang* 羊盘肠, the addition of rice to the sheep's blood sausage is most likely to be a change introduced by the Han people as an appropriation that changed the final product to better suit Han preferences.

As is discussed above, the sheep's blood sausage *yangpanchang* 羊盘肠 comes from a combination of both non-Han and Han cuisines, containing sheep's blood and fat along with a strong gamy taste, typical of the non-Han style, while also having other ingredients, namely

[17]*Shiji*, also known as *Taishigong shu* 太史公书, is a collective history book compiled by an Han official Sima Qian (145 - 86 BC). It covers the history from the Yellow Emperor to the reign of Emperor Wu of Han, and is seen as a monumental work in Chinese history.

spices and rice, from Han cuisine. From a pure taste of non-Han people towards a fusion style mixed with Han cuisine, food had also experienced shifts during the Nan Bei Chao period. As it is related to people's daily life, food is also a factor which represents the cultural changes during the process of the non-Han people's integration into the Han society.

Socially, considering the official language taboo and its practice in the society, the Han had a greater control over the other groups culturally, while the barrier between the Han and the non-Han embedded in food was not equally sharp. In contrast, the mixed style of the Han and the non-Han shown in the blood sausage implies the fusion of the two cultures. Thus, the practical and social changes are reflective of each other. These two forces of the political and the social complicated the relationship between the Han and the non-Han.

Grapes

During the Nan Bei Chao period, alongside the migration of people, there were also many types of foodstuffs that further spread to the Han community from the non-Han western regions. The grapevine (*Vitis vinifera*) and its fruit were one such introduced food. In modern Chinese, grapes are known as *pú tao* (葡萄) — in ancient texts, the grape is also written as *pú táo* 蒲桃 (literally cottontail peach) or *pú táo* 蒲陶 (literally cottontail pottery). The grape is said to have been originally cultivated in Western Asia and Egypt from at least 4,000 to 3,000 BCE (Laufer, 1967, p. 220). The cultivation of grapes in China is believed to have started from the Han dynasty onward, when the mission of Zhang Qian (164 BC - 114 BC) went into the non-Han Chinese regions to the west of the Han area— the modern-day region of Central Asia, including Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Afghanistan:

Zhang Qian traveled to the western regions as an envoy; when he came back, he brought pomegranate, walnut and grape.

张骞使西域还，得安石榴、胡桃、蒲桃。[18]

Similarly, *Han Shu* 汉书 [Book of Han] also has a record of the Han envoy bringing grapes and alfalfa back to the Han court (Ban, 1991, p. 1222):

The Han envoy picked the seeds of grapes and alfalfa and brought them back.

汉使采蒲陶、目宿种归。

Judging from the available sources, it is likely that grape was thus introduced to China during the period of Zhang Qian's travels. However, there is an argument that the presence of the grape in China dates back to pre-Han times (Xiao Tong, ca. 500 CE, trans. David R. Knechtges, 1987, p. 92), but as Zheng and You have argued, the strains mentioned in such arguments are not the same as the one commonly known as grapes today (*Vitis vinifera*) (Zheng and You, 2006). Plus, the pronunciation of grapes in Chinese, *pu tao* (葡萄), derives from the Ferganian *bu-daw* or Iranian *budāwa*, according to Laufer (1967, p.225), which may have been picked up by Zhang Qian during his travels to those regions. Therefore, there is evidence that the cultivation of grape (*Vitis vinifera*) was introduced from the western areas to China in Zhang Qian's time.

Since the grape was said to be first introduced to the Han court, it was also assumed to be first planted by the emperor (Sima, 1991, p. 546):

[18] The sentence is a quotation from *Bowu zhi* 博物志 in *Qimin yaoshu* 齐民要术 *(Jia, 1978, p. 548)*, while the original text of *Bowu zhi* (博物志) does not have the passage. However, interestingly, in the later literature, there were more quotes from *Bowu zhi* included grapes, such as in *Chuxueji* 初学记 [Notes for young beginners] (Xu and Ji, 1983, vol. 890, p. 452) and *Taiping yulan* 太平御览 (Li, 1963, p. 4309).

The mission of the Han took the fruit back, then the Son of Heaven [(the emperor)] started to plant alfalfa and grape on the fertile farmland.

汉使取其实来，于是天子始种苜蓿、蒲陶肥饶地。

From this passage, which dates back to the Western Han Dynasty, we can see that the start of grape cultivation was thought to have been in the Imperial Family, who had their capital in Chang'an (长安, modern-day Xi'an, 西安, in Shanxi Province, 陕西省). Moreover, the plant is shown to be a precious species, its ownership being highly esteemed since the emperor planted it on the fertile field. Additionally, according to Joseph Needham (2015, p.536), Zhang Qian mentioned his discoveries of plants and animals as exotic products to the emperor, which implies that these westerly foodstuffs were still novel, even to the emperor himself.

The appreciation of grapes continued until the period of the Three Kingdoms (220 - 280). The Wen Emperor of the Wei realm, Cao Pi (187 - 226), referred to grapes as "the precious fruit of the central area" and the fruit was praised as unrivaled in his work *Yu Wu Jian Shu* 与吴监书 [A *Letter to Wu Jian*] (2009, p. 204):

There are many precious fruits in the center of the country, but I just will talk about grapes again.[19]

中国珍果甚多，且复为说蒲萄。

As for the fruits from other places, is there anything that can match [the grape]?

