ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS
IN
SOUTH FUKIEN,
946 - 1276

by

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This thesis is based completely on my own research
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ABSTRACT

The region of South Fukien did not develop economically to any marked degree until the Sung dynasty. Its development during the Sung can be divided into three periods. The first period lasted from the rule of the independent local warlords to the last quarter of the eleventh century. During this one hundred years, agriculture underwent improvements which made substantial population growth and accumulation of capital possible. This generated a substantial momentum for development in commerce by local merchants, and a flourishing transit trade. The second period, which lasted to the end of the twelfth century, was a time of general prosperity in the region's economy. The overseas trade now became a mixture of transit and export trade and expanded to an unprecedented extent, and other economic sectors developed in response to this commercial boom. The third phase - the latter half of the Southern Sung - was a time when overseas trade declined markedly and problems appeared in the local economy. The region turned its commercial orientation from overseas to domestic trade and was not able to enjoy the balanced prosperity it had earlier.
# CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CONTENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figures, Maps</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER I</strong> HISTORICAL BACKGROUND</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Fukien before the T'ang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Developments under the T'ang and the Min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER II</strong> REGIONAL URBANIZATION AND POPULATION GROWTH</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Formation of the Regional Urban Structure</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Urban Morphology of the City of Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Population Growth and Distribution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTER III</strong> CHANGES IN THE LOCAL ECONOMY: THE SECOND HALF OF THE</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENTH CENTURY AND THE FIRST THREE-QUARTERS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Breakthrough in Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Transit Trade and Overseas Markets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Shih-po-ssu and State Control over Maritime Trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER IV</td>
<td>PROSPERITY AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION : THE LAST QUARTER OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY AND THE TWELFTH CENTURY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Market Expansion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Characteristics of Trade in South Fukien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Government Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>The Commercialization of Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>The Local Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Economic Integration of the Region</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER V</th>
<th>FINANCIAL CRISIS AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS : THE FIRST THREE-QUARTERS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY</th>
<th>200</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Coming of Financial Crisis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The Decline of Overseas Trade</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Domestic Trade and Problems in Agriculture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Changes in the Monetary System and Their Effect on the Economy of South Fukien</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Economic Developments in South Fukien in the Post-Sung Period</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CONCLUSION...................................................................................................................226

ABBREVIATIONS...................................................................................................................229
BIBLIOGRAPHY...................................................................................................................230
GLOSSARY..........................................................................................................................248
TABLE 1  HOUSEHOLD RETURNS FOR FUKIEN IN MID-T'ANG.............14
TABLE 2  SUNG COUNTIES IN SOUTH FUKIEN..............................37
TABLE 3  IMPORTANT BUILDINGS OF SUNG CH'ÜAN-CHOU CITY SHOWN ON MAP 4......................................53
TABLE 4  POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS OF SEVEN COASTAL PREFECTURES...64
TABLE 5  GROWTH RATES FROM THE MID-T'ANG TO THE NORTHERN SUNG, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4..........................66
TABLE 6  GROWTH RATES FROM 1102 TO A YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4...66
TABLE 7  GROWTH RATES FROM A YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG TO 1290, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4..66
TABLE 8  PREFECTURES RANKED ACCORDING TO POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS (OVER 200,000 ONLY): 1102.................................68
TABLE 9  PREFECTURES RANKED ACCORDING TO POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS (OVER 250,000 ONLY) RECORDED DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG...68
TABLE 10 POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN FU-CHOU PREFECTURE IN 1182...71
TABLE 11 RECONSTRUCTED POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN CH'ÜAN-CHOU PREFECTURE IN 1250, 1490 AND 1608 (PERCENTAGE)...............71
TABLE 12 COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH SEAS, WHICH SENT MORE THAN ONE ENVOYS TO SUNG CHINA BETWEEN THE LAST QUARTER OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE END OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.................137
TABLE 13 WOODEN LABELS DISCOVERED IN THE SUNG SHIP..............158
TABLE 14 DISTRIBUTION OF KILN-SITES IN CH'ÜAN-CHOU.............174
FIGURES

FIGURE 1  REGIONAL STRUCTURE OF SUB-REGIONS.........................41

FIGURE 2  LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COUNTY CITIES AND
PREFECTURAL CITIES..........................................................41

FIGURE 3  PATTERN OF MARITIME TRADE IN SOUTH FUKIEN........153

MAPS

1. The Region of South Fukien..............................................xvii

2. Development of Administrative Division in Fukien and
Neighbouring Areas from the Han to the End of the Northern
and Southern Dynasties.......................................................6

3. Urban Structure of South Fukien during the Sung..............34

4. Reconstructed City Map of Sung-Yüan Ch'üan-chou.............51

5. Sketch Map of Sung-Yüan Ch'üan-chou and Its Vicinity......60
The Sung dynasty (960-1126) was in many respects a time of impressive progress. Aspects of that progress include: rising productivity in agriculture and industry, the development of a money economy, large-scale urbanization, population growth, regional specialization in production, advances in transportation, a growing exchange of commodities throughout the empire, improved commercial techniques, and so on. Although most of these changes were in evidence during the T'ang dynasty (618-906) and the Five Dynasties (907-959), and continued in various forms after the Sung, it was their decisive development in the Sung which helped to make it a significant transition period in the socio-economic history of China, a time which to a considerable extent determined the path that China was to follow until the modern era.

However, the regional differences in the extent and the speed of these changes in Sung China was great. If these are overlooked it could certainly lead to misunderstanding of the time. This has been well demonstrated by Yanagida Setsuko's comparative study of land tenure in the advanced area of the Liang-che (modern Chekiang and Kiangsu) and the frontier areas of the Ching-hu and Ssu-ch'uan (modern Hupei and Szech'uan respectively). She shows that earlier controversy over the socio-economical implications of land tenure in Sung times can be accounted for and largely resolved by considering the factors
of regional differences. This is not to suggest that an overall interpretation of the dynasty is impossible without adequate studies of individual regions. Rather, my point is that as much of the information preserved in historical documents has spatial implications and localized meanings, we shall be able to further clarify and sharpen our understanding if regional differences are taken into account and some representative regions, whether advanced or backward, are studied in detail. It is with this point in mind that the present study was developed as a regional investigation.

South Fukien was chosen as the region for study. It has often been treated as a distinct region in studies dealing with later periods. But for the Sung, too, it can be conceived in economic terms as a region with distinctive internal coherence. Its internal structure will be discussed in the following chapters. My reasons for choosing South Fukien are: First, during the Sung, it was one of the regions which advanced most rapidly in terms of economic development, population growth and urbanization. Second, the region was characterized by its foreign contacts and maritime commercial orientation. These are important factors for development of pre-industrial economies. Third, its regional centre - Ch'üan-chou - became one of the most prosperous seaport cities of the Sung period. A scrutiny of such a representative region will help to throw light on the nature of the overall economic development of this dynasty.

Here it should be noted that for the purposes of this study the boundary of "South Fukien" is extended to cover the prefecture of Hsing-hua chün to the north of Ch'üan-chou. My reasons are three-fold. Geographically, it is true that the modern district of P'u-
t'ien, which has developed from the Sung prefecture of Hsing-hua chün, is located very close to Fu-chou city, as shown on MAP 1. However, when their Sung boundaries are taken into account, it can be said that Sung Hsing-hua chün was physically closer to the prefectural capital of Ch'üan-chou than to the prefectural capital of Fu-chou.² The difficulties for communication represented by the wide Min River and the mountainous area to its south would also have discouraged direct transportation on any substantial scale. There were two land routes from Ch'üan-chou city to the inland Fukien city of Yen-p'ing - one via Fu-chou city and the other via the Te-hua mountainous area. The latter route was developed earlier and was still used during the Sung. It was however abandoned in later dynasties because of its inconvenience in terms of transportation. But a reason sources give for its existence in the period up to and including the Sung is that travelling across the mountains was at that time preferable to crossing the Min River to reach Fu-chou city.³ This indirectly indicates that the Min River did adversely affect direct communication between Fu-chou and Hsing-hua. Although in economic terms the development of Hsing-hua chün probably was not irrelevant to the region of Fu-chou, I would suggest that during the Sung it had closer and more frequent interaction with Ch'üan-chou prefecture than with Fu-chou prefecture. Historically, before Hsing-hua chün was established as a prefecture under the Sung, it had long been included in the territory of Ch'üan-chou prefecture. This will have influenced the relation between two prefectures during the Sung, even if that relation may have become weaker in later dynasties. As
far as economic considerations are concerned, in Hsing-hua chün during the Sung agriculture and industry were in general quite commercialized. As the city of Ch'üan-chou provided the best seaport and the most prosperous market for trade on the Fukien coast, it is probable that Hsing-hua chün was incorporated more into the economy of South Fukien than that of Fu-chou.

While previous studies of South Fukien during the Sung are very few, those dealing with Ch'üan-chou are numerous. Briefly speaking, the subjects treated by the latter can be divided into four categories: foreign relations, fine arts, local history and socio-political history. The first category includes studies of foreign records which deal with Ch'üan-chou, activities of foreigners in that prefecture, alien religions, diplomatic relations, foreign trade and so on. The main theme of these studies is the interrelation between Sung China and other countries and cultures of that time. For such investigations Ch'üan-chou is of interest largely because as a major maritime trading centre it was a focal point for China's links with the outside world. The second category consists of research on aesthetic, folklore and technical aspects of antiquities in Ch'üan-chou. The third category is the growing literature on the local history of Ch'üan-chou. Mainly the work of local scholars, it covers many interesting anthropological and ethnological aspects of the city's past. The final category contains some recent studies of the socio-political aspects of Sung Ch'üan-chou and their effect on economic development.
All these studies provide a base upon which the present study builds. However, my primary interest here is in the economic development not only of Ch'üan-chou, but also of the whole region of South Fukien, of which Ch'üan-chou was the largest prefecture and the city of Ch'üan-chou the regional centre. My time span is limited to the Sung dynasty. Emphasis will be put on the interaction of various economic sectors and the roles they played in the region's growth. The material in this thesis is arranged to an overall scheme of periodization; the basic chronology is made clear in the chapter headings. It should also be mentioned that, unlike political development in which events with definite dates made precise periodization possible, economic development often occurs gradually and cannot be compartmentalized according to watershed dates. The scheme put forth in this study represents only an approximate division into periods with some distinct characteristics.

Chapter one deals with developments in the region before the Sung, while chapters three to five cover three fairly distinct phases in the region's economic history during the Sung. Chapter two, on the other hand, provides a general picture of urban and demographical developments, which is essential for an understanding of the economic development of the region.

The primary sources I have consulted for this study include standard and miscellaneous histories, government documents, collected works and miscellaneous notes by contemporary figures, geographical works, Buddhist works, traveller's accounts, epigraphy, and archaeological reports. Most are widely available, but some are to be
found only in the rare book collections of libraries and archives in China and Japan. Other than the studies on Ch'üan-chou and South Fukien mentioned above, there is a substantial literature on aspects of Sung China, much of which is relevant to my argument. Special mention should be made here of two recent Ph.D. theses on Ch'üan-chou, one from Taiwan by Li Tung-hua and the other from the United States by Hugh Clark. Unfortunately, I could only obtain a copy of the latter. It is a very impressive work on the social, economic, and political developments in Ch'üan-chou from the establishment of this prefecture in 699 down to the end of the Northern Sung. Clark's emphasis is on the consolidation of this frontier of the Chinese domain, and by a meticulous analysis of the social and political respects of the local society, he traces this process very well. Although I do not concur with all his interpretations concerning economic development, his work has certainly been a stimulus to the present study.

Finally, some comments should be made regarding my use of certain place names. I use the names of modern provinces, such as Fukien and Chekiang, to indicate the Sung regions coextensive with those modern provinces. "South Fukien" is a modern concept and does not appear in Sung sources. On the other hand, with Sung place names I keep to their romanized forms, for example, the Fu-chien circuit.
Notes


2. The distance from P'u-t'ien city to Ch'uan-chou city is 160 ⅱ, while that to Fu-chou city is about 200 ⅱ. See Su Chi-lang, "Sung-tai Ch'üan-chou chi ch'i nei-lu chiao-t'ung chih yen-chiu," M.Ph. thesis, the Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1978, pp.133-138.


Map 1. The Region of South Fukien

CHAPTER I
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter deals with the early developments in Fukien in general, and, when information is available, with South Fukien in particular. Due to its physical isolation and the immense difficulties in communications, modern Fukien province developed much later than the surrounding areas of modern Kwangtung, Kiangsi and Chekiang. Although Chinese immigration to Fukien had begun in 111 B.C., it was very limited until the end of the second century A.D.. From that time on, the development of this province became noticeable, but remained on a minor scale. Under the T'ang, there was considerable development, but this was mainly confined to the Min River basin and the upper reaches of this river. The basic argument put forth here is that the development of South Fukien had remained at a very slow pace down to the later years of the Five Dynasties, though its economic momentum had gradually been increasing in the course of time. This involves a rejection of a prevalent view that South Fukien had already begun to emerge as a centre for overseas trade during the ninth century.

1. Fukien before the T'ang

The history of Fukien in the pre-Han period is obscure. It is only known that Fukien may have been under the rule of a Yüeh kingdom
before the unification of the Ch'in dynasty; and that under the Ch'in, there was a commandery (chün郡) called Min-chung郡 established in the former territory of that kingdom. The location of both the capital and the exact boundary of this commandery are uncertain. By 205 B.C., a new indigenous, autonomous state was established in Fukien by the Han court, with the name of Min-Yüeh番越. Its capital was in a place called Tung-yeh州治. After several years of conflict with the court, this indigenous state was defeated by Emperor Wu's army in 111 B.C.. A headquarters for the army commander of the eastern district of K'uai-chi會稽 commandery (tung-pu tu-wei東部都尉) was then set up in Tung-yeh. This headquarters moved north to modern Chekiang at a later time, but the city remained a county capital throughout the Han Dynasty.

The exact location of Tung-yeh has been a controversial issue among scholars ever since the Southern Dynasties. The main discrepancy comes from an annotation in the Geographical Monograph of Hsü Han-shu 註漢書 by Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪 (c. 240-300 A.D.), which is preserved in Hou Han-shu 後漢書. It is under the entry for Chang-an長安 county of the K'uai-chi commandery, which is generally accepted to have been situated 115 里 to the east of T'ai-chou台州 on the eastern coast of modern Chekiang. The note reads, "This was previously Yeh冶, a place of Min-Yüeh, the name of which was changed by Emperor Kuang Wu (on throne 25-57 A.D.)." Accordingly, the assertion has been made that a county named Yeh existed on the eastern coast of Chekiang, and that its name was changed to Chang-an in Later Han. It is claimed that this Yeh, as one of the twenty-six counties of K'uai-
chi commandery listed in the Geographical Monograph of *Han-shu* for the year 1 A.D., was not Tung-yeh, the capital of Min-Yüeh kingdom. Another assertion made on the basis of this note is that Tung-yeh and the territory of Min-Yüeh were located in the eastern part of Chekiang rather than in Fukien.

Neither of these assertions is convincing. First of all, the text of *Hsü Han-shu* has been shown to contain textual confusions, especially in this note, and cannot be relied on as a sole authority. Chang-an cannot be Yeh county. In *Han-shu*, it is identical with another county, namely Hui-p'u, to which the headquarters of the eastern army commander shifted from Yeh at an unknown date after 111 B.C. Yeh and Tung-yeh are used interchangeably in *Shih-chi* and *Han-shu*, when the capital of Min-Yüeh kingdom is mentioned. They refer to the same place.

As capital of Min-Yüeh and a county capital after the fall of the Min-Yüeh kingdom, Tung-yeh must have been in the delta of the Min River near modern Fu-chou. This can be established by two facts. In the war with Min-Yüeh, the main force of the Han army had attacked from eastern Kiangsi and southwestern Chekiang by land. Another army was transported by ship from the eastern coast of Chekiang to raid the capital of Min-Yüeh directly. It was the seaborne army that eventually defeated the enemy. Judging from the overall strategic situation, Tung-yeh could not have been on the eastern coast of Chekiang, and must have been in Fukien. Moreover, in a memorial to the emperor from a prefect of K'uai-chi commandery named Chu Mai-ch'en, it is said that the king of Min-Yüeh had
previously held the strategic mountain of Ch'üan, but later moved five hundred 里 southward. The mountain of Ch'üan was near modern Fu-chou. It is therefore safe to assume that Han Chinese settlement in Fukien, supported by the government and marked by the establishment of a county capital city which was located at the Min River mouth, had started in 111 B.C., though its scale was very small. Bielenstein claims that no Chinese colonists had settled in Fukien up to and including 1 A.D., but nevertheless admits that Tung-yueh was established as a port near the Min River in 111 B.C.. This is obviously inconsistent.

Up to the fall of Han, Tung-yeh, renamed Tung Hou-kuan in Later Han, was the only recorded administrative unit established in modern Fukien. Its communications with other parts of China were heavily dependent on the sea route. Overland passages to eastern Kiangsi and southwestern Chekiang may have existed, but were too primitive and inconvenient to be significant in terms of transport and development. The pattern of development at this stage was thus mainly concentrated on, and confined to, the delta of the Min River. The other parts of the province are not mentioned in any historical record. The only documentary reference to South Fukien was in the afore mentioned memorial by Chu Mai-ch'en, who mentioned that the king of Min-Yüeh had moved his base five hundred 里 south of Fu-chou. Topographically speaking, this would have placed it somewhere in the region of South Fukien. But since no other information is available, and Chu's report was mere hearsay, it would be too speculative to draw any further conclusions from such evidence.
The period from the end of the second to the end of the sixth century witnessed increasing Chinese immigration into Fukien. This was a result of prolonged social chaos and political instability in North China throughout the four hundred years of disunity and frequent dynastic changes after the fall of Han. The motivation behind these migratory movements was basically to seek refuge in an area of relative stability and security. The physically isolated character of Fukien served this purpose well, despite its primitive environment and economy.

On the political front, during the Three Kingdoms Period, efforts had been made by the Kingdom of Wu to expand its own territory to the south. Similar efforts were made by the Western Chin, the Eastern Chin and the four succeeding southern dynasties. Fukien was one of the main targets of this expansionist policy. This is shown by the increased number of administrative units both within the province and along its lines of communication with neighbouring areas. This was also the first time in history that administrative units were established in South Fukien, though not on a scale comparable to that in the Min River basin.

From MAP 2, it can be seen that besides the long established Han county capital of Tung Hou-kuan, two more county capitals were set up near the mouth of the Min River. Upstream, eight new county capitals appeared from the period of the Three Kingdoms to the Sui dynasty, and all located on the tributary streams of the river. Five county capitals were established in coastal South Fukien, though one of them was abolished after a short time. Apart from these, there
Map 2. Development of Administrative Division in Fukien and Neighbouring Areas from Han to the End of the Northern and Southern Dynasties

Source: Based on Bielenstein, 1959, pp.105-107.
were three other county capitals established in 282 A.D. whose locations are unknown.

At a higher level of local administration, there was, first of all, the establishment of the headquarters of the army commander in the southern district of K'uai-chi (nan-pu tu-wei 南部都尉), at the county capital of Chien-an建安 on the bank of the middle reaches of the Min River in 203 A.D..\(^{18}\) Fifty-seven years later, a commandery capital was established in this city under the name of Chien-an commandery, governing almost all of what today is Fukien province.\(^{19}\) This was the first time that administrative units of this area became independent of K'uai-chi commandery. As for South Fukien, it is notable that a county called Tung-an 東安 was, for the first time, established in this region, with its capital probably sited at or near modern Nan-an.\(^{20}\)

In 282 A.D., probably due to the recent development of the area, the newly unified authority of Western Chin decided to split the Chien-an commandery into two. One, keeping the name Chien-an commandery, governed the upstream Min River area of seven counties. Its territory consisted of northern inland Fukien, and the commandery capital remained at Chien-an. The other, under the name of Chin-an commandery, was set up in coastal Fukien, incorporating eight counties. Two of these counties were located in South Fukien; namely Chin-an 晉安, which was originally Tung-an, and T'ung-an同安, which was identical with modern T'ung-an. The capital of Chin-an commandery was probably in Hou-kuan, originally Tung Hou-kuan.\(^{21}\) Interestingly, there was one exceptional county called Hsin-lo 新羅 under this
commandery, located in southwestern inland Fukien, near modern Chang-t'ing. This corner of the province was at the furthermost edge of development. The reason for including this remote inland county in the territory of a littoral commandery is not clear, but its name cannot be found amongst the counties of the same commandery under Sung and Ch'i of the Southern Dynasties. It may have been a temporary arrangement of no significance. In fact, during these two dynasties, according to the information which is available, while Chien-an commandery still contained seven counties, Chin-an commandery lost three, namely T'ung-an, Hsin-lo and another which cannot be identified with any modern location. The reason for the abolition of T'ung-an in South Fukien is not mentioned.

Around 510 A.D., a commandery named Nan-an was established in South Fukien with its capital in the city of the Nan-an county capital, formerly Chin-an county capital. Under its jurisdiction were at least three more counties in the southeastern part of the region. By 557, the Ch'en government, the last of the Southern Dynasties, had established a chou unit, which was superior to the commanderies, called Min-chou in the capital of former Chin-an commandery. But this Min-chou was soon abolished. Nevertheless, a similar unit called Feng-chou was re-established in 568, and existed until the fall of the dynasty. It contained three commanderies, namely Chien-an, Chin-an and Nan-an.

The general trend of development in the first half of these four hundred years lasting from the Three Kingdoms Period to the Sui was that, originating from the Min River delta, a main flow of settlement
had taken place within the river basin, passing through the mountains on the present provincial border, and linking with the inland waterways to neighbouring provinces. Another smaller flow moved south along the coast, reaching the Chin River delta, but stopped there. The abolition of T'ung-an county at the tip of this flow may indicate a lack of continued movement south.

However, the opening up of South Fukien had begun. Down to the end of the Period of Division, three more counties were set up in the Chang River Plain. As well as this, from the time of Eastern Chin, there seems to have been another flow of immigration moving from Canton to the northeastern coast of Kwangtung. Bielenstein interprets this as a new flow of immigration which expanded from Kwangtung to South Fukien.25 It is true that some county capitals were established in northeastern Kwangtung at this time. But due to the difficulties of communication and poor living conditions in the area between the Chang River delta and the Han River delta, which remained conspicuous even down to the Northern Sung,26 and the difficulties of controlling the indigenous tribes in this area even during the T'ang,27 the effect of this immigration movement in Kwangtung on the development of South Fukien in pre-T'ang times should not be overestimated.

Historically important as these developments in Fukien may have been, in terms of population growth, they were rather insignificant. Figures for households and total population for the Han related to the entire K'uai-chi commandery, and thus do not give any idea of the situation in Fukien. The figures for 282 show that there were 4,300 households both in Chien-an commandery and Chin-an
commandery. These were of course gross underestimates. It is also doubtful that two commanderies would just happen to have the same number of households. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that the population in both commanderies must have been quite sparse. Under the Sung (420-479), a new set of figures became available. These show that the inland commandery of Chien-an had 3,042 households and 17,686 k'ou (individuals). The coastal commandery of Chin-an had 2,843 households and 19,838 k'ou. Although these figures cannot be assumed to be particularly accurate, they do suggest that population growth in the whole of the area which is now called Fukien, throughout the four hundred years from the Period of Three Kingdoms to the Sui, was rather slow. The figures for 609, thirty years after reunification of the empire under Sui, indicate that there were only 12,420 households in the whole of Fukien. Even taking into account that these too must have been underestimates, they still suggest a very slow rate of growth.

Under the Sui, measures were taken to combine counties and commanderies so as to reduce the cost of administration. Most of the administrative units established in Fukien during the preceding periods were abolished. Given these circumstances, the fact that the number of units in Fukien dropped should not be interpreted as implying a proportional downturn in development. The territory of Fukien was by this time under the jurisdiction of the chou which had been called Feng-chou under the Ch'en, but was now called Ch'üan-chou , and was later renamed Chien-an commandery. Its capital remained in Min county, modern Fu-chou. It contained four
counties. Apart from Min, they were Chien-an, Nan-an and Lung-ch'i. Chien-an county capital was one of the oldest major cities in Fukien and situated in the inland area. Both Nan-an and the newly established Lung-ch'i were in South Fukien. This reflects by and large a new direction of development in this part of Fukien.

2. Developments under the T'ang and the Min

Administrative division of Fukien during the T'ang, though not completely fixed, laid the general foundation for the subsequent administrative structure of the province. Many of the counties that existed during the Sung and Yuan were established during this period, and their boundaries have altered little after c.800. The prefecture (chou), as an administrative unit immediately above the county, had also been permanently institutionalized during the T'ang to replace the older system of commanderies. In Fukien altogether five prefectures were established.

Fu-chou in the Min River delta had long been the most important centre of political power and control in Fukien. It had been named first Ch'üan-chou, then Feng-chou during the Sui. By 623 it had been renamed Ch'üan-chou, but in 711 the new name Min-chou was introduced. This name in turn was replaced in 725 by Fu-chou, the name by which the prefecture has been known ever since. The number of counties under its control increased from four at the time of its initial establishment to ten after the mid-eighth century. A tu-tu-fu (governor-general's office), which was an investigatory
local unit above the prefectural unit,\textsuperscript{34} was also located in Fu-
chou from 711 on,\textsuperscript{35} governing most of the Fukien prefectures.

Another prefecture with a long history of development was Chien-
chou\textsuperscript{36} in inland Fukien. It was established as a prefecture in
621, and contained six counties by the mid-eighth century.\textsuperscript{36} There
was another prefecture set up in 736 in southwestern Fukien called
T'ing-chou\textsuperscript{37}, with three counties.\textsuperscript{37} One of these was later
transferred to the jurisdiction of Chang-chou\textsuperscript{38} prefecture in South
Fukien in 777.\textsuperscript{38}

The communication route linking Fukien with Chekiang and Kiangsi,
which ran up the Min River basin, over the inland mountain ranges
and through the city of Chien-chou, was quite well developed by mid-
T'ang.\textsuperscript{39} The march of Huang Ch'ao's army into Fukien in the late
ninth century also had an effect on the transport situation along the
route. For military purposes, Huang Ch'ao had to improve mountain
passages in the area of the present provincial border between Fukien
and Chekiang.\textsuperscript{40} These efforts must have been on a scale greater
than any prior civil project, and thus produced unprecedented
results.

In South Fukien, a prefecture called Feng-chou was separated
from Ch'üan-chou, present day Fu-chou, and established in Nan-an
county in 622, governing the counties of Nan-an and P'u-t'ien\textsuperscript{41}. But
this prefecture was soon abolished in 627 and its two subordinate
counties were once again placed under the jurisdiction of Ch'üan-chou.
It was not until 699 that a new prefectural capital named Wu-jung-chou
武英州 was set up to the east of the Nan-an county capital, governing
the counties of Nan-an, P'u-t'ien and Lung-ch'i. It was abolished in the following year but re-established almost immediately afterwards. By 711, it had taken over the name Ch'üan-chou and the former Ch'üan-chou was renamed as Min-chou, as mentioned above. It was to become the most important city of South Fukien in later periods. However, administrative divisions also took place in the southern part of this region. In 686, a new prefecture named Chang-chou was established in the Chang River delta. Towards the end of the eighth century, there were four counties under Ch'üan-chou and three under Chang-chou. Altogether, of the five prefectures in Fukien, two were in South Fukien; and of the twenty-six counties only seven were located there. Obviously, South Fukien did not hold an impressive proportion of the administrative units.

However, official returns for households registered in Fukien, as shown in TABLE 1, show a different picture. Apparently, there were four development areas in Fukien, namely South Fukien which comprised Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou, northern coastal Fukien, northern inland Fukien, and southwestern inland Fukien. In the early eighth century, the household figure for South Fukien was close to that for northern coastal Fukien, which traditionally had been the centre of development. It was fifty per cent more than that for northern inland Fukien, which was also a part of the province with a long history of development, and accounted for 37 per cent of the provincial household total. By c.754, the South Fukien figure had declined by 16 per cent. In the meantime, the Fu-chou figure had increased 27 per cent, but that for Chien-chou, only 3 per cent. The T'ing-chou figure,
TABLE 1 HOUSEHOLD RETURNS FOR FUKIEN IN MID-T'ANG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A given year between 713-735*</th>
<th>754 c.**</th>
<th>800 c.***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>39,527</td>
<td>19,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chien-chou</td>
<td>20,800</td>
<td>21,459</td>
<td>15,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>30,754</td>
<td>24,586</td>
<td>35,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-chou</td>
<td>1,690</td>
<td>2,633</td>
<td>1,343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ing-chou</td>
<td>(Prefecture only established in 736)</td>
<td>5,330</td>
<td>2,618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total in South Fukien</td>
<td>32,444</td>
<td>27,219</td>
<td>38,189</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

*  YHCHTC, 29:797/804. TPHYC also provides household figures for the reign of K'ai-yuan. Those for Fu, Chien and Ch'uan are close to the YHCHTC figures. However, that for Chang-chou was 15,000. It is unrealistic as compared to the T'ung-t'ien figures. Thus only the YHCHTC figures are used.

**  T'ung-t'ien, 182:968b/969a. Household figures are also preserved in CTS and HTS. For those for Fu, Chien, T'ing and Ch'üan, differences are small. But for Chang-chou, their figures are double the figure in T'ung-t'ien. Compared with the YHCHTC figures, it seems that the figure in T'ung-t'ien is more realistic.

***  YHCHTC, 29:797/804.

Note:

Schafer also gives a table of household figures drawing figures from HTS and CTS for the early eighth century situation, YHCHTC's for the early ninth, TPHYC's for the late tenth and SS's for the early twelfth. See Schafer, 1954, p.79.
representing the newly opened southwestern inland area, had increased by 77 per cent from the original figure of three thousand households in 736. The proportion of South Fukien in the provincial total of households thus dropped down to 30 per cent. Half a century later, this situation was completely reversed. By c.800, when figures for other areas had declined drastically, South Fukien alone witnessed a 40 per cent increase in its inhabitants, which brought up the area's household figure to occupy 50 per cent of the provincial total.

This phenomenon may well imply that, during the T'ang, the region of South Fukien was still not a focus of official attention for development of the province, even though by the turn of the eighth century a considerable proportion of the province's population had already living there. On the other hand, it is likely that, with its marked growth in population, South Fukien must have been gaining greater economic momentum than it had at any time previously. Further, with the fairly slow pace of administrative division and city formation, the population in South Fukien must have been largely distributed throughout the rural areas. So far, South Fukien had not become a highly prosperous place which attracted migrants looking for fortune. Rather, people migrated to this place mostly in search of a refuge from chaos. Difficulties in communication with surrounding areas had not been solved. Trade was very localized, merely entailing basic rural exchange.

It is necessary to discuss a prevalent view, pronounced by Kuwabara Jitsuzō, that Ch'üan-chou had already emerged as one of the four major seaports for overseas trade in mid-ninth-century China.
His theory was developed in a lengthy article on the identification of four major T'ang seaports mentioned in a mid-ninth-century Arabic geographical work by Ibn Khordadhah. The one he identifies with Ch'üan-chou is referred to as Djanfou in the Arabic work. Concerning the identification of Djanfou, his arguments are as follows:

1. According to gazetteers and modern geographical surveys, the local produce of Ch'üan-chou, including fruits, vegetables, wheat, barley, and sugar-cane, is identical with the produce attributed to Djanfou.

2. Travel from Djanfou to Kuang-chou and to Yang-chou are described in the Arabic work as taking eight days and six days by sea respectively. This fits the location of Ch'üan-chou very well.

3. The Chin River at Ch'üan-chou used to be much wider than it is now. This also coincides with the description of Djanfou.

4. A decree of 834 states:

The foreign ships from the Southern Seas are come from distant countries, expecting the merciful treatment of our kingdom. Therefore the foreigners should of course be treated with kindness, so as to excite their gratitude. We hear, on the contrary, that of late years the local officers are apt to over-taxed them, and the voice of resentment is said to have reached to the foreign countries. It is needless to say, we are striving to lead a life of frugality and abstinence. How should we desire the curious foreign things? We deeply feel sorry that those foreign peoples should feel so uneasy, and even feel that the present mode of taxation is too heavy for them. We should show them lenience, so as to invite the good-will of those peoples. To the foreigners living at Ling-nan, Fu-chien and Yang-chou, the viceroy of these provinces should offer consolations, and except for the already fixed anchorage-duties, the court-purchase and the regular presents, no additional taxes should be inflicted on them, allowing them to engage freely in their trade.

Three centres of overseas trade, i.e., Ling-nan, Fu-chien and Yang-
chou, are mentioned in this decree. Matching these places with the four seaports named by Ibn Khordadbah, i.e., Al-wakin (Chiao-chou), Khanfou (Kuang-chou), Kantou (Yang-chou), and Djanfou, it seems that Djanfou must be in Fu-chien. This is because both Al-wakin and Khanfou were in Ling-nan and Kantou is identical with Yang-chou. This leaves Fu-chien as the only possible location for Djanfou. And of the ports in Fu-chien, Kuwabara picks out Ch'üan-chou. His reason is that "Ch'üan-chou was opened by foreign merchants at a very early age." By "a very early age" he means the T'ang dynasty.

5. In order to substantiate the above-mentioned reasoning, which is a key part of his whole theory, Kuwabara cites part of a passage from the Min-shu, a late Ming provincial gazetteer for Fukien. This relates a legend that four eminent disciples of the Prophet Mohammed had come to China in early T'ang times (618-626) to carry out missionary work at Kuang-chou, Yang-chou and Ch'üan-chou. Two of these missionaries who settled and died in Ch'üan-chou were buried on a small hill called Ling-shan in the vicinity of modern Ch'üan-chou, as said in the legend. This, he contends, is a reliable story and can prove that Ch'üan-chou in the mid-ninth century was already full of foreign merchants.

6. As to the reliability of this story, Kuwabara asserts that Yang-chou declined noticeably after the T'ang; and because foreigners' travel accounts mention Hang-chou more often than Yang-chou after the latter's decline, a story which mentions Yang-chou rather than Hang-chou must have been originated before or not after the
18

Northern Sung. Hence, the part of this story which deals with
T'ang Ch'uan-chou is reliable.

7. Kuwabara further points out that there was a mosque founded inside
the city of Ch'üan-chou as early as Sunq times. Also, there was
a Muslim cemetery called Sheng-mu (holy cemetery) on the
hill of Ling-shan, as mentioned in Min-shu. These help, he
maintains, to establish his theory.

8. From a linguistic point of view, Kuwabara asserts that Djanfou w as
transliterated from Ch'üan-fu. He then gives some examples
to show that there were prefectures (chou) labelled fu even
though they did not have a tu-tu-fu office in T'ang times.

Against these arguments, I have written a paper to point out
their vulnerability in the light of accumulated institutional studies
since Kuwabara established his theory in the 1920s. Here I will
only give a summary of my discussion.

First, arguments one to three can be made to fit exactly the case
of modern Fu-chou, and even other places. They cannot count as
sufficient evidence on their own.

Second, the name Fu-chien mentioned in the decree of 834, taken
in its historical context, does not refer to the entire Fukien
province of today, nor to the entire Fu-chien circuit of the Sunq
dynasty. It refers primarily to Fu-chou. There were chieh-tu-shih
at Kuan-chou and Yang-chou, known as Ling-nan chieh-tu-shih 和南觀察使
and Yang-chou chieh-tu-shih 揚州觀察使 respectively. The only
kuan-ch'a-shih in these three places was the Fu-chien Kuan-ch'a-shih
福建觀察使，sometimes called Fu-chou kuan-ch'a-shih 福州觀察使，
which always was located in Fu-chou and held concurrently by the prefect of Fu-chou. The decree of 834 ordered the kuan-ch'a-shih of Fu-chien to look after the foreigners living in "Fu-chien." This "Fu-chien" has to be Fu-chou alone, where the kuan-ch'a-shih exercised his authority. Similar logic applied to the case of "Ling-nan" as well. It is clear that "Ling-nan," in the decree, refers not to the entire Ling-nan circuit but only to Kuang-chou.

