

History 200, Block 7, Spring 2005 **Religion and Rebellion in China**

Course Description

The Taiping Rebellion raged through China from 1850 to 1864, claiming twenty million lives. Erupting against a backdrop of foreign encroachment, rural disquiet, population pressure and dynastic crisis, the cataclysm brought together explosively the main historical currents of late Qing dynasty China.

Beyond general agreement over the magnitude of the rebellion's importance, however, interpretations of its nature and significance vary: was it a genuine religious movement led by a visionary prophet, or merely one madman's channeling of widespread discontent for his own deranged ends? Did the rebels represent a nascent Chinese nationalism, focused on the reclamation of the great Han empire from the alien Manchu dynasty, or were their Confucian vanquishers the true defenders of Chinese culture and life? Was the rebels' social agenda an expression of ancient utopianism, transplanted Christian millenarianism, the harbinger of the social movements of the twentieth century, or some peculiarly volatile concoction of each?

By treating these and other questions, the course aims to help students better understand the complicated milieu of nineteenth century China and its relation to the world, as well as the factors underlying that nation's subsequent twentieth century transformations. Asking students to weigh a variety of diverse causative factors and equally complicated outcomes for the purpose of fashioning their own understanding of the movement's origins and implications, it is also designed to serve as an extended exercise in historical thinking.

Course Materials:

Course Reader that is Available in the History Department Office, 208C Palmer. (\$30.00, cash or check only)

Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*. New York: Norton, 1965, c1959.

Spence, Jonathan. *God's Chinese Son*. New York: Norton, 1996.

Books on Closed Reserve (For use on final paper):

Clarke, Prescott and J.S. Gregory. *Western Reports on the Taiping*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982.

Jones, William C, trans. *The Great Qing Code*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Michael, Franz. *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*. 3 Vols. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1966-71.

Shih, Vincent. *The Taiping ideology: Its sources, Interpretations, and Influences*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967.

See also:

Hummel, Arthur W., ed. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*. Washington, DC: U.S.

Government Printing Office, 1943-44. (NON-CIRCULATING REF, 1st Floor North: DS734 .U65)

Grading:

Class Participation 25%

Class essays: 25%

Paper-related assignments: 15%

Final Paper: 35%

Class Participation: Students are expected to attend class having done the reading and prepared to engage with the instructors, the readings, and other students. Students may miss up to two days of class per block, no questions asked. For every missed class beyond that, the participation grade is lowered by two-thirds (e.g. an A- for participation becomes a B on the third absence and a C+ on the fourth). Participation grades are assessed on the basis of both the quantity and quality of the student's contributions to class discussion. Class begins 9:30 am. Laptops are welcome for note-taking; the participation grades of students surfing the internet or downloading music during class will be penalized severely.

Class essays: Students will be required to write one five-page and four two page essays during the block. The five page essay is worth ten points; the four two page essays are worth five points apiece. Essay topics and due dates are detailed in the class schedule below.

Final Paper and Paper-related assignments. On Wednesday, April 20, students will submit a 10-15 page research paper concerning some aspect of the Taiping rebellion and/or its place in Chinese history. The paper will be based on extensive use of document collections placed on closed reserve, as well as the materials covered in class discussion. Two ancillary assignments relate to the conception and execution of this project: an exercise conceptualizing paper topics due 3/31 (5 pts.); and a 1-2 paragraph abstract combined with annotated bibliography on the final paper topic due 4/13 (10 pts.). More details in Appendix 1, below.

CLASS SCHEDULE:**Week One**

Monday, 3/28: INTRODUCTION

Tuesday, 3/29: ANTECEDENTS

Reading (75 pp.)

1. Jordan Paper, *The Spirits are Drunk: Comparative Approaches to Chinese Religion*, 1-50. (Chapters 1-2: The Study of Chinese Religion; The Essence of Chinese Religion)
2. C.K. Yang, *Religion in Chinese Society*, 218-243. (Chapter 9: Religion and Political Rebellion)

Wednesday, 3/30: PROCESSES

Reading (100 pp.)

1. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, 13-29; 57-73; 150-174. (Chapters 2, 4, 9: The Social Bandit; Millenarianism I; Ritual in Social Movements)
2. Klaus J. Hansen, *Mormonism and the American Experience*, 1-44. (Chapter 1: The Birth of Mormonism)

Thursday, 3/31: OVERVIEW

Reading (89 pp.)

