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Governing a Multicentered Empire: Prefects and Their Networks in the 1040s and 1210s

Song Chen

State Power in China, 900–1325

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Prefects and Their Networks in the 1040s and 1210s

SONG CHEN

AFTER A SERIES OF SUCCESSFUL UNIFICATION CAMPAIGNS between 963 and 979, the Song territory more than doubled while the population under its control tripled. To effectively govern this newly expanded territory presented a challenge. In the earliest years, Song rulers met this challenge in two ways. They sent trusted men from their entourage across the new empire to govern metropolitan prefectures of the conquered states, while at the same time, forced former officials and even local militia leaders of those states to relocate to the Song capital where many of them were recruited into the Song bureaucracy. Lü Yuqing (927–976), for example, had been on the personal staff of Zhao Kuangyin (Taizu, r. 960–976) while Zhao was still a military governor in the Zhou state (951–959). For many years, Lü had followed Zhao when he was transferred from one province to another. When Zhao Kuangyin proclaimed his new dynasty, Lü became the first governor of its capital, Kaifeng. In subsequent years, he was made the first governor of Tan prefecture and then Chengdu and also the second governor of Jiangling, following the Song conquest of the regimes in Middle Yangzi and Sichuan.[1] Likewise, Pan Mei (921–987), a long-time confidant of Taizu, was made the first governor of Guang prefecture and Taiyuan after the annexation of the Southern (917–971) and Northern Han (951–979) states.[2] At the same time, royal families, bureaucrats, and even local militia leaders of southern states were escorted to Kaifeng on the orders of Song rulers.[3] Many of them established their new residence there and entered the service of the new dynasty.[4] Qian Chu (929–988), the last ruler of Wuyue (907–978), was sent to Kaifeng with his clansmen and officials after his surrender and appointed governor of Deng in 987.[5] Similarly, Meng Xuanzhe (938–992), heir of the last Shu (934–965) ruler, moved to Kaifeng and held a number

of governorships in North China and Huainan.[6] In the early decades of the Song, therefore, mandatory relocations combined with career opportunities in the new dynasty remolded the political families of the northern and southern states into a political elite based in North China, especially the Song capital region.

When the civil service examinations expanded under Taizong (r. 976–997), they seemed primarily a tool for this elite to perpetuate itself by participating in a shared culture. Descendants of these North China families, including those of former officials in the southern states who now lived in the Song capital region, entered the civil service in large numbers through these examinations.[7] By the time of Meng Xuanzhe's death in 992, for example, four of his eleven adult sons had passed the *jinshi* examination, and six others had become palace attendants and servitors presumably through the *yin* privilege.[8] North China men made up about 84% of the *jinshi* graduates between 960 and 997. They dominated finance and policy offices as well as the prefectural governorship of Hang in the first two reigns of the Song.[9]

In contrast, the examinations in these decades offered little opportunity for men from less prominent backgrounds still residing in South China. South China men made up only about 16% of the *jinshi* conferred in the first two reigns of the Song. Opportunities only began to increase after the ascension of Zhenzong (r. 997–1022). In his reign, South China's share of *jinshi* nearly doubled.[10] The fact that Kou Zhun (961–1023) was said to have stubbornly favored northerners, probably in part due to his animosity with the southern man Ding Wei (966–1037), nevertheless attests to the growing influence of southerners at Zhenzong's court.[11]

The increasing number of southern men in Song government seems to have built the momentum for more significant changes in Renzong's reign (1022–1063), which saw repeated efforts to make educational resources and political opportunities more available outside the capital and especially in the south. Quotas for prefectural examinations were expanded for Sichuan in 1029 and for various regions across south China in 1060.[12] At the same time, many local officials set up government schools in the 1020s and 1030s.[13] During the Qingli reform (1043–1045), the court required that government schools be established in all prefectures and also in counties with a sizable population of students.[14] As a result, 41% of prefectural schools and 20% of county schools known from the Song period were established or restored in Renzong's reign.[15] They coincided with an unprecedented southern success in the examinations and a steep decline in the proportion of North China men holding policy, finance, and prefect offices.[16] Those who passed examinations

in this period were not necessarily beneficiaries of government-financed education, but the decisions to expand examination quotas and finance education outside the capital clearly signaled a general interest in the leadership in expanding political participation beyond those already residing in the capital region. New agricultural technologies, rivalry between states, expansion of maritime trade, and the arrival of new immigrants, including the educated elites who fled the chaos in North China, spurred southern development in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties period. By the tenth century the "south" was no longer a single area centered on the Lower Yangzi Delta, but had developed multiple centers of culture and power.[17] With the scope of political participation broadened in the eleventh century, the political implications of these developments began to surface.