Thirdly, a careful reading of the whole passage in the Min-shu makes two points rather clear. One is that the information for the passage came from an oral legend told by the Muslim authority in Ch'üan-chou when the compiler Ho Ch'iao-yüan was compiling that gazetteer, i.e., in the early seventeenth century. The other point is that Ho cites his source without making any comment concerning reliability. None of the other Ming sources which deal with the origin of Islam in China, whether legendary or not, gives an account similar to this local tradition. Nor did a local inscription written in Ch'üan-chou in 1349, commemorating the re-building of a mosque there and detailing the origin of Islam in Ch'üan-chou and China, make any reference to this legend. Thus I would suggest that this oral legend could not have been created before Ming.

Furthermore, Kuwabara's association of Yang-chou and the reliability of this legend seems to be doubtful. That part of a legend is true cannot prove the rest of it is also true. Nor is there any need to point out that this oral legend deals with something which is alleged to have happened more than seven centuries before it was recorded.
Finally, a scrutiny of the source materials shows that all examples Kuwabara gives to illustrate his claim that any prefecture (chou) could be called fu in T'ang times fail to substantiate that claim. They either do not come from the T'ang dynasty, or, contrary to Kuwabara's assertion, are found to be prefectures which did in fact have a tu-tu-fu. I have suggested that Djanfou was transliterated either from Ch'üan-fu 順府, but referred to Fu-chou when it was called Ch'üan-chou; or else from Min-fu 閩府, which also may have been used in reference to Fu-chou.

In addition to the above arguments, Kuwabara has given other evidence to support his claim in a later work. These include:
1. There is evidence to show that some foreign envoys called and landed at Fu-chou; that there were foreigners living in Fu-chou; that Wang Shen-chih 王審知, a ruler of the Min, had invited foreign traders to trade in Fu-chou.
2. A late Ming miscellaneous work, entitled Ch'üan-nan tsa-chih 順南雜誌, written by Ch'en Mao-jen 陳懋仁, mentions "four special officers, called ts'an-chün-shih 參軍事, who served as guides to the envoys to be sent abroad." First of all, evidence showing that there were envoys from overseas arriving at Fu-chou does not help to establish the existence of a commercially prosperous Ch'uan-chou. Rather, it supports my suggestion of a maritime centre at Fu-chou under the T'ang. Second, the ts'an-chün-shih was a low-ranked official found in every T'ang prefectural government, whose duty was probably to assist in matters concerning the commissioners from the court. This post had nothing
to do with maritime or diplomatic affairs and is thus irrelevent to the question of maritime trade in Ch'üan-chou.49

On the other hand, following Kuwabara's lead, Clark has also come to the conclusion that Ch'üan-chou prospered through maritime trade by the mid-eighth century.50 Importance has been attached to two more references by him. One is a poem, written by a T'ang poet named Pao Ho 包何, in the mid-eighth century. This poem has been widely cited to show the prosperity of T'ang Ch'üan-chou.51 Bearing the title "Sending 王 california (governor or prefect) Mr. Li to Ch'üan-chou," the poem says:

All lands near the coast are on the frontier,
Only eminent Chinese officials are to be given the tally of governor or prefect [in these lands.]
The Pai-Yüeh route [connecting this frontier with the interior] passes through mountains shrouded with clouds.
Peoples from many places mingle in the markets.
There are envoys carrying jades from afar;
They often pay tributes with pearls.
There is no snow [in winter of] every year.
So when you arrive [in the land] it will be spring.52

I have put forth an argument in my paper that this poem does not refer to modern Ch'üan-chou but another ancient "Ch'üan-chou", i.e., Fu-chou.53 Briefly, Fu-chou was called Ch'üan-chou from 623 to 711. On the other hand, modern Ch'üan-chou did not exist until 699 under the name of Wu-jung-chou, and was not named Ch'üan-chou until 711. If the prosperous and important city of "Ch'üan-chou" described in Pao's poem was indeed factual, it must have been Fu-chou rather than modern Ch'üan-chou. The reason is that the latter could not have developed so rapidly in a few decades from virtual non-existence. A possible explanation for Pao's confusion of Fu-chou with Ch'üan-chou is that he
was relying on hearsay about a prosperous "Ch'üan-chou" on the southeastern frontier of the empire, where his friend Mr. Li was heading, without being aware of the changes which had occurred in the names of these frontier prefectures.

Moreover, and perhaps more to the point, from the poem itself two factors emerge. One is that the prefecture in question had a high-ranking official, most likely a governor, who held a tally. The other is that the prefecture in question had frequently been accommodating foreign envoys. Under the T'ang, of all the prefectures in modern Fukien, only Fu-chou ever had an office at the rank of governor, the kuan-ch'a-shih. Also, only Fu-chou had ever received foreign envoys. Suffice it to say that the "Ch'üan-chou" in Pao's poem is a lot more likely to have been Fu-chou than the Ch'üan-chou of later times.

The second reference on which Clark relies heavily is a legend concerning a mosque called Ch'i-lin-ssu 麗林寺, built by the envoys belonging to a delegation dispatched to China by the Abbasid Caliph Mansur in the 750s. It was, as noted in the legend, one of three mosques which they built. The other two were in Kuang-chou and Hang-chou respectively. Also mentioned is a possible relation between this delegation, which Clark is inclined to date 758, and the Arab-Persian sacking of Kuang-chou in the tenth lunar month of that year. Unfortunately, the veracity of this legend itself cannot be established by any reliable source. Furthermore, the claim that members of this delegation built three mosques in Kuang-chou, Hang-chou and Ch'üan-chou in 758 is hardly consistent with the other claim that
they were also involved in the sack of Kuang-chou. It simply defies logic to see how they could have travelled such a great distance and built three mosques in less than ten months, even if we assume that they arrived at the beginning of the year, an unlikely arrival time when the monsoon was not suitable for sailing from Southeast Asia to China. Another difficulty in Clark's overall view is that if he accepts this legend which names Hang-chou as one of the three missionary centres of Islam, he implicitly denies a premise which is fundamental in Kuwabara's theory. That is the assumption that Hang-chou would not have been mentioned as a missionary centre of Islam before the Sung dynasty because Yang-chou was more prosperous in T'ang-times. This matter has been discussed above and the argument need not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that, in the absence of any new independent historical evidence, the legend of Ch'i-lin-ssu is totally unreliable.

In short, the prevalent view that Ch'uan-chou emerged as one of the four most prosperous T'ang maritime trading centres is very much open to question. Rather, although it has been long neglected by scholars, it was Fu-chou which played such an important role in T'ang maritime trade.

By the end of the ninth century, an important change occurred in the power structure in Fukien. Wang Ch'ao 王潮, who came from Honan with a bandit army, took over control of Ch'üan-chou prefecture, and was officially appointed as Prefect of Ch'üan-chou in 886 by the T'ang court. His power expanded quickly, so that, by 893, he became
the actual ruler of Fukien after capturing the city of Fu-chou. This was the beginning of an independent regime in Fukien, ruled by Wang and his successors until 946, when the Min Kingdom was conquered by Nan-T'ang.56

Unfortunately, documentary records concerning the affairs of this short-lived regime have largely focused on its court at Fu-chou, neglecting activities in the southern part of the kingdom. What actually happened in South Fukien during this period? What kind of relations did it maintain with the capital and other parts of the kingdom? How much had the region developed overall? All these questions cannot be answered with solid evidence. Clark has suggested that from 894 to 930, under the successive rules of the father-and-son prefects Wang Shen-kuei and Wang Yen-pin, Ch'üan-chou was virtually independent of the Min court in Fu-chou. In such circumstances the prefecture had to rely heavily on its own financial sources, and, consequently, maritime trade was deliberately encouraged, especially by Yen-pin, who governed Ch'üan-chou for almost three decades. The autonomy of this prefecture ended, however, after Yen-pin's retirement or death in 930, because of "a growth in the [Min] Kingdom's power."57 Unfortunately, Clark's claim concerning an autonomous Ch'üan-chou relied on little convincing evidence. On the other hand, the view that maritime trade had prospered under Yen-pin is widely accepted by scholars.58 This is based solely on a passage in the biography of Wang Yen-pin in the Wu-ko ku-shih. This says:
Whenever barbarian trading ships were dispatched, there had never been a loss either due to shipwreck or deficit in trade. For this people called him "The Secretary who Summons Treasures."59 Despite its having been so widely accepted, a careful consideration of the reliability of this view still raises problems. In the first place, on the basis of this passage alone, the conclusion that maritime trade was prosperous as is generally believed simply is not warranted. The limited claim one could make is that there did exist a maritime trade and there were efforts by the prefect to encourage this trade. And second, this is a solitary piece of evidence which completely lacks the support of any other evidence which indicates the existence of such maritime trade in Ch'üan-chou under Wang Yen-pin. Yet the source itself is one which contains many obvious errors.60 It is therefore not a source on the sole testimony of which a historical fact of this sort can be safely assumed to have been established.

Perhaps two provisional conclusions may be drawn: First, during this regime, a local elite had emerged, whose members served in the local governments in South Fukien. They gradually gained power and eventually took over the control of the region. This is reflected clearly in the cases of independent warlords like Liu Ts'ung-hsiao and Ch'en Hung-chin, who succeeded each other in ruling the region for thirty years, after the fall of the Min Kingdom in 946.61 Second, under Prefect Wang Yen-pin, efforts may have been made to promote overseas trade from within the prefecture. This of course provided an advantageous foundation for Liu Ts'ung-hsiao's success in this area in later times. However, the success of Wang's efforts should not be overestimated. Besides, Fu-chou, was still
prosperous under the Min and took the lead in trade. Ch'üan-chou and South Fukien, though participating as well, were only of minor importance in comparison with Fu-chou. In fact, significant development of the region did not begin until the period of Liu Ts'ung-hsiang; and it was this short period of thirty years under Liu and Ch'en that was the initial period of the remarkable development which took place in South Fukien during the Sung, and which is to be discussed in the following chapters.
NOTES

1. Hans Bielenstein, "The Chinese Colonization of Fukien Until the End of T'ang," in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1959), pp.98-122. Bielenstein has done a remarkable work on the Chinese colonization of Fukien until the end of T'ang. As information is so limited, his observations on the colonization had to focus on the process of administrative division. This is the only aspect of development in that province for which information is available. The background account in this chapter is reconstructed on the basis of that information.


7. Ichimura, 1918, pp.6-7.

8. Yeh Kuo-ch'ing, 1934, pp.79-82.

10. This is according to the geographical record of 282 which was cited in the commentary for the place-name Chang-an in *Hsiu Han-shu*. See *Hou Han-shu*, Fan Yeh, (Chung-hua shu-chü punctuated ed.), 22:3489.


12. See also Lao Kan, 1935, p.55.


15. *Fu-chien t'ung-chih*, (hereafter cited as *FCTC*), 1867, 5:1b, mentions another mountain named Ch'ü-an-shan near modern Ch'üan-chou. See *Fang-yü sheng-lan*, Chu Mu, (edition in the National Library of Taiwan), 12:5a. But it could not be the one mentioned by Chu Mai-ch'en, as it was geographically too far south to have been a place for capital of the Min-Yüeh Kingdom.


17. Also mentioning a memorial by Cheng Hung in 83-84 A.D., dealing with the change of searoute to landroute for tribute shipments from Indo-China. Bielenstein speculates that Cheng had suggested the Kiangsi route to replace the Tung-yeh searoute. See Bielenstein, 1959, p.102. He overlooks the text that follows in the same biography of Cheng Hung in *Hou Han-shu*, 33:1156, which says clearly that Cheng had proposed to open the route through Ling-ling 涙陵 and Kuei-yang桂陽. This was definitely the Hunan route rather than the Kiangsi route.


21. In *Chin-shu*, 15:462, Hou-kuan was not placed first in order before other counties, which is a usual indication of the capital of a commandery. But due to the fact that Yüan-feng, the place listed first in the order, had only been promoted to be a county in 282, it seems more likely that the long established Hou-kuan would have been chosen as a commandery capital rather than Yüan-feng. For the two South Fukien counties, see *CCFC*, 1763, 3:2b/3a.


33. In Chiu *T'ang-shu*, Liu Hsü, (Chung-hua shu-chü punctuated ed., hereafter as *CTS*), 40:1598, it says that Ch'üan-chou was established in Min county around 627. This is contradicted by the text of *Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih*, Li Chi-fu, (Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, *wan-yu wen-k'u*, hereafter as *YHCNTC*), 29:799, which claims that it took place in 623. Judging from the fact that *CTS* was completed much later than *YHCNTC* and contains a lot of mistakes, and that a prefecture called Chien-chou was established in Chien-an county of upper Fukien in 621, it is more likely that a prefecture would be set up at an equally important spot in the Min River delta at about the same time.


35. *CTS*, 40:1598. In *YHCNTC*, 29:799, it is dated in 625. But both Ch'üan-chou and Chien-chou were under the Yüeh-chou governor-general from 635 to at least 658. See Yen Keng-wang, "Kua-ti-chih hsü-lüeh tu-tu-fu kuan chou k'ao," in *T'ang-shih yen-chiu* *ts'ung-k'ao*, (Hongkong: Hsin-ya yen-chiu-so, 1969), p.258. It is possible that the governor-general had been abolished soon after 625 and was not re-established until 711.


38. YHCHTC, 29:804.
40. CTS, 19B:702.
41. Ibid., 40:1599.
42. Ibid.; also YHCHTC, 29:804.
43. YHCHTC, 29:804.
46. Su, 1981, pp.11-21. So far, the only published comment on my view, which I have come across, is made by Donald Leslie. In his review of identification of Chinese cities in Arabic and Persian names, Leslie says that he "inclines" to agree with my view that Djanfou is likely to have been Fu-chou rather than Ch'üan-chou. See Donald Leslie, "The Identification of Chinese Cities in Arabic and Persian Sources," Papers on Far Eastern History 26, (Sept. 1982), pp.7-8.
48. This is cited from Kuwabara, 1928, p.14.
49. For details of this reference, see Su, 1981, pp.18-19.
52. The poem originally reads:

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海内皆戎服，分符重徕臣，雪山西越路，市井十州人，
孰氏来朝值，遗珠入贡频，遗并未见雪，到处即行春。
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See Wen-yuan ying-hua, Li Fang, (Hua-wen shu-chii), 271:5b/6a.
Clark also translated its title as "Sending the Estimable Mr. Li to Ch'üan-chou" and the poem as:

The Coast includes all the Territory of ancient Huang-fu,
A land where the matched tally of the Han official earned respect.
The cloud-shrouded mountains lie in distant Pai-Yüeh Circuit,
Where the peoples of many lands mingle in the markets.
Grasping jade, they have come from afar to our land;
Draped with pearls, they come bearing tribute.
For unbroken years you will see no snow,
And when you arrive it will be spring.

See Clark, 1981, p.59. There are a few obvious mistakes in his translation, and thus I have modified most of the translation for the sake of accuracy.


54. Clark, 1981, pp.60-61; also pp.120-121, notes 65,66,68.

55. Clark's reconstruction of this legend is based on Wu Wen-t'ang, Ch'üan-chou tsung-chiao shih-k'e, (Peking: K'o-hSÜeh ch'u-pan-shie, 1957), pp.21-22; and Lin T'ien-wei, Sung-tai hsiang-yao mao-i shih-kao, (Hongkong: Chung-kuo hsueh-she, 1960), p.4.
The original source for these works is a certain book entitled Ch'eng-ta wen-hui 成達文會, to which Clark failed to find any reference. I also failed to do so. But at least one thing is clear that it is not a source earlier than the middle of the Ch'ing dynasty as none of the standard bibliographies mentioned this title. I therefore suspect that it is a work written in or after the nineteenth century and is not widely circulated, if not actually a modern work. As many fictitious legends about the origin of Islam in China were spreading around in Ming times, it may well have been another piece but originated in a later time. It is in any case not suitable to be used as a basis for speculation.

56. For a narrative account of the political developments in Fukien under the Min Kingdom, see Edward H. Schafer, The Empire of Min, (Rutland Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1954), pp.31-62.

58. Shih-kuo ch’un-ch’iu, Wu Yin-ch’en, (Ssu-k’u ch’üan-shu chen-pen III), 94:8a, has included this in the biography of Wang Yen-pin. For modern scholarship which accepted this as a fact, see Schafer, 1954, pp.75-78. Hibino Takeo, "To-So jidai ni okeru Fukken no kaihatsu," Tōyō shi kenkyū 1:5, (Mar. 1939), p.23.

59. Wu-kuo ku-shih, anonymous, (Chih-pu-tsu-chai ts’ung-shu), 2:10a. Clark gives a translation but his interpretation of the first sentence seems not convincing. His version is: "There was never any mismanagement when the trading ships of the southern barbarians came." (p.148) The original text reads: "派遣締結後失者無." Firstly, "dispatched" is closer to the meaning of fā. Secondly, shih-ch’ui 亡者 literally means "missing" or "loss". Clark explains in his note 58, p.182, that the meaning of this term is not clear, and that it may suggest "no embezzlement of officials." It does not seem to be proper.

60 For a brief note on Wu-kuo ku-shih, see Yves Hervouet ed., A Sung Bibliography, (Hongkong: The Chinese U. Press, 1978), op.114-115. The errors in this source are many. The most obvious one concerning Wang Yen-pin is about his birth. A white bird, it is said, started to dwell at a hall of the K’ai-yuan temple when he was born, and remained there until his death after thirty years. According to CCFC, 1763, 26:4b/5a, Wang Yen-pin's first term of Prefect of Ch’ü-an-chou began in 904, and his last term of the same office lasted until 930. Apparently the tale of the white bird is an unrealistic legend. Yet such a tale is followed immediately by the passage in question here. Before other references are discovered to support the reliability of this source, it is hard to accept it as a sole evidence.


62. For the overseas trade in Fu-chou under the Min Kingdom, see Hsin Wu-tai-shih, Ou-yang Hsiau,(Chung-hua shu-chu punctuated ed.), 68:846; Hibino, 1939, pp.22-23; Ch’üan T’ang-wen, 841:8a/12a; Schafer, 1959, p.78. See also Hino Kaisaburō, "Godai Binkoku no tai chūgen choko to bōeki," Shien 27, (Mar. 1942), p.34.

CHAPTER II
REGIONAL URBANIZATION AND POPULATION GROWTH

There is always a close correlation between economic development and the developments in urbanization and population. Before going into details of economic developments in South Fukien during the Sung, which is the major concern of this study, it will be appropriate to provide a general picture of the region's urban settings and its demography.

From the tenth century, South Fukien, as will be shown in this chapter, developed a very coherent regional urban structure. The pattern of that structure seems to have been determined by the combined effects of economic orientation and topographic features, coupled with a rapid growth in population. The city of Ch'üan-chou, with its advantageous location, developed naturally as a regional centre in which the momentum of growth of the entire region concentrated. This is clearly reflected in its urban morphology and population. During the Sung dynasty, the degree of urbanization for the whole region was remarkable in comparison with other regions in China. Such a remarkable position in the context of urbanization in China as a whole was unprecedented in the history of South Fukien, and was never to re-occur in subsequent periods. The manner in which this urbanization occurred was closely related to the characteristics of the South Fukien economy and its path of development.
Map 3. Urban Structure of South Fukien During the Sung

Source:

Based on Fu-chien-sheng ts'e-hui-chu, Fu-chien-sheng ti-t'u, 750,000:1, (Peking: Ti-t'u ch'ü-pan-she, 1978).
1. Formation of the Regional Urban Structure

Most of the South Fukien administrative urban centres of the Sung period had come into being by the end of the tenth century. This included all the county prefectural capitals. The structure of the late tenth century can thus be used to show the urban structure for the region throughout the dynasty. These developments of administrative division are to be described below.

At the prefectural level, a new prefecture had been split off in 979 from the eastern part of the territory of T'ang Ch'üan-chou. It was named Hsing-hua chün. This was a measure justified by the need for a more effective control over the unstable hilly area in the area neighboring Fu-chou prefecture. The capital of this new prefecture was located first at the capital of Hsing-hua county, which was established concurrently. The counties of Hsien-yü and P'u-t'ien, previously subordinate to Ch'üan-chou prefecture, were put under the jurisdiction of Hsing-hua chün not long after. A few years later, the capital of the new prefecture was removed to the county capital of P'u-t'ien. The reason given for this change was that the city of P'u-t'ien was at a better strategic transport position. However, the economic function of such a location may also have been considered in the decision-making. It is likely that the orientation of this new prefecture was not decided simply on grounds of security.

The number of counties in the region also increased twofold. This process, described below, had started in the last years of the Min Kingdom. Its result was that by the end of the tenth century,
there were altogether fourteen counties in South Fukien. (See TABLE 2)

A T'ung-an county was set up between Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou in 939. Its capital was important in the sense that it not only controlled the connection between the two prefectural capitals, but also shared Chang-chou Bay with the capital of Chang-chou as its sea outlet. Prior to this, an inland county called Te-hua 徳化 was formed upstream on the Ta-chang River, a tributary of the Min River. This is a mountainous area to the north of Ch'üan-chou prefecture. The decision was made by the Min court in 933 to divide this new county from the territory of a Fu-chou county named Yung-t'ai 永泰. However, ten years later, the county came under the control of the independent warlord Liu Ts'ung-hsiao of Ch'üan-chou. From that time on, it became one of the Ch'üan-chou counties and part of South Fukien. This development may be accounted for by the difficulties of navigation along the lower reaches of the Ta-chang River.3

Shortly before the fall of the Min Kingdom, another inland county named Yung-ch'un 永春 was established in the northern hilly section of Ch'üan-chou prefecture. Though situated away from the coast, the capital of Yung-ch'un had a navigable waterway connecting with the lower reaches of the Chin River, and thus was able to interact with the prefectural capital without great difficulty.4

There were two other counties established under Ch'üan-chou prefecture during this period. One was Ch'ing-ch'i 清溪 in 955, which was renamed as An-ch'i 安溪 in 1121.5 Its capital had developed from a small market town along the midcourse of a tributary
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<tr>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>ESTABLISHED</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Hui-an</td>
<td>981</td>
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<td>Yung-ch'un</td>
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<td>Te-hua</td>
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<td>Chang-t'ai</td>
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<td>Hsing-hua</td>
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Sources: Sung-shih, 89:2207/2209; TPHYC, 102:1a/11b.

* At first under Fu-chou, shifted to Ch'üan-chou prefecture in 943.

** Shifted to Chang-chou prefecture from Ch'üan-chou prefecture in 980.
of the Chin River, and had a navigable waterway linking it with the prefectural capital. At the time it was set up, it had about 2,000 garrison soldiers, and accommodated around 2,000 local residential households. The place seems to have been of importance in both military and economic terms. The other new county was Hui-an, split off from the northern part of Chin-chiang county in 981 and located on the coast between the prefectural cities of Ch'üan-chou and Hsing-hua chün.

Not far from the eastern bank of the Chiu-lung River, a county called Chang-t'ai was established under Ch'üan-chou prefecture by Liu Ts'ung-hsiao in 955. Its capital was probably too close to the city of Chang-chou, so shortly after the region came under the direct rule of the Sung government in 978, it was put under the jurisdiction of Chang-chou prefecture.

The pattern of these administrative urban centres was greatly affected by the physical features of the region. Broadly speaking, South Fukien contains two types of topography: the mountain areas and the alluvial plains. There are the Tai-yün Mountains rising to 1856 metres above sea level in the northwest and the Fu-ping Mountains rising to 1666 metres above sea level in the west. Both ranges run in a northeast-southwest direction and constitute a natural boundary to the west and northwest of the region. Their eastern slopes run into the sea and form a rugged coast. Three river systems of medium scale drain the region, forming three alluvial plains of varying size in the lower coastal region. Evidence shows that the process of alluviation is still going on. The Chang River Plain in the south is the
largest of them, whilst the Mü-lan River Plain is the smallest. The
Chin River Plain ranks between the two.

The regional division into prefectures coincided with the
boundaries of the drainage areas of these three river systems. Each
drainage area was the territory of a prefecture. The prefectural
capitals were all founded on the alluvial plains. They were the
biggest centres of commercial activity for their respective areas,
accommodating the densest population. Administrative control over the
entire prefectural area also concentrated in and radiated out from
these centres.

At the regional level, the prefectural city of Ch'üan-chou on
the Chin River Plain, however, functioned as the prime centre for
the entire region. Two factors can explain the city's supremacy.
In the first place, the city was situated between the cities of Chang-
chou and Hsing-hua chün. The distances separating them were 130
li (71.88 km) from the former and 280 li (154.83 km) from the
latter, requiring only three to five days of traveling on foot.
Transport costs of goods were thus minimized with the city of Ch'üan-
chou as the regional centre. Also to the traveling merchants'
advantage and convenience, these routes were on level land along the
coast. A few huge bridges were constructed; and the road was
usually well maintained by local officials. The cities of Chang-
chou and Hsing-hua chün served as intermediate centres for export
and import. The city of Ch'üan-chou, on the one hand, played the same
intermediate role for its immediate hinterland, while on the other
hand it acted as a regional centre for higher level trading
activities. This pattern is summarized in FIGURE 1.

The second factor which accounts for Ch'üan-chou's supremacy is that the city and its outer ports formed the best seaport in this region. Among the bays along the coast of South Fukien, Hsing-hua Bay and Mei-chou Bay are full of silt and unusable for large scale maritime trade.11 Chang-chou Bay, though wide and deep enough to possess considerable potential for seafaring activities, at the time lacked a developed economy in its vicinity that would sustain such large scale activities. Only Ch'üan-chou Bay provided many deep-water anchorages,12 and at the same time offered a highly developed hinterland. Therefore, it is not surprising that the city emerged as the main seaport and regional centre of South Fukien during this period.

Below the regional and the prefectural levels, central places at a district level existed, in the form of county capitals. They also functioned as centres of administrative control and commercial activities, but on a scale smaller than that of the prefectural cities. The areas under their immediate jurisdiction were also much smaller. Worth mentioning is that location patterns of county capitals in the three prefectures were not completely similar. In the prefectures of Chang-chou and Hsing-hua chün, the number of counties was small and they were located in a radial pattern centred on the prefectural capitals. Ch'üan-chou prefecture, which contained more county capitals, reveals a difference. Only half of its county capitals conformed with this radial pattern. The rest were located at places where communication with the prefectural capital depended on
FIGURE 1: REGIONAL STRUCTURE OF SUB-REGIONS

Chang-chou sub-region

Ch'üan-chou sub-region

Hsing-hua chün sub-region

Interaction

Interaction on larger scale

FIGURE 2: LINES OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN COUNTY CITIES AND PREFECTURAL CITIES

County City

Line of communication
passing through one or two other county capitals. In such cases, these mid-way county cities also served as staging places (See FIGURE 2).

Below the county level, there were basically two types of towns with specialized functions. The first type consisted of manufacturing towns such as pottery kiln towns and iron workshop towns. The other consisted of market towns serving as centres for exchange of daily commodities among rural villagers. A few low-ranked officials would be appointed to these towns if tax collection stations were set up there. These towns formed the lowest level of formal government control in the countryside. Below that point, control was the responsibility of the semi-official village officer system.

Location of manufacturing towns seems to be largely determined by the accessibility of resources required, such as raw materials and fuel. Transport and distance to the market seem to have been of lead significance in South Fukien in Sung times. This can be seen from the fact that most manufacturing towns were located at places away from nodes of the transportation network. They were situated in the countryside rather than in or near cities. This coincides with Skinner's view that industrial production in traditional agrarian society tends to be relatively atomized and dispersed, but contrasts with the notion that industries were mostly concentrated in cities by Sung times.

Information on the location of market towns during the Sunq period is less complete than for later periods. MAP 3 shows
the locations of eight of these towns. On the alluvial plains, they were usually located mid-way along coastal transportation lines between two higher level central places. Occasionally, if the towns were close to the coast and equipped with an anchorage, they might take part directly in maritime trade, as in the cases of An-hai-chen 安海鎮 18 and T'ai-p'ing-chen 太平鎮 19

Besides these, there were at least eight more towns with commercial tax collection stations in the region. In Sung-hui-yao kao 宋會要稿, their names are given together with those of known location.20 But their locations cannot be identified. Five of them were in Chang-chou prefecture, two in Ch'üan-chou and one in Hsing-hua chün. There may have been other market towns without tax collection station,21 but it is difficult to discuss them as information is not available.

The distribution pattern of the market towns shows that Chang River Plain contained the most, eight altogether; Mu-lan River Plain had five; and Chin River Plain a mere three. Chang River Plain is the largest alluvial plain, whilst Mu-lan River Plain is the smallest. The distribution of these towns was thus not determined by the size of the plains alone. Nor can it be directly accounted for by commercial development, for Ch'üan-chou prefecture, though with the least number of towns, was the most prosperous centre for trade.

A tentative explanation of such a pattern lies in the nature of commerce. A greater number of market towns in a specific area may indicate that this area is basically agrarian-oriented, with most of its population in the rural villages. Exchange of daily commodities
among these villages would be boosted on condition that the rural population has substantially increased and agricultural productivity been raised. This would result in an increase of market towns in the rural area. In fact, both conditions existed in the case of Chang-chou and Hsing-hua chün prefectures, as will be detailed later. Contrary to this, a specific area with a high-scaled commercial central place, especially one dealing with maritime trade, may have its population densely concentrated in the urban area. Rural market towns would thus not increase, even though the total population in this area may increase substantially. Ch'üan-chou prefecture with the city of Ch'üan-chou as a regional centre of commerce, certainly fits this pattern.

In relation to ordinary farming villages, information seems to be inadequate for discussion. Although Clark has tried to reconstruct the distribution of the rural population of Ch'üan-chou, his method is by no means beyond question. Two local administrative units below the county level were introduced in Sung times, i.e., the hsiang (canton) and li (township).22 These contribute little to our understanding of the distribution of rural population. However, there was another system, the pao-chia system, which may be relevant to the question, as suggested by Clark. One of the aspects of this system, which concerns the question here, is that the highest unit in the system, called tu-pao 鄴 or tu or pao, was supposed to contain a specified number of rural households.23 The number of households varied from 250 to 1000 according to time and circumstance. Accordingly, Clark claims that
the distribution of these tu-pao indicates "with considerable accuracy" the distribution of rural population. Theoretically, this claim seems reasonable. The problem lies in how we are to determine the distribution of these tu-pao. There is a fair bit of information on a local system also called tu in gazetteers of the Ming and Ch'ing periods. Using this information, Clark has built up a picture of the rural population distribution in Ch'uan-chou during the Sung. In order to justify his method, he cites a passage from a 1730 edition of Hui-an hsien-chih 嘉安县志:

Under the pao-chia law of the hsi-ning era (1068-1078), (Hui-an) was divided into thirty-four command brigades (tu)... (The Yüan) kept the same structure.

and concludes that the tu system of the later period was originally established in the 1070s when the pao-chia system was implemented. They therefore indicate the rural configuration of the 1070s.

The passage Clark cites can also be found in the 1530 edition of Hui-an hsien-chih. But interestingly, in the Pa-Min t'ung-chih, which was compiled in 1490, there is a different version:

[In Hui-an county], it was under the Yüan dynasty that the former Sung system of li was transformed into thirty-four tu. Moreover, it is recorded in the 1763 edition of Ch'üan-chou fu-chih that, for the counties of Chin-chiang, Nan-an, T'ung-an and Hui-an, which had tu system in later dynasties, in all but Hui-an the system was transformed from li to tu in Yuan times. Hence, it is most likely that for the larger part of the prefecture, Clark's method is not justified.
2. Urban Morphology of the city of Ch'üan-chou

As the regional centre for South Fukien, the city of Ch'üan-chou was the most prosperous urban entity in the region, and was more affected by the region's economic development than were the other centres. Its urban morphology, which will be discussed here, thus reflects to a certain extent the direction of the region's economy.

The city-wall is the single most important and revealing factor in urban morphology of traditional Chinese cities, and is also the aspect that is best recorded. The earliest extant reference to it dates from 718. Like other pre-Sung cities, the T'ang city of Ch'üan-chou was rectangular in shape, with a perimeter of 3 li (1,679 m). Its area would therefore have been approximately 17 hectares. The ratio between sides was about 5:8, with the long side running north-south. This contrasts with the more common pattern of having the long side running east-west. There were four gates, of which only the southern gate was not centrally located, but closer to the southwestern corner. As a result of this, the street grid took the form of a Latin Cross with uneven lengths on the two sides of the east-west axis.

The T'ang city-wall was called "Inner Wall" (tsu-ch'eng) at the end of the Five Dynasties, when a larger outer wall was built to surround it. Both were demolished in early Northern Sung. Although the outer wall was rebuilt later, the inner one was never restored. Only did its four gates remain as landmarks inside the city down to the Ming and Ch'ing.
The outer wall was built by the warlord Liu Ts'ung-hsiao in 944, in the face of a military campaign against him from Fuchou. The original perimeter of the outer wall was 23 li (12,718 m); and its height 18 ch‘ih (5.53 m). This was demolished in 978 and not rebuilt until 1120. The new wall consisted of an outside layer of bricks and an inside layer of stone blocks. Repairs were carried out at least six times during the Southern Sung. The last of these undertakings was a major one. Apart from these wall repairs, a separate stone rampart of 10 ch‘ih (3 m) high and 4,380 ch‘ih (1,346 m) long was built along the bank of the Chin River, so as to protect the commercial district outside the southern wall. This remained a separate part of the city-wall until 1352 when the city-wall was expanded to connect with the rampart and the original southern wall was abandoned. The new perimeter measured 30 li (16,589 m), with a wall height of 21 ch‘ih (6.45 m). The breadth of bases of the northern, western and eastern walls was standardized at 24 ch‘ih (7.37 m), with an outside layer of stone. The southern wall alone was narrower - 20 ch‘ih (6.14 m) - but had stone layers on both sides.

In comparison with those of other urban centres in South Fukien, the city-wall of Ch‘üan-chou was overwhelmingly superior in terms of material and length. A brick city-wall for Hsing-hua chün city was not constructed until 1121, and then with a perimeter of only 7 li (3,870 m). Here, there was basically no expansion nor significant alteration throughout the Sung period, except for the reinforcement of the five gate-towers with stone and bricks in 1230.
of Chang-chou was first fortified by a pounded earth rampart with a perimeter of 4 里 (2,212 m) in early Northern Sung. By 1013, a wooden rampart with a perimeter of 15 里 (8,295 m) had been set up to surround the old city. This wooden wall formed the main body of the city-wall of Chang-chou city throughout the Sung period. Only the gates and the surrounding sections of the walls were rebuilt in stone under Southern Sung. At the end of the Yüan, the city-wall of Chang-chou city was even reduced by one-third in size.43

As Sen-dou Chang points out, most of the brick or stone walls of Chinese cities date from the late fourteenth century or later. The brick facing of the Peking city-wall was not added until 1421 when it became the national capital of the Ming.44 The city of Fu-chou, as a long established centre for political power in Fukien, had been walled as early as 282; and the original small city-wall had been consolidated by bricks and stones during the T'ang. A much larger pounded earth city-wall with brick facing was built by Wang Shen-chih in 901, with a perimeter of 40 里 (22,118 m). Some outside walls and extended ramparts were added to it later, which made it the largest area enclosed by walls in Fukien. Yet only parts of the enlarged city-wall of Fu-chou were ever reconstructed in brick or stone during the Sung period. Consequently, in terms of solidity it was not comparable to that of Ch'üan-chou city.45 All these examples indicate that the construction of the Ch'üan-chou city-wall was rather outstanding for the time. Understandably, it was the economic prosperity of Ch'üan-chou which made such an undertaking
Another factor which affected the walled-in urban landscape very much was the location of city-gates. The reason is that all main streets inside the wall started from one gate and ended at another. The street grid was thus largely determined by the gates.

Seven gates were opened on the outer city-wall. Because of the irregularity of the city's shape, the cardinal directions of these gates was distorted. As shown on MAP 4, the southern wall, which ran directly in a southeast-northwest direction, contained four gates. The first one at the southeastern end was a water-transport gate through which most of the drainage ditches inside the wall connected with the moat and canal system linking with the Chin River. This was the southeastern gate. The one to its left was the southern gate, which was located at the end of the main north-south street, where the commercial district was located. Thus economically this gate was the most important one for the city. At the other end of this southeast-northwest running wall was the southwestern gate. In terms of cardinal direction, it was in fact at one end of the east-west cardinal axis, and there was an eastern gate at the other end. An auxiliary gate was opened between the southern and the southwestern gates. Perhaps the most irregularly located gate was the western gate, which actually faced northwest.

