

Song Sources for the Cultural Side of Migration: An Exploratory Study

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ABSTRACT

The movement of people has played an important part in the history of China, especially the movement from north to south over the centuries. In Song times, as in other periods, war, famine, and economic opportunities had much to do with motivating people to move, but culture was important in shaping not only the willingness to move but also how people looked on moving and migrants. This essay is a preliminary effort to identify sources and studies that help us better understand how people thought about geographical relocations, both the process of moving and the people who moved. This was not a topic that philosophers discussed as a moral issue, connected either to family obligations or concern for the larger good, but other types of sources can be drawn on that give partial views of people's thinking. Particularly useful are the stories writers told and the political proposals they made. Funerary biographies are especially rich in evidence of how people told the story of the moves of their ancestors. A different side of how people thought about relocation is found in accounts of migrants in difficult circumstances. In both *biji* 筆記 and memorials, writers expressed sympathy for people displaced by disasters and proposed that the government at both central and local level take steps to help them and minimize the impact of their arrival. From the writings of literati we learn most about what members of their class thought and did, but do get occasional glimpses of other people as well.

Key words: Song dynasty, migration, migrants, Jingkang disaster 靖康之難, Zhu Xi 朱熹, Zhuang Chuo 莊綽

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1. Introduction

There are many ways to explain the high level of migration in Chinese history. The Chinese subcontinent was often under a single state, so for long periods one could move hundreds of kilometers without crossing political borders. Chinese states often encouraged or subsidized migration, not to mention sometimes forcing it. The major direction of migration, from north to south, brought people to areas that were often more hospitable to agricultural development than the ones they had left. Thus, those who fled because of war, famine, or natural disaster would have less incentive to move back to their former home region after the emergency passed. On the other hand, disease was a more serious problem the further south that northerners went, and most areas were already populated, often by non-Han ethnic groups, so geography is not without its own complications.¹

¹ Chinese scholars have written extensively on internal Chinese migration. In the 1990s a team of Chinese historians compiled a one-volume and a six-volume history of migration in Chinese history, drawing on a wide range of sources. See Ge Jianxiong 葛劍雄, Cao Shuji 曹樹基, and Wu Songdi 吳松弟, *Jianming Zhongguo yimin shi* 簡明中國移民史 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1993); Ge Jianxiong, Wu Songdi, and Cao Shuji, *Zhongguo yimin shi* 中國移民史 (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1997). For the Song period, other studies include Wu Songdi, *Beifang yimin yu Nansong shehui bianqian* 北方移民與南宋社會變遷 (Taipei: Wenjin chubanshe, 1993); Ku Li-cheng 顧立誠, *Zouxiang nanfang: Tang Song zhi ji zi bei xiang nan de yimin yu qi yingxiang* 走向南方——唐宋之際自北向南的移民與其影響 (Taipei: Guoli Taiwan daxue chuban weiyuanhui, 2004); Xue Zhengchao 薛政超, *Tang Song Hunan yimin shi yanjiu* 唐宋湖南移民史研究 (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 2015). The importance of migration to the story of China has recently been reaffirmed by genomic studies that have shown that migration during imperial times was more important in the expansion of the Han Chinese than assimilation of non-Han ethnic groups. The findings of the classic 2004 article on this have not yet been challenged by later studies, even as more and more genomic evidence has been collected. See Bo Wen et al., “Genetic Evidence Supports Demic Diffusion of Han Culture,” *Nature*, 431 (2004), pp. 302-305. More recently, studies also draw on ancient DNA. See, for example, Yongbin Zhao et al., “Ancient DNA Reveals That the Genetic Structure of the Northern Han Chinese Was Shaped Prior to 3,000 Years Ago,” *PLoS ONE*, 10.5 (2015), e0125676. On coerced migration, see also Anthony J. Barbieri-Low, “Coerced Migration and Resettlement in the Qin Imperial Expansion,” *Journal of Chinese History*, pp. 1-22 (<https://doi.org/10.1017/jch.2019.1>), published online on 24 June 2019; Patricia Buckley Ebrey, “State-Forced Relocations in China, 900-1300,” in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and Paul Jakov Smith (eds.), *State Power in China, 900-1325* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), pp. 307-340.

Geography, economic incentives, and political coercion are not the only elements that shape migration, however. Culture also played a part. People may be more or less inclined to move, depending on the strength of their ties to their region of origin, their understanding of the attractions of an alternative place to live, their ability to draw on connections to get established in the new place, and the weight they placed on the moral injunction against abandoning the tombs of their ancestors. Could Chinese have been more willing to relocate considerable distances away than people in other societies due to social and cultural attitudes? Dingxin Zhao has recently argued that in the Warring States period high-ranking Chinese had weak territory-based identities, making it easy for them to move from one state to another, even to rival ones.² Zhao infers this on the basis of what men did, not what they wrote about relocating.

For the Song period, sources are rich enough to consider not merely what people did, but also what they wrote. This essay is a preliminary effort to identify sources that help us better understand how people thought about geographical relocations, both the act of moving and the people who moved. This was not a topic that philosophers analyzed as a moral issue, connected either to family obligations or concern for the larger good, but other types of sources offer insight. The rich scholarship on elite families is well worth re-reading with these questions in mind and points to the value of biographical sources. Although space does not allow providing a full analysis of all the sorts of evidence available, in order to give something of the range of available sources, here I approach the topic from two quite different perspectives: what people chose to say about the moves of known individuals, and how people discussed groups of migrants facing difficult circumstances, generally people they did not know. These two sides do not exhaust the ways of thinking connected to migration, but do seem to be the best documented sides.

2. Moving

From statistics on population distribution, we know that a significant proportion of

² Dingxin Zhao, *The Confucian-Legalist State: A New Theory of Chinese History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), especially pp. 92-94.

the population relocated between mid-Tang and mid-Song. Some prefectures declined in population while others grew.³ The numbers do not tell us how far people moved, that is, whether the shift was accomplished by large numbers moving relatively short distances or smaller numbers moving longer distances. Nor do the numbers indicate how voluntarily people took to the road. Some migrants may have wanted to try new places; others undoubtedly moved with great reluctance.

Exploring the cultural underpinnings of migration requires drawing from a wide range of sources. Culture encompasses the stories people told as much as the arguments they made; it includes not just ideas about what is right or best, but also ideas about the compromises one can make and how to weigh priorities—one can decide to do something that one feels uneasy or unhappy about. Added to this, of course, not everyone thought or acted the same way. Culture includes a repertoire of ways of thinking people were familiar with, not just the ones that motivated their own behavior.

