

## Chapter II

### Song Urbanism Revisited

#### Preamble

An important characteristic of the transition from the Tang 唐 to the Song 宋 is considered to have been the growth and transformation of cities, and ever since Katō Shigeshi first proposed that these be understood in terms of the two interrelated phenomena of the collapse of the official market system and the proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns,<sup>1</sup> this understanding has served as a cogent *Leitmotif* and interpretive method for subsequent researches aiming to elucidate the urban and commercial history of this transitional period. The prescience of Katō's insight is amply demonstrated by the fact that this interpretation has been tested and found to be effective not only by Japanese researchers but also by Chinese scholars, ranging from contributors to the journal *Shihuo banyuekan* 食貨半月刊 to contemporary scholars, and by Western Sinologists, with the result that the points at issue are being explored with increasing depth.

In this essay I hope on the one hand to develop the implications of the collapse of the official market system and the proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns in a way that makes them a little more generally applicable in terms of comparative socio-economic history, bearing in mind all the while Katō's original arguments, and to thereby restore some balance to the current of discussion that has sometimes tended to be reduced to interests restricted purely to institutional history, and at the same time I intend to reconsider the issues by introducing additional facts that have not been adequately incorporated within the horizons of previous research. Stated in more concrete terms, I shall view the collapse of the official market system and the proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns as manifestations of the urbanization and commercialization of society, and I shall also take into account the concurrent rise of a commercial tax and emergence of travelling merchants. This latter point will be readdressed at the end of this chapter.

\* This chapter was originally published as “Sōdai no toshika o kangaeru” [Song urbanism revisited], *Tōhōgaku* 102 (2001): 1–19.

<sup>1</sup> Katō Shigeshi, “Sōdai no shōnin kumiai ‘kō’ o ronjite Shindai no kaikan ni oyobu” [On the *hang* or association of merchants in China in the Tang and Song period with reference to the *huiguan* under the Qing], in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, vol. 1 (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1952), 422–460.

## 1. The Revival of Long-Distance Commerce and the Emergence of a Transportation Industry and Travelling Merchants

The activities of itinerant merchants and merchant groups (known in later times as *keshang* 客商) during the Warring States 戰國時代, Qin 秦 and Former Han 前漢 periods are described in some detail in the “*Huozhi liezhuan*” 貨殖列傳 of the *Shiji* 史記 and elsewhere, and the broad distinction between travelling merchants (*shang* 商) and resident shopkeepers (*gu* 賈) is also considered to be just as old in origin. In particular, during the Qin and Former Han there is known to have been a system of “market registers” (*shiji* 市籍) whereby most towns levied a “market tax” (*shizu* 市租) on merchants in general. But it is surprisingly unclear whether the prime target of merchant taxes and commercial taxes was travelling merchants or resident shopkeepers. In addition, there were at this time quite a number of what were for this period large cities, ranging in population from 20,000 to more than 50,000 inhabitants and referred to as *tongdu dayi* 通都大邑,<sup>2</sup> and long-distance trade is known to have been conducted between these cities, although the geographical extent and commercial intensity of this trade seem to have been limited in comparison with later times.

From the early to mid-Tang 唐 the official market system and system of market register levies were instituted on an almost national scale in all county (*xian* 縣) capitals and larger cities in conformity with the earlier system of the Qin and Former Han.<sup>3</sup> This would seem to indicate that the aftereffects of the slump in intercity and long-distance commerce and trade from the Later Han 後漢 through to the Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝 and the accompanying sluggish population growth (both on record and in actuality) continued to be felt at least until the start of the Tang. Although travel taxes and internal customs duties such as tolls collected at bridges and ferry crossings had been levied during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, they appear to have still been of little consequence. The collection of travel taxes was routinely discussed not only in the Tang and Song 宋, but even in later ages, from the perspective of tax items cautioned against by the sage-kings of yore, and this was partly the expression of an ideology trying to preserve an agriculture-based “revenue economy,” but it may also be partly seen as the transformation of the product of a historical experience — namely, the experience of the attenuation of long-distance business dealings over a long period of time — into a transhistorical notion.

At about the same time as the market system and system of market register

<sup>2</sup> Utsunomiya Kiyoyoshi, “Seikan jidai no toshi” [Cities of the Western Han period], in *Kandai shakai keizaishi kenkyū* [A study of the socio-economic history of the Han period] (Tokyo: Kōbundō, 1955), 107–140.

<sup>3</sup> Satō Taketoshi, *Chōan* [Chang’an] (Tokyo: Kondō Shoten, 1971).

levies were losing all substance in the second half of the Tang, there was occurring a notable change in commercial history. This was the rise of transportation and a transportation industry and the attendant vitalization of the activities of travelling merchants, as well as the concurrent establishment of commercial taxes in the form of transport taxes and commercial taxes.<sup>4</sup> The origins of transportation and transport taxes in the Tang are described in terms of tolls levied at strategic points along important waterways and highways, at ferry crossings, bridges and locks along the Grand Canal and the Yellow River, and at frontier passes, and they reflect the rise of far-ranging travelling merchants and transportation and their diversification and specialization. Convincing evidence of this is to be found, for instance, in a memorial presented by Cui Rong 崔融 during the reign of Zhongzong 中宗 in which he opposed a proposal to levy a commercial tax throughout the realm as a new source of revenue.<sup>5</sup>

The ports and ferry crossings of the empire are crowded with boats. They reach into Ba 巴 and Han 漢 (Sichuan 四川), and they point the way to Min 閩 and Yue 越 (Fujian and Guangdong). Large lakes and marshes such as the Seven Marshes (Dongting Lake [Dongtinghu 洞庭湖]), Ten Swamps, Three Rivers (variously interpreted: e.g., Yangzi River [Changjiang 長江], Zhong River [Zhongjiang 中江], and Dong River [Dongjiang 東江]), and Five Lakes (variously interpreted: Tai Lake [Taihu 太湖] and environs or Dongting Lake) are linked both to the Yellow River and Luo River (Luoshui 洛水) and to the Huai River (Huaihe 淮河) and the seas in the east. Large ships in thousands and tens of thousands carry goods back and forth daily. [...] If once [as a result of the introduction of commercial taxes] their profits were to be lost, it would spell ruin for tens of thousands of merchants, and if tens of thousands of merchants were ruined, then others [engaged in transportation] would lose the basis of their livelihood. They include shrewd and cunning fellows and men of chivalrous spirit, as well as bands of dragon-killers, bullies from Poyang 鄱陽 [Lake] (in Jiangxi 江西), and ruffians from Fuping 富平 (Mengjin 孟津 in Luoyang 洛陽), men who have hoards of money at home and wield their swords abroad.

In addition, Li Zhao 李肇 informs us that during the Yuanhe 元和 era

<sup>4</sup> Aoyama Sadao, "Tō Go dai no kanshin to shōzei" [The Guanjin and tolls under the Tang and Five Dynasties], chap. 4 of *Tō-Sō jidai no kōtsū to chishi chizu no kenkyū* [Study of the communication systems of the Tang and Song China and the development of their topographies and maps] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1963), 127–159.

<sup>5</sup> *Jiu Tangshu* 94, "Liezhuàn" 列傳. This memorial borrows many phrases from a rhapsody by Zuo Si 左思 of the Jin 晉 on Suzhou entitled "Wudu fu" 吳都賦, but its actual content reflects conditions during the Tang.

transport agents familiar with local conditions had established themselves at strategic or dangerous places along waterways, including places for changing boats and transshipping goods and places where the Grand Canal joined the Yellow River and Yangzi River and where rivers joined one another or the sea (the confluence of the Huai and Yellow Rivers, the Three Gates rapids on the Yellow River, the Three Gorges on the Chang River, the E River (Exi 惡溪) at Lishui 麗水 in Chuzhou 處州, and the Ganshi 贛石 shoals in Nankang 南康); that large boats with several hundred crewmen and a captain who spent his entire life on board would make one round trip annually along the Yangzi River between Huainan 淮南 and Jiangxi; that water transportation was at the peak of prosperity especially in Jiangxi; and that boat-dwellers were particularly numerous in Hongzhou 洪州 (Jiangxi) and Ezhou 鄂州 (Hubei 湖北).<sup>6</sup> It might be noted that during the Qing 清 dynasty the average number of carriers supporting the trading activities of a single salt merchant is said to have been 18.2. I have previously dealt in detail with this thriving state of the transportation industry and its localized specialization.<sup>7</sup> In this fashion, the foundations for the flourishing activities of groups of travelling merchants were laid during the Tang dynasty, and the situation clearly differed from that of the long-distance commerce of the Warring States, Qin and Former Han. The spread of the *didian* 邸店 (warehouses-cum-inns) during the Tang, treated in great detail by Hino Kaisaburō, also corroborates the emerging influence of travelling merchants.<sup>8</sup> The *didian* served as lodgings, warehouses, storage facilities and depositories, as well as engaging in bailment and selling goods on commission, and they evolved into the *fanglang* 房廊 (warehouses and marketing arcades) and *tingta* 停塌 (warehouses) of the Song and the *hangzhan* 行棧 (storehouses) of later times.

Incontrovertible proof of the rapid growth of the activities of travelling merchants and long-distance commerce that developed from the mid-Tang through to the Song and Yuan 元 is provided by the rise of commercial taxes, discussed below. But before dealing with these, it behoves us to touch on the fact that there had already emerged in the late Tang and Song the germs of “sojourner guilds” (*kebang* 客幫) and “commercial guilds” (*shangbang* 商幫), or guilds of merchants from the same native place, regarded as an indicator of the activities of travelling merchants and long-distance commerce in later times, especially the late Ming 明 and Qing, as well as the germs of guildhalls (*huiguan* 會館 or *gongsuo* 公所), which served as mutual aid associations for merchants in the cities to which their commercial activities took them.

