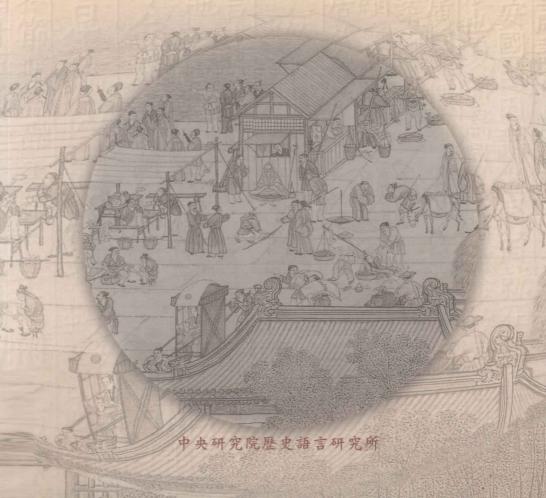
第三屆國際漢學會議論文集

經濟史、都市文化與物質文化

劉翠溶 石守謙 主編

歷史組



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《第三屆國際漢學會議論文集》 總 序

中央研究院第三屆國際漢學會議於公元二〇〇〇年六月廿九日在臺北南港院區學術活動中心揭幕,會期前後三天至七月一日閉幕。這一次漢學會議的舉行距離於一九八六年召開的上屆大會已有十四年之久,而與第一屆大會的舉行則已相隔廿年的時間。在這樣一段長久的時間內,國內外漢學界已有相當的成長與變化,正如本院李遠哲院長在開幕致詞中所說的:「在多元觀點、多元材料與利用新科技工具的研究趨向下,近年來國際漢學研究的視野更趨於寬廣,出現許多新主題、新理論與跨學科的研究成果。」因此本院「漢學研究推動委員會」乃結合人文學科各研究所,經兩年時間的籌備而召開本屆大會,其目的即是希望藉這一擴大的學術聚會,讓國內外漢學界研究同仁再有一次廣泛討論及交換意見的機會,以便共同探討籌劃「漢學研究在廿一世紀的新方向」。

第一、二兩屆國際漢學會議是由本院的三個人文學科研究所:歷史語言研究所、近代史研究所與民族學研究所共同參與舉辦。第三屆國際漢學會議參加籌備的單位除去上述三個研究所之外,又增加了中國文哲研究所與語言學研究所,而在「漢學研究推動委員會」的委員中亦邀請多位國內大學相關學門的教授參與。在會議內容的分組上也有變動,第一屆會議共分爲六組,第二屆會議則改爲五組,本次會議則增加爲歷史、文學、思想、文字學、語言學、族群關係(人類學組一)、信仰與生活(人類學組二)等七組之外,並有「漢

籍數位典藏研討會」合併在會議中舉行,以展示本院推動現代資訊 科技在漢籍典藏與搜集上的應用成果。在會議節目程序的安排上,本屆會議也略有創新,除去有兩次大會特別演講外,並有十四次「主題演講」以配合各組之下再分出的研討主題,分別邀請與主題相關的資深學者作演講,以突出並導引各研討主題的意義與研討。最後各組並各有一場綜合討論,以整合各領域研討的意見。

本屆大會共有國內外漢學研究者三百餘人與會,提出論文二百一十一篇。前兩屆漢學會議均將會議論文分組編印成冊出版。本屆會議各主題下之論文都具相當專業性與系統性,籌備會與各組主持人均希望早日刊出。茲爲編輯會議論文出版事務,特由「漢學研究推動委員會」邀請其副秘書長,現任歷史語言研究所所長黃寬重教授及執行秘書、史語所副所長王明珂教授,分別擔任召集人與副召集人,與各所代表何大安、何翠萍、黃克武、李豐楙、邱澎生等教授共同組成編輯小組主持編輯出版事務。邱澎生兼任此編輯小組秘書,與助理李雅玲小姐共同襄理協調聯繫事宜。各分冊之主編則由劉翠溶、石守謙、邢義田、劉增貴、臧振華、陳國棟、黃克武、鍾柏生、何大安、何翠萍、蔣斌、林美容、李豐楙、劉述先等教授分別擔任。本屆大會論文集在經費困難與出版形式之議定極費精神的情況下得以陸續出版問世,都是編輯小組同仁與各分冊主編共同努力的成果,在此本人特代表「漢學研究推動委員會」向他們表示至深謝忱。