Most references to moving in Song sources treat it in a matter-of-fact manner. In the early years of the dynasty, the royal family and leading officials of defeated states, especially Later Shu 後蜀 in Sichuan and Southern Tang 南唐 in Jiangnan, were forced to move to the capital.⁴ This is presented as involuntary but not a tragedy. Genealogies commonly mention someone moving to account for the division in the descent group. A convenient place to see this is in the genealogies of the families of chief ministers included in the *New Tang History* (*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書). To give just one example, the genealogy of the Yang 楊 family traces a series of moves in the Zhou dynasty, but the branching relevant to Tang chief ministers date to five sons of a man in the Later Han; in the Northern Wei the twelfth generation descendant of one moved to Hezhong 河中 (Shanxi) and a nephew of his to Yuanwu 原武 (Henan).⁵ This

³ Robert M. Hartwell, “Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750-1550,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 42.2 (1982), pp. 365-442; Joseph P. McDermott and Shiba Yoshinobu, “Economic Change in China, 960-1279,” in John W. Chaffee and Denis Twitchett (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, part 2: *Sung China, 960-1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 321-436.

⁴ On the movement out of Sichuan with the defeat of Later Shu, see Song Chen, “Managing the Territories from Afar: The Imperial State and Elites in Sichuan, 755-1279,” Ph.D. Dissertation (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 2011), pp. 110-113, 240-245.

⁵ Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 and Song Qi 宋祁, *Xin Tang shu*, vol. 8 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), *juan* 71

genealogical tradition is seen both in earlier and later genealogical compilations, such as the ninth century *Yuanhe Xingzuan* 元和姓纂 and the twelfth century *Tongzhi* 通志, *juan* 25-30 on surnames.⁶

Sometimes a willingness to move is treated as rather surprising. Already in the Southern Song, Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123-1202) described the trend of leading officials making permanent moves, taking particular note of Ouyang Xiu (1007-1072) and Su Shi 蘇軾 (1036-1101), both of whom wrote openly of preferring other places to where they grew up and sought to buy land in other parts of the country.⁷ The Qing scholar Zhao Yi 趙翼 (1727-1814) gave even more examples, titling his note “In the Song period *shidafu* often did not return to their place of registration” 宋時士大夫多不歸本籍, and adding such men as Yang Yi 楊億 (974-1020), Han Yi 韓億 (972-1044), Du Yan 杜衍 (978-1057), Fan Zhongyan 范仲淹 (989-1052), Wen Yanbo 文彥博 (1006-1097), Lü Gongzhu 呂公著 (1018-1081), and Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019-1086).⁸ In 1971 Chikusa Masaaki 竺沙雅章, in an article on Song *shidafu* who relocated to where they purchased land, discussed the Su family case in detail, then brought in many other cases, showing that relocating was not limited to any particular political faction and giving particular attention to purchasing land while holding provincial posts.⁹

xia, pp. 2346-2362. On the genealogies in the *Xin Tang shu*, see also Patricia Buckley Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China: A Case Study of the Po-ling Ts'ui Family* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 157-178.

⁶ Searches for the character *xi* 徙 in these books will show how frequent references to moves are in the accounts of these kin groups.

⁷ Hong Mai, *Rongzhai suibi* 容齋隨筆, annot. Shanghai shifan daxue guji zhengli zu 上海師範大學古籍整理組, vol. 1 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1978), *Rongzhai xubi* 容齋續筆, *juan* 16, pp. 406-407. Cf. Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 112. Ouyang Xiu's case is complicated, as his family came from Luling 廬陵 (Jiangxi), but he himself never lived there, as he was born while his father served in Mianzhou 綿州 (Sichuan). He was four when his father died and his mother took him to join a relative serving in Suizhou 隨州 (Hubei), where he lived until twenty-one. On Ouyang Xiu's view of Suizhou as a poor and uncultured place and preference for Yingzhou 潁州, see Ronald C. Egan, *The Literary Works of Ou-yang Hsiu (1007-72)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 2, 8, 10, 201-202. Since Suizhou was not Ouyang Xiu's official hometown, it was probably more acceptable to express his low opinion of it.

⁸ Zhao Yi, *Gaiyu congkao* 陔餘叢考, annotated by Luan Baoqun 欒保群 and Lü Zongli 呂宗力 (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe, 1990), *juan* 18, p. 328.

⁹ Chikusa Masaaki, “Hoku Sō shidafu no shikyo to baiden—omo ni Tōba sekitoku o shiryō to shite 北宋士

The scholarship on Song elite families also often reports cases of moves. Robert Hymes, in *Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung*, assembled evidence on seventy-three kin groups that he identifies as belonging to the Fuzhou local elite. His emphasis is on each kin group's durability, but he also notes their many moves. None are said to have been resident in Fuzhou from early times, or even to have entered the region with the fall of the Western Jin (the Yongjia 永嘉 migration). In fact, none claimed to have been there before the mid-Tang. Of the forty-seven families where the time of migration is known, seven claimed Tang, three late Tang, seventeen Five Dynasties, seven early Song before 1000, and sixteen during the rest of the Song. Other than the concentration during the Five Dynasties, this is a fairly steady rate of in-migration. Of the forty-one cases where place of origin is listed, the bulk came from south of the Yangzi, especially the Song circuits of Jiangdong and Jiangxi, so there were many more medium distance moves than long distance ones. Of those who arrived after 1000, eleven of sixteen were already office-holding families, higher than for the earlier period.¹⁰ Members of the seventy-three elite kin groups also moved away from Fuzhou. The families of successful officials such as Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021-1086) and Zeng Bu 曾布 (1035-1107) often set up residences elsewhere and rarely if ever returned. In cases like these, it could happen that some branches moved and others stayed.¹¹

Studies of particular families also provide abundant evidence of how often families relocated. Wang Teh-yi's 王德毅 study of the Chao 晁 family records their moves not only to the capital but also from one county to another, one prefecture to another, and after the fall of the Northern Song to several different places under the control of the Southern Song.¹² Several scholars have studied the leading families of Mingzhou 明州. Many of these leading families traced their family's residence in Mingzhou to the tenth

大夫の徙居と買田——主に東坡尺牘を資料として,” *Shirin* 史林, 54.2 (1971), pp. 28-53.

¹⁰ Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, pp. 65-71.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 112-113.