<sup>6</sup> *Tang guoshi bu* 3.

<sup>7</sup> Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai shōgyōshi kenkyū* [Studies in the commercial history of the Song period] (Kazama Shobō, 1968), 49–132.

<sup>8</sup> Hino Kaisaburō, *Tōdai teiten no kenkyū: Hino Kaisaburō Tōyōshi ronshū* [A study of warehouses-cum-inns during the Tang period; Collected studies on East Asian history by Hino Kaisaburō, vols. 17–18] (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1992).

As one phenomenon attesting to urban change, Katō notes how the *hang* 行 (*hanghui* 行會), or urban commercial and industrial associations (representing proto-guilds), became increasingly independent of government control. This phenomenon was itself inseparably linked to the collapse of the market system, and there can be no question about the validity of Katō's arguments on either an interpretive or evidential level. However, it is not clear whether the *hang* were "native guilds" (*benbang* 本幫), that is, associations of only local resident merchants and industrialists, or whether they also allowed the participation of *kebang*. The reason that I raise this question is that examples of the domination of *benbang* by *kebang* in cities of the late Ming and early Qing are widely known (Hankou 漢口, Foshan 佛山, Shanghai 上海, Tainan 臺南, etc.).<sup>9</sup> Although Katō does not explicitly say so, it may be assumed that in the context of the collapse of the market system he identified the *hang* with the *benbang*, for he includes purveying to government offices (*hanghu qiying* 行戶祇應 or *danghang* 當行) among the functions of the *hang*. Even supposing that a relationship of give-and-take between officialdom and merchants, exemplified by *hanghu qiying*, may have acted to bolster the dominant position of the *benbang* in cities, the point at issue here is whether merchants (*hanghu* 行戶) would have been in a position to exercise exclusive control over commercial activities in all cities with only institutional support from the government during the Song dynasty, when it was by no means unusual for people from many different regions to congregate in cities.

Examples of groups of merchants from other regions residing in cities are by no means few in number, and they were especially noticeable in the Yangzi River littoral, along the eastern coast, and along the Grand Canal. By the mid-Tang, Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian 福建 had already become a port town to which "people from ten continents" flocked.<sup>10</sup> According to Wang Dechen 王得臣 of the middle of the Northern Song period, people from Sichuan and Fujian were strongly disposed to seek their fortunes in other regions, either by sitting the civil service examinations or by becoming Buddhist monks or Daoist priests, and even though they might hail from different counties or prefectures, they stuck together, calling each

<sup>9</sup> *Wu zazu* 14, "Shibu" 2, "Shandong linqing, shijiu jie huishang zhanji" 山東臨清, 十九皆徽商占籍; William T. Rowe, *Hankow: Commerce and society in a Chinese city, 1796–1889* (Stanford University Press, 1984); L. C. Johnson, *Shanghai: From market town to treaty port, 1074–1858* (Stanford University Press, 1995); Luo Yixing, *Ming-Qing Foshan jingji fazhan yu shehui bianqian* [Economic growth and social change in Foshan during the Ming and Qing] (Guangdong Renmin Chubanshe, 1994); "Shōji oyobi saiken, kō" [Commercial affairs and obligations: Suburbs], in *Taiwan shihō* [Private law of Taiwan], ed. Rinji Taiwan Kyūkan Chōsakai (Special Commission for the Investigation of Old Customs in Taiwan), vol. 3a (1911), 153–177.

<sup>10</sup> *Xishan zazhi*, in *Anhai gangshi yanjiu* [A study of the history of Anhai port] (Fujian Jiaoyu Chubanshe, 1989), 6.

other “natives of the same district” (*xiangren* 鄉人).<sup>11</sup> People from Sichuan resided in Shashi 沙市, Wuchang 武昌, Zhenzhou 眞州, Zhenjiang 鎮江, Suzhou 蘇州, and Hangzhou 杭州 in the lower Yangzi River and formed groups either engaged in water transport, shipbuilding and ship repairs, ship chandlery, and papermaking or made up of scholars, Buddhist monks, Daoist priests, actors, and merchants, while Fujianese followed similar occupations in domestic and overseas transshipment ports along sea routes both to the south of the mouth of the Yangzi River and to the north (including Shandong 山東, the Korean peninsula, and the seas around Japan).<sup>12</sup> Needless to say, when compared with internal water transport, maritime transportation covered a much wider area and was far superior to the former in terms of mobility, the quantity of goods handled, and management techniques, and it is for this reason that records of the activities of people from Fujian are especially numerous. During the Song, Fujianese, followed by people from Sichuan, attracted the greatest attention on a national scale for forming groups of merchants hailing from the same district.

It is true that, as has been pointed out by Imahori Seiji and Ho Ping-ti,<sup>13</sup> the establishments known as *huiguan* or *gongsuo* began to appear throughout China in a form meeting the conditions laid down by the authorities only from the sixteenth century onwards, and they were nonexistent during the Song. But Ho points out that even during the sixteenth century, or for that matter in later times too, the terms *huiguan* and *gongsuo* were not always used, and many of these establishments bore names ending with terms like *si* 寺, *miao* 廟, *gong* 宮, *tang* 堂, *shuwu* 書屋 and *shuyuan* 書院, thus making it difficult to compile statistics. Among Song-period temples that may be considered to have been dedicated to deities worshipped by members of native-place associations, first a temple dedicated to Tianhou 天后, worshipped by Fujianese, was erected at Jiangxia Wharf (Jiangxiagang 江廈港) outside the city of Mingzhou 明州 in 1119, and there were similar temples outside Genshan 艮山 and Houchao 候潮 Gates of Lin'an 臨安, while temples dedicated to the Five Shining Spirits (Wuxianshen 五顯神), worshipped by people from Huizhou 徽州, were found in seven localities inside and outside the city, including Wu Hill 吳山, and temples dedicated to Zitong Shengjun 梓潼聖君 (Wenchang 文昌), Guankou Erlang 灌口二郎 and Shehong 射洪, the so-called three great gods of Shu 蜀 worshipped by people from Sichuan, were also found on Wu Hill.<sup>14</sup> The

<sup>11</sup> Shiba, *Sōdai shōgyōshi kenkyū*, 421–435.

<sup>12</sup> Shiba, *Sōdai shōgyōshi kenkyū*, 94, 99, 101–102, 249.

<sup>13</sup> Imahori Seiji, *Chūgoku hōken shakai no kōzō* [The structure of China's feudal society] (Nihon Gakujutsu Shinkōkai, 1972); He Bingdi, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun* [A study of the history of guildhalls in China] (Taiwan Xuesheng Shuju, 1966), 37–99.

<sup>14</sup> Shiba Yoshinobu, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū* [Studies in the economic history of the lower Yangzi in the Song period] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Tōyō Bunka Kenkyūjo, 1988), 326, 333, 505–506.

presence of similar temples has also been ascertained by Morita Kenji in Huzhou 湖州, Mingzhou, Yanzhou 嚴州, Changzhou 常州, Jiankang *fu* 建康府, Jizhou 吉州 and Tingzhou 汀州, in Fenghua 奉化 and Changguo 昌國 counties in Mingzhou, Kunshan *xian* 昆山縣 in Suzhou, and Danyang *xian* 丹陽縣 in Zhenjiang *fu* 鎮江府.<sup>15</sup> Zitong Shengjun was originally worshipped by candidates for the civil service examinations from Sichuan, but his temples were not closed to merchants and their families. In addition, a 100-member troupe from Sichuan and a 300-member troupe from Fujian, both performers of Baolao 鮑老 drama, were to be found in the city of Lin'an. Furthermore, prime locations of scenic beauty on Phoenix Hill (Fenghuangshan 鳳凰山) and Wu Hill were the sites not only of imperial palaces and government offices, but also of the sumptuous residences of wealthy river and sea traders of no fixed abode, and in later times they bristled with *huiguan* for people from Siming 四明, Shaoxing 紹興, Xin'an 新安, Fengzhi 奉直, Jiangxi, and Liangguang 兩廣. The Japanese monk Jōjin 成尋, who arrived in Song China in 1072, writes in reference to the wharves outside Houchao Gate in Hangzhou that "shipping agencies stood in rows like in Ise 伊勢 harbour in Japan." It is evident from the observations of Lu You 陸遊 and Fan Chengda 范成大 on the South Market outside the city of Ezhou (Wuchang) that the moorings, warehouses and lodgings necessary for the wholesale business activities of travelling merchants naturally resulted in the creation of bustling commercial districts.<sup>16</sup> It is to be surmised that until they gradually decided to move to and settle in those Song cities, both large and small, that might be described as collection and distribution centres, members of *kebang* would have lived apart from and coexisted with members of *benbang*, each group fulfilling separate functions. But it would have been impossible for the authorities to ignore the wealth that accompanied the activities of travelling merchants, and it was no doubt on account of these circumstances that commercial taxes emerged as a promising form of taxation.

## 2. Urbanization in the Song Seen from Commercial Tax Statistics (1)

When it introduced the two-tax system (*liangshuifa* 兩稅法) in 780, the Tang court also imposed a toll-tax (*zhushui* 住稅, *luodishui* 落地稅) in towns and cities in prefectures and counties, and in 783 it introduced a transit tax (*guoshui* 過稅) to be levied at strategic places in each circuit. The toll-tax was a market tax levied at 3 percent *ad valorem* on notified taxable goods, while the transit tax was levied at

<sup>15</sup> Morita Kenji, "Bunshō teikun no seiritsu" [The evolution of Divine Lord Wenchang], in Umehara Kaoru, ed., *Chūgoku kinsei no toshi to bunka* [Cities and culture in early modern China] (Kyoto: Kyōto Daigaku Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo, 1984), 389–418.