As a consequence of the divergent directions of these gates, the street grid of the city of Ch'üan-chou contained no really straight main street. The north-south main street running from the northern gate to the southern gate was perhaps the one closest to a straight
line, but still with a clear curve which became more conspicuous when the southern gate was moved to its new site in the 1352 wall.
On the other hand, the main street from the eastern gate to the western gate followed a much more irregular path. These are shown on MAP 4.

The overall location of official buildings inside the city tended to be central. Most of the civil offices were clustered on the northern side of the east-west axis in the inner city area; and to a lesser extent, on the southwestern part of the enlarged city area. This conformed with the general pattern of central location of yamens in Chinese cities, as described by Sen-dou Chang.48

Most of the civil offices were situated in the first area. These included the offices of the prefect, the county magistrate, and all subordinate prefectural officials except the police inspector. The prefect's office was centrally located mid-way on the northern half of the north-south axis. Its entrance faced the main street running south to the southern gate. At the crossroads of the two main streets stood a drum tower. In the other area was an office of the southern court of imperial family affairs. The office of the superintendent of maritime affairs was located outside the southern wall near the riverbank, and was the only important office located outside the city-wall during the Sung.

As for military offices, two of them can be seen on MAP 4. The office of the prefectural director of the army in Fukien, who was in charge of the defense and security of the prefecture,49 was inside the wall and near the office of the police inspector. The county
KEY TO MAP 4

Prefectural yamen of Ch'üan-chou
County yamen of Chin-chiang
Other yamens (see TABLE 3)
Government granaries
Educational institutions (see TABLE 3)
Official temples (see TABLE 3)
Private temples (see TABLE 3)
Drum Tower
Gates
T'ang city-wall
Sung-Yüan city-wall
Outer rampart built in 1230, incorporated into the city-wall in 1352
Bridges
Possible location of wards and residential districts
Possible location of commercial districts
Small hills
Possible gardens, farmlands, or uninhabited spaces
River bank in the twentieth century

Source:
The frame of MAP 4 is based on a map entitled "Ch'üan-chou ku ch'eng-chih p'ing-mien-t'u," (City map of ancient Ch'üan-chou) which was developed from another city map surveyed and produced by the Public Works Department of the Ch'üan-chou city government in 1922. The former is attached to an article entitled, "Ch'üan-chou ku ch'eng-chih t'a-k'an chi-yao," by Ch'en Yun-tun, Ch'üan-chou wen-shih 2&3, 1980, pp.1-13. Locations of many ancient buildings on Ch'en's map have not been verified however. He only marked the present sites of buildings with names identical with those old names, neglecting the fact that their addresses had changed in the course of time. Therefore, the locations of yamens, educational institutions and temples on MAP 4 are partly based on my previous work. See Su, 1978, pp.23-33. References for those not mentioned in that work will be noted in TABLE 3. For discussion of residential wards, see Su, 1978, pp.34-50, 85-92.
TABLE 3: IMPORTANT BUILDINGS OF SUNG CH’UAN-CHOU CITY SHOWN ON MAP 4

YAMENS:

1. Office of the prefectural judge in regional command prefecture (ch’ieh-tu t’ui-kuan 高度推官)
2. Office of the household inspector (ssu-hu ts’an-chün 户部參軍)
3. Prefectural bureau of taxation (tu-shui-wu 部稅務)
3a,b. Taxation stations.
4. Office of the executive inspector (lu-shih ts’an-chün 銘參軍)
5. Office of the prefectural judge in regional supervisory prefecture (kuan-ch’a t’ui-kuan 觀察推官)
6. Office of the southern court of imperial family affairs outside the capital (nan-wai tsung-cheng-ssu 南外宗正司)
7. Office of the police inspector (ssu-li ts’an-chün 司理參軍)
8. Office of the prefectural director of the army in Fukien (Fu-chien ping-ma tu-chien 福建兵馬都監)
9. Original office of the bureau of distant imperial relatives (chiu mu-tsung-yüan 徐屬官院)
10. New office of the bureau of distant imperial relatives (hsin mu-tsung-yüan 新屬官院)
11. Office of the county sheriff (wei 夫尉)
12. Office of the deputy prefect (t’ung-p’an 司判, CCFC, 12:17a/b)
13. Office of the signatory staff supervisor (ch’ien-shih p’an-kuan 檢事官, CCFC, 12:18a)
15. Office of the superintendent of maritime affairs (shih-po-ssu 市舶司, CCFC, 12:20a)

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS:

1. Prefectural school (fu-hsüeh 府學)
2. County school (hsien-hsüeh 县學)
3. Examination hall (kung-yüan 考院)
4. School for imperial kinsmen (tsung-hsüeh 家學)
5. Ch’üanshan private academy (Ch’üan-shan shu-yüan 蕭山書院)

OFFICIAL TEMPLES:

1. Prefectural altar of Land and Grain (fu she-chi t’an府社稷壇, CCFC 16:1b)
2. Prefectural altar of the master of wind, cloud, thunder and rain (fung-yüin-lei-yü shih t’an 風雲雷雨社壇, CCFC, 16:2a)
3. Prefectural Temple of City God (fu ch’eng-huang miao 府城隍廟, CCFC 16:7a)

(continued next page)
TABLE 3 (continued)

PRIVATE TEMPLES:

1. K'ai-yüan Temple (*k'ai-yüan-ssu*, Buddhist)
2. T'ieh-lu Shrine (*t'ieh-lu-miao*, popular religion, CCFC, 16:14a/b)
3. Tzu-shou Temple (*tzu-shou-ssu*, Buddhist, CCFC, 16:7a)
4. Ch'ung-fu Temple (*ch'ung-fu-ssu*, Buddhist)
5. Kuang-hsiao Temple (*kuang-hsiao-ssu*, Buddhist)
6. Tung-yüeh Shrine (*tung-yüeh-miao*, popular religion)
7. Ch'ing-ching Temple (*ch'ing-ching-ssu*, Muslim)
11. Ch'eng-t'ien Temple (*ch'eng-t'ien-ssu*, Buddhist)
sheriff's office was, on the other hand, placed just outside the eastern gate. His duty was to maintain local order with the help of a militia force.50

Other social organizations with known locations are the education and religious institutions. The examination hall and the county school were close to the other official buildings in the inner city area. Near the southern gate a prefectural school was erected. The school for the imperial relatives was placed in the second area just mentioned, whereas the biggest private academy was in the eastern part of the city. Two official altars, including the one for Land and Grain, were on the southern side of the east-west axis inside the inner city area, but the City God Temple was in the enlarged city area, opposite to the private academy.

From this brief sketch of the urban morphology of Ch'üan-chou, it can be seen that the north-south main street formed the principal axis of the city. It connected the administrative centre in the northern part of the city with the economic centre in the south. But that there were four gates on the southern wall, more than on the other side, indicates that the southern part of the city was more dynamic than the rest. It implies that the city was dominated by its commercial centre, and thus that the city as a whole must be regarded as a commercial city rather than an administrative one.

Next, what was the social ecology in this city? Due to lack of information, only three aspects can be dealt with briefly here. They are the location of the commercial district; the dispersion of
industries; and the distribution of social groups.

The location of the commercial district in Chinese cities has been viewed differently by scholars. Among these views, the one put forth by Skinner, though mainly concerned with the Ch'ing cities, is perhaps the most relevant to the case of Ch'üan-chou city during this period. Skinner describes the commercial district as a place "that is never central but instead sharply skewed in the direction of the city's main commercial trade routes." As shown on MAP 4, the commercial district of Ch'üan-chou city was separated from the administrative nucleus, and flourished in the area inside and outside the southern gate which faced the bank of the Chin River. It clearly indicates that a major part of the city's commerce was maritime trade. The phenomenon of a developing suburban commercial district immediately outside the city gates had become common in Sung. Since the commercial district in this southern suburb was extremely important to the city, it is not surprising that a separate rampart was constructed to protect it in 1230. Extant evidence does not show any exchange markets near the eastern, the northern and the western gates, from which main overland routes departed. Even if they existed, they must have been of minor significance. This seems further to substantiate the view that commercial activities in this city were dominantly sea-oriented, either for overseas trade or long-distance domestic trade.

Industries were largely dispersed in the countryside. The pottery kiln that was the nearest to the city was located 8 km to its northeast. Under Liu Ts'ung-hsiao, an arsenal was set up near the
southwestern gate inside the city-wall to produce iron weaponry for his army. The fate of this urban iron workshop after Ch'en Hung-chin's submission to the Sung court is not known. However, its site had been taken over by a private temple before 1201. It is unlikely that there was iron-ware production on a large scale in Ch'üan-chou during the Sung, as both iron-sands and fuel had to be transported a long way from the countryside to the urban area to support this resource consuming industry. Inside the city, there may have been some small craft workshops supplying necessary daily stuffs for the urban population as in other contemporary cities, but they are not mentioned in sources. Yet, their scale is likely to have been small and insignificant in the regional context. If this observation is valid, it shows that the city's economy was commercial rather than industrial in nature.

The distribution of social groups in Ch'üan-chou cannot be reconstructed in detail. The structure of the residential wards does provide some ideas, however. In my previous study of the Sung residential wards in this city, some eighty-eight were identified with approximate locations. Of these only three were outside the wall, immediately adjacent to the eastern, the southeastern and the southern gates. The rest were all inside the wall. Many of these wards had names whose particular significance was recorded in the gazetteers. They can be divided into the three categories below.

First, there were ward names connoting education and achievement in the civil service examinations, such as ju-lin (Confucian scholars); p' an-kung (official school); chuang-yüan (the
top chin-shih). These wards were usually granted such names to celebrate or commemorate the achievements of successful locals of the ward. Judging from the fact that these wards were spread throughout every corner of the city, it is probable that literate urban households were numerous and that they were scattered among the uneducated. Except for the area on the immediate west side of the north-south main street from the Drum Tower down to the southern gate, scholar-official households with one or more generations of civil service could be found in almost every area inside the city. On the other hand, Sung imperial clansmen whose names were commemorated for their success in the examinations came mainly from the northeastern and southwestern parts of the enlarged city area. It is likely that these were places where imperial clansmen lived together.

The second category contains ward names with moral connotations, such as ching-hsiao- Gingrich (honored examples of filial piety); i-hsiao- Virtue (virtuous examples of filial piety). It seems that filial piety was a virtue that was frequently praised. People commemorated in this category were generally female commoners. These wards were distributed mainly in the eastern part of the city. On the other hand, in an area where no scholar-official household was mentioned, there were wards named hao-i 息 (fond of righteousness) and hao-te 息 (fond of virtue). No information about the persons who were commemorated is available. Since this area was basically a commercial area, they were probably commoners as well.

The last category of ward names conspicuously reflect the commercial interests of inhabitants. These were names such as fu-
According to this sketched picture of social group distribution, it seems that the general living standard in the city was in general quite high. The reason is that other than the commercial population, scholar-official families were spreading out in every in-walled area. They were the inhabitants who enjoyed many economic privileges as well as the benefits of their social and political influence. That these families existed everywhere in the city indicates that other inhabitants, i.e., neighbours of these scholar-official families, are not likely to have been very poor. On the other hand, commerce surely played an important role in the city's affairs.

To end this discussion of the city of Ch'üan-chou, it may be useful to give a brief account of the city's site and immediate environs. Three issues will be dealt with, namely the city's site in relation to the river; its outports; and the strategic implication of the topography of its environs (See MAP 5).

First of all, the importance of water in relation to the site of many Chinese cities has been discussed by Sen-dou Chang. One interesting phenomenon he tries to explain is the preference for one bank over the other in siting a city. Four general factors have been summed up in this regard. They are: first, "the direction from which local products enter the river traffic;" second, "the
Map 5. Sketch Map of Sung-Yüan Ch'üan-chou and Its Vicinity

Source:
productivity of the basin land on either side of the river;" third, the result of the southward migration in Chinese history which led to a preference for north bank siting as migrants usually arrived there first; fourth, sites on valley slopes facing south usually enjoy better climatic conditions. In the case of Ch'üan-chou, the city was situated on the north bank. The reason for this site selection seems to relate to the immigration factor. When the city was forming at the end of the seventh century, the whole Chin River alluvial plain was undeveloped. Since there was no local production of any significant scale, direction of transportation of produce cannot have affected the siting of the city. As the production on both banks was basically self-sufficient agriculture, there does not seem to have been any significant differentiation of productivity on either side. Equally unlikely as a factor affecting siting is the climatic factor, since the city was situated on an alluvial plain and not on a mountain slope.

The city of Ch'üan-chou itself was located 10 km from Ch'üan-chou Bay. Although the Chin River used to be much wider than it is today, the anchorage capacity immediately alongside the southern commercial suburb was still inadequate for a flourishing maritime city. There were quite a few anchoring outports for the city. Most of them were along the shore of Ch'üan-chou Bay and the north bank of the Chin River between the river mouth and the city. Three others were located much further south. Cargoes could be unloaded at these outports and subsequently either stored at the warehouses for transhipment, or distributed among the local retailing merchants in the city.
Finally, the topography of the city's environs reveals something of its defense potential. There are hills of about 100 to 300 metres above sea level surrounding the plain on the north bank. These hills did not create serious problems for the city's transportation pattern. They did, however, have a function in terms of defense. There are also hills of moderate height to the city's north and east, and the Chin River lies to the south. Only two medium sized land routes approached the city between the hills. Thus in terms of natural defenses the city was well located, and this may well have been an important factor in the city's formation.

3. Population Growth and Distribution

There has been a long controversy over the interpretation of extant Sunq population figures. Basing myself on my previous work on this subject, I make two assumptions here. First, the unusually low ratio of persons per household stems from the exclusion of females from the enumeration. Second, at the prefectural level, two types of figures for persons could be chosen by compilers of local gazetteers from the local government archives. One covered all males, and the other included only tīng, males aged from 20 to 60 who were subject to taxation. As a result of lack of conformity in the use of original sources, the figures for persons were drawn from different kinds of sources in different gazetteers and are thus not strictly comparable. On the other hand, household figures taken from these sources, though still far from accurate, are more comparable. As
information on the local demographic situation, which is the main concern, here is mostly taken from local records, only household figures will be used here as data for analysis.

These data cannot, of course, provide an accurate picture of the demographic reality. Nevertheless, they do reveal general patterns of demographic change over time. In accordance with these patterns, some comparisons between situations in different localities may be made.

First of all, in order to place the demographic development of prefectures in South Fukien in a wider comparative context, four other important prefectures, namely Fu-chou, Ming-chou, Kuang-chou and Hang-chou, will be considered in relation to the prefecture of Ch'üan-chou. The reasons for this choice are three-fold: First, these were all coastal prefectures in South China; second, they were all most actively involved in maritime activities; and finally, all functioned as regional centres for sizeable hinterlands.

As shown on TABLE 4, in early Northern Sung, Ch'üan-chou was the most populous of the five prefectures. Towards the end of the Northern Sung, Fu-chou took over this position, and subsequently remained ahead of Ch'üan-chou. By the end of the Southern Sung, Hang-chou prefecture, which contained the new national capital, had risen and become the most populous. Compared with Ming-chou and Kuang-chou, on the other hand, Ch'üan-chou had a much bigger population throughout the Sung.

The demographic picture of 1290 is quite different. While Hang-chou continued to be the most populous prefecture, the populations of both Ming-chou and Kuang-chou had continued to grow, and now
<table>
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<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CHUAN-CHOU</th>
<th>FU-CHOU</th>
<th>CHANG-CHOU</th>
<th>HSING-HUAI</th>
<th>MING-CHOU</th>
<th>KUANG-CHOU</th>
<th>HANG-CHOU</th>
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Source: See footnotes 63 to 90.

Note: Figures entered under a period rather than a particular year relate to a given but unspecified year within that period.
amounted to two and three times respectively that of contemporary Ch'üan-chou. Nevertheless, the highest figures attained by these two prefectures in the Yüan period were still below the level Ch'üan-chou had formerly reached during the Sung. Fu-chou also lost population during the Yüan, falling to a level between that of Ming-chou and Kuang-chou.

Population growth rates are calculated in TABLES 5, 6 and 7. From the mid-T'ang to the early Northern Sung, Ming-chou had the fastest rate of growth. Fu-chou came next, while Ch'üan-chou grew only at a moderate rate. Hang-chou grew much more slowly. Growth rates during the Northern Sung generally slowed down, Hang-chou being the exception. The decrease in growth rates for Ming-chou and Fu-chou were more severe than in the case of Ch'üan-chou. In the Southern Sung period, both Fu-chou and Hang-chou achieved very high rates of growth, while Ch'üan-chou and Ming-chou only grew at a moderate rate. By 1290, all except Ming-chou had experienced population decline. Ch'üan-chou decreased most drastically, next came Fu-chou, with Hang-chou declining slightly. Ming-chou, on the other hand, achieved impressive growth. Kuang-chou is not included in these tables as comparable data for that prefecture is lacking.

The outline above indicates that the population growth patterns for Ch'üan-chou, Fu-chou and Hang-chou were in general similar. These prefectures went through a period of sustained increase from the ninth to the mid-thirteenth century, reaching a peak some time under the Southern Sung, followed by a period of decline in the early Yüan. Hang-chou started off with the largest population in the early ninth
### TABLE 5: GROWTH RATES FROM THE MID-T'ANG TO THE NORTHERN SUNG, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE, 806-980</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE, 980-1102</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>172%</td>
<td>109%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>386%</td>
<td>124%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chang-chou</td>
<td>168%</td>
<td>319%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hsing-hua chün</td>
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<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming-chou</td>
<td>578%</td>
<td>320%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang-chou</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>189%</td>
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### TABLE 6: GROWTH RATES FROM 1102 TO A YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH</th>
<th>SPAN OF TIME (YEAR)</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>1246 c.</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-chou</td>
<td>1246 c.</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsing-hua chün</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming-chou</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang-chou</td>
<td>1169</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1246 c.</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 7: GROWTH RATES FROM A YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG TO 1290, DERIVED FROM TABLE 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>YEAR OF RECORDED PEAK OF GROWTH IN THE SOUTHERN SUNG (YEARS)</th>
<th>SPAN OF TIME (YEARS)</th>
<th>GROWTH RATE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>1246 c.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>1182</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>-38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-chou</td>
<td>1246 c.</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>-81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hsing-hua chün</td>
<td>1190</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming-chou</td>
<td>1168</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hang-chou</td>
<td>1270 c.</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>-8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
century, lost its leading position to Ch'üan-chou in early Northern Sung, but regained it towards the end of Southern Sung. Its decline in early Yuan was also much slighter than that of its Fukien counterparts. Ming-chou and Kuang-chou, on the other hand, seem to represent a pattern of continued growth from mid-T'ang down to early Yüan, assuming there were no drastic changes in the periods for which we have no information. Overall, the size and increase of the population of Ch'üan-chou throughout the period of Sung and Yüan, though less than that of Fu-chou and Hang-chou, were still considerable. From TABLE 8 and 9, it can be seen, too, that Ch'üan-chou was always among the ten most populous prefectures in the nation under the Sung. Its prominent position was not lost until Yüan.

Prefectural population figures alone, however, may not sufficiently reveal the extent of economic prosperity or the character of the economy in different localities. It has already been mentioned, and will be discussed again later, that Fu-chou was less prosperous than Ch'üan-chou under the Sung, especially in terms of commerce. It nevertheless always had a prefectural population larger than that of Ch'üan-chou from the end of the Northern Sung. To understand the relations between these demographic figures and their economic significance, the pattern of distribution of the population within the prefectures should also be taken into account.

Here, I will try to formulate two hypothetical models for the comparison of prefectures with similar populations and comparable capital territories. The first one presupposed a situation in which, within a prefecture, most of the population is scattered over a vast
### TABLE 8: PREFECTURES RANKED ACCORDING TO POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS (OVER 200,000 ONLY): 1120

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORDER</th>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>CIRCUITS (lu)</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>T'an-chou</td>
<td>Ching-hu-nan</td>
<td>439,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Chi-chou</td>
<td>Kiang-nan-hsi</td>
<td>335,710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Shao-hsing-fu</td>
<td>Liang-che</td>
<td>279-306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Kan-chou</td>
<td>Kiang-nan-hsi</td>
<td>272,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lung-hsing-fu</td>
<td>Kiang-nan-hsi</td>
<td>261,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>Fu-chien</td>
<td>211,552</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Lin-an-fu (Hang-chou)</td>
<td>Liang-che</td>
<td>203,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>Fu-chien</td>
<td>201,406</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Yuan Chen, 1957, pp.39-40.

### TABLE 9: PREFECTURES RANKED ACCORDING TO POPULATION IN HOUSEHOLDS (OVER 250,000 ONLY) RECORDED DURING THE SOUTHERN SUNG

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORDER</th>
<th>PREFECTURE</th>
<th>CIRCUIT</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>YEAR OF RECORD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Lin-an-fu (Hang-chou)</td>
<td>Liang-che</td>
<td>391,259</td>
<td>1265-74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>P'ing-chiang-fu</td>
<td>Liang-che</td>
<td>329,603</td>
<td>1275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Fu-chou</td>
<td>Fu-chien</td>
<td>321,284</td>
<td>1182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Shao-hsing-fu</td>
<td>Liang-she</td>
<td>273,340</td>
<td>1201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>T'ai-chou</td>
<td>Liang-che</td>
<td>266,340</td>
<td>1222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ch'üan-chou</td>
<td>Fu-chien</td>
<td>255,758</td>
<td>1241-52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Liang Keng-yao, 1981, pp.424-426.
number of smaller agglomerations ranging from rural villages to county capitals, with a relatively small concentration in the prefectural capital territory and the prefectural city. One likely implication of this is that relatively more people would be directly engaged in agricultural production in the rural areas. In such circumstances, there may be frequent exchanges of necessary goods, but only on a small scale in terms of both quantity and market value of the goods traded.

The second model assumes the converse situation, in which the population of a prefecture is relatively concentrated in a smaller number of central places, particularly the prefectural capital territory and the prefectural city. One plausible explanation of such a population distribution pattern is that a great proportion of the prefectural population is engaged in commercial occupations, and the scale of commerce in this prefecture has grown much larger. Factors contributing to such population concentration may differ in individual cases. One frequently recurring factor, however, is that unfavourable returns from agricultural efforts on less fertile lands drives more people to turn to non-agricultural occupations. And of the non-agricultural occupations, trade, on a large or small scale, is perhaps the one open to the most people.

In the first case, the local economy would be more self-contained and static. External exchange on a large scale is not necessary and thus not encouraged. Intensive economic development resulting from commercial expansion becomes accordingly less possible. In the second case, as local subsistence production falls behind local
demand, external sources of wealth would be keenly sought to cover the deficit stemming from imports of subsistence goods. Long-distance trade, whether overseas or domestic, transit or export, is the usual and logical solution. The local economy is thus more dynamic and open. These two models are illustrated below by the cases of Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou respectively.

The population distribution among counties in Fu-chou for the year 1182 is recorded in detail in the Sung gazetteer *San-shan chih* 三山志. The percentage of the total prefectural population living in each county is shown on TABLE 10. Since the territory of the prefectural capital comprised the two adjacent counties of Min and Hou-kuan, its actual percentage of the total population should be the sum of them, i.e., 18 per cent, or in number of households, 59,661. Even so, the capital territory of Fu-chou prefecture apparently only contained a population slightly more than the three other big counties of Fu-ch'ing, Ku-t-iien and Chang-ch'i. This indicates that the degree of population concentration in the territory of the prefectural capital was rather low. Within this territory, a proportion of the population must have been living in the countryside. The actual urban population, including those living in adjacent suburbs, for the city of Fu-chou was thus even less than 59,661 households.

The Ch'üan-chou pattern was the opposite of this. Although a complete set of county household figures is not available, extant data is still sufficient to enable a rough reconstruction of the distribution to be made. The prefectural total for the year 1250 has already been shown on TABLE 4. At the county level, figures for each
TABLE 10: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN FU-CHOU PREFECTURE IN 1182

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>HOUSEHOLDS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Min</td>
<td>32,745</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-kuan</td>
<td>26,916</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huai-an</td>
<td>23,310</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu-ch'ing</td>
<td>48,512</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-ch'i</td>
<td>46,324</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku-t'ien</td>
<td>43,836*</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lien-chiang</td>
<td>18,714</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-ge</td>
<td>13,264</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung-fu</td>
<td>21,367</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Min-ch'ing</td>
<td>14,558</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo-yuan</td>
<td>12,389</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ling-te</td>
<td>19,349</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>321,284</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: San-shan chih, 10:6b.

* The figure for Ku-t'ien is incomplete in the source. This figure is derived from the prefectural total.

TABLE 11: RECONSTRUCTED POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN CH'UAN-CHOU PREFECTURE IN 1250, 1490 AND 1608 (PERCENTAGE)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>1250*</th>
<th>1490**</th>
<th>1608***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chin-chiang</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-an</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ung-an</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-an</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-ch'i</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung-ch'un</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te-hua</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources:

* Nan-an hsien-chih, 1672, 6:2b; Hui-an hsien-chih, 1530, 6:1b/2a; An-ch'i hsien-chih, 1552, 1:18a/b; Yung-ch'un hsien-chih, 1684, 5:1a. That for Chin-chiang, T'ung-an and Te-hua are reconstructed.

** Pa-min t'ung-chih, 20:3a/b.

*** CCFC, 1763, 18:18a/b.
county would have been recorded in the 1250 edition of the prefectural gazetteer, which is no longer extant. Nevertheless, in the mid-Ming editions of both Hui-an hsien-chih and An-ch'i hsien-chih, the 1250 figures for these two counties are quoted, whilst the Sung figures for Nan-an and Yung-ch'un which are preserved in the Ch'ing editions of Nan-an hsien-chih and Yung-ch'un hsien-chih seem to fit 1250. Furthermore, as two other distribution patterns for the entire prefecture under the Ming are also available, it is possible to make a number of inferences. As indicated in TABLE II, the prefectural capital county of Chinchiang seems consistently to have contained around 44 per cent of the prefectural total during the Ming. Considering that the days of the prefecture's greatest commercial expansion were virtually over after the Yuan dynasty, and that maritime commercial activity in Ming South Fukien was not at all comparable with that under the Sung-Yüan period, it is safe to assume that Chinchiang in 1250 would have contained not less than 44 per cent of the prefectural total. The four counties mentioned above as having Sung population figures available account for another 49 per cent of the prefectural total. This leaves the remaining 7 per cent to be shared by the counties of T'ung-an and Te-hua. Te-hua, as a peripheral county in the mountain area, would be likely to develop much later and more slowly. It is justifiable to assume that it would have had in the vicinity of only 1 per cent of the prefectural population, i.e., 2,557 households, around 1250. If this reconstruction is correct, the only noticeable change would have occurred in the case of T'ung-an, increasing more
than two-fold from the hypothesized 6 per cent in 1250 to the recorded 16 per cent in 1490. The scale of this change, however, is not so drastic as to make the hypothesized percentage look unrealistically low. If this reconstruction is not far from the reality, it is clear that Ch'uan-chou population during the late Sung was densely concentrated in the prefectural capital county of Chin-chiang. This is certainly quite different from Fu-chou. In terms of actual figures the household population in Fu-chou prefectural capital territory in 1182 was 59,661, and that in Ch'üan-chou in 1250 (and probably in 1182 also) would not have been less than 112,533, almost double the former. This differentiation in the degree of population concentration in the prefectural capital territory is of an order that would fit with the differing characters of the two prefectural economies as hypothesized.

Another demographical factor which has been used by Clark as an indicator of prosperity is the variation of ratio of chu-hu (native households owning property) to k'o-hu (guest households without property). Comparing the proportion of k'o-hu in Ch'üan-chou in 980 and 1080, he discovered a noticeable drop from 58.1 per cent to 29.9 per cent. This, he argues, reflects the increasing prosperity of Ch'üan-chou. However, the implications of the ratio of chu-hu to k'o-hu in Sung times seem to be rather more complicated than this. Simply taking other maritime centres as examples, the 980 proportion of k'o-hu of Hang-chou and Ming-chou were 12.6 per cent and 60.7 per cent respectively. By 1080, the former had increased slightly to 18.9 per cent whereas the latter had
dropped to 49.7 per cent. But in comparison with the 1080 ratio for Che-chiang circuit, i.e., 20.2 per cent, the former is slightly lower and the latter obviously higher. But these changes in proportion of \( k'o-hu \) bear no apparent relation to what we know of the changing fortunes of these prefectures. The same is true of the case of Kuang-chou. There is no extant figure for \( k'o-hu \) in 980, but that for 1080 was 54.6 per cent, which was much higher than the 38.5 per cent for Kuang-tung circuit. All this indicates that the proportion of households which are \( k'o-hu \) does not seem to be a reliable indicator of the prosperity of these maritime commerce oriented prefectures.

The degree of population concentration in the urban area within the capital territory may also reflect the importance of commerce in the local economy. The urban population of Ch'üan-chou city during the Sung times was not recorded in detail. Two pieces of evidence, however, do provide some basis for an estimate. In an inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the city-wall in 1120, prefect Lu Shou stated,

There are eighty residential wards inside the walled city, totalling about 500,000 inhabitants.\(^93\)

There is also a piece of parallel prose written in late Southern Sung which says, "The city-wall contains over 100,000 households."\(^94\)

Even taking into account the impressionistic character and the literary exaggeration of these descriptions, it is quite obvious that a huge proportion of the county's population was concentrated in the city area. If we accept an urban household figure of 80,000 to 100,000 in 1250, there would have been more than three quarters of the
county's population living in the urban area at that time, and most of them must have been living from non-agricultural occupations. Such a high degree of urbanization within a county territory seems to be outstanding even among Sung cities.95

As for other prefectural cities in South Fukien, reconstruction of the population distribution patterns is more difficult as information is more scarce. Nevertheless, a rough estimate can still be made. There is evidence that the population of Chang-p'u county in 1215 was 43,383 households.96 Assuming the prefectural total for that year would not be more than for the Ch'un-yu period (1241-1252), it is very probable that the prefectural capital county of Lung-ch'i will not have contained a population of more than 50,000 households, or half of the prefectural total towards the end of the Southern Sung (See also TABLE 4). This seems to have been a high proportion. However, the situation was quite different to that of Ch'uan-chou. In the first place, the prefectural total of Chang-chou (112,014) is much less than that of Ch'üan-chou (255,758). In the second place, Chang-chou prefecture had fewer counties on the alluvial plain than did Ch'üan-chou: two compared to five. Yet Chang River Plain is larger than Chin River Plain. The actual hinterland of the prefectural capital territory was thus much larger than that of Ch'üan-chou. This suggests that more population would have been dispersed in the rural area. In the third place, the length of the Chang-chou city-wall was only half that of the city-wall of Ch'üan-chou city. Although the length of the city-wall does not necessarily indicate the extent of urbanization, the above two factors taken together still suggest that
Chang-chou city would have contained a much smaller urban population than Ch'üan-chou city, and that more the capital territory's population would have been dispersed in the rural area.

Similar estimates can be made in the case of Hsing-hua chʻiün prefecture. The household figure for Hsien-yu county for the year 1256 is recorded as 40,800.97 As Hsien-yu and the prefectural capital county of P'u-t'ien were much larger than the abandoned prefectural capital county of Hsing-hua, and assuming that the growth rate for the prefecture for 1190 to 1256 did not differ significantly from that for 1102 to 1190, the population of the prefectural capital county must have been around 40,000 households in 1256, about half of the prefectural total. This was high, but the spread of the population here was much the same as in the case of Chang-chou.

If these estimates are reliable, they clearly demonstrate that the degree of urbanization of the population which took place at the regional centre of Ch'üan-chou city was, in the context of the region, quite remarkable.
1. There were four titles for prefectures in Sung times, namely *chou* 周, *fu* 府, *chün* 春, *chien* 領. Classification was based on size and degree of importance. Their government structures were similar, but numbers of officials differed according to the above two factors. See *ss*, 167:3973/3977.


10. The best example is the one that of an eminent scholar-official of Hsien-yü origin named Ts'ai Hsiang, who planted many pine trees alongside the road for seven hundred li so that travelers could rest in the shade when tired. See *Hsien-ch'i chih*, Huang Yen-sun, (Edition in Peking National Library) 4:7a/b.


13. On communication between the capital of Te-hua county and the city of Ch'üan-chou, see Su, 1978, p.183. The cities of Yung-ch'un and An-ch'i were located upstream of the two tributary
rivers which constituted the Chin River. The city of Nan-an was located at the convergence of these two rivers to the north of the city of Ch'uan-ch'ou. Thus, communication from either Yung-ch'un or An-ch'i had to go through the city of Nan-an.

14. Umehara claims that Sung towns are predominantly market towns and that genuine manufacturing towns are extremely rare. This does not square with the case of South Fukien. See Umehara Kaoru, "Sōdai chihō shōtoshi no ichimen," Shirin 41:6, (Nov. 1958), pp.35-51.

15. For a brief description of this system, see Brian McKnight, Village and Bureaucracy in Southern Sung, (Chicago: U. of Chicao Press, 1971), Chap. 2 and 3.


17. See Ch'enq Su-lo, "Sunq-tai ch'enq-shih ching-chi k'ai-k'uang," Li-shih chiao-hsueh, 1956:5, pp.12-17, especially pp.14-15. In fact, most of the evidence ever used to substantiate this notion relates mainly to the metropolitan capitals of K'ai-feng and Hang-chou. Besides, urban factories were mainly official enterprises. That similar booming industries also existed in other major Sung cities still needs to be confirmed. However, at least for the mining industry, most identifiable workshops were located away from the urban centres.

18. An-hai chih, (Minq ed. in Ch'üan-ch'ou City Library), 2:11b; An-hai chih, (Ch'ing ed. in Ch'üan-ch'ou City Library), 5:1b/2a.


22. These are McKnight's translations. See McKnight, 1971, p.75. Clark has translated hsiang as township and li as village. Clark, 1981, p.199. I think McKnight's definition of these two terms is more precise. He states, "The canton (hsiang) was an areal subdivision of the subprefecture (called county in this study), and the township (li) an areal subunit of the canton." The most important point is that, though one is subordinate to the other, both designate areal entities rather than the agglomerations of rural households to which the term "village" refers.
23. For a summary of the pao-chia system, see McKnight, 1971, Chap.4.


25. I have not been able to locate a 1730 edition of Hui-an hsien-chih in Chu Shih-chia, Chung-kuo ti-fang-chih tsung-lu, (Taipei: Hsin-wen-feng ch'u-pan-she, 1975), Fu-chien, p.3b. But similar passage can be seen in the 1530 edition of Hui-an hsien-chih, 1:3a/4b; and CCFC, 1763, 5:13a.


28. It is true there was a change of li to tu taking place in some counties under the Sung. But as McKnight points out, it was by no means a uniform measure ordered or requested by higher administrative authority. Thus, even though Hui-an county did indeed adopt such a system in the 1070s, this does not necessarily imply that other counties nearby must have done likewise.

29. Chuang Wei-chi, "Ch'üan-chou li-tai ch'eng-chih ti t'an-so," Ch'üan-chou wen-shih 2&3, 1980, p.17. In CCFC, 1763, 11:4a and FCTC, 1867, 17:20b, it is recorded that this wall was constructed by Wang Shen-chih in 906. This is mistaken because it was in Fu-chou that Wang constructed a city-wall. See So, 1978, pp.18-20.


32. For a discussion of the models for city shapes, see ibid., pp.97-98.


34. Ibid., p.20.

35. For details of this event, see Schafer, 1954, pp.52-62.

36. FCTC, 1867, 17:21b.

37. CCFC, 1763, 11:1b.
42. **FCTC**, 1867, 17:16b.
45. *San-shan chih*, 4:7656-7658. See also *Ch'üan-T'ang-wen*, 825:11a/15b.
46. On the names of these gates, see Su, 1978, p.16.
47. For a brief account of the city's ditch system, see Su, 1978, pp.51-56.
49. SS, 167:3973.
52. Su, 1978, p.37 and pp.85-96. There is also evidence that the city's rice market was situated in this southern suburb. See **FCTC**, 1867, 29:34a.
55. **CCFC**, 1763, 16:14a/b.
56. For a brief account of small craft workshops in the Sung times, see Chu Ch'ing-yüan, *T'ang-Sung kuan-ssu kung-yeh*, (Shanghai: Hsin sheng-ming shu-chü, 1934), pp.52-56.
57. Su, 1978, pp.34-50. The evolution of the ward system in T'ang-Sung cities has been intensively explored. On the implications of


60. Su, 1978, pp.75-84.

61. According to the large-scale Japanese army map of "Senshū no.7," in Fukien Province, Coast, by the Imperial Land Survey Section of the General Staff, 1:50,000, 1906.