¹² Wang Teh-yi, “Songdai Chanzhou Chaoshi zuxi kao 宋代澧州晁氏族系考,” in Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強 (ed.), *Ryū Shiken hakushi shōju kinen Sō shi kenkyū ronshū* 劉子健博士頌壽紀念宋史研究論集 (Kyoto: Dōhōsha, 1989), pp. 21-28. On the Chaos, see also Peter K. Bol, *“This Culture of Ours”: Intellectual Transitions in T'ang and Sung China* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 60-75.

century or later, quite commonly claiming the first ancestor moved to the area after serving in office there. Richard Davis expresses skepticism that Shi Hao 史浩 (1106-1194) and his family were in fact descended from the tenth century official Shi Weize 史惟則, from Liyang 溧陽 county near Nanjing, calling this claim “an act of desperation.”¹³ But such accounts of origins in the tenth or early eleventh century were common among the most successful families of Mingzhou, as Huang Kuan-chung 黃寬重 shows.¹⁴ Moreover, some Mingzhou elite families did not arrive until the Jurchen invasions sent more families fleeing from the north. Linda Walton reports that the Jiangs 姜, who held office in the Northern Song, “were able to make the transition to the Southern Song without a significant reduction in status.”¹⁵ Families also left Mingzhou. Davis found in the case of the Shis that many moved away in the late thirteenth century as their numbers grew and their political influence all but disappeared.¹⁶

One of the best documented cases of an official family that kept moving is the Chen 陳 family studied by Bao Weimin. The ancestors of Chen Xiliang 陳希亮 (1001-1065) moved from the Chang'an area to Meizhou 眉州 in Sichuan in the late Tang, probably with others fleeing Huang Chao's 黃巢 armies. Xiliang attained the *jinshi* 進士 in 1027, the same year as his brother's son and a more distant relative. Before long all three were living in the Central Plains 中原, Xiliang in Luoyang. Chen Xiliang had four sons. His oldest moved to Hedong 河東 (Shanxi), the youngest to Huangzhou 黃州 (Hubei), a grandson moved to Shaanzhou 陝州 (Shaanxi), and a nephew to Ruzhou 汝州 (Henan). After the Jurchen invasion, some moved to Huzhou 湖州, some to Hangzhou 杭州, and

¹³ Richard L. Davis, *Court and Family in Sung China, 960-1279: Bureaucratic Success and Kinship Fortunes for the Shih of Ming-chou* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1986), pp. 35-36.

¹⁴ Huang Kuan-chung, “Siming jiazhu qunxiang 四明家族群像,” in *Songdai de jiazhu yu shehui* 宋代的家族與社會 (Taipei: Dongda tushu, 2006), pp. 68, 104, 138, 175. For another study of a Mingzhou family, see Bao Weimin 包偉民, “Songdai Mingzhou Loushi jiazhu yanjiu 宋代明州樓氏家族研究,” in *Chuantong guojia yu shehui (960-1279 nian)* 傳統國家與社會 (960-1279 年) (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2009), pp. 262-281.

¹⁵ Linda Walton, “Kinship, Marriage, and Status in Song China: A Study of the Lou Lineage of Ningbo, c. 1050-1250,” *Journal of Asian History*, 18.1 (1984), pp. 35-77, 62.

¹⁶ Richard L. Davis, “Political Success and the Growth of Descent Groups: The Shih of Ming-chou during the Sung,” in Patricia Buckley Ebrey and James L. Watson (eds.), *Kinship Organization in Late Imperial China 1000-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), pp. 89-91.

one to Shangyu 上虞 (all three in Zhejiang). Most moves had a connection to government assignments, but in the difficult situation after the Jurchen invasion, two Chens settled with their wives' families.¹⁷

The main reason these scholars have been able to identify so many cases of families relocating is that authors of *xingzhuang* 行狀, *shendaobei* 神道碑, *muzhiming* 墓誌銘, and other funerary biographies frequently mention moves as elements of family history.¹⁸ Rather than draw from numerous different authors, let me take the case of one well-known author, so that we can see the range of things that a writer might mention. Zhu Xi's 朱熹 (1130-1200) collected works contains 85 funerary biographies (8 *shendaobei*, 12 *mubiao* 墓表, 53 *muzhiming* and related pieces, and 12 *xingzhuang*), taking up 527 pages in a recent punctuated edition. They are predominantly for men, but also include some for women. The men include both successful officials and men with no office or history of office-holding ancestors. From my tally, 44 funerary biographies make no reference to any moves, just saying the subject was from a particular place, perhaps adding that the family had lived there for generations. Six say that the family's history is given elsewhere, such as on the epitaph for a relative. And thirty mention moves, some very vaguely, but most with some reference to when the move took place, nineteen before the Song and four during the Song.

Here are some examples from Zhu Xi:

I. No reference to any moves by ancestors

For generations they were a family of Dexing's Haikou.

〔董〕世家德興之海口。¹⁹

¹⁷ Bao Weimin, "Songdai Chen Xiliang jiazu ji qi qianxi kao 宋代陳希亮家族及其遷徙考," in *Chuantong guojia yu shehui (960-1279 nian)*, pp. 282-297.

¹⁸ On the historical value of funerary biographies, see Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Ping Yao, and Cong Ellen Zhang (eds.), *Chinese Funerary Biographies: An Anthology of Remembered Lives* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019).

¹⁹ Zhu Xi, *Zhu Xi ji* 朱熹集, annotated by Guo Qi 郭齊 and Yin Bo 尹波, vol. 8 (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), *juan* 90, p. 4603.

For generations the family was in White Water Village of Chong'an county in Jianning prefecture.

〔翁〕世家建寧府崇安縣之白水村。²⁰

II. Simple mention of move

Their ancestors were men of Gushi in Guangzhou. Their eleventh generation ancestor, Ying, sought refuge in Min, and now they are residents of Shaowu county in Shaowu military prefecture.

〔黃〕其先光州固始人。十一世祖膺避地閩中，今為邵武軍邵武縣人。²¹

For generations they lived in Hui prefecture's Wuyuan county, without anyone holding office. It was with our subject that the family first moved to Dexing in Rao prefecture.

〔江〕世居徽之婺源，未有仕者。至君始居饒之德興。²²

III. Detailed description of ancestors and their moves, suggesting family supplied information from a genealogy or family history

Their ancestors accompanied the Li family [rulers of Southern Tang] to the capital, which resulted in the transfer of their registration from Yuanzhou/Linjiang to Kaifeng's Xiangfu county, Weiling xiang, Wuer Village, where they became a well-known family.

〔劉〕其先從李氏朝京師，始自袁州臨江徙其籍開封府祥符縣魏陵鄉吳兒村，遂為聞家。²³

²⁰ Ibid., *juan* 91, p. 4667.

²¹ Ibid., pp. 4633-4634. Many Song residents of Fujian claimed to be descendants of the soldiers in the warlord army that left Gushi in Huainan in the late ninth century, their leaders becoming the rulers of the Ten Kingdom's state of Min. Some claims were undoubtedly accurate, but it is unlikely that they all were. See Hugh R. Clark, *Portrait of a Community: Society, Culture, and the Structures of Kinship in the Mulan River Valley (Fujian) from the Late Tang through the Song* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2007), pp. 46-54. Here, Zhu Xi reports the move as a simple fact.

²² Zhu Xi, *Zhu Xi ji*, vol. 8, *juan* 92, p. 4697.

