

THE ‘QINGMING SHANGHE TU’
BY ZHANG ZEDUAN
AND ITS RELATION TO
NORTHERN SONG SOCIETY
LIGHT AND SHADOW IN THE PAINTING

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Preface

The late Northern Song, when the *Qingming shanghe tu* was drawn, was a period of sparkling urban culture. Production and consumption, as well as social activity, were flourishing. Many new inventions were made and used, and political activities focused on the welfare of the people.

However, it was not a stable period. Both the Northern and the Southern Song suffered greatly from their foreign diplomacy. At the time when the *Qingming shanghe tu* was created, political upheaval was imminent beyond the northern frontier: it was the time of the transition from Liao to Jin. In the West, the Xixia kingdom was still active. Despite the imminent danger it was facing, the Northern Song was enjoying momentary peace. Such is the period depicted in this scroll. And in this paper, I will discuss what the scroll can tell us about the social background of the time.

As I have stated in a previous paper, I do not think that the *Qingming shanghe tu* illustrates the city of Kaifeng.¹ Rather, I suspect that it is a scene of an urban area near Kaifeng.

There were four metropolitan cities during the Song, that is, the capitals of the east, west, south, and north. However, in reality, Kaifeng, the eastern city, served as the actual capital, while Loyang, in the west, was the secondary capital. At that time, not many cities in Northern China were on a scale with these two. For example, the northern city of Damingfu 大名府 (Beijing) often appears in the *Shui hu zhuan* 水滸伝. Damingfu, at the end of Northern Song, was a major administrative district occupying one third of the entire population of the Hebei donglu 河北東路 area. There were over 150,000 families, and the population exceeded 570,000. The prosperity was shared by other cities, and the stories of the *Shui hu zhuan* reflect such conditions. Nonetheless, no other city could have equaled Kaifeng. Kaifeng was surrounded by a number of urban residential areas. Scholars such as Katō Shigeshi, Sutō Yoshiyuki, and Shiba Yoshinobu have pointed out that the Song was a period of urbanization, and many towns developed around cities and around major provincial or prefectural centers.² If the *Qingming shanghe tu* does illustrate the suburbs of Kaifeng, then precisely for this reason we can say that it depicts the average city life of the time. To use an analogy, the central sections of various large or small urban residential areas scattered around Tokyo are modeled after its central commercial area, and, therefore, all these cities present a homogenized image of Tokyo. That being the case, we can learn about Song society and its culture through the *Qingming shanghe tu*, and in this paper, I will attempt to analyze the scenes and backgrounds the scroll explicitly or implicitly depicts.

1. Ihara Hiroshi 伊原弘, “Chūgoku kaihō no seikatsu to saiji—Egakareta Sōdai no toshi seikatsu” 中国開封の生活と歳時—描かれた宋代の都市生活 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1991); “Egakareta Chūgokutoshi kaiga wa jikkei wo shimesuka” 描かれた中国都市絵画は実景をしめすか, *Shicho* 史潮 New vol. 48, (November, 2000).

2. Katō Shigeshi 加藤繁 and Sutō Yoshiyuki 周藤吉之 did pioneering work, on the basis of which Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁 and I developed studies of urban areas of the Song. As I cannot introduce all such works here, please refer to available bibliography.

The Implicit World depicted in the Qingming shanghe tu

The Song was a period of urban culture. It is a well-known fact that there was a significant shift in city systems from the Tang to the Northern Song. The nature of the city itself was transformed. Not only the administrative system but also the city structure and even the culture changed drastically. Through these changes, the late Northern Song, at the time when the *Qingming shanghe tu* was produced, had reached the apex of urban culture. Here, I will organize and analyze critical facts about Northern Song society and its culture as depicted in the scroll. Since Nakano Miyoko has already published a detailed explanation of the scroll itself, I will look at it from a different angle.³

As I said above, the Song experienced an unprecedented development of commerce and urban culture, a development that led to a prosperous popular culture. Such changes were caused by the fact that, whereas aristocrats had constituted the Tang government, Song officials were chosen through the screening process of a civil service examination.

As has been intensively discussed in volume 7 of *Intriguing Asia* (アジア遊学), entitled “Sōdai chishikijin no shosō” 宋代知識人の諸相 (Various aspects of Song Intellectuals), this system was not simple. Accordingly, a simple explanation cannot be applied to those who were then the leaders of society. Contrary to popular belief, the civil service examination was not open to everyone, but was a means of reproducing the elite class. In addition, after obtaining high positions, government officials tended to detach themselves from mundane life in favor of more elevated spiritual pursuits.⁴ Still, as non-aristocratic elites were active in the government, they definitely pioneered a new era. The Northern Song was such a period.

The current of change was also reflected in city life. Although Chinese society was fundamentally agricultural, it also developed quite an urban aspect. Some scholars claim that the Chinese were gifted with the technology for

3. Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子, “Kyōkai no fūkei -gallop suru uma to morohadanugi no otoko” 境界の風景—ギャロップする馬ともろ肌ぬぎの男 in *Intriguing Asia* (アジア遊学) No. 11 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, November, 1999). As she analyzes the structure of the painting, Nakano adds that, since the scroll has been repaired and additional work done to it over time, there are some differences on the scroll depending on the time it was printed.

4. Yoshikawa Kōjiro 吉川幸次郎, “Zoku no rekishi” 『俗』の歴史 in the *Collected Works of Yoshikawa Kōjiro* 吉川幸次郎全集 vol. 2 (Tokyo: Chikuma shobō, 1973).

constructing cities. Indeed, the Chinese had continuously built cities since the ancient period.⁵ However, cities changed over the course of time. Even Chang'an 長安 and Loyang 洛陽 could not resist the changes.

I must first present the city system of the Tang to show the ways cities significantly influenced their surrounding areas. Cities of the Tang, especially the large-scale ones, were built and administered according to a well-organized plan. They functioned under highly authoritarian rules: there were curfews at night and people were prohibited from using streets for private purposes. To control people's mobility, drums and bells were rung to announce the opening and closing of the city and ward (*fang* 坊) gates, and there were only two marketplaces for commercial transactions. In other words, people's daily activities were strictly controlled.