The rising number of southern men in Song civil service brought far more than a change in the composition of the Song political elite. It also led to new career patterns and marriage practices that made the political elite after the mid-eleventh century significantly different from that of Tang and early Song.[18] These changes are evident in the two cohorts of prefects examined here: those who were in office between 1040 and 1049 and those between 1210 and 1219. These two decades were chosen for both practical and methodological reasons. On the practical side, admittedly, to expand the universe of the study to the entire Song period demands significantly more time and energy for collecting new datasets and cleaning existing ones. Methodologically, comparing two discrete periods highlights the most salient aspects of historical change, which may then be built on in future studies.

The cohorts of the 1040s and the 1210s are particularly suited for a comparative study. The 1040s cohort of prefects, who on average received their appointments to prefect governorship at the age of fifty-two, entered government service largely around 1020. They were therefore the generation who served at a time when southerners had become a notable presence in Song officialdom while northerners remained predominant. Those in the 1210s, in contrast, represent the Song political elite at the close of the dynasty but before the impacts of Mongol invasions were felt. Moreover, the *Song Biographical Index* (Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin) also reports a more impressive corpus of surviving biographical material for prefects of these decades than most of the other periods.[19]

This chapter draws from several major sources of data. It begins with the dated rosters of prefects compiled by Li Zhiliang and recently digitized by the editorial group of the China Biographical Database (CBDB) project.[20] The CBDB is also a major data source on kinship and migration. The list of

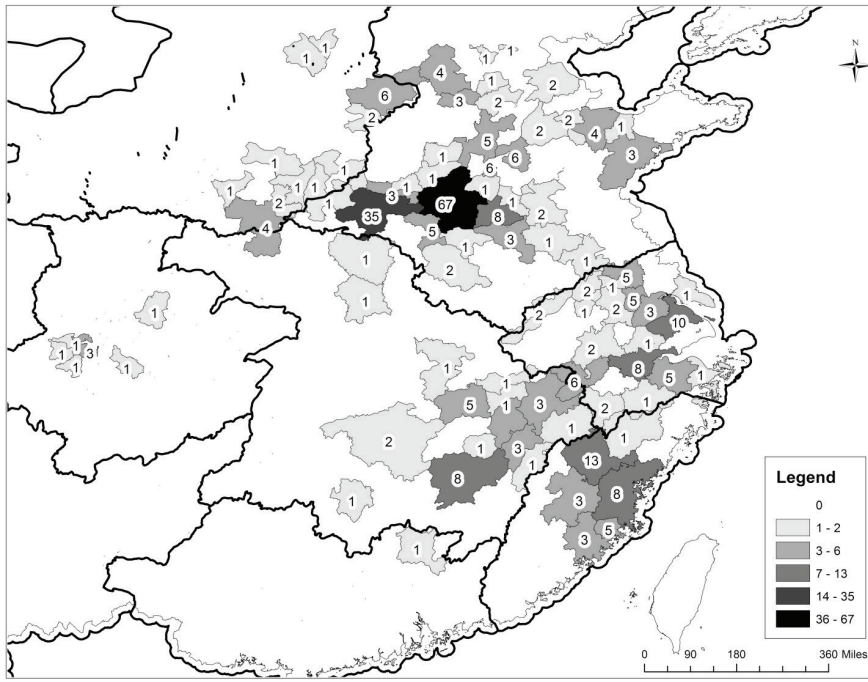
prefects who served under the Song in the 1040s and the 1210s, first compiled from the rosters of Li Zhiliang, was then checked against the CBDB for data on kinship relations and places of affiliation.[21] This is supplemented further by kinship and migration data from a third source, my own database built from a nearly exhaustive collection of funerary biographies on Sichuan men and women in the Song period.[22] The combined dataset from the three sources was checked for internal consistency and identified problems were corrected before the following analysis.[23]

