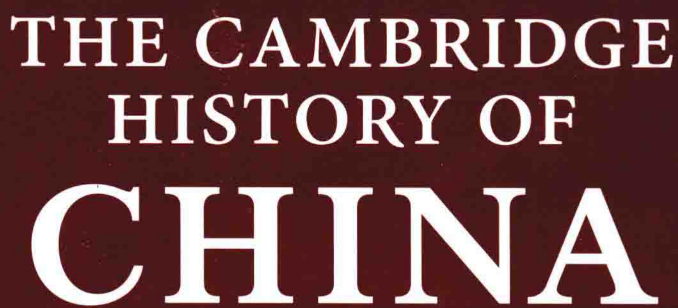

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA

VOLUME 5
PART TWO
SUNG CHINA, 960–1279

EDITED BY JOHN W. CHAFFEE AND DENIS TWITCHETT

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF CHINA

Volume 5

Part Two: Sung China, 960–1279

edited by

JOHN W. CHAFFEE and DENIS TWITCHETT

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521243308

© Cambridge University Press 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd. Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-0-521-24330-8 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES

1. Numbers of civil and military graded officials *page* 53
2. Personal-rank grades: civil-administrative and executory-class officials 61
3. Subjects in the civil service examinations 289
4. Sung government schools classified by earliest references per decade 296
5. Incidence per decade of constructive activity at 64 prefectural and 108 county schools 308
6. Geographical distribution of private schools 310
7. Census reports, AD 2–1190 328
8. North and south China household distribution 328
9. Regional variations in household population, *c.*756 and *c.*1080 329
10. Changes in household population by circuit during the Sung 330
11A. Regional population changes from 742 to 1213 (thousand households) 331
11B. Summary of regional population changes 333
12. Mineral tax quotas (806–1165) 378
13. Maritime trade offices (*shih-po ssu*) and maritime trade bureaus (*shih-po wu*) 474
14. Government income derived from maritime trade, 960–1180s (in strings of bronze cash) 487

FIGURES

1. "Chi-nan Liu Family's Skillful Needle Shop" (Sung advertisement). 558
2. "Alerting the world." 566
3. "Chart for making the most of your days." 566

MAPS

1. Political map of the Northern Sung, *c.* 1100. *page* ii
2. Seaports and naval bases in the Southern Sung (1127–1279)
Source: Lo Jung-pang, "Maritime commerce and its relation to the Sung navy," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 12 No. 1 (January 1969), p. 65. 472
3. Maritime Asia during the Sung. 511

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

ABBREVIATIONS

CMC	*Ming-kung shu-p'an Ch'ing-ming chi*
CSW	*Ch'üan Sung wen*
CWTS	*Chiu Wu-tai shih*
CYTC	*Chien-yen i-lai Ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi*
HCP	*Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien*
SHT	*Sung hsing-t'ung*
SHY	*Sung hui-yao chi-kao*
SKCS	*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*
SKCSCP	*Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen*
SPPY	*Ssu-pu pei-yao*
SPTK	*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an*
SS	*Sung shih*
SYHA	*Sung Yüan hsüeh-an*
TFYK	*Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei*
TLSI	*T'ang-lü shu-i*
WHTK	*Wen hsien t'ung k'ao*
WTHY	*Wu-tai hui-yao*
Yao-lu	*Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-lu*
YH	*Yü-hai*
YTC	*Ch'ung-chiao Yüan-tien-chang liu-shih chüan*

PREFACE

This volume has a history of its own. In 1966, my late coeditor Denis Twitchett, then "a spry forty-one-year-old" – as he put it – undertook the Herculean task of overseeing, with John K. Fairbank, the creation of *The Cambridge history of China*. This project, which was to occupy him the rest of his life, has to date resulted in fifteen "volumes" with twenty-two individual books, truly one of the great scholarly accomplishments of recent years, rivaled in the field of sinology only by Joseph Needham's *Science and civilisation in China*.

