Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yüan China (960–1368)



BETTINE BIRGE

## Women, Property, and Confucian Reaction in Sung and Yüan China (960–1368)

Bettine Birge University of Southern California



PUBLISHED BY THE PRESS SYNDICATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE The Pitt Building, Trumpington Street, Cambridge, United Kingdom

#### CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK 40 West 20th Street, New York, NY 10011-4211, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia Ruiz de Alarcón 13, 28014 Madrid, Spain Dock House, The Waterfront, Cape Town 8001, South Africa http://www.cambridge.org

#### © Bettine Birge 2002

This book 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 2002

Printed in the United States of America

Typeface Baskerville 10/12 pt. System QuarkXPress™ [BTS]

A catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data available

ISBN 0 521 57373 4 hardback

## List of Maps, Figures, and Tables

#### Maps

Map 1 Northern and Southern Sung borders superimposed on the provinces of modern China	5
Map 2 Chien-ning prefecture and environs in the Sung Dynasty	19
Map 3 Southeast China in the Southern Sung	81
Map 4 The borders of the Yüan empire superimposed on the provinces of modern China	202
Map 5 Yüan dynasty branch secretariats (hsing-sheng) and selected circuits (hu)	218
Figures	
1 Delivering the dowry to the groom's household	34
2 Extant fragment of the preface to the Sung edition of the Collected Decisions	70
3 Excerpt from the Sung edition of the Collected Decisions	72
4 Diagram of T'ien Family Tree	82
5 Excerpt from the Statutes and Precedents of the Yüan	215
6 Woman being interrogated in court	270

#### Maps, Figures, and Tables

#### **Tables**

1 Changes in regulations affecting married and returned daughters (in households with no sons)	102
2 Distribution of inheritance among daughters, sons, posthumous heirs, and the state by midthirteenth century	111
3 Funerary inscriptions referring to women giving away their private property (Northern Sung)	163
4 Funerary inscriptions referring to women giving away their private property (Southern Sung)	165
5 Funerary inscriptions referring to women giving away their private property (Northern and Southern Sung, Chien-ning)	167
6 Funerary inscriptions referring to women giving away their private property (Northern and Southern Sung, Fukien Circuit)	168

### WOMEN, PROPERTY, AND CONFUCIAN REACTION IN SUNG AND YÜAN CHINA (960–1368)

The Mongol invasion of China in the thirteenth century had far-reaching consequences, but it has generally been assumed that in the area of gender and property relations, Mongol rule had no long-term effect on Chinese society. In this path-breaking work, Bettine Birge argues that on the contrary, the Mongol occupation precipitated a lasting transformation of marriage and property law in China that deprived women of their property rights and reduced their legal and economic autonomy.

Birge shows that just prior to the Mongol-Yüan dynasty, women's property rights had been steadily improving, and laws and practices affecting marriage and property had been moving away from Confucian ideals. Mongol rule created a new constellation of property and gender relations that persisted to the end of the imperial era. Birge demonstrates how the confrontation between Chinese and Mongol-steppe culture ironically created the conditions for dramatic changes in the law that for the first time brought it into line with the goals of radical Confucian philosophers by curtailing women's financial and personal autonomy. These changes resulted in a shift in the balance of power from a woman and her natal family to her in-laws and marital family and laid the groundwork for the spread of the cult of widow chastity in late imperial China.

This book offers a fresh evaluation of the Mongol invasion and its influence on Chinese law and society and presents a new look at the changing position of women in premodern China. Birge's analysis reveals the links between foreign invasion, social change, and the construction of gender, and her conclusions have implications for the study of comparative law, social history, and gender studies around the world.

Bettine Birge is Associate Professor of Chinese Thought and Civilization at the University of Southern California. Her articles have appeared in Asia Major, the Journal of Sung-Yüan Studies, and in a number of edited volumes. She is currently working on her second book, entitled Gender, Ethnicity, and the Law in Mongol-Yüan China (1260–1368).

#### Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions

General Editor, Denis Twitchett

Victor H. Mair Tunhuang Popular Narratives
Ira E. Kasoff The Thought of Chang Tsai
Chih-P'ing Chou Yüan Hung-tao and the Kung-an School
Arthur Waldron The Great Wall of China: From History to Myth
Hugh R. Clark Community, Trade, and Networks: Southern Fujian Province
from the Third to the Thirteenth Centuries

Denis Twitchett The Writing of Official History under the T'ang
J. D. Schmidt Stone Lake: The Poetry of Fang Chengda

J. D. Schmidt Stone Lake: The Poetry of Fang Chengda
Brian E. McKnight Law and Order in Sung China
Jo-Shui Chen Liu Tsung-yūan and Intellectual Change in
T'ang China, 773–819

**David Pong** Shen Pao-chen and China's Modernization in the Nineteenth Century

J. D. Schmidt Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian, 1848–1905

Arthur Waldron From War to Nationalism: China's Turning Point, 1924–1925

Chin-Shing Huang Philosophy, Philology, and Politics in Eighteenth-Century
China: Li Fu and the Lu-Wang School under the Ch'ing
Glen Dudbridge Religious Experience and Lay Society in
T'ang China: A Reading of Tai Fu's "Kuang-i chi"

Eva Shan Chou Reconsidering Tu Fu: Literary Greatness and Cultural Context

Frederic Wakeman Jr. The Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937–1941

Sarah A. Queen From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn Annals According to Tung Chung-shu
J. Y. Wong Deadly Dreams: Opium, Imperialism, and the

Arrow War (1856–1860) in China

Norman Kutcher Mourning in Late Imperial China
Thomas M. Buoye Manslaughter, Markets, and Moral Economy:
Violent Disputes over Property Rights in Eighteenth-Century China
Aihe Wang Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China

To my father, Robert Walsh Birge, and my late mother, Ann Chamberlain Birge

The publication of this book was made possible, in part, by generous grants from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation and the Pacific Cultural Foundation.

# Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

Shang 1766?-1067 в.с. Chou 1067-221 B.C. Spring and Autumn period 722-481 B.C. Warring States period 403-221 B.C. Ch'in 221-206 B.C. Han 202 B.C.-A.D. 220 Six Dynasties period A.D. 220-589 Sui 589-618 T'ang 618-906 Five Dynasties period 906-960 Northern Sung 960-1127 Southern Sung 1127-1279 Yüan 1260-1368 Ming 1368-1644 1644-1911 Ch'ing

### **Abbreviations**

chin-shih (highest degree in the civil service examinations) C.S. **HCP** Hsü tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien SHT Sung hsing-t'ung Sung hui-yao chi-kao SHY Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu SKCS Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an SPTK SPPY Ssu-pu pei-yao Sung-Yüan hsüeh-an SYHA TCTK T'ung-chih t'iao-ko Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng TSCC Yüan tien-chang, or Ta-Yüan sheng-cheng kuo-ch'ao tien-chang YTC