REGIONAL ORIGINS OF THE PREFECTS

Any effort to decide where a prefect hailed from is difficult, because Song officials were a highly mobile group. Since the goal of this chapter is to understand the political opportunities afforded to men living in different parts of the Song, an official's place of origin is defined here as the place he most likely considered "home" in his formative years prior to his entry to government service, rather than the family's remote ancestral seat or addresses the official moved to later on in his career. The place of origin under this definition was where his parents maintained a primary residence, which is determined on the basis of several factors, in particular, careers and burial sites of his recent ancestors.

I start with places of affiliation registered in the CBDB and update them with data on the family history of office holding and migration gleaned from surviving funerary biographies for the prefects or their close relatives and biographies in the dynastic history. Unless explicitly mentioned in the biographical materials, it is assumed that a family relocated in the generation that started a new gravesite away from its former address. This new address is regarded as the "home" of subsequent generations.

A study of the regional origins of these two cohorts of prefects reveals a considerable proportion of men from various southern regions in Song prefectural administration, though it also confirms the continuing dominance of northerners well into the mid-eleventh century.[24] As table 3.1a shows, the northerners monopolized prefectural governorships in the 1040s as much as, if not more strongly than, they did high policymaking and financial positions in the central government. The regional origin can be identified for 328 of the 511 prefects serving between 1040 and 1049. Of these 328 officials, 60% were from two physiographic macroregions of North and Northwest China.[25] Men from Kaifeng alone accounted for over 16% of the national total. Together with those from Henan, Zheng, Xu (Yingchang), and Yingtian prefectures,



MAP 3.1A. Prefects in the 1040s cohort by home prefecture. Prefectural boundaries in this map are based on Robert Hartwell's "China Historical Studies" GIS datasets, published by the China Historical GIS project (www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis/data/hartwell/). They are an approximation of Northern Song prefectural boundaries ca. 1080. Thus, for example, the numbers of prefects in our 1040s cohort from Kaifeng (54) and Zheng (13) are aggregated in this map, because Zheng prefecture was abolished into Kaifeng between 1072 and 1085. Thick lines indicate boundaries of G. William Skinner's physiographic macroregions.

men living in the five prefectures along this narrow corridor comprising the principal Song capital with its two auxiliary ones (henceforth, the Capital Corridor) constituted more than one-third (35%) of all prefects in the 1040s, or 59% of the northern-born prefects (table 3.1a). The domination of the Capital Corridor is equally pronounced when the length of term is considered. Men from these prefectures claimed 36% of the total office-years of the prefectural governorship in the 1040s (table 3.1b). Outside this Capital Corridor, by contrast, no prefecture in the north contributed more than six prefects to the cohort.[26]

The ancestral origin of the North China men and their migratory paths will be the subject of a further study. But a cursory inspection of the list reveals a large number of descendants of early Song political elite which

TABLE 3.1A. Regional origin of prefects in the 1040s and 1210s

	Prefects, 1040–1049		Prefects, 1210–1219	
Physiographic Macroregion	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
North China	177	54	—	—
Capital Corridor†	*115*	*35*	—	—
Northwest China	21	6	—	—
Lower Yangzi	58	18	117	42
Grand Canal Band‡	*36*	*11*	*48*	*17*
Coastal Stretch§	*42*	*13*	*169*	*61*
Southeast Coast	33	10	97	35
Middle Yangzi	30	9	41	15
Gan Basin‖	*21*	*6*	*31*	*11*
Upper Yangzi	8	2	22	8
Lingnan	1	0	2	1
Total	328 (183)*	100	279 (255)*	100

Notes: * The number of prefects whose regional origin cannot be identified is in parentheses.

† The Capital Corridor comprises five prefectures in the Song capital region: Henan, Zheng, Xu, Kaifeng, and Yingtian.

‡ The Grand Canal Band comprises a total of seven prefectures, including six along the southern segment of the Grand Canal (Yang, Run, Chang, Su, Xiu, and Hang) and one (Yue) on the Grand Canal's extension.