Even as Denis was working to put together the first volumes of the premodern period – Sui and T'ang (1979), Ch'in and Han (1986) and Ming (1988)[1] – a parallel development was under way that informed the beginnings of the Sung volumes, namely the emergence of Sung studies. According to Conrad Schirokauer, this had its origins at a gathering of half a dozen scholars, Twitchett among them, with a shared sense of the importance of the Sung in Chinese history and a conviction that its study was ripe for development.[2] From this informal gathering, subsequently referred to as "Sung I," came the "Sung II Conference" at Feldafing on the Starnbergesee outside Munich in 1971, at which fourteen papers were presented, the first research conference devoted to the Sung outside East Asia. This was a period of ambitious scholarly endeavors in Sung studies, exemplified by the Sung Project, with a Biographical Section led by Herbert Franke and a Bibliographical Section under Yves Hervouet, as well as the beginning of the Sung volume of *The Cambridge history of China.*

I do not know the specifics of that beginning, but can date it to the first half of the 1970s, for in 1986 Denis convened a group of scholars at Princeton to move the Sung volumes forward (even then the plan was to have two parts: historical and topical), and among a number of completed papers on which he

[1] The second part of the Sui and T'ang volume is as yet unpublished.

[2] Conrad Schirokauer, "Remembering Sung I," *Journal of Song–Yuan Studies* 40 (2010), pp. 1–6.

intended to build was one on Northern Sung government by my late adviser, Edward Kracke, who had died in 1976. Amid general enthusiasm a number of additional papers were commissioned, mine among them, to fill out the two volumes. Unfortunately that enthusiasm did not translate into timely results. A number of manuscripts were submitted while others were delayed from year to year, and in the meantime Denis, by his own account, found himself consumed with the completion of Volume 6 on *Alien regimes and border states* (Liao, Chin and Yüan) and by the second Ming volume (Volume 8, Part 2). Then in the year 2000 he recruited Paul Jakov Smith and me to serve as coeditors of Parts 1 and 2 respectively.

When I began working with Denis on this volume, we had a collection of draft chapters, some quite new but others dating back to the 1970s and in sore need of revision. Of the authors who had submitted drafts prior to the 1986 meeting, Peter Golas and Brian McKnight were ready and able to revise theirs (and, as things turned out, to revise them more than once), and now will finally see them appear in print. For three manuscripts, however, authorial revisions were out of the question. Edward Kracke had died in 1976; James T. C. Liu, who had written on Southern Sung government, had died in 1993; and Ira Kasoff, who had written on Northern Sung Neo-Confucianism, had long left the profession. With some regret, Denis, Paul, and I decided that the revisions needed to update these chapters adequately would require radical changes and therefore should not be attempted. We therefore decided to commission new chapters in their place. Charles Hartman's chapter on "Sung government and politics" covers the ground that had been treated separately by Kracke and Liu, while Peter Bol expanded his treatment of Northern Sung intellectual culture to treat the Neo-Confucian masters of that period. We also sought chapters on topics that were not a part of the original plan for the volume. Unfortunately, those on Sung literature, foreign relations with the dynasty's continental neighbors, Taoism, and Buddhism did not in the end materialize. However, Angela Schottenhammer's chapter on "China's emergence as a maritime power" proved to be a welcome and important addition, while others, such as Robert Hymes's chapter on "Sung society and social change" and Shiba Yoshinobu and Joseph McDermott's joint chapter on "Economic change in China, 960–1279," assumed an unanticipated breadth and scope.

It has been far too many years since I joined this volume as a coeditor, for several factors slowed its progress. Some authors were slow in their submissions and, at times, in their revisions. The Editorial Office of the Cambridge History in Princeton, while extremely helpful on the whole, at times proved to be a bottleneck. This was particularly the case because its priority was understandably given to the Sung historical volume (Volume 5, Part 1), whose

contributions were ready much earlier and which appeared in 2009, as well as the Ch'ing dynasty Volume 9 (Parts 1 and 2), something I eventually remedied by hiring editorial help at Binghamton for the final editorial work on the volume. The most important factor, however, was the death of Denis in 2006. Although he worked on the volume until almost the end and we had already made the most important decisions concerning the volume by the time of his passing, it was a great loss and made my job as the surviving coeditor a lonely one.

There are several people who should be acknowledged for their contributions to the volume: Denis first and foremost, whose editorial experience was peerless and whose friendship was freely given, and also Paul Smith, whose collaborations, wise counsel, and kind criticisms have proven invaluable. The editorial staff at the Cambridge History's Princeton office provided important assistance for many years, especially Ralph Meyer and Michael Reeve, while Willard Peterson's supervision of the office and ability to keep it funded were remarkable. I owe a special debt of gratitude to Chang Wook Lee, my graduate assistant at Binghamton, who did an enormous amount of the final, painstaking editorial work on the volume. The many editors at Cambridge University Press with whom I have worked were all extremely supportive. To the many contributors to this volume, thank you for your patience. Finally, I would acknowledge the significant support given over the years to the *Cambridge history of China* project by Princeton University's East Asia Program, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation for International Cultural Exchange.