However, although residents were enclosed within their own *fang* during the night, we should not necessarily assume that they were under the complete control of officials. To be sure, each *fang* was surrounded by walls along the streets, walls which had only a few gates, and this made it inconvenient for ordinary people to enter or exit. On the other hand, the presence of such an inconvenience could mean that public officials, too, were discouraged from entering the *fang*. We must look at both aspects when we think of a system like this.

However, this system was gradually relaxed. For one thing, it was not convenient. For another, and more importantly, vigorous economic activity forced a weakening of the rules, as is the iron law of history. In this way new cities emerge. This is exactly what I meant when I said that even Chang'an and Loyang, the capitals that seemed like cities of perpetual prosperity, could not resist the passage of time in history.

The kind of authoritarian, dictatorial city administration that continued up to the Tang disappeared during the Song. Authorities could not challenge the power of commoners, a power that was becoming stronger and stronger, so they were forced to retreat. Walls that surrounded residential areas were taken down, and houses directly faced the streets. There were no curfews, and many people went out and engaged in activities at night. This means that the productive ability of the people had improved enough that it could

5. Li Ji 李濟, *Shina minzoku no keisei* 支那民族の形成, trans. by Suyama Suguru 須山卓 (Tokyo: Seikatusha, 1943). Chen Zhengxiang 陳正祥, *Chūgoku rekishi bunka chiri zusatsu* 中國歷史·文化地理図冊 (Tokyo: Hara shobō, 1982).

support urban activities in both big and small cities; that is, in order for people to be active at night, they must have had a sufficient supply of oil. Various activities of the people won out against the authorities, and a bustling city life resulted. Thus, the new cities emerged after long-lasting changes since the late Tang.

We must consider such changes as a relaxation of rules, and in general, the Song was a period of such relaxation. Needless to say, there were still inconveniences in different ways, but there was no period in Chinese history when people had as much freedom of activity as during the Song. Although such a spirit of freedom was inherited by later dynasties, when compared to the people of the Song, people of later periods still suffered from the invisible power of authority.

What was actual urban life like, then? Fortunately, we have a text that is a good match to the *Qingming shanghe tu* as a parallel record of the Kaifeng during the Song. It is the *Dongjing meng hua lu* 東京夢華錄 by Meng Yuanlao 孟元老. Meng Yuanlao wrote this book with a nostalgic yearning for the lost capital of Kaifeng, recording the details of the city as it was in the late Northern Song (coincidentally, the same period as that depicted in the *Qingming shanghe tu*).⁶ Needless to say, this was the reign of Huizong 徽宗. Huizong was an emperor whose reign was full of scandals, and he has a reputation of being a bad ruler. He has been regarded as a dandy who spent all his time on elegant hobbies, victimizing his people. But is this really true? By reviewing the historical records on Huizong, we learn that he had a relatively strong desire for power, that he made a sensational change in the art school system, and that he was deeply involved with religion, and sometimes

6. See Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 and Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, trans. *Tōkei mukaroku—Sōdai no toshi to seikatsu* 東京夢華錄—宋代の都市と生活 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1996). Other valuable articles relating to the main topic of this paper are collected in Zhou Baozhu 周宝珠, *Qing ming shang he tu yu Qing ming shang he xue* 清明上河图与清明上河学 (Henan University Press, 1997). In Japan, Kida Tomoo 木田知生 and myself have published works approaching the *Qing ming shang he tu* from a sociological perspective. In particular, Kiida's work, "Seimei jyōkazu wo yomu" 『清明上河图を読む』 in "Outlaw no sekai" アウトローの世界 in *Weekly Asahi Encyclopedia—sekai no Rekishi* 週刊朝日百科—世界の歴史 vol. 44 (Sept. 1989) is an excellent work that discusses tools, clothing, as well as social regulations of the Song. Studies of the *Qing ming shang he tu* have also been produced in America, and some of these have been published in journals of Song studies. These scholars use the *Dongjing meng hua lu* and other relevant material as the main source of their research for interpreting the scroll.

with government officials. Thus, we must say that Huizong had some interest in, and opinions about, administration.⁷

In fact, Huizong's artistic interests epitomized the pursuits of elite men of the time. Educated people devoted their energies to learning and also to engagement with artistic hobbies.⁸ Huizong's obsession with painting, music, calligraphy, and garden design was also shared by members of the elite of the time. In other words, Huizong's artistic pursuits developed precisely because of the nature of the Song period. In that sense, it is not entirely fair to criticize him for his indulgences. Yet, it is true that he was not entirely faultless as a ruler.

So then, what kind of era was the Huizong reign? I would say that it was a period that was similar to the recent "bubble economy." Items of luxury inundated the cities, and the entertainment quarters flourished. There were various types of eating facilities, from expensive restaurants to inexpensive diners. A variety of menus were enjoyed, and different food products were used. Even rice had different varieties. On the other hand, prices were going sky high.⁹ Is it not exactly like the bubble economy of recent years? But a bubble is destined to burst. We see many restaurants in the *Qingming shanghe tu*, but only a few people are eating there. While there are gorgeous mansions, there are also houses with shabby roofs. The painter is telling us that there were houses that were not well-maintained.¹⁰ In general, buildings can reflect the prosperity of a city. Such a situation is quite similar to Japan immediately

7. Opinions about Huizong have undergone a major shift recently. See my paper "Kisō Chōkitsu 徽宗趙佶" in *Rekishi to tabi 歴史と旅—Chūgoku kōteiden 中国皇帝伝*, Jan. 1998 and *Sō to Eurasia 宋とユーラシア* (Tokyo: Chūō koronsha, 1997). See also Nakano Miyoko 中野美代子 "Hokusō no kisō 北宋の徽宗" in *SINICA* July, 1999 (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, 1999).

8. Scholars from different fields have begun to investigate this issue. As noted above, this topic has been discussed from different angles in volume 7 of *Intriguing Asia* (宋代知識人の諸相). I especially recommend that the theoretical analysis by Ogino Masahiro 荻野昌弘 should be read by all. Garden design was also one of the hobbies enjoyed by elite men. In short, it was the elite men who formed the urban culture of the time.