63. Figures for Ch'üan-chou, Fu-chou and Chang-chou for this year are from TABLE 1.

64. YHCHTC, 26:692.

65. Ibid., 34:1003.

66. Ibid., 25:661.

67. Figures for this year are taken from T'ai-ping huan-yü chih, Yüeh Shih, (Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, hereafter as TPHYC), 98:2b; 100:12a; 102:2b,5b,10b. Household figure for Kuang-chou cannot be obtained as only native household figure is available.

68. In the Wen-hai edition of TPHYC, it is recorded as 76,581. However, in FCTC, 1867, as well as a manuscript of TPHYC preserved at the National Library of Taiwan, the figure is recorded as 96,581. The latter seems to be more accurate.

69. San-shan chih, 10:7722b.

70. Ibid..

71. Yuan Chen, "Sung-tai hu-k'ou," li-shih yeh-chiu, 1957:3, pp.39-41. These are figures preserved in the Geographical Monograph of Sung-shih. Another set of figures for the year 1080 is extant in YFCYC. The household figures for Ch'uan-chou, Fu-chou and Chang-chou from the latter are identical with those from SS. Consequently the two sets of figures cannot be compared, and only the SS's is used in this table.

73. San-shan chih, 10:7722b.


75. Hsien-ch'un lin-an chih, Ch'ien Yüeh-yu, (Sung-T'uan ti-fang-chih ts'ung-shu), 58:3a.

76. San-shan chih, 10:7722b.

77. Hsing-hua fu-chih, 1503, 10:1b. See also P'u-yang pi-shih, Li Yu-chieh, (Hsuan-yin wan-wei pieh-tsang), 1:4a.

78. Pa-min t'ung-chih, 20:3a/b. See also CCFC, 1763, 18:16b; Chang-chou fu-chih, 1878, 14:16a.

79. Hsien-ch'un lin-an chih, 58:3a.

80. Ibid..

81. Figures for this year are taken from Yüan-shih, Sung Lien, (Chung-hua shu-chü punctuated ed., hereafter as ys), 62:1496; 1504; 1507; 1515. According to Ch'ang-huo-chou t'u-chih, 1298, (Sung-T'uan ti-fang-chih ts'ung-shu), 3:1b/2a, the Yüan household figures included farmer, scholar, potter, doctor, artisan, soldier and hunter households.

82. In ys, 62:1504, this figure is given as 799,694. Such an enormous figure is definitely unrealistic in the historical context. In Pa-min t'ung-chih, 20:2a, which was compiled in 1409, the figure is 199,694. Since the Chinese characters for one and seven are similar and easily mis-transcribed in later days, I am sure that 199,694 is the correct figure.

83. FCTC, 1867, 48:5a.

84. Kuang-chou fu-chih, 1879, 70:2b.

85. Che-chiang t'ung-chih, 1736, 71:13646.

86. FCTC, 1867, 48:11a.

87. Ibid..

88. Ibid..

89. Ibid., 48:17b.

90. Ibid., 48:14a.

92. For the figures of 980, see TPHYC, 93:3a; 98:2a; 102:2b; 157:3b. For the figures of 1080, see Yüan-feng chiu-yü-chih, Wang Ts'un, (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien), 9:404; 413; 5:232;242.


94. Fang-yü sheng-lan, 12:9b.


96. Ibid., p.18.

97. Hsien-ch'i chih, 1:13a.
CHAPTER III


South Fukien in the latter half of the tenth century had begun to grow at an unprecedented pace. The vigorous encouragement of development by the independent warlords Liu Ts'ung-hsiao and Ch'en Hung-chin was of course a crucial factor in the beginning. But that growth was able to continue unabated under the newly unified dynasty of the Sung suggests a fundamental change in the local economy. In this chapter I intend to explore the changes which took place during this period and discuss their significance for the later prosperity of the region. The main conclusions are summarized below.

Towards the third quarter of the eleventh century, though not yet substantially commercialized, agriculture in this region had greatly benefited from technological progress, and was able to create a gradually increasing surplus which generated the momentum for expansion in other economic sectors. Maritime trade was steadily and gradually expanding in keen competition with foreign as well as Chinese traders from other regions. It started off with many disadvantages. Local products were still qualitatively and quantitatively inferior to those of other regions, and thus not able to play a decisive role in the export trade. Export items therefore had to come mainly from purchases from other regions. Capital was by no means abundant. There was no local market for imported precious goods. There was less foreign participation in Ch'üan-chou than in
other ports. Besides, local traders dealing with overseas countries had to register at shih-po-ssu in the Kuang-nan or Liang-che circuits before every departure and on arrival. All these factors inevitably limited the commerce of this region to transit trade, which had to be promoted mainly by locals. However, this transit trade was lucrative enough and the South Fukien merchants were industrious. After decades of effort, a strong commercial sector emerged. It eventually broke through institutional obstructions and created the condition for further economic development in the next period.

1. Breakthrough in Agriculture

In the case of South Fukien, commercial expansion seems to have begun with substantial development in the agricultural sector. The region had been settled for centuries before the mid-tenth century, but its early economic development was, as in other parts of China at the same time, concerned solely with the expansion of subsistence agriculture. The soil here was not fertile. In order to overcome this natural disadvantage, sizeable irrigation systems had to be constructed and maintained. Under the T'ang, it is recorded for the first time that a few reservoirs were dug in the vicinity of the county cities of Chin-chiang and P'u-t'ien, irrigating total farmland areas of 480 ch'ing (2,784 hectares) and 1,600 ch'ing (9,280 hectares) respectively. Apart from these, there are likely to have been other unrecorded farmlands that were irrigated in smaller projects, or better access to water resources.
Even with this irrigation these early settlements are unlikely to have been able to provide more than their own subsistence needs. The increasing population did not imply rising productivity and the creation of an agricultural surplus. While arable land for settlement remained available, the pattern of extensive rather than intensive growth continued, and growth in other economic sectors cannot be discerned. In his detailed analysis of the water control establishments in Ch'üan-chou under the T'ang, Clark discloses that all four important projects were constructed in response to the immigrant settlement pattern. In other words, these projects were built primarily to open virgin lands for newly arrived migrants. This indirectly illustrates my view that growth in the region's agriculture was extensive rather than intensive at this time.

Other evidence available also confirms this picture. It is noteworthy, for example, that all recorded irrigation projects, which became a prime factor for arable land expansion at this time, were carried out by officials, contrasting sharply with the later period when most were undertaken by local communities. This implies a lack of great local wealth accumulated from a substantial agricultural surplus. Of course, a certain degree of land concentration by powerful local households may well have taken place. Excavation of ancient tombs, in which a number of luxurious mortuary objects were found, suggest that there were certainly locals possessing wealth beyond subsistence needs. Such wealth, as well as the official funds for irrigation projects, was no doubt derived from local agricultural surplus. The degree of local
affluence indicated by such evidence was not sufficient to have led to a substantial change in the local economy.

There were textile crops grown in the region, besides foodgrains. Those mentioned in the sources are hemp, silk, mien (floss silk), and ko (Pueraria thumber-giana, a kind of linen). All were common subsidiary household products which had long existed in rural China. Their existence only implies that the economy of South Fukien at this stage still largely conformed to the pattern general for the empire. Moreover, local textile products were of a very poor quality. There is no indication of anything beyond small-scale household production of textiles providing a subsistence for the locals.

From the mid-tenth century to the third quarter of the eleventh, South Fukien witnessed gradual progress in agricultural production. The first change was the adoption of non-indigenous rice varieties which better suited the local conditions. A geographical account of 980 testifies that, among the local products of Ch'üan-chou prefecture, there was a variety called double-ripening rice, tsai-shou-tao. The commentary on this entry describes it as a species whose stem, after ripening in spring and summer, will still grow sprouts which yield another harvest in autumn. This variety was by no means a new one. Records of its existence can be traced back at least as far as Western Chin in the third century. This was, however, so rare a variety that even down to Southern Sung the double harvest phenomenon in South China still surprised many
The inclusion of this variety in the list of local products of Ch'üan-chou indicates that it must have been successfully planted and widely disseminated in the locality. It is hard to determine the extent to which this new variety affected the yield per acre. According to modern experiments, the second harvest usually yields less than one-third of the first. Presumably the dissemination of ts'ai-shou-tao would have led to some increase in productivity per acre under the same farming conditions in South Fukien towards the end of the tenth century.

More significant was the dissemination of Champa rice. A substantial literature has been built up which explores the implications of this event. The results of this work are summarized below.

Champa rice had been introduced to Fukien from the Indo-China state of Champa towards the end of the tenth or the early eleventh century. By 1012, it must have been successfully and widely planted in Fukien. This is illustrated by an imperial decree issued in that year, ordering the introduction of Champa rice from Fukien to the lower Yangtze and the lower Huai areas which were suffering serious drought. There seem to have been many varieties of this species. Ho Ping-ti has given a detailed account of its early-ripening character and the effect of this on the history of the Chinese food supply. But in the Fukien of the early Sung, its early-ripening character does not seem to have been the characteristic of Champa rice most often stressed. As late as the early-twelfth century, a gazetteer of Fu-chou cited from an earlier local gazetteer the fact that there were Champa varieties in both early- and late-ripening
categories of local rice. Champa rice was welcomed by Fukien farmers when it was first introduced probably more because of its drought-resistant character. Rainfall in coastal Fukien is not inadequate, with an average annual precipitation of 1000-1500 mm. The lack of flat lands and the steep and short courses of rivers, however, create a problem of water conservation. In order to maintain water control in this landscape, expensive irrigation projects were required. This was an historical stage when local wealth had not yet developed to the extent that it could afford very large-scale irrigation projects in poorer soils lacking water reserves. Drought was thus the most severe problem for local agriculture. It is understandable that Champa rice served significantly to overcome the problem of drought. In the absence of extensive constructions for water control, it enabled farmers in South Fukien to expand their arable lands immensely, both on the flats and on the mountain slopes.

As for the per-acre yield, early-ripening Champa rice could not compete with late-ripening rice, usually called keng. But as the physical and climatical environment in South Fukien was so unfavourable for keng, the introduction of Champa rice undoubtedly resulted in a considerable increase in the amount and stability of rice supplies. It may also have improved the planting of other crops as well.

One result of these seed improvements was that the rural sector was able to produce enough food to meet the local demand without the costly irrigation projects previously required. The agricultural
surplus thus realised was available for investment elsewhere.

Taking China as a whole, technical progress in farming during the Sung was rather impressive. But it is difficult to determine how progressive the farming was in South Fukien itself in this period.

There is indirect evidence concerning two improvements. Ploughing is the first of them. Recorded in a late-T'ang work entitled *Lei-ssu-ching* are numbers of innovative ploughs adopted in Chiangnan by that time. As the soil of Fukien was poor and required heavy hoeing and harrowing before use, it is likely that improvements in implements of neighbouring regions would soon affect this region too. By the mid-tenth and the eleventh century, it is quite reasonable to assume that ploughing techniques in South Fukien had made progress which also helped to increase overall productivity.

The other improvement was in the method of cultivation. When the government propagated Champa rice in 1102, they deliberately took the Fukien method as a model. This was the method of transplanting. Contrasting with the old method of direct seeding in which the seed was immediately put into the soil, transplant seeding involved putting seeds into water first and transplanting the sprouts into the paddies later. This new method usually yielded much more than the old one.

Concerning water control, Clark has done a detailed analysis of the irrigation dams in Ch'üan-chou during the Sung, on the basis of a fragmentarily extant source, the *Ch'ing-yüan chih*. This is a prefectural gazetteer of Ch'üan-chou compiled first in 1201, and then re-compiled in 1250. Two of his conclusions deserve a note
here. First, he finds that these dams were largely concentrated in the highlands. On this basis, he asserts that local cultivators "were looking everywhere for land and that the better lowlands were already intensively cultivated." This occurred, he implies, in the Northern Sung. Second, he realizes that "many if not most" of the other recorded projects in the lowlands date from the South Sung. Yet, as he notes, a few important ones were built in the Northern Sung. While agreeing with his interpretation, I cannot concur with his dating. The source upon which he relies was compiled in the thirteenth century, as noted above. It is most likely to have reflected the situation of the twelfth century. Water control in South Fukien seems to have developed markedly only until the twelfth century. This may well have been a consequence of the prosperity and population growth which characterized the next period, which will be discussed in the following chapter. During this period, investment in water control works in the region is not likely to have been considerable.

On the other hand, some changes in the cropping pattern can also be found during this period. Following the appearance of more specialized crops in addition to foodgrains, both in terms of varieties and output there was growing agricultural specialization at a level beyond subsistence production. These specialized crops became more and more like cash crops, planted for cash exchange. The exchange character of the region's agriculture was thus strengthening.

For the textiles, the raw materials remained hemp, mien, and ko. Bananas had become one of the well-known native products by
a new kind of fabric made from banana skins was included in the local tribute items in 1080. Also related to textiles were two kinds of dyestuffs: safflower and madder. Coarse cloth production in coastal Fukien by this time seems to have passed the self-sufficiency level and to have been able to supply neighbouring regions. But the quality was so poor that it was very cheap and yielded little commercial value in terms of long-distance trade.

According to a materia medica written under the Jen-tsung reign (1023-1063), Ch'üan-chou was one of the four prime centres for sugar production. There is no denying that sugarcane had been planted in South Fukien around the middle of the eleventh century. But it is interesting to note that in a treatise on sugar written in the mid-twelfth century Ch'üan-chou was not mentioned at all. It seems that sugar production in South Fukien at this time was unable to compare with that of Fu-chou.

It was also around the same time that Fukien lichees were praised and described in detail by an eminent scholar-official of Hsing-hua origin, Tsai Hsien-chu, in his famous treatise on lichees, entitled Li-chih p'u. He notes that of the four coastal prefectures in Fukien, Fu-chou supplied the most, whilst Hsing-hua produced the best. Both Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou were known for lichee production too, but were not as well-regarded as the former two prefectures. Furthermore, Tsai recorded that in Fu-chou merchants often purchased whole gardens of lichees before harvest, and after harvesting transported the processed fruits to the capital, K'ai-feng, and to the foreign countries of Liao, Hsia, Koryo, Japan, Liu-ch'iu and
even the Arabian countries, by sea or by land. To what extent this state of affairs can be ascribed to the region of South Fukien is not certain. As Fu-chou remained the largest centre of lichee exports, and judging from the fact that the Hsing-hua lichees were famous for quality rather than quantity, lichees in South Fukien in this period may not have played as significant an economic role as in Fu-chou.

Finally, cotton cultivation deserves a brief account. Cotton planting in South Fukien was not known until the Sung. The first sign of its being adopted as a local specialized crop appears only in the latter half of the eleventh century. It has been noted that cotton trees were frequently planted by indigenous people in Fukien and Liang-kuang and that the cotton cloth, which was called chi-pei, was made of its flowers. Although the significance of this crop for the local economy was not manifested until later times, it is safe to conclude that the production of cotton cloth had already commenced towards the end of this period.

With these developments in agriculture, was there an associated change in the pattern of land tenure in the region? It is of course difficult to say to what extent extensive landed holdings brought about these advancements. But large holdings do have many advantages for such progressive trends, including flexibility of decision-making over the choice of crops, stronger motives for pursuing better returns from investment by adopting the most lucrative alternatives, availability of capital needed for new facilities or other extra expenses involved in changes to old production patterns, better
connections with the commercial sector which absorbed the fruits of progress in agriculture, and so on. Given a situation in which agriculture had been following a centuries-long tradition and agricultural surplus had just begun to accumulate, these advantages may have been crucial in facilitating any change in farming patterns. If this general premise can be applied to the case of South Fukien in this period, there must have been a relatively high concentration of land there. And it seems that this was precisely the case.

Scholars have intensively studied the role played by monasteries in the society and economy of Sung China. It has been pointed out that from the Min Kingdom on abundant lands were allocated or, more frequently, donated to the religious organizations. By Sung times, the monasteries occupied a large proportion of the best arable lands. Chikusa estimates that the largest temple in Fu-chou possessed about 150 ch'ing of fields. He also suggests that Hsing-hua at the same time would have had temples possessing even larger holdings. Records of lands owned by the K'ai-yüan-ssu, the biggest temple in the city of Ch'üan-chou, founded under the T'ang, support his case clearly. It is said that the temple possessed about 273.5 ch'ing of land, at a given time in the Southern Sung. These properties were spread through six Ch'üan-chou counties, two Hsing-hua counties and one Chang-chou county. There is no doubt that lands were highly concentrated in the hands of these monasteries in South Fukien. Although secular landlords in this region in general did not possess large land holdings until the thirteenth century, there
is still reason to believe that the highly concentrated pattern of land tenure had a very positive effect on overall progress in agriculture in this period.

Overall agricultural development in this period was indeed marked by considerable visible progress and expansion which began to break through the old pattern. With continuous development in the agricultural sector, especially towards the latter half of the eleventh century, South Fukien consolidated its foundation for further economic growth.43

2. Transit Trade and Overseas Markets

As mentioned in Chapter I, the centre for overseas trade in Fukien had been located at Fu-chou throughout the T'ang Dynasty. When circumstances began to turn in favour of South Fukien is hard to ascertain. Under the Min regime(897-946), maritime trade in Fu-chou does not seem to have declined drastically. From the list of tribute items regularly presented from the kingdom to the courts in North China, it can be seen that exotic items like frankincense, rhinoceros horn, tortoise shell, ivory, gharuwood and pepper appeared frequently.44 At the same time, efforts had been made to promote the maritime trade of South Fukien. Information on tribute items does not exist for the period after 942 and the collapse of Min.

For the subsequent thirty years of Wu-Yüeh occupation, little is known about maritime trade in Fu-chou. But under the vigorous rule of Liu Ts'ung-hsiao, overseas trade in South Fukien seems to have been
deliberately encouraged. It gradually surpassed that of Fu-chou. A biography of Liu, which is preserved in a local genealogy, says:

[Under Liu's regime], pottery, copper and iron [utensils] were shipped abundantly to foreign countries. In exchange, gold and shell (pearls) were brought back. This was praised by the people [of South Fukien].

During the Shih-tsung reign (955-959) of the Later Chou, Liu was able to present tribute of precious exotic goods to the court in K'ai-feng. By the early Sung, his successor Ch'en was in a position to repeatedly dispatch tributes of thousand catties of frankincense and ivory. The lists of local products recorded in a 980's geographical work entitled T'ai-p'ing huan-yu chih are even more revealing. Here, the entries for both Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou include exotic and maritime commodities, whereas that for Fu-chou not.

It is easy to understand the effort made by independent warlords in South Fukien to develop new sources of income and thus to strengthen their isolated regimes in a territory with poor soil. But it is more difficult to explain the reason for a decline in Fu-chou's maritime trade. A possible factor in that decline was in the occupation by Wu-Yueh. Wu-Yueh, with its bases in other emerging seaports such as Hang-chou and Ming-chou of modern Chekiang, was also eager to expand its maritime enterprise. Throughout the Five Dynasties, Wu-Yueh constantly sent annual envoys bringing tributes to the Northern dynasties by sea. They usually landed at the peninsula of modern Shantung. This is strong evidence of its maritime capacity. In Japanese sources, it is mentioned that merchants and envoys from Wu-
Yüeh frequented Japan during the first half of the tenth century.\textsuperscript{50} Other sources relate that Wu-Yüeh often plundered mercantile vessels of their precious cargoes in Ling-hai 鹿港 (modern coastal Kuangtung).\textsuperscript{51} This suggests that they did not neglect the wealth in the South Seas (modern Southeast Asia) trade. The contents of the tribute from Wu-Yüeh to the Five Dynasties are not known. But it is recorded that in 963 large quantities of rhinoceros horn, ivory, aromatics, pearls and tortoise shell were presented to the Sung court, together with gold and silver articles.\textsuperscript{52} Impressive tributes of a similar kind were frequently dispatched until the state submitted to the Sung in 977.\textsuperscript{53} These were definitely import items from the South Sea trade. Bearing in mind this vigorous participation in overseas trade by the Wu-Yüeh rulers, and considering the fact that Fu-chou had developed as a centre of overseas trade much earlier than any Chekiang port, it may be inferred that on the part of the Wu-Yüeh rulers there may well have been an intention to downgrade the prosperity of their competitor, Fu-chou. At least, a more negative and discouraging attitude is likely to have replaced the positive and encouraging manner of the former Min Kingdom. On the other hand, Wu-Yüeh's occupation of Fu-chou, which decreased the latter's political importance, may also have resulted in a shift of resources and expertises from Fu-chou to Hang-chou. These factors together may account for the decline of trade in Fu-chou at this time.

What then was the relation between the fall of Fu-chou and the rise of Ch'üan-chou in terms of maritime trade? It may well have been
that the collapse of the Min led to a substantial inflow of expertise and capital to South Fukien, which helped the independent warlords to develop the trade there. As the two regions were both under the same Min regime for more than a century, it may be safely assumed that both political and economic links must have been established between the elites of these regions. After the fall of Min, it could reasonably be expected that some material and human resources would have moved from Fu-chou to South Fukien, forming part of the economic basis on which the independent warlords developed the maritime trade in that region. Direct evidence for such a process, however, does not seem to be available. South Fukien is unlikely to have developed entirely without influences of this kind from Fu-chou, but any precise estimate of the degree of this influence seems hardly possible.

With the sound foundation laid by Liu and Ch'en, maritime trade kept on growing in South Fukien through the next hundred years. This was a period of fierce competition for market expansion. According to Sung-hui-yao kao, foreign countries actively involved in trade with China at the turn of the tenth century included Ta-shih 大食 (countries of Arabs and Persians), Kedah, Java, Champa, Brunei, tribes of the Philippine archipelago, Srivijaya, Panrang, Ligor and so on. Presumably, these were overseas contacts officially permitted in early Sung. Actual overseas contacts were by no means limited to those on this list. India is a good example. In a later account of foreign trade and countries prefaced in 1225, it is said that during the Yung-hsi reign (984-987), an Indian monk had come to Ch'üan-chou, and using donations from other foreign merchants he built a temple called Pao-lin-ssu 宝林寺. Also, the first tributary mission dispatched by the king of Chola, an emerging power in southern
India in the early eleventh century, reached the Sung court in 1015. According to the memorial it presented to the throne, the initiative for such a tribute was aroused by the news that a new Sung dynasty had been founded, and this news had been brought by maritime merchants. Other evidence of contacts between India and Sung China during this period is extensive and need not be detailed here. Suffice it to say that India maintained maritime contacts with China as it had done in the past.

Worth noting are the new developments in trade with Japan and Koryo. The Koryo Kingdom had united the Korean peninsula by 936. In 1017, there was the first recorded visit of a group of forty Chinese merchants to the Koryo court. They were led by a merchant named Lin Jen-fu 林仁輔 of Ch'üan-chou origin. Records included in the Korean document Koryosha 高麗史, though not complete, enable us to sketch an outline of Sung trade with Koryo. The frequency with which Sung merchants called at Koryo in the first half of the eleventh century was rather high. On average, almost every two years there was at least one such recorded voyage, and probably many more unrecorded. Records of similar activities in Japan can also be found in Japanese sources. Unquestionably, the market in Koryo and Japan was developing, and this market was lucrative enough to attract many Sung merchants.

Overseas contacts were practised in two ways: either foreign merchants calling at Chinese ports, or Chinese merchants going abroad. Information of the first type which were of a tributary nature are better recorded in Chinese sources, though still not complete. According to Sung-hui-yao kao which provides a list of tributary missions from overseas, countries most frequently
sending missions to Sung China from the mid-tenth to the end of the eleventh century were Champa, Srivijaya, Koryo, Annam and Ta-shih. Envoys came less frequently from Chola, Brunei, Java, and a few other countries. The sources show that these tributary missions arrived mainly at Kuang-chou, and less frequently at Ming-chou. There is no evidence to suggest that tributary missions conducted by foreign merchants ever arrived in China at any Fukien port during this period.

Private visits to China by foreign merchants are recorded in less detail. For this period, information concerning them can be gathered from the scattered official documents on maritime affairs prepared by the shih-po-ssu市舶司, to which we shall return later. Before the year 1087, there were only two circuits, i.e. Liang-che and Kuang-nan, in which shih-po-ssu offices were located. Since most of the lucrative import items were under state monopoly from their initial arrival to their distribution, foreign merchants had to call at ports where shih-po-ssu were located to pay customs duties and to trade with the office which handled the monopoly items. Their activities were thus almost certainly concentrated in Kuang-chou, Hang-chou and Ming-chou. In the sections concerning maritime regulations in Sung-shih and Sung-hui-yao kao, from the beginning of Sung down to the end of the Shen-tsung reign (1085), there are reports only from Kuang-chou, Hang-chou and Ming-chou concerning foreign merchants. Little is mentioned about similar activity in Fukien or Ch'üan-chou. While it is true that a decree of 976 mentioned that there were exotic aromatics and precious goods arriving at Ch'üan-chou and other ports such as Kuang-chou, Ming-chou and Chiao-chou in modern Indo-China, this is not necessarily a good indication of the situation under the Sung, as Ch'en Hung-chin did not submit South Fukien to the Sung court
until 978. In another decree of 982, it was directed that certain items of aromatics were to be restricted to ships calling at Kuang-chou, Ch'üan-chou and Chang-chou. Also, in 1074 an imperial order mentioned that there were ships carrying goods from the South Seas and Hainan calling at Ch'üan-chou and Fu-chou after clearance of customs in shih-po-ssu in the Kuang-nan or Liang-che circuits. These scattered facts, however, are not sufficient to support a claim that the trade concerning South Fukien was conducted mainly by foreign merchants. On the contrary, it was mainly undertaken by locals, whether from recently immigrated or long established South Fukien families.

That extant official records do not mention activities of foreign merchants at Ch'üan-chou, or South Fukien as a whole, does not justify the conclusion that no foreigners were trading in that region. Evidence cited previously to indicate the maintenance of contact with India would contradict such a conclusion. It is also revealing that a mosque was built at Ch'üan-chou by Islam residents in 1010. A safer interpretation of the evidence I have reviewed above would be that, although foreign traders occasionally called at, and sometimes resided in, the South Fukien region, their principal trading interests lay in Kuang-chou, Hanq-chou and Ming-chou - especially the Kuang-chou where a foreign settlement was established in or before the mid-eleventh century. Thus, even though there were some trading contacts with foreigners, what evidence there is still suggests that maritime trade in South Fukien at this time was largely conducted by local seafarers.

This is understandable. South Fukien was as yet unable to
produce any important export goods. It was just undergoing a shift from a self-sufficient agricultural economy with a minimal surplus to a more dynamic, commercialized and capital-concentrated economy. The local market was still not affluent enough to absorb precious exotic commodities of high market value. All this must have kept the profit in direct calls at South Fukien marginal, and thus not been very attractive to profit-seeking merchants from overseas.

Besides, as I have mentioned already but will discuss in more detail later, Sung maritime regulations during this period required all ships arriving in China to pay customs duties and undergo inspection at Kuanq-chou, Hang-chou or Ming-chou. This undoubtedly would have caused tremendous inconvenience for foreigners who wanted to call at South Fukien.

Which countries did South Fukien merchants frequent most in this period? The best recorded case seems to be Koryo. As mentioned before, the first reported leader of Sung traders to Koryo in 1017 was from Ch'üan-chou. In the list of traders recorded as having visited Koryo, it is obvious that Ch'üan-chou natives were in the majority.

Nevertheless, others from Ming-chou, Tai-chou, Kuanq-chou and Fu-chou did not hesitate to expand their commercial interest to this new area of profit. More noteworthy still is the appearance of Arabs in Koryo, as they had a much longer tradition of seaborne commerce, with advanced navigation experience and great sensitivity to new opportunities for profit. In these circumstances, even in Koryo the situation for South Fukienese was difficult. In terms of distance, the Chekiang ports and even Fu-chou were better located.
Transit goods such as aromatics and precious materials brought in by foreigners from the South Seas were concentrated in Kuanq-chou, and to a lesser degree the Chekiang ports. Native merchants from these two regions could easily obtain the items desired and ship them to Koryo, while the Arabs were in an even better position as they controlled the sources of many important South Sea commodities. Chinese exports of silk products and ceramics were in great demand. Modern Chekiang had been one of the two centres for silk textiles ever since mid-T'ang. Compared to the Chekiang silks, those from South Fukien were much inferior and unable to compete.

In the ceramics field, Chekiang celadons from Yueh-yao kilns had also flourished from the T'ang to the second half of the eleventh century, holding an overwhelming position in the export trade. In Kuan-tung, abundant low quality ceramics had been baked in Ch'ao-chou kilns and Kuan-chou kilns from the T'ang. These kilns prospered further under the Sung, though their slightly improved quality was still not comparable to that of wares from established kilns elsewhere in China. Indeed, there is evidence indicating that during the Northern Sung a great quantity of wares from the North were transported to Kuan-chou, probably through the corridors of Kiangsi and Hunan, for overseas shipment. It is true that Ch'üan-chou and environs did produce pottery in the T'ang and the Five Dynasties. As indicated previously, pottery and metal utensils became export items under the Liu regime. Recent archaeological work has also identified nineteen kiln-sites, attributed to the Five Dynasties or earlier, which were located in the vicinity of Ch'üan-chou Bay. But judging from the archaeological reports,
these local wares were still not fine enough to command a high price, or generate enough demand to make the scale of transactions a source of big profits. Clark asserts that the pottery industry in Ch'üan-chou was quite technologically advanced as early as in the Eastern Chin and the Southern Dynasties. From this he further surmises that there was an advanced pottery industry in existence in that prefecture throughout the Sui and T'ang, into the Sung. His argument is based on archaeological evidence. It is true that local artisans had begun to produce pottery well before Sung. Yet their wares are in no way comparable to the ceramics of the Sung, which, as to be detailed in the following chapter, constituted the peak of production, in terms of both quality and quantity. The archaeological reports upon which Clark draws say that some of the wares excavated from the early tombs are "exquisite," "elegant," or "refined." But this is obviously meant in a relative sense, in terms of what is known about other wares which date from approximately the same period. This cannot be regarded as evidence that before the Five Dynasties the pottery industry - or, more precisely, the ceramic industry, since the report states that they are ch'ing-tz'u (celadon) - had any significance beyond that of a supplier of daily necessities for the local market.

In the case of Koryo, it is obvious that the South Fukienese had to battle long and hard with other competitors throughout this century or more, before they attained prosperity and a leading position in the maritime trade.

Turning now from the Koryo-Japan trade to that with the South Seas, it is clear that here also South Fukien must have participated, though there is much less documentation. In 1042, a certain Ch'üan-
A commoner named Shao Pao was appointed to the post of supervisor for the wine tax in an inland Fukien county. The reason given was that Shao, formerly a maritime trader, had discovered some Chinese criminals in Champa, and subsequently helped the Sung envoy to extradite them. He evidently had run a trading business with Champa for years prior to this. Also, there is the poem written by a mid-eleventh century poet named Hsieh Li, which has been often cited by modern scholars:

The population in Ch’üan-chou is dense, yet the valleys are sterile. Although one may wish to plough, no virgin land remains. But to the south there lies a boundless ocean And every year new boats are built to visit foreign lands.

There is, then, evidence that local seafarers had ventured to the South Seas regularly from the latter half of the tenth century. And these activities seem to have been increasing towards the end of this period.

Now I shall turn to domestic trade. Since few exotic goods were imported directly to South Fukien, they could not have played a significant role in the region's domestic trade. Nor could it be expected that there would be many luxury items imported from other regions to South Fukien, as it had not yet developed an affluent consumer market. On the other hand, local agricultural products such as lichees and textile products such as hemp cloth, though not significant in quantity, did constitute items for domestic trade.

In addition to these there was cast iron, which was used as raw material in the ironware smelters in the Liang-che circuit. As mentioned above, metal utensils were shipped overseas under the Liu
regime. It may be presumed that an iron industry had come into being before the Sung. Nevertheless, of the 201 early Sung prefectures recorded as the locations of official mines, the only South Fukien prefecture included was Chang-chou. For unknown reasons, Ch'üan-chou's industry seems to have been stagnant for a while. It revived, however, in the eleventh century. By 1045, it was recorded that abundant iron ore was being produced in An-ch'i county. And in the later list of prefectures where official mines existed, Ch'üan-chou is mentioned as one which produced iron. All this indicates the existence of an iron industry and a possible surplus of cast iron output from the region. Still, as is shown in the sources, the supply of cast iron to the market of the Liang-che circuit was by no means dominated by South Fukien. The region had to share the market with other well-developed suppliers, namely Fu-chou and Kuang-chou. Moreover, transport costs for heavy raw materials such as cast iron must have been rather high and would have resulted in a low return from commercial investment, particularly in terms of long-distance trade. Thus this industry cannot have provided a very lucrative or significant export item.

Maritime trade in South Fukien during this period can be regarded essentially as a transit trade. Its general pattern seems fairly clear, being characterized by five main features. First, most of the business was run by locals, though there was some participation by foreigners. Second, there was no local market in South Fukien for imported precious goods. Nor did local products form
a substantial part of exports. Third, on the one hand, these local merchants purchased luxury goods from the South Seas and other regions of China at the ports of the Kuang-nan and Liang-che circuits, and on a much smaller scale at the ports of South Fukien, then transported them to Koryo, or occasionally to other parts of China. On the other hand, they exported Chinese goods from ports of the Kuang-nan and Liang-che circuits to the South Sea market and, in return, imported South Sea goods for the Chinese market through the same ports. Fourth, since the business was basically run by locals, at a time when local wealth had just begun to accumulate, it is likely that in the beginning South Fukienese were much behind their counterparts in trade in other coastal circuits. This inevitably meant prolonged and intense competition in order to survive and flourish. Finally, towards the end of this period, the quantity of foreign goods which were directly shipped to South Fukien for transhipment increased, and some local products began to be exported directly. There may also have been more visits of foreign merchants. All this can be accounted for by a growth in local wealth which created markets and led to an accumulation of commercial capital.

3. Shih-po-ssu and State Control over Maritime Trade

Maritime trade was no doubt the most important sector in the economic development of South Fukien. Yet maritime trade was tightly controlled by maritime regulations, and therefore closely tied to
state policy and the institution that implemented that policy. An analysis of this institutional factor certainly helps us to understand the economic development of this region.

Although there is evidence indicating that maritime trade had a long history in South China before the T'ang, little is known about how the governments of the earlier dynasties handled it. It was not until the T'ang that information becomes available concerning a special official post, namely shih-po-shih (commissioner for maritime affairs), which was established at the most prosperous centre for maritime trade - Kuang-chou. The earliest record of its existence can be traced back only to 714, but it must have been established prior to this. The duties it entailed covered two areas. First, it had to maintain overseas relations and receive envoys coming from tributary states by sea. Second, all foreign ships calling at Kuang-chou had to report to this office and pay a customs tariff of 10 per cent there. However, our knowledge about this post is still very limited.

Since there is no mention in any record about a similar post being set up elsewhere, it is generally presumed by scholars that there was only the one stationed in Kuang-chou. Does this imply a policy of confining maritime trade to that seaport? At least by 834, as shown in a decree discussed in Chapter I, there were foreign merchants calling at and living in Kuang-chou, Fu-chou and Yang-chou. It is also stated in that document that apart from customs duties, official purchases and tributes, these merchants were not to be subject to additional taxes, and they were to be allowed to trade.
freely as they wished. It is obvious that in addition to Kuang-chou, the local governments of Fu-chou and Yanq-chou also had a duty to handle maritime affairs, and their authority and responsibilities were much the same as that of Kuang-chou.