1. Philip A Kuhn, *The Taiping Rebellion*, 264-317. (From the Cambridge History of China)
2. David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought*, 3-39. (Chapter 1: Fallacies of Question Framing) HANDOUT

Assignment: Conceptualizing paper topics (5 pts.)

Based on Kuhn's treatment, prepare a list of 2 possible research ideas on the topic of the Taiping. Each idea should have a general theme and a specific focus, and be worded in the form of a title. After each title, write the question that the paper will answer. (This is also the question that will guide the research.) The first example below is more straightforward and bland. The second is less so, but still conveys similar information:

1. "Modes of Late Imperial Chinese Diplomacy [general theme]: The Taiping Kingdom and the European Powers in China [specific focus]". How did the Taiping Kingdom conduct foreign relations? Did the Taiping model of diplomacy follow more closely traditional Chinese or 19th century European norms?
2. "Patriarchy Overturns Itself: Gender in the Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace." How did Taiping social policy challenge traditional norms of gender relations in China, and how did these challenges play out in Taiping-occupied Nanjing?

We will discuss these ideas in class as an exercise on how to conceptualize research ideas. Ideally, one of your ideas (or a modification of it) will serve as your final paper topic.

Friday, 4/1: SETTING

Reading (73 pp.)

1. Myron A Cohen, "The Hakka or 'Guest People': Dialect as a Sociocultural Variable in Southeast China," 36-79.
2. Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan*, 3-33. (Chapters 1-3: Walls, The Word, Home Ground)

Week Two

Monday, 4/4: READING / WRITING DAY

Tuesday, 4/5: VISION

Reading (105 pp.)

1. Theodore Hamburg, *The Visions of Hong-siu-Tshuen and the Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection*, 1-63.
2. Robert P. Weller, *Resistance, Chaos and Control in China: Taiping Rebels, Taiwanese Ghosts and Tiananmen*, 33-49. (Chapter 3: Jesus's Brother and the Chinese Periphery)
3. Spence, 34-65. (Chapters 4-5: Sky War, The Key)

Assignment: Document Interpretation (10 pts.)

Translating the Vision of Hong Xiuquan: write a five page essay which considers the problem of interpreting Hong's vision by addressing at least one of the following two

prompts.

1. What were the elements of Hong's vision? Which fit into a traditional Chinese cultural vocabulary and which were truly foreign? How and why did Hong interpret the vision in the manner he did?
2. How should historians reconstruct Hong's vision and interpret the processes by which it took place? What are the problems involved with using Hamburg's account to accomplish this task?

Wednesday, 4/6: BELIEVERS

Reading (107 pp.)

1. Paper, 245-264. (Chapter 9: Christianity from the Perspective of Chinese Religion)
2. Weller, 50-85. (Chapters 4-5: Saturating the Movement: God Gets Power; Too Many Voices.)
3. Spence, 66-104. (Chapters 6-8: Wandering, The Base, Judgments)

Thursday, 4/7: MOVEMENT

Reading (86 pp.)

1. "The Taiping Imperial Declaration"; "Proclamations by Imperial Sanction," in Franz Michael, *The Taiping Rebellion: History and Documents*, 24-47; 141-151.
2. Weller, 86-110. (Chapter 6: Precipitation and Institution: The Taiping Rises Up)
3. Spence, 110-139. (Chapters 9-10: Assembling, Earth War)

Assignment: Document interpretation (5 pts.)

Write a two page paper contextualizing, interpreting and relating "The Taiping Imperial Declaration" and the "Proclamations by Imperial Sanction;" and using them to characterize the movement as a whole at this point in its history.

Friday, 4/8: SYSTEM

Reading (105 pp.)

1. "Proclamation to the Scholars and People of Chiang-Nan"; "The Land System of the Heavenly Dynasty", in Michael, 184-186; 309-320.
2. John Lovelle Withers, *The Heavenly Capital: Nanjing under the Taiping, 1853-1864*, 57-102. (Chapter 2: The New Jerusalem.)
3. Spence, 140-191. (Chapters 11-13: The First City, The Hunt, The Earthly Paradise)

Week Three

Monday, 4/11: FRATRICIDE

Reading (126 pp.)