²³ Ibid., *juan* 90, p. 4589. The rather strange reference to both Yuan prefecture and Linjiang military

Now asking about their family, I got their genealogy and learned that the Cheng of Boyang are descended from Lingxi [514-568], the Zhongguang Duke of Liang. In the Tang dynasty Qianfu period [874-879], there was a [Cheng] Wei who served as salt and iron commissioner of Hai prefecture with the rank of jinzi guanglu dafu. He commanded troops in an unsuccessful effort to defeat the bandit [Huang] Chao, and then moved to Yin city in Rao prefecture's Leping. They/he? later moved to Xinjian, the place later was broken off to be Dexing county, so today they are residents of Dexing. There were twelve generations from the salt and iron commissioner to our subject's father....

〔程〕今問其家，得其世系，則番陽之程皆祖梁忠壯公靈洗。唐乾符間，有名維者，以金紫光祿大夫、海州鹽鐵使將兵討巢賊不利，始居饒州樂平之銀城。後徙新建，而地析為德興縣，故今為德興人。自鹽鐵十二世而生府君之父……。²⁴

The ancestors of the Xu family were descendants of Taiyue. In the Three Dynasties [Xia, Shang, and Zhou] they belonged to the Jiang clan and had states in the Chen and Zheng region. Their descendants who lived in Gaoyang were an eminent lineage. Somewhere along the way some moved to Danyang, then later Yongjia. At the end of the Tang there was Linggui who served the Southern Tang as academician of the Academy of Scholarly Worthies. He was banished to be magistrate of Shanyang, assigned to live in Guanli zhen of Jian prefecture, and his family made their home there in so-called Wutong Tree Village. Guanli is today's Zhenghe county, and the Xu of Wutong are especially flourishing, several hundred of their families scattering in all directions. The sequence of the generations can be traced in the genealogical

prefecture seems to reflect the fact that the county this Liu family settled in was part of Yuan prefecture when they first arrived, about 976, but in 991 was reassigned to the new Linjiang military prefecture. Probably Zhu Xi is just repeating what he was told, and may not have understood that this was a simplification, but it is also possible that he was shown the "family history" of the ancestor who moved to Kaifeng, Liu Shi, which identifies the county they were from. For the family history, written by Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019-1068), see Zeng Zaozhuang 曾棗莊 and Liu Lin 劉琳 (eds.), *Quan Song wen* 全宋文, vol. 59 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe; Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 2006), *juan* 1295, pp. 378-380.

²⁴ Zhu Xi, *Zhu Xi ji*, vol. 8, *juan* 90, p. 4610.

records that have been passed down since the Tianyou period [the last of the Tang, 905-907] and the Baoda period [of the Southern Tang, 943-958].

〔許〕其先太岳之後。在三代為姜姓，國於陳、鄭之間，其後子孫居高陽者為望族。中徙丹陽，又徙永嘉。至唐末，有令瓌者仕江左，為集賢院學士，貶山陽令，謫居建州關隸鎮，因家所謂梧桐村者。關隸今為政和縣，而梧桐之許特盛。其散漫四出者無慮數百家，猶以天祐、保大譜牒相傳，世次尚可考也。²⁵

Their origin goes back to the descendants of the Tang chief councilor Zhang Jiuling's younger brother the regional commander Jiugao. After Jiugao moved the family to Chang'an, he begat Kang, who begat Zhongfang, who begat Mengchang, who begat Keqin, who begat Xun, who begat Ji, who begat Lin, who was our subject's fifth generation ancestor. During the reign of the [Tang emperor] Xizong [one of them] served as chancellor of the Directorate of Education, and followed the emperor to Sichuan, consequently settling in Chengdu. He lived to the age of 120. His eldest son Tingjia was made Fubolang through the protection privilege but afterwards did not hold office. His son was Mr. Yi [the subject's great-great grandfather], who died early. His wife, Madame Yang, took her three children to Mianzhu to depend on her own family, so they subsequently became residents of Mianzhu.

〔張〕本唐宰相張九齡弟節度使九臯之後。自九臯徙家長安，生子抗，抗生仲方，仲方生孟常，孟常生克勤，克勤生縉，縉生紀，紀生璘，即公五世祖。仕僖宗時為國子祭酒，從幸蜀，因居成都，壽百有二十歲。長子庭堅，以蔭為符寶郎，後不仕。符寶之子即沂公也。沂公蚤世，夫人楊氏携三子徙綿竹依外家，遂為綿竹人。²⁶

IV. Remark that the family does not know all the details

For generations they were a family of Wuyuan in Hui prefecture. It would seem that no one knows when they first came or where they came from. In

²⁵ Ibid., *juan* 92, p. 4709.

²⁶ Ibid., *juan* 95 *shang*, pp. 4798-4799.

more recent times the former Hanlin scholar named Dadao looked into it and learned that their lineage comes from the same stock as the Dongyang one, but still we are not able to say anything about their successive moves or when they separated.

〔滕〕世家徽之婺源，蓋莫詳其始所自來。中間有見故翰林學士達道者，扣之，乃知與東陽之族同原，而亦不能言其遷徙合散之所由也。²⁷

In a general way their ancestors came from Yingchuan. With the Yongjia disorder of the Jin period, Jiangkui, the Xizhonglang, grandson of Junzhi, grand commandant and lord of Guangling, moved south to the Quanjian area and became residents of Min. Concerning those who settled in Putian, through the Tang and Five Dynasties one can find in funerary biographies references to the grand commandant's nineteenth generation descendant Zhen and twenty-second generation descendants Qiao and Hang, but the details do not survive as that was long ago.

〔陳〕其先世蓋出潁川。晉永嘉之亂，太尉廣陵郡公準之孫、西中郎將達南遷泉江，始為閩人。其居莆田者歷唐、五季，而太尉十九世孫真、二十二世孫嶠、沆始斑斑見於碑碣。然世遠，不可得而詳矣。²⁸

Several of Zhu Xi's funerary biographies present the reason for the family's move to its current location as government service, either following an emperor when he fled the capital or ordinary service in a provincial post, sometimes because returning from the post became inconvenient, sometimes simply because one was ready to retire and the place was attractive. One need not always be suspicious of such claims. Nicolas Tackett discusses how common it was for officials to relocate, in his case from Tang and Five Dynasty records. He notices that reports of migration before 880 often attributed the move to a bureaucratic or military appointment, which seemed to him plausible. "With ample opportunities for a new appointee to integrate himself into local social networks and to convert political power into land and other local resources, it was not uncommon for him to resettle his family there after his term of office expired. Alternatively, one son

²⁷ Ibid., *juan* 94, p. 4779.

²⁸ Ibid., *juan* 96, pp. 4903-4904.

might settle at his father's place of office while other sons returned to the family's original home base."²⁹ On the other hand, Xu Man finds vague reference to moving on account of government service in funerary biographies that clearly were drawn from a collection of samples used by funerary experts serving ordinary non-elite families.³⁰ This suggests that these were conventional ways to imply eminent family origins, polite conventions on the order of references to "your esteemed family" or "your outstanding book."