他方之果，宁有匹之者？

[19] This line appears as it is translated in the source. The source editor notes that some versions omit "again".

The development of grapes within society continued into the following realm of Cao Rui (205 - 239), the Ming Emperor of Wei. In his royal garden, Hualin Garden 华林园, there were large fields of grape vines (Li, 1963, p. 4309):

Hualin Garden had 178 grape vines.

华林园葡萄百七十八株。[20]

Hualin Garden, located in modern-day Luoyang (洛阳) in Henan Province (河南省), was the most important imperial garden of the period, one which was especially designed to hold the imperial household's treasures securely (Zhou, 1999, pp. 91-92). Emperor Cao Rui personally led his officials in the process of building the garden (Zhou, 1999, p.92). Therefore, the garden itself was significant to the emperor. Obviously, the grapes planted inside also belonged to the imperial family. Being planted in such a royal garden on a large scale implies that the grape was still considered to be a precious fruit in the early third century.

Later, the grape started to move out from the confines of the royal garden. In later literature, for example, Zhong Hui (225 - 264), a powerful general of the Cao Wei realm in the Three Kingdoms period, is shown to have planted some grapes in his own yard, presumably located somewhere within his jurisdiction. He appreciated the grape very much and even wrote a poem dedicated to the fruit, entitled 'Putao fu' 葡萄赋 [The poem about grapes]. A passage of his poem reads (Wang, 1985, p. 1368):

I planted grapes in front of the house, appreciated them and wrote a poem on it.

[20] *Jin gongge ming* 晋宫阁名 [Names of palaces and pavilions in Jin Dynasty], collected in Li Fang. (1963). *Taiping yulan, juan 972.*

余植蒲桃于堂前，嘉而赋之。[21]

In the same poem, he emphasizes the rarity and preciousness of the grape by comparing it to other rare fruits (Wang, 1985, p. 1368):

> Looking at such exquisite and grand things from afar, there
> is nothing equally precious as such fruit [the grape].
>
> 览遐方之殊伟兮，无斯果之独珍。

By the time of Zhong Hui (225 - 264), we can see that, although the grape was still seen as a precious fruit, it was no longer limited to the imperial family. Generals of high social standing and others of extremely high social stature began having access to the fruit as well.

Moving socially downward from the imperial family toward the social elites, the grape continued to spread in society. Until the Northern and Southern dynasties (420 - 589), the grape was found only in the personal gardens of the upper social echelons. From then onward, the grape spread to other social groups. As is recorded in the aforementioned *Luoyang qielan ji* (Yang, 1958, p. 77), there were flourishing vines with big grapes in front of the White Horse Temple in Luoyang:

> There are apple trees and grapes in front of the White Horse Temple. They are different from those of other places. The vines are flourishing and the grapes are outstandingly big.
>
> 白马寺浮图前，柰林、蒲萄，异于馀处。枝叶繁衍，子实甚大。

[21] Collected in *Guang qunfangpu* 广群芳谱, compiled by scholars such as Wang Hao in Qing dynasty, published in 1985 by Shanghai Shudian. It is an encyclopedic book about flowers and plants, which illustrated the information by giving names, description and related poets and essays during all previous dynasties.

The White Horse Temple mentioned in the text was an immense Buddhist temple in China. It was built by Emperor Ming (28 CE – 75 CE) of the Han Dynasty and located just outside the city walls of Luoyang. By the time *Luoyang qielan ji* was written, the temple had already earned a reputation for attracting many people, both monks and others, who would go to burn incense and present offerings in respect (Yang, 1958, p. 77):

> The Buddhist scripts in the temple still exist up to now, people always burned incense and gave offerings to them. ..... Monks and other people respected them with worship.
>
> 寺上经函至今犹存，常烧香供养之……是以道俗礼敬之。

As alluded to by the passage above, having grapes at the temple, rather than in the royal gardens, for example, suggests that the fruit had come within the reach of common people, being found in their exulted places. Moreover, until the Northern Zhou realm (557 - 581), the planting of grapes was more common and larger in scale (Duan and Ji, 1983, vol. 1047, p. 754):

> [(Grapes)] were planted in all gardens and by all households. The shadows were continuous and the trellises were connected.
>
> 乃园种户植，接荫连架。[22]

From its social beginnings as a precious fruit in the imperial family's gardens to the yard of the general, and finally to a common plant in spaces like popular temples, frequented by common

[22] *Youyang zazu* 酉阳杂俎 [Miscellany of tidbits from Youyang mountain cave], a sketchbook written by Duan Chengshi in the Tang Dynasty and collected in Ji Yun's (1724 - 1805) *Siku quanshu* 四库全书. The context is a conversation between Yu Xin, an officer from the Northern Zhou realm and Yu Jin, an official from the Northern Wei realm about grapes in the country.

people, the path of the grape shows that food can break the boundaries of different social groups over time and go through the society.