1. Withers, 103-157. (Chapter 3: The Heavenly Capital)
2. "Narrative by 'two Europeans who for several months have been living at Nanking,'" in Prescott Clarke and J.S. Gregory, *Western Reports on the Taiping*, 180-199.
3. Spence, 192-245. (Chapters 14-16: Three Ships, The Split, The Killing)

Assignment: Document interpretation (5 pts.)

Write a two page paper analyzing the depictions of internal Taiping political struggle found in the Clarke and Gregory volume and in Spence, who is heavily reliant upon it for his own account. As a historian, how would you disentangle the complicated threads of this incident? How does Spence use the eyewitness account in the Clarke and

Gregory document to construct his narrative, and would you use it differently?

Tuesday, 4/12: SUPPRESSION

Reading (110 pp.)

1. Various accounts from the period 1860-1864 in Clarke and Gregory, 223-251.
2. Colin Mackerras, "Theatre and the Taipings," 473-501.
3. Spence, 246-297. (Chapters 17-20: Family Circles, The Wrong Man, New Worlds, Priest-King)

Wednesday, 4/13: INDIVIDUAL MEETINGS WITH INSTRUCTOR

Assignment: 1-2 paragraph abstract and annotated bibliography for final paper (10 pts.)

Write a 1-2 paragraph abstract which briefly presents your research question, your method for answering it, and the organization of your paper. Beneath, create a bibliography of the sources you plan to use, giving a brief 1-2 sentence description of each one and how it fits into your research plan. This assignment is worth 10% of your grade; don't wait until the night before to do it!

Thursday, 4/14: CONFESSIONS

Reading (108 pp.)

1. Elizabeth Perry, "When Peasants Speak: Sources for the Study of Chinese Rebellions," 72-85.
2. "Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hsiu-ch'eng; Tseng Kuo-fan and the Deposition," in Charles Curwen, *Taiiping Rebel*, 21-46.
3. Excerpts from "The confession of Li Hsiu-ch'eng," in Michael, 1390-1403; 1484-1496.
4. "The Confession of Hung Ren-kan, in Michael, 1507-1530.
5. Spence, 298-315. (Chapter 21: Snowfall)

Assignment: Document interpretation (5 pts.)

The Confessions of Li Xiucheng and Hong Ren'gan: Write a two page paper relating Liu's and Hong's confessions both to each other and to your own analysis of how and why the Taiping movement failed.

Friday, 4/15: LEGACIES

Reading (52 pp.)

1. Compilation group for the "History of Modern China" series, *The Taiping Revolution*, 1-26, 168-178. (Chapters 1, 15: The Eve of the Tempest; The Heroes of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom Will Never Be Forgotten)
2. Spence, 316-332. (Chapter 22: Partings.)

Week Four

Monday, 4/18: WRITING DAY

Tuesday, 4/19: WRITING DAY

Wednesday, 4/20: FINAL PAPERS DUE

Appendix 1: The Final Paper

Assignment: Write a research paper which deals with some aspect of the Taiping rebellion and/or its relation to Chinese history, using primary sources as the basis for the paper. This paper is a hybrid of an historical essay and a research paper: you are expected to back up your conclusions with research in primary documents, but you may also engage with other course materials (or issues raised in discussion) in constructing your essay.

Style & Length Requirements: Papers are to be 10 to 15 pages in length, double-spaced with one inch margins in a 12-point font. Sources should be cited according to the Chicago Manual of Style (Tutt: PE 1478 .U69 1993); footnotes or endnotes are both acceptable. (Another resource on citation is: <http://www.coloradocollege.edu/library/Reference/Resources/Style.html>)

Bibliographic Requirements: Students should use as many primary sources as possible in creating the paper, since a major part of the grade will be determined by how well primary sources are employed. Two documentary collections (and the Qing code) have been placed on closed reserve – other primary sources are welcome and encouraged. Course readings are also entirely acceptable (as secondary sources), and in most cases probably necessary. Likewise, outside research is acceptable, and the best papers will bring extra material to bear on their topic.

Due Date: The Papers are due at 9:00am on Wednesday, 20 April. Papers will be penalized 1/3 of a grade for each day late, beginning Wednesday morning.