9. For changes in the price of rice and the basic income of government officials, see Quan Hansheng 全漢昇, "Beisong wujiade biandong" 北宋物価的変動 in *Zhongguo jingjishi luncong 中国经济史論叢* vol. 1 (1972) and Kinugawa Tsuyoshi 衣川強, "Kanryō to hōkyū" 官僚と俸給 in *Tōhōgakuho 東方学報* (Kyoto:1971).

10. This was pointed out in the articles included in the special edition of *Intriguing Asia* on "Seimei jyōkazu wo yomu" 清明上河図を読む, (*Intriguing Asia* vol. 11 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 1999)), which I edited.

after the bubble economy burst. Needless to say, we cannot draw a hasty comparison just because historical circumstances are similar. Yet, it is unsettling to know that the *Qingming shanghe tu* depicts a mysterious quietness in Kaifeng despite the seeming prosperity of the town. Is this the quietness that follows a bubble economy, or did people simply not have time to fix their dilapidated buildings? Or perhaps the painter, Zhang Zeduan, with the keen sense of an artist, was predicting imminent danger for the city? What did the artist try to illustrate when he painted the city that has emerged in its form after a long history of changes? We feel the urge to find an answer.

Historical records prove that downtown areas were quite bustling. There were many theaters, and there were popular performers. The *Dongjing meng hua lu* records details of many of the downtown areas. It also lists the names of popular performers and their specialties. Not only the downtown areas but also local marketplaces were quite active. From luxury items to daily sundries, all types of merchandise were traded and made people’s lives more comfortable. In a sense, people were living under a kind of momentary prosperity.¹¹

It was currency that supported the economy and its pattern of consumption and distribution. Copper coins, which were the core currency of the Song period, circulated quite actively. However, we find only one instance of currency explicitly depicted in the *Qingming shanghe tu*: that is, in front of the wine shop at the foot of the arched bridge. On the other hand, on the wall-paintings found in Song tombs we find scenes in which large quantities of money are being transported. The number of such paintings proves that the Song was an extremely monetized economy. Surplus currency was absorbed by foreign countries just as dollars are today. This is proven by the fact that a large portion of the coins excavated in Japan are from the Northern Song period.¹²

11. See Kawakami Kōichi 河上光一, *Sōdai no Keizaiseikatsu* 宋代の経済生活 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1966). Although this book was published almost three decades ago, it gives a comprehensive view of the economic life of the Song.

12. See Mikami Ryūzo 三上隆三, *Toraisen no Shakaishi* 渡来銭の社会史 (Tokyo: Chūkō shinsho, 1987) and Suzuki Kimio 鈴木公雄, “Maizōsen ga kataru chūsei no keizai” 埋蔵銭が語る中世の経済 (*Daikōkai* 大航海: Special edition—Kōkōgakuteki chūsei 考古学の中世, vol. 14 (February, 1997)). See also the special issue of *Intriguing Asia* on “Sōsen no sekai—Higashi Asia no kokusai tsūka” 宋銭の世界—東アジアの国際通貨 (*Intriguing Asia* 18, July 2000), which I edited. As Shiba Yoshinobu points out in his “Kōshiron” 港市論 (included in “Kaijo no michi” 海上の道 in *Asia no naka no nihon* アジアの中の日本 (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press)), we have records of large quantity of currency being taken

During the Song dynasty, China's money supply was largest at the time of Wang Anshi 王安石. However, the supply consisted entirely of copper coins. Even if the amount of coinage decreased afterwards, we must presume that what had accumulated up until then was still circulating in the cities. In view of the fact that an extremely large number of Northern Song coins have been excavated in Japan, we cannot help but think that coins were circulating widely and in quantity in urban areas. That is to say, the consumption economy of commoners was at its peak.

In that sense, the Northern Song was, in general, a period of growth. On the other hand, changes in political conditions in the North were forecasting a dark future for the dynasty. The scenes of the *Qingming shanghe tu* are set in such a period.

The *Dongjing meng hua lu* records people living in the city who were engaged in different types of occupations: members of the imperial family, government officials high and low, people devoted to religious activities such as Buddhist or Daoist monks, soldiers and military men, large and small shops. There were shops that provided luxury items and shops that supplied daily sundries, as well as street vendors. A variety of sales and occupations existed. There were restaurants and diners and all sorts of people were found on the streets. We see different types of people on the streets in the scroll: merchants selling items carried on their shoulders, artisans using their tools, people engaged in transportation work, and boatmen and laborers unloading goods. These people supported the urban areas of the time. The *Qingming shanghe tu* reproduces such scenes vividly.

However, detailed observation of the data reveals puzzling facts. For example, according to the records of water travel found in the travel diaries such as the *San tendaigodaisan ki* 參天台五臺山記 by the Japanese monk Jyōjin 成尋 and the *Rushu ji* 入蜀記 by Lu You 陸游, small boats that sold fish and other food items always tagged along behind traveling ships. However, there are no such scenes in the *Qingming shanghe tu*; there is only one small boat in the whole scroll. In addition, although there are fleets of ships transporting goods, no warehouse areas are pictured. Thus, although the *Qingming shanghe tu* is an excellent piece of scroll art, and one that depicts scenes of the late Northern Song, it also raises many questions for us. That is to say,

out of Southern Song China by Japanese ships. However, majority of the coins excavated in Japan are Northern Song coins. This contradiction awaits further study.

things that should be there are not illustrated and the scroll certainly lacks reality in that sense. With regard to ship building, Yamagata Kinya expressed his impression by saying that the painting looks as though it is an illustration of a world of ghosts.¹³ In that sense, maybe this scroll is an expression of a master artist whose superb perception has captured the future of the dynasty. Nonetheless, the scroll does depict the life of the people then. In the following paragraphs, I discuss the lives of common people in the late Northern Song.

People in the Scroll: Their Work, Income, and Life

The *Qingming shanghe tu* illustrates people of various occupations. On the land we see merchants and rickshaws, and on the water, we see people on boats. They are all commoners. Various types of occupations came into being during the Song, many of which we can find in the scroll.¹⁴ The question is, what kind of lives did these people have? The *Dongjing meng hua lu* mentions that people worked from early in the morning until late at night. Thus, we know that their daily life was an active one. Our next question, then, is their financial base. That is, how did they earn their living, and how much income did they have?