<sup>16</sup> Shiba, *Sōdai Kōnan keizaishi no kenkyū*, 326, 333.

2 percent *ad valorem* on goods carried by travelling merchants when they passed through tax-collecting stations.<sup>17</sup> In the Song dynasty there were also regional levies of a more minor nature that were collected at rural wineries licensed to brew and sell wines (*fangchang* 坊場) and ferry crossings, and according to records dating from 1077 during the Northern Song, these were levied at 26,606 sites throughout the empire.<sup>18</sup> Barrier stations such as those for collecting the commercial tax were also established during the Song to collect tonnage and poundage (*lishengshui* 力勝稅) in the form of shipping taxes and harbour dues, which were levied in accordance with the size of the ships and the nature of the goods they carried,<sup>19</sup> but these will be left out of consideration in what follows.

Records of commercial tax are a good source of information about the movements of travelling merchants and boatmen, and because tax-collecting stations were established not only in the national capitals and circuit, prefectural and county capitals, but also in larger townships and settlements of economic significance known as *zhen* 鎮 or *shi* 市, these records also provide first-rate data for assessing the degree of urbanization in society at the time. Furthermore, we are extremely fortunate in that not only do we have national statistics of the Northern Song for the year 1077, but additionally the *Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi* 元豐九域志, compiled in 1080, provides exhaustive records for all the above-mentioned administrative towns and cities as well as townships, mines and walled villages, and it is thus possible to check the place-names against those given in the statistics for 1077. The first historian to have used these valuable statistics to measure what is today termed urbanization was Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 of the late Song and early Yuan, and he gives the stratified ranking and size of large and medium-sized cities positioned in the upper stratum of urbanization. Katō Shigeshi, on the other hand, focusing on the four national capitals in the north, south, east and west and on the twenty-three circuits (*lu* 路), has given the figures for fluctuations in tax amounts in prefectural capitals and circuits as a whole and the number of commercial-tax stations in individual prefectural capitals. As a result, considerable light has been shed on the situation in the upper stratum of cities.<sup>20</sup>

But when the collapse of the official market system and the proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns are regarded as inseparably interlinked phenomena, statistics can provide a true picture of the situation only when their use

<sup>17</sup> *Ru Shu ji* 4, entries for Qiandao 乾道 6.8.23 & 28; *Wu chuan lu* 2, entry for cyclic day *xinsi* 辛巳 in 8th month of Chunxi 淳熙 4.

<sup>18</sup> Aoyama, “Tōdai no kanshin to shōzei”; Katō Shigeshi, “Sōdai shōzei kō” [A study on the taxing of merchants in the Song dynasty], in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, vol. 2 (1953), 176–221.

<sup>19</sup> Sudō Yoshiyuki, “Ō Anseki no men’ekisen chōshū no shomondai” [The assesment of cash tax in Wang Anshi’s hired-service system], chap. 6 of *Sōdaishi kenkyū* [Studies in the history of Song dynasty] (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1969), 198–203.

<sup>20</sup> Katō, *Shina keizaishi kōshō*.



is extended to county capitals, towns and marketplaces. Recently a breakthrough was made by Guo Zhengzhong 郭正忠,<sup>21</sup> who first compared the relevant materials in the *Song huiyao jigao bubian* 宋會要輯稿補編, “Shihuo: shangshui zalu” 食貨商稅雜錄, compiled by Chen Zhichao 陳智超, with the figures given in the standard text of the *Song huiyao* 宋會要, “Shihuo: Shangshui zalu,” edited by Xu Song 徐松. Furthermore, since the annual tax quota for the four circuits of Sichuan is given in iron cash, Guo converted this into copper cash on the basis of the contemporary exchange rate for iron and copper cash. Statistics of this kind were recorded on nine occasions starting from the early Song, and a comparison of the total amount given in each set of annual statistics reveals that there were major fluctuations due to government policies at the time, with the sum for 1077 corresponding to about one third of that for 1055, the second-previous occasion on which statistics were recorded. Guo has clearly shown, in other words, that both the figures for individual tax-collecting stations and the total amount do not directly convey the scale of commercial activities, but show rather relative fluctuations in individual tax amounts within the context of the total amount. It was also found that the annual assessment of the Commercial Tax Office for the Capital (*du shangshui yuan* 都商稅院) in Kaifeng 開封 wrongly included 166,000 *guan* 貫 in revenue gained from levies imposed on arcades-cum-warehouses (*fanglang* 坊廊) by the office in charge of these matters (*zaijing langdian wu* 在京廊店務), and this too has been corrected. In conclusion, Guo calculated that in 1077 there were in all 2,060 tax-collecting stations (called *wu* 務 or *chang* 場) and that the total amount of tax assessed for that year was 7,702,111 *guan* 784.06 *wen* 文 (standard text) or 7,685,717 *guan* 221.33 *wen* (*Bubian* 補編).

On the basis of the above, Guo then classified the cities of Song China in 1077 into three types — those whose urban qualities were more supported by political functions, those whose urban qualities were more supported by economic functions, and those in which both functions were present — and by this means he attempted to explain trends in urbanization. Although this approach of his is reasonable, the cities that he covers are only large and medium-sized cities, and unfortunately he did not include towns and marketplaces in his purview. As will be touched on again below, this is presumably because he had in mind the conventional urban-rural dichotomy, common in Chinese-language historical sources and therefore also among Sinologists, which contrasts *cheng* 城 with *xiang* 鄉 when distinguishing between cities and non-cities. It is true that the terms *chengshi* 城市 and *dushi* 都市 (both meaning ‘city’) cannot escape their historical connotations. But if we consider the stratification of communities, ranging from capital cities to large, medium

<sup>21</sup> Guo Zhengzhong, *Liangsong chengxiang shangpin huobi jingji kaolue* [A brief study of the urban and rural commodity and monetary economy during the Northern and Southern Song] (Beijing: Jingji Guanli Chubanshe, 1997).

and small cities, towns, and villages, in terms of a hierarchy of “central-places” as defined in the study of space sciences, a way is opened to take our investigations one step further.

The following tables present a quantitative picture of the state of urbanization in the capital cities, circuit, prefectural and county capitals, and towns and market-places in seventeen circuits, based on the commercial tax statistics for 1077 and with reference to the *Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi*. The six circuits excluded from the total number of twenty-three circuits are the four circuits of Sichuan, which used iron cash, and the two circuits of Guangnan East and West, which were still developing regions. In the tables comparing the circuits, the figures for the Eastern Capital of Kaifengfu 開封府, the Western Capital of Henanfu 河南府, the Northern Capital of Damingfu 大名府, and the Southern Capital of Yingtianfu 應天府 have been given separately, but in the matrix tables for each circuit the Western Capital has been incorporated in Jingxi North circuit, the Northern Capital in Hebei East circuit, and the Southern Capital in Jingdong South circuit, while the Eastern Capital has been excluded because of its special position. In the tables tabulating the commercial taxes for each of the seventeen circuits, the horizontal rows give the annual assessment for commercial tax by prefecture under the headings “Prefectures” (*fuzhou* 府州), “Counties” (*xian* 縣), and “Towns” (*zhen* 鎮, etc.), while the vertical columns divide fluctuations in the annual quota figures into eight levels. Matrix tables have been used to facilitate the detection of correlations between administrative moves conducive to urbanization and economic moves conducive to urbanization. Cities that are prefectural capitals in status but also happen to be circuit capitals have been indicated by a double circle (◎). In some cases two counties were attached to a prefectural capital, and since the institutional system allowed for only one commercial tax office inside each prefectural capital, the tax amount for one of these counties was naturally zero and has not been counted. These counties have been excluded from the number of counties listed under “Counties” in the tables. The heading “Towns” includes not only *zhen*, but also all settlements known by names such as *dian* 店 (hostels or inns acting as general stores), *shi* 市 (marketplaces), *jin* 津 (wharves), and *du* 渡 (ferry crossings) which levied commercial taxes during the year in question. It should also be pointed out that, although the majority of *zhen* appearing in the *Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi* are included in the “Towns” entered in the commercial tax statistics, they constitute “central-places” equivalent to or smaller than *zhen*, and those that were liable for commercial taxes and appear in the statistics represent no more than a tiny proportion of the total number of such “central-places.” In 1080 the number of minor “central-places” that were liable for marketplace and ferry-crossing levies was 20,606, which was more than ten times the number of commercial tax offices throughout the empire. Therefore, the lower stratum of the “hierarchy of central-places” reflected in these tables still corresponds to no more than the comparatively larger small “central-places.”

