


# 宋代长江中游的环境与社会研究

## 以水利、民间信仰、族群为中心



陈曦◎著

 科学出版社

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编辑部电话：010-64026975

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## 序 一

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时间过得真快，不知不觉间与陈曦相识已是近三十年前的事了。

当时我是陈曦所在的中国史新生班的导师，在与学生的接触中，很快注意到这个沉静、秀气的女孩，吸引我的不仅是她的聪慧和善解人意，更是她对中国历史特别是对宋史的真挚热爱和个性的思考。四年后，我顺理成章地成了陈曦的毕业论文指导老师，她选择了当时尚不大为人关注的宋英宗高皇后作为研究对象，写了《英宗宣仁圣烈高皇后评述》一文，集中探讨高氏作为太皇太后实际执政的情形，重点分析其被称作“女中尧舜”的原因，提出了一些有见地的认识。文章角度新颖，文字清新，得到答辩老师们的一致好评，成绩被评定为全班少有的几个“优秀”论文之一。作为她的导师，我的评审意见是这么写的：“本文选择在宋代政治中占有举足轻重地位的英宗高皇后进行述评，以窥见宋代政史之一斑，选题有意义，且难度较大。作者以基本史料为依据，提出了不少独到的见解，能成一家之说。全文条分缕析，层次明晰，虽个别提法有待商榷，文末亦略显提炼不足，但总体上仍不失为宋代人物研究中具有开创之功的好文章。”我把当年这份《武汉大学学生毕业论文评审意见表》全文转录于此，是对陈曦学士论文的简介，也是我给自己的一份陈年回忆。

本科毕业后，陈曦去了武汉市一所大学教书，该校没有历史专业，她讲授的是旅游文化一类的课程，工作得相当努力也很出色，年纪轻轻就担任了旅游教研室的主任，但她内心深处仍是钟情于历史学，热爱宋史专业，在得知我可以招收研究生后，她放弃了稳定的工作、较高的收入，参加并通过了研究生考试，重新成为一文不名的“穷学生”。读研期间，陈曦一心向学，完成了《宋元时期江汉平原经济开发若干问题研究》的毕业论文，该文因其“充实而有光辉”（借用严耕望先生对优秀史学论著的评价，转引自严氏著《治史三书》，上海人民出版社2008年版，第60页），

被评为“湖北省优秀硕士学位论文”，该文也成为她日后学术研究的一个新起点。

在嗣后的攻博阶段，陈曦更是矢志学问，潜心钻研，围绕宋元明清时期荆江地区人际关系变迁这一兼具学术价值与实践意义、而学界既往研究相当缺乏的重要课题进行探讨。她倾力搜罗资料，不仅遍览相关史籍，而且多次田野考察并到长江水利委员会、湖北省水利局、湖北省档案馆等相关部门走访、调研，在掌握丰富的史料并对史料加以精心考辨的基础上，对论题进行深入、细致的分析，得出一些颇具启发意义的观点。她的博士学位论文《从荆江河道及两岸河湖的变迁看荆江地区人地关系的演变——以宋元明清时期为中心》，仅标题既足以显示这一研究的专精和艰深。外审专家对论文给予了高度肯定，称该文“选题具有开拓性和前沿性”；“征引了正史、政书、地理总志、方志、文集、笔记等大量古籍和论著，论据充分、准确、可靠”；“作者花了大量的精力运用丰富的文献资料对荆江河段的洲滩与堤防变化等进行了认真细致而又卓有成效的考证，解决了许多相关的荆江流域地区的历史地理学方面的难题”；“分析透彻，论证深入、严密，而且能够运用除历史学科外其他相关学科的最新理论知识与研究方法，其结论可靠，观点可信”；“是一篇写作严谨、质量优秀的博士学位论文”（摘自贾玉英教授、张全明教授的《武汉大学博士学位论文评阅书》，2007年5月）。

从学士经硕士到博士，陈曦在求学路上不断攀登，而且三个阶段的学位论文都被业内专家评定为“优秀”，在我所指导的数十名学生、百余篇相类论文中，这种情况是不多见的。

自以优秀博士毕业生选拔留校迄今，陈曦一直心无旁骛，踏实问学，旁人眼里青灯黄卷的清苦生活、投入产出比极低的古代历史研究，在她心目中，自有其不足为外人道的深深乐趣。她以宋代为中心，上溯隋唐，下察明清，对长江中游地区经济社会与地理人文展开深入研究，先后独立承担并完成了国家社科基金、教育部规划基金等研究课题，发表了十余篇（种）相关论著，表现出富有学理的系统思考和朝乾夕惕的治学精神，眼下这部《宋代长江中游的环境与社会研究：以水利、民间信仰、族群为中心》，是她近年来心无旁骛、不懈探索的又一新成果。