Yüan tien-chang hsin-chi, or Ta-Yüan sheng-cheng tien-chang

Ch'ing-ming chi, or Ming-kung shu-p'an ch'ing-ming chi

CMC

YTCHC

hsin-chi chih-chih t'iao-li

xvii

## Acknowledgments

During the years I have worked on this book, I have benefited greatly from the help and expertise of many colleagues and friends. The Sung portion of the book began as my Ph.D. dissertation at Columbia University, and I thank foremost my dissertation advisor Robert P. Hymes. I had the honor of being his first research student, and I have benefited enormously over the years from his broad learning, cogent criticisms, and careful reading of my work. I am also deeply indebted to Wm. Theodore de Bary and the late Wing-tsit Chan for their instruction and example. People who read all or part of the manuscript or the dissertation before that and generously took time to provide written or oral comments include Barand ter Haar, Charlotte Furth, Richard von Glahn, Ann Waltner, Paul Smith, Brian McKnight, Patricia Ebrey, John Chaffee, Morris Rossabi, Yao Dali, and an anonymous reviewer for Cambridge University Press. Special thanks go to Barand ter Haar, who sent me copious comments on the entire manuscript. Paul Smith first suggested that I look at the Statutes and Precedents of the Yüan, which became a major source for my conclusions. Brian McKnight sent me texts at timely moments, shared drafts of his own work, and kindly discussed translations by post and e-mail. I am deeply grateful for invaluable advice and comments from Frederick W. Mote in frequent correspondence and from Herbert Franke during a long afternoon at his home in Munich in June of 1996. I have also benefited from comments and camaraderie from Beverly Bossler, Ellen Neskar, and Ari Borrell. Finally, I thank the students in my graduate seminar on Women and the Family in China for their insightful comments, especially Constance Orliski, George daRoza, and David Bello.

The main research for this book was carried out at the Academia Sinica in Taipei, Taiwan, in the spring of 1994. Foremost I thank my two official sponsors Huang K'uan-ch'ung and Lau Nap-yin. They not only arranged for my appointment as a visiting scholar and extended every

professional courtesy but also steered me to sources and offered invaluable advice during my stay. This book owes a further debt to Lau Napyin for his ongoing assistance and illuminating comments in the years since. I am deeply grateful to Hung Chin-fu for allowing me to join his graduate seminar at Ch'ing-hua University, where by a marvelous coincidence the students were reading the Yüan tien-chang, and for subsequently spending many hours answering my numerous queries. Other members of the Academia Sinica gave me help and welcomed me into their community. I am grateful to each of them.

My dissertation research was carried out in Kyoto, Japan, and my teachers and colleagues there have continued to offer me guidance and encouragement. My sponsors Chikusa Masaaki and Kinugawa Tsuyoshi helped me in countless ways both during my stay in Japan and in the years since. Sugiyama Masaaki taught me much about Yüan history and the reading of Yüan texts during our meetings in both Japan and the United States. In Tokyo, Shiba Yoshinobu, Yanagida Setsuko, and Ihara Hiroshi repeatedly took time from their busy schedules to meet with me to discuss my work and guide me to sources. I cannot thank them enough. Other scholars who deserve special thanks are Tonami Mamoru, Morita Kenji, Nakamura Yonoe, Saeki Tomi, and Umehara Kaoru.

The materials for this book were collected from a number of libraries in several countries. I thank the entire staff of the following libraries, with special thanks to Mr. Lin Ding-Tzann of the Fu Ssu-nien library at the Academia Sinica in Taipei; Mr. Mori of the library of the Research Institute of Humanistic Studies in Kyoto; Yamakami Teruo of the library of the Faculty of Letters, Kyoto University; Kenneth Harlin of the C. V. Starr East Asian Library at Columbia University; Kenneth Klein of the East Asian Library, University of Southern California; and James Cheng formerly of the East Asian Library at the University of California, Los Angeles, now at the Harvard-Yenching Library in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The main research for this book was supported by a research grant in 1994 from the Joint Committee on Chinese Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council with funds provided by the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation (with possible additional funds from the Ford Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities). Additional support came from the James H. Zumberge Faculty Research and Innovation Fund at the University of Southern California. I received research assistance of various kinds, both paid and unpaid, from Shaoyi Sun, Mei-ch'in Lin, and Itsuko Nishikawa. David Bello and Rebecca Harz helped get the manuscript into final

form, and Sean O'Connell helped with the maps. Mr. Jiang Jianyuan provided invaluable assistance from finding information and checking sources to discussing translations with me. Special thanks go to my dear friends Lynn Chancer and Suzanne Leonora for their steadfast support and encouragement over many years.

I am deeply grateful to Denis C. Twitchett for his help and encouragement over the years of preparation of this manuscript, and I am honored to be included in his series of Cambridge Studies in Chinese History, Literature, and Institutions. I have had the good fortune to work with two wonderful editors at Cambridge University Press. Elizabeth Neil guided the manuscript quickly through the review and acceptance stage, and Mary Child worked with me with endless patience and understanding through the revision and production process. This book was completed with subsidies from the Pacific Cultural Foundation and from the Chiang Ching-kuo Foundation. I thank both foundations for their generous support.