Grading: Papers will be graded with reference to four categories of assessment:

Form and Style: 15% How many grammatical and typographical errors occur in the paper? Does it show evidence of proofreading? Do the footnotes and bibliography appear in a correct and consistent format? Has the page length been followed? Have the other form guidelines regarding font and margins been followed?

Clarity and Organization: 25%. Is the argument laid out clearly in the paper? How hard do I have to work to understand the the argument? Do the paragraphs flow smoothly? How well do the introduction and conclusion reflect the contents of the paper?

Content, Depth and Persuasiveness of Argument: 30%. Is the significance of the thesis clear? How well is the importance of the question discussed by the paper explained? Have potential counterarguments been successfully anticipated and/or deflected? How original is the contribution of the essay?

Research and Use of Sources: 30%. What is the quantity and quality of sources used? How many primary sources were used? Are the sources employed sophisticated, useful, interesting or argumentative? Do the sources integrate well and are they well-integrated? Have the sources been used carefully and effectively?

Appendix 2: The Taiping Rebellion: Romanization and Terms

There have been several systems for rendering Chinese words into Roman letters in the centuries since Western contact with China began. By the early twentieth century, the standard that emerged was the Wade-Giles system, which was used by the Library of Congress and most U.S. libraries to catalogue Chinese books until very recently. In the 1930s, the Hanyu Pinyin (“Chinese phonetic transcription”) system was developed in Soviet East Asia, and was adopted with some modifications by the People’s Republic of China in the 1950s. When the United States normalized relations with China in 1979, the New York Times adopted pinyin as its standard, and since then all media organizations have followed suit. In the 1990s, the Library of Congress began changing its Wade-Giles records to pinyin, as have most other American libraries.

In general, older books about China (and even, on occasion, new ones by old scholars) employ the Wade-Giles system. A loose rule of thumb is that if it was published before the 1980s, it will use Wade-Giles; if after, it will use pinyin. Unfortunately, if you have any interest in reading about China, you have to get used to both. Note that the Clarke and Gregory volume reproduces a variety of documents from an era in which Romanization was not standardized (Enjoy!). The other side of this page presents a conversion chart for your reference. Below is a brief list of names and terms from this course.

PINYIN/Wade-Giles/漢字 (Trad. Romanization, translation, or identification)

ANHUI/Anhwei 安徽	NINGBO/Ning-po 寧波
ANQING/An-ch’ing 安慶 (Anking)	PRINCE GONG/Prince Kung 恭親王
BAI SHANGDI HUI/Pai Shang-ti hui 拜上帝會 (God Worshipper’s society)	QUANSHI LIANGYAN/Ch’uan-shih liang-yen 勸世良言 (<i>Good Words to Exhort the Age</i>)
BEI WANG/Pei Wang 北王 (“North King” [Wei Changhui])	SHI DAKAI/Shih Ta-k’ai 石達開 (The Assistant King)
BEIJING/Pei-ching 北京 (Peking)	SUZHOU/Su-chou 蘇州 (Soochow)
DONG WANG/Tung Wang 東王 (“East King” [Yang Xiuqing])	TAIPING TIANGUO/T’ai-p’ing T’ien-kuo 太平天國 (“The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace”)
FENG YUNSHANG/Feng Yun-shan 馮雲山 (The South King)	TIAN WANG/T’ian Wang 天王 (“Heavenly King” [Hong Xiuquan])
GAN WANG/Kan Wang 干王 (“Shield King” [Hong Ren’gan])	WEI CHANGHUI/Wei Ch’ang-hui 韋昌輝 (The North King)
GUANGDONG/Kwang-tung 廣東 (Kwangtung)	XI WANG/Hsi Wang 西王 (“West King” [Xiao Chaogui])
GUANGXI/Kwang-hsi 廣西 (Kwangsi)	XIAO CHAOGUI/Hsiao Ch’ao-kuei 蕭朝貴 (The West King)
GUANGZHOU/Kwang-chou 廣州 (Canton)	YANG XIUQING/Yang Hsiu-ch’ing 楊秀清
GUILIN/Kuei-lin 桂林 (Kweilin)	YI WANG/I Wang 翼王 (“Assistant King” [Shi Dakai])
HANGZHOU/Hang-chou 杭州 (Hangchow)	ZENG GUOFAN/Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩
HONG REN’GAN/Hung Jen-kan 洪仁玕	ZHONG WANG/Chung Wang 忠王 (“Loyal King” [Li Xiucheng])
HONG XIUQUAN/Hung Hsiu-ch’üan 洪秀全	ZIJING SHAN/T’zu-ching shan 紫荊山 (Thistle Mountain)
HU LINYI/Hu Lin-i 胡林翼	
HUNAN/Hunan 湖南	<i>examples</i>
JIANG ZHONGYUAN/Chiang Chung-yuan 江忠源	<u>Text: Romanization system</u>
JIANGNAN/Chiang-nan 江南 (Kiangnan)	Spence: Pinyin
JIANGXI/Chiang-hsi 江西 (Kiangsi)	Michael: Wade-Giles
JINTIAN/Chin-t’ien 金田	Weller: Pinyin
LI HONGZHANG/Li Hung-chang 李鴻章	Clarke and Gregory: various
LI XIUCHENG/Li Hsiu-ch’eng 李秀成	
LIANG AFA/Liang A-fa 梁阿發	
LUO DAGANG/Lo Ta-kang 羅大綱	
NAN WANG/Nan Wang 南王 (“South King” [Feng Yunshan])	
NANJING/Nan-ching 南京 (Nanking)	