Table 1. Matrices of Urbanization Based on Administrative Elements and Economic Elements

<South>

Huainan East 淮南東

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999	2		
30,000–49,999	1	1	
10,000–29,999	<b>5</b>	3	
5,000–9,999	1	4	2
1–4,999	1	<b>16</b>	<b>32</b>
less than 1		3	

Huainan West 淮南西

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999	1		
30,000–49,999			
10,000–29,999	<b>5</b>	2	1
5,000–9,999	1	7	1
1–4,999	2	<b>14</b>	<b>34</b>
less than 1			

Liangzhe 兩浙

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999	2		
30,000–49,999	2		
10,000–29,999	<b>8</b>	7	3
5,000–9,999	2	19	
1–4,999		<b>32</b>	<b>48</b>
less than 1		2	

Jiangnan East 江南東

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	7	3	1
5,000–9,999		7	
1–4,999	2	26	19
less than 1			

Jiangxi 江西

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	4		
5,000–9,999	5	4	
1–4,999		32	14
less than 1			

Hunan 湖南

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	2	1	
5,000–9,999	3	5	1
1–4,999	2	22	29
less than 1		12	

Hubei 湖北

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999			
10,000–29,999	2	1	
5,000–9,999	<b>5</b>	1	2
1–4,999	3	<b>22</b>	<b>29</b>
less than 1		12	

Fujian 福建

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	<b>3</b>	2	
5,000–9,999	<b>3</b>	5	1
1–4,999	2	<b>27</b>	<b>51</b>
less than 1		1	

<North> Four Capitals

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000	1		
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	<b>2</b>		
10,000–29,999	1	3	
5,000–9,999		10	1
1–4,999		<b>35</b>	<b>51</b>
less than 1		3	

Jingdong East 京東東

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	<b>5</b>	1	7
5,000–9,999	3	8	4
1–4,999		<b>19</b>	<b>45</b>
less than 1			

Jingdong West 京東西

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	2		1
5,000–9,999	<b>4</b>	7	
1–4,999		<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>
less than 1			

Jingxi South 京西南

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	2		
5,000–9,999	<b>4</b>	2	1
1–4,999	2	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>
less than 1		3	

Jingxi North 京西北

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999			
10,000–29,999	3		
5,000–9,999	1	3	
1–4,999	4	26	30
less than 1		1	

Hebei East 河北東

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1	1	
10,000–29,999	8	2	2
5,000–9,999	3	2	2
1–4,999	6	22	97
less than 1		2	

Hebei West 河北西

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	6		
5,000–9,999	5	2	
1–4,999	5	36	43
less than 1		7	1

Hedong 河東

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	2		
10,000–29,999	1		
5,000–9,999	5	1	
1–4,999	<b>12</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>50</b>
less than 1		7	1

Qinfeng 秦鳳

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999	1		
30,000–49,999	1		
10,000–29,999	3		1
5,000–9,999	2	2	3
1–4,999	<b>7</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>71</b>
less than 1		5	

Shaanxi 陝西

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000			
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999			
30,000–49,999	2		
10,000–29,999	3		
5,000–9,999	7	5	
1–4,999	<b>10</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>91</b>
less than 1		8	1



National Figures

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000	1		
100,000–299,999			
50,000–99,999	6		
30,000–49,999	19	2	
10,000–29,999	<b>70</b>	25	16
5,000–9,999	54	94	18
1–4,999	58	<b>486</b>	<b>756</b>
less than 1		54	3

Table 2. Matrices of Urbanization Based on Administrative Elements and Economic Elements

<South>Liangzhe

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000	0	0	0
100,000–299,999	0	0	0
50,000–99,999	2	0	0
30,000–49,999	2	0	0
10,000–29,999	<b>8</b>	7	3
5,000–9,999	2	19	0
1–4,999	0	<b>32</b>	<b>48</b>
less than 1	0	2	0

<North>Hebei East and West

<i>Guan</i>	Prefectures	Counties	Towns
300,000–500,000	0	0	0
100,000–299,999	0	0	0
50,000–99,999	0	0	0
30,000–49,999	2	1	0
10,000–29,999	<b>14</b>	2	2
5,000–9,999	8	4	2
1–4,999	11	<b>58</b>	<b>140</b>
less than 1	0	2	1

Table 3. Amount of Commercial Tax Assessed by Commercial Tax Stations in North China

					Unit : <i>guan</i> 貫			
Region	Prefectures	Counties	Towns	<i>Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi</i> 元豐九域志	Total Amount	Station Average	County Average	Town Average
Dongjing 東京	Kaifengfu 開封府	23	20	31 <i>zhen</i> 鎮	555,078.628	13,216.158	6,095.781	1,234.405
Xijing 西京	Henanfu 河南府	13	11	22 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yinchang</i> 銀場, 1 <i>jian</i> 監	67,548.548	2,814.523	1,362.034	1,205.469
Nanjing 南京	Yingtianfu 應天府	7	2	13 <i>zhen</i>	45,541.684	5,060.187	2,712.418	700.449
Beijing 北京	Damingfu 大名府	13	19	20 <i>zhen</i>	95,770.820	2,992.838	2,293.833	1,558.777
Four Capitals 四京		56	52	86 <i>zhen</i> Prefecture Average	(190,984.920)	(6,020.926)	(3,116.016)	(1,174.775)
					763,939.680			
Jingdong East 京東東	Qingzhou ◎ 青州	6	7	13 <i>zhen</i>	68,028.353	5,232.950	3,777.432	4,117.799
	Mizhou 密州	4	4	2 <i>zhen</i>	87,136.969	10,892.121	5,416.060	8,540.383
	Jizhou 齊州	5	24	no data	86,660.448	2,988.291	6,067.102	2,106.476
	Yizhou 沂州	5	6	8 <i>zhen</i>	42,424.455	3,856.769	2,572.183	2,574.220
	Dengzhou 登州	4	2	2 <i>zhen</i>	16,197.955	2,699.659	2,764.574	1,256.762
	Laizhou 萊州	4	4	2 <i>zhen</i>	44,318.241	5,539.780	4,294.172	6,298.587
	Weizhou 濰州	3	1	0 <i>zhen</i>	30,591.646	7,647.912	1,276.015	14,060.893
	Zizhou 淄州	4	5	7 <i>zhen</i>	72,658.165	8,073.129	10,720.301	6,747.695
	Huaiyangjun 淮陽軍	2	3	3 <i>zhen</i>	24,602.992	4,920.598	2,746.699	1,910.356
Jingdong East 京東東		37	56	37 <i>zhen</i>	(52,513.247)	(5,761.246)	(4,403.838)	(5,290.352)
					472,619.224			
Jingdong West 京東西	Yanzhou ◎ 兗州	7	1	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	26,040.325	3,255.041	2,656.421	1,663.958
	Xuzhou 徐州	6	3	5 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	45,383.273	5,042.586	4,890.637	1,575.432
	Caozhou 曹州	5	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	27,584.960	4,597.493	4,761.032	882.736

	Yunzhou 鄆州	6	10	15 <i>zhen</i>	92,728.838	5,795.552	3,822.569	4,117.163
	Jizhou 濟州	4	4	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>cheng</i> 城	25,759.584	3,219.948	3,889.416	1,446.547
	Chanzhou 單州	4	4	1 <i>zhen</i>	17,762.495	2,220.312	2,382.110	1,218.813
	Puzhou 濮州	4	3	5 <i>zhen</i>	34,266.956	4,895.279	4,259.488	616.842
Jingdong West 京東西		36	26	32 <i>zhen</i>	(38,503.776)	(4,146.602)	(3,808.810)	(1,645.927)
					269,526.431			
Jingxi South 京西南	Xiangzhou ◎ 襄州	7	3	18 <i>zhen</i>	59,618.746	5,961.875	3,457.851	1,134.723
	Tengzhou 滕州	5	5	22 <i>zhen</i>	46,436.147	4,643.615	2,100.784	3,332.440
	Suizhou 隋州	3	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	6,195.886	2,065.295	1,408.666	0.000
	Jinzhou 金州	4	1	2 <i>zhen</i>	12,756.318	2,551.264	1,355.894	358.019
	Fangzhou 房州	2	2	2 <i>zhen</i>	7,599.867	1,899.967	1,262.397	450.997
	Junzhou 均州	2	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	10,350.176	5,175.088	3,372.552	0.000
	Yingzhou 鄧州	3	0	14 <i>zhen</i>	12,514.717	4,171.572	1,299.583	0.000
	Tangzhou 唐州	5	0	6 <i>zhen</i>	15,025.426	3,005.085	1,104.368	0.000
Jingxi South 京西南		31	11	66 <i>zhen</i>	(21,312.160)	(3,684.220)	(1,920.262)	(659.522)
					170,497.283			
Jingxi North 京西北	Xuzhou ◎ 許州	6	5	10 <i>zhen</i>	38,275.052	3,479.550	2,836.513	1,151.693
	Mengzhou 孟州	6	2	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>guan</i> 關	22,771.310	2,846.414	2,006.250	2,095.067
	Caizhou 蔡州	11	4	13 <i>zhen</i>	32,813.531	2,187.569	1,990.499	692.303
	Chenzhou 陳州	4	3	8 <i>zhen</i>	31,364.770	4,480.681	3,030.460	913.295
	Yingzhou 潁州	4	10	11 <i>zhen</i>	20,399.697	1,457.121	1,665.962	1,148.535
	Ruzhou 汝州	5	6	9 <i>zhen</i>	24,156.369	2,196.034	4,456.933	514.577
	Xinyangjun 信陽軍	2	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	6,446.035	3,223.018	2,923.253	0.000