§ The Coastal Stretch includes ten coastal prefectures (Su, Xiu, Hang, Yue, Ming, Tai, Wen, Fu, Xinghua, and Quan) and two of their inland neighbors (Wu and Hu). Note that although the Coastal Stretch is listed here under the Lower Yangzi macroregion for convenience, it spans two physiographic macroregions, including seven prefectures from the Lower Yangzi and five from the Southeast Coast. Note also that there is an overlap of four prefectures (Su, Xiu, Hang, and Yue) between the Grand Canal Band and the Coastal Stretch.

‖ The Gan Basin includes six prefectures: Ji, Fu, Linjiang, Hong, Rao, and Nankang.

Taizu and Taizong helped mold shortly after the conquest. As far as we can tell from the surviving sources, close to half of the prefects (58 of 115) from the Capital Corridor had a family tradition of officeholding predating the Song conquest. Thirty-seven of them had fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers who served in one or more of the Five Dynasties, while

TABLE 3.1B. Regional origin of prefects in the 1040s and 1210s (percentage of office-years)

Physiographic Macroregion	Prefects (% of office-years) (1040–1049)	Prefects (% of office-years) (1210–1219)	Policy† (% of offices) (1023–1063)	Finance† (% of office-years) (1014–1040)	Finance† (% of office-years) (1041–1067)
North China	57	—	51	48	46
Capital Corridor	*36*	—	—	—	—
Northwest China	6	—	9	12	7
Lower Yangzi	18	41	15	17	22
Grand Canal Band	*12*	*16*	—	—	—
Coastal Stretch	*12*	*59*	—	—	—
Southeast Coast	8	32	9	11	8
Middle Yangzi	9	17	10	8	11
Gan Basin	*6*	*13*	—	—	—
Upper Yangzi	2	10	6	4	7
Lingnan	0	1	1	1	0
Total Number of Offices or Office-Years	1793 (618)*	1116 (723)*	492	609	777

Notes: * Number of office-years for prefects whose regional origin cannot be identified is in parentheses.

† Data on policy-making and finance appointments are included from Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China, 750–1550," 414-15, for comparison with office-holding patterns in prefectural administrations.

sixteen were descendants of rulers and officials in the southern states. Five others were from families which had served under the Kitans and the warlords of Hebei. Jia Changling (d. 1040), for example, descended from a prominent family that claimed to be natives of Hebei but resided in Kaifeng for many generations. His grandfather Yan was on the personal staff of Taizong and his great-grandfather Wei was a secretariat drafter in the Later Jin (936–947). By early Song the Jia had become a big descent group and produced many officials, including another prefect in our 1040s cohort.[27] Chen Yaozuo (963–1044), in contrast, was the son of Xinghua (939–1006), a Sichuan man and official of Later Shu who moved to Zheng and enlisted himself in the Song officialdom. All of Xinghua's three sons passed the civil service examinations under Taizong and Zhenzong, and two ranked first. Yaozuo and one of his brothers would eventually become grand councilors.[28] Likewise, Qian Yanyuan (994–1050) and his brother Mingyi (1015–1071) were members of the Wuyue royal family discussed earlier in this chapter. Their father Yi (*jinshi* of 999) and uncle Kun (*jinshi* of 992) placed high in the examinations.[29]

In sharp contrast with the north, no place in the south dominated the way the Capital Corridor did. Measured by the number of native sons each had in the 1040s cohort, the five most successful places in the south did not cluster at all, but were scattered across three different macroregions: Jian and Fu in the Southeast Coast claimed home to thirteen and eight of the 1040s prefects respectively, Su and Hang in Lower Yangzi claimed ten and eight respectively, and Ji in the Gan Basin of Middle Yangzi claimed another eight (map 3.1a). In the south, what comes closest to the Capital Corridor is a band of prefectures extending along the Grand Canal south of the Huai River: Yang, Run, Chang, Su, Hang, and Yue.[30] Together this Grand Canal Band of prefectures were home to the vast majority (62%) of prefects of Lower Yangzi origin, but they counted only for 28% of all southern-born prefects of the 1040s, or 11% of all prefects in the 1040s cohort whose geographical origin is identified. Although centuries of economic and cultural development in the Lower Yangzi Delta certainly contributed to this success, this distinctive geographical distribution suggests strongly the extended political influence of the Song capitals, to which the Grand Canal provided convenient access. In fact, the canal was a major waterway that also ran through most of the prefectures in the Capital Corridor.