Besides Zhu Xi, other Southern Song authors also frequently refer to relocations in funerary biographies. Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137-1181) offers an interesting contrast as his northern family dispersed south during the Northern Song/Southern Song transition. There are not as many extant funerary biographies by him—35—but about the same percentage report a move in the family's history. An example of a twelfth century move is found in his account of a You 游 family, whose ancestors in the late eighth century had moved within northern Fujian from Jian'an 建安 to Shaowu 邵武, but in the early twelfth century (Chongning period) had moved to Jinhua 金華 in Wuzhou 婺州 (Zhejiang).³¹ These then are moves unrelated to a general north to south shift in the Chinese population.

There are also stories that one does not find in funerary biographies as often as one might expect, particularly concerning hardship. For those serving in office during a move, the logistics of the move were largely handled by the government and need not have involved much hardship.³² Many officials were already in the south when Kaifeng fell, and may not have had a difficult time relocating. But that certainly would not have been

²⁹ Nicolas Olivier Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 C.E.)," Ph.D. Dissertation (New York: Columbia University, 2006), p. 150. On migration of Tang elites, see also Nicolas Olivier Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

³⁰ Xu Man, "Epitaphs Made Widely Available: Funerary Biographies for Three Men from Luzhou: Liang Jian (d. 1042), Wang Cheng (d. 1042), and Chen Hou (1074-1123)," in Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Ping Yao, and Cong Ellen Zhang (eds.), *Chinese Funerary Biographies: An Anthology of Remembered Lives*, pp. 101-110.

³¹ Lü Zuqian, *Lü Donglai wenji* 呂東萊文集, *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), *juan* 8, p. 199.

³² On the logistics of travel by officials, see Cong Ellen Zhang, *Transformative Journeys: Travel and Culture in Song China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), especially pp. 69-110.

the case for everyone. Times of disorder are not conducive to carefully planned, problem-free travel. Beverly Bossler looked at what happened to north China elite families in the Northern-Southern Song transition. She reports cases of individuals who died and “intriguing glimpses of the trials” encountered by those who had to flee. The example she gives is from the funerary biography by Wang Yingchen 汪應辰 (1118-1176) of a great-great granddaughter of Lü Gongzhu. The woman is commended for trying to commit suicide when their party encountered renegade soldiers/bandits, and never complaining when her family settled in Jiangxi and her husband held only minor, ill-paid posts.³³ Referring to these experiences allowed Wang Yingchen to portray her as an exemplar of womanly virtues. He draws attention to what the family had to go through: “With the world not yet stable, they took to the road for several thousand *li*, through mountains and valleys, the anxiety more than most can bear” 既而天下未定，轉徙道路數千里，崎嶇山谷間，人不堪其憂。³⁴ To cite a different author, Wang Zao 汪藻 (1079-1154) praised a woman who refused to panic when the Jurchen first invaded even though most of the *shidafu* of Shandong were selling their property and leaving. Later, however, when conditions worsened and they feared the city they were living in would fall, she advocated going south on the grounds that the emperor had relocated there. We are also told that she proved resourceful on their perilous journey.³⁵

I suspect, as in these two cases, that persevering through hardship was felt to be more becoming of women than men. The best known account of the anxieties and dangers encountered while fleeing the Jurchens is that of the most celebrated Song woman, Li Qingzhao 李清照 (1084-after 1150). Her story is not known from a funerary biography, but from her own exceptional personal account, sensitively analyzed by Stephen Owen and Ronald Egan not only for the drama of flight but also for her personality, marriage, and political predicament.³⁶

³³ Beverly J. Bossler, *Powerful Relations: Kinship, Status, and the State in Sung China (960-1279)* (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1998), pp. 64-65, based on Wang Yingchen, *Wending ji* 文定集, *Congshu jicheng chubian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), *juan* 23, pp. 285-287.

³⁴ Wang Yingchen, *Wending ji*, *juan* 23, p. 286.

³⁵ Wang Zao, *Fuxi ji* 浮溪集, *Congshu jicheng chubian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), *juan* 28, pp. 359-360.

³⁶ See Stephen Owen, *Remembrances: The Experience of the Past in Classical Chinese Literature*

I did find one funerary biography which does not minimize a male migrant's trials and tribulations. Its very exceptionality makes it worth a close look. The author is Lü Zuqian, and he tells us that the subject, Zhang Xie 張勰 (1119-1173), was the father of a friend of his.

During the Jingkang crisis, the official [families] of the Central Plains scattered like crumbs, broken off remnants. Words are inadequate to describe what they went through. Those who talk about this locally should grieve for those who died and show consideration for those who did what they had to do. Then there are those like Mr. Zhang. Even though at the beginning he lost his means of support, in the end he became prosperous and gave shelter to his kin. Thus, from what could be lamented came something worth writing about.

靖康之難，中原衣冠屑播，蕩析之餘，其變何可勝道，主鄉論者，要當哀其不幸而體其不得已，乃若張君者，始雖失業，終自封殖，以芘其宗，則於可哀之中，又有可書者焉。

Mr. Zhang's personal name is Xie, his polite name Banghe. His distant ancestor, Weize, with the rank of Jianyi dafu, moved his registration from Gaoping in Zezhou [Shanxi province] to the capital. His grandfather Fugu had the rank Tongyi dafu and his father Gui the rank Chaoqinglang. His mother Miss Liu was from Feng'an.

君諱勰，字邦和，自其遠祖諫議大夫惟則，由澤州高平，徙名數於京師，祖復古，通議大夫，父珪，朝請郎，母劉氏，封安人。

As an infant Mr. Zhang lost his father. While hardly more than a child [lit. still in hair tufts], he lost his mother as they crossed rugged mountains amid warfare. He did everything he could to get her buried properly. After a long period of great hardship, he turned to a relative through marriage so he could eat. At one point, fed up, he straightened himself up [i.e., he no longer took a submissive posture] and left without taking a cent. He then traveled in all

(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 80-98; Ronald C. Egan, *The Burden of Female Talent: The Poet Li Qingzhao and Her History in China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2013), pp. 130-212.

directions, picking up things here and there, sailing across the seas to Jiaozhi [Vietnam], Boni [Borneo], and other countries. His wealth increased by the day, till he finally said to himself, “In the past I did not object to debasing myself because I was afraid that I would end up filling a ditch [i.e., dying on the road] and consequently fail to continue the sacrifices to my ancestors. I now can bring [my business ventures] to an end.”