The arrival and spread of grapes, the introduction of *hubing* 胡饼 and the mixed culinary style of sheep's blood sausage, *yangpanchang* 羊盘肠, each show how food helped to shape, and was shaped by, the sociopolitical factors of the time. These three foods represent two general trends of change in the Han cuisine, namely an increase in the variety of foodstuffs available to various members of the society due to migration, as well as the use of new cooking methods, under the influence of non-Han cuisine. Such changes are closely related to the specific sociopolitical milieu of the period. As a byproduct of the constant warring and migrations, the non-Han nomadic people moved into the Han territory and the two groups of people largely cohabited. Under such circumstances, the food cultures also largely became blended. More theoretically, the practical influences of food cultures in the region also suggest shifts in other sociopolitical factors, such as ethnicity and social distinctions. These factors will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Sociopolitical Factors

The mutual interactions of different regional food cultures that occur when social groups come into contact with each other do not just create isolated changes. Food is bounded up with aspects of people's identity — religious, national, ethnic — and it can also be a political weapon (Civitello, 2008. p. xiv). Therefore, besides the exchange of foodstuffs, deeper exchanges in the realm of the socio-political take place between the Han and the non-Han. Following the discussion of foodstuffs in Chapter 2, this chapter will discuss the sociopolitical factors during the Nan Bei Chao period, including issues of ethnicity, the interactions between Han and non-Han cultures and social hierarchies within society. At the same time, this chapter tries to show how the foodstuffs and food culture discussed in Chapter 2 interacted with the sociopolitical sphere of the time.

Flatbread and ethnicities

As is mentioned in Chapter 2, the character *hu* refers to the geographical concept of the western regions to the Han territory or a linguistic concept of things that are non-local for the Han people. However, it can also suggest ethnicity. In the Han Dynasty, *hu* referred to *Xiongnu* 匈奴 in the Han Dynasty, as is written in *Han Shu* (Ban, 1991, p. 1202):

> *Chanyu* wrote a letter to the Han [court], saying: There is the great Han in the south, while there is the strong *Hu* in the north.
>
> 单于遗汉书云：“南有大汉，北有强胡。”

Chanyu was the address especially for the leader of *Xiongnu*. In the passage above, he put the character *hu* in the position of a counterpart of the Han and described the *hu* as the strong *hu* (强胡) in contrast to the Han as the great Han (大汉). It implies that he was claiming the strength of his tribe to the Han court and showing his confidence that they were competitive enough to oppose the Han ruling. So the character *hu* here is most likely to be the way to call his own group as a counterpart of the Han. Therefore, the *hu* was referring to the Xiongnu ethnicity.

In the context of Han history, after the Han Dynasty, *hu* tended to refer to the non-Han ethnicities in the northwest regions to the Han area. For example, during the Western Jin dynasty (265 CE - 316 CE), an alliance of five non-Han nomadic peoples, including *Xiongnu* 匈奴, *Jie* 羯, *Xianbei* 鲜卑, *Qiang* 羌 and *Di* 氐, invaded the central Han territory. This event was called Five *Hu* Invading China 五胡乱华, in which the character *hu* 胡 referred to all five non-Han peoples. Similarly, the period from 304 to 439 is known as Five *Hu* and Sixteen States period, when there were actually more than five ethnics and sixteen states (Liu, 2013, p. 51). In context, thus, the five *hu* also loosely refers to the non-Han ethnicities.

During the Nan Bei Chao period, there were many non-Han settlements. Considering the imposed prejudice by the Han on the non-Han people, people residing in these areas made some efforts to eliminate the bias, such as instituting the language taboo of *hu* mentioned in Chapter 2. The taboo of *hu* started from Shi Le (274 CE – 333 CE), the first Emperor of the Later Zhao Kingdom. He tabooed the character *hu* strictly, and called the *hu* people “people of the state”, which implies their legitimacy (Fang, 1974, p. 2735):

> Call *hu* [people] as people of the kingdom… [The rulers] established very strict regulations, which especially tabooed [the character] *hu* rigidly.
>
> 号胡为国人。…… 制法令甚严，讳胡尤峻。

Shi Le was the uncle of Shi Jilong, and he was also a *Jie* person. The *Jie* ethnicity, according to Ge (1997, pp. 460-462), is a branch of the Iranian population from the Sogdiana and Tashkent areas in Central Asia. In the Han dynasty (206 BC - 220 CE), the area they inhabited was called *kangju* 康居 (nowadays south Kazakhstan and middle and lower Syr Darya). The *Jie* people used to be controlled by *Xiongnu* 匈奴, following whom the *Jie* people moved to the Mongolian steppe. Later, in the Wei-Jin period (220 CE - 420 CE), they moved to Central Plains and inhabited Wuxiang County (武乡) in the Shangdang (上党) area, which is in central Shanxi Province today. Whereas the Xiongnu were originally referred to by the character *hu*, the *Jie* were known as the 'small *hu*' (*xiaohu*, 小胡), which indicates their affiliation to the *Xiongnu* and implies their lower social status than the *Xiongnu* (Ge 1997, p. 460). Therefore, it is understandable that the *Jie* people connected the character *hu* as a reference to their ethnic identity.