Southern success in the 1040s, however, was largely limited to the east of the mountain ranges that formed the western and southern borders of Middle Yangzi, separating it from the Sichuan basin (Upper Yangzi) and

TABLE 3.2. Regional origin of southern-born prefects

	Prefects, 1040–1049		Prefects, 1210–1219	
Physiographic Macroregion	**No.**	**%**	**No.**	**%**
Lower Yangzi	58	48	117	42
Grand Canal Band	*36*	*28*	*48*	*17*
Coastal Stretch	*42*	*32*	*169*	*61*
Southeast Coast	33	25	97	35
Middle Yangzi	30	23	41	15
Gan Basin	*21*	*16*	*31*	*11*
Upper Yangzi	8	6	22	8
Lingnan	1	1	2	1
Total	130	100	279	100

Lingnan. Only a negligible fraction of the 1040s prefects claimed the latter two as home.

At first sight, this pattern of multicentered political success in South China seems to have continued into the early thirteenth century. The Lower Yangzi continued to contribute about 42% of the men who headed prefectural administration in the 1210s, roughly comparable to its share (48%) of southern-born prefects in the 1040s (table 3.2). The Southeast Coast gained considerably, much at the expense of the Middle Yangzi. This was largely the result of the extraordinary success gained by the two coastal prefectures of Tai and Wen (Rui'an) by the early thirteenth century. While they did not contribute any prefect in the 1040s, in the 1210s they together contributed thirty-three. The rest of the Southeast Coast, by comparison, in the 1210s contributed almost exactly the same share of southern-born prefects (23%) as it did in the 1040s (25%).

The remarkable achievements of Tai and Wen men in the 1210s signaled a new pattern of political success in the early thirteenth century, which favored coastal prefectures. This pattern was concealed by the apparent continuity in macroregional-level statistics, because the rise and fall of fortunes between the 1040s and 1210s often occurred *within* macroregional borders and tended to cancel out in the aggregates. Besides Tai and Wen, several other prefectures also reaped great success in the 1210s. These include Ming

(Qingyuan) and Xiu (Jiaxing), located on the coast of the Lower Yangzi region, and two of their neighbors, Hu (Anji) and Wu. In the 1040s these four prefectures produced only three prefects (i.e., 5% of those of Lower Yangzi origin), while in the 1210s fifty-seven of their sons made it to prefectural governorship (i.e., close to 49% of the prefects from the Lower Yangzi).[31] Their success was at the expense of the Grand Canal Band, whose share of southern-born prefects dropped from 28% to 17%. Prefectures located along this Grand Canal near the Song–Jin border and away from the coast (i.e., Yang, Run, and Chang) experienced the most remarkable reversal of fortune. The number of men from this cluster of prefectures holding prefectural governorships declined in absolute terms even though the Lower Yangzi region as a whole contributed twice as many prefects in the 1210s than it did in the 1040s. In the Southeast Coast, there was a similar trend in favor of coastal prefectures. Fu prefecture, south of Wen on the coast, gained at the expense of its northern inland neighbor of Jian. The number of Fu prefecture natives increased from eight in the 1040s to twenty-five in the 1210s, while that of Jian (Jianning) plummeted from thirteen to five. Further down the coast, Xinghua and Quan prefectures also had a significantly larger number of native sons holding prefectural governorship in the 1210s than in the 1040s. In Xinghua the number doubled, and in Quan it tripled.

These extraordinarily successful prefectures, along with Su (Pingjiang), Hang (Lin'an), and Yue (Shaoxing), formed a continuous stretch along the coast of East China Sea, extending from Quan prefecture in the south, meandering along the coast and through the Lower Yangzi Delta all the way to Su prefecture in the north. Sprawling across the macroregions of Lower Yangzi and the Southeast Coast, this stretch consisted of ten coastal prefectures and two of their inland neighbors (Wu and Hu), including the top eleven prefectures which contributed the largest number of prefects to the 1210s cohort. Together, this Coastal Stretch of twelve prefectures supplied 169 prefects in the 1210s, or 61% of the entire cohort. Its success in the 1210s even overshadowed that of the Capital Corridor of the 1040s.