Whether the establishment of a Kuang-chou shih-po-shih was a measure designed to enhance the central government's control over maritime trade is an important question, but one which has not yet been settled. As is well-known, the power of the T'ang court was in a general state of decline following the An Lu-shan rebellion in 755. It is understandable that there would be a desire on the part of the central government to control more sources of income so as to strengthen its economic base. Maritime trade would have been a very attractive proposition in this regard. But at a time when the T'ang court's survival largely relied on financial support from the local governments in the South, to what extent could the T'ang court effectively control the maritime trade? Some evidence indicates that in the mid-T'ang, the post of shih-po-shih was often held by eunuchs dispatched from the court. They possessed considerable power, and were sometimes strong enough to challenge the chieh-tu-shih. This implies that for a time the central government had to a certain degree succeeded in taking control of this lucrative trade. However, other instances indicate that, towards the end of the dynasty, the post of shih-po-shih was often held concurrently by the chieh-tu-shih themselves. Eunuch appointments gradually came to a halt. Local autonomy was increasing, and central government control over maritime trade at this local level
was correspondingly eroded. In other words, the trade seems to have come under the independent control of the local governments. And it was an important source of income for these governments.

For the system of the Sung, more documentary records have been preserved. Nevertheless, they are fragmentary and scattered through various sources. By putting them together, a consistent picture can be reconstructed as will be detailed below. But due to the gaps in information, some aspects of it inevitably remain hypothetical.

A new policy seems to have taken shape gradually under the Sung. This was a policy to control the maritime trade directly by the central government, so as to ensure that the trade would benefit K'ai-feng rather than the local governments. A few months after the conquest of Nan-Han in Kuanq-chou in 971, the new Kuanq-chou prefect was immediately appointed concurrently to the post of shih-po-shih. It is clear that the Sung court had decided to maintain state control over maritime trade as the T'ang government had tried to do. And this control was from the very beginning brought under the close supervision of the central government by expanding the responsibilities of this office. The office of shih-po-ssu was jointly operated by the shih-po-shih (who was concurrently the prefect of Kuanq-chou), the pan-kuan (supervisor, concurrently the deputy prefect), the commissioner for transport (chuan-yün-shih), and three officials from the central government. As these officials performed their duties together, it is clear that the central government had a strong influence and close supervisory
power over the *shih-po-ssu*.

The duty of the Kuang-chou *shih-po-ssu* was to handle trading affairs for foreign ships which arrived with import goods. An import tariff of 10 per cent usually applied. The remainder of the goods were then subject to official purchase before they could be sold to private traders. Private trade with foreigners before these procedures were completed was strictly forbidden. For goods subject to official monopolies, Chinese merchants could only buy from official shops. On the other hand, the *shih-po-ssu* seems to have regulated the export business of these foreigners too. Whether the office also controlled Chinese merchants in its early stage is not clear. However, in its early years the Sung government seems to have had an intention to monopolize the maritime trade. In 977, when South Fukien and Wu-Yüeh were still independent, it was ordered that precious exotic goods arriving at Kuang-chou, Chiao-chou (in Indo-China), Ch'üan-chou and Liang-che (Wu-Yüeh) were not to be placed on the market unless purchased from official shops. A further step was taken in 985, when it was decreed that Chinese merchants were prohibited from venturing abroad. Subsequently, eight eunuch officials were dispatched to countries in the South Seas in 987. Their duties were to call for tribute presentations and to purchase precious goods. This action is interpreted by Shih Wen-chi as a sign of a relaxation of the prohibition. However, in view of the fact that the total ban affected only Chinese merchants, this 987 undertaking cannot be seen as indicating a relaxation of that order. Rather, it suggests a more positive action by the court to encourage
foreign merchants to come to China. And through the shih-po-ssu in Kuang-chou, maritime trade would have been most effectively controlled by the government.

Nevertheless, the policy of prohibiting Chinese merchants from engaging in maritime trade was obviously based on inadequate understanding of the ever-increasing participation and importance of Chinese merchants in that trade. It was not long before the policy was relaxed. In 989, it was decreed that all Chinese merchants who intended to venture overseas had to report to the shih-po-ssu in the Liang-che circuit and to obtain an official permit for trade otherwise their goods would be confiscated. This piece of evidence has long been used to prove that the office of shih-po-ssu must have existed in Hang-chou no later than 989. However, if my interpretation is correct, this piece of evidence also indicates that the ban on overseas trade by Chinese merchants was at least partly removed. Inconvenient as it may have been, the new system at least provided a legitimate opening for Chinese merchants. Of course, the total ban prior to 989 is unlikely to have been implemented completely or effectively. This is evident from the Japanese sources, in which it is recorded that in the decade 978-988 there were no less than seven visits to Japan by Sung merchants. However, the obstructive effect of this official ban on the development of private enterprise in maritime trade must have been considerable.

The evidence thus supports the conclusion that maritime trade in China in the latter half of the tenth century was a trade basically dominated by foreign merchants, strictly controlled and managed by the
state, and confined to a few designated ports. Chinese merchants were not encouraged to take part, and even when their importance became so obvious that the state had to give way, they were allowed to depart only from ports in the Liang-che circuit. In the case of South Fukien merchants, it seems that they too had to report to the Liang-che shih-po-ssu in Ming-chou or Hang-chou before departure overseas.

The situation changed gradually in the subsequent decades. The requirement that Chinese merchants had to register at the Liang-che shih-po-ssu before departure seems to have been abandoned. Indirect evidence of this is an imperial order of 995 addressed to the Kuang-chou shih-po-ssu stating that officials, whether belonging to the central government or the prefectures, were strictly forbidden to dispatch trusted servants overseas. These servants are likely to have been Chinese, and the order implies that this kind of overseas venture in which Chinese participated must have been an occurrence regular enough to warrant the declaration of sanctions against them. It also implies that registration of outgoing Chinese ships had been extended to Kuang-chou as well. Such a change would have had more significance for maritime development in South Fukien than elsewhere. The reason is that prior to this there had not been any shih-po-ssu established on the coast of Fukien. According to the 989 order, all ships venturing overseas from this region first had to go to the Liang-che circuit for registration. This was very inconvenient for those merchants who intended to trade in the South Seas. With the alternative of Kuang-chou available to them, Fukien merchants going south would have been able to save the considerable
time and resources absorbed by additional travelling for the sake of registration.

However, the basic policy of controlling maritime trade had not changed, as can be seen from the duties of shih-po-ssu, which have been studied in detail by Fujita Toyohachi and Shih Wen-chi.109 These duties may be summarised as follows:

1. To inspect incoming foreign ships; to evaluate their cargos, and charge tariffs according to the current rates; to check outgoing foreign ships and make sure that there were no prohibited items on board.

2. To purchase government monopolized items and goods requested by the government with official capital. The proportion of the latter during the reign of Jen-tsung was thirty per cent of the total cargo.

3. To transport to the court monopolized items obtained from the maritime trade; to store and sell those retained by the local office.

4. To register Chinese ships going abroad and to issue permits for them after registration. On return, these Chinese ships had to report to the same shih-po-ssu where the charter was issued and pay tariffs. In the register, it was necessary to detail the content of cargoes, names of crew, and destinations, together with the names of three native guarantors with considerable wealth.

5. To issue a certificate (yin-mu) for merchants, whether Chinese or foreign, who had already cleared customs. With these certificates import goods could be sold in the market and transported within the territory of one prefecture without being taxed again.

6. To summon foreign tributary envoys, to receive and farewell them. This kind of reception and farewell functions was also arranged for foreign and Chinese maritime merchants who had no diplomatic status, using official funds.

7. To enforce the prohibition on certain items in export, i.e. copper currency, iron tools, horses and so on. Of these, copper currency was the most important item.

8. To supervise the conduct of officials dealing with maritime trade; to enforce the prohibition against officials engaging in trade privately.
9. To provide accommodation for foreign merchants who suffered shipwreck or driftage until they departed; to handle other minor affairs dealing with foreign inhabitants in Kuan-chou.

From these duties, it can be seen that maritime trade, whether operated by Chinese or foreigners, was strictly under the control of shih-po-ssu. It is also clear that South Fukien merchants would have been largely disadvantaged by this system, as no such institution existed in their region.110 Although maritime trade had begun to grow in this region by the later part of the period under discussion, as noted previously, the institutional barrier raised against the development of this trade is obvious. However, Clark contends that foreign trade had not been "prohibited prior to the early 1070s" and that it "continued unabated" throughout the Northern Sung.111 In order to substantiate this, he cites many pieces of evidence that foreign trade existed in Ch'uan-chou. He seems to overlook the inhibiting influence of the maritime regulations in the Sung dynasty. Maritime trade was not prohibited in any Sung coastal prefecture except during the total ban mentioned above. But all ingoing and outgoing vessels for maritime trade were required by regulations to register at one or other specified port. Even taking into account the existence of illegal trade this still created a barrier for those prefectures which did not have a shih-po-ssu, and thus hampered their further growth.

This system seems to have been maintained throughout the first half of the eleventh century. By 1076, probably influenced by the reform movement of Wang An-shih, a new proposal had been presented to the throne suggesting a reform in maritime regulations. Of this proposal little is known except that it attempted to abolish the shih-po-ssu
in the Liang-che circuit and confine registration of all incoming and outgoing ships to Kuang-chou. The emperor's response, however, was to order a detailed investigation of its feasibility. A new set of maritime regulations was completed in 1080. In accordance with these new regulations, the Liang-che shih-po-ssu was maintained. An important change was that the officer-in-charge of the shih-po-ssu was renamed as t'ı-chü shih-po-ssu (superintendent of maritime affairs) and the position was held concurrently by the commissioner for transport who controlled the finances of the entire circuit. The previous measure of appointing a prefect, a deputy prefect and three officials from the central government to jointly run the shih-po-ssu was abolished. Maritime affairs were thus placed solely under the control of the commissioner for transport.

On the other hand, there is evidence showing that the restriction of registrations to Kuang-chou had been in force for some time. In a recently discovered biography of Ch'en Ch'eng, Prefect of Ch'üan-chou for many years during the Shen-tsung reign, it is mentioned that, under a new regulation of 1080, Ch'üan-chou merchants had to register in Kuang-chou before and after their overseas voyages. There is also a decree addressed to the Kuang-chou shih-po-ssu in 1106 which makes reference to the fact that according to the 1080 regulations Kuang-chou was the only port for registration. Both texts refer to Chinese merchants exclusively. Meanwhile, the Liang-che office is likely to have remained in operation for maritime trade, but only in relation to foreign merchants. However, in 1085,
another regulation was announced to the effect that Chinese merchants were allowed to take foreign envoys as passengers back to Hang-chou. This suggests that the 1080 regulations were soon revoked or adjusted. Nevertheless, the local merchants of South Fukien had long suffered the inconvenience of having to register in either the Kuang-tung circuit or the Liang-che circuit. It was a great impediment to the region's commerce. This situation changed in 1087 when a new shih-po-ssu office was opened in Ch'üan-chou. From that time on, it seems that no restriction was ever re-imposed in relation to the ports at which Chinese merchants had to register.

The implications of the establishment of a shih-po-ssu in Ch'üan-chou for the regional development of South Fukien were far-reaching. First of all, it clearly implies that maritime trade in this region was already highly developed. Yet the momentum of this development had so far been generated mainly from within the locality. Thus, it is likely that even in the absence of large-scale immigration and inflow of capital the region's agriculture was still able to encourage and support substantial growth in the commercial sector. This was possible because the agricultural surplus had increased as a result of technological improvements in this region. This provided the initial capital which was the necessary prerequisite for costly transport on the high seas and for transit trade in lucrative luxuries.

Second, it indicates that the South Fukien merchants' role in maritime trade had eventually been recognized by the Sung government.
As pointed out previously, the state policy had been to place maritime trade under tight control. Maritime regulations were strict and punishments for infringements severe. South Fukienese struggled against other strong competitors under regulations which did not favour them at all. The establishment of a *shih-po-ssu* in Ch'üan-chou was clearly a recognition of their striking success.

Third, South Fukien merchants subsequently no longer had to waste their time and resources to register in ports far away from home. The biggest institutional obstruction to the region's development had thus been removed. Furthermore, as Ch'üan-chou now became a legitimate port for registration on arrival from overseas, the number of foreign merchants who frequented and resided in this region would have increased substantially.

Finally, if the overseas trade in which South Fukien merchants were involved had remained predominantly a transit trade, and local products had remained inferior and unprofitable for export trade, there would not have been a strong reason to establish a *shih-po-ssu* in Ch'üan-chou. It is because the commodities were only available elsewhere, and so were the markets. However, as noted in this chapter, local products were increasingly being used in the export trade towards the later part of this period. Hence there was presumably a growing need to remove any institutional obstacles obstructing local exports.
Notes


6. YHCRTC, 29:802; *HTS*, 41:1065; Yen Keng-wang, "T'ang-tai fang-chih kung-yeh chih ti-li fen-pu," in *T'ang-shih yen-chiu ts'ung-kao*, pp.646-652. Particularly noteworthy is *mien*. This Chinese character *mien*, meaning floss silk, has sometimes been confused with another Chinese character of *mien* which means cotton. See Clark, 1981, p.51; o.118, note 40. Under the *T'ang t'iao* tax system, all peasants with allocated lands were obliged to submit a certain quantity of textile products and a certain amount of raw textile materials annually. The latter included *mien* (floss silk) which was collected throughout the country. At that time, cotton was a newly imported species which was being planted only in peripheral provinces on the southern and western borders. See Li Chien-nung, *Sung Yuan Ming ching-chi shih-kao*, (Peking: San-lien shu-tien, 1957), pp.36-43; Amano Motonosuke, *Chugoku nogyoshi kenkyu*, (Tokyo: Ocha no mizu shobo, re. ed., 1979), pp.483-498; Yen Chunq-p'ing, *Chung-kuo mien-fang-chih shih-kao*, (Peking: K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan-she, 1963), pp.2-3; Kang Chao, The Development of Cotton Textile Production in China, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asian Research Centre, 1977), pp.4-16. Even in YHCRTC, the usage of *mien* is very consistent. There are so many prefectures said to have paid tribute in *mien*, spreading throughout the territory of the entire T'ang empire, that it is impossible to interpret this term as referring to cotton. On the confusion of cotton and floss silk, see also Edward Schafer, The Golden Peaches of Samarkand, (Berkeley & Los Angeles: U. of California Press, 1963), pp.204-206.

(cited in note 6 above)


10. Ibid., p.191.

11. Ibid., pp.191-192.


14. See Amano, 1979, p.201. 30,000 bushels (tan) of Champa rice had been taken from Fukien for dissemination to these drought-stricken circuits. At the same time, detailed instructions for its cultivation were distributed. See Ho, 1956, p.207. This shows that Fukien farmers already had considerable experience with this variety.

15. Ho, 1956, p.201.

16. *San-shan-chih*, 41:8082. Amano, 1979, p.107. The earliest gazetteer cited is entitled *Min-ch'ing t'u-ching* 明時期志. In the citation, it refers to the two categories of rice as han 防, meaning drought-resistant, and wan 留, meaning late-ripening. It does not seem to be consistent in its classification. It is likely that han is a mistake for the Chinese character tsao 早, which means early. Min-ch'ing was at this time one of the Fu-chou counties to the north of the prefectural capital. No information relating to this particular *Min-ch'ing t'u-ching* can be traced in extant sources. See Chang Kuo-kan, Chung-kuo k'u-fang-chih k'ao, (Shanghai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), p.415. It apparently was not part of the *Fu-chou t'u-ching* 福州圖經 compiled during the reign of Shao-hsi (1190-1194), as *San-shan chih* was compiled in 1182. However, from 1010, there had been a practice of compiling local gazetteers by the local governments. *Min-ch'ing t'u-ching* was one of these locally compiled works, and must have been compiled no later than the mid-twelfth century, and probably dates from the previous century. See Aoyama Sadao, "Zui Tō yori Sōdai ni itaru sōshi oyobi chihōshi ni tsuite," Tōyōgakuhō 28:2, (Jun. 1941), p.51.


19. As rain in this region is a type of monsoonal rain, resulting from the arrival of a monsoon from the ocean, the timing of the monsoon has been another important factor affecting the local climate. If it comes late, as has not infrequently happened in history, there is drought. See Chuang Wei-chi, *Chin-chiang hsìn-chih*, p.30; Min pu sho, Wang Shih-mou, (Pao-gen-t'ang pi-chi), p.6b.

20. The imperial initiative to disseminate this variety to other parts of China also reveals the contemporary attention to its drought-resistant nature, rather than its early-ripening character.


22. As for the effect of Champa rice on the double-cropping system and other subsidiary crops which played a significant role in Chinese agricultural history, see Ho, 1956, p.210.


29. TPHYC, 102:3b.
30. Ibid.

31. A revealing example is recorded in SHYK, shih-huo, 64:21b/22a. It testifies that 50,000 p'i (bolts) of coarse cloth were purchased annually from coastal Fukien to supply the army stationed in the Chiang-hsi circuit. But the quality of this cloth was so bad that costs of purchase plus transportation were often higher than the market price of the goods in the Chiang-hsi circuit. See also Sudô Yoshiyuki, "Nansô no karamushi seisô to sono ryûtsû katei," in Sôdai keizaishi kenkyû, p.342.

32. Katô Shigeshi, "Shina ni okeru kansho oyobi satô no kigen ni tsuite," in Shina keizaishi kôshô, v.2, pp.681-682. The other three centres were Fu-chou, Chi-chou and Kuang-chou.

33. It should be noted that in 980, among the four coastal Fukien prefectures, only Fu-chou produced sugar. TPHK, 100:3b. See also Aizawa Takuji, "Sôdai kansho tôgyo no ichi kôsatsu," Bunka 34:4, (1971), pp.64-82. Clark advances the argument that Ch'üan-chou had provided sugar as early as in the T'ang dynasty. He states that this is also claimed by Katô, in Katô, "Shina ni okeru kansho," pp.676-687. In fact, Katô makes no such specific claim for Ch'üan-chou. He merely refers to Fukien in general. However, there is no evidence of sugarcane planting in T'ang Ch'üan-chou.


35. Tsai Hsiang, Li-chih p'u, (Pai-ch'uan hsüeh-hai), 2b/3a. There were many other comments and praise of Fu-chou and Hsing-hua lichees by people of this period. See Shiba, 1968, pp.204-206, also pp.210-212, n.1-11. However, the date of these accounts is highly pertinent to the present study. Thus only Tseng Kung was a contemporary of Tsai Hsiang, and the others were figures of later times.

36. Amano, 1979, pp.482-484.


39. For example, see SS, 173:4191/4192.


42. Po-che pien, Fang Shao, (Pai-hai), 2:4b/5a. See also Chikusa, 1956, p.7; Huang Min-chih, 1978, p.8. It should be noted that Chikusa cited a document indicating that rich landlords in Ch'üan-chou usually owned land holdings of less than 10 ch'ing. He noted that this is taken from the above-mentioned work of Po-che pien. But in fact, Fang's work does not have this passage. Instead, it is stated in a late Ming miscellaneous work entitled Ch'üan-nan tsa-chih, by Ch'en Mao-jen, (Pao-yen-t'ang pi-chi), 1:5a. As Ch'en's time was much later, and a lot of social and economic changes had taken place in Fukien in due course, I do not take Ch'en's account to justify a reconstruction of the picture of Sung Ch'üan-chou.

43. Clark wrongly dates the introduction of two important specialized crops - cotton and sugarcane - to Ch'üan-chou as occurring in T'ang times, as noted. He then concludes that commercial agriculture in this prefecture had begun as a supplementary project undertaken by a small number of cultivators at that time. Clark, 1981, pp.54-55. The date he gives however is questionable as is clear from my argument in this chapter.


46. SS, 483:13958.

47. Ibid., 483:13961; SHYK, fan-i, 7:1a/9a. See also Lin T'ien-wei, 1960, pp.176-180.

48. TPHYC, 102:3a, 6a.


52. SS, 480:13898.
53. Ibid., 480:13900-13902. See also SHYK, fan-i, 7:1a/10a.


58. SS, 489:14096/14097.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., 490:14103/14106.


65. Mori, Ni-Sō bōeki no kenkyū, pp.542-550.


75. Yen Keng-wang, "T'ang-t'ai fang-chih," pp.648-651, 655. The other centre of silk textile industry was in modern Szechwan.


80. Data are taken from a statistical distribution chart displayed at the Museum for Overseas Relations in Ch'üan-chou during my fieldtrip there in October, 1980. These are supposed to be the most up-to-date ones.


83. Hsu tz'u-chi-t'ung-chien chang-pien, Li Tao, (Shih-chieh shu-chü), 137:6a/b.
The people of Ch'üan-chou are many,  
But the mountains and valleys are empty;  
One can follow one's wishes and tend fields without dispute.  
South of the prefecture is the sea,  
Across which life is grand and there is no poverty;  
Every year ships are built to sail to these miraculous places.
95. Ch'uan T'ang-wen, 75:2b/3a.
100. Ibid., 44:1a/b.
101. Ibid., 44:1b. The text states that it was a consequence of the establishment of a special office called ch'ueh-i-yüan (禮易院), Bureau of monopoly business). For the exact date of its establishment, see Hsu tzu-chih-t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien, 18:8b/9a. See also Lin T'ien-wei, 1960, p.273.
103. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:2b.
105. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:2b. The text states: "From now on, merchants trading in overseas countries must report to the shih-po-ssu in the Lianq-che circuit and request a permit for the voyage. Otherwise, their precious exotic goods will be confiscated." Here, "merchants" most likely refers to all Chinese merchants.
107. Mori, Ni-So boeki no kenkyu, pp.540-541,
108. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:2a/3b.
110. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:5b/6a. A decree of 1074 ordered that ships arriving at Fukien without a permit or certificate were to be sent to a nearby shih-po-ssu for registration and customs clearance.

113. Clark wrongly dates this 1071-1072. See Clark, 1981, p.248. For the date of the enactment of this regulation, see Ch'en Kao-hua, 1980, p.53.


116. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:9a.

117 *Tung-p'o tsou-i, Su Shih, (Ssu-pu pei-yao)*, 13:2a.

118. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:8a.

119. For instance, in 976, the penalty for trading privately with foreigners in goods exceeding a value of 15 strings was being branded on the face and exiled to a remote island. *Ibid.*, 44:1a/2b.
Prosperity in South Fukien reached its height in this period. This is evident from the many details to be discussed in this chapter. This period witnessed further expansion of markets and maritime trade. Local wealth increased notably as a result. Both foreign investment and settlement in this region clearly surpassed that of the past. Local connections with overseas developed steadily. The nature of trade, the prime sector of the region's economic development, underwent a shift from transit trade to a mixture of transit and export. Local manufacture grew together with this trade. High-cost industries like ceramics and ironworks were thus encouraged to develop further - especially the former. At the same time, commercialization of agriculture led to a high proportion of arable lands and farming resources being devoted to cash crops. The local supply of subsistence grain began to fall behind demand and rice imports gradually increased. Since, except during wartime, rice prices in the country as a whole remained low during this period, and income from trade was very large, the region was able to pay for the rice imports on this moderate scale. In fact, to produce crops which were profitable in maritime trade, while purchasing relatively cheap foodstuffs from elsewhere, seems to have been the logical economic choice for the region. Within the region, integration of economic sectors as well as of different parts of the region was taking place. All these inter-related developments represent a highly efficient
utilisation of local resources. In this period, the economic development of South Fukien was quite balanced and the region as a whole was able to enjoy unprecedented prosperity.

1. Market Expansion

This section reviews the evidence showing that markets for South Fukien trade expanded noticeably during this period, both domestically and overseas.

Koryo had become a lucrative market for South Fukien merchants in the previous period. During the reigns of Che-tsunq and Hui-tsung (1086-1125), the Koryo market seems to have been dominated by the merchants of Ch'üan-chou. From the last quarter of the eleventh century to the mid-twelfth century, there were many accounts in Korean records of Sung merchants arriving at the Koryo court. Among those whose origins are recorded, Ch'üan-chou people are the majority. Other documentary evidence also substantiates this point. For instance, in 1089, two memorials were presented to the throne by the renowned scholar-official Su Shih , suggesting a tighter policy over trade and diplomatic relations with Koryo. In the memorial submitted in the eleventh month, it is mentioned that a Ch'uan-chou merchant named Hsu Chien had brought back some Korean monks who intended to offer sacrifices to a dead Chinese monk of Hang-chou. These Korean monks were also envoys representing the queen dowager of Koryo, on whose behalf they were to present two golden pagodas to the Sung throne. Su noted that since the enthronement of Che-tsunq in
1086, Koryo had not sent envoys to China as frequently as before. It was only because many Fukien merchants were still eagerly going to Koryo that diplomatic relations with the state, though unnecessary and wasteful, were maintained.2 One month later, Su presented another memorial saying that the Korean monks should be sent back to Koryo as soon as possible. In order to do this, Su asked for a permission to send them to Ch'uan-chou from where they could take a ship. The reason was that there were very few ships departing from Hang-chou for Koryo at that time.3 This implies that the Koryo market was dominated by South Fukienese by this time.

A few decades later, this situation had changed. This is shown by a memorial written by a Liang-che military official in Ming-chou named Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得 (1077-1148), probably in 1126, shortly before the final collapse of the Northern Sung.4 In order to collect information concerning the Chin enemy through Koryo, he found and appointed two Ch'uan-chou merchants who had been trading regularly with Koryo to be his informants. In his memorial, these merchants are said to have been registering and obtaining permits from the shih-po-ssu in Ming-chou for "generations". It seems that around the turn of the eleventh century, ships going to Koryo mostly departed from Ming-chou. However, judging from the fact that most Sung merchants living in or dealing with Koryo were Fukienese,5 it is likely that a majority of the ships still belonged to Ch'uan-chou people.

Another market close to Koryo was Japan. According to Japanese sources, from the year 978 there were many voyages by Sung merchants to Japan. It was not until the later half of the twelfth century
that this were gradually replaced by a reverse flow of Japanese voyages to China. From the data, it seems that, in Japan, South Fukienese did not have the advantageous position they had in Koryo. Merchants from other regions, such as Fu-chou and Che-kiang, were predominant. There is evidence that Ch'üan-chou merchants began to penetrate this market no later than the last quarter of the eleventh century. Interestingly, the first recorded voyage involving Ch'üan-chou merchants was a joint venture of people from Ch'üan-chou, Fu-chou and the Kuang-tung circuit. It is possible that the Japan market was not dominated by any single group of common place-origin. Most ships going to Japan in this period, however, were registered in and departed from Ming-chou. These included ships from South Fukien. For instance, in 1102 there was a Chinese voyage to Japan which was led by a particular Ch'üan-chou merchant named Li Ch'ung. His ship was definitely registered in Ming-chou, for he carried a permit issued by the Ming-chou shih-po-ssu which is still extant today. From this document we know that the ship was carrying Ch'üan-chou merchants and that their cargoes consisted of silks and ceramics. Notwithstanding the fact that South Fukien merchants were unable to dominate the market of Japan, they did expand their commercial opportunities in this country and share the profit of Japanese trade with other competitors who had frequented the market long before them.

Turning to the South Seas, South Fukien's position in the trade is also striking. First, foreign envoys began to land in the region. In 1115, for the first time envoys from Champa and a dependent state of Chenla named Lo-hu called at Ch'üan-chou,9

* Chenla included Angkor in its territory.
instead of going to Kuang-chou as before. It is also recorded that in 1167 South Fukien merchants brought back to Ch'üan-chou two delegations from Champa, together with much frankincense and ivory. It seems that Ch'üan-chou had become a port at which foreign envoys could choose to land, a function monopolized by Kuang-chou, Ming-chou and Hang-chou in the preceding period.

As a result of the establishment of shih-po-ssu in Ch'üan-chou in 1087, foreign merchants began to be attracted to this region. Many of them resided in the city of Ch'üan-chou permanently. Kuwabara Jitsuzō has even suggested that there existed a special district for foreign residents in Ch'üan-chou - a foreign settlement as called by Hirth. The evidence for this, however, is not conclusive.

Kuwabara cites three passages from Chu-fan chih to substantiate his claim. One of them notes that an Arab merchant of Siraf origin living in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou city had built a public cemetery to bury foreign travelers who died there.

The author of Chu-fan chih in fact states clearly that this story was recorded in a commemorative essay by a shih-po-shih named Lin Chih-ch'i 林之奇. Lin was a chin-shih of 1151. The exact time when he was appointed shih-po-shih in Ch'üan-chou is not clear. According to his biography in Sung-shih, he had held at least four other official posts before receiving this appointment. On the other hand, there is evidence that the post was occupied by other officials in 1155 and in 1163. It is possible that he held the post some time between these two years. In Lin's collected works, an essay commemorating the establishment of a cemetery for foreigners who died
in Ch'üan-chou is still extant, though little used by scholars on this
subject. This interesting essay is the original source of the
widely cited story told by Chao Ju-kua in Chu-fan chih. The text of
the essay says:

Am ong the three prefectures dealing with the South Sea and
responsible for taxing mercantile ships is Ch'üan-chou prefecture.
Am ong scores of countries which have trade connections with Ch'üan-
chou is Srivijaya. There are scores of rich merchants from
Srivijaya who are living or were born in Ch'üan-chou. Among them
is a man called Shih No-wei 池那偉. Shih is famous for his
generosity among his fellow foreign residents in Ch'üan-chou. The
building of a cemetery is but one of his many generous deeds. This
cemetery was first proposed by another foreigner named P'u Hsia-
hsin 普霞幸, but the idea has been carried out and accomplished by
Shih. The location of this cemetery is on the hillside to the east
of the city. After clearing the wild weeds and rubble, many graves
have been established. The cemetery is covered with a roof,
enclosed by a wall, and safely locked. All foreign merchants who
die in Ch'üan-chou are to be buried here. The construction started
in 1162 and was finished the year after. Such a benevolent deed
releases all foreigners in this land from worry [concerning their
own graves after death]; and enables the dead to be free of
regrets. Such kindness will certainly promote overseas trade and
encourage foreigners to come. It is much appreciated that Shih has
carried it out. Therefore, I write this essay to commemorate the
event so that [news of it] will be widely circulated overseas.

From this passage, quite a few things can be noted. First, the
conventional notion that the builder of the cemetery was an Arab from
Siraf needs amendment. Instead, he was a Srivijayan. His name
was Shih No-wei (or Shih Na-wei 池那偉 as recorded in
Chu-fan chih.) The location of the cemetery was to the east of the
city, not in the southeastern suburb as described in Chu-fan chih.

More important, it is apparent that there were many Srivijayans living
in Ch'üan-chou, and also many other foreigners.

Whether these foreigners were segregated in a fan-fang 謝坊,
referred to as foreign settlement or foreign quarter by Hirth and
Rockhill, has not been established with concrete evidence so far. As noted, Kuwabara contends that there was such a settlement area in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou city. His evidence is taken from Chu-fan chih, including two references to foreign inhabitants in Ch'üan-nan, and another reference to a temple built in the southern suburb by an Indian monk. These indicate that there were foreign inhabitants in Ch'üan-chou, because Ch'üan-nan simply means Ch'üan-chou. Still, the evidence does not establish the existence of a foreign settlement area in Ch'üan-chou similar to the one in Kuang-chou. A passage preserved in an early-thirteenth-century geographical work, entitled Fang-yu sheng-lan, is helpful in this regard. It states:

There are two types of foreigners. One is white and the other black. All live in Ch'üan-chou. The place where they are living has been called fan-jen hsiang (lane for foreigners). It thus indicates that a foreign settlement had come into being in one of the lanes in the city by the end of the twelfth century. However, there is reliable evidence that some foreigners did mix with the locals. It seems likely that the fan-jen-hsiang was just a self-initiated agglomeration of some foreign inhabitants which was not forced by law.

On the other hand, South Fukienese also began to venture abroad and settle down overseas. Two revealing examples can be drawn from a story book, I-chien chih, of the twelfth century. One is a story about a Ch'üan-chou merchant who survived a shipwreck on his way to Srivijaya. After staying on a small island for seven or eight years, he was saved by a passing Ch'üan-chou vessel and returned home.
The other example concerns a Ch'üan-chou native named Wang Yuan-mao. Wang had worked for the king of Champa for ten years and returned to South Fukien with abundant wealth. With this capital he became a very successful maritime merchant. One of his highly profitable voyages is recorded as lasting from 1178 to 1188.

Furthermore, in a report made by the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu dated 1167, two separate voyages by South Fukienese to Champa were recorded for that year. One of them consisted of five ships. All this suggests that the South Fukien merchants were actively participating in the South Seas trade. Also, many of them settled in these countries, either for a lengthy period or permanently.

It seems that, of the countries of the South Seas, Champa and Srivijaya were the two most important trading partners for South Fukien. In the geographical work of 1178 dealing with the Ling-nan circuit, entitled Ling-wai tai-ta, it is mentioned that Srivijaya was located at a very strategic position in the eastern part of today's Sumatra. Most ships had to pass through its sea-lanes before approaching China. The country itself produced few valuable goods, but it had a strong army and navy with which it forced all foreign ships passing through to stop over and pay a tariff. Consequently, a great quantity of luxury items such as rhinoceros horn, ivory, pearls and aromatics was amassed there. Many of these goods were traded to China by Srivijaya merchants. As shown in TABLE 12, of all the South Seas countries that had diplomatic relations with Sung China, Srivijaya sent the highest number of envoys to the Sung court during this period. There must have been very frequent
### Table 12: Countries of the South Seas, Which Sent More Than One Envoy to Sung China Between the Last Quarter of the Eleventh to the End of the Twelfth Century

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of Previous Envoys</th>
<th>Number of Envoys Subsequently</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Champa</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ta-shih</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srivijaya</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annam</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chola</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chenla</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polin (Byzantine)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Mostly via the landroute; see Ling-wai tai-ta, 2:4b/6b.*
contacts between the two countries, and it is apparent that South Fukien was playing a decisive role on the Chinese side.

The other important trading partner was Champa. It was one of two countries which first sent envoys to China through Ch'üan-chou in 1115. There is also evidence that an envoy from Champa arrived at the port of Ch'üan-chou in 1155. Interestingly, the latter envoy came by a Cham ship whose captain was definitely a Cham. It is very likely that the Chams came to Ch'üan-chou as often as the Srivijayans during this phase, though their activities are less documented. As there were many South Fukienese who went to Champa, there can be no doubt that Champa had become another significant market for South Fukien.

Another area of some importance in trading relations was Ta-shih. The Arabs had long been very active in the South Seas trade, though geographical distance created difficulties as it usually took more than two years for the return trip between China and the Ta-shih. There is evidence that Sung merchants did travel to these countries. The reason may be that many of the most lucrative luxury goods originated from these countries. According to the account of Ta-shih in Sung-shih, it is clear that Arab merchants had often called at Kuan-chou in the previous period. Many of them resided in the foreign settlement and some became heads of that settlement. It seems that at this time, some of them may have moved their bases to South Fukien. One revealing indication is the erection of a mosque in Ch'üan-chou city by a Moslem from Siraf in 1131. Another indication comes from a memorial of 1136 by the
Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu. It proposed the granting of a low-ranking official title to an Arab merchant named P'u Lo-hsin 蒲扜 37 as a reward for his frankincense trade in Ch'üan-chou which resulted in a net profit of 300,000 strings of cash for the shih-po-ssu. 37 To assess the part the Arabs took in the South Fukien trade is difficult. The matter is complicated by the fact that many Arabs were living in Champa and Srivijaya. 38 To the Chinese, they may well have been mistaken as Chams or Srivijayans. In spite of the fact that there is less mention of them than of the Srivijayans and the Chams, and that the Srivijayans seem to have played a major role in Ch'üan-chou, as described by Lin Chih-ch'i, it is probable that the Arabs were still as important a trading partner for South Fukien as the other two groups.

There were of course other countries which had trade ties with South Fukien. Some were influential states in the South Seas, such as Java to the east of Srivijaya, 39 and Chenla, a neighbour of Champa. 40 Their importance to South Fukien was however not comparable to that of Srivijaya, Champa and Ta-shih.