As Shiba Yoshinobu has pointed out, in order to live in an urban area during this time, people had to purchase seven types of basic necessities.¹⁵ If that was the case, we must assume that the monetary economy was highly developed during the Song dynasty. To investigate this situation, information about consumer prices is indispensable. In other words, consumer prices can serve as a standard for determining how much income Song people needed in order to survive in an urban setting.

13. See the discussion on “Seimei jyōkazu wo yomu” 清明上河図を読む and the article by Yamagata Kinya 山形欣哉, “Seimei jyōkazu no fune wo tsukuru” 清明上河図の船をつくる in *Intriguing Asia*, vol. 11. Yamagata is renowned for his knowledge of the history of marine engineering.

14. There are only few women painted in the scroll. This topic was taken up during our discussion as recorded in *Intriguing Asia* vol. 11, and elicited the greatest number of questions. The topic requires further investigation. The *Dongjing meng hua lu* often mentions women. Quan Hansheng also mentions that women were active during the Song in his paper, “Songdai nūzi zhiye yu shengji” 宋代女子職業与生計 in Bao Jialin 鮑家麟 ed., *Zhongguo funushi lunji* 中国婦女史論集 (1979).

15. See Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, “Sōdai no shōhi, seisansuijun shitan” 宋代の消費・生産水準試探 in *Chūgoku shigaku* 中国史学, vol. 1 (Oct, 1991).

The price of staple foodstuffs is a commonly used measure for evaluating a standard of living. We must look at how many times a day people ate, and how much they ate at each meal. There have been some studies on this topic, which suggest that the main staple of rice was eaten two or three times a day. In related studies, the compensation of government officials, whose work was considered of central importance at the time, has also been analyzed.¹⁶ However, analysis of the compensation of highly privileged government officials is not a reliable indicator of the incomes and lives of commoners.¹⁷ The *Qingming shanghe tu* does depict people who appear to be government officials and members of the elite. However, most people in the scroll seem to be the type who lived from day to day. In order to describe economic life as it was on the average, we must focus on these people.

If most of the people in Kaifeng were far from wealthy and lived from day to day, how can we measure their incomes? I think soldiers' pay is one standard. Military men during the Song were not of upper-class status, and they engaged in various types of labor. I think that we can assume that the many people in the scroll who lived by physical labor earned similar incomes and were involved in similar types of work. In addition, as I have pointed out elsewhere, various types of economic and productive activities flourished during the Song, and there was a thriving business in the construction of waterways and roads to support such activities.¹⁸ Money from public and private sources was put into this work, and commoners were hired for the labor. Accordingly, work on these projects provided direct opportunities for ordinary people to gain income.

The *Dongjing meng hua lu* records a variety of people who lived from day to day: street vendors and hawkers selling goods they carried on their shoulders, certainly; but also performers, artisans, and people in service trades, even

16. See the article by Kinugawa Tsuyoshi cited in footnote 9. See also Kinugawa's "Sōdai no hokuy nitsuite—bunjin kanryō wo chūshin toshite" 宋代の俸給について—文臣官僚を中心として (*Tōhōgaku hō* 東方学報 1970).

17. Needless to say, not all government officials had a good life. As Kinugawa has pointed out, lower class officials had low incomes, which were not enough to support a large family. See also Liang Gengyao 梁庚暁, "Nansong de pinshi yu pinguan" 南宋の貧士与貧官 in *Songdai shehui jingjishi lunji* 宋代社会経済史論集, vol. 2 (1984).

18. See my paper, "Sōdai ni okeru toshi no setsubi to sono rekishiteki igi ni tsuite" 宋代における都市の設備投資とその歴史的意義について in *Hikaku toshi shi kenkyū* 比較都市史研究, 14:2 (1995).

including clergy. The majority of these professions are also represented in the *Qingming shanghe tu*. These were the kinds of people who obtained their incomes from daily labor.

Let us now look at the incomes of military men, which can serve as a basis for investigating the incomes of these day laborers. Nagai Chiaki has published a detailed study on this topic.¹⁹ Based on this as well as other work on this topic, I would say that the annual income of commoners was fifty to seventy *guanwen* 貫文 or “strings of cash.”²⁰

A detailed discussion of Song currency is beyond the scope of this paper, and I intend to discuss the topic at a later time. However, the currency system during the Song was complicated, and scholarly interpretations of it differ.²¹ Basically, one *guanwen* of currency was 1000 one-*wen* copper coins strung together. However, 1000 coins were not always considered the equivalent of one *guan* or string. Although one hundred pieces of coin was the basis for converting monetary units, conversion varied depending on the particular denominations of those one hundred coins.²² The main point to keep in mind is that a person who received 150 *wen* per day did not necessarily receive 150 pieces of one-*wen* coinage.

Now, let us turn to the income of soldiers. Although there are no soldiers

19. Nagai Chiaki 長井千秋, “Nansō gunpei no kyūyo—kyūyogaku to kyūyo hōshiki wo chūshinni” 南宋軍兵の給与——給与額と給与方式を中心に in Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁 ed., *Chūgoku kinsei no hōsei to shakai* 中国近世の法制と社会 (1993). See also Koiwai Hiromitsu 小岩井弘光, *Sōdai heiseishi no kenkyū* 宋代兵制史の研究 (Tokyo: Kyūkōshoin, 1998).

20. See my paper, “Toshi rinan ni okeru shinkō wo sasaeta shomin no keizairyoku” 都市臨安における信仰を支えた庶民の経済力, in *Komazawa daigaku zenkenkyūjo nenpō* 駒沢大学禅研究所年報, vol. 5 (March, 1994) and “Sōdai taishū rinkaiken ni okeru shomin no keizairyoku to shakai” 宋代台州臨海県における庶民の経済力と社会, *Ibid*, vol. 7 (March, 1996).