君生而喪其父，總角崎嶇兵間，又喪其母，已能悉力斂藏，嚴飭，久益困，寄食嫗戚，忽感憤，不持一錢，掉臂出門，周旋四方，頻拾印取，數航海歷交趾、勃泥、諸國，其貨日臻，則曰：吾向也不難自屈，懼填溝壑，隕先人宗祀耳，今可止矣。

Thereupon he purchased land in Wuzhou outside the city wall and took to educating his sons. When his patrilineal kin in the Jiang and Zhe regions still without fixed places to live called on him, he would invariably offer financial help. If they had daughters who had not yet married, he might provide them with dowries. When old acquaintances came to him because of their impoverished situations, he would happily open his wallet. Northern “guests” [i.e. other northern transplants] heaped praise on him....

於是買田婺州郭外，教其子以學，同宗有漂泊江浙者，往來必周其乏，女無歸者，或為資遣，故人以窮歸君，欣然發囊，無纖嗇態，北客多稱之，.....。

In his late years, Mr. Zhang would come and go in the villages and lanes, practicing Daoist purification and bodily cultivation. When he had free time, he would talk about the land, climate, and products of [the places he had been] foreign and domestic. His enthusiastic recounting of crashing waves, island coasts, strange fish, dragons, and the like were fun to listen to.

君晚節浮沈里閭，吐納自養，暇則為人道夷夏土風物產，濤波島嶼，魚龍雄奇之變，袞袞可聽。³⁷

Lü Zuqian then told a longer story of how Zhang Xie once was traveling in Jiangxi when he heard a group of girls or women crying, and when he learned that they had been

³⁷ Lü Zuqian, *Lü Donglai wenji*, juan 7, p. 177.

abducted and were being held to be sold by a rich man that local people stood in fear of, he visited the man and explained the workings of retribution to him, finally bringing him around.

Lü says Zhang's story was worth telling because it had praise-worthy elements, undoubtedly referring to his generosity toward others who had also been displaced, identified as his kinsmen and old acquaintances. Lü does not celebrate Zhang's resourcefulness in the wake of the Jingkang catastrophe—he just encourages us not to hold him in contempt for taking up commerce. Lü's story raises questions for its readers: How did a penniless youth get from central China to the southeast seaports where boats ventured out to the South Seas? Did he first become a successful merchant, then extend his trading networks overseas? Or did he start as a lowly seaman and discover ways to profit from trading on the side? We know Zhang died in 1173, some years after buying land in Wuzhou, but we are not told how long it took him to build his fortune. From Zhang Xie's assistance to other northerners after he finally settled down, probably in the 1160s, one can infer that there were still many northerners in the prosperous region of western Zhejiang in financial difficulties several decades after the fall of the Northern Song. A young man with the right personality and talents could enter trade and secure the future of his family, but a fair inference to draw from Lü Zuqian's account is that such success stories should not be taken as the norm. This exceptional account also underlines the incompleteness of our evidence. Nothing would be known of Zhang Xie's adventures if he had raised his sons to be merchants rather than arrange for their literary educations.

3. Migrants

Zhang Xie was praised for offering financial assistance to people like him who had fled the north and ended up in western Zhejiang, in his case decades after the initial emergency. Was individual charity of this sort common? What about in the initial phase, when thousands of people were on the road? The sources that deal with these matters can be read for the actions proposed or undertaken as well as the conceptions and feelings they reveal.

How hospitable were local elites toward displaced literati? Robert Hymes infers that

the local elites of Fuzhou, Jiangxi, were not very welcoming to them as they did not quickly form marriage alliances with them. Other scholars, notably Beverly Bossler and Sukhee Lee, question his inference, in part based on what they found in Wuzhou and Mingzhou respectively, where the highest-ranking families continued to intermarry with high-ranking families from elsewhere but those of more modest attainments were able to find spouses for their children where they settled.³⁸

More direct evidence is provided by Paul Smith in his study of the literati elite of Sichuan who fled the Mongols in the 1230s and 1240s. The issue for him is how those who fled Sichuan in the face of the Mongols were able to recover from their loss of a local base and local networks. What he finds is that the twenty-nine families who reappear in Yuan sources depended on connections of one sort or another—first relatives (including affinal relatives) who were residing outside Sichuan, perhaps on an official assignment, then people they had connections to from their hometown who got out before them, and then other literati who felt a common bond on the basis of their education and status, undoubtedly most reliable for the more prominent. Smith found no evidence that the Song central government, by then under great stress, did much to help those displaced by the Mongols. And, of course, as he notes, nothing is known of those who did not survive the exodus or whose family was unable to reestablish its status as an educated family.³⁹

Miscellanies/Notebooks (*biji* 筆記) are a good source for expressions of sympathy for the hardship faced by those fleeing the violence of the Jurchen invasion. Consider the case of Zhuang Chuo 莊綽 (1078-?) who lived through the Jurchen invasion and wrote with feeling about the experience and his observations in his *Jile bian* 雞肋編.

In autumn of the first year of Jianyan [1127], I traveled from Rang to Xuchang, hurrying to Songcheng [all in Henan]. For several thousand *li* there was not

³⁸ Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*, pp. 71-73; Beverly J. Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, pp. 169-170; Sukhee Lee, *Negotiated Power: The State, Elites, and Local Governance in Twelfth- to Fourteenth-Century China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014), pp. 65-68.

³⁹ Paul J. Smith, "Family, *Landsmann*, and Status-Group Affinity in Refugee Mobility Strategies: The Mongol Invasions and the Diaspora of Sichuanese Elites, 1230-1330," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 52.2 (1992), pp. 665-708.

even a chicken or a dog and the wells were filled with bodies so there was no water to drink. The Buddhist temples were empty. Their clay statues had all been smashed in order to get at things put inside them and bodies were not encoffined. The roads were already covered with invasive plants, and no one was picking the beans, chestnuts, pears, or dates.

建炎元年秋，余自穰下由許昌以趨宋城。幾千里無復雞犬，井皆積尸，莫可飲；佛寺俱空，塑像盡破胸背以取心腹中物；殯無完柩，大達已蔽於蓬蒿；菽粟梨棗，亦無人采刈。⁴⁰

He also wrote about the economic impact of the flood of refugees:

By the end of the Jianyan reign period [1127-1130], every place in [the provinces of] Jiang, Zhe, Hu, Xiang, Min, and Guang, both east and west, was filled with displaced people. At the beginning of the Shaoxing period [1131], one *hu* of wheat reached 12,000 cash [because northerners are used to wheat]. Farmers made a profit [from growing wheat] double to that of growing rice. Moreover, tenant households only had to pay the fall rent [based on the rice crop], so the financial benefit of growing wheat went entirely to the tenants. Therefore, one sees as many people rushing to plant it in the spring as in the region north of the Huai River.