该书选取水利建设与水利秩序构建，民间信仰与环境变化、地方社会的关系，以及溪峒诸“蛮”与朝廷的互动等问题作为考察的重点，深入探究宋代长江中游地区的人地关系和社会变迁，揭示宋代区域发展的多样性

与复杂性。综览全书，可以说，陈曦的这个初衷实现了。就我个人而言，感兴趣的还有以下三点：

一是提出了一些具有牵动性意义的论题。例如在探讨信仰与地方社会的关系时，她提出了如下重点关注的问题：宋代长江中游地区的佛教、道教、民间信仰与地方社会如何互动，《道藏》等宗教典籍如何看待宗教、地方社会与朝廷之间的关系，这些典籍反映了何种宗教抑或地方观念？如何重新认识宋代所谓“精英士人”的宗教、地方与国家观念？尤其是这些士人身兼学问家与地方官等多重角色时，他们的信仰与实践对地方社会的影响如何？类似这样一些有深度的思考，在本书中不一定都得到完美的阐释，但至少体现了作者敏锐的洞察力，也在某种程度上开启了人们对相关问题的重新审视。

二是一些传统论题的探讨在她这里有了新的切入角度。比如关于诸“蛮”问题，以往研究者多从民族融合与区域开发的视角讨论宋代对“蛮族”地区的开发与影响，陈曦的关注点则是宋朝的羁縻政策为后世提供了何种教训？她注意到，宋朝廷以多种方式处置南北江“蛮”、梅山“蛮”、桂阳“蛮”、黑风峒“蛮”等不同地区的族群，羁縻政策的内涵日益丰富，诸“蛮”的抉择也不尽相同，而随着国家政权不断深入羁縻地区，羁縻州的政区变动、中央与羁縻地区关系的反复变化又使得朝廷在羁縻制度的制定与推进上进退维谷，地方治理日益复杂，其影响直至元明清时期。更具体一些，有关民间信仰的变迁，今南昌地区的许逊信仰是一值得探讨的个案，既有的研究集中在道教内外人士对许逊形象的塑造，陈曦的研究则注重宋明地方志在其间所起的独特作用，指出宋明方志有关许逊的记载较之以前表现出某种序列变化，它与唐宋以来道教人士对许逊形象的重塑，以及宋元净明道的发展同步；而唐宋以后地方志在地方祀典形成过程中的特殊作用，使得许逊信仰的演变融合了宗教、官方、地方社会等多重背景，内容也更加多元。这些认识，无疑有利于相关研究的深化。

三是在研究方法与手段上，本书承袭了作者一以贯之的特色：传世文献与考古发现并重，典籍阅读与田野考察同行。该书第四章是集中体现，该章结合近年来长江中游地区重要的考古成果，尤其是“巴东旧县坪”遗址的发掘，复原宋代湖北部分地区的经济与社会发展状况，“重现不为典籍所记载的民间日常生活”（本书《绪言》语，第17页）。

至于说，该书对前人研究中某些讹误的厘定，在资料使用上的严谨规范，以及语言的平实、图表的精良，诸般特色，了了可见。

该书同时也是陈曦所主持的国家社科基金、教育部规划基金项目的结项成果，限于结项时间的刚性要求，本书还有一些尚待打磨之处，诸如“族群”概念的辨析，章节标题的规整等等，但总的来说，本书不失为一部高质量的创新之作，弥足重视。

拉拉杂杂写了不少，实在是因为想说的话太多。但还有一点必须说的，陈曦外表看起来沉静、秀气，其实内心很有力量，认准了的事一定会坚持下去，遇到多大的困难也不轻言放弃，比如前面提到的为追寻历史学理想而放弃优渥的工作；还比如她多年默默无闻地义务献血，因去美国访学中断了一年，回国后还执意去补上，如此等等。那种对做学问的执著，对做好人、走正道的坚持，在她这里已成为生活常态。

前后算起来，陈曦已经在宋史研究的园地中孜孜无怠地耕耘了近二十年，现在她是研究生指导教师，又是本科生数门主干课程的主讲，而且担任了中国史教研室的主任，肩头的担子不轻，作为她曾经的导师和永远的朋友，我衷心地祝愿她今后的学术人生一如既往地充实、快乐。

杨果

2015年9月20日于珞珈山

## 序 二

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Research on the Environment and Society of the Middle Region of the Yangzi River during the Song Period: Centered on Water Utilization, Popular Beliefs, and Ethnic Groups