21. See Inoue Yasunari 井上泰成, “Tanhaku kankō no saikentō—Tōmatsu godai jiki ni okeru kaheishiyō no dōkō to kokka” 短陌慣行の再検討——唐末五代時期における貨幣使用の動向と国家, *Ritsumeikan daigaku* 立命館大学 475–477 (1985) and “Sōdai kahei shisutemu no tsugime—tanhaku kankōron” 宋代貨幣システムの継ぎ目——短陌慣行論 in *Intriguing Asia—Sōsen no sekai—Higashi asia no kokusai tsūka* 宋銭の世界——東アジアの国際通貨 vol. 18 (July, 2000).

22. This system was not unique to China but was also practiced in Japan. See Amino Yoshihiko 網野善彦, Ishi Susumu 石井進, and Fukuda Toyohiko 福田豊彦, eds., “Zeni hyakumon wa nanmaika” 銭百文は何枚か in *Chinmoku no chūsei* 沈黙の中世 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1990).

depicted in the scroll, there certainly were many soldiers in Kaifeng at the time. This is another reason why I am dubious that the scroll depicts scenes from the city of Kaifeng. At any rate, since soldiers had incomes with which they supported their families, these incomes can be used as an index for the incomes of commoners. We have various records of statistics from the Song period. These numbers can be used as the basis for our speculation. Previous scholarly works tell us that the annual salary of a soldier was fifty to seventy *guanwen*.²³ This is equal to approximately 5 *guanwen* per month, or about 170 *wen* per day. However, this calculation is based on 365 working days; in reality, we should assume that soldiers received about 200 *wen* per day, which is a considerably higher income. We find records indicating that in the countryside people earned only several tens of *wen* per day. I assume that people who engaged in physical labor, such as unloading goods or transporting them as depicted in the *Qingming shanghe tu*, received wages equivalent to those of soldiers. The incomes of those who worked on the Yellow River or who were in shipping occupations have been documented (see Table 1).²⁴ According to those records, the daily incomes of those who engaged in labor on or along the river varied, but most people earned between 150 and 300 *wen* per day. This is a relatively good wage. Some people made only 100 *wen*. Sailors seem to have earned similar wages. According to the historical records, they earned approximately 100 *wen* per day, but were also provided with other means or necessities such as meals.²⁵

I believe that there can be no doubt about the above assumption. Many scholars presume that pre-modern society was a period of exploitation, and they develop their arguments on the assumption that people were oppressed. Needless to say, such situations did exist. However, we should not believe

23. See the works cited in notes 19, 20, and 21 above.

24. Table 1 was originally published in *Intriguing Asia* 18, p. 13.

25. See Shiba Yoshinobu 斯波義信, *Sōdai shōgyoshi kenkyū* 『宋代商業史研究』 (Tokyo: Kazama shobō, 1968) and “Sōdai no shōhisei, sansuijun shitan” (*Chūgoku shigaku* vol. 1 (Oct. 1991). Government officials and soldiers also received provisions of food and clothing in addition to cash income. Therefore, it is possible that soldiers had better life than commoners who lived from day to day. At any rate, their cash income was between 150 to 300 *wen* a day. Since, like government officials or soldiers, commoners also had other provisions, their standard of living cannot be judged from the amount of cash income. However, they could not have had a high standard of living since the expenditure for daily life was also not cheap.

年月日	西歴	項目	費用ならびに代価	その他	出典
天聖6年5月	1028	牛頭への河渡し代	50文	公安県	『宋会要輯稿』方域 13 津渡
元豊4年10月12日	1081	人夫雇用一人の賃金	3000文	距離不明	『宋会要輯稿』食貨 48 隆運
元豊4年10月12日	1081	驢馬雇甫資金(1頭)	8000文	距離不明	『宋会要輯稿』食貨 48 隆運
元豊5年5月丙申	1082	車夫への手当て	米2升・銭50文		『統資治運鑑長編』326
靖康1年10月12日	1126	京西での人夫1人の食料運搬費	銭40貫	日程など不明	『宋会要輯稿』食貨 48 隆運
隆興2年1月9日	1164	貴州・象州江口の渡し場代	100文		『宋会要輯稿』方域 13 津渡
乾道7年12月16日	1171	長江流域での100里100斤の船賃	30文	法定運賃	『宋会要輯稿』食貨 27 塩法 雜録
乾道7年12月16日	1171	長江流域での100里100斤の船賃	44文	民間運賃	『宋会要輯稿』食貨 27 塩法 雜録
嘉泰1年3月24日	1201	臨安府龍山西興魚浦の渡し場代	31文足	一般人	『宋会要輯稿』方域 13 津渡
嘉泰1年3月24日	1201	臨安府龍山西興魚浦の渡し場代	無料	官員・軍兵・茶 塩鈔客・乞丐	『宋会要輯稿』方域 13 津渡

TABLE 1. Transportation Costs during the Song. This table shows only a few examples, but we can see that shipping and transporting goods was not a simple matter. It was in this sort of world that Song people lived.

that exploitation and rapaciousness were so rampant that they destroyed people's lives. If that were the case, society would have stopped functioning. For example, among the data I have collected, there is a record of amounts paid by those seeking exemption from the *corvée*, and of amounts paid to hire labor on the Yellow River. If we consider these amounts as a daily wage for repairing the banks of the Yellow River, we realize that the numbers actually match. Therefore, the recorded numbers are appropriate; that is, the incomes of Song people were sufficient for them to lead normal lives. Even if so-called rapaciousness existed, it was not practiced to the degree of exploitation. Otherwise, how could society have survived?

Next, I would like to think about differences of income among commoners. I believe that there were no extreme differences of income at the time. This is also true in modern society. Incomes of the majority do not differ much. People make similar amounts of money and lead similar kinds of lives. Of course, there are differences; these depend upon people's occupations and other factors. However, if there were extreme differences in income among people on the street, this would cause social problems. Most people eat at similar places and have similar possessions because their income level does not differ much.