PINYIN TO WADE-GILES*

PINYIN TO WADE-GILES

Pinyin		Wade-Giles		Pinyin		Wade-Giles		Pinyin		Wade-Giles		Pinyin		Wade-Giles	
a	a	cong	ts'ung	gong	kung	kei	k'ei	miao	miao	qi	ch'i	shuo	shuo	ya	ya
ai	ai	cou	ts'ou	gou	kou	ken	k'en	mie	mieh	qia	ch'ia	si	ssu	yai	yai
an	an	cu	ts'u	gu	ku	keng	k'eng	min	min	qian	ch'ien	song	sung	yan	yen
ang	ang	cuan	ts'uan	gua	kuà	kong	k'ung	ming	ming	qiang	ch'iang	sou	sou	yang	yang
ao	ao	cui	ts'ui	guai	kuai	kou	k'ou	miu	miu	qiao	ch'iao	su	su	yao	yao
ba	pa	cun	ts'un	guan	kuan	ku	k'u	mo	mo	qie	ch'ieh	suan	suan	ye	yeh
bai	pai	cuo	ts'o	guang	kuang	kua	k'ua	mou	mou	qin	ch'in	sui	sui	yi	i
ban	pan			gui	kuai	kuai	k'uai	mu	mu	qing	ch'ing	sun	sun	yin	yin
bang	pang	da	ta	gun	kun	kuan	k'uan			qiong	ch'iong	suo	so	ying	ying
bao	pao	dai	tai	guo	kuo	kuang	k'uang			qiu	ch'iu			yong	yung
bei	pei	dan	tan			kui	k'uei	na	na	qu	ch'ü			you	yu
ben	pen	dang	tang	ha	ha	kun	k'un	nai	nai	quan	ch'üan	ta	t'a	yu	yü
ben	pen	dao	tao	hai	hai	kuo	k'uo	nan	nan	que	ch'üeh	tai	t'ai	yuan	yüan
beng	peng	de	te	han	han			nang	nang	qun	ch'un	tan	t'an	yue	yüeh
bi	pi	deng	teng	hang	hang			nao	nao			tang	t'ang	yun	yün
bian	pian	di	ti	hao	hao	lai	la	nei	nei	ran	jan	tao	t'ao		
biao	piao	dian	tien	he	ho	lai	lai	nen	nen	rang	jang	te	t'e		
bie	pieh	diao	tiao	hei	hei	lan	lan	neng	neng	rao	jao	teng	t'eng		
bin	pin	die	tieh	hen	hen	lang	lang	ni	ni	re	je	ti	t'i		
bing	ping	ding	ting	heng	heng	lao	lao	nian	nien	ren	jen	tian	t'ien	za	tsa
bo	po	dju	tiu	hong	hung	le	le	niang	niang	reng	jeng	tiao	t'iao	zai	tsai
bou	pou	dong	tung	hou	hou	lei	lei	niao	niao	ri	jih	tie	t'ieh	zan	tsan
bu	pu	dou	tou	hu	hu	leng	leng	nie	nieh	rong	jung	ting	t'ing	zang	tsang
		du	tu	hua	hua	li	li	nin	nin	rou	jou	tong	t'ung	zao	tsao
ca	ts'a	duan	tuan	huai	huai	lia	lia	ning	ning	ru	ju	tou	t'ou	ze	tse
cai	ts'ai	dui	tui	huan	huan	lian	lien	niu	niu	ruan	juan	tu	t'u	zei	tsei
can	ts'an	dun	tun	huang	huang	liang	liang	nong	nung	rui	jui	tuan	t'uan	zen	tsen
cang	ts'ang	duo	to	hui	hui	liao	liao	nou	nou	run	jun	tui	t'ui	zeng	tseng