The Han people had also recognized the *hu* people by purported differences in their facial features, including deeply set eyes (深目), long, pointed noses (高鼻) and were relatively hirsute (多毛/须叙). This kind of description is common in Han resources from the Han dynasty. For example, it is written in *Hanshu* (Ban, 1991, p. 1222):

> From [*Da*] *yuan* [, which is Fergana area today,] to the west until Anxi State [, Parthian Empire,] … people there all [had] deep [-set] eyes [and were] heavily beard [ed].
>
> 自宛以西至安息国 … 其人皆深目，多须叙。

Similarly, in Zhang Hua's (232 CE – 300 CE) book *Bowuzhi* 博物志 (1936, p. 2), it is written:

> West [represents] *shaoyin* [少阴, a concept in Chinese philosophy of *yin-yang*] … People there [had] high noses, deep [-set] eyes [and] much hair.
>
> 西方少阴 … 其人高鼻、深目、多毛。

Such supposed physical distinctions were also mentioned in the poems of the Tang Dynasty, as is discussed in detail by Gao Jianxin and Cui Yun (2015). These supposed distinctions were so deeply ingrained in Han society that they were both the source of prejudiced jokes, as well as part of the way Han people described the non-Han people in Han historiography. Sun Zhen, for example, was the supervisor of the household of Prince Shi Xuan (? – 348 CE), the son of Emperor Shi Jilong. When Zhen had an eye problem, he asked Cui Yue, the Palace Attendant, for a prescription (Fang, 1974, p. 2776):

> I have an eye problem. What medicine can cure it?
>
> 吾患目疾，何方疗之？

Yue had always been on friendly terms with Zhen and teasing him. Asked this question, Yue jokingly advised Zhen to pee in his own eyes:

> Urinate in [the sick eye,] then it will recover.

溺中则愈。

Zhen asked how:

How can [you] urinate in the eye?

目何可溺？

Yue explained because Zhen's eyes are deep, they would make good wells for holding urine:

Your eyes are deep [-set], [which is] just fit to urinate in.

卿目睕睕，正耐溺中。

Having deep-set eyes was considered an obvious facial feature that distinguished the *Jie* people from the Han. Yue was joking that Zhen's eyes being so deep that they could act as urinals. The joke badly offended Zhen. Zhen even told this to Prince Xuan, who is also said to have had deep-set eyes:

Zhen hated [the joke], [and] reported it to Xuan.

珍恨之，以白宣。

Xuan was also considered to have deep-set eyes, which was seen as a *hu*-look by Han people. Such a depiction from the author shows to be the same sort of stereotyping as was applied to Zhen's eyes. Learning about such teasing, which implied the inferiority of non-Han appearances, Xuan was said to be furious, then killed Cui Yue and his father.

> Xuan had the most typical *hu*- look among the princes, [with his] eyes being deep [-set]. Knowing [of such joke, he] became very angry, [then] killed Yue and his son.
>
> 宣诸子中最胡状，目深，闻之大怒，诛约父子。

A joke of just a few words, under the circumstance that Yue was always joking with Zhen, infuriated both Zhen and Xuan so badly because it was about their perceived "*hu*-appearance" in the eyes of the Han people. In the end, Yue, the Palace Attendant, who was in a high position in the court, was killed. In the context of Han historiography, it is said by Han sources that it was Xuan's mindfulness of his own supposedly *hu* facial features being singled out for teasing, which led to the death of Yue. This, for the Han people, suggests the sensitivity of *Jie* people upon their distinctive appearance and identity.

Besides appearance, the *Jie* people's reactions in regards to their ethnicity also is apparent in language usage, such as the character *hu* being tabooed, as is mentioned in Chapter 2. Many Chinese emperors had the tradition of setting language taboos, known as *bihui* 避讳. According to the *Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (2013, p. 74), *bihui* refers to the taboo on using the personal names of emperors, one's elders, and others in social authority, in speech or writing during the feudal ages, in order to protect the hierarchical dignity. In a broad context, *bihui* refers to both name taboo and other taboos in daily life; while in a narrow context, it especially refers to name taboo (Tong, 2003). Compared to most of the name taboos, the taboo of emperors of the Later Zhao realm, *hu*, was an indication of their non-Han ethnicity.

From the first emperor Shi Le, as is mentioned above, who changed the character *hu* to *guo* and made strict regulations to avoid *hu*, to Shi Jilong, discussed in Chapter 2, who changed

hubing to *mabing*, then to Shi Xuan, who killed an official because of jokes about his presumed *hu* appearance, the taboo of ethnicity can be seen to be a continuous social issue. Shi Jilong was originally named Shi Hu 石虎. Although in this case, the word *hu* 虎 (tiger) has a similar pronunciation to *hu* 胡 (implying non-Han ethnicity), which may have indeed been a minor factor influencing the name, it is not likely to have been the main reason for *hu* being tabooed. However, the factor of ethnicity should still be considered, especially noting the continuity from Shi Le to Shi Xuan, who are both non-Han people, and do not have names containing words sounding like *hu*. Meanwhile, the names of Shi Le and Shi Hu are mentioned together in the text, relating both to the taboo of *hu*, which also suggests that the taboo of Shi Hu was not only about his name, but also about the ethnicity, as is written in *Shiliuguo chunqiu* 十六国春秋 [Spring and Autumn Annals of the Sixteen Kingdoms]:

> [Chen Wu] was originally a *hu* person [, however, Shi] Le [and Shi] Hu tabooed *hu* and call [*hu* as] *guo*, [therefore,] [Chen Wu] was given the name of Guowu.
>
> 本是胡人而勒虎讳胡曰国因字之曰国武[23]

Writing about Shi Le and Shi Hu together in terms of the taboo of *hu*, while the character had nothing literally connected to the name Le, suggests that the taboo was mostly about their ethnicity, instead of Shi Hu's name. Additionally, Chen Wu being referred to as *guo* which indicates his non-Han ethnicity, enhances the link between the character *hu* and the non-Han ethnicity.

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[23] Cui Hong (478 CE – 525 CE). *Shiliuguo chunqiu juan 22* 十六国春秋·卷二十二 [*Spring and Autumn Annals of the Sixteen Kingdoms, juan 22*] http://ctext.org/wiki.pl?if=gb&chapter=905806&remap=gb#p72 Retrieved Mar. 23rd. 2016.

From the Han perspective, this severe avoidance of the concept of being non-Han, both in terms of the language taboo of the character *hu* itself and, more specifically, Yue's joke about deep eyes, points to the severe prejudiced sociopolitical distinction between Han and non-Han people imposed by the Han. In comparison, as is mentioned in Chapter 2, some of the names of foodstuffs that include the character *hu* were still in use in medical books. There is no evidence, however, that shows that the author was punished, nor for his book being destroyed because of the character's inclusion. Rather, the text was still handed down as we see today. Therefore, the taboo of *hu* in terms of the names of food did not seem to be as strict as such concept carried in other sociopolitical situations.

Returning to the example of *hubing*, the flatbread that originated from the non-Han regions, its name, which includes the character *hu*, is an indication of its origin. When it was adapted to the Han community, it was widely accepted and widespread among the common people. In this sense, *hubing* built up the connection between the Han and the non-Han in terms of an influence of dietary practice. Meanwhile, as the social distinction between Han and non-Han was sensitive and intense, the name of *hubing* was changed into *mabing*, because of the language taboo, which avoids such distinction. This suggests that food serves as an access point from which we can glimpse the overall sociopolitical situation. Moreover, considering the exceptions of the *hu* character being used in medical books, even though there was a serious language taboo in place in society, people did not seem to be equally concerned that it should apply in terms of food names. This, I would argue, suggests that food could follow a different trajectory from other social factors concerned with ethnic distinctions.

Blood sausage and cultural interaction

Food is an important factor in people's lives. It is in many ways a mirror reflecting their overall social situations, and can tell a great deal about the complex relationships that exist within the greater social sphere in which people live. The fusion of Han and non-Han influences in sheep's blood sausage *yangpanchang* is representative of how food can display social situations and hint at processes of social changes.

In his discussion of the lectures of the influential historian Chen Yinke, Wan Shengnan presents Chen Yinke's argument that the radical changes during the three hundred years of the Nan Bei Chao were caused by large-scale population changes and patterns of migration (Wan, 1987, p. 113). Indeed, the consecutive wars and conflicts between the non-Han peoples and the Han people made the population flow inevitable. Further, according to Ge (1997), there were two main streams of migration during the Nan Bei Chao period. One stream consisted of nomadic non-Han groups moving to the central plains of China; the other of the original Han inhabitants moving to the south (p. 45).

These two massive migrational streams led to the mixing of the non-Han migrants with the originally settled Han people. The population of non-Han people in the Han administrated territories grew rapidly, worrying governmental officials. For example, Jiang Tong (? - 310) writes in *Xirong lun* 徙戎论 (299 CE):

> In addition, there are more than one million people in the Guanzhong area. Considering that number, the non-Han people account for more than a half [of the local population]

且关中之人百馀万口，率其少多，戎狄居半[24]

This text was written by Jiang Tong (add dates), an official in the position of *Taizi Xianma* (太子洗马), a princely librarian in charge of general political issues. Seeing the size of the non-Han population becoming as big as that of the Han inhabitants, Jiang became aware of the potential for attacks from non-Han forces, which could have become a threat to the Jin court. As he pointed this out to the emperor in a memorial to the throne, it can be implied that he saw the threat as rather serious. More specifically, according to Liu (2005, p. 122), the population of *Xiongnu* 匈奴 was as big as 700,000 to 800,000, compared to the 25 million people in the total population of the Jin Dynasty. These numbers show that the mingling of non-Han people and the Han Chinese was extensive. Such regional cohabitation of the two groups made it possible, and inevitable, that the two groups of people and their respective lifestyles would interact in the cultural context wherein they interacted with each other.