Therefore, there seems to be no difficulty in thinking that many of the people in the *Qingming shanghe tu* earned 100 to 150 *wen* per day, or 300 *wen* if their earnings were high. However, we must also take into consideration that people had more than one source of income. As stated earlier, it seems likely that officials and sailors in the *Qingming shanghe tu* received provisions in addition to cash income. Commoners, too, seem to have had multiple sources of income. The range of income sources tends to narrow in modern society, but in pre-modern society, there were various types of income systems, and it is possible that a single family had various types of small income sources. In fact, the *Dongjing meng hua lu* and the *Yi jian zhi* 夷堅志 provide actual cases in which officials who returned from their local assignments sold what they had brought back at the market held at the Xiangguosi 相国寺, or in which farmers were concerned about the market price of commercial crops. In that case, their lives may have been a little easier. In a sense, the lives of laborers present us with an average image of Song commoners.²⁶

26. In order to investigate the assets of Song people, we must first collect relevant historical records. Otherwise, misunderstanding will result. For example, I have recently come

If these people lived in cities, most of them lived day-to-day. Needless to say, not all of them were poor or had to work for their meals every day. However, it is also true that they did not have any surplus income. The situation is the same in modern society: when the unexpected happens, a person’s life changes 180 degrees. I will discuss this point in the following section.

Scenes not Depicted: The World under the Shadow

Studying explicitly depicted items is an important way to interpret illustrations. However, in order to arrive at an in-depth understanding, we have to do more than that. For example, if we assume that the *Qingming shanghe tu* scroll was created to be presented to the emperor, then it seems likely that anything unpleasant to look at would not have been painted. When depicting the life of a city, its prosperity would be the main topic. Scenes of deterioration and poverty-stricken people or outlaws would not be painted. I mentioned in the previous section that the *Qingming shanghe tu* depicts “homogenized,” average people. That being the case, are there any “undesirable” people in this scroll? The majority of the people shown are physical laborers or those engaged in service industries. However, careful observation reveals that certain social drop-outs are also depicted. They are the people in shabby clothing or who seem to be either beggars or victims of certain accidents. Our attention is also drawn to the person who is running, and to those who are running after him. Another careful look leads us to people who appear bored or whose

across papers by Takakura Hiroaki 高倉洋彰, “Ninpōshi genson no dazaifu hakatatsu sōjin kokuseki ni tsuite” 寧波市現存の大宰府博多津宋人刻石について (*Dazaifu to kanzeon ji* 大宰府と観世音寺 (Kaichō books, 1996)) and Charlotte von Verschure, “Kōshū, Ninpō, Fudasan wo tazumete” 杭州・寧波・普陀山を訪ねて (*Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史, vol. 613 (June, 1996)). These papers provide us with the interpretations of the assets of Song merchants who lived in Hakata from the perspectives of Japanese history specialists. Wang Yong 王勇 provides us with a new interpretation of a stele in his “Ninpō ni genson suru Hakata zaijyū sōjin no sekihi—sono hakken, tenzō, kaidoku wo megutte” 寧波に現存する博多在住宋人の石碑——その発見、転載、解説をめぐって (*Intriguing Asia* -Higashi Asia no kentōshi 東アジアの遣唐使 (Tokyo: Bensei shuppan, 1999)). These works all consider donations of 10 guanwen of coins as insignificant and thus tend to consider the donors to be of low social status, as Chinese scholars also do. However, I claim that they are wrong. My counterarguments appear in “Sōdai no dōro kensetu to kishingaku” 宋代の道路建設と寄進額 in *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 (July, 2000) followed by “Hibun de yomitoku Sōdai no sonraku shakai” 碑文で読み解く宋代の村落社会 (*SINICA*-Ishi de yomu chūgokushi 石で読む中国史 (Tokyo: Taishūkan shoten, January, 2001)).

businesses do not seem to be going well. In the previous section, I said that people in general earned 100 to 150 *wen*, or 300 *wen* if they were lucky. There were many whose income levels did not reach that high.

In general, common people of the Song probably lived from day to day. There must have been many who did not have families or who lived away from them. What happened when they got sick or old? Although this point has not been taken up much in the past, only a few people in the scroll are smiling. Could that have been because they were unable to afford cheerful lives? Was it because they were so preoccupied with maintaining their daily lives that they could not possibly think of tomorrow? If so, the world in the scroll is a world in which common people had no surplus, a point that draws our attention in view of its applicability to the modern world as well. Therefore, in this section I will discuss the world that is not depicted in the scroll.

I stated earlier that the era of Huizong was a period of prosperity. On the other hand, historical documents of the period record that charitable policies were implemented frequently. There were many arguments presented on behalf of charitable activities as such during the Song period.²⁷ (For examples of charitable spending in the Song, see Table 2²⁸). There were various types of charitable facilities: public and private hospitals, orphanages, welfare facilities for old people, and nursing homes for those advanced in age or without families. In addition, unique names were given to each of the facilities during the Song. There was a public hospital named “Anjifang” 安济坊, and a home for the destitute named “Juyangyuan” 居養院. There was even a public cemetery called “Louzeyuan” 漏澤園. Many of these facilities were built in and around cities.

Although no such facilities appear in the *Qingming shanghe tu*, they are shown in other pictorial maps of cities, including the one of Pingjiang from the Song (*Song Pingjiang tu* 宋平江图). That is to say, these facilities existed in both large and small cities. Why was this? These facilities verify that a dark shadow was approaching this flourishing era. Bright light creates a dark shadow. Let us now look at the scenes hidden under the shadow, behind the prosperous façade of the city.