cao	ts'ao			hun	hun	lie	lieh	nu	nu	ruo	jo	tun	t'un	zha	cha
ce	ts'e	e	o	huo	huo	lin	lin	nü	nü			tuo	t'o	zhai	chai
cen	ts'en	en	en			ling	ling	nuan	nuan	sa	sa			zhan	chan
ceng	ts'eng	er	erh	ji	chi	liu	liu	nüeh	nüeh	sai	sai	wa	wa	zhang	chang
cha	ch'a			jia	chia	long	lung	nuo	no	san	san	wai	wai	zhao	chao
chai	ch'ai	fa	fa	jian	chien	lou	lou			sang	sang	wan	wan	zhe	che
chan	ch'an	fan	fan	jiang	chiang	lu	lu			sao	sao	wang	wang	zhen	chen
chang	ch'ang	fang	fang	jiao	chiao	lü	lü	ou	ou	se	se	wei	wei	zheng	cheng
chao	ch'ao	fei	fei	jie	chieh	luan	luan			sen	sen	wen	wen	zhi	chih
che	ch'e	fen	fen	jjin	chin	lúan	lúan			seng	seng	weng	weng	zhong	chung
chen	ch'en	feng	feng	jing	ching	lüe	lüeh	pa	p'a	sha	sha	wo	wo	zhou	chou
cheng	ch'eng	fo	fo	jiong	chiung	lun	lun	pai	p'ai	shai	shai	wu	wu	zhu	chu
chi	ch'ih	fou	fou	jiu	chiu	luo	lo	pan	p'an	shan	shan			zhua	chua
chong	ch'ung	fu	fu	ju	chü			pang	p'ang	shang	shang	xi	hsi	zhuai	chuai
chou	ch'ou			juan	chüan	ma	ma	pao	p'ao	shao	shao	xia	hsia	zhuan	chuan
chu	ch'u	ga	ka	jue	chüeh	mai	mai	pei	p'ei	she	she	xian	hsien	zhuang	chuang
chua	ch'ua	gai	kai	jun	chün	man	man	pen	p'en	shen	shen	xiang	hsiang	zhui	chui
chuai	ch'uai	gan	kan			mang	mang	peng	p'eng	sheng	sheng	xiao	hsiao	zhun	chun
chuan	ch'uan	gang	kang	ka	k'a	mao	mao	pi	p'i	shi	shih	xie	hsieh	zhuo	cho
chuang	ch'uang	gao	kao	kai	k'ai	mei	mei	pian	p'ien	shou	shou	xin	hsin	zi	tzu
chui	ch'ui	ge	ko	kan	k'an	men	men	piao	p'iao	shu	shu	xing	hsing	zong	tsung
chun	ch'un	gei	kei	kang	k'ang	meng	meng	pie	p'ieh	shua	shua	xiong	hsiung	zou	tsou
chuo	ch'o	gen	ken	kao	k'ao	mi	mi	pin	p'in	shuai	shuai	xiu	hsiu	zu	tsu
ci	tz'u	geng	keng	ke	k'o	mian	mien	ping	p'ing	shuan	shuan	xu	hsü	zuan	tsuan
								po	p'o	shuang	shuang	xuan	hsüan	zui	tsui
								pou	p'ou	shui	shui	xue	hsüeh	zun	tsun
								pu	p'u	shun	shun	xun	hsün	zuo	tso

*From *People's Republic of China: Administrative Atlas* (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 1975), pp. 46-47.