John W. Chaffee

CONTENTS

List of tables and figures — *page* xi

List of maps — xii

List of abbreviations — xiii

Preface — xv

Introduction: reflections on the Sung — 1
by JOHN W. CHAFFEE, *Binghamton University, State University of New York*

- A weak dynasty? — 2
- Economic dynamism — 3
- Assertions of authority — 7
- Sung Confucianism — 10
- Elites and their output — 12
- A religious society — 15
- The Sung in Chinese history — 16

1 Sung government and politics — 19
by CHARLES HARTMAN, *University at Albany, State University of New York*

- Introduction — 19
- A bibliographic prelude — 24
- The unfinished character of the Sung state — 27
- The literatus as civil servant — 32
- Literati ideas about government — 35
- The literati character of Sung government — 43
- The civil service system — 49
- The Sung monarchy — 80
- Government decision making — 112

2 The Sung fiscal administration 139
by PETER J. GOLAS, *University of Denver*

Introduction 139
Agriculture and the countryside 158
Labor service 167
Cities, commercial taxes, and monopolies 175
Disbursements 192
The monetary system 207
Conclusion 211

3 A history of the Sung military 214
by WANG TSENG-YÜ, *Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing*

The organization of the military in the early Sung 214
The military history of the Northern Sung 220
Weapons, logistics, and technology 233
The military history of the Southern Sung 238

4 Chinese law and legal system: Five Dynasties and Sung 250
by BRIAN MCKNIGHT, *University of Arizona*

Introduction 250
Five Dynasties law 250
The Sung legal system 253
Conclusion 283

5 Sung education: schools, academies, and examinations 286
by JOHN W. CHAFFEE, *Binghamton University, State University of New York*

Introduction 286
Methods of recruitment 287
Early Sung developments 288
The Ch'ing-li reforms 293
Policy debates: quotas and curriculum 295
Wang An-shih's reforms 298
The Three Hall System 300
The early Southern Sung: survival and reconstruction 305
Southern Sung government schooling 305
The academy movement 309
Examinations in the Southern Sung 312
Conclusion: the Sung educational order 318

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com

6 Economic change in China, 960–1279 — 321
by JOSEPH P. MCDERMOTT, *Cambridge University*, and SHIBA YOSHINOBU, *Toyo Bunko*

Introduction — 321
Late T'ang to early Sung (742–1080) — 326
Middle Sung (1080–1162) — 385
Late Sung (1163–1276) — 409

7 China's emergence as a maritime power — 437
by ANGELA SCHOTTENHAMMER, *Salzburg University*

Introduction — 437
Political and economic background — 439
Sea routes and maritime accounts — 440
Nautical and shipbuilding technology — 450
The Sung navy — 454
Official administration of maritime trade — 460
Exchange of commodities — 491
Conclusion — 523

8 Sung society and social change — 526
by ROBERT HYMES, *Columbia University*

Introduction — 526
Printing and reading — 542
Women and gender — 568
Religion — 595
Elites, locality, and the state — 621
Conclusion — 661

9 Reconceptualizing the order of things in Northern and Southern Sung — 665
by PETER K. BOL, *Harvard University*

The Sung intellectual legacy — 665
Culture and ideology, 960–1030 — 670
From learning to politics: the Fan Chung-yen faction — 674
The search for coherent systems and methods in the mid-eleventh century — 681
Finding an alternative to the New Learning — 708
Trends in Southern Sung intellectual culture — 721

10 The rise of the *Tao-hsüeh* Confucian fellowship in Southern Sung 727
by HOYT CLEVELAND TILLMAN, *Arizona State University*

The first period, 1127–1162 732
The second period, 1163–1181 737
The third period, 1182–1202 759
The fourth period, 1202–1279 781
Conclusion 788

Bibliography 791

Index 885

INTRODUCTION: REFLECTIONS ON THE SUNG

John W. Chaffee

This volume, together with its recently published companion volume (Volume 5, Part 1), presents fruits of a half-century of Western scholarship on the history of Sung China (960–1279). "Western" is of course a relative term, for the presence of Chinese and Japanese authors reflects the global character of the Sung history field. It is nevertheless appropriate as a descriptor of the scholarly activity focused on the Sung among European and Anglophonic scholars that has flourished since the 1950s. While drawing heavily on the pioneering work of Japanese scholars and enriched by the postwar flowering of Sung scholarship in China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore, the works in this volume emerged primarily out of Western discourses on the Sung.