### Preface

It is an honor to be asked to provide a brief preface for Chen Xi's Chinese book. The English title of the book would be *Research on the Environment and Society of the Middle Region of the Yangzi River during the Song Period: Centered on Water Utilization, Popular Beliefs, and Ethnic Groups*. Professor Chen brings fresh viewpoints and an interdisciplinary analysis to this ambitious project. She received her professional training as an historian at Wuhan University, located in the geographical area that she has researched. Indeed, her university overlooks the massive East Lake and is only about three kilometers from the Yangzi where the Han River adds to the eternal flow of the "Long River." I think her special attention to the awesome wonder of this region of the Yangzi River basin might well have grown out of her personal roots in Nanning, Guangxi province on the Yong River at a point not far downstream from where the Zuo River flows into the Yu River. Having observed the social and economic importance of the confluence of these rivers in Guangxi, Chen Xi no doubt quickly acquired a profound appreciation for much more grand case of the middle region of the Yangzi River. What was more important than mere geographical or environmental background was of course her curiosity and inquisitiveness, which she by nature possesses to an exceptional degree. I can testify to that inquisitiveness and interest in local cultures because it was so



pronounced when she did research with me for a year in 2011-2012 at Arizona State University.

She had come to Arizona State University as a visiting scholar with a grant from the China Research Council to advance her research related to this book project. During our almost weekly discussions, her intellectual curiosity extended far beyond her scholarly inquiry and professional research into her topic, for she demonstrated a curiosity about local people and culture to a degree that I rarely observe in Chinese friends who visit my university. As she walked around campus and the city, she seized more opportunities, than most others I have hosted, to engage local people in conversations about what they were doing or thinking. Of course, her facility in English helped, but far more important was her friendly disposition and ability to connect and converse with almost anyone. In addition to conversations with ordinary local people, she took the opportunity to talk with professors who had expertise in areas somewhat related to her research. Although my university did not have specialists on her particular research topic, Chen spoke with various professors from different fields whose expertise provided useful points for her to reflect upon. For example, she had discussions with our renowned Religious Studies Professor Anne Feldhaus, who has published books on popular deities in India, especially female river goddesses. She was even curious enough to attend and to participate in my class discussions on Chinese history. At first, I thought she was wasting her precious research time especially when she came to my introductory undergraduate classes; however, it became apparent to me that she was acquiring a more concrete sense of how I as one particular American thought through historical issues and materials. I also had more extended discussions outside of class with Professor Chen than with other visiting Chinese scholars. Those discussions resulted in our co-authored article using Zhu Xi's experience in drought-relief measures and ritual practices to explore local religious practices in Nankang and how Zhu Xi was later presented in Ming local gazetteers. Professor Chen was the principal author of the article. In our writing of both English and Chinese versions, Professor Chen acquired a more specific sense of differences in the academic culture of journal articles in North America and China. I am happy to see that the article's research outcomes are incorporated into a section of her book.

The ultimate goal of Professor Chen's book is to provide an in-depth examination of the social changes of the middle reaches of the Yangtze River in the Song dynasty in order to contribute to our understanding of the diversity and complexity of regional development during the Song period. For example, she utilizes archaeological findings of recent decades and geographical observations and maps to complement narratives based upon what is preserved in recorded history. Her ability to incorporate social science methodology and ideas was enhanced in her earlier experience doing field research in the Yangzi area in a team of social scientists from Hong Kong. She also explores interactions between the Song imperial government and the indigenous peoples, who were labeled "Man" (i.e., "southern barbarians") in historical records, to supplement what we know about changes in local society and culture during the Song. And her use of Zhu Xi's words and deeds in response to drought in Nankang, and also local gazetteers, enables her to shed light on the religious attitudes and ritual practices in that area since the Song. Such explorations add nuance and texture to our picture of society and life during the Song.