My husband Peter R. Lee could not have done more, from attending to the household and caring for our infant son, to drawing maps and filling in Chinese characters, to providing unconditional moral support. My young son Henry provided inspiration and much comic relief. Despite the ample help I have received from teachers, colleagues, and friends, the book necessarily has many remaining shortcomings, for which I alone am responsible.

Characters for all Chinese words are given in the Glossary-Index, except for the names of otherwise anonymous people who appear in legal cases and other primary documents. Chinese characters are given in the text for a few terms of particular importance.

## Contents

List of Maps, Figures, and Tables	page xiv
Chronology of Chinese Dynasties	xvi
Abbreviations	xvii
Acknowledgments	xix
Introduction	1
Historical Context	4
Contours of Change at the National Level	4
Local Conditions: The Prefecture of Chien-ning, Fukien	18
Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and the Learning of the Way	
(Tao-Hsüeh)	24
Women's Property: Conceptions, Language, and	
Significance	31
The Language of Minimization	31
The Economic Significance of Women's Property	37
1 Women and Property before the Sung:	
Evolution and Continuity	41
Chou Feudalism and Confucian Ideals	42
Han Dynasty Developments: Communal Living,	1
Common Property	46
Dowry versus Betrothal Gifts	51
T'ang Inheritance and Property Law	53
Conclusion	60
2 Women and Property in the Sung:	
Legal Innovation in Changing Times	64
Sung Law and the Legal System	66
Transmission of Wealth to Women	76
Daughters and Sons in Family Division	76

#### Contents

Daughters' Inheritance by Testament and Legal Protection	
of the Property of Minors	94
Inheritance by Daughters without Surviving Brothers	97
New Provisions for Daughters in Cut-off Households	98
Intervention of the State	104
Daughters and Posthumous Heirs	109
Women's Property within Marriage	113
Taking Property out of a Marriage after the	
Husband's Death	115
Remarriage and the Law	125
Separate Property within Marriage While the	
Husband Was Alive	127
Divorce	130
Disposition of Dowry When a Wife Died without Heirs	134
Conclusion: Property, Gender, and the Law	138
3 Women's Property and Confucian Reaction in	
the Sung	143
Patrilineality and Daughters' Inheritance	144
Opposition to Private Property within Marriage	150
Chu Hsi's Encouragement of Dowry Donation	151
Dowry Donation and the Learning of the Way Fellowship	153
The Growing Concern over Dowry during the Sung	161
Learning of the Way Ideals and Women as	
Household Bursars	169
Northern Sung Discourse on Women as	
Household Managers	169
Chu Hsi and Women's Roles in the Household	174
Chu Hsi's Contemporaries and Followers	179
Huang Kan's Enforcement of Learning of the	, ,
Way Ideals	185
Conclusion	197
4 Transformation of Marriage and Property	
Law in the Yüan	200
Marriage and the Levirate in Mongol and	
Chinese Society	201
Law in the Yüan Dynasty	208
Family Property and Daughters' Inheritance	217
Inheritance in Cut-off Households	220
Women's Separate Property in Marriage	228
Changing Laws on Marriage and Property in the Yüan	229

#### Contents

	Stage 1: Separation of Mongol and Chinese Law,	
	1260 to the End of 1271	230
	Stage 2: Mongolization of the Law and Universal	
	Application of the Levirate, 1271-1276	238
	Stage 3: Reassertion of Chinese Values and Lenient	
	Enforcement of the Levirate, 1276-1294	245
	Stage 4: The Confucian Transformation of Marriage	
	and Property Law, 1294–1320	253
	Stage 5: The Exaltation of Chastity in the Late Yüan	273
	Post-Yüan Developments	277
	Conclusion	279
(	Conclusion: Gender, Mongols, and Confucian Ideals	283
	Bibliography	297
	Glossary- $Index$	329