In the integrated living environment of the Han and the non-Han peoples, the cross-communication between the two cultures became apparent in many aspects, one such aspect being the food culture that developed. As is mentioned in Chapter 2, sheep's blood sausage is an example of this phenomenon. As we saw, the main ingredients for the sausage are sheep's blood and fat — two non-Han style food materials — which are blended with rice and various flavorings of the Han style. Adding the flavor of spices and rice to the gamey taste that was appreciated by the non-Han people was likely an adjustment by Han people to the preparation method that occurred when they adapted the non-Han foodstuff. Therefore, in terms of food, we

[24] Jiang Tong. (The Western Jin Dynasty). *Xirong lun* 徙戎论 [The Theory of Migrating the non-Han people]. *https://zh.wikisource.org/zh-hans/%E5%BE%99%E6%88%8E%E8%AB%96* Retrieved Feb. 20th 2016.

can see that to some extent, the non-Han products were adapted into the Han cuisine by being combined with Han elements as they entered the Han community.

Indeed, changes in food culture reflected the social fusion of the people living in the shared Han and non-Han regions. However, the process of sinicization (*hanhua* 汉化) was not only limited to food, but also affected other social factors. In various aspects of the society, such as politics, education, architecture, and people's routine lives, such as their language, names, costumes, marriage, even religions, the distinctions between the Han and the non-Han peoples became less and less clear, and the two groups tended to blend together. (Huang, 2007; Dien, 2007, p. 25)

The leaders of the non-Han realms also made many direct contributions to the sinicization of the areas under their control. This can be seen, for example, when Emperor Xiaowen of the Northern Wei insisted on a series of policies intended to bring his population more closely in line with Han-Chinese cultural practices. Emperor Xiaowen was brought up by his Han grandmother Empress Feng, who was the stepmother of his father, until his adulthood. Therefore, Emperor Xiaowen had learned much knowledge of Han cultural practices. He was proficient in the classics of Confucianism and Taoism, as is recorded in *Wei shu* 魏书 [History of the Wei] (Wei, 1974, p. 186):

> [For the profound meaning of *the Five Classices*, he (Emperor Xiaowen) could explain it just by a glimpse of the text ... He was good at talking about Zhuangzi 庄子 and Laozi 老子, especially exceling in paraphrasis.]
>
> 《五经》之义，览之便讲…善谈《庄》、《老》，尤精释义。

Additionally, he also engaged Han aristocrats in the court, such as the Wang Su, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the Han political system was employed by Emperor Xiaowen as well. As Dien writes (1990, p. 97), Xiaowen ensured that "officials were provided with salaries and the descendants of the tribal chiefs were fixed as lineages and became candidates for appointment as officials." The impact of Xiaowen, who himself is a product of the social mingling between the Han and non-Han people, helps to show that the effect of social change was deep in the sociopolitical environment. Food culture being a probe to see the society, the long-lasting effects of the emperor's efforts went beyond the dietary practice, influencing the sociopolitical milieu of both the traditionally Han and non-Han regions of China.

During the Nan Bei Chao period, the co-habitation of the Han and the non-Han occurred on a large scale, which led to widespread mingling of the two cultures mingled. Their dietary practices, represented by the example of blood sausage *yangpanchang*, blended to form a mixed style with both Han and non-Han features. Additionally, beyond the influence of food culture, the emperor also contributed to the sinicization process. This also had considerable sociopolitical influence. Overall, the mingling of the Han and non-Han cultures was noticeable in Nan Bei Chao society.

Grapes and social hierarchies

The society and social structure during the Nan Bei Chao period were complex. According to scholars such as Mao Hanguang (1988), Zhu Dawei (1998) and Tang Changru (1978), the imperial family formed the highest social strata of the country, followed by the powerful genteel families (*dazu* 大族), commonly known as *shizu* 士族. Lower than them were the common people

(*hansu* 寒素), who were commonly referred to as *shuzu* (庶族) or *hanmen* (寒门), including soldiers, peasants, minor craftsmen and other half-free people. Below the common and half-free people, the slaves made up the lowest group on the social ladder.

Among the various social strata, the distinctions between social groups were clear and the ranks were strictly enforced (He, 2006, p.1651). The discrepancies between the different rungs of the social hierarchy were apparent in various aspects of the society, socially and politically. Cao Pi (187 CE - 226 CE), the first emperor of the Wei realm in the Three Kingdoms, instituted a civil service nomination system, known as the Nine Ranks System (九品中正制). Under the system, a local authority, *Zhongzhengguan* (中正官) ranked people into nine levels based on their abilities; candidates for government positions would then be drawn based on these levels. However, the authorities who deployed the system, themselves, were all from the so-called gentry (*shizu* 士族), which inherently made the system reinforce the unbalanced power structure between the aristocratic and non-aristocratic people (Ouyang and Song, 1975, p. 5677):

> Wei [Cao Pi] established the nine ranks, [he] set the [local authority] *zhongzheng*, [on] respecting noble descendants and degraded common people. The power belongs to the "right surname" [aristocratic] families. All [these higher positions are] occupied by the reputable *shizu.*
>
> 魏氏立九品，置中正，尊世胄，卑寒士，权归右姓已。
>
> 【地位较高的政府官员】皆取著姓士族为之。

Since the official metrics always favored aristocratic families for higher positions in the end, the system in place led to a political situation where the higher positions and lower positions were clearly divided by their social status (Fang, 1974, p. 1274):

> Therefore, there are no common people among higher positions, nor powerful families in the lower positions.
>
> 是以上品无寒门，下品无势族。