A miscellaneous work completed in 1206, entitled Yün-lu man-ch'ao 蘇薈漫鈔, includes a list of countries whose merchants' ships often called at the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu. 41 The situation it portrays should be attributed to the latter half of the twelfth century, as the information used is likely to have been collected long before the completion of this book. Many of the countries mentioned cannot be identified. Those which are identifiable include Ta-shih, Srivijaya, Chenla, Brunei, Java, Champa, Paqan, and their subordinate
tribes, Koryo, and the tribes of the Philippine archipelago. Of these the last one seems to have been a new market. But although this became a very important market for Fukien under the Ming, it seems that at this time that region had not yet developed. According to the description in Yün-lu man-ch’ao, cotton cloth, a commodity produced in South Fukien, was the only item used for barter with this market.42

To conclude this description of the market situation in the South Seas during this period, Champa and Srivijaya were the two most important trade partners of South Fukien. This partnership was manifest in a reciprocal flow of commodities as well as personnel. Next to them stood Ta-shih. Other countries, such as Chenla, Java and the tribes of Philippine archipelago, had trading contact with the region, but were less important. This picture seems to coincide with the general political development in the South Seas at this time.43 Champa, though undergoing a long and bitter struggle with Annam to its north and Chenla to its west, was still able to exercise enormous influence over Indo-China. It was not until the end of the twelfth century that it was conquered by the army of Chenla, and it was never again to be restored to its former importance. Free from the struggle with Chola in South India in the eleventh century,44 Srivijaya at this time was relatively tranquil, as Coedès describes. Such a stable political environment must have provided good opportunity for commercial growth. Both Chenla and Java were just emerging to be two landpowers and do not appear to have been of major importance in the relations between South Fukien and the South Seas.
Domestically, notable commercial activities by South Fukienese in other parts of the empire also took place. Places in which their activities can be traced include Hainan, the Kuan-tung and Liang-che circuits, modern Shantung peninsula, and the Yangtze basin. These will be discussed briefly in turn.

The fact that the Hainan Island had developed as a centre of maritime trade for foreign merchants in the Sung times, especially Muslims from Champa, has long drawn scholars' attention. In Ling-wai tai-ta, it is said that commercial tax was the prime source of revenue for the local government in Hainan. A memorial of 1083 from the local government in Hainan stated that commercial tax was levied according to the sizes of ships, regardless of their cargoes. Ships carrying commodities of high value from Ch'üan-chou, Fu-chou, Kuang-chou, Wen-chou and the Liang-che circuit took advantage of this, while those from the Kuan-hsi circuit only carried goods of low value, such as rice and cows. Consequently, trade from Kuang-hsi decreased drastically, and Hainan was suffering from a shortage of rice and cows. The memorial went on to propose that commercial tax should be levied on the basis of the value and the volume of cargoes, which was accepted by the court. This can be taken as evidence that South Fukienese were already competing with merchants from other regions on this island. Around the middle of the twelfth century, there is evidence that some South Fukienese had migrated to this island as well, though they were not the only migrants. Most of these migrants seem to have become farmers. But some commercial contacts with the home region may well have been maintained, because
the most valuable goods produced in Hainan were aromatics solely controlled by the indigenous tribes. These aborigines were very suspicious of strangers, and settlement on the island would have promoted the trade a lot. In the extant permit belonging to the Ch'üan-chou merchant Li Ch'ung, who visited Japan in 1102, as mentioned above, it is stated also that ships trading with Hainan had to register and pay customs at the shih-po-ssu, just as was necessary when trading with other foreign countries. Although the text does not specify the category of ships affected by this regulation, there is reason to believe that it mainly concerned those dealing in valuable goods. The reason is that had it included all ships trading with Hainan, the shih-po-ssi would have had to handle a great deal of ordinary trading items such as rice and cows. This is not mentioned in any document as a duty pertaining to the office. In any case, the regulation reflects the lucrative character of the Hainan trade clearly.

A market which has been relatively well studied is the Liang-che market, in which, Lin-an, the national capital of the Southern Sung, was located. South Fukien merchants' activities in this region have already been pointed out by many scholars. One good example may suffice to demonstrate the situation. This is the story about a Ch'üan-chou merchant with a surname of Yang in the first half of the twelfth century. Yang had been a maritime merchant for more than ten years and had earned a fortune of 200,000 strings of cash. On his last voyage to Lin-an, he carried cargoes of gharuwood, camphor, pearls, other precious items and aromatics, cloth and
sapanwood, worth a total value of 400,000 strings of cash. Unfortunately everything was destroyed by a fire in the warehouse where Yang's goods were stored. As a result of this accident, Yang committed suicide. This story, despite its unhappy ending, does provide a revealing example of how South Fukienese transhipped imports from the South Sea trade to the market of the national capital.

Kuang-chou was clearly one of the major centres for maritime trade during this period. As discussed earlier, before the establishment of the shih-po-ssu in Ch'üan-chou, part of the South Fukien trade had to register in Kuang-chou. In this period maritime trade in Kuang-chou continued to be prosperous. However, there are signs that some South Fukien merchants were trading regularly with traders in Kuang-chou. One example is a mid-eleventh-century Ch'üan-chou Buddhist named Lin Chao-ch'ing 林昭慶. A biography of Lin suggests that he was a successful merchant running a joint commercial enterprise on the China coast with a few others of the same origin. He often traveled the coastal area from present Shantung to Kuang-chou. After conversion to Buddhism, he gave up business and let his partners continue by themselves. This kind of domestic coastal trade must have intensified in the century that followed as maritime trade in general was further expanding. In a poem written by a scholar-official born in 1187, it is stated that:

In the suburbs of the city of Kuang-chou, there are abundant seafood and exotic goods. Among my neighbors many are Fukienese.

From the case of Lin Chao-ch'ing it is also apparent that South Fukien merchants had begun to trade as far north on the China coast as
the Shantung peninsula by the middle of the eleventh century. In 1083, a proposal had been made to establish a shih-po-ssu in Mi-chou prefecture on the peninsula. This was eventually approved and enacted in 1088. In the memorials on this proposal, it is related that many merchants from the circuits of Kuang-tung, Fu-chien, Huai and Che had been calling at a port called Pan-ch'iao-chen in Mi-chou, and trading in a great quantity of exotic goods such as aromatics, rhinoceros, ivory and other precious items. In exchange, they shipped back refined textile products and copper coins. Certainly South Fukienese were among them. Even after the collapse of the Northern Sung, and the conquest of Shantung by the Chin, this kind of trade, though now illicit, seems to have been continued.

Finally, mention should be made of the Yangtze basin in relation to the South Fukien trade, though this is less well documented. There is evidence that in the beginning of the Southern Sung, ships from the Fu-chien and Kuang-tung circuits, or even from foreign countries, did call at the city of Chen-chiang-fu, present-day Chen-chiang. Another piece of evidence, dated 1133, indicates that Ch'üan-chou merchants prior to that had transported textiles from their home region to Yang-chou. Furthermore, the biography of a monk of Ch'üan-chou origin says that before he was converted to Buddhism, he had traded to and fro between Ch'eng-tu and Fukien for years and earned a great fortune.
2. Characteristics of Trade in South Fukien

What were the important commodities for the South Fukienese in the overseas and domestic markets? First of all, we shall look at the overseas trade. Paul Wheatley has given a detailed classification of the import and export items of Sung maritime trade in general.\(^{65}\) In relation to South Fukien, a modified classification is adopted here. The commodities are divided into aromatics, valuable decorative goods, textiles, metals, minerals, ceramics, handicrafts and manufactured products, and non-essential foodstuffs.

Aromatics made up the most important category in the overseas trade.\(^{66}\) They could be used as drugs, spices, incense, cosmetics, decorations and so on.\(^{67}\) The value of aromatics varied according to supply and quality. The price of each kind also changed in the course of time. According to Lin T'ien-wei, early in the eleventh century, the official price for high-quality aromatics was four strings per catty. A noticeable drop occurred in the middle of the century, when the same goods cost only 500 to 600 cash, one-eighth of the earlier price. Towards the last quarter of the century, the price rose again to a level varying from one string to four. At the start of the Southern Sung, the price jumped further to 12 strings for the high-quality aromatics. But a few decades later it fell to the level of 10 strings, which seems to have been maintained through the end of the dynasty. There were of course some particular kinds which cost much more than this; and others of inferior quality cost less. In general, 10 strings per catty may well have been the medium price for
aromatics after the middle of the twelfth century. Even from such a sketchy account of the price of aromatics, it is not difficult to see that this commodity was basically a kind of luxury which found its market in the middle social stratum or above. Its customers may be assumed to have been rich landlords, wealthy merchants, high- and middle-ranking officials, and the royal families. But there was one type of aromatics for which there was consumption even at the lower stratum of society, i.e., those aromatics used for medical purposes. Evidence on this topic is hard to come by as Sung authors did not interest themselves in it very much. However, in some materia medica of the Sung-Yuan period, examples of commoners being cured by applying drugs made of aromatics can nevertheless be found. One records that the son of a sailor working on a ferry once had a fatal disease. When he was on the point of death, the family managed to give him four pills of su-ho-hsiang, the ingredients of which consisted of several kinds of aromatics.

In addition to the substantial market and continuing demand for aromatics in China, these commodities also had an outlet in the transit trade with the northern and western neighboring states Liao, Chin and Hsia. There is no evidence however that South Fukienese were directly involved in the border trade with these states. Rather, they actively participated in the transit trade of aromatics to the markets of Koryo and Japan.

Mineral items were not as much in demand as aromatics. One of them which is worthy of attention is sulphur, which was produced in Java and Japan. It was used in medicine, occasionally in drugs for
for Taoist practices, and possibly for military purpose as well. The demand for this material in Sung China was quite considerable. This can be demonstrated by the fact that an imperial order to purchase 500,000 catties of sulphur from Japan was carried out by the Ming-chou prefect in 1084, a task for which ten teams of merchants were enlisted at Ming-chou. This indicates a strong market potential of sulphur in Sung China, and the large commercial capacity that could be gathered for the sulphur trade in a short time.

Valuable decorative goods included ivory, pearls, tortoise shell, amber, coral and so on. Some of these were found on the southeastern periphery of China, but most were imported from the South Seas, except pearls which came from Japan. They were mostly used in extravagant ornamentation, and thus were luxury goods mainly consumed by the upper stratum. Occasionally, cheap pearls would be used in drugs for commoners. But it seems unlikely that such low-quality pearls would have been imported.

Textiles for import were decorated hemp cloth made in the South Seas, and more importantly, cotton cloth. As hemp cloth had long been widely produced in China, it cannot have occupied an important role in the Chinese market. Cotton cloth was also produced in South Fukien and other southeastern circuits. But there seems to have been a growing demand for it, and thus it became one of the most important textile products from the South Seas. Silk was an important export item to all overseas markets, though it seems that Koryo was able to produce damask fine enough to find a market in China, and the Arabs were also able to produce refined silk. But in the
silk trade, exports were undoubtedly greater than imports. The value of these imported fabrics seems to have been high as they were not necessities but luxury items for the affluent classes. Customers for this item were thus mostly from the upper stratum, whether in China or overseas.

Another important category of trade commodities was metal goods. Fragmentary information on tin and lead exists, but has no great significance for the present study. Gold and silver were important import as well as export items. Gold was produced in Japan and many places in the South Seas. In the maritime trade, there was a certain amount of gold flowing to China. On the other hand, it was widely demanded in overseas markets. According to Katō, the Sung were in an unfavourable overall situation in the gold trade. On the other hand, the Sung empire's silver exports seem to have exceeded their imports. However, the most significant metal was copper. Copper exports were largely in the form of coinage, and to a lesser extent in wares. The destructive outflow of copper coins in the maritime trade of Sung times has been scrutinized by many scholars. It was not a means of payment in international transactions, but rather was simply one of the barter items in enormous demand.

Ceramics had become an important export item long before this period. It was, however, not until this time that the ceramic industry in South Fukien began to flourish, and as a result, it started to gain an unprecedented position in the region's exports. Details of this trade are given in later sections of this chapter.
In general, manufacturing technology in China was ahead of that in countries in the South Seas. Import items from overseas were predominantly raw materials. The only country which produced handicrafts comparable to the Chinese ones was Japan. Some Japanese products, including fans, swords, decorated metal wares, screens and saddles, gained a high reputation. These goods seem to have been bought mainly by scholar-officials.

There were raw manufacturing materials such as steel for weaponry, indigo for textiles, and timber. Of these, timber imported from Japan seems to have been the most important item in the South Fukien trade. There is evidence that Japanese timber was used in temple construction in Ming-chou. Whether these materials were used in the same way in Ch'üan-chou is not clear. However, as temple-building in South Fukien was not as flourishing as in Liang-che, these imported materials may have been used more in shipbuilding. Both steel and indigo were in demand in South Fukien as well, because iron and textile industries were both developing there.

Finally, there was the export of non-essential foodstuffs such as sugar, wine and salt. Sugar produced in South Fukien was in great demand in many markets of the South Seas. Equally sought after in the same market was wine. As we shall discuss later, both items found an increasing source of supply from South Fukien. There is no good documentation of salt exports. However, in an arithmetic question in the thirteenth-century handbook of mathematics Shu-hsüeh chiu-chang, it is mentioned that salt was being used as
an export item together with gold and silver. A considerable amount of salt produced in South Fukien seems to have been exported during this period as shall be shown later. One probable reason for the lack of mention of this business in sources is that it was not as lucrative as other items and only played a subsidiary role in trade.

For domestic trade, other than those transit items derived from the overseas trade, there were also local products in demand in other parts of China. These included specialized crops such as sugar-cane, fruits, and manufactured products - iron wares and fabrics. Their prime market seems to have been in the Liang-che circuit, particularly during the Southern Sung when the capital Lin-an was located there.

The organization of trade is not well recorded. Some practices can be traced, but how prevalent they were is hard to determine. Nor is it certain that they represent all that existed. The patterns given below are but examples of trading practices which may throw light on the commercial character of the region.

First of all, in the overseas markets, lucrative export trade was mainly done between maritime merchants and local nobles and rulers overseas. This is more obvious in the case of countries with relatively advanced institutions, like Japan, Srivijaya, Java and Champa. The reason is not difficult to understand. Long-distance maritime trade, with its high cost of transportation and tremendous risks, could be profitable only if the major proportion of the cargoes was of high market value, such as high-quality ceramics and silks. And, naturally, the consumers of these expensive commodities were likely to be found in the upper and ruling classes. In Srivijaya,
maritime trade was even monopolized by the throne. On the other hand, overseas trade was often related to tributary missions. This also illustrates the close relation between maritime trade and the local ruling class. According to Chu-fan chih, Champa required all ships to pay a tariff of 20 per cent on arrival before the traders dealt with the locals. As Champa was conquered by Chenla in 1190, this may be taken to refer to the situation in the late-twelfth century. However, it is likely that after clearance maritime merchants would still have been trading with the upper class.

There were however places where an institutionalized ruling class was not well developed, such as San-yu and P'u Li-lu (Polillo) in the Philippine archipelago, and Hainan. Maritime merchants traded directly with the tribes in these places.

Was there a division between maritime merchants trading overseas and those involved in the domestic market? There are reasons for believing that this was the case. First, as overseas trade required considerable experience of navigation on particular searoutes, good connections and a thorough knowledge of the overseas markets, those who had already developed their trade relations will most likely have restricted themselves to that type of business rather than attempting to branch out into domestic trade. Second, overseas travel usually took a year or more for a round trip. The time left between the monsoons for sailing was short, just enough for vessel-repairs and dealings of the cargoes. Of course, these two points cannot count as direct evidence, but there is certainly no evidence to show that merchants engaged in domestic and overseas trade simultaneously.
As most lucrative import items were monopolized by the government, the domestic trade in luxury imports usually started from the official shops for monopolized goods, such as aromatics and ivory. Other than those run by the central government, branch official shops were located in many local governments as well. In cities with a shih-po-ssu there was a particularly rich store of these goods. Ch'uan-chou was no exception. The goods were sold to local merchants who retailed them in the regional market, or to maritime merchants who did business with other parts of China. In the case of Japan and Koryo, these luxury goods were also sold to maritime merchants who were to tranship them there.

Not all import goods were monopolized. Maritime merchants would sell imported items which were exempted from monopoly to the local merchants or domestic maritime merchants. These goods were either consumed locally or transhiped to other domestic markets.

Local products, both agricultural and manufactured, were concentrated in the hands of local merchants, then distributed to the two types of maritime merchants just described. These goods were also purchased by travelling merchants, who carried them to neighbouring regions by land. Of course, the scale of trade of these travelling merchants could not compare with that done by maritime merchants. It was nevertheless another outlet for the local products. The trade patterns discussed above can be represented schematically as in FIGURE 3.

Because of the dangers and risks of sea travel, maritime merchants usually traveled in groups. The status of these merchants
**FIGURE 3**  PATTERN OF MARITIME TRADE IN SOUTH FUKIEN

**IMPORT:**

- Overseas Market
- Maritime Merchants In Overseas Trade
  - Official Shop
    - Maritime Merchants In Overseas Trade
      - Local Merchants
        - Domestic Maritime Merchants
          - Japan And Koryo
- Domestic Market

**EXPORT:**

- Local Production Units
  - Local Merchants
    - Maritime Merchants domestic
      - Domestic Market
    - Traveling Merchants
    - Maritime Merchants overseas
      - Overseas Market
may have varied on any one voyage and from voyage to voyage. In the light of our present understanding of Sung commercial practice, at least three types can be identified. The first type were the capital-owners themselves. The second type consisted of salaried managers working for their employers. The last type involved merchants who borrowed capital from others by contract.

At a time when the region's trade was not yet so prosperous and commercial capital not abundant, as in the previous period, it is likely that the first type of merchant would have been more prevalent. The above-mentioned example of Lin Chao-ch'ing of the mid-eleventh century was typical of this sort. Lin's case also indicates that on some occasions capital-owners would combine their capital and manage the business together. Profits gained eventually would be divided according to the share of capital each had provided. Of course, individual management was not infrequent for these capital-owners either.

There were professional managers who ran long-distance trade with capital not their own. They were called kan-jen or hsing-ch'ien or ching-shang. According to their relationship with the capital-owners, they fell into the second and third types of merchants mentioned above. Those of the second type often were employees of the capital-owners, and received a wage. This arrangement seems to have been more popular in immobile operations such as shopkeeping and pawn businesses. I have already mentioned the voyage by a Ch'üan-chou merchant Wang Yüan-mao from 1178 to 1188. The source states that Wang, as a capital-owner, employed
a *hsing-ch’ien* named Wu Ta 太 to manage the voyage.\textsuperscript{105} This is a revealing example of the practice under discussion. It also seems to have been possible for the arrangement to be a temporary one, lasting only for the duration of a given voyage, rather than as permanent employment.

However, more prevalent in maritime trade, with its heavy investments and considerable risks, was the third type of merchants, who operated in terms of a lender-borrower relation. A common practice seems to have been for the manager, often called *ching-shang* as noted by Shiba, to borrow a certain amount of money or goods from the capital-owner. The loan was on a round-trip basis. An interest rate would be fixed beforehand and repayment made after the voyage.\textsuperscript{106} This was no doubt a safe and profitable means of commercial investment. A miscellaneous work of 1119, entitled *P’ing-chou k’o-t’an* 亭可談, by Chu Yü 楚與, gives a brief account of commercial lending in Kuang-chou. It states:

People (merchants) in Kuang-chou borrow [capital for overseas trade]. The contract states that there will be an interest rate of 100 per cent for the loan by repayment shall be deferred until return from overseas. Even though [the borrower] may stay overseas for ten years, the interest rate remains the same. [However,] the rich [lenders] make use of this period of time to store up silks and ceramics (both basic export items). The prices of these goods rise as a result. Using the higher prices as basis for calculation of the value of interest derived from the borrowers, they earn two times to five times more [than what the interest would have been had the original prices been maintained.] Of the officials in Kuang-chou, it is the *shih-po-shih* who handles legal cases concerning loans and interest [in overseas trade.] This is also a measure to encourage trade.\textsuperscript{107}

From this account, it seems that the commercial capital which the merchants borrowed from the capital-owners was not infrequently in
the form of goods rather than cash. The reason is that the contract did not take into account the length of time and the rate of interest was fixed. Had the loan been made in cash, the value of interest accruing would not have increased as a result of the rising prices of goods. The only way we can account for an increased value in interest when the interest rate remained fixed is that the loan was in the form of goods and interest was calculated on the basis of the prices of the same items at the time of repayment. If this interpretation is correct, it suggests that borrowing commercial capital in the form of goods was practised in overseas trade in Kuangchou. A similar practice must have occurred in South Fukien as well.

Practice of borrowing commercial capital was common in medieval Italy. There, travelling tractator borrowed commercial capital from commendators under a kind of contract called commenda. The responsibility of each party, as summarized by Lopez, was that the commendator "bore all the risks of capital and was entitled to a share of the profits," while the tractator "bore all risks of labor and kept back the rest of the profits." In the Middle East, Arab and Persian merchants also practised a similar form of commercial investment and management. Udovitch, in his account of commenda in the eleventh-century Muslim trade, described it as "an arrangement in which one party invests capital and another party trades with it on the understanding that they share the profits in an agreed upon ratio, and that any loss resulting from normal trading activity is borne by the investing party." The ching-shang in Sung China, as noted
by Shiba, may be considered as one variation of commendae.\textsuperscript{110} The significance of commendae in the medieval Italian and Muslim trade has been discussed by Lopez and Udovitch.\textsuperscript{111} There is no doubt that the commercial prosperity in South Fukien was also significantly prompted greatly by this practice.

Archaeological evidence also provides some ideas relating to the commercial practices mentioned here. In 1974, an ancient ship was excavated in an outer port, Hou-chu 后渚, of Ch‘üan-chou Bay (see MAP 5). It is generally believed to have sunk around the end of the Southern Sung.\textsuperscript{112} Discovered in the hull were 96 wooden labels, 77 of which were inscribed with characters which were still identifiable. These were enough to show that the labels were used to identify cargoes belonging to various merchants on board. They divide into four categories: place names, personal names, company names\textsuperscript{113}, and miscellaneous (see TABLE 14). Two things can be inferred from these labels. First, it is clear that a single voyage usually involved many individual traders. Second, in the largest category, that of the company names, there were many called kan-chi 乾記. As noted above, kan-jen were not necessarily permanent employees. Sometimes, they could be professional managers who worked temporarily for the capital-owners for the duration of a voyage. Here, the kan-jen seem to have been running companies of their own. It is possible that they invited investment from others but managed the trade themselves. This kind of occupational specialization can only have originated in prosperous trade. As will be discussed in the
next chapter, overseas trade in South Fukien declined markedly in the thirteenth century. The fact that this practice still existed then indicates that it may have originated and spread in the twelfth century when commerce was still expanding strongly.

TABLE 13 WOODEN LABELS DISCOVERED IN THE SUNG SHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PLACE NAMES</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERSONAL NAMES</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPANY NAMES</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MISCELLANEOUS</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:
Ch'üan-chou-wan Sung-tai hai-ch'uan fa-chüeh pao-kao pien-hsieh-tsu, 1975, pp.11-12.
3. Government Participation

Institutionally, the most important change in the *shih-po-ssu* system during this period was that, from the reign of Hui-tsung, the post of *t'í-chü shih-po-ssu* was filled by a specially appointed official. This office was thus officially made independent of that of commissioner for transport. Clearly, behind this measure was the growing importance and complexity of maritime affairs, which could no longer be handled by concurrent appointment. Although independent appointments were temporarily suspended several times, this remained the dominant practice in relation to the office throughout the period. It was not until the first quarter of the thirteenth century that the post was once again concurrently held by the prefects. To this we shall return in the next chapter.

The policy of government control remained unchanged. Moreover, there was a growing concern and desire to extract more revenue from the maritime trade, especially after the fall of the Northern Sung and the subsequent loss of the territories in North China. Under this policy, the duties and functions of the *shih-po-ssu* mentioned in the previous chapter were carried on, but now, more active government participation can be discerned in official dealings with maritime trade.

*Shih-po-ssu* had a duty to levy import tariffs and handle official purchases. The tariff rate varied in the course of time, with the peak of 40 per cent being recorded in 1144. A rate of 10 per cent seems to have applied normally. A certain proportion of
the remaining cargo after tariff clearance was subject to official purchase. The percentage of this varied according to item and time, but ranged from 30 to 60 per cent. It is impossible to estimate the quantity of imports gathered by the shih-po-ssu. Yet that they held a major proportion of the total imports, particularly in the case of the lucrative items frankincense and ivory, which were completely monopolized by the state, is unquestionable.

Capital for official purchases came occasionally from the local government budget of tribute to the court, but mainly from the central government in the form of payments for monk certificates. Part of the profits derived from the trade may also have been set aside as official capital for future purchases. But requests for more capital were often made; and in response, the central government increased its investment in the trade. This reflects the growing size and capacity of official trade. Also interesting is the fact that these instances which have been found relate without exception to the twelfth century, especially the first three decades of the Southern Sung. An intensification of commercial activities and increasing official participation in them must have taken place at this time.

How much did the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu earn annually from the sale of the proportion of exotic goods stored in the local official shops? There are discussions by scholars of the income derived from official trade of aromatics throughout the country. Others deal with the total income of all shih-po-ssu. However, these studies have not shown the specific impact of official participation in
maritime trade on South Fukien. Some scholars have made suggestions concerning this question, but their answers are unconvincing. A review of the evidence on this matter follows.

First, there is a piece of evidence cited, but misinterpreted, by Lin T'ien-wei and Chang Hsiang-i. Lin cites a passage from the Chien-yen i-lai ch'ao-yeh tsa-chi and interprets it as evidence to show that the Fukien shih-po-ssu made a total profit of 980,000 strings of cash during the period from 1128 to 1134. He concludes that the office gained an annual profit of over a hundred thousand strings from the maritime trade. Chang uncritically accepted the figure of 980,000 and further misconstrued it to represent the total profit of the shih-po-ssu trade for the empire. In fact, the information which is mentioned in this source is more precisely described in Sung-hui-yao kao. It states that the amount of 980,000 strings of cash only represents the profit the Fukien shih-po-ssu gained from goods originally taxed and purchased from a particular local merchant named Ts'ai Ching-fang over that six year period. It does not represent the total profit gained by the Fukien shih-po-ssu. Nor does it have anything to do with the total profit of the empire's shih-po-ssu dealings.

The other piece of evidence which has been used by Doi Hiroko to estimate the income of the shih-po-ssu trade in Fukien is also questionable. This comes from a memorial written by a mid-twelfth-century official named Ts'ao Hsün. It says that between 1165 and 1173, each of the shih-po-ssu in Kuang-chou and Ch'üan-chou gained 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 from the trade. But the unit used
in these figures is not specified. Thus it cannot be determined whether it is string of cash, as Doi assumed, or whether it represents a whole range of units indiscriminately added together, such as catties, strings, pieces and so on.¹²⁵ This latter haphazard counting method was common in Sung financial records.¹²⁶ Needless to say, the figures do not indicate precise values. At most they provide a rough idea. In any case, they are quite unsuitable for direct mathematical comparisons.

Nevertheless, judging from the case of Ts'ai Ching-fang, and the amount of 2,000,000 strings of cash which was the total profit from the country's shih-po-ssu trade around the middle of the twelfth century,¹²⁷ it seems that, at the peak of the trade, official profits gained in South Fukien from this source must have been at least several hundred thousand strings of cash. The profit may have amounted to over a million strings, but this cannot be established without new evidence.

4. The Commercialization of Agriculture

Agricultural development in South Fukien at this time was in general tending towards commercialization. This process of commercialization can be seen from two viewpoints which are clearly interrelated. First, cultivation of specialized crops planted in response to the market demand became more widespread in the region at this time. Second, as a result of the expansion of specialized crops, food production had to support not only the rural localities,
but also the growing population in cities and that of other rural areas which had converted much of their farmland to specialized crops. Their commercial character became increasingly obvious.

Although there was an expansion in the cultivation of specialized crops, the variety of these crops did not change drastically. It included sugar-cane, wine materials such as glutinous rice and wheat, cotton and hemp.

Sugar from South Fukien had been inferior to that in Fu-chou. But the proportion of sugar farming in some areas of this region seems to have been increasing. Because its role as a specialized crop seems not to have been sufficient to attract people's attention, there is no direct evidence of this change. However, indirect evidence can be drawn from the T'ieh-an chi, a collected work for a late Southern Sung figure named Fanq Ta-tsunq, which will be discussed again in the next chapter. In a letter dating from the 1230s, it is mentioned that the agriculture in Hsien-yu county of Hsing-hua chun was overwhelmingly devoted to sugar-cane. It is not likely that extensive agricultural specialization could have occurred suddenly in the thirteenth century. It must have been taking place gradually in the twelfth century. In addition to exports, local sugar products seem to have been in great demand in other parts of China as well.

The price of glutinous rice mainly used to make wine was double that of other varieties of rice. In Fanq Ta-tsunq's letter mentioned above, it is also said that a great proportion of farmland in Hsing-hua county had been devoted to glutinous rice planting, causing a serious reduction in rice production. Another crop for
wine-making was wheat. Wheat had probably been grown in Fukien before this time, but not in significant quantity. Following the fall of the Northern Sung, double-cropping of wheat and rice was a widespread practice in South China, as noted by Sudō Yoshiyuki. In some regions, this was due to the diet of new migrants flowing in from the North. South Fukien's population, however, did not drastically increase following this political change. It thus seems that the increased output of wheat in this region was a result of the growing demand for wine, rather than of changes in food preferences. There is evidence that wheat was being planted in all prefectures of South Fukien at this time. Wine was a government monopoly in Sung times. It could only be made in official wineries, or private ones which purchased a charter for production on an auction basis. Nevertheless, there were a few border prefectures exempted from this monopoly. Among them were those in South Fukien. The reason for this exemption is not known. Wine produced in these monopoly-free prefectures could not be sold in places where the monopoly was enforced. Yet, there is evidence that many local families of middle rank in the property assessment scale participated in wine production and trade. It is very likely that this business was greatly stimulated by overseas trade, especially by the wine exports to Champa and Srivijaya that are documented in Chu-fan chih.

Silk textiles and trade were flourishing in both the domestic and overseas markets of Sung times. The quality of raw silk produced in South Fukien was very poor and the silk textiles probably it did not play an important role in the local economy. Imports of raw silk from
the Liang-che to maintain the production of certain high-quality silk textiles seem to have taken place. These fine fabrics may have been used for export.

The manufacture of hemp textiles further developed to the extent that it was possible to supply not only the neighbouring Chiang-hsi circuit, but also the region of the lower Yangtze where hemp textiles had long been produced. The quality of the local hemp products must have been greatly improved. As the quality of the silk of this region was low, the locals invented a fabric which was a blend of hemp and silk. The cost of production remained low but the quality could be improved. There is evidence that production of this blend fabric was taking place in Chang-chou and Hsing-hua chün. In the latter place, it replaced ordinary hemp as the tributary item.

It is possible that in the previous period, production of cotton textiles in South Fukien was already growing steadily. There is evidence that cotton planting was not uncommon in the Liang-kuang and Fu-chien from the last quarter of the eleventh century through to the end of the twelfth. Like other specialized crops, it had not yet expanded to the extent that it was constantly mentioned in documents, as happened in later times. But its steady growth is not difficult to discern. It should be noted that cotton fabrics were still not in abundant supply, and thus belonged to the semi-luxury category, goods consumed mainly by the upper stratum of society. Judging from the need to import cotton cloth from Hainan and the Philippine archipelago, we can safely assume that there was a growing demand for cotton fabrics in China during this period, and that cotton planting
was being encouraged and slowly expanding in South Fukien.

When we turn to consider foodgrains, we have to take into account the size of the region's population. As discussed in Chapter II, the population of South Fukien had increased considerably from the previous period and had reached a household population of 201,406 by 1102. On the other hand, although foodgrain productivity had increased because of technological improvements, the increase was not enough to match this growth. There is little evidence of new and significant improvements in agriculture in South Fukien being introduced during this present period, except for some irrigation projects. The situation was further aggravated by the spread of specialized crops. As a result, local food production ceased to be self-sufficient and importing rice from neighbouring regions became a necessity.

There is evidence that Fukien began to require rice imports in the early years of the Southern Sung. The situation became worse during the reign of Hsiao-tsung (1163-1189). In the biography of a scholar-official named Fu Tzu-te, of Ch'üan-chou origin, it is mentioned that due to a severe drought in Ch'üan-chou, Fu, the deputy commissioner for transport in Fukien at that time, proposed the measure of importing rice from other regions. As a result of this the rice price remained at a normal level. Another example concerns Hsing-hua chüan. A native official happened to have retired at home when the prefecture suffered a severe drought. This official proposed an exemption of tonnage duty (li-sheng shui) for the rice trade. It was effective because many rice merchants were attracted to the area and the threat of starvation was averted.
In both cases importing rice was only a temporary measure for drought relief. However, a memorial presented to the emperor Hsiao-tsung (1163-1189) by a famous official from the royal clan named Chao Ju-yü, points out that even in years of good harvest, importation of rice from the Che-chianq and Liang-kuanq to Fu-chien was necessary. It further notes that because of the drought in the Liang-kuanq in a certain year which caused prices to double there, the rice price in Fu-chou was high despite import supplement, and that in Ch'üan-chou and Hsing-hua it went up to a dangerous level.\textsuperscript{153} To judge from this memorial, it is very likely that regular rice shipments to Fukien were already being made by the second half of the twelfth century. South Fukien seems to have absorbed the bulk of these shipments. It thus was affected most by the fluctuations in rice prices in other regions. In 1171, a prefect of Ch'üan-chou even gave interest-free loans to merchants so that they could import more rice from Kuang-chou.\textsuperscript{154}

If the assumption that South Fukien began to import rice from other regions in the second half of the twelfth century is correct,\textsuperscript{155} it is also very likely that rice prices in those regions will not have been too high. In his study of rice prices during the Southern Sung, Liang Keng-yao discovered that the price had dropped and remained low, varying from 20 to 25 cash per \textit{sheng} throughout the second half of the twelfth century, before gradually rising in the first few decades of the next century.\textsuperscript{156} This coincides with the developments discussed above. As to Fukien, there is evidence that in the mid-1150s, the price of rice was around 30 cash per \textit{sheng}, only slightly higher than the standard rate in the Liang-che circuit.\textsuperscript{157} Obviously in comparison to specialized crops,
rice growing was not a very lucrative business. This was a time when South Fukien's population had grown to a size that its own agriculture could barely support; yet the region's income, which was derived from specialized crops, manufacturing and, more importantly, commerce, was able to support its growing population by purchasing and shipping rice from elsewhere. Time was another crucial factor which strengthened the region's dependence on imported rice. If the rice price had not been so low for such a long time, the region would have been forced to develop and rely more on its own supply, or at least to moderate the commercialization of its agriculture.

All in all, the agriculture of South Fukien was becoming ever more commercialized. Although most varieties of crops were to be found there prior to this, the pattern of cropping was changing in relation to commercial market demands. In certain parts of the region, specialized crops, which were more profitable for trade, were gradually replacing the staple grain of rice, which was less profitable. Nevertheless, this process of commercialization had not yet developed to the very obvious stage in which it would raise many economic problems, as in the next period. Nor were these changes conspicuous enough to gain themselves a notable place in historical documents. Accordingly, it may not be unjustified to assume that, during this period, the commercialization of agriculture in South Fukien was in a balanced condition. It implies that the agricultural sector was able to supply substantial specialized crops to the commercial sector, and at the same time, to keep foodgrain imports down to a level which could be borne by the local economy. Thus there seems to have been a balance between the two economic sectors.
5. The Local Industries

In the earlier period, commercial activities in South Fukien had been dominated by the transit trade. Local manufacturing did not play a supporting role for commerce. In the present period, the industries became capable of providing commodities that were profitable in overseas and domestic markets. In such circumstances, some of the goods could be obtained locally and directly shipped overseas. The cost of purchase and transhipment of goods from other regions was thus avoided. In other words, the profit margin for exports from South Fukien increased correspondingly, which accelerated accumulation of wealth in the region. As these industries flourished solely in response to the expansion of trade, they can be conceived as a supporting sector for the commercial sector.

The most important industries supporting trade were textiles, wine-making, sugar, ceramics, and the mineral and salt industries. Of these, the first three have been mentioned already in the discussion of agricultural commercialization. Here, we shall simply look at their general structures. The others deserve more attention. Wherever possible, their locations, methods of production, structure, sources of raw materials and the distribution of their finished products will be examined. In addition to these local industries, mention should be made of the shipbuilding industry. Although it did not supply commodities for trade, it provided the means of transport, which were as important as the goods themselves.
Textiles were probably produced mainly in rural households as a subsidiary source of income. There is no evidence that large-scale textile workshops existed. Raw materials were basically self-supplied, except for fine silk which was purchased elsewhere to improve the quality of the local silk products. In this period, textile technology in South Fukien seems to have remained simple and traditional, without any noticeable innovation. Improvement of quality had to be achieved mainly through improvement of skills under the same technological conditions. But the rapidly growing commercial sector will have generated an increasing demand for textile goods. This must have prompted a greater utilization of specialized crops. And since textile materials constituted the bulk of the specialized crops, it follows that the number of rural households which also produced textile products will almost certainly have shown a corresponding increase.