We must first ask whether there really are scenes in the *Qingming shanghe tu* that justify our assumption that the city was prosperous. As I said before,

27. Umehara Kaoru, “Sōdai no kyūsai seido” 宋代の救済制度 in *Toshi no shakaishi* 都市の社会史 (Kyoto: Minerva shobō, 1983).

28. Table 2 was originally published in *Intriguing Asia* 18, p. 11.

年月日	西歴	場所	救済内容	支出	その他	出典
天禧中	1017~	京畿近郊の寺	行き倒ねの埋葬 (大人)	600文	1棺ごとに	『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤
天禧中	1017	京畿近郊の寺	行き倒ねの埋葬 (子供)	300文	1棺ごとに	『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤
嘉祐4年 12月乙亥	1059	全国の都市城郭内の広恵倉	11月1日から翌年2月末まで	米1升(大人)	3日に1回(冬季4ヶ月)老弱疾病ご目活ごきぬもの	『続資治通鑑長編』189、 『宋史』12 食貨・常平
嘉祐4年 12月乙亥	1059	全国の都市城郭内の広恵倉	11月1日から翌年2月末まで	米5台(子供)	3日に1回(冬季4ヶ月)老弱疾病ご目活ごきぬもの	『続資治通鑑長編』189
崇寧3年	1104	杭州府城内外の居養院	老人・貧乏・生活できぬ人・乞丐	米1升・銭10文	紹興13年改めて施行(大人)	淳祐『臨安志』7養濟院
崇寧3年	1104	杭州府城内外の居養院	老人・貧乏・生活できぬ人・乞丐	米0.5升、銭5文	紹興13年改めて施行(子供)	淳祐『臨安志』7養濟院
崇寧3年	1104	杭州府城内外の漏沢園	雇い人への給与	銭5貫・米1石	僧侶へ支給の月ごとの常平銭	淳祐『臨安志』7養濟院
宣和2年	1120	全国の救済施設	食料・銭支給(一人)	粟米1升・銭10文	元豊の旧制により居養院・安濟坊・漏沢園で実施	『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤
宣和2年	1120	全国の救済施設	11月から正月まで支給	柴炭 銭5文省		『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤
宣和2年	1120	全国の救済施設	安濟坊	銭・米・薬	居養法に従う	『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤
紹興31年 1月	1161	杭州府城内外	貧乏の家	銭200文、米1升、柴炭銭	ひとり分	『宋史』178 食貨上賑恤

TABLE 2. Social Welfare expenditures during the Song. These data reveal the economic condition of people at the bottom of the social ladder. The commoners depicted in the Qingming scroll presumably experienced similarly difficult circumstances.

there are people in it who look bored or seem to be daydreaming. However, these people were not necessarily depicted in order to illustrate the differences of wealth among people in the city. It seems safe for us to assume that the artist included them in order to depict both the bustling and static aspects of daily life. They may be merely a kind of motif to emphasize the prosperous life of the city. It is precisely this point that the artist, Zhang Zeduan, intended to illustrate.

The scroll's depiction of prosperity notwithstanding, social policies adopted during the Huizong era tell us that social poverty was definitely growing. By the end of the Huizong era, incidents that forced people to predict the advent of a dark age were occurring one after another. Among these incidents were various rebellions within the nation as well as the emergence of the Jin in the North. Therefore, we can say that, although the *Qingming shanghe tu* is generally considered to be a depiction of Song prosperity, it also makes us realize that society was gradually deteriorating.

In discussing this topic, we must first turn our attention to the way in which Chinese society treated its weaker members. Consider, for example, how the socially deprived were treated under the equal field system (*jun tian zhi* 均田制) during the Tang. Generally, scholars assume that the Tang government allocated small plots to those who were handicapped, sick, or diseased, and to widowed primary or secondary wives. But is this interpretation really correct? Would it not, on the contrary, be more reasonable to assume that those who were physically incapable of farming could not have paid taxes even if they had received allotments of land? Furthermore, the government demonstrated its intention to save commoners by building granaries (*chang ping cang* 常平倉), although these were insufficient.²⁹ That being the case, it seems more accurate to think that the allocation of farmland to the deprived was an attempt by the government to collect as much tax as possible by controlling all of its people according to individual circumstances. The interpretation of historical incidents differs from one historical period to another. I tend to think that it is a mistake, originating in postwar egalitarianism, to assume the government of the Tang was trying to bring about social equality by distributing land to all.

29. See Hoshi Ayao 星斌夫, *Chūgoku no shakaifukushi no rekishi* 中国の社会福祉の歴史 (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1988). By the way, I am dubious of referring to the charitable policies of pre-modern society under the concept of welfare, or *fukushi* 福祉.

In that sense, the Song dynasty’s charitable policies were superior to that of the Tang. To be more exact, what appeared to be charitable allotments of land by the Tang government were actually a means to collect taxes from everyone. However, the Song did not practice such a system. During the reign of Huizong, the central government was more active in providing necessities to the socially deprived, and it gave more consideration to their well-being. This is evident from the Luozeyuan.³⁰

In recent years, new excavations have been made at the Luozeyuan, and archeological reports have been presented.³¹ The inscriptions about the lives of those buried there give us brief histories of the deceased.³² These records provide us with vital information on the lives of the people in the lower strata of Song society,³³ but as yet only part of the available material has been made

30. *Ibid.* See the Shihuozhi 食貨志 in *Songshi* 宋史, j. 178 under the entry of Zhenxu 振恤. Yanagida Setsuko provides detailed annotations in her *Sōshi shokkashi yakuchū* 宋史食貨志訳註, vol. 3.

31. Documents on the Luozeyuan were first introduced in Japan on a nationwide educational television program. Inscriptions on tiles excavated from the Luozeyuan are included in a series of publications on treasures from the Palace Museum, entitled *Kokyū*. In addition, reports on these inscriptions were published in China in the 1980s.

32. There are various types of inscriptions remaining in China, of which inscriptions of proclamations or memorials on stone tablets or cliffs are well-known. However, we must also pay attention to the recent discoveries of inscribed tiles (*zhuan*) and scholarly works on them. To be exact, *zhuan* 磚 are made of tiles while *zhuān* 埴 are made of clay. There are also inscription on bricks. Therefore, we must carefully choose a word for translating these terms into English. For the purpose of this paper, I will use the word “tile” whether the original inscriptions were on tiles or bricks. Tiles excavated from the Luozeyuan are one Song foot (*chi* 尺, the Song standard) square in size.

To supplement the information provided in footnotes 31 and 35, I will mention some points about the inscriptions excavated from Puyang 濮陽. Ten plates of inscriptions are introduced in *Xin Zhongguo chutu mu zhi* 新中國出土墓誌 (Henan: Wenwu chubanshe, 1994). There have been changes in place names and administrative jurisdictions since Song times. Consequently the location of Puyang is often confused with Huaxian 滑縣. This fact must be taken into consideration when studying the Luozeyuan material. These inscriptions can provide us information on the types of work the deceased were engaged in, the ages when they died, or the circumstances under which they came to be buried there. Since the Luozeyuan was a burial site for soldiers, criminals, traveling merchants and those who were taken care of at public facilities, careful analysis of their tomb inscriptions can lead us better to understand the social structure of the late Northern Song. Simultaneously, such research can cast new light on the roles of soldiers and local officials, which heretofore had been unknown.