An individual's position in the various social hierarchies was largely determined by their family background. The status of the family directly decides the reputation of a person (Mao, 1988, p. 31). This kind of hereditary status was nearly impossible to change, as is noticed by Liu Fang in the Tang Dynasty (Ouyang and Song, 1975, p. 5677):

> However, [the family background] distinguished the exalted and the degraded, differentiated *shi* [the genteel family] and the *shu* [, common people]. Such difference cannot be changed.
>
> 然其别贵贱，分士庶，不可易也。

As the authorities were mostly from the powerful families, for the sake of their own benefit, they nominated people who would further support them and help them to maintain power (Yang, 1990, p.67). The powerful family backgrounds of those in authority made it possible for them to control the recruitment of those in powerful positions Authorities tended to make their power even stronger by introducing confederates into the system. This created a situation wherein the social power was always in control of an elite minority.

Compared to the rigid sociopolitical status of various social groups during the Nan Bei Chao period, food culture of the time was not completely the same. Taking the example of the grape, indeed, at the beginning, it was only planted in the imperial gardens. However, the fruit eventually spread to the gardens of the elites and then to the common people. Zhong Hui (225 CE - 264 CE), as is mentioned in Chapter 2, who grew grapes in his yard, was from an aristocratic family. His father Zhong Yao (151 CE - 230 CE), was the Grand Tutor (太傅) of the Wei court. Zhong Hui, himself, served as a "Gentleman Cadet of the Imperial Library", *Mishulang*, (秘书郎) and was later promoted to the position of "Gentleman of the Central Imperial Secretariat", *Shangshu Zhongshu Shilang*, (尚书中书侍郎), which were both high positions in the court. So while grapes as a foodstuff were socially mobile, spreading downward over time, the sociopolitical structure itself was largely rigid. Nonetheless, the ability of certain foodstuffs to break through rigid social barriers suggests the unique power of food to complicate social structures.

After the Nan Bei Chao period, the sociopolitical situation had changed: the Nine Rank System (九品中正制) deteriorated and the Imperial Examination (科举) became the standard for the selection of officials. Compared to the previous situation, in which all higher positions were occupied by the social elites, the imperial examination system made it possible for common people to access the governmental positions. People from common family backgrounds were given more equal opportunities to compete for positions based on their knowledge, intelligence, and merit. The boundaries between the various social hierarchies based on family background during the Nan Bei Chao period were broken after the Sui Dynasty, with things which were only for the aristocracies spread to common people, as is said in Liu Yuxi's poem:

> The swallows in front of the halls of the Wang Family and the Xie Familiy [, which were two major noble families during the Nan Bei Chao period] in the previous time, flew to common people's families
>
> 旧时王谢堂前燕，飞入寻常百姓家

Looking at the Nan Bei Chao period, the spread of the grape seems to be different from the sociopolitical situation, where the social strata was clearly separated, while the grape traveled between one and another. However, compared to that of the Sui-Tang period (581 CE - 907 CE), the path created by the grape gives a hint of the direction of sociopolitical development, which is proved to be the breakthrough among various hierarchies. Thus, the spread of food might not directly reflect the sociopolitical issues going on in the society simultaneously, while it might, in fact, suggest future directions of social developments.

Food, as a necessity of people's life, to a large extent, reflects the social milieu they live in. The three kinds of food discussed in Chapter 2, are examples, which show their close connection to the sociopolitical environment. The flatbread, *hubing*, represents the distinction between the Han and non-Han and stands beyond such distinction; the blood sausage, *yangpanchang*, illustrates the mingling of the Han and non-Han culture; and the grape, introduced from the non-Han regions, suggests the cross-group flow in the co-habiting society. Such foods, which originate from a specific society in a specific time, can be seen as a kind of media conveying the information about their certain social milieu. Furthermore, certain foods were also embedded with the power which could supplant other social factors and make a difference through time and society.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

Throughout the previous chapters, this thesis has attempted to provide an overview of how food shaped and was shaped by interactions between the Han Chinese and the non-Han Chinese people during the Nan Bei Chao period. Three examples have been used, namely *hubing* (胡饼), *yangpanchang* (羊盘肠) and grapes (葡萄), to provide examples of foodstuffs' travelling from the non-Han regions to the Han area, as well as such foodstuffs' spread among the society. Furthermore, this thesis has discussed how the foods reflected sociopolitical factors of certain social milieus, in terms of ethnicities, cultural mingling and social hierarchies.

From these examples, it can be seen that, during this period, wherein Han and non-Han people cohabited together on a wide scale, Han cuisine was much influenced by non-Han eating habits and, to some degree, became mixed with the original Han style. These food culture interactions, in return, reflected the general sociopolitical picture of the time. Food, as an important factor in people's daily lives, can be seen as a mirror of society. Learning the dietary practice in this period may help scholars to fill in the knowledge gaps in Chinese food history, giving them a deeper understanding of society and its people.