本屆國際漢學會議得以順利召開與完滿達成,首先要感謝本院 李遠哲院長與楊前副院長國樞的大力支持與鼓勵,同仁們均十分感 激。「漢學研究推動委員會」的委員,包括石守謙、李壬癸、呂芳上、 徐正光、張玉法、黄俊傑、黃啓方、黃應貴、劉述先、劉翠溶、鍾 彩鈞、戴璉璋、龔煌城諸教授,在籌備期間極備辛勞,而大會秘書 處在黃寬重與王明珂兩位教授的領導下,在開會期間更是日夜不休 地工作,更是令人欽佩,本人與大會籌備會副主席杜正勝院士謹代表「漢學研究推動委員會」及與會漢學界同仁也向他們敬謹表示衷心感謝之意。

第三屆國際漢學會議籌備會主席 李亦園 謹誌 2001.12.

編者序

在第三屆國際漢學會議中,歷史組有三場主題演講及十七場分組討論,本編收錄其中一次演講及三個分組的論文。首先要說明的是,論文皆在會議後經作者修改,並請學者審查,故與原稿已略有不同。這十二篇論文分別涉及經濟史、都市文化與物質文化等主題,因此,就權宜結合三者做爲本編標題。

伊懋可(Mark Elvin)的主題演講把中國歷史上長期的「前近代 經濟成長」(premodern economic growth, PMEG)經驗分爲四期。在 進入前近代以前,從石器時代至文字發明之際,經濟發展在各種原 始生產方式的配合下趨近於維持自我持續(self-sustaining)狀態。第 二期即前近代的第一階段,顯示出環境富裕 (environment richness) 的狀態,因爲還有環境緩衝墊 (environment buffer) 存在。第三期是 前近代的第二階段,展現了經濟的富庶 (economic riches),但可利 用的土地已日漸稀少,社會的各種資源亦逐漸枯竭,形成經濟固定 (lock-in)的狀態。第四期是前近代的第三階段,在有些地區,如 江南,出現了前近代的過度發展 (premodern overdevelopment)情形。 本文提出三個新假設以供進一步研究。一是前近代經濟固定所引起 的財力、人力與自然資源之限度對水利系統的衝擊。二是在前近代 經濟成長後期有些地區出現資源(如森林)枯竭的情形,這可能是 因爲當時人有機會以物資換得現金後存入可以獲得利息之處。三是 在前近代成長後期,工作量增加之壓力與不安全可能反映於預期壽 命的降低。

經濟史方面的五篇論文分別探討以下的問題。李伯重探討明淸時期江南棉紡織業的勞動生產率。這篇論文從生產工具的改進,勞動分工的加強,生產的專業化,以及棉紡業與農業勞動生產率的比較等四方面,重新檢討棉紡織業勞動生產率是否真正低下的問題。結論指出,以人口壓力說爲基礎的江南農家棉紡織業勞動生產率低下的觀點,是難以成立的。

王業鍵與陳仁義探討十八世紀中國的米糧市場。這篇論文指出,在十八世紀中國的人口與耕地面積持續增加,糧食產量的增加大致上與人口增加亦步亦趨,然而,地區間糧食供應的情形卻有相當的差異。這篇論文檢討糧食市場的整合程度,側重以蘇州、武漢、重慶、廣州、天津及西安等地爲中心的區域。初步的發現是糧食市場在長江流域的整合程度很強,在大運河沿線則較弱,在長江三角洲與珠江三角洲之間並未整合,而以西安爲中心的西北地區市場大致上是自給自足的。