As has already been mentioned, in most parts of the Sung empire, wine was a government monopoly. It could only be produced in official wine factories, or private ones which purchased production rights from the government. In both cases, wine-making seems to have been done by specialized workers in workshops. These workshops were called chiu-fang 酒坊, chiu-wu 酒務, chiu-ch'ang 酒場; the household undertaking this business was called chiu-chiang 酒匠 or chiu-hu 酒户. However, South Fukien was exempt from the wine monopoly. Although the reason is unclear, it seems clear that the region cannot have had this kind of organization or workers. It is likely that, like textile manufacture, wine-making was carried out in the rural households as a subsidiary activity.
Unlike specialized crops for textiles, sugar-cane is a plant which needs ten months cultivation before harvest. It thus excludes the possibility of other crops being cultivated on the same piece of farmland.\textsuperscript{159} As a result, this was a more specialized crop in a sense that the farmer who chose it as his major crop would find less opportunity for others. The tools required were neither complicated nor expensive, which made household production possible and economical.\textsuperscript{160} This is perhaps the reason why sugar-cane was readily adopted in some areas of the region.

As a major export item, ceramic products played a significant role in the industrial sector. Because of the lack of documentary records, this has long been neglected by scholars. It is only in the last few decades that accumulated archaeological findings have gradually drawn scholarly attention to this aspect of the regional economy. The following picture is largely based on these reports;\textsuperscript{161} and is, admittedly, tentative and subject to revision when more discoveries are made in the future.

Kiln-sites which are attributed to Sunq-Yuan times have been found mainly in Ch'üan-chou, and a much smaller number in Hsing-hua. So far, not much has been found and reported in Chang-chou.\textsuperscript{162} TABLE 14 gives a general picture of the distribution of kiln-sites found in the seven counties of Ch'üan-chou prefecture. It shows that there was a tendency for them to be concentrated on the coastal plain before the mid-Southern Sunq, then to move gradually into the mountain area during the late Southern Sunq and Yuan. Under the Ming and Ch'ing, the ceramic industry on the plain area declined conspicuously;
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTY</th>
<th>FIVE DYNASTIES</th>
<th>SUNG-YUAN</th>
<th>MING-CH'ING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chin-chiang</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nan-an</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-an</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T'ung-an</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An-ch'i</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung-ch'un</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te-hua</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>414</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:*

Statistical distribution chart displayed in the Museum for Overseas Relations in Ch'üan-chou.
and conversely, that in the mountain area enjoyed greater prosperity. The reason for this may be that the industry consumed a great deal of wood fuel, which would be easily exhausted in the plains area. In fact, even during the Sung-Yüan period, it is apparent that the primary centres first appeared on the plains in late Northern Sung, then shifted to the hilly hinterland under the late Southern Sung and Yüan.  

Among the counties of South Fukien, Nan-an had the largest number of kilns and is thought to have been a primary centre. However, the number of kilns does not correspond exactly with the position of ceramic production in any particular place. According to our present understanding, T'ung-an, Chin-chiang and Te-hua were also primary centres of ceramic production at this time. They had the largest kiln-sites of the time and produced most of the export ceramics for the region. There were four major categories of ceramics baked in these Sung-Yüan kilns, namely celadon, ying-ch'ing (bluish white), amber-like dark coloured earthenware and white ware. Celadon, a leading type of Sung-Yüan Chinese ceramic, could be divided into two sub-categories in South Fukien. One was the imitation of Lung-ch'üan 龍泉 celadon, which was the most valuable and admired wares baked at Lung-ch'uan in the southwestern Liang-che circuit. These imitations were mainly made in Wan-yao 瓦窯 of Ch'in-chiang, Shin-pi 石壁 of Nan-an, Kuei-yao 桂窯 of An-ch'i, and Chuang-pien of P'u-t'ien. Of the specimens from these kilns, which are currently displayed at the exhibition hall of the Museum for Overseas
Relations in Ch'üan-chou, my personal impression in 1981 was that those from Wan-yao were the best imitations. Another type of celadon belonged to a group of dark olive-green stoneware bowls with a dotted combing decoration, the so-called jukō seiji 琉光青磁 tea bowls found abundantly in Japan. These were mostly produced in T'ing-ch'i 汀池 of T'ung-an, and thus now are referred to as "T'ung-an style" by ceramic scholars. But they have also been found in other kiln-sites, such as Chuang-pien and Kuei-yao.

Amber-like earthenwares with dark colored glaze were baked mainly in Tz'u-tsao 翠州 of Chin-chiang, whereas white wares came from Ch'ü-tou-kung 山斗宮 and Kai-te 蔡德 of Te-hua. Both have local characteristics which make them distinct from ceramics from other regions.

Ying-ch'ing, a ceramic characteristic of those produced in Ching-te-chen 景德鎮 of the Chiang-hsi circuit, was made mainly in K'uei-tou 魄斗 of An-ch'i and Ch'ü-tao-kung. It was probably an imitation of the Ching-te-chen wares.

Generally speaking, kilns in the plain areas tended to bake celadon or dark colored wares; whereas those in mountain areas developed light coloured characteristics, from ying-ch'ing to white wares. South Fukien's ceramics included imitations of the popular wares of other regions as well as wares in its own local styles. They are believed to have been export-oriented. This can be supported on least two grounds. First, the size and number of kilns and their concentration far exceeded the level necessary for local supply. Second, many of the specimens of the products of these kilns have been
found in Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, and other Southeast Asian countries, and their characteristics tend to be quite different from those of the wares believed to have been used locally.174

Accurate dating of the specimens and kiln-sites is still a difficult task. However, archaeologists have managed to fix approximate dates for some of them. Judging from available information, the earliest large-scale production started some time in the second half of the Northern Sung.175 This coincides with the development pattern the present study attempts to establish. Although a ceramic industry had long existed in South Fukien, it was not until this period that the commercial sector was able to spur the industry to substantial growth, but once this had begun, the fast growth of ceramic production to satisfy an ever-increasing demand in overseas markets provided further impetus for commercial expansion. Successful imitation of popular wares originating in Liang-che and Kiang-si also significantly decreased the problems and costs of obtaining such goods before export from the ports of South Fukien. All these developments undoubtedly brought considerable wealth to the region.

Most of the kilns mentioned above were large in size, as will be noted below. They could not have been operated by the manpower of a single household. Two general accounts of their mode of operation have been put forth. The first asserts that each of these kilns belonged to a single owner, a rich merchant,176 who paid wages to the employees working the kiln. The other suggests that these kilns were built by joint capital from individual private ceramic workshops. Each workshop had to make its own pottery to the stage before firing,
then the wares were baked in the kiln together. Judging from the fact that various workshop trade-marks have been frequently found on specimens collected from a single site, the second notion seems to be the more probable of the two.

South Fukien kilns were all constructed on the slope of a hill, with a stream or river nearby. Their design, called "dragon spring kiln", was long and slender and consisted of many chambers inside. The firing capacity of each large kiln is estimated to have been between 10,000 and 30,000 pieces, and each firing possibly required 3,000 to 5,000 kg of wood fuel. This estimate is based on the fuel consumption figures for the early twentieth century, though firing techniques and the kiln design have been improved in the course of time. Actual fuel consumption in the Sung-Yüan period would in fact have been higher than this. Fuel is likely to have been obtained from the forest on the hills where the kiln was located. Another important raw material for ceramic-making is kaolin, which could be found abundantly throughout the region. Hence there were no costs in transporting raw materials to the kilns. However, the cost of transport of baked ceramics from the kilns to the markets in cities will have been considerable, as they are fragile and heavy. This is perhaps the reason why the kilns were all located close to waterways. It also explains why the industry first flourished in the coastal counties which were closest to the maritime market.

Developing from cast iron production, the iron industry in South Fukien grew, but not to the extent of its ceramic counterpart. By the early 1160s, South Fukien prefectures were completely absent from
the list of prefectures officially producing mineral products. One reason for this change may be that wooden fuel, which was heavily consumed by both the ceramic and iron industries, was quickly exhausted in the plains area. Moreover, in the competition for fuel the iron industry would have been in an unfavourable situation because ceramics were much more profitable than iron wares. This must have seriously affected cast iron production. However, it does not mean that the iron industry completely lost its value for the region's economy. On the contrary, in many overseas markets such as Srivijaya and Java, iron wares were in considerable demand. A small but profitable ironware production was replacing cast iron production. Instead of having huge official mines and smiths, the iron industry in South Fukien in the mid-twelfth century was mainly in the hands of private entrepreneurs. Down to the reign of Ch'un-yu (1241-1253), there were still households in Te-hua and Yung-chun specializing in iron goods.

Little is known about the details of the iron industry in South Fukien. Hartwell has suggested there were two types of operation in the iron industry in the Northern Sung. One type was characterized by part-time peasant labour in a plant which was operated under an independent partnership. Scale, both in terms of production and investment, was usually very limited in this type of operation. It could barely manage to supply daily utensils and farming implements to a small locality. The other was the larger enterprise in which an ironmaster, as owner of the mine and smelting facilities, hired full-time laborers for production. There were usually workshops with
a considerable number of wage workers, supplying a proportionately larger quantity of products to bigger markets. Ironmasters of this kind probably transferred from being rich farmers, landlords or merchants, and their enterprises often operated as family business.

In the previous period, when cast iron was the prime product of the iron industry in South Fukien, operations may have included both types, but with more emphasis on the former. When the maritime trade expanded during this period, and the region's wealth substantially increased, it became possible for the second pattern to predominate. There is evidence that the industry was able to produce not only cast iron, but also fine iron, and even steel which needed higher skills, prolonged forging and a lot more investment in facilities and fuel. These products could not have been handled by the first type of operation. In the Ming gazetteer of Hsing-hua, a citation of the Sung gazetteer is given to the effect that there were iron-works on the coast of P'u-t'ien, covering an area of tens of 亩. Products were shipped or carried to elsewhere in great quantity. The furnaces erected on the hillsides kept smelting day and night. Another piece of evidence indicates that a particular family called Ts'ai, in Hsing-hua chün, were ironsmiths for a number of generations. From this, it is also evident that specialized family enterprise in iron production was spreading to the northern part of the region and becoming established there.

Another mineral which held some importance in the regional economy was silver. Two official silver mines were opened in the inland county of Lung-yen of Chang-chou not later than the mid-
According to the *Sung-shih*, both Chang-chou and Ch'üan-chou were among the twenty-three prefectures which had official mines in the mid-1060s. This shows that Ch'üan-chou had already begun to produce silver by this time. More explicit information can be found in the silver production quota account given in the *Sung-hui-yao kao*, which lists the tax quota for two silver mines, one located in An-ch'i county and one in Lung-yen county. The quota for the first of these was 3 taels in 1070 and had risen to 4 by 1078. That for the second one was much higher, being 550 taels in 1073 and 915 by 1078. Taking into account that it was the general practice to place a tax quota of 20 per cent on the output of gold and silver mines, the region probably had developed a total output close to 5,000 taels by 1078. More revealing, however, are the records concerning tributary silver, *shang-kung yin*, for Ch'üan-chou in the second half of the twelfth century. It is said that the prefecture was able to supply enough tributary silver not only to meet its own quota, but also those of four other prefectures, namely T'ai-chou, Hsin-chou, Chien-chang, and Shao-wu, from the founding of the Southern Sung till the closure of its mine in the early thirteenth century. The quota which Ch'üan-chou had to contribute amounted to 22,000 taels in 1180 and 15,600 taels in 1203, which was probably shortly before the closure of the mine. Tributary silver was a replacement of the bulky tributary and tax items such as coins and grain which the local governments were to submit to the central government. In Fu-chien in particular it was purchased by the counties in their territories and
then transported to the commissioner for transport of the circuit. Information concerning the quota of tributary silver by itself is not sufficient to enable us to determine the exact output of silver in a prefecture. It does however give some indications of the availability of silver in a particular locality. Hence, at the least, these records may be regarded as establishing that there was a considerable output of silver in South Fukien throughout the twelfth century.

The salt industry was also developing. In Fukien, only coastal prefectures were able to make salt. Among them, Fu-chou was the primary centre of salt production throughout the dynasty. However, after the first two decades of the eleventh century, South Fukien prefectures gradually developed their own salt industry. According to extant figures, the 1028 production quota for Fu-chou was 114,000 shih; and that for South Fukien was 33,900 shih. By the mid-twelfth century, the former had risen to 198,000 shih, while the latter had also jumped up to 133,389. The increase rates were 74 per cent for Fu-chou and almost 400 per cent for South Fukien. This big increase in salt production could not occur without a corresponding increase in demand. Normally, increase in demand will have had two components: internal demand, which was a result of population growth, and external demand, which derived from the stimulation of trade (either legal or illegal) with other regions or overseas. The population of South Fukien from the late tenth century to the early twelfth increased by roughly 240 per cent; but that of Fu-chou increased to approximately the same extent. It would seem, therefore, that the local population increase in South Fukien could
not have been crucial for such a marked increase in salt output. As sale of the salt produced in Fukien was confined to the circuit,\textsuperscript{201} and the salt supply for the four inland prefectures mainly came from Fu-chou, external stimulation from other domestic regions seems to have been minimal, at least in the legal domestic trade. Although a certain proportion of the salt surplus will have been absorbed by illicit trade, the production that was absorbed by the legal overseas trade is likely to have been considerable.

The shipbuilding industry did not provide commodities in trade, but did provide the essential means for maritime commerce. Sung official shipyards are recorded in many prefectures, and related documents are not rare.\textsuperscript{202} Although not possessing official shipyards, South Fukien also had a flourishing shipbuilding industry.\textsuperscript{203} There is evidence that counties in Ch’uan-chou were ordered to construct warships for the government in the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{204} According to a Yüan source which mentions the Sung practice of placing official orders for ship construction in South Fukien, the private shipyards signed a contract with the government, listing the cost for each vessel and the total number of vessels to be built.\textsuperscript{205} The private shipyards in this region thus replaced official shipyards for the supply of official vessels. As to their locations, some scholars have suggested that the Ch’üan-chou shipyards were located on the bank of the Chin River next to the southern commercial suburb.\textsuperscript{206} Evidence is however inadequate, and only future archaeological findings may help to draw a reliable conclusion.
The techniques of shipbuilding and the standard of ocean vessels were quite remarkable during Sung times. Yet, ocean-going vessels built in Fukien were considered to be of the best quality at the time. As for ship-building materials, there were three essential items, i.e., timber, iron and wood-oil from the seeds of *Aleurites cordata*. All were available in Ch'üan-chou. Timber, as the prime material for the hull and other fittings on board, will also have been supplied by the inland counties of the region, or imported from other regions. All in all, the industry prospered greatly as a result of the expanding maritime trade.

6. Economic Integration of the Region

According to the above observations, it is clear that the economy of South Fukien was quite diversified in this period. Iron and ceramic industries flourished in the flat area of Ch'üan-chou, and gradually penetrated to and developed in the inland area, where a silver industry also came into being. The agriculture of Ch'üan-chou was considerably affected, on the one hand, by this growing scale of manufacturing, and on the other, by the cultivation of specialized crops such as sugar-cane. The rapid growth of urban population created a lot of opportunities in commerce, particularly in maritime trade. All these things are evidence of the great commercial prosperity which the region enjoyed at this stage.

In the other two prefectures, diversification also took place. Hsing-hua chün was diverting a considerable part of its agriculture...
to cash crops of glutinous rice and sugar-cane. This prefecture had long been famous for its fruit. Ceramics and iron wares also flourished here. Compared with Hsing-hua, Chang-chou was probably less diversified. There was silver produced in the inland county of Lung-yen and cast iron produced in the coastal counties of Lung-ch'i and Chang-p'u, but they are not mentioned as significant in the source materials. It seems that agriculture, particularly foodgrains, remained the main sector of its economy. At least down to the mid-twelfth century most of the population of the prefecture still engaged in subsistence farming. Specialized cropping, industry and commerce were relatively less popular in this part of the region. Another piece of evidence shows that shipowners of Chang-chou at this time were largely from households in the middle and lower ranks. Their maritime business, presumably short-distance transport and fishing, could only yield them a bare subsistence existence. Given these circumstances, Chang-chou may well have remained a basic granary of foodgrains for the entire region.

Behind these phenomena, there was an integration of the region's economy. The economic diversification which occurred took place mainly as a result of commercial stimulation. It was the region's response to the lucrative maritime trade, which rose to an unprecedented height of development at this time. The production of goods under this stimulus naturally was focused around the region's centre of maritime trade, the city of Ch'üan-chou. Each sector of the economy and each part of the region therefore became more and more
integrated into an organic economic unity. They were much more inter-
dependent and mutually sustaining than ever before.

To substantiate this notion of regional integration, it may be
helpful to mention a revealing indicator of the development of
internal communication within the region during this time, namely
bridge construction.

According to Ch'eng Kuang-yü's study of bridge-building in
Ch'üan-chou during the Sung-Yüan period, the highest frequency of
construction occurred in the first few decades of the Southern Sung.
Ch'eng further associates this with the development of maritime trade
in the locality, and concludes that due to the immense wealth that was
accumulated from trade there was no difficulty in raising funds in
the locality for this sort of construction.215 Relying on his
observation, it can also be assumed that there must have been a
growing need for reliable and convenient internal communication which
provided the motive for building more bridges in the mid-twelveth
century. It is unlikely that local merchants of initiative, who were
pursuing profit by investing their capital in whatever lucrative
scheme was available, would have put their money into expensive bridge
construction for the sake of nothing but reputation.216 In other
words, the tremendous investment put into this bridge-building must
have been to promote the trade from which the capital stemmed. That
the promotion of internal communications would largely benefit the
maritime trade in the regional centre of Ch'üan-chou city implies an
increasing economic interaction and growing integration of the entire
region.
Notes

2. Tung-p'o tsou-i, 6:5a/b.
3. Ibid., 6:12a/b.
5. SS, 487:14053.
8. Mori, Ni-Sō bōeki no kenkyū, pp.36-41.
9. SHYK, fan-i, 4:73a/74b.
10. Ibid., fan-i, 4:82a; 7:50a/b.
15. SHYK, fan-i, 4:75a. FCTC, 1867, 90:14b.
16. Cho-chai wen-chi, Lin Chih-ch'ī, (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen II), 15:12a/b. Pai Shou-i did notice this piece of evidence. But relying on the text of the Chu-fan chih, he asserted that Lin mistook Shih Chou-wei as a Srivijayan instead of an Arab. In this way, Pai is actually using a secondary source to verify an original one, overlooking the fact that the Chu-fan chih was written half a century later and was based on Lin's account. Thus, I cannot agree with Pai's assertion. Also noteworthy is that Pai overlooked other important differences between Lin's account and the information in the Chu-fan chih. Although he cites this important document of Lin in his work, he does not seem to realize its importance. See Pai Shou-i, Chung-kuo I-ssu-lan-shih kang-yao ts'an-k'ao tz'u-liao, (Shanghai: Wen-t'ung shu-chū, 1948), pp.269-270.


20. Many scholars take "Ch'üan-nan" to refer to the southern suburb of the city of Ch'üan-chou. For instance, Kuwabara, 1935, pp.52-53. I have discussed this problem before and have established that Ch'üan-nan was another name for Ch'üan-chou. See Su, 1978, pp.86-92. But the references I had found at that time only indicated this usage in the Southern Sung. More recently I have noticed passages which allow us to trace the usage back not only to the Northern Sung in the eleventh century, but also to the Min regime. See Fang-yü sheng-lan, 12:6a; CCFC, 1763, 29:9a; 75A:34a/b; Chiü-kuo chih, Lu Chen, (Ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng ch'u-pien), 10:101.


25. SHYK, fan-i, 7:50a/b; and 4:82a.


30. SHYK, fan-i, 4:75a/76b.


32. Ling-wai tai-ta, Chou Ch'ū-fei, (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen Supplementary), 2:15a.
33. ibid., 3:12a.
34. ss, 490:14118-14121.
35. Kuwabara, 1935, pp.53-56; 67 and 104.
36. There has long been a controversy over the date of foundation of the mosque which still exists in the city of Ch'üan-chou nowadays. According to an Arabic inscription carved on the wall behind the main gate, it was built in 1009. Another Chinese inscription dated 1350, on a tablet located in the mosque, gives the foundation date as 1131. See Wu Wen-tianq, 1957, pp.21-25; Su, 1978, pp.104-114. However, a recent article has revealed that the Chinese inscription was in fact completely re-written in 1507. More importantly, it proves that the mosque built in 1131 was located in the southern part of the city, and was not the same as the one which exists today. See Ch'en Ta-sheng, Chuanq Wei-chi, "Ch'üan-chou I-ssu-tan-chiao ssu-chih te hsin yen-chiu," Ch'üan-chou wen-chih 4, (1980), pp.1-10.
37. SHYK, fan-i, 4:94a.
39. Although Ling-wai tai-ta, 3:12a, mentions that Java produced more luxury goods than Srivijaya, it does not suggest a more frequent direct trade between South Fukien and Java.
40. Chou Wen-chung-kung ch'üan-chi, Chou Pi-ta, (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen II), 67:5b.
42. ibid., 5:20a.
46. Ling-wai tai-ta, 2:9a.

47. ss, 186:4544. This is mentioned in Schafer, 1970, p.83. But he does not note the change in the taxation method in 1083. Under the Sung, principal commercial tax was kuo-shui (ad valorem duties) levied on the basis of the value of commodities. Supplementing this was li-sheng-shui (specific duties) levied according to the capacity of commercial vessels. The commercial tax introduced in Hainan before 1083 differed from the above two duties. However, after 1083 the island had a tax system which conformed to the mainland pattern. See Shiba, 1968, pp.500-522.


49. Ling-wai tai-ta, 2:8a.


51. Ling-wai tai-ta, 2:8b/9a.

52. Mori, Ni-Sō bōeki no kenkyū, p.40.

53. There is a substantial literature on this subject. For instance, see Ch'üan Han-sheng, "Nan-Sung Hang-chou ti hsiao-fei yu wai-ti sheng-p'in chih shu-ju," in Chung-kuo ching-chi-shih lun-ts'ung, v.1, pp.295-323.

54. For instance, see Ch'üan Han-sheng, ibid., pp.320-322.


57. Shiba, 1968, p.433. This biography is preserved in Huai-hai chi, Ch'in Kuan (Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien), 33:2a.


60. Hsü zu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien, 341:4b/5b; 409:5a/6a.

61. In 1162, three former county sheriffs and one former chief of the coastguard, who had previously served in Ch'üan-chou prefectures, were demoted one rank. The reason was that they had
connived with native merchants to trade in Shan-tung, a territory occupied by the Chin at that time. See Chou Wen-chung-kung ch'üan-chi, 94:19a/b.

63. Ibid., 41:43b.
64. Pu-hsiu kao-tseng ch'uan, Ming Ho, in Tripitaka, (Hongkong: The Hong Kong Committee on the Photographic Publication of a Continuation to the Buddhist Tripitaka, 1967), v.134, 23:171a.
68. On prices of aromatics under the Sunq, see ibid., pp.356-360.
69. Paul Wheatley, 1959, pp.31-32.
70. On the contents of this category, see ibid., pp.38-39.
71. Mori, Ni-So boeki no kenkyu, pp.270-271.
74. Mori, Ni-Sō boeki no kenkyū, pp.267-268.
75. Yūn-lu men-ch'ao, 5:20a, states that cotton cloth was the major item of trade with the tribes in the Philippine archipelago.
79. Paul Wheatley, 1959, p.36.
81. Katō, *ibid.*

82. On exports of copperwares, see Ch'üan Han-sheng, "Sung-tai Kuang-chou," pp.26-27.


85. Mori, *Ni-Sō bōeki no kenkyū*, pp.272-278.

86. *Chu-fan chih chiao-chu*, p.90.


94. *Chu-fan chih chiao-chu*, p.4.


98. For a discussion of the monopolized items of aromatics and the organizations concerned with their sale and storage during the Sung dynasty, see Lin T'ien-wei, *ibid.*, pp.222-231; 269-324.

99. Especially in the early years of the Southern Sung, an imperial edict had ordered that monopolized goods derived from overseas trade could be sold locally so as to save the cost of transporting them to the national capital. *SHYK*, *chih-kuan*, 44:11b/12a; 44:20b/21a.

101. Ibid., pp.435-466.

102. This is called joint-capital partnership. See Shiba, 1968, pp.458-461. Another example given by Shiba is the mathematics question in the Shu-hsueh chiu-ch'ang, 98:15b/16a. It concerns four capital-owners who put together four kinds of investment for maritime trade. In return, their shares of the exotic goods are determined by the proportion their investment contributed to the total capital.

103. Shiba, ibid., pp.441-447. There were also kan-jen and hsing-ch'ien in other economic organizations such as manors and shops.


105. Wada Hisanori, 1959, pp.82-83; Shiba, 1968, p.443.


107. P'ing-chou k'o-t'an, 2:4a/b.


113. Included in this group are those ending with chi, chi-hao 記, shui-chi水記. Four names however need further explanation. They are Wu Hsing 景興, Nan-chia南家, Ts'eng kan 曾千 and Chang kan 張千. These are included here because there are corresponding names such as Wu Hsing shui-chi 景興水記, Nan-chia chi-hao 南家號記, Ts'eng kan shui-chi 曾千水記 and Chang kan shui-chi 張千水記. From these, it seems that the former were probably simplified from the latter.

115. There is a revealing evidence of such a concern, which has been cited often by scholars. In 1137, the emperor Kao-tsung had stated explicitly that the profit from maritime trade was so remarkable that it could ease the taxation burden of the commoners. Therefore, he was very much concerned about this matter. See SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:20a/b.


117. For instance, in 1167 there was a decree ordering the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu to take 250,000 strings of cash from the tribute quota of silver for the four coastal prefectures of Fukien, and use it as capital for official purchases in maritime trade. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:29a/b.

118. During the Sung dynasty, a monk certificate from the government was required by anyone who wanted to acquire the status of monk. This kind of monk certificate sometimes became a means of payment in government expenditure and the cost of the certificates fluctuated. See Yuan Chen, "Liang-Sung tu-tieh k'ao" in Sung-Liao-Chin she-hui-ching-chi-shih lun-chi, (Hongkong: Ch'ung-wen shu-tien, 1973), v.2, pp.214-220; 228-258.


121. See Lin T'ien-wei, 1960, p.266.

122. See Chang Hsiang-i, 1874, p.287.

123. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:19b.


125. Hirth & Rockhill, 1911, p.22.

126. SS, 186:4560.

127. SHYK, chih-kuan, 44:25a/26b.
128. T'ieh-an chi, Fang Ta-tsung, (Ssu-k'u ch'uan-shu chen-pen II), 21:4b. See also Shiba, 1968, p.216.


131. T'ieh-an chi, 21:4b.


133. Ibid., pp.237-239.

134. Ibid., pp.239-242.

135. Ibid., p.266.

136. SS, 185:4513/4523.

137. Ibid., 185:4514.


140. Since local mulberry trees were not fertilized enough, the raw silks produced were full of knots. Pa-min t'ung-chih, 3:63b; Hui-an hsien-chih, 1530, 5:6a/b; An-ch'i hsien-chih, 1552, 1:16b; Hsing-hua fu-chih, 1503, 12:10a/11a.

141. A citation from a Sung gazetteer reads, "Raw materials for textiles were shipped from Wu-che (Liang-che) every year." Hsing-hua fu-chih, 1503, 12:10a/11a. The period to which this piece of evidence refers is not clear. Judging from the fact that it is a citation from a Sung gazetteer of Hsing-hua chun, it may well have been some time in the Southern Sung.

142. A revealing example comes from a memorial of 1133, which mentions that hemp cloth for tribute from Yang-chou had been made in Wen-chou and Ch'üan-chou. Due to the devastation of war, cloth traders had almost stopped trading with this prefecture. Thus, the memorial continues to suggest that an exemption of this tributary item should be allowed for two years. SHYK, shih-huo, 41:43b.

143. Pa-min t'ung-chih, 26:18a.


146. Amano, 1979, p.486.


151. For details of tonnage duty in the Sung times, see Shiba, 1968, pp.496-522.


155. Relying on the fact that the population in Fukien did not increase drastically in the early Southern Sung, Clark claims that regular rice imports to Fukien began in the Northern Sung. Clark, 1981, pp.229-230. This is not convincing because the need to import rice was not determined solely by the net rate of population growth. Other factors, such as occupational diversification, expansion of specialized cropping, and commerce, have to be taken into account as well.


159. Aizawa, 1979, p.69. The fact that sugar-cane planting was seriously affecting rice production is also indicated by the evidence mentioned earlier. An official complaint that in Hsiency county a lot of farmland had been devoted to sugar-cane cultivation and consequently local food-supplies had been seriously reduced, *T'ieh-an chi*, 21:4b.


For P'u-t'ien, see Li Hui-ping, "P'u-t'ien yao-chih ch'ü-t'an," Wen-wu, 1979:12, pp.37-42;

163. Hsü Ch'ing-ch'uan, 1980, pp.5-6.
165. On Lung-ch'üan celadon, see Ch'en-Wen-li, 1962.
166. Ch'en Wen-li, 1957, p.56.
169. Li Hui-ping, 1979, p.42.
172. An-ch'i-hsien wen-hua-kuan, ibid., p.65.
174. An illustrative example is the kendis. This type of ware was used mainly in Southeast Asia, but seldom in China. See Hsu Pen-chang etc., 1975, pp.149-150.
175. It is because the technique of inverted stacking was commonly used in these kilns. This kind of technique, a prerequisite for mass production, was first used in North China in the Northern Sung. But it did not spread to the South until the end of the Northern Sung when the technique was further developed and improved in Ching-te-chen. See Li Hui-ping, 1975, p.67. For a

176. Li I-piao, 1979, p.5.

177. Te-hua ku tz'u-yao-chih k'ao-ku fa-chüeh kung-tso-tui, 1979, p.58.


179. An estimate of the capacity of a Lung-ch'uan Sung kiln is given as 20,000 to 25,000 pieces for each firing. See Guy, 1980, p.33, n.16. The length of this Lung-ch'uan kiln was 50.36m and the average width 2.5m. In the case of Ch'u-tou-kung kiln of Te-hua, its length is estimated as 57.10m and the width 1.4-2.95m. Te-hua ku tz'u-yao-chih k'ao-ku fa-chüeh kung-tso-tui, 1979, pp.52-53. It is thus possible to apply the capacity estimate for the Lung-ch'uan kiln to this South Fukien kiln. Since the sizes of all kilns discovered in South Fukien are not available, a conservative estimate of 10,000 to 30,000 pieces seems reasonable.


182. On the use of charcoal as prime fuel in smelting in South Fukien, see Hui-an hsien-chih, 1530, 5:21b/22a.


184. Chien-yen i-lai hsi-nien yao-1u, 177:2a.


188. Hsien-ch'i-chih, 1:17b.

189. YFCYC, 9:410. No such mine existed in the late tenth century, see TPHYC, 102:6a/b.
190. *ss*, 185:4525.


194. Chou Wen-chung-kung ch'üan-chi, 62:14b/15a. This reference is dated 1180 according to *CCFC*, 1763, 26:11b.

195. *Yeh Shih chi*, 1:4/5. In this source, T'ai-chou has been replaced by Hsüan-chou 順安. Whether this is a mistake of transcription or alteration in actual practice is unknown. In any case it does not affect my argument.


197. That Ch'üan-chou had to contribute tributary silver for four other prefectures which did not have access to silver mines illustrates this point clearly.


204. *CCFC*, 1763, 29:31a/b; 29:34b; *FCTC*, 1867, 125:2b/3a.

205. Hsüeh-liu chi, Ch'eng Chü-fu, (*Hu-pei hsien-cheng ts'ung-shu*), 10:9a/b.


209. On the use of wood-oil, see *CCFC*, 1763, 19:13b.


216. The case of the An-ping Bridge gives a good example of the scale of investment in bridge building. Located to the southeast of the city of Ch'üan-chou and next to the An-hai-chen, the An-ping Bridge was completed in 1152 after a whole year's construction. Its length was about 2.5 km, with a breadth of 5 m. It was constructed with numerous rectangular stone blocks of 5-6 m in length and 1 m in width. Altogether, there were 362 spans in shape of a ship, with the sharp ends facing inland. Total expense amounted to 20,000 strings of cash. When compared with the cost of 1,400 strings of cash for the building of the Lo-yang Bridge, the most famous bridge in Fukien, which was built in 1059, it no doubt represents a tremendous investment. It should also be noted that half of this investment came from a local monk and the other half from a local merchant. This was purely a private and locally financed project, though as usual an official had been nominally named as director. This information of the An-ping Bridge comes mainly from an inscription written by Chao Ling-chin 趙令衿, the nominal director for the project. It is preserved in *An-hai chih*, Ming ed., 3:9a. Some measurements were supplied by the Museum for Overseas Relations at Ch'üan-chou. See also Ch'eng Kuang-yü, 1971, pp.317-325.
It has long been the impression of many scholars that the prosperity of Ch'üan-chou continued without interruption from the Southern Sung through the Yüan dynasty. However, in an annotated Chinese translation of Kuwabara's book on P'u Shou-keng by Ch'en Yü-ching, which was first published in 1929, this view was questioned. Ch'en gave evidence that overseas trade in Ch'üan-chou had begun to decline markedly in the early-thirteenth century, and did not flourish again until the Yüan. Nevertheless, Ch'en's remark raised little response from other scholars until recently, when Doi Hiroko brought up the question again. In an article published in 1980, she discussed in more detail the evidence for this decline of trade and the factors underlying it. Following the lead given by Ch'en and Doi, this chapter will discuss aspects of the economic problems experienced by South Fukien during this period. It concludes that though domestic trade and agricultural specialization still continued to develop, the economy of South Fukien was not as prosperous as it had been in the twelfth century. This is indicated in the government financial crisis which is mainly accounted for by the decrease of revenue from land tax and overseas trade. Not only does the decrease of revenue from overseas trade reflect a decline in that trade, the problem of land tax decrease may well reflect a change of interest from overseas trade to land holdings. In addition to these there is the instability of the monetary system which had negative effects on commercial activites.
1. The Coming of Financial Crisis

The first indication of economic recession in South Fukien is to be found in the financial difficulties which occurred in Ch'üan-chou at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In 1217, the well known scholar-official Chen Te-hsiu was appointed Ch'uan-chou prefect. In a memorial expressing gratitude for his appointment, Chen states:

...Although, as a long established Fukien prefecture, Ch'üan-chou used to be a place of prosperity, it has been gradually losing that position. Customs duty has become so oppressive that import goods are decreasing. Flood and drought have occurred one after another, causing bad harvests. Expenses of the royal clansmen living in this prefecture are double what they were previously. Consequently the prefectural treasury is running out of resources. Silver can no longer be found in the mountains [where the silver mine was located], yet there is a quota that Ch'üan-chou has to contribute on behalf of other prefectures each year. Since rice growing in this place is very inadequate, [the locals] are anxious for the daily arrival of rice shipments from other prefectures [in Liang- che and Liang-Kuang].

It may be assumed that, in general, memorials of this sort would be inclined to exaggerate difficulties that the officials were to face in their new appointments. Exaggeration of this sort could be used to anticipate any possible administrative failure at a later time, or to justify a claim to merit if things were going well. But Chen, as a scholar-official with a reputation to uphold, is not likely to have followed such a convention. In another memorial by him, this time expressing his gratitude for an appointment as prefect in Fu-chou, he wrote in a completely different vein: not a single word is mentioned of any problem relating to the coming appointment. This suggests
that he was not the kind of official who conventionally exaggerated the difficulties of new appointment. Hence, Chen's account of the financial problems in Ch'üan-chou is probably fairly reliable.

Further information concerning the financial crisis can also be found in Ch'en's biography in Sung-shih. It records that, due to heavy customs duty, the number of vessels coming to Ch'üan-chou at the time Chen took up office had dropped down to three or four ships per year. After a lot of effort, Chen and other officials managed to increase that number to thirty-six in the following year.