However, it still has some limitations, particularly regarding its usage of sources, as well as its breadth and depth. In terms of the primary resources available for the period, sources that refer to food are not as rich as those about today. In order to find out what people ate and how they cooked during this period, this thesis has mainly referred to the historical records including the few still extant cookbooks, general history books and some available literature of other kinds, such as Buddhist texts. However, there are generally many historical books about various aspects of Chinese society and culture throughout successive dynasties, many of which were written in

enormous volumes. This thesis cannot cover them all in detail. On the other hand, many such books have scattered or have disappeared as they have been handed down dynasty by dynasty for approximately two thousand years. This makes the availability of some texts difficult to access, both physically and linguistically. Some other texts have been recorded by officials in later dynasties, and then compiled together, which has helped scholars today to access the knowledge of the past time. Indeed, the diachronic records largely help scholars learn more about a certain time. However, such texts are not originals, so they might have inconsistences or discrepancies because of changing sociopolitical factors or sociolinguistic influence over various dynasties.

Moreover, considering the aforementioned limitations of sources produced by members of the Han social groups, which inevitably provide most of their information only from a Han perspective, without more accessible materials written from the perspective of the non-Han people, it is hard to give a fair argument considering both Han and non-Han perspectives, especially for sociopolitical discussions. Meanwhile, because of the inaccessibility of non-Han language resources, it is hard for the thesis to explore the specific dietary practices of a specific non-Han ethnicity. The distinctions among various groups of non-Han people, themselves, are even more difficult to analyze.

Besides these limitations in primary resources, the scope of secondary resources has also been limited due to linguistic barriers. The literature reviewed for this thesis has been restricted to Chinese and English-language literature in the fields of Chinese history and food, while materials in other languages and local dialects have not been much studied. Generally, apart from the materials in Chinese and English, for example, there are also more resources in other languages, such as Japanese. If their language ability allows, future scholars may also refer to such research for more interpretations of data and insightful inspiration.

In addition to the deficiencies in terms of resources, the range of the studied phenomena has also been limited. This thesis has only used three kinds of food as examples— from being a period of abundant dietary communication and development, the Nan Bei Chao period has many more foodstuffs and cooking methods to consider.

Due to the limitations of the sources discussed earlier, there remains much for scholars to do in terms of further research to develop a more complete and accurate understanding of food history during the Nan Bei Chao period. Methodology-wise, there are still ways to improve the usage of existing resources. A wider coverage of historical records, for example, may give an opportunity to find more examples of people's consumption of a certain food and their application of a specific cooking method. Reading through the already-published historical books physically can be a way forward, indeed. However, the process would become more feasible and efficient if there were more historical texts accurately digitalized. For analyzing Chinese historical texts, exegetic knowledge can be another useful tool, especially for the original texts that have been quoted or recorded in later literary records. Knowledge of various word or character usage schema and scholars' interpretation of the original text in different dynasties may help to present more accurate information in terms of certain linguistic changes. Such sociolinguistic analyses not only contribute to the recording of dietary practices, such as in food names, but also may possibly hint at the sociopolitical situation a certain foodstuff or cooking method was embedded in.

Apart from the official historical records, materials from the non-Han ethnicities also help in understanding the relationship between the Han and non-Han by presenting the ideas from the non-Han side. Materials written in non-Han languages from the Nan Bei Chao period, such as Mongol or Uyghur, if there are any such materials, would provide scholars with a broader view of the period's history. Such materials may be able to illustrate the living habits of specific non-Han

groups in more detail, including their dietary practice and sociopolitical situation, in addition to how they saw the Han people and the interaction between the Han and themselves. Compared to calling various ethnicities collectively *hu*, taking such resources into consideration may also help to illustrate the similarities and differences among various non-Han groups.

Besides methodological considerations, namely in the usage of the resources, there are also various directions for future research that are worth further discussion. For example, in terms of the period's food itself, one may consider how did the foodstuffs travelled inside the Han society after their introduction from the non-Han regions to tease out geographic trend. If so, are they related to the population distributions of the Han and non-Han population in such areas? One may then further consider how cooking methods developed in the mingling environment of the Han and non-Han people. In terms of the way people interpreted food, one could question how dietary practices are presented in the literature: are there foods that are commonly used as symbols to represent the distinction between various ethnic groups? As a people's culture can be represented in many ways, such as their language and costume, we can ask how food was similar to or different from the other factors in terms of illustrating the sociopolitical situations. More broadly, future research can also be conducted to explore the chronological spread of the dietary practices and how they reflected the society through time.

Food is an important element in Chinese culture. Through their millennia of history, Chinese people have developed their cuisine from a large variety of foodstuffs and eating habits from various regions and cultures. During the Nan Bei Chao period, because of large-scale cohabiting with non-Han peoples, the dietary practices of Han people changed significantly. The food of non-Han origin, represented here by the examples of the spread of flatbread, the blood sausage and the grape, had been largely adopted into the Han cuisine, accepted and adapted by the

Han people. Such changes in food have contributed to Chinese food history significantly. It can be seen through this thesis that, embedded in the certain social milieu, food, as a basic element of people's daily lives, can also reflect and supplant other sociopolitical factors, such as social status and ethnicity. Looking at the food today and comparing it to that of the past can provide us with a way of uncovering the development of food cultures through time. Doing so also presents a picture of the social development from the past to the present, as well as inspiring people to think about the future.

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