This pattern suggests a logic of success completely different from the 1040s. First, no single prefecture in the 1210s dominated the supply of prefectural governors in the way Kaifeng did during the 1040s. Men from even the most successful prefecture of the 1210s accounted for only less than 9% of the entire cohort. Second, this most successful prefecture was Fu, not the new capital Lin'an. Lin'an fell far short of what Kaifeng had achieved and contributed a mere 4% of the 1210s cohort, and its success was surpassed by that of several other prefectures besides Fu, most of which did not border

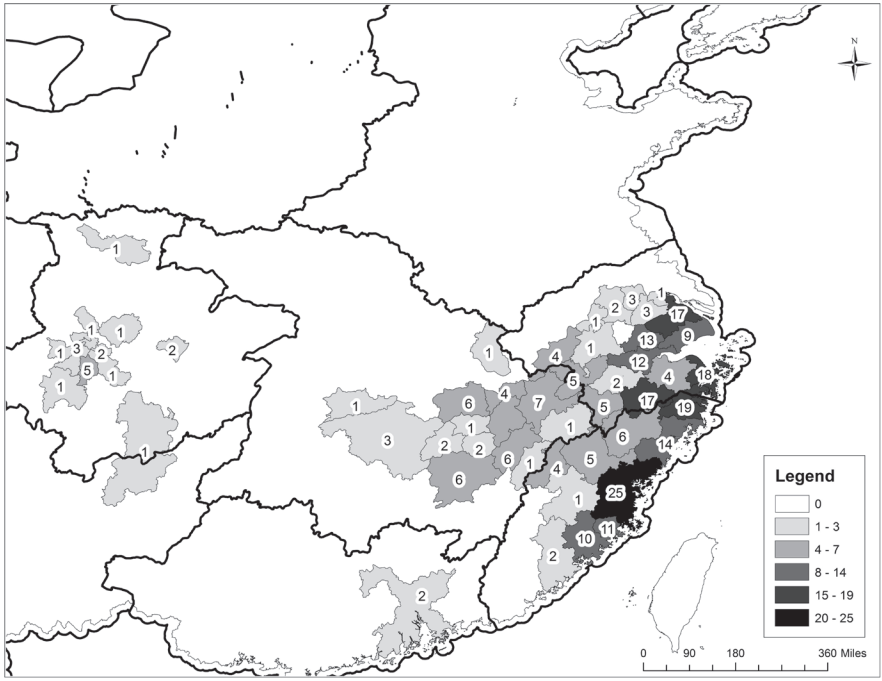
the new capital. The prefectures bordering the capital, in contrast, were a mix of successful and unsuccessful ones. In other words, political success in the 1210s seems to derive from the prosperity of the coast rather than the influence of the political center.

That no single prefecture in the 1210s could overshadow their neighbors in the supply of prefects was a general trend in the south. In the Upper Yangzi, a total of six prefectures in the 1040s produced eight prefects, of whom Chengdu alone claimed home to three. In the 1210s, by contrast, the twenty-two prefects of Upper Yangzi origin hailed from a total of twelve prefectures. Despite the continuing importance of Chengdu, which claimed home to three of the twenty prefects, its success was overtaken by that of Mei and Long, each producing three and five prefects in the 1210s respectively. Even outside the Chengdu plain, prefectures like Guang'an and Lu also had natives holding prefectural governorship in the 1210s.

In the Middle Yangzi, too, although the traditional centers of success along the Gan River, Ji and Hong (Longxing) in particular, continued to thrive in the 1210s, their neighbors located on other tributaries of the Poyang Lake such as Nankang, Rao, and Fu were quickly catching up. Through the prefectures of Hui (known in the 1040s as She), Qu, Chu, Jianning, and Shaowu lying in between, which were almost equally successful, the runner-up band of prefectures in the Gan–Poyang area was spatially connected to the superstars of the Coastal Stretch, forming a largely contiguous expanse of territory that supplied the vast majority of prefects in the 1210s (map 3.1b).