建炎之後，江、浙、湖、湘、閩、廣，西北流寓之人徧滿。紹興初，麥一斛至萬二千錢，農獲其利，倍於種稻。而佃戶輸租，只有秋課。而種麥之利，獨歸客戶。於是競種春稼，極目不減淮北。⁴¹

In another place he discussed in a more general way the hardship of those years:

Since the Central Plains experienced the disaster of the northern barbarians, countless people have died because of warfare, water, fire, illness, starvation,

⁴⁰ Zhuang Chuo, *Jile bian*, annot. Xiao Luyang 蕭魯陽, *Tang Song shiliao biji congan* 唐宋史料筆記叢刊 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1983), *juan shang*, p. 21.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

extreme weather, or forced labor. Those who took refuge in the two circuits of Guangdong and Guangxi were fortunate to find a peaceful place to live. But every year there were epidemics, sometimes killing everyone in a family.

自中原遭胡虜之禍，民人死於兵革水火疾饑墜壓寒暑力役者，蓋已不可勝計。而避地二廣者，幸獲安居。連年瘴癘，至有滅門。⁴²

After discussing some of the other calamities that befell people in those years, he concludes:

None of the elders remember anything like this in the past. It would seem that within the Nine Provinces [of China], no place is safe. How is it that the people of a single generation have had to face all of this? Shaoling [Du Fu] wrote, “The disorder has brought death to so many homes.” So true!

前此父老所不記。蓋九州之內，幾無地能保其生者。豈一時之人，數當爾邪？少陵謂「喪亂死多門」，信矣！⁴³

Zhuang Chuo offers no policy recommendations and is not intent on placing blame on anyone other than the northern barbarians. His main contention is that for his generation, no place has been safe, something that should remind them of Du Fu's 杜甫 (712-770) poetic accounts of what his generation endured in the eighth century. There seems a bit of fatalism about Zhuang Chuo's feelings. He is aware of suffering but unaware—or uninterested in—southerners who were so moved by the suffering that they took measures to try to alleviate it.

So far I have not found evidence of organized private charitable ventures aimed at helping refugees during the mid-twelfth century migrant crises.⁴⁴ Faced with large

⁴² Ibid., *juan zhong*, p. 64.

⁴³ Ibid. The poem by Du Fu is titled “White Horse 白馬.”

⁴⁴ This would appear to be true during other crises as well. Two substantial works in Chinese on the handling of relief work overwhelmingly deal with government measures. See Zhang Wen 張文, *Songchao shehui jiuji yanjiu* 宋朝社會救濟研究 (Chongqing: Xinan shifan daxue chubanshe, 2001); Li Huarui 李華瑞, *Songdai jiu huang shigao* 宋代救荒史稿 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2014). It is true that scholars sometimes organized private charities to provide relief for members of their own communities. On such activities, see James T. C. Liu, “Liu Tsai (1165-1238): His Philanthropy and Neo-Confucian Limitations,”

numbers of refugees far from their homes, it would seem that the educated class saw themselves as making the most impact by persuading the government at every level to adopt the best policies, rather than organizing private charity of the sort one finds from late Ming on.⁴⁵ This probably reflects recognition that the government could bring resources to bear beyond what any individual could.⁴⁶

A good source for the ideas of officials about ways the government should help the displaced are memorials. These exist in great numbers and as one might expect reflect a range of views, often reflecting regional interests and political positions. It is beyond the scope of this paper to survey them in any detail, but let me take one interesting exchange that occurred early in Xiaozong's reign, in 1162, after a new surge in refugees from the north. The key figures were the general Zhang Jun 張浚 (1097-1164), who argued that refugees should be treated generously, and the grand councilor Shi Hao, who saw some drawback to the favorable treatment they had been given.⁴⁷ The exact order in which these memorials were submitted is unclear, and some of the argument could have been made orally or in documents that have not survived, but that these two rivals were arguing against each other is not in doubt.⁴⁸ In an early memorial Zhang Jun reported that because of locusts in the north the price of rice was rising fast so that people of the

Oriens Extremus, 25.1 (1978), pp. 1-29; Richard von Glahn, "Community and Welfare: Chu Hsi's Community Granary in Theory and Practice," in Robert P. Hymes and Conrad Schirokauer (eds.), *Ordering the World: Approaches to State and Society in Sung Dynasty China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 221-254.

⁴⁵ On late Ming charity, see Joanna Handlin Smith, *The Art of Doing Good: Charity in Late Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

⁴⁶ This recognition can be seen in Dong Wei's 董煟 (*jìnshì* 1193) treatise on preserving life through government relief efforts. Dong Wei, *Jiu huang huo min shu* 救荒活民書, *Congshu jicheng chubian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), *passim*.

⁴⁷ For the larger political context, see Richard L. Davis, *Court and Family in Sung China, 960-1279*, pp. 58-67; Huang Kuan-chung, "Luelun Nansong shidai de guizhengren 略論南宋時代的歸正人," in *Nansong shi yanjiu ji* 南宋史研究集 (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chubian, 1985), pp. 200-206; Gong Wei Ai, "The Reign of Hsiao-tsung (1162-1189)," in Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith (eds.), *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 5, part 1: *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907-1279* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 714-715.

⁴⁸ Lou Yue 樓鑰, in his funerary biography for Shi Hao, offers more detail on the rivalry between Zhang Jun and Shi Hao, including oral exchanges at court. See Lou Yue, *Gongkui ji* 攻媿集, *Congshu jicheng chubian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1935), *juan* 93, p. 1282; Zeng Zaozhuang and Liu Lin (eds.), *Quan Song wen*, vol. 265, *juan* 5986, pp. 279-280.

Central Plain were going hungry, making this an opportune time to encourage migrants from the north with offers of food, predicting that they would become loyal subjects.⁴⁹ In the tenth month in a longer memorial, he made the case that accepting migrants from the north was a good policy because from his own experience he knew that they made better soldiers than southerners. Those not suitable to become soldiers could be assigned vacant land to farm.⁵⁰ This was probably in response to an undated memorial by Shi Hao on the danger of recruiting refugees into the army—which the army had extensively done in the initial wave of refugees—as they might include spies or might switch sides. Shi further objected to the privileges granted those from the north, treated better than southerners. Southern officials, he complained, were expected to wait longer for government appointments so that officials who fled south could be promptly put on the payroll. He also argued that southern farmers faced poverty because the newcomers were spreading through the southeast and the food they were given was exhausting the state's resources. He feared that the newcomers would come to expect handouts and be resentful if the handouts were stopped.⁵¹

Fear of being overwhelmed by the arrival of needy displaced people was not new in the 1160s. Ling Zhang described it as part of the reaction to the environmental refugees of the 1040s-1060s.⁵² And it need not always be put in extreme terms. Zhu Xi in 1180 submitted a memorial portraying government support of refugee northerners as an excessive burden on the rest of the population. He put a higher priority of providing relief for the common people in the south, who suffered under heavy taxes made worse by the cost of supporting refugees. The local governments had no choice but to impose surcharges, impoverishing ordinary farmers. A partial solution would be to settle the refugees on military farms, so they would not be a charge on the public. This is not a mental universe of absolutes, but one of balancing priorities.⁵³

⁴⁹ Zeng Zaozhuang and Liu Lin (eds.), *Quan Song wen*, vol. 188, *juan* 4129, p. 6.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, *juan* 4130, pp. 23-25.