Philosophical profundity; cultural brilliance as seen in unparalleled landscape art, calligraphy, and prose composition; and a sophisticated material culture, but also military and economic weakness, political humiliation, venal ministers and effeminate men: these are some of the characteristics that have traditionally been ascribed to the Sung by historians and the general public, and they help to explain why the Sung has long found little favor among many Chinese, especially when it is compared to the "glorious T'ang" (618–907) that preceded it. All modern scholarship on the Sung, Western and East Asian alike, has had to deal with this characterization of the dynasty that dominated traditional historiography and popular opinions about the period. But ever since the Japanese journalist-turned-scholar Naitō Torajirō (1866–1934) argued in 1914 that a massive economic, social and political transformation beginning in the late T'ang resulted in the beginning of China's "modern age" (*kinsei*) in the Sung, alternatives to the traditional historiography have flourished, first among Japanese, then among Western and Chinese scholars.[1] From that scholarship has emerged a complex portrait of a dynasty which,

[1] For an excellent recent account of Naitō Torajirō, also known as Naitō Konan, and the impact of his work, see Richard von Glahn, "Imagining Pre-modern China," in *The Sung–Yuan–Ming transition in Chinese history*, ed. Paul Jakov Smith and Richard von Glahn (Cambridge, MA, 2003), pp. 38–42.

despite its military and geopolitical weakness, was nevertheless economically powerful, culturally brilliant, socially fluid, and the most populous of any empire in world history to that point. It was also a dynasty beset by problems and contradictions, belying simple generalizations.

The contributions to this volume bear witness to the richness and complexity of the Sung historical record and the fruits of recent scholarship. Covering a wide spectrum of topics – government, economy, society, religion, and thought, in roughly that order – they range widely, often well beyond the apparent confines of their topics, frequently intersecting with each other and not always agreeing, for the phenomena with which they are dealing often defy pigeonholing. The result is a rich mixture that offers the reader a portrait of this remarkable period that is detailed, complex, and essentially complementary. In introducing the volume, my goal is to underline that complementarity by identifying themes that cut across the chapters.

A WEAK DYNASTY?

We should begin by acknowledging that there are elements of truth to the traditional portrayal of the Sung. Even during the Northern Sung (960–1127), the dynasty's territorial reach was less than that of any of the other major dynasties, with borders in the northeast that did not include modern Peking, in the northwest that did not extend beyond the eastern end of the Kansu corridor, and in the far south that did not include Yunnan or especially Annam, which had been part of Chinese empires for a thousand years. The catastrophic loss of north China to the Jurchen which resulted in the severely shrunken borders of the Southern Sung (1127–1279), and the lengthy Mongol conquest of the Sung that finally extinguished the dynasty in 1279 provide clear evidence that the Sung could not handle their neighbors as well as the Han (206 BC–AD 220) or T'ang. Moreover, the terms by which the Sung secured peace with the Liao (907–1125), and later the Chin (1115–1234), were to Chinese sensibilities deeply humiliating, involving as they did tribute payments by the Sung and, in the case of the Chin, the Sung emperor addressing his Chin counterpart as "elder brother."

The blame for this unenviable record has generally fallen upon the Sung military and on treacherous political leadership, most notably in the latter case the recall and execution of the iconic Yüeh Fei (1103–42) by the chief councilor Ch'in Kuei (1090–1155) during the first war against the Jurchen. As we learn from Wang Tseng-yü's chapter (and from the entire volume 5, Part 1), the Sung engaged in a great many wars against their varied enemies, and most of them ended poorly. Wang details numerous instances of bad decisions made at the court, poor generalship, and corruption, in addition to badly prepared

troops. But he also describes noteworthy successes in the dynasty's use of the military. Sung T'ai-tsung's (r. 976–97) unsuccessful campaign against the Liao notwithstanding, he and his brother T'ai-tsu (r. 960–76) before him managed to reunify the vast majority of agricultural China while at the same time successfully controlling the military, specifically military governors and the capital army, two challenges that had proved largely insurmountable during the preceding century. The Sung subsequently succeeded in maintaining a huge army – peaking at 1,259,000 troops during the 1040s – that was professional and supported by a well-developed logistical structure and by an armaments industry that excelled at technological military innovation, including the development of gunpowder technologies.[2] The military's strengths were primarily defensive, necessarily so because of the Sung lack of pastureland and therefore of good horses, but with some obvious exceptions it was a formidable defensive force.[3]