Jingxi North 京西北		38	30	52 <i>zhen</i>	(25,175.252)	(2,838.627)	(2,701.410)	(930.781)
					176,226.764			
Hebei East 河北東	Chanzhou ㊟ 澶州	6	8	3 <i>zhen</i>	33,336.168	2,381.155	2,860.136	433.457
	Cangzhou 滄州	6	21	21 <i>zhen</i>	94,837.242	3,512.490	14,390.904	590.812
	Jizhou 冀州	6	8	10 <i>zhen</i>	18,867.618	1,347.687	1,052.390	409.279
	Yingzhou 瀛州	2	4	8 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i> 寨, 1 <i>guan</i>	24,659.439	4,109.907	1,407.353	1,021.128
	Bozhou 博州	4	8	10 <i>zhen</i>	33,812.352	2,817.696	2,974.079	1,578.602
	Dizhou 棣州	3	12	10 <i>zhen</i>	52,386.201	3,492.413	4,167.050	1,440.997
	Mozhou 莫州	2	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>zhai</i>	8,615.174	2,871.725	1,397.638	0.000
	Xiongzhou 雄州	2	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 8 <i>zhai</i> , 1 <i>guan</i>	11,552.225	11,552.225	0.000	0.000
	Bazhou 霸州	3	0	1 <i>zhen</i> , 8 <i>zhai</i> , 1 <i>guan</i>	5,818.440	1,939.480	2,098.290	0.000
	Dezhou 德州	2	14	10 <i>zhen</i>	47,419.011	2,963.688	2,506.636	1,034.456
	Binzhou 濱州	2	17	11 <i>zhen</i>	68,604.730	3,610.775	0.000	3,513.376
	Enzhou 恩州	4	4	14 <i>zhen</i>	17,989.421	2,569.917	1,149.231	1,488.167
	Yongjingjun 永靜軍	3	4	8 <i>zhen</i>	26,729.973	3,818.568	447.992	485.569
	Ganningjun 乾寧軍	1	1	1 <i>zhen</i> , 6 <i>zhai</i>	5,393.226	2,696.613	0.000	530.303
	Xin'anjun 信安軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 6 <i>zhai</i>	1,434.157	1,434.157	0.000	0.000
	Baodingjun 保定軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>zhai</i>	1,738.283	1,738.283	0.000	0.000
Hebei East 河北東		48	101	107 <i>zhen</i>	(28,324.604)	(3,303.549)	(2,153.231)	(782.884)
					453,193.660			
Hebei West 河北西	Zhendingfu ㊟ 真定府	9	1	5 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	47,424.304	4,742.430	845.721	1,068.381
	Xiangzhou 相州	4	3	3 <i>zhen</i>	19,366.194	2,766.599	1,754.044	627.324
	Dingzhou 定州	7	2	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	29,786.001	3,309.556	1,516.789	473.396

	Yingzhou 瀛州	5	5	6 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>ye</i> 治	23,478.977	2,288.478	1,470.857	832.422
	Xingzhou 邢州	2	5	5 <i>zhen</i>	13,702.127	1,957.447	1,808.649	1,438.529
	Huaizhou 懷州	4	9	6 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	31,007.647	2,385.204	4,313.957	1,371.968
	Mingzhou 洺州	4	7	10 <i>zhen</i>	15,344.988	1,394.999	1,887.994	473.352
	Shenzhou 深州	5	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	18,529.472	3,705.894	2,989.854	0.000
	Cizhou 磁州	3	7	8 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>ye</i>	20,644.218	2,064.422	3,623.224	836.140
	Qizhou 祁州	2	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	15,258.253	5,086.084	5,920.646	1,070.158
	Zhaozhou 趙州	4	3	4 <i>zhen</i>	17,501.638	2,500.234	1,304.448	792.966
	Baozhou 保州	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	11,073.689	11,073.689	0.000	0.000
	Anxiaojun 安肅軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	4,103.520	4,103.520	0.000	0.000
	Yongningjun 永寧軍	1	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	11,128.963	5,564.482	0.000	876.630
	Guangxinjun 廣信軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	4,084.022	4,084.022	0.000	0.000
	Shun'anjun 順安軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	4,435.996	2,217.998	0.000	1,401.361
Hebei West 河北西		54	44	52 <i>zhen</i>	(17,929.376)	(3,702.816)	(1,714.761)	(703.914)
					286,870.009			
Hedong 河東	Taiyuanfu © 太原府	9	4	2 <i>zhen</i>	56,150.772	4,319.290	2,690.433	975.801
	Luzhou 路州	7	2	2 <i>zhen</i>	454.882	50.542	8.018	1.869
	Jinzhou 晉州	9	2	3 <i>zhen</i>	40,586.332	3,382.194	892.075	104.329
	Fuzhou 府州	1	1	0 <i>zhen</i>	4,701.571	2,350.786	0.000	2,061.000
	Linzhou 麟州	3	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	2,499.821	833.274	0.000	0.000
	Jiangzhou 絳州	7	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	31,455.915	3,495.102	3,216.911	156.356
	Daizhou 代州	4	16	2 <i>zhen</i> , 14 <i>zhai</i>	12,249.489	612.474	1,471.628	239.750
	Xizhou 隰州	7	4	1 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>guan</i> , 1 <i>wu</i> 務	12,593.930	1,144.903	1,114.475	396.829

Fenzhou 汾州	5	2	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	20,121.161	2,874.452	2,888.866	481.968	
Xinzhou 忻州	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>zhai</i> , 1 guan	6,800.288	6,800.288	0.000	0.000	
Zezhou 澤州	6	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	17,770.273	2,961.712	1,322.138	0.000	
Xianzhou 憲州	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	3,844.211	3,844.211	0.000	0.000	
Lanzhou 嵐州	3	3	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>bao</i> 堡, 1 <i>zhai</i>	11,305.591	1,884.265	1,825.544	1,220.793	
Shizhou 石州	5	3	0 <i>zhen</i> , 6 <i>zhai</i>	7,069.020	883.628	358.962	195.272	
Weishengjun 威勝軍	4	3	2 <i>zhen</i>	10,369.992	1,296.249	943.138	524.647	
Pingdingjun 平定軍	3	7	0 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>zhai</i>	12,211.898	1,221.190	624.633	1,033.172	
Ninghuajun 寧化軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	1,219.888	1,219.888	0.000	0.000	
Huoshanjin 火山軍	1	1	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	2,389.830	2,389.830	0.000	633.486	
Kelanjun 岢嵐軍	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	593.065	593.065	0.000	0.000	
Baodejun 保德軍	1	1	0 <i>zhen</i>	4,598.923	2,299.462	0.000	139.910	
Hedong 河東	79	50	19 <i>zhen</i>	(12,949.343)	(2,222.840)	(867.841)	(408.259)	
				258,986.852				
Qinfeng 秦鳳	Fengshuofu 鳳朔府	10	9	15 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	57,966.381	3,050.862	1,502.401	1,553.544
	Qinzhou 秦州	4	12	11 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yinyejian</i> 銀冶監, 2 <i>cheng</i> , 7 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i>	92,645.026	5,790.314	1,949.679	569.718
	Jingzhou 涇州	3	2	1 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	16,544.880	3,308.976	2,297.675	1,238.872
	Xizhou 熙州	1	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i> , 8 <i>bao</i>	3,800.000	3,800.000	0.000	0.000
	Longzhou 隴州	4	4	6 <i>zhen</i> , 4 <i>yinchang</i>	19,968.588	2,496.074	1,483.846	620.555
	Chengzhou 成州	2	2	3 <i>zhen</i>	9,267.381	2,316.845	5,234.487	766.060
	Fengzhou 鳳州	3	4	12 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>shuiyinwu</i> 水銀務, 1 <i>shuiyinjian</i> 水銀監	51,372.432	7,338.919	0.000	10,133.977

	Minzhou 岷州	3	5	10 <i>zhen</i> , 5 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i> , 1 <i>tieqianjian</i> 鐵錢監	6,649.421	831.178	1,185.076	654.765
	Weizhou 渭州	5	6	6 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i> , 1 <i>tongchang</i> 銅場, 1 <i>tiechang</i> 鐵場, 1 <i>chachang</i> 茶場, 1 <i>yanchang</i> 鹽場	20,120.112	1,829.101	2,261.176	777.355
	Yuanzhou 原州	2	8	3 <i>zhen</i> , 5 <i>zhai</i> , 13 <i>bao</i>	10,607.039	1,060.704	551.972	760.536
	Jiezhou 階州	2	6	10 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>zhai</i>	18,873.724	2,359.216	1,929.236	628.686
	Zhenrongjun 鎮戎軍	1	5	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>cheng</i> , 7 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i>	6,372.654	1,062.109	0.000	799.377
	Deshunjun 德順軍	1	9	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>cheng</i> , 5 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i>	14,592.646	1,459.265	0.000	1,207.170
	Tongyuanjun 通遠軍	1	3	1 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>cheng</i> , 6 <i>zhai</i> , 4 <i>bao</i>	10,606.810	2,651.703	0.000	2,705.304
Qinfeng 秦鳳		42	75	78 <i>zhen</i>	(17,929.376)	(2,811.090)	(1,313.968)	(1,601.137)
					339,387.094			
Shaanxi 陝西	Jingzhaofu 京兆府	14	9	17 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tongqianjian</i> 銅錢監, 1 <i>tieqian</i> 鐵錢	83,384.979	3,790.226	3,087.306	876.830
	Hezhongfu 河中府	7	2	5 <i>zhen</i>	31,015.752	3,101.575	2,330.085	502.219
	Shanzhou 陝州	7	3	7 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tongqianjian</i> , 1 <i>tieqianjian</i> 鐵錢監	42,509.634	4,250.963	1,642.017	673.933
	Yanzhou 延州	7	19	6 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>mumajian</i> 牧馬監	26,412.512	1,015.866	438.926	513.708
	Tongzhou 同州	8	5	8 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tongqianjian</i> , 1 <i>tieqianjian</i>	24,969.810	1,920.755	2,465.666	791.331
	Huazhou 華州	5	3	8 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tongqianjian</i> , 1 <i>tieqianjian</i>	29,447.698	3,680.962	2,191.682	1,169.446
	Yaozhou 耀州	7	3	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tieqianjian</i>	30,357.723	3,373.080	3,452.240	1,679.126
	Binzhou 邠州	4	1	3 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>zhai</i>	17,644.111	3,528.822	2,956.902	1,083.688
	Fuzhou 鄜州	4	3	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jun</i> 軍	8,739.026	1,248.432	439.602	817.649
	Jiezhou 解州	3	2	1 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>yanchi</i> 鹽池	22,010.636	4,402.127	5,628.169	1,524.772
	Qingzhou 慶州	3	15	11 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>cheng</i> , 6 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i>	17,041.331	946.741	678.884	483.780
	Guozhou 號州	3	2	2 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>tieqian</i>	12,183.784	2,436.757	2,815.795	1,562.449