I first became acquainted with Chen Xi in the fall of 2003 in a nationwide intensive workshop for graduate students in Song history run by Professor Bao Weimin in Hangzhou. During that year, I was a Fulbright Researcher at Peking University's Center for Studies of Ancient Chinese History. That fall semester I was helping, another friend Professor Deng Xiaonan, to guide Peking University graduate students in reading and discussing American research on Song-era history. Since it was relatively rare at that time for graduate students elsewhere to hear directly from American scholars, Professor Deng delegated me as her representative to participate in Professor Bao's workshop. I had first become acquainted with Bao Weimin at China's first international Song history conference in 1985 when my one of my teachers, Mr. Deng Guangming, selected Bao to accompany me on a research trip to Yongkang. Mr. Deng Guangming's first book and also my own first book were focused on Chen Liang, and our discussions of Chen Liang's life and thought cemented a special connection between us. Therefore, Professor Deng wanted to facilitate my goal of visiting Chen Liang's local area, which was at that time still off-limits to foreigners. I still have fond memories of the trip to Yongkang with Bao Weimin and spending

the night in a cave with a few local officials because the cave was where Chen Liang had hosted Zhu Xi for discussions eight centuries earlier. A calligraphic scroll commemorating that visit still hangs on the wall of my home, and this scroll greeted Professor Bao Weimin in February 2015 when he visited my home with an interview team from CCTV. Chen Xi is thus a part of an important lineage of scholars in China, and I feel privileged to know many of them. When I think of one enduring Chinese friend, I easily drift off into fond memories of many other Chinese scholars, who have helped to introduce me to a new generation of intellectual, for example, from Mr. Deng Guangming to Bao Weimin to Chen Xi.

From that beginning, I had an impression of the scholarly potential of Chen Xi. When I visited Wuhan University in 2010 and gave a lecture there, another enduring friend Professor Yang Guo strongly recommended that Chen Xi come to Arizona State University as a visiting scholar. Having had an opportunity during my visit to Wuhan to have discussions with Chen Xi, I was happy to request that my university invite her as a visiting scholar. In addition to our conversations and collaboration on the article, Professor Chen was a tremendous help when I planned and hosted a conference with specialists on the Confucian Classics from East Asia. I had never hosted such a conference and had limited support from my university, so Professor Chen's help in many matters was crucial to the conference's success. Through those experiences and continuing communications, I have continued to delight in talking with her and learning from her research and her inquiring mind. Her abilities to utilize several disciplines and to pursue new questions and to present challenging ideas are characteristics of growing numbers of Song scholars in China and abroad. Even if we might and when we disagree on some point, we will be enriched by reading along as she explores water utilization, popular customs and ethnic relations in the middle region of the Yangzi River during the Song. The diversity and complexity she maps will surely contribute to our better understanding of the local environment and society during the Song.

Hoyt Cleveland Tillman

Professor, Arizona State University School of International Letters & Cultures

Peking University, Center for Studies of Ancient Chinese History, Research  
Affiliate

Peking University, International Academy of Chinese Studies, Guest  
Professor

National Taiwan University, History Dept., National Science Council Guest  
Professor

Renmin University of China, School of History, Guest Professor,

Huazhong University of Science & Technology, Wuhan, Guest Professor

Hangzhou Normal University, International Song Research Center,  
Research Affiliate

Tempe, Arizona, U.S.A.

July 25, 2015

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# 绪 言

## 一、相关概念

### (一) 考察范围

本书考察的范围主要指宋代长江中游地区，西起今湖北省宜昌市、东至江西省鄱阳湖口，涉及今湖北、湖南和江西三省，江汉平原、洞庭湖平原与鄱阳湖平原为这一区域的三大平原。其中，江汉平原和洞庭湖平原即两湖平原，又作“江汉—洞庭平原”，位于今湖北省中南部和湖南省北部，是长江中游最大的平原。<sup>①</sup>

三省境内河流众多，水系复杂，湖网密布。长江中游的干流大部分分布在湖北省境内，枝城至城陵矶为荆江河段，迂回曲折。其中，枝城至藕池口为上荆江，河长 168 千米；藕池口以下为下荆江，河长 170 千米，人称“九曲回肠”，河势最为险峻。<sup>②</sup>

洞庭湖与鄱阳湖为本区两大湖泊。洞庭湖，位于湖南省北部，湖区水系可分为西洞庭、南洞庭与东洞庭，今有松滋、太平（虎渡）、藕池、调弦（1958 年堵塞）四口与长江荆江河段相通，湘、资、沅、澧四水与其他一些中小河流汇入洞庭。<sup>③</sup> 鄱阳湖为中国最大的吞吐型淡水湖，由于地

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① 两湖平原的范围迄今并无统一标准，相关讨论参见杨果：《宋代两湖平原地理研究》之《绪言》，武汉：湖北人民出版社，2001 年，第 1—2 页。

② 湖北水利志编委会编：《湖北省水利志》第 3 章《河流》，北京：中国水利水电出版社，2000 年，第 103—104 页。

③ 湖北水利志编委会编：《湖南省水利志》（第 2 分册）第 1 章《河流水系》，内部刊行本，1987 年，第 33—35 页。