It is possible, indeed, to flip the common assertion about the weakness of the Sung military and argue instead that it was Sung military strength that preserved it in an age of exceptionally powerful states in Central and East Asia, states that combined the power of highly developed equestrian warfare with sophisticated state systems. In what was the most multipolar East Asian world in Chinese imperial history, the ability of the Sung not merely to survive but to thrive was remarkable, and it is to the economic sources of that thriving that we will now turn.

ECONOMIC DYNAMISM

In their chapter on Sung economic change, Joseph McDermott and Shiba Yoshinobu anchor their account firmly in the late T'ang, a period when the government was unable to maintain its direct controls over economic activity in the countryside (through the equitable-fields measure) and regulated markets in the cities. By allowing virtually unlimited private landownership rather than allotting land to peasants for a lifetime tenure, freeing markets from government regulation, and relying on both land and commercial taxes as well as government monopolies for their revenue, the authorities created the conditions for a fundamental economic transformation. Whether the ensuing change deserves the title of "economic revolution" – as Mark Elvin has claimed

[2] See Professor Wang's treatment of gunpowder weapons, and also Peter Allan Lorge, *The Asian military revolution: From gunpowder to the bomb* (Cambridge and New York, 2008), pp. 32–44.

[3] Sung responses to their chronic lack of warhorses are well treated by Paul Jakov Smith in *Taxing heaven's storehouse: Horses, bureaucrats and the destruction of the Sichuan tea industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, MA, 1991).

but McDermott and Shiba resist[4] – is open to debate, but without question the economic growth in the early Sung was spectacular and unprecedented, and the wealth that it created was manifested in a population which by 1100 had exceeded 100 million for the first time in Chinese history, and in the emergence of a flourishing urban culture and a social elite that was far larger than the aristocratic elite of T'ang times had been.

This much is commonly acknowledged by most scholars. In their chapter, Professors McDermott and Shiba move well beyond these generalizations to present a detailed and complex portrait of the Sung economy. The spread of agricultural technologies and seed types (e.g. early-ripening Champa rice[5]) and increases in cultivated land are presented as factors helping to sustain the growth in population. But the authors also raise the question why the population did not grow yet more, and through their analysis of the individual macroregions within the Sung empire they describe in sobering detail the often devastating impact of famines and epidemics (especially in the north) as well as environmental degradation. Indeed, the environmental costs of both agricultural and industrial practices are a major theme of the chapter and an important part of their question why population growth was not even greater.

McDermott and Shiba also provide a useful tripartite periodization for the economic history of the Sung, namely (1) early Sung (960–1080), a period of expansion characterized by the spectacular rise of the south agriculturally and the industrial development of the capital region around K'ai-feng in the north; (2) middle Sung (1080–1162), a period of continuity up until the catastrophic loss of the north followed by turbulent recovery; and (3) late Sung (1162–1279), a period of frequent warfare and economic decline. While early Sung prosperity and late Sung decline are common themes in most accounts of Sung history, the choice of a middle period spanning rather than breaking at the Northern/Southern Sung divide is unusual. Since that period began with the New Policies of Wang An-shih (1021–86), which involved an unprecedented engagement by the government in agriculture and commerce, its continuation well into the Southern Sung suggests that the continuities over that tumultuous eighty-year period were more significant than either the cessation of the reform policies late in Hui-tsung's reign (*c.* 1120) or the war with the Chin and loss of the north.

[4] For Elvin, see *The pattern of the Chinese past* (Stanford, 1973), Part 2.

[5] Although McDermott and Shiba stress the role of Champa rice and document its use in various localities in southern China, it should be noted that this is a point of some disagreement among economic historians. For a more skeptical view of the role of Champa rice, see Li Po-chung, "Yu-wu 13, 14 shih-chi te chuan-che? Sung-mo tao Ming-chu Chiang-nan nung-yeh te pien-hua," in *Tuo shih-chiao k'an Chiang-nan ching-chi-shih* (Peking, 2003), pp. 21–96.

试读结束：需要全本请在线购买： www.ertongbook.com