This finding, however, needs to be qualified, because of data lacuna on governors of Sichuan prefectures in the Li Zhiliang lists. While Li has surveyed all prefectures in Fujian, Liangzhe, and Jiangnan East and West, he has included only eleven of the sixty-three prefectures in Sichuan in his study. Since Sichuan men entered civil service in large numbers only after the 1040s and after the late eleventh century they tended to hold local offices only inside Sichuan, the combined effect of these trends implies that the prefectures ignored in Li Zhiliang's lists are likely to report a higher proportion of Sichuan-born prefects in the 1210s than the prefectures Li surveys.[32] Correction of this bias therefore means a somewhat higher proportion of Sichuan-born prefects in the 1210s cohort and a lower proportion of those from other regions. This is unlikely to shake the dominance of men from coastal prefectures in the 1210s, but it will certainly reduce the magnitude of that dominance.[33]

The foregoing discussions suggest two conclusions. First, prefectural governorship in the 1040s was vested, first and foremost, in the hands of a



MAP 3.1B. Prefects in the 1210s cohort by home prefecture. Prefectural boundaries in this map are based on Robert Hartwell's "China Historical Studies" GIS datasets, published by the China Historical GIS project (www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis/data/hartwell/). They are an approximation of Southern Song prefectural boundaries ca. 1200. Thick lines indicate boundaries of G. William Skinner's physiographic macroregions.

capital-oriented, though not necessarily capital-dwelling, political elite. The capital region of the Northern Song (Henan–Yingtian corridor) and, in part due to its extended influence, the band of prefectures along the southern segment of the Grand Canal, supplied about half of the men who headed prefectural administration between 1040 and 1049. By the 1210s, however, the influence of the capital had waned, while economic prosperity and by implication educational investment had become the main determinants of political success. As a result, the new center of success which produced at least half of the prefects in the 1210s was now a stretch of prefectures, extending along the eastern seacoast from Fujian to the Lower Yangzi Delta.

Second, by the time the Song finished its unification campaigns in the late tenth century, the spatial pattern of development in South China had become significantly different from that in the north. Instead of having one center, it had many. This multicenteredness seems to have continued into the

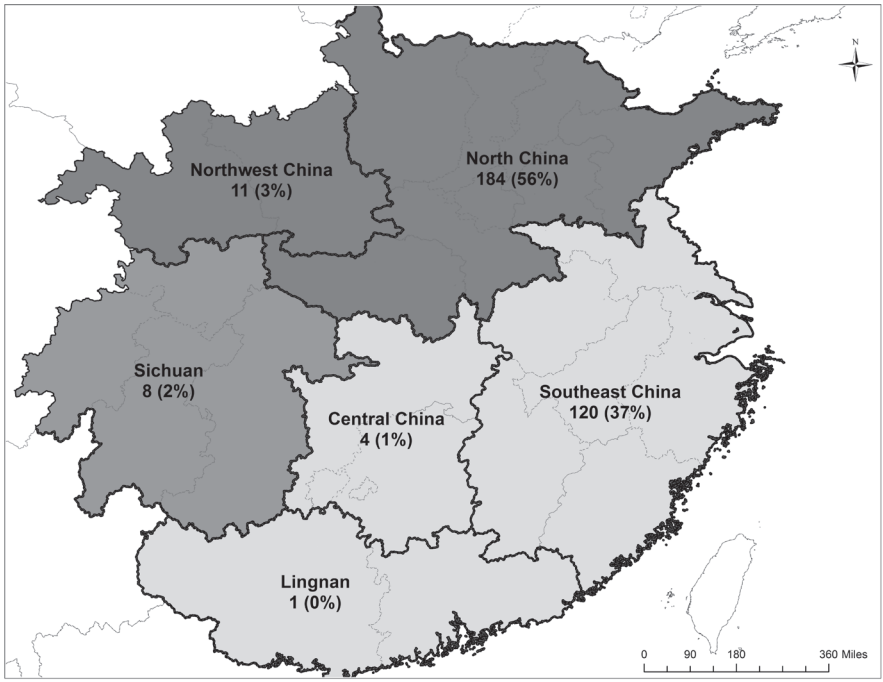
1040s, when the Lower Yangzi Delta, Northern Fujian, and the Gan Basin each claimed one or two of the top four most successful southern prefectures. One might say that this multicenteredness of South China also continued into the 1210s. But by then access to political power had spread to such an extent that what had been relatively isolated pockets of success in Fujian, Liangzhe, and Jiangnan West had now been connected into a contiguous expanse, facilitating social interactions between officials of varied prefectural origins and rendering previous demarcations of different southern regions unrecognizable and arguably irrelevant. Only Sichuan existed as a center of political success in the west, separated from those in the east by the political backwaters of Jinghu and Guangnan.