魏丕信(Pierre-Étienne Will)以陝西巡撫崔紀於 1737-1738 年間在渭河流域鑿井的個案來探討地方官「勸農」措施的成效。這篇論文指出,崔紀的計畫失敗主要是由於與居民的溝通不良、經費不足、時機不對,以及過度動員幾近於強迫以致引起反感。乾隆皇帝在獲知這項計畫執行不如預期的消息後,很快地把崔紀調到湖北。不過,崔紀的鑿井運動雖因他缺乏經驗而失敗,其影響卻並非完全是負面的。在一七四〇年代,比較老練的地方官如陳宏謀就能在崔紀開創的基礎上,在陝西鑿更多的井以提倡農業。

Peter Perdue 探討清朝勢力在新疆擴張的農業基礎。他指出在十七、八世紀清帝國能夠擴張到中亞,其主要因素之一是能夠利用內地商業化而生產力高的農業經濟,將其資源,尤其是糧食、衣服與武器,運送到邊疆的軍隊手中。第二個主要資源來自蒙古部落。這些遊牧的蒙古部落供應了在草原上征戰所需之馬匹與騎兵。換言

之,清朝在這個時期成功地結合了定居農業與遊牧經濟的優點以達 到建造國家之目的。這種經驗之檢討有助於說明中國帝國之建造與 同時期世界上其他帝國之建造間有何異同。

劉翠溶的論文以臺灣爲例,探討現代工業化過程中之地區差 異。這篇論文以1954年至1996年舉辦的九次工商普查資料爲基礎, 以製造業爲範圍來討論臺灣北、中、南、東四個區域間發展之差異。 簡言之,以各項變數來觀察,臺灣的製造業趨向於集中到北部,其 次是中部地區。這種發展趨勢很難說完全是出於理性計畫的結果, 相關原因及區位之合理性仍需進一步的探討。

都市文化方面的三篇論文分別以南宋城市之科舉文化、晚明江 南城市之文化空間,以及近代上海之城市文化為探討的對象。梁庚 堯在他的論文中強調,南宋城市不僅是商業中心,也是士人聚集之 地,而城市中的學校則是展現科舉文化的場所。南宋的官學與官設 書院多在城市,私學也以城市較為密集。在許多學校裡,舉業是學 習的重心。至於地方人士,則視學校之與修為地方上科第表現之指 標。此外,學校內外也散布著展現科舉文化價值的各種表徵。這種 科舉文化之表現,經唐代與北宋的醞釀,到南宋更加普遍,並延續 到明清。

交以誠(Richard Vinogard)的論文以金陵、紹興與松江爲中心,探討晚明江南城市對於形成獨特之近代初期城市視覺文化的重要性。一般關於視覺現代性之研究,多以十九世紀至二十世紀初爲時間範圍,並且傾向於關注攝影、電影等動態的視覺經驗,以及由玻璃和金屬所構成的建築物等具體的公共空間。本文則將重點放在現代性的另外一些展現方式。在晚明的江南,一種涵括多階層,以休閒、娛樂、慾望爲中心的城市文化逐漸展開;這種想像性的文化空間展現於金陵人顧起元的作品中,也見諸於畫家董其昌、徐渭、吳彬及陳洪綬等人的作品中。

李孝悌的論文探討近代上海城市通俗文化由傳統向現代遞變的過程。這篇論文以《點石齋畫報》、「新舞臺」的改良戲曲及《良友畫報》爲例,來說明自一八八〇年代至一九三〇年代初期上海通俗文化的遞變。結論指出,《點石齋畫報》在傳統的架構中,不時透露出一些新意,然而,上層思想界的激烈變化尚未在城市通俗文化中產生深刻的影響。「新舞台」不斷嘗試利用舊的大眾文化形式來傳遞一些新的時代訊息,有些劇本甚至展現了大眾文化與菁英思想緊密的結合。《良友畫報》在現代化的取向中,偶爾還夾雜一些傳統的文化符碼。它提供了一種新的感官經驗,但並未充分反映上層思想界所關懷的議題。

有關於物質文化的三篇論文分別以橋樑、瓷器與服飾爲探討的主題。柯嘉豪(John Kieschnick)討論中國史上橋樑建造中佛教所扮演的角色。這篇論文指出,在佛教信仰中造橋是一種功德,而從相關的中國歷史文獻可知,這種佛教信仰在中國的影響力至少從宋代至清代,延續了一千餘年。中國地方官有責任維護地方上的橋樑,但他們卻無一定的經費可用於這項工作,於是,往往求助於地方上的僧侶向有力之家募款。在中國各地,無數的橋樑就在地方官、僧侶與地方菁英之間所形成的一種奇特社會角色連結中建造而成。