Shangzhou 商州	5	4	7 zhen, 3 yinchang, 2 tieqianjian, 1 qianchang 鉛場	20,267.649	2,026.765	1,377.791	1,162.335
Ningzhou 寧州	4	2	6 zhen	13,151.823	1,878.832	1,191.630	469.392
Fangzhou 坊州	2	2	2 zhen, 1 fanchang 礬場	5,257.591	1,314.398	358.195	526.998
Danzhou 丹州	1	1	2 zhen	2,604.258	868.086	0.000	34.325
Huanzhou 環州	1	13	4 zhen, 8 zhai	9,758.355	697.025	0.000	384.521
Baoanjun 保安軍	1	3	0 zhen, 2 zhai, 1 bao	3,237.669	809.417	0.000	478.593
Shaanxi 陝西	86	92	88 zhen	(22,221.908)	(2,293.935)	(1,725.272)	(818.616)
				399,994.341			
507 537				(30,178.499)	(3,290.000)	(2,031.322)	(1,216.222)
				3,591,241.338			

Table 4. Amount of Commercial Tax Assessed by Commercial Tax Stations in South China

Unit : <i>guan</i> 貫									
Region	Prefectures	Counties Towns			<i>Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi</i> 元豐九域志	Total Amount	Station Average	County Average	Town Average
Huainan East 淮南東	Yangzhou 楊州	3	6	13 <i>zhen</i>		97,980.709	10,886.745	18,056.659	3,336.331
	Haozhou 亳州	7	6	8 <i>zhen</i>		24,494.642	1,884.203	2,909.892	443.015
	Suzhou 宿州	4	7	9 <i>zhen</i>		26,061.164	2,369.197	1,396.403	970.365
	Chuzhou 楚州	5	1	7 <i>zhen</i>		113,974.971	18,995.829	11,489.083	137.051
	Haizhou 海州	4	1	2 <i>zhen</i>		48,642.657	9,728.531	12,129.859	583.770
	Taizhou 泰州	4	4	6 <i>zhen</i>		26,073.050	3,259.131	2,892.045	1,006.364
	Sizhou 泗州	3	5	9 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>wu</i>		28,647.186	3,580.898	527.019	1,182.133
	Chuzhou 滁州	3	1	3 <i>zhen</i>		15,344.561	3,836.140	1,236.510	326.479
	Zhenzhou 眞州	2	2	3 <i>zhen</i>		62,912.047	15,728.012	3,992.573	1,438.691
	Tongzhou 通州	2	1	2 <i>zhen</i>		9,530.579	3,176.860	3,742.236	295.341



Huainan East 淮南東		37	34	62 <i>zhen</i>	(45,366.157) (7,344.555) (5,837.228) (971.954)
					453,661.566
Huainan West 淮南西	Shouzhou 壽州	5	5	29 <i>zhen</i>	73,383.590 7,338.359 11,858.812 1,679.545
	Luzhou 廬州	3	2	15 <i>zhen</i>	62,074.420 12,414.884 5,029.360 849.907
	Qizhou 蘄州	4	4	5 <i>zhen</i>	53,670.905 6,708.863 1,531.087 6,984.091
	Hezhou 和州	3	3	15 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>zhai</i>	27,000.989 4,500.165 2,636.384 1,868.062
	Shuzhou 舒州	5	8	17 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jian</i>	24,133.867 1,856.451 1,740.302 1,667.710
	Haozhou 濠州	2	2	5 <i>zhen</i>	19,105.112 4,776.278 8,984.190 928.140
	Guangzhou 光州	4	3	3 <i>zhen</i>	24,878.787 3,554.112 5,137.091 1,513.940
	Huangzhou 黃州	3	5	14 <i>zhen</i>	39,662.374 4,957.797 4,029.845 1,307.115
	Wuwei jun 無爲軍	3	4	10 <i>zhen</i>	36,165.355 5,166.479 6,490.615 785.822
Huainan West 淮南西		32	36	113 <i>zhen</i>	(40,008.378) (5,697.043) (5,270.854) (1,953.814)
					360,075.399
Liangzhe 兩浙	Hangzhou 杭州	9	8	12 <i>zhen</i>	173,833.523 10,864.595 6,804.316 5,503.761
	Yuezhou 越州	8	6	9 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>ye</i>	66,207.780 5,092.906 4,201.604 2,013.678
	Suzhou 蘇州	5	4	4 <i>zhen</i>	77,076.378 8,564.042 7,103.065 1,183.064
	Runzhou 潤州	3	5	5 <i>zhen</i>	37,702.962 4,712.870 3,973.641 938.758
	Huzhou 湖州	6	5	6 <i>zhen</i>	77,688.164 7,768.816 7,178.440 1,932.478
	Wuzhou 婺州	7	2	1 <i>zhen</i>	71,028.149 7,892.017 6,710.737 1,777.731
	Mingzhou 明州	6	0	3 <i>zhen</i>	26,937.304 4,489.551 1,345.361 0.000
	Changzhou 常州	5	7	10 <i>zhen</i>	64,963.050 5,905.732 9,555.165 1,433.022
	Wenzhou 溫州	4	1	7 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yanchang</i> , 1 <i>yanjian</i> 鹽監	41,978.170 6,996.362 3,457.012 3,108.065
	Taizhou 台州	5	3	9 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>yanchang</i>	45,286.201 5,660.775 4,341.025 1,493.886

	Chuzhou 處州	6	0	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yinchang</i> , 1 <i>xichang</i> 錫場	27,736.511	4,622.752	3,768.726	0.000
	Quzhou 衢州	5	4	2 <i>zhen</i>	44,763.388	4,973.710	958.918	385.961
	Muzhou 睦州	6	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tongqianjian</i>	35,666.100	5,944.350	5,704.211	0.000
	Xiuzhou 秀州	4	5	4 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>yanjian</i> , 6 <i>yanchang</i>	65,446.834	7,271.870	6,119.000	3,927.439
Liangzhe 兩浙		79	50	75 <i>zhen</i>	(61,165.322)	(6,482.882)	(5,087.230)	(1,692.703)
					856,314.514			
Jiangnan East 江南東	Jiangningfu ② 江寧府	5	2	15 <i>zhen</i>	53,542.229	8,923.705	2,579.404	372.274
	Xuanzhou 宣州	6	4	4 <i>zhen</i>	42,408.680	4,240.868	4,067.611	1,398.654
	Shezhou 歙州	6	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	25,956.555	3,708.079	2,690.875	244.059
	Jiangzhou 江州	5	1	4 <i>zhen</i>	46,145.738	7,690.956	7,565.641	520.938
	Chizhou 池州	6	3	8 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>qianjian</i> 錢監	36,848.063	4,094.229	2,883.679	5,859.319
	Raozhou 饒州	6	2	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>qianjian</i> , 1 <i>jinchang</i> 金場, 1 <i>yinyuan</i> 銀院, 1 <i>yinchang</i> , 1 <i>tongchang</i>	48,476.030	6,059.504	5,957.283	2,093.169
	Xinzhou 信州	5	2	2 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yintongchang</i> 銀銅場, 3 <i>yinchang</i>	38,395.372	5,485.053	5,037.961	946.087
	Taipingzhou 太平州	3	5	11 <i>zhen</i>	22,829.193	2,853.649	7,387.570	862.887
	Nankangjun 南康軍	3	0	6 <i>zhen</i>	29,345.536	9,781.845	4,337.586	0.000
	Guangdejun 廣德軍	2	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	14,314.655	7,157.328	4,309.230	0.000
Jiangnan East 江南東		47	20	54 <i>zhen</i>	(35,826.205)	(5,999.522)	(4,681.684)	(1,229.739)
					358,262.051			
Jiangnan West 江南西	Hongzhou ② 洪州	7	4	15 <i>zhen</i>	47,068.860	4,706.886	2,400.119	1,540.897
	Qianzhou 虔州	10	3	4 <i>zhen</i> , 2 <i>yinchang</i> , 1 <i>qianchang</i> , 2 <i>xichang</i> , 1 <i>yintongchang</i>	51,236.333	3,941.256	539.053	2,165.727
	Jizhou 吉州	8	4	6 <i>zhen</i>	50,013.174	4,167.765	4,491.894	2,254.081
	Yuanzhou 袁州	4	0	6 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>tiewu</i> 鐵 務	14,148.823	3,537.206	1,855.086	0.000