⁵¹ Shi Hao, *Maofeng zhenyin manlu* 鄮峯真隱漫錄, *Yingyin Wenyuange siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書, vol. 1141 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1987), *juan* 7, pp. 9a-13a; Zeng Zaozhuang and Liu Lin (eds.), *Quan Song wen*, vol. 199, *juan* 4405, pp. 254-257.

⁵² Ling Zhang, *The River, the Plain, and the State: An Environmental Drama in Northern Song China, 1048-1128* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), p. 196.

⁵³ Zhu Xi, *Zhu Xi ji*, vol. 2, *juan* 11, pp. 450-458. It is perhaps worth mentioning that James Liu's description

Not surprisingly, people seem to have commiserated with displaced people more readily than they offered concrete help. Authors were definitely aware that those fleeing various emergencies faced dire circumstances and expressed sympathy with their plight but also fear that they might prove a burden or worse. That the government should help was largely taken for granted, and officials wrote extensively on how best to handle that, not all agreeing on how much of the government budget should be devoted to providing assistance. But the many sides of migration were not subjects that thinkers of the day tried to analyze in systematic ways. Even a writer like Zhu Xi, who lived in a time of extensive migration and wrote on so much, did not write about leaving home or accommodating migrants as a problem in moral or political philosophy.

4. Final Comments

In this essay I have explored several kinds of sources, especially funerary biographies, *biji*, and memorials, to assess what they can tell us about how people thought about migration and migrants. I approached the issue from two directions: first, how did writers refer to moves that were part of the stories of individuals and families in works such as genealogies, funerary biographies, and anecdotes, and second, how did they discuss what might be termed migrant crises. Perhaps all I gained by looking at the larger subject from these opposed directions was to discover that Song writers did not see these subjects as linked: they did not say that we should be sympathetic to migrants because we are descended from migrants. The first issue was treated more as history, the other as social, political, and military policy.

The more historical sources can be read to reveal a side of Chinese culture not often remarked on—a matter-of-fact acceptance of geographical relocation. The good life may have involved being able to support parents and children on land passed down within the family, but families did not attempt to conceal or play down the moves their ancestors had made. After all, the Song court and imperial family themselves survived by relocating

of rigid moralistic conservatives seem overdrawn when one looks at what Zhu Xi writes on issues like this. See James T. C. Liu, *China Turning Inward: Intellectual-Political Changes in the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988).

to Hangzhou and elsewhere in the south.⁵⁴ Helping other people in transit clearly occurred, especially helping relatives and friends. But in the case of large numbers of displaced people, those who left written record focused on what the government should do, rather than what private individuals might accomplish.

Do we learn much about ordinary people's ways of thinking about migration from the writings of Song literati? On the one hand, we tend to think that basic attitudes about the centrality of family were widely shared across class lines, and moving was clearly connected to family for most people. Huang Kuan-chung describes a reluctance to move as pervasive in Song society, not limited to the elite: "Traditionally the Chinese support government authority and are comfortable where they are and do not move without good reason. Unless their life and property are seriously endangered by the powers that be, or when the contrast between the old and new authorities leaves them strongly dissatisfied with the new government, they never lightly oppose the extension of the new government and are even less likely to lightly leave the home on which they have depended for their life and comfort to blindly head into dangerous roads."⁵⁵

On the other hand, as Nicolas Tackett points out, literati, and especially officials, had much more experience with travel and knew much more about other parts of the country. He comments on the willingness of members of the official elite to relocate: "It is likely that this longstanding culture of temporary relocations for office permitted elites to conceive of *permanent* relocation elsewhere as a viable survival strategy in a time of political turmoil."⁵⁶

I suspect that both of these observations are true: that reluctance to move and turning to relatives for help were widely shared, but that members of the educated elite had many advantages during the relocation process, both because of their greater experience living or traveling through other parts of the country and their more extensive connections, giving them a better chance of surviving a move without great a loss of social standing.

⁵⁴ On the relocation of the imperial family to several places in the south, see John W. Chaffee, *Branches of Heaven: A History of the Imperial Clan of Sung China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 1999), pp. 140-178.

⁵⁵ Huang Kuan-chung, *Nansong shidai kang Jin de yijun* 南宋時代抗金的義軍 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban, 1988), p. 1.

⁵⁶ Nicolas Olivier Tackett, "The Transformation of Medieval Chinese Elites (850-1000 C.E.)," pp. 150, 160-161.

An official could move his private residence to a different part of the country without it having a negative impact on his political career. Indeed, in the Northern Song many moved to the capital to improve their career prospects.

Yet at both the level of poor farmers and members of the educated elite, moves involved risks, and some families fared better than others, depending in part on when they moved and where they ended up. The local studies by both Robert Hymes and John Dardess describe places where early on families who migrated in were able to rise in social status within a couple of generations but which a century or two later saw very few new families break into elite circles.⁵⁷ This does not have to mean that people had become less willing to socialize with people whose great-grandparents were migrants. More likely it means that such people were less likely to be substantial landowners because the best land had already been occupied before their ancestors arrived. In relatively undeveloped areas, new migrants could be the pioneers, their descendants eventually becoming the leading families. But more developed places did not offer the same opportunities to those who came empty-handed.

(Proofreader: Wu Ke-yi)

⁵⁷ Robert P. Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*; John W. Dardess, *A Ming Society: T'ai-ho County, Kiangsi, in the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

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有關宋代史料中遷移文化的初步探析

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摘 要

人口的遷移在中國歷史上發揮了重要作用，尤其是幾個世紀以來的南遷。宋代，一如其他的時期，戰爭、饑荒和經濟機會都促使人們搬往南方，但是文化的因素也同樣重要，因為文化不僅影響了人們的搬遷意願，也塑造了人們對遷徙和移民的想法。本文希望透過考察相關文獻與研究了解宋人如何看待人們在地理上的位移，也就是希望藉著這初步的探究更好地理解他們對遷移這一過程和移民的態度。這項課題通常不會在思想家們討論家族義務或更大的道德目標的議論中出現，因此需仰賴其他類型的文獻以一探宋人的看法。文人們留下的故事和政治建言特別有用。墓誌銘讓我們看到人們如何講述祖輩的遷移。另一方面，筆記和奏章則有助於我們了解人們如何看待陷於困境的移民。作者一般都對他們表示同情，往往建議中央及地方政府採取措施、給予協助，以減少他們的到來所造成的影響。儘管這些史料主要反映了文人群體的想法和經歷，我們偶爾也能從中窺見其他的人群情況。

關鍵詞：宋朝，徙動，移民，靖康之難，朱熹，莊綽

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