謝明良的論文探討晚明時期對於宋代官窯的鑑賞與「碎器」的流行。這篇論文指出,明代的鑑賞界對於宋代官窯有極高的評價,而宋代官窯的外觀特徵之一是瓷釉開片,也就是所謂「碎器」,乃成爲一種可與紋飾相比擬的鑑賞對象。在晚明時期的消費文化中,瓷釉的開片紋理儼然成爲流行的圖案記號,滲入社會的各個階層,甚至影響到日本工藝品的圖樣設計。

林麗月的論文討論晚明的服飾文化與消費心態。這篇論文指 出,在明代開國之初,釐定冠服制度,藉以區分夷夏;中葉以後, 隨著紡織工藝的發展與商品經濟的發達,服制奢僭日甚一日,崇尚 艷、新、異遂成爲晚明服飾的特色。本篇以明人文集、筆記、小說等文獻爲主,輔以圖像與文物資料,探討十六、七世紀中國服飾文化的物質基礎與審美觀,從而闡釋晚明服飾消費之文化意義。

要之,本編收錄之十二篇論文涵蓋多樣的主題;時間範圍大多 集中於宋代至清代,但有一篇溯及遠古,有二篇下至二十世紀;空 間範圍則由西北至江南,乃至臺灣。這些論文在第三屆漢學會議時 雖分三組發表,而今結集成冊,相信有助於讀者在經濟史、都市文 化與物質文化之課題中,找到互相關連之處。

> 劉翠溶 民國 90 年 11 月 23 日

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The Unavoidable Environment: Reflections on Premodern Economic Growth in China

Mark Elvin*

Introduction

The long-term history of China suggests that the conceptual incorporation of environmental factors is essential for an understanding of the patterns, nature, and limitations of premodern economic growth (PMEG) in China. Hence also of Chinese history generally. An outline of these follows, followed by more detailed analysis and documentation.

Different parts of what is today "China" went through these phases at different times, sometimes more than a thousand years apart, and not all areas reached the fourth stage. After making al-

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lowances for differences in geography, and for fluctuations due to long-term climatic changes, and various historical "accidents," these paths were rather similar, if not always identical. In broad outline, there are four phases.

- (1) The starting-point is a situation in which a *combination* forms, in a number of places, of various quite widely spread neolithic technical capacities. These include primitive farming, grain storage, domesticated animals, defended permanent settlements, increased population density, metallurgy, a stratified society organized under a strict discipline into a state based on tribute and taxes, cities, and in its final moments of crystallization writing. The superior military capacity of this combination enables it to outcompete pre-existing simpler societies. These other societies are subordinated and incorporated, or else obliged to resist by imitation. One of the foundations of this new and more effectively competitive social entity is an increased ability to exploit the environment over ever greater distances from the center at which decisions are made. This forms part of a process of development that becomes close to self-sustaining.
- (2) The first stage of PMEG is based on "environmental richness." Easily usable land is abundant relative to labor-power. Hunting, fishing, and gathering of wild plants remain an important part of the economy, and provide an effective "environmental buffer" in years of bad harvest or other natural disasters. A network of trade develops mostly, but not wholly, structured around centers of concentration of resources extracted by non-economic means, notably taxes and rents. The restructuring of the landscape by deforestation, and hydraulic works such as levees to contain rivers, irrigation systems, and seawalls proceeds rapidly but is patchy and often technically inadequate.
 - (3) The third phase is "mature" PMEG, characterized by "eco-

nomic riches." Land has become the input in critically short supply. There are the beginnings of a shortage of other resources such as wood for construction and fuel. The economy is extensively commercialized through a network of markets focused mostly, but not wholly, on centers of popular consumption and of production. The environmental buffer is now inadequate, though partly compensated by a "market buffer" for those with resources of finance and credit. Hunting and gathering has become marginal or non-existent, following the widespread destruction of habitats by development. Large wild animals have vanished from all but peripheral regions. The restructuring and managerial control of the landscape is mature and, on the whole, effective, but at the cost of a high permanent expenditure on maintenance and restructuring (notably of water-control systems) that uses up a large proportion of society's resources of money, natural resources, labor-power, and administrative skills. This is a form of economic "lock-in."