	Fuzhou 撫州	4	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	19,679.308	4,919.827	467.962	0.000
	Yunzhou 筠州	3	0	4 <i>zhen</i>	10,135.336	3,378.445	1,181.598	0.000
	Xingguojun 興國軍	3	2	11 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>qianjian</i> , 1 <i>tongchang</i> , 1 <i>tiewu</i>	10,211.590	2,042.318	1,527.723	681.737
	Nan'anjun 南安軍	3	0	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yinchang</i> , 1 <i>tiewu</i>	15,122.020	5,040.673	1,657.610	0.000
	Linjiangjun 臨江軍	3	0	3 <i>zhen</i>	15,131.247	5,043.749	4,696.337	0.000
	Jianchangjun 建昌軍	2	1	0 <i>zhen</i> , 4 <i>yinchang</i>	13,774.209	4,591.403	2,248.920	197.893
Jiangnan West 江南西		47	14	52 <i>zhen</i>	(24,652.090)	(4,136.953)	(2,106.630)	(684.033)
					246,520.900			
Hunan 湖南	Tanzhou ② 潭州	11	2	5 <i>zhen</i>	93,911.693	7,223.976	5,079.451	4,588.939
	Hengzhou 衡州	5	1	7 <i>zhen</i>	26,402.834	4,400.472	3,571.075	351.926
	Daozhou 道州	3	0	0 <i>zhen</i>	6,314.610	2,104.870	0.000	0.000
	Yongzhou 永州	3	0	0 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	10,054.488	3,351.496	2,663.439	0.000
	Chenzhou 郴州	4	4	0 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>yinkeng</i> 銀 坑, 1 <i>tongkeng</i> 銅坑, 1 <i>xikeng</i> 錫坑	18,795.104	2,349.388	643.492	1,120.520
	Shaoyzhou 邵州	4	1	2 <i>zhen</i> , 9 <i>zhai</i> , 3 <i>bao</i>	13,013.547	2,602.709	1,067.890	774.147
	Quanzhou 全州	2	0	7 <i>zhen</i>	4,063.351	2,031.676	0.000	0.000
	Guiyangjian 桂陽監	2	9	1 <i>zhen</i> , 9 <i>yinkeng</i>	5,811.457	528.314	10.803	37.395
Hunan 湖南		34	17	22 <i>zhen</i>	(22,295.886)	(3,074.113)	(1,629.519)	(859.116)
					178,367.084			
Hubei 湖北	Jianglingfu ② 江陵府	8	15	22 <i>zhen</i>	50,234.721	2,184.118	1,622.020	2,027.470
	Ezhou 鄂州	8	2	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>qianjian</i>	35,354.056	3,535.406	2,697.239	1,005.635
	Anzhou 安州	5	2	3 <i>zhen</i>	7,360.168	1,051.453	1,553.673	468.152
	Dingzhou 鼎州	3	1	2 <i>zhen</i>	8,777.221	2,194.305	1,484.592	646.493
	Lizhou 澧州	4	0	2 <i>zhen</i>	16,209.404	4,052.351	2,787.837	0.000

	Xiazhou 峽州	4	3	0 <i>zhen</i>	7,674.540	1,918.635	0.000	55.237
	Yuezhou 岳州	5	3	3 <i>zhen</i>	41,769.604	5,221.201	2,648.920	1,829.871
	Guizhou 歸州	2	1	1 <i>zhen</i>	5,893.926	1,964.642	0.000	99.284
	Chenzhou 辰州	4	0	1 <i>zhen</i>	2,616.920	654.230	0.000	0.000
	Yuanzhou 沅州	3	4	0 <i>zhen</i>	367.575	52.511	147.529	15.539
Hubei 湖北		46	31	37 <i>zhen</i>	(17,625.814)	(2,282.885)	(1,294.181)	(614.768)
					176,258.135			
Fujian 福建	Fuzhou ③ 福州	12	4	5 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>jinkeng</i> 金坑, 4 <i>yinchang</i> , 3 <i>yanchang</i> , 1 <i>yancang</i> 鹽倉	75,573.552	5,038.237	3,459.465	1,488.767
	Jianzhou 建州	6	11	3 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>chabei</i> 茶焙, 1 <i>cha'an</i> 茶庵, 11 <i>yinchang</i> , 3 <i>yinkeng</i>	50,880.340	2,992.961	6,252.838	329.887
	Quanzhou 泉州	7	5	0 <i>zhen</i> , 290 <i>yanting</i> 鹽亭, 4 <i>yanchang</i> , 1 <i>zhai</i>	46,846.906	3,903.909	4,193.320	349.527
	Nanjianzhou 南劍州	5	10	5 <i>zhen</i> , 14 <i>yinchang</i> , 5 <i>chabei</i>	32,679.464	2,178.631	3,844.308	170.597
	Dingzhou 汀州	4	6	1 <i>zhen</i> , 3 <i>yinchang</i> , 2 <i>yinkeng</i> , 1 <i>yinwu</i> , 1 <i>jinchang</i>	15,147.690	1,514.769	2,839.923	134.023
	Shaowzhou 邵州	4	7	4 <i>zhen</i> , 4 <i>yantuan</i> 鹽 團, 2 <i>yinchang</i>	14,990.120	1,362.738	2,074.543	379.391
	Shaowujun 邵武軍	4	3	2 <i>zhen</i> , 8 <i>yinchang</i> , 3 <i>tiechang</i> , 1 <i>jinchang</i> , 1 <i>tongchang</i>	16,040.801	2,291.543	2,028.572	39.582
	Xinghua jun 興化軍	3	6	5 <i>zhen</i> , 1 <i>yancang</i>	6,641.406	737.934	339.847	329.089
Fujian 福建		45	54	25 <i>zhen</i>	(32,350.035)	(2,502.590)	(3,129.102)	(402.608)
					258,800.279			
		367	254		(36,560.252)	(4,864.386)	(3,745.887)	(1,093.429)
					2,888,259.928			

### 3. Urbanization in the Song Seen from Commercial Tax Statistics (2)

The above four, all based on historical sources, provide an overall comparison of the seventeen circuits, a comparison of the nine northern circuits, a comparison of the eight southern circuits, and a sample comparison of Hebei East and West circuits with Liangzhe circuit. Starting with the overall comparison, we find that there is one prefecture that stands out on account of its high annual tax quota of 300,000–500,000 *guan*. This is the Eastern Capital of Kaifeng, which was the national capital and was also surrounded by a special hinterland called Jingji circuit, and it will be touched on again below. Next, in the case of circuit capitals, although I was not able to show this in the tables, when the amount of commercial tax assessed by the commercial tax office in the circuit capitals was compared with other centres within the same circuit, it was found that in nine of the seventeen circuits the circuit capitals ranked first (Xiangzhou 襄州, Henanfu, Damingfu, Zhendingfu 真定府, Jingzhao fu 京兆府, Hangzhou, Jiangningfu 江寧府, Tanzhou 潭州 and Jianglingfu 江陵府; on the treatment of the Western Capital of Henanfu and the Eastern Capital of Damingfu, see the previous section), while in the remaining eight circuits it generally ranked second, which would indicate that these circuits were lagging behind with respect to their integration of the city system. In the case of prefectural capitals, on average the most common level of commercial tax quota falls in the 10,000–29,999 *guan* bracket, and the majority of the 207 cities representing prefectural capitals were quite clearly cities of medium rank and higher. The above results all conform with what we know or would expect.

However, when we turn our attention to the 601 counties and 793 towns, we find evidence of a major change characteristic of urban transformation during the Song. It is true that in one respect county capitals occupied a basal position in the hierarchy of administrative cities, and they also enjoyed a high political and cultural position in the regions. But when it comes to their economic functions, indicated by the frequency distribution of levels of the commercial tax quota, the majority fall within the low bracket of 1–4,999 *guan*, and 54 of the 601 county capitals show a figure of less than 1 *guan*. Meanwhile, the number of towns falling within the high-frequency bracket of 1–4,999 *guan* exceeds the number of county capitals in the same bracket in the overall table, and even in the tables for individual circuits it exceeds the number of county capitals in nine of the seventeen circuits. When one looks upon this as a reflection of the spatial distribution of groups of small “central-places” in the regional distribution of goods, it means that county capitals by no means enjoyed unrivalled centrality and were in fact facing a challenge from surrounding towns of the same or a higher level. At the risk of repeating myself, I would remind the reader that below towns there were an almost countless number of marketplaces and ferry crossings.

Let us now move on to urbanization in individual circuits. If we disregard

the Eastern Capital of Kaifengfu, which is in a class of its own, the ranking of circuits in terms of the total commercial tax quota is in descending order as follows: Liangzhe, Hebei East, Jingdong East, Huainan East, Jingxi North, Shaanxi, Huainan West, Jiangnan East, Qinfeng, Jingdong West, Hebei West, Hedong, Fujian, Jiangnan West, Jinghu South, Jinghu North and Jingxi South. Next, if we examine the matrices for each circuit while bearing this ranking in mind, we find a regular pattern such that in the higher-ranking circuits the commercial tax quotas for prefectural capitals are markedly higher than those for county capitals and towns, while in the case of lower-ranking circuits there is little difference between the two. In other words, a hierarchy of large, medium-sized and small “central-places” has been formed in regular fashion in the higher-ranking circuits. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Liangzhe, where the commercial tax amount for the leading city of Hangzhou (82,173.228 *guan*) far exceeds that of the second-ranking city of Suzhou (51,034.929 *guan*). Other circuits that come closest to this configuration are Hebei East and West.

However, in the case of Hebei East, although large, medium-sized and small cities had developed in a comparatively balanced manner throughout the region as a whole, the circuit capital of Zhenzhou did not enjoy primacy. A similar situation, in which there is a group of two or three leading cities, or else the commercial tax quota for the circuit capital is not the highest in that circuit, is also to be found in the circuits of Jingdong West, Hedong, Qinfeng, Shaanxi and Huainan West. The first characteristic shared by these circuits is that their total commercial tax quota falls into the higher bracket. Next, many parts of these circuits are close to the main supply routes centred on Kaifeng. In addition, they also include the northern circuits of Qinfeng, Shaanxi and Hedong, which played a vital role in military defences. It is to be surmised, in other words, that not only did the development of commerce and transport in these regions boost urbanization and lead to a high commercial tax quota for these circuits, but government and military supply systems acted as an additional factor on top of the pull exerted by these regions’ long-distance commerce.