Chen left his Ch'üan-chou position in 1219, but was re-appointed to the same post again in 1232 for another two years. The impression one can get from his memorials written during this second term of office is that the problem was even worse than it was ten years previously. After six months in office, Chen presented a memorial asking for extra monk certificates from the central government to cover the deficit due to expenses of the royal households. It states:

[Local] wealthy merchants have been so seriously exploited that many are bankrupt. Only few can afford to voyage abroad again. [Of those who have retained their financial capacity,] most have migrated to other coastal prefectures in Kuang-tung circuit. Only a few are willing to return [to South Fukien.] During my last term of office (1217-1219), the shih-po-ssu was still able to gain a profit of one hundred thousand strings of cash per year. This amount had dropped to forty thousand in 1232, and has just barely risen to fifty thousand in 1233.

In another memorial dealing with a personnel problem relating to sub-prefects under his jurisdiction, Chen conveyed a very pessimistic view that now, unlike during his last term in office when things were still somehow controllable, the financial problems of the prefecture had
become so complex that little could be done to alleviate them.8  

There is thus no doubt that the position of government finance in Ch'üan-chou had been worsening since the beginning of the thirteenth century. And it seems that the problem remained unsolved for the remainder of the dynasty. Two imperial edicts relating to appointments of the prefect of Ch'üan-chou can be used to substantiate this point. The first one was issued in 1261 for an official named Wu Chieh.9 After mentioning that the position of prefect was a difficult one, the edict went on to mention four major problems within the prefecture. These were: the mix of foreigners and locals, the powerful local families, the exhaustion of the prefectural treasury and the corruption of local officials. The other edict was issued for an official named Hu Shen,10 of whom no record is to be found in gazetteers. This is probably because Wu was appointed shortly before the collapse of the dynasty, or because for some reason yet unknown the edict was not acted upon. But it is noteworthy that the edict stated clearly that the prefecture still suffered from serious financial difficulties.11  

What are the implication of this financial crisis? To answer this question, we need to determine first what brought the state of the region's finances to such a position. Financial problems involve a failure to maintain a balance between revenue and expenditure. Doi is inclined to stress the expenditure factor. Drawing on the above-mentioned memorial of 1232 by Chen Te-hsiu, she looks primarily at the effect of the expenditure relating to royal clansmen, and comes to the conclusion that it was this item that exhausted the financial
resources of Ch'üan-chou.\textsuperscript{12} Chen of course discusses the increase in expenditure caused by the royal households, but the overall argument in his memorial indicates clearly that the deficit stemmed mainly from a decrease in revenue rather than from a drastic increase of expenditure. He does confirm that the number of royal clansmen in the prefecture, which rose from 349 in 1129 to approximately 1,740 at the turn of the century, had reached 2,314 by 1232.\textsuperscript{13} Expenses on this item increased correspondingly. At first, these expenses were shared with the commissioner for transport in Fukien. Besides, the central government also subsidized the prefecture by means of a certain amount of monk certificates each year. But in the last two decades of the twelfth century, the contribution of the commissioner for transport was substantially reduced, and the subsidy with monk certificates terminated. Thus most of the expenses of the royal households had to be met by the prefectural treasury.\textsuperscript{14} Chen goes on to argue that this financial burden on the prefectural budget did not affect the total balance before 1195, for the reason that the prefecture was still very rich at that time. Revenue drawn from land tax and overseas trade was adequate to make up the deficit.\textsuperscript{15} He then concludes that, although expenditure on royal clansmen was a heavy burden to the prefectural government, the recent financial problem is mainly the result of a substantial decrease in the revenue from these two sources in the decades after 1195.\textsuperscript{16} A further analysis of the figures given by Chen may further substantiate this point. The increase of royal clansmen took place long before the local financial problem appeared. According to Chen, their rate of
increase was about 500 per cent between 1129 and 1195, and 132 per cent between 1195 and 1232. The rate of increase thus slowed down from the turn of the century. Hence, the problem that came into being during the 1230s does not seem to have been an effect of a substantial increase in expenditure on these royal clansmen after the 1200s.

One of the causes of the deteriorating government financial position, as can be seen clearly in references mentioned above, is the setback in overseas trade. As that trade had been the most important sector of the local economy, which was largely responsible for South Fukien's earlier prosperity, it is not surprising that the local economy would have had problems at this time. Moreover, as pointed out by Chen Te-hsiu, the revenue from land tax also witnessed a considerable decrease. This indicates that in addition to the slump in overseas trade, local agriculture must have been affected by other problems as well. These two factors will be dealt with separately in the following sections.

But to conclude this section, it is worth mentioning two general considerations which affect the picture of financial crisis in Ch'üan-chou given here. First, primary sources covering the last few decades of the Southern Sung are in general less adequate than those covering the earlier periods of the dynasty. Any picture reconstructed for this period of time will inevitably be limited to some extent by lack of information. Nevertheless, the above picture is built on the accounts given by officials who actually administered the prefecture at that time, and in these accounts there clearly is evidence that revenue, especially that from overseas trade, decreased markedly.
I would suggest that even though this picture is far from complete and cannot be definitely established by solid evidence, it does accurately indicate the general trend of the time.

Second, in the last three decades of the Southern Sung, as a result of the Mongol invasion which consumed much of the resources of the Sung in defence, the finances of both the central government and local government throughout the empire were drastically deteriorating. What are the implications of these circumstances for the deterioration of finances in Ch'üan-chou? It is hard to make a direct comparison of the financial problems in Ch'üan-chou with those in every prefecture, since the local economies varied widely. But the situations in Kuang-chou and Ming-chou can be used for comparison, and there there is no mention of similar difficulties. There may be gaps in the information available to us, but it still suggests that the financial difficulties in Ch'üan-chou were more marked than those faced by other maritime centres. In any case, the fact that financial difficulties in Ch'üan-chou were reported as early as the 1210s, before the first conflict between the Sung and the Mongols in 1235, indicates that they cannot have been solely due to the effects of Mongol invasion.

2. The Decline of Overseas Trade

From Chen Te-hsiu's biography and his memorials already cited, it may be considered that overseas trade in Ch'üan-chou declined very noticeably in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. It is estimated in the previous chapter that the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu was able to gain an annual profit of several hundred thousand strings
from the trade in the previous period. According to Chen, this income had fallen to one hundred thousand strings by the late-1210s; and fell further to less than fifty thousand in the early-1230s. Since overseas trade conducted in South Fukien, whether import or export, had to register and pay customs duty at the Ch'üan-chou shih-po-ssu, a marked decrease of the income from this office must indicate a corresponding decline in overseas trade. Moreover, the fact that many merchants suffered bankruptcy, as mentioned in my earlier citation from Chen, also suggests a problem in the commercial area.

Were there any factors adversely affecting overseas trade at this time? As mentioned by Chen, the corruption and veniality of local officials was surely a significant factor in this regard. A poem composed by Fanq Ta-tsung for Prefect Wang Hui-lung of Ch'üan-chou, who was in office from 1240 to 1241, is particularly revealing. It says:

Many benevolent prefects have governed this place before; Now we have another well-learned scholar-official. If [you] do not buy exotic goods [privately yourself], there will come abundant merchantile ships. If the tax rates are lowered, there will come many traders. If [you] do not have a luxurious diet, those corrupted minds will be purified. If [you] are stern but fair, all powerful families will obey you.18

Nevertheless, this type of obstruction had existed from the time when a shih-po-ssu was established in the prefecture.19 Significant as it is, this factor alone is not sufficient to explain a decline of overseas trade in South Fukien and Ch'üan-chou at this particular time. External factors, i.e., the overseas markets, should also be taken into account.

Looking at these external factors, significant changes in the markets which were important to South Fukien in the previous
period can be seen. For instance, the Chinese trade with Koryo, in which the Ch'üan-chou merchants used to play an important role, began to decline at the end of the twelfth century. Throughout the first three decades of the thirteenth century, there are only a few records of Chinese voyages to Koryo.\textsuperscript{20} It is likely that this was a result of the Mongol expansion into the Korean peninsula.\textsuperscript{21}

Contrasting with the overall deterioration of the Koryo trade, maritime trade with Japan continued to develop. But a fundamental change was taking place: this was the increasing participation of Japanese merchants and their eventual dominance in the trade.\textsuperscript{22} Chao Ju-kua mentions that, although the Japanese frequented Ch'üan-chou and imported wooden boards of huge size, Ch'üan-chou merchants seldom visited their country in return.\textsuperscript{23} This was rather different to the pattern characteristic of the previous period, and is very likely to have been a new development in the early-thirteenth century, when Chao held office in Ch'üan-chou.

The overseas markets to the south of South Fukien were no better than the northeastern ones. As indicated by Doi, the major trading partners of Ch'üan-chou, including Champa, Srivijaya and Ta-shih, were all unstable and in a stage of decline.\textsuperscript{24} It is hard to determine how much the decline of these markets affected the overseas trade in Ch'üan-chou. But since the overseas trade in these places was conducted mainly between maritime merchants and indigenous nobles, changes in their power structure is likely to have led to loss of trade. Putting these internal and external factors together, there is reason to believe that the overseas trade in Ch'üan-chou was facing severe problems. Overall, the available evidence seems to indicate that this trade was declining, rather than continuing to prosper.
3. Domestic Trade and Problems in Agriculture

As noted, agricultural specialization in South Fukien was in an advanced state in the twelfth century. A certain proportion of farmland was devoted to specialized cropping, so as to provide goods demanded in trade. Imports of rice increased in response to population growth and reduction of local rice output. However, it was not until the thirteenth century that this process accelerated to the extent that it become a problem for the local agriculture.

This problem is explicitly illustrated in a piece of evidence widely cited by previous scholars.25 Fang Ta-tsung, a scholar-official of P'u-t'ien origin, wrote a letter to a prefect of Hsing-hua chün called Hsing Po-wen who was in office some time during the reign of Chia-hsi (1237-1240). In this letter, Fang gave an important account of agricultural specialization in that prefecture:

These days, the fields of Hsing-hua have been taken over by rice of a high gluten content [for wine-making], and there are I know not how many thousands of piculs of it carried each year to the prefectural capital. The fields of Hsien-yu county have been used up for sugar cane, and there are I know not how many tens of thousands of jars of the stuff transported each year to Huai-nan and Liang-che. There can be no doubt that sugar cane is an obstacle in the way of rice cultivation.26

There can be little doubt that South Fukien had developed a very commercialized and specialized agriculture by this time, which was much more intensive than it had been in the previous period. On the other hand, as has been demonstrated by Ch'üan Han-sheng and Shiba Yoshinobu, rice imports to South Fukien, particularly from the Kuang-nan circuit, were increasing throughout the Southern Sung.27
Given these increasingly frequent exchanges of specialized products and foodgrains between South Fukien and other circuits, there is good reason to believe that domestic trade continued to flourish. Apart from the cited letter of Fang Ta-tsung, two more references to the active domestic trade can also be drawn from other sources. The first of them is the above-mentioned essay of 1233, commemorating the establishment of a granary in Hsing-hua chun. It is stated clearly that a large-scale rice import trade continued. The other reference is a notice to the people of Kuanq-chou, which was written by Fang Ta-tsung, Prefect of Kuang-chou from 1242 to 1246, encouraging them to weave cotton cloth. It states:

Cotton cloth comes from Hainan and Ch'üan-chou, and is used for clothing by people in Kuang-chou. Recently, some traders trading Ch'üan-chou cotton cloth were arrested by the shih-po-ssu because they were mistakenly labelled as traders of Hainan cloth avoiding custom duty. I immediately cleared up the case and released them. Although people in Ch'üan-chou are also planting cotton, they rely mostly on the imported cotton from Hainan. In fact, ships from Hainan come more frequently to nearby Kuang-chou than to remoter Ch'üan-chou. If [people] in Ch'üan-chou can weave cotton cloth for trade, there is no reason that [you] cannot weave for [yourselves] .... If the weaving of cotton cloth can be extended then all commoners in the countryside can have clothes to warm their bodies. It is not necessary to depend on the supply [of cotton cloth] from Ch'üan-chou ...

This would suggest that South Fukien's commerce was turning its emphasis from overseas trade to domestic trade.

As demand for specialized crops remained high, and rice imports remained profitable, and investment in overseas trade was becoming less attractive, more resources are likely to have been diverted into domestic trade. Yet, commodities involved were primarily agricultural
products. One possible effect of this is a rise of interest in land investment.

Mention was made in Chapter III of the large land holdings of temples in South Fukien and their role in the process of agricultural specialization. These large temple properties seem to have remained in existence until the thirteenth century. Behind this phenomenon, there is likely to have been a relatively low demand for land. Before the thirteenth century, although land ownership remained a common target for merchants, commercial investment probably still attracted a large part of the wealth derived from the prosperous trade in South Fukien. The reason is simply that investment in commerce often brought much larger profits over a shorter period of time. There is no direct evidence of this lack of interest in land ownership. But in the 1170s, it was recorded that some local powerful families planned to bid for the tenancy of some temple fields in Ch'üan-chou, which were abandoned by the temples and confiscated by the government as public property. However, their offer was so low that the tenants who had originally cultivated the land for the temples could easily offer the same rental. This suggests that even the appetite for land of the rich and powerful families was not very great. It may reflect a lack of strong incentive for land ownership among the rich.

Nevertheless, from the start of the thirteenth century, the land distribution pattern began to change. There was a rapid concentration of land into the hands of the powerful local families. This change was described clearly in the above-mentioned memorial of Chen,
concerning the request for monk certificates:

During the last twenty to thirty years, most of the lands belonging to temples and public fields were illegally occupied by the powerful families. When land transactions took place, people often put down the estimated value before the deal was made, [so as to pay less land tax to the government]...Consequently, the regular revenue decreased a lot.31

And another source indicates that in the early-thirteenth century powerful local families from a neighbouring prefecture (most likely Ch'üan-chou) were illegally occupying a great deal of temple property in Chang-chou and avoiding taxation.32 By the end of the dynasty, some powerful families must have owned considerable quantity of lands. A revealing example is that around 1270, the Ch'üan-chou administration confiscated lands from two local clans, the Wengs and the Lins , which yielded an annual grain output of 10,000 tan.33

What are the implications of this phenomenon of concentration of land holdings by the local powerful families? The increasing interest in land taken by these powerful families may have been a result of the diminishing returns for investment in overseas trade, or of the increasing risks in domestic trade, which will be discussed later. In any case, the demand for land was rising. And due to the social and political influence these powerful families had, many of them succeeded in avoiding registration and taxation. Perhaps this helps to explain the decrease in land tax revenues which adversely affected the government's finances, as mentioned earlier.
4. Changes in the Monetary System and Their Effect on the Economy of South Fukien

The monetary system of the Sung dynasty is too vast a subject to be discussed in detail here. What really concerns this study is the effects which this system and its development had on the economy of the region.

During the Northern Sung, copper coins constituted the bulk of currency in South Fukien, as in other parts of the empire. Although a kind of paper money called chiao-tzu had been developing in Szechuan, and later in other parts of North China in the eleventh century, there is no evidence that South Fukien also fell within its circulation zone. In this sense, the monetary system in South Fukien was able to remain simple by relying on a single metal currency until the mid-twelfth century. In 1045, there had been an unsuccessful attempt to introduce a dual-currency system comprising iron and copper coins there. It was a Fukien commissioner for transport named Kao I-chien who privately decided to establish an iron-coin mint in Ch'üan-chou because of a boom of iron mining there. Kao's idea was to circulate iron coins in Ch'üan-chou so that more copper coins could be circulated in inland prefectures. The reaction of the court was however very unfavourable. Consequently, Kao was demoted.

As the region relied almost entirely on copper coins, another problem arose, and that was the problem of coin drainage, which has already attracted the attention of many scholars. It is generally accepted that a regulation prohibiting the use of copper coins for
overseas trade had been enforced during the early Northern Sung, but was abolished in 1074. Consequently, the drainage of copper coins accelerated and helped to create a serious shortage of coins in the country. Although imperial orders of the prohibition were repeatedly issued many times during the remainder of the Northern Sung and throughout the entire Southern Sung, the regulation was seldom effectively enforced. What happened in South Fukien, within this broader historical trend? Since overseas trade was one of the major avenues of coin drainage, and the economy of this region was so dependent on overseas trade, it is almost certain that copper coins drawn from this region must have been shipped overseas in very large quantities.

In the previous period when the region prospered in commerce, the siphoning off of large quantities of coins for overseas trade did not seriously affect the supply and circulation of that coinage in the locality. The reason is that, by re-selling the valuable exotic goods which South Fukien merchants obtained overseas, they could often earn back a lot more copper coins from elsewhere in China. Another important factor is that, although there was foreign participation, the trade was mainly conducted by the locals, as was mentioned in the previous chapter. The profits the merchants made were thus largely concentrated or reinvested in the region's economy. This led to a sufficient inflow of currency from other regions to South Fukien. As noted by Ch'üan Han-sheng, the consequence of coin drainage in the Northern Sung, which led to a considerable decrease of circulating copper coins, was a recession in commerce. This, however, did not
occur in South Fukien, where, unlike most of the empire, commerce continued to grow.

From the mid-twelfth century, significant changes in the monetary system began to take place. These included the introduction of a paper currency called hui-tzu into the eastern part of the empire, including Liang-che and Fukien. This meant that from then on South Fukien had to use two kinds of money in local transactions, in domestic interregional trade, and even in payments of tax. Even more importantly, the region was now affected by the instability of the exchange rate between these two currencies, and by the changes in their purchasing power.

To elaborate this point, let us assume that in domestic trade, half of all transactions were conducted using paper money. This would mean that half the profit the South Fukienese made by re-selling exotic goods to other regions in Sung China would be converted into paper money. On the other hand, as paper money was not circulated in any overseas markets, it could not be used in overseas trade at all. The simple consequence was that coin drainage overseas was greater than the inflow of coins in the total balance of trade in this region. The region was thus gradually exhausting its copper coins.

It did not bother the South Fukienese immediately, because the value of paper money, i.e., its exchange rate relative to copper coins and its purchasing power, was kept at a constant level both officially and privately until the end of the twelfth century. However, from the turn of the century the value of notes could no longer be maintained and the paper money started to depreciate rapidly. Depreciation
of money leads to inflation. In thirteenth-century Sung China, the depreciation of paper money clearly brought about serious inflation in the first three quarters of the century. But at the same time, copper coins, also an essential part of the currency, were becoming rarer and more valuable. This was the result of a combination of decreased minting and continuous drainage overseas.

Whether or not it may be said that overseas trade was declining in this period, the outflow of copper coins from South Fukien did not stop. This was partly because non-resident foreign merchants, such as the Japanese mentioned previously, still came to trade in this region. Overseas trade of this sort was by no means highly profitable to the locals, but resulted in continuous coin drainage. Another reason is that in the domestic trade South Fukien had to use a considerable quantity of coins to import the rice it needed. The situation that is likely to have existed in South Fukien under these circumstances is one in which coins were becoming more expensive, and the prices of goods, which were measured and paid by paper money, were rising sharply. This is exactly the effect of coin drainage observed in the dual-currency system of the Southern Sung by Ch'üan Hancheng.

For the merchants, such an unstable monetary system would certainly have had a negative effect on their business. It means that South Fukien merchants had to take much greater risks in trade, whether overseas or domestic, and also in providing capital for trade. This increasing instability can be detected in the rising frequency of bankruptcy among merchants and the increasing motivation to possess land.
The overall picture of the economy of South Fukien during this period can be summarized as follows: First, the local government was facing serious financial difficulties, which were aggravated by the decrease of revenue from land tax and maritime tax. Second, overseas trade seems to have declined markedly. If this is true, it means that the most important economic foundation of the prosperity in the previous period was being undermined. Third, the region's economy was still characterized by agricultural specialization and extensive rice imports. In conjunction with these was a substantial domestic trade. Fourth, because of the inflation taking place throughout the empire, risks in trade increased to the extent that it became significantly more risky to take part in commercial activities than it had been earlier. There were of course those who succeeded and continued to make a great deal of profit, but there were probably many who failed and went bankrupt. Fifth, although substantial domestic trade still continued, it could not provide momentum for the other economic sectors comparable to that which the overseas trade had brought about in the previous period. This will presumably have had a negative effect on developments in those sectors. The economy of the region as a whole was no longer balanced as it had been previously, and local prosperity declined.

5. Economic Developments in South Fukien in the Post-Sung Period

In the previous sections of this chapter, many aspects of the economic problems that occurred in South Fukien have been discussed.
These lead to the conclusion that the economy seems not to have been as prosperous in the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century as it had been in the previous century. To conclude the chapter it may be appropriate to mention briefly the economic developments in this region after the fall of the Southern Sung. But since this does not fall within the scope of the present study, I will simply give here a general picture on the basis of modern scholarship dealing with this subject, and not embark on detailed discussion.

During the Mongol conquest of the Southern Sung, a significant political change took place in South Fukien. That was the emergence of P'u Shou-kenq and his associates. This has been studied in detail by Kuwabara. As accepted by most scholars, P'u, of Arab origin, was a high ranked official in Ch'üan-chou, controlling the maritime trade and the local navy at the time when the Sung court in Lin-an submitted to the Yuan. The Sung loyalist resistance that erupted after the submission did not gain any support from this important figure in South Fukien. P'u surrendered to the Yuan in 1276, and successfully defended the city of Ch'üan-chou during the three-month siege by Sung loyalists in 1277. This helped him and his associates win favour with the new regime. As a result, he was able to continue to occupy important positions in South Fukien, and even his immediate descendents and relatives enjoyed considerable economic privileges and political influence in the region.

Overseas trade in South Fukien under the Yüan revived and prospered to an unprecedent degree. The prosperity of this region and its centre surpassed that of any other region of Yüan China. Ch'üan-
Chou emerged to the most important and prominent seaport city in China. All this was vividly described by contemporary foreign travellers to China, and their accounts have been scrutinized by many modern scholars. This prosperity of course owed much to the positive policy in overseas trade adopted by the Yuan government. On the other hand, the emergence of the P'u's family also has a determining effect. P'u himself and many of his associates were capable and experienced maritime traders with enormous capital. Thanks to their eminent position in the region and their Arab contacts, they were able to encourage and promote overseas trade successfully.

Nevertheless, the flourishing overseas trade and the prosperity of the region at this time was of benefit mainly to the local foreign community. This was a destabilizing development, which helped the power of this foreign community grow so much that it eventually led to the Persian garrison rebellion from 1357 to 1366.

Many scholars have discussed the effects of this rebellion. It is generally agreed that during this ten years of turmoil the economy of South Fukien was completely ruined, and that it never recovered from that time on. The devastation can considered from two aspects: First, it was during this period that most local Chinese traders were oppressed by the foreign rebels and lost their position in overseas trade; second, although overseas trade was still maintained by the foreign rebels, it markedly declined after the suppression of the rebellion.
After the Yuan, the regional centre of commerce for South Fukien moved from the largest city of the region - Ch'üan-chou - to Yüeh-kang in Chang-chou Bay during the Ming dynasty, and subsequently moved to Amoy in the seventeenth century. It is noteworthy that both of these two subsequent centres were developed from small market towns on the coast where illicit trade had flourished. This contrasts with the initial development of Ch'üan-chou in the early Northern Sung as described in the Chapter III. Yüeh-kang had never been a prominent city, not even a prefectural capital. Amoy did not begin its urban development until the last few centuries, and even after it became a treaty port in the nineteenth century it never acquired an important position in overseas trade. Nor did its urbanization compare with that of the contemporary seaport cities of Kuang-chou and Shanghai, or is its position among Chinese cities ever become comparable to that once occupied by the city of Ch'üan-chou. This downgrading of the former regional centre explicitly signals the end of the heyday of prosperity in this region after the Yuan.
Notes


2. Kuwabara Jitsuzō, tr. by Ch'en Yü-ching, *P'u Shou-keng k'ao*, (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1954), pp.35-36. This is a reprint of the 1929 edition to which I have not been able to get access.


11. On the contrary, edicts relating to appointments of the prefect of Ch'üan-chou in the twelfth century seldom mention any financial difficulties as such. For instance, see the edict concerning Yen Shih-lu 頭師樂, who was in office in 1189. *Kung-k'uei chi*, Lou Yüeh, (*Ssu-pu ts'ung-k'an ch'u-pien*), 35:12a.


17. Here my view is different to that of Doi. She conceives the phenomenon as a chain-effect which resulted from the increasing numbers of these royal clansmen. See Doi, 1980, pp.60-64.

19. A revealing example of this can be seen in the biography of a local official named Tu Ch'un who held office some time between 1086 and 1093. It states that only a few of the local officials were not involved in corruption in maritime trade at that time. See SS, 330:10632.


26. For the original text, see T'ieh-an chi, 21:4b. This translation is by Mark Elvin, see Elvin, 1973, p.129.


28. T'ieh-an chi, ch.33. Cited by Amano, 1979, pp.486-487. I cannot locate this reference in the SSu-k' u ch'üan-shu chen-pen edition of T'ieh-an chi to which I have access. For the time of Fang's term of office in Kuang-chou, see Kuang-tung t'ung-chih, 1822, 16:10a.


* Cited in note 153 to Chapter IV above (page 194).
32. Yung-ch'un hsien-chih, 1526, 9:16a. This is a biography of a Chang-chou prefect named Chuang Hsia of Yung-ch'un origin. Chuang held the office in 1213. See also Chang-chou Fu-chih, 1878, 24:15b/16a. Contrary to this, another source - a letter to the prefect of Chang-chou by a Neo-Confucian scholar named Ch'en Ch'un in 1211 - gives a different picture. Ch'en states in his letter that six-sevenths, i.e., about 85 per cent, of the registered farmlands in that prefecture were owned by temples. See Pei-ch'i ta-ch'üan-chi, Ch'en Ch'un, (Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu chen-pen IV), 43:10a/b. But in another letter to the prefect by the same scholar at approximately the same time, he gives the proportion of 75 percent. It thus seems that he did not necessarily have accurate information concerning temple land holdings, but gave merely an impressionistic estimate. Moreover, after reading his fierce criticism of the temples, one cannot but wonder whether he made those statements free of bias and exaggeration. A more cautious conclusion which can be drawn from Ch'en's document is that the temples in Chang-chou probably still held large properties at this time. But their decline was just about to be begin, as is indicated in Chuang Hsia's biography.


34. For a general picture of the monetary system of the Sung dynasty, see P'eng Hsin-wei, Chung-kuo huo-pi-shih, (Shanghai: Jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1958), Chap.5.


36. SS, 180:4380.


38. Ch'üan Han' sheng, ibid., p.113; Sogabe, ibid., pp.332-335.


40. Chu, 1938, pp.30-33; 35:6, p.43.

42. Ibid., pp.325-354.

43. On the decrease in minting, see SHYX, shih-huo, 11:1b.

44. Pi-chou kao-lueh, 1:19a/b.

45. There is evidence that, in the early thirteenth century, Ch'üan-chou alone paid 1,400,000 to 1,500,000 strings of cash annually for rice imported from Kuang-tung. All payment was solely in cash coins. See Ch'ing-yüan wen-hsien, 16:10a/b.


Economic development in the South Fukien region remained insignificant until the end of the Five Dynasties. But a steady increase in population from the mid-T'ang gradually generated a momentum for growth. Under the independent local warlords who governed the region from 946 to 978, deliberate efforts were made to encourage overseas trade. This political development certainly had a stimulating effect on the region's economy.

For the first hundred years of the Northern Sung, economic development in South Fukien occurred at an unprecedented rate. This can be seen in the areas of agriculture and, even more importantly, commerce. The latter relied heavily on manpower which stemmed from population growth, and the accumulation of commercial capital which derived from agricultural surplus as a result of technological progress. In South Fukien, population growth and agricultural progress seem to have been interrelated. There is no doubt that population started to increase before significant agricultural progress occurred. Yet, it was the latter which made further growth of the population possible, and allowed agricultural productivity to rise beyond subsistence level to create a considerable surplus. Thus while the exact nature of the relations between the two cannot be completely ascertained, it is clear that the region witnessed noticeable improvements in agriculture and a concurrent
substantial population growth, and that these two factors provided both the manpower and capital necessary to sustain commercial development. The commerce in this region seems to have originated as a transit trade, mainly developed by people living there.

After keen competition with merchants from outside the region, it was in the following century and a quarter that the region enjoyed an overall balanced prosperity. With expanding markets both overseas and in Sung China, the commercial sector grew rapidly. Corresponding to this were the developments in specialized agriculture and industry, which supplied the trading items in demand. Developments in these two sectors in turn helped to further develop trade into a mixture of transit and export trade. As a result, the region as a whole became a more integrated economic entity, and was able to enjoy great prosperity. On the other hand, there was a growing foreign presence in the region, both in terms of trade and in terms of settlement. This suggests that foreign participation was an important factor in bringing about that prosperity. But foreign participation would not have occurred, had there not been economic development in the region substantial enough to attract these foreigners. On the demographic side, population growth continued, though local agriculture was having difficulty in providing for the increasing population. However, rice prices throughout the empire still remained low and it was possible for the region to divert some of its manpower and resources to economic activities other than foodgrain cultivation. The continuing success in trade was clearly an important factor in making the importation of rice economically viable.
However, the region experienced certain economic problems in the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century. These were mainly due to a falling-off in overseas trade. On the other hand, developments in domestic trade and agricultural specialization continued, and the population was still growing. Although it cannot be established that the economy of South Fukien now went into decline, there is some evidence to suggest that the region no longer enjoyed the overall balanced prosperity it had earlier. Adding to these problems was the instability of the monetary system, which was disadvantageous for an economy so heavily dependent on long-distance trade.

Finally, it should be stressed that overseas trade in South Fukien, the most important economic sector of the local economy, dealt with a lot of luxury import items. It is hard to determine to what extent it was because of the particular nature of this trade that it declined in the thirteenth century. But at least one inference can be made: the luxury trade relied on supply from particular sources, and on demand from a wealthy market. From the economic point of view, just two factors - the problem of inflation in Southern Sung China and the changes in overseas markets - would have been sufficient to lead to a deterioration in luxury trade and significantly affect the overall overseas trade in South Fukien. Being so heavily dependent on overseas trade, the economy of South Fukien was particularly vulnerable in this respect. On the other hand, local exports, mainly everyday goods and necessities, could still find an outlet and sustain the local economy, though not at a level comparable to that of the earlier period of high prosperity.
ABBREVIATIONS

CCFC.........Ch'üan-chou fu-chih 泉州府志

CTS.........Chiu T'ang-shu 舊唐書

FCTC.........Fu-chien t'ung-chih 福建通志

HTS.........Hsin T'ang-shu 新唐書

SHYK.........Sung hui-yao k'ao 宋會要稿

SS.........Sung-shih 宋史

TPHYC.........T'ai-ping hüan-yü chih 太平寰宇記

WWTKTL........Wen-wu Ts'an-kao tsu-liao 文物參考資料

YFCYC.........Yüan-feng chiu-yü chih 元豐九域志

YHCHTC.........Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih 元和郡縣圖志

YS.........Yüan-shih 元史
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ch'iu-ch'ang 酒場
ch'iu-chiang 酒匠
ch'iu-fang 酒坊
ch'iu-hu 酒戶
ch'iu-wu 酒務
chu-hu 主戶
Chu Mai-ch'en 朱罵臣
Chu Yu 朱彧
Ch'ü-tou-kung 居 Powell
chuan-yün-shih 轉運使
Ch'üan 泉
Ch'üan-chou 泉州
Ch'üan-fu 泉府
Ch'üan-nan 泉南
Ch'üan-nan tsa-chih 泉南雜誌
Chuang-pien 莊邊
chuang-yüan 支元
chüan 春
fan-fang 菲坊
fan-jen hsiang 菲人巷
Fang Ta-tsung 方大琮
Fang-yü sheng-lan 方興勝蘭
Feng-chou 風州
fu 府
Fu-chien Kuan-ch'a-shih 福建觀察使
Fu-chien 福建
Fu-chou 福州
Fu-chou Kuan-ch'a-shih 福州觀察使
fu-ts'ai 福財
Fu Tzu-te 傅自得
Hainan 海南
hao-i 好義
hao-te 好德
Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠
Hou-chü 吳渚
Hou Han-shu 後漢書
hsiang 望
Hsieh Li 謝履
Hsien-yu 仙遊
Hsin-chou 信州
Hsin-lo 新羅
hsing-ch'ien 行錢
Hsing-hua 熈化
Hsing-hua ch'üan 熈化軍
Hsing Po-wen 項博文
Hsü Chien 徐戩
Hsü Han-shu 徐漢書
Hu Shen 胡先
hüan-k'ui 綜閱
Hui-an 惠安
Hui-an hsien-chih 惠安縣志
Hui-p'u 過浦
hui-tzu 惠子
I-chien chih 麥堅志
i-hsiao 麼洛
ju-lin 儒林
juku seiji 珠光青瓷
Kai-te 美德
kan-chi 幹記
kan-jen 幹人
Kao I-chien 高易簡
keng 梗
ko 葛
koryọsha 高師史
k'o-hu 客戶
k'ou 口
kuan-ch'a-shih 觀察使
Kuei-yao 桂宴
K'uai-chi 會稽
K'uei-tou 鬼斗
Lei-ssu-ching 梁超經
Li-chih p'u 蔘枝譜
Li Ch'ung 李光
Li-sheng shui 力勝税
Lin 林
Lin Chao-ch'ing 林昭慶
Lin Chih-ch'i 林之奇
Lin Jen-fu 林健夫
Ling-hai 麓海
Ling-nan 麓南
Ling-nan chieh-tu-shih 麓南節度使
Ling-shan 麓山
Ling-wai tai-ta 麓外代管
Liu Ts'ung-hsiao 留徴效
Lo-hu 羅斛
Lu Shou 露守
Lung-ch'i 龍溪
Lung-ch'üan 龍泉
Mi-chou 密州
Mien 續
Min 闵
Min-chou 闽州
Min-chung 闽中
Min-fu 闽府
Min-shu 闽書
Min-Yüeh 闽越
Nan-an 南安
Nan-an hsien-chih 南安縣志
nan-pu tu-wei 南部都尉
Pan-ch'iao-chen 板橋鎮
pan-kuan 判官
p'an-kung ㄆㄢ-kung 南宮
pao-chia 保甲
Pao Ho 包何
宝林寺

P'ing-chou k'o-t'an

Shu-hsüeh chiu-chang 数学九章

P'u Hsia-hsin 蒲霞亭

Su Shih 蘇軾

P'u Li-lu 蘇堤

Sung-hui-yao k't'o 筆會要稿

P'u Lo-hsin 蘇湖亭

Ssu-ma Piao 司馬彪

P'u-t'ien 蘇田

T'ai-shih 太食

San-shan chih 三山志

T'ai-chou 台州

San-yü 三嶽

T'ai-p'ing-ch'en 太平鎮

shang-kung yin 上供銀

T'ai-p'ing huan-yü chih 太平寰宇記

Shao Pao 邵保

Te-hua 德化

Shao-wu 邵武

t'ieh-an chi 鐵案集

sheng 升

t'ing-ch'i 汀溪

Sheng-mu 墓

t'ing-chou 汀州

shih-chün 使君

Ts'ai Hsiang 蔡襄

Sheng jii shih-po-shih 市舶使

tsa-shou-tao 再熟檢
Ts'ai 蔡
Ts'ai Ching-fang 蔡景芳
Ts'an-chün-shih 参军事
Ts'ao Hsün 曹勋
Tu-pao 都保
Tung-pu tu-wei 東部都尉
Tu-tu-fu 都督府
Tung-an 東安
Tung Hou-kuan 東侯官
Tung-yeh 東治
T'ung-an 同安
Tzu-ch'eng 子城
Tz'u-tsaо 磐土
Wan-yao 瓦窑
Wang Ch'ao 王潮
Wang Hui-lung 王會龍
Wang Shen-chih 王審知
Wang Shen-kuei 王審圭
Wang Yen-pin 王延彬
Wang Yün-mao 王元懋
Weng 翁
Wu Chieh 吳棐
Wu-jung-chou 武崇州
Wu-kuo ku-shih 武固故事
Wu Ta 吳大
Yang 杨
Yang-chou 楊州
Yang-chou chieh-tu-shih 楊州節度使
Yeh 治
Yeh Meng-te 葉夢得
Yin-mu 引目
Ying-ch'ing 影青
Yün-lu man-ch'ao 翁麓漫釘
Yüeh-kang 月鑑
Yüeh-yao 越窑
Yung-ch'ún 永春

Yung-ch’ún hsien-chih 永春縣志

Yung-t'ai 永泰