33. I have touched upon this problem in some part in my paper “Sōdaishi kenkyū no shin shiten—genchi chōsa no katei ni oite” 宋代史研究の新視点—現地調査の過程におい

public. Recently, however, I have been able to acquire some of these materials and have presented discussions using them. As I intend to continue this research, I will leave more detailed arguments for later and provide only a brief overview here.

The Yellow River runs through the suburbs of Kaifeng. Villages were formed there with a number of residents in them.³⁴ In this paper, I will focus my discussion on the inscriptions excavated in the Luoze yuan in Shanzhou 陝州.³⁵

Shanzhou is located on the border between the provinces of Henan and Shanxi, and it was an important location on the Yellow River. In the vicinity is Sanmendizhu 三門底柱, one of the most precipitous areas along the river. Across the Yellow River is Jiezhou 解州, known for its production of salt. Although this area was originally a base for entering Shanxi province, after the emergence of the Xia it assumed the role of an outpost. Thus, many people were called and gathered there from local areas. According to

て in *Shisō* 史叢, vol. 59 (1998) and in “Aratana chūgoku toshi kenkyū no shiten wo megutte shin shiryō chōsa no katei ni oite” 新たな中国都市研究の視点をめぐって—新史料調査の過程において collected in the *Hikaku toshi shi kenkyū* 比較都市史研究, 17–12 (1998). I have presented some material on this subject at scholarly meetings, but I also intend to publish a formal paper. The work has entered a considerably complex phase and therefore I will have to wait for a future opportunity to provide detailed results of my research.

34. Articles included in Yoshioka Yoshinobu 吉岡義信, *Sōdai kōgashi kenkyū* 『宋代黄河史研究』 (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, 1978) discuss villages in the middle region of the Yellow River. In cities and surrounding areas, investments were made not into the river itself but into various types of facilities, attracting workers. Nakamura Jihei 中村治兵衛, “Sōdai kōga kantan no toshi kasshu to shōnin kumiai” 「宋代黄河河南の都市滑州と商人組合行」 (*Chūgoku no toshi to nōson* 『中国の都市と農村』 (1992)) includes detailed materials but also contains a number of errors. Refer also to my paper, “Sōdaishi kenkyū no shin shiten—genchi chōsa no katei ni oite” cited in note 33. For investment in urban facilities, see my paper cited in footnote 18.

35. See *Beisong Shanzhou Luoze yuan* 北宋陝州漏沢園 (文物出版社, 1999). A number of other materials have been excavated as well. Many reports have been made about Puyang in Henan province. In combination with inscriptions from other areas that I am investigating now, they provide a good source for learning about the life of Song commoners, especially those of the Huabei 華北 area. We must pay close attention to excavated materials of the Song in the future. For example, we also have newly excavated material on another type of silver currency of the Song (*yin ding* (銀錠)), from which we can learn about city construction and function. We find inscriptions about a tax paid on exiting the city gate on these silver coins. See the papers cited in footnote 33.

my own analysis and the analyses of editors of relevant materials, these people came from various areas and occupations. Some came from as far away as Fukien province. This situation was similar in areas such as Huaxian 滑县.³⁶ In the case of Huaxian, we have an stele of guilds (行務碑) which indicates the existence of merchants there. Some stele at Shanzhou were for traveling merchants. These stele verify that various types of people lived in the cities and that merchants were active there. That being so, the situation must have been the same at Kaifeng, where, according to Meng Yuanlao, 100,000 people came and went each day. People of different backgrounds came from various regions and supported an urban economy and life.

Although the stele tell us that people had a variety of professions, in all areas there was a large population of soldiers. This means that Song society had a large number of soldiers. It is generally said that the Song military forces were weak, and therefore the Song government’s policy was determined by the literati. This is a misinterpretation. A military force that is weak against the outside world may still exercise a powerful influence domestically. Furthermore, the Song government employed a large number of soldiers to compensate for the nation’s weak military power. Thus, there were more soldiers during this time than previously, and their very existence had an influence on Chinese society. This is verified by the excavation of many soldiers’ epitaphs. Although it is generally said that Song soldiers lived with their families, from what the epitaphs tell us, many of them did not.

Naturally, soldiers were not the only ones living in the city. There were also criminals, merchants, and people living in nursing homes for the elderly. These either had no families or were living away from them. Many of them were also poor. Once struck by poverty, they could not make a living and were forced to settle in public facilities. Local government officials were engaged in the work of charitable facilities, which suggests that the government was involved in the lives of commoners. Song society reached the pinnacle of prosperity, so afterwards a period of decline inevitably set in. The common people of the Song struggled to make ends meet day after day. I suggest that such scenes of commoners [or “common life”] are the real motifs out of which the *Qingming shanghe tu* was constructed.

36. See the articles cited in footnote 33 above.

In Conclusion

Using the *Qingming shanghe tu*, I have looked at the lives of commoners in Song society. In so doing, I have made the assumption that we can infer from scenes on the scroll the existence of people, or types of people, who are not actually depicted. There are other matters that need to be discussed—the clothing and possessions of the people on the scroll, for example. However, there is not much space left for me to discuss them, so I will leave them for a later time and, here, simply state my impressions.

The *Qingming shanghe tu* is a precious visual artifact that has been transmitted to us. Therefore, instead of taking up different topics about the scroll and discussing them individually, we need to take a certain comprehensive approach to analysis. From such analysis we can learn the truth about the Song period. Of course, certain standards of interpretation are needed, but actual interpretation should not intentionally be directed towards any pre-determined conclusions. Under the circumstances, I have been engaged in a project to achieve such an analysis of the *Qingming shanghe tu*, in cooperation with scholars in Japan and America. This paper is also a call for such joint research.