It would seem appropriate at this stage to touch on the Eastern Capital of Kaifengfu, which had an especially high commercial tax quota and was situated in a special circuit known as the Metropolitan Region (Jingji). More than 100,000 troops were permanently stationed in this circuit, and there were also about 30,000 salaried officials as well as their family members and attendants, which would have been several times as numerous again. Both the road and transport system and the organization of commerce and finances would have been set up in an intensive form so as to facilitate the efficient flow of goods heading towards the Metropolitan Region and surrounding area, and this would have further attracted merchants and industrialists. What is more, supplies for the Metropolitan Region and the area to the north were not only provided by neighbouring regions, but also entailed the

delivery of resources from quite distant circuits. The question we must ask is how much influence these extra factors had on urbanization as a whole.

This question cannot be adequately answered if Song China is viewed as a monolithic whole. After the fall of Kaifeng to Jin forces, the cities, commerce and transport system of the former Metropolitan Region all suffered a rapid decline. The circuit of Liangzhe, meanwhile, was elevated to the status of Metropolitan Region and retained this status throughout the Southern Song, but the system of supplying the capital and field armies followed a different pattern from that seen in Kaifeng, and it pushed to the fore a type of regionalism in the form of a division of duties among four Overseer-general of Revenues Offices (*zonglingsuo* 總領所). Why this should have happened is difficult to explain, but one possibility that might be considered is that differing topographical conditions in the north and south may have led to correspondingly different ways of ensuring transport efficiencies. During the Five Dynasties period 五代時代, when more than thirty military commissioners (*fanzhen* 藩鎮) were vying with each other, southern China, which covered a far greater area than northern China, was divided into only ten states, and these divisions were carried over by the circuits of the Song and the provinces of the Ming and Qing, thus displaying a degree of continuity. The fact that a natural unity is to be observed in the city system of Liangzhe circuit is no doubt proof that the integration of local social differentiation progressed in a natural manner. Even after its fall to Yuan forces, Lin'an did not experience the same degree of urban decline as had Kaifeng when it lost its status as Metropolitan Region, and Hangzhou revived and grew into one of Jiangnan's two largest cities along with Suzhou.

#### 4. Concluding Remarks

Urbanization and the commercialization of society during the Tang-Song transition were linked to the revival of long-distance commerce, the associated growth of transportation, the activities of travelling merchants, and the emergence of commercial taxes. Therefore, these changes were not concentrated in the large and medium-sized cities, but occurred across all levels of the hierarchy of cities, ranging from the national capital at the top to market towns at the bottom. Amidst these changes, the economic position of county capitals became somewhat ambiguous when compared with former times and was challenged by towns and marketplaces, and this was a change that was carried over to the Ming and Qing, for throughout China's urban history the county capital had been a constant, representative of all "cities."

In positing the collapse of the official market system and the proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns, Katō was not in any way looking upon these as isolated phenomena, and he dealt with them as one aspect of his research

aimed at realizing his grand plan of retracing long-term changes in China's monetary and commercial history as a whole. But during the period when Katō was pursuing his research, the thesis of an urban-rural dichotomy generally prevailed in the historical school of economics and national economics, and this may be assumed to have had an influence on Katō's urban theories. Furthermore, a similar distinctive dichotomy, contrasting cities (*cheng*) with rural areas (*xiang*), also happened to be universally used in Chinese-language source materials, and the combined result of this was that he failed to consider cities, typified by prefectural and county capitals, and towns, typified by *zhen* and *shi*, as a single continuum in the spectrum of urban studies. This is apparent in article titles such as "Periodic Markets in Villages and Towns during the Qing."<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, since urban studies in the historical school of economics and national economics focused on the transition from the middle ages to the modern period in Europe, there was no direct inquiry into the distinctive features of urbanization and commercialization within the framework of the bureaucratic empire of China, which had followed a course different from that of Europe.

One of the popular notions to which not only Katō, but many Chinese historians unconsciously succumb is the contrast between *cheng* and *xiang*. A familiar example of this can be seen in the terms *xiangzhen* 鄉鎮 and "small *chengzhen* 城鎮." Although both of these terms refer to what were already unmistakably small and medium-sized industrial cities and commercial collection and distribution centres, even Chinese today insist on referring to them as *xiang* or calling them "small" *chengzhen* ('city or town'). Underlying this usage is the urban-rural dichotomy. In the late Qing, Foshanzhen, lying 16 kilometres west of Guangzhou 廣州, had a population of more than 300,000 and was the second-largest city after Guangzhoufu 廣州府 in Liangguang, but it was nonetheless still a *zhen*. Hankou too was similar in this respect. Why were cities like these differentiated from so-called *chengshi*? It was probably because *zhen* did not generally have city walls comparable to those of county, prefectural and provincial capitals, nor were they permitted to have such walls. Although they might have had branch government offices and police stations, ordinary government offices were not located in *zhen*, and while they may have had temples dedicated to Wenchang, the god of literature, and private academies, there would have been no state temples of the rank of those dedicated to Confucius. There are, of course, many instances in which the *zhen* occupies a transitional stage in the upward or downward process of urbanization (marketplace → town → county, or county → town → marketplace). This does not, however, provide a solution to the enigma of why the total number of counties from the Song through to the Qing remained fixed at between 1,200 and 1,300 when it would be only natural to assume that in the course of the long-term upward growth of the social economy

<sup>22</sup> Katō, "Shindai ni okeru sonchin no teikiichi," in *Shina keizaishi kōshō*, vol. 2, 505–556.



the number of both towns and counties would have risen.

According to Miyagawa Hisayuki and Miyazaki Ichisada, *cheng* and *xiang* first appear in Chinese history as contrasting types of communities towards the end of the Northern and Southern Dynasties.<sup>23</sup> This distinction was inherited by the Tang, which imposed a quite tight administrative organization on both *cheng* and *xiang* and implemented an official market system in cities (*chengshi*) and a township-village (*xiangli* 鄉里) system in rural areas. That the institutional framework of Tang borough and villages was preserved over a long period of time can be illustrated by the fact that the Tang division of Yin *xian* 鄆縣 in Mingzhou into thirteen townships survived with the same township names until the end of the Qing dynasty. But at the same time the official market system in cities gradually collapsed between the mid-Tang and the Song, and market towns proliferated among so-called borough and villages. When considered from the perspective of social and economic urbanization, the urban-rural dichotomy collapsed and in its place there arose a threefold distinction between cities, market towns, and townships and villages. In spite of this, however, the urban-rural dichotomy persisted in terms of institutional organization until the end of the Qing. But when one considers that at least from the late Ming onwards it was by no means unusual for guildhalls to line the streets of towns and marketplaces in regions such as the lower Yangzi valley and Guangdong,<sup>24</sup> it would seem reasonable to assume that the socio-economic ranking of communities in China changed to a three-tiered division into cities, market towns, and townships and villages from the Song onwards. This is why I have here attempted to probe Song urban change from the perspective of a hierarchy of “central-places.” Our study of commercial tax statistics has shown that there was a pronounced increase in cities, quasi-cities and commercial settlements not only in the upper stratum of the hierarchy of “centres,” but in the lower stratum as well, and for this reason the position of county capitals became relatively ambiguous.

Katō did not shed much light on the impact this urbanization and commercialization had on the bureaucratic empire and the way in which the latter responded to urbanization and commercialization. The point at issue here is that these upheavals occurred within the unified framework of the empire and that the empire survived for more than another thousand years without collapsing. To be sure, the official

<sup>23</sup> Miyagawa Hisayuki, “Rikuchō jidai no mura ni tsuite” [On villages during the Six Dynasties period], in *Rikuchōshi kenkyū, seiji shakai hen* [Studies on the history of the Six Dynasties: Politics and society] (Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1964), chap. 7, 437–471; Miyazaki Ichisada, “Chūgoku ni okeru sonsei no seiritsu” [The establishment of the village system in China], in *Ajiashi ronkō* [Studies in Asian history] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1976), vol. 2, chap. 4, 73–102.

<sup>24</sup> He Bingdi, *Zhongguo huiguan shilun*, 37–99; Kawakatsu Mamoru, *Min-Shin Kōnan shichin shakaishi kenkyū* [A study of the social history of market towns in Jiangnan during the Ming and Qing] (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2000).

market system did collapse, but the bureaucracy siphoned off commercial revenue by means of new urban and commercial taxes. The economic historian J. Hicks has made some instructive comments in this regard.<sup>25</sup> According to Hicks, the “‘classical’ bureaucracy” is a system rooted in an (agriculture-based) “Revenue Economy” and is in principle unrelated to and independent of the market economy and commerce, although it is possible for the rise of markets to strengthen the bureaucracy. An example of this is probably the use of monopolies, and the fact that a large-scale revival of long-distance commerce occurred during the Tang-Song transition and urban taxes changed from market register levies to commercial taxes would correspond to this “strengthening” of the bureaucracy. The problem is that these commercial taxes in particular required the establishment of a network of tax-collecting stations throughout the empire. This then made it necessary to officially recognize the status of small “centres” such as towns, an action that rendered ambiguous the traditional urban-rural dichotomy and the position of county capitals, which had in the eyes of the authorities been a “constant” of cities. Post-Song history tells us that although there was no change in the essential character of the empire, based as it was on a revenue economy, in advanced regions such as the middle and lower reaches of the Yangzi River and Guangnan there occurred a proliferation of small and medium-sized market towns, which made quite obvious the increasing ambiguity of the administrative city system.

<sup>25</sup> John Hicks, *A theory of economic history* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 19, 20.