(4) The fourth phase of Chinese PMEG is "premodern overdevelopment" and only emerges clearly in some regions, such as the lower Yangzi delta. Output per person per year in normal years in advanced areas is high by world premodern standards. (The seed-toyield may reach six times the general western European level, for example.) The cost is an intense workload that imposes severe stress, particularly on women, possibly a shortened expectancy of life, and a heightened vulnerability to natural disaster. Local scarcities of resources such as wood, and in some places, water, are increasingly common themes in the literature. The environmental buffer has vanished. One criterion for the move from the third to the fourth phase is the routine sale of children in hard economic times; and exceptionally difficult periods may be rhetorically characterized by such statements as "people could not even sell their children." It is

important, in analyzing economic history, to consider not just averages but also the impact of extreme events.

In spite of a raising of the general level of "practice," and of resourcefulness — such as the development of the growing of "spring flowers" (chunhua, that is, legumes) in winter in rice-growing areas — there are both technical and environmental constraints on most major further PMEG-type developments. This could be symbolized by the lack of enough suitably silt-free water to keep the portion of the Grand Canal that ran over the Shandong hills open all year round, let alone to "double-track" it.

I

Defining the level of PMEG in China raises problems. The limited evidence available usually allows one at best to make an informed guess about the relative sophistication of the technology of production, and the degree and character of the commercialization of exchanges. At times, but not routinely, these two aspects allow a degree of quantification. Here are two examples from the lower Yangzi delta in the late-imperial period (14th to mid-19th centuries) by way of illustration:

The first relates to Jiaxing prefecture, in the lower Yangzi delta. It concerns the seed-to-yield ratios for rice, in other words the relationship between how much was sown and how much was harvested. This is one of several well-known measures of the productivity of agriculture. For wheat in early modern Europe the average rarely

Others include the yield per unit of area, yield per time-unit of work, and the ratio of energy in to energy out (excluding sunshine), as well as the obvious economic measures based on the relationship of costs and financial returns.

exceeded 1:5.2 In late-imperial liaxing, using volumetric calculations, the seed-to-yield ratio for unhusked rice sown to unhusked rice reaped was between 1:45 and 1:51 in good years for the better farmers.3 For unhusked seeds to husked rice (the kind that was eaten by most people), it was still between 1:31 and 1:36. In other words, the productivity of cereal production per hectare was of a different order from Europe at the same time. This was due to a combination of factors: the particular characteristics of the food-plants concerned, the natural conditions such as the mean annual temperature, the hours of sunshine, the heavily manured soils, and the technology of intensive irrigated farming.

Since information on seed-to-yield ratios in China is fairly sparse, it is useful to translate the relevant passage from the local gazetteer in full. Note that I have intentionally mistranscribed gé as he, to avoid it being confused with gè, a different measure whose only difference is in the tone. The principal premodern Chinese capacity measures for grain came in multiples of 10: he, sheng, dou, and shi (= dan), in rising orders of magnitude. The exact modern equivalents are of no relevance in the present context: but 1 sheng may be thought of as approximately 1 liter. (In Ming times it was 1.035, and in Qing 0.9874.) The mu was a measure of area, about 0.07 hectare in Ming time, and 0.067 under the Qing.

In general, for 1 mu area one uses 7 or 8 sheng volume of seeds. 6 ke make 1 k, and 8 k make 1 ge. From 1 mu one harvests 360 ge of unhusked rice

Maddalena 1970, pp. 66-79; 1974, pp. 334-43. The highest ratio given here (for the period before 1750) is 8.7 for Holland and England in 1500-49.

Rice grains have a bran casing that, though nutritious, was commonly removed by the Chinese by the process of "husking" or "hulling". It was thought to improve the flavor, and made it easier to store.