PATTERNS OF APPOINTMENT IN THE 1040S

A recent study of the late Tang political elite notes a clear distinction between capital and provincial elites that persisted into the ninth century. While capital elites, based nearly exclusively in the twin capitals of the Tang (Chang'an and Luoyang), had strong family traditions of officeholding and served in offices of national prominence all across the empire, their provincial counterparts were usually born to families with very weak or no links to Tang officialdom and tended to serve occasionally and in only local offices near their homes.[34] In other words, political power as late as in the ninth century was largely monopolized by capital-based elites and beyond the reach of those living in the provinces.

Consistent with earlier scholarship on Song examinations and bureaucracy, the preceding discussions on regional origin of Song prefects suggest a far more open political system in the mid-eleventh century. Although officials in the Song Capital Corridor continued to claim a disproportionate share of prefectural governorships in the 1040s, an equally impressive number of prefects in the 1040s were nevertheless recruited from men outside the capital region. Whether these men at some point in their life relocated to Kaifeng or Luoyang, thus joining the ranks of the Song capital elite, is a different issue. The point here is that they formed a group different from both the capital elite and the provincial elite of late Tang: they were of provincial origins but nevertheless carved out a career of national prominence.

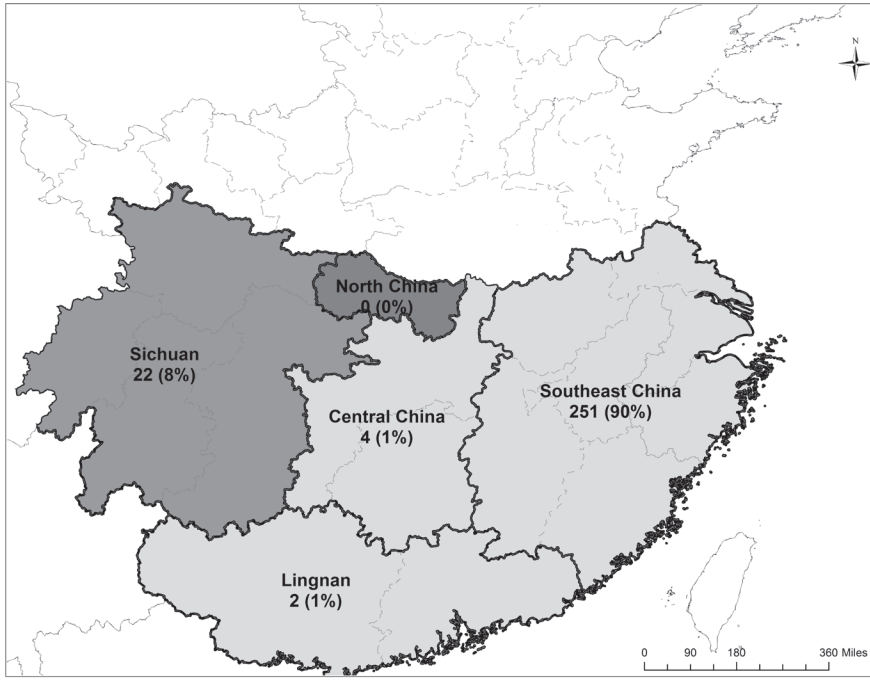
An investigation of the entire set of Li Zhiliang's lists shows that prefects of the 1040s typically had assignments in more than one region over the course of their life, regardless of their place of origin. Since administrative boundaries are likely more relevant than the physiographic macroregions in the Song think-



MAP 3.2A. Prefects in the 1040s cohort by home administrative macroregion (AMR). AMR boundaries in this map are based on Northern Song circuit boundaries ca. 1080 in Robert Hartwell's "China Historical Studies" GIS datasets, published by the China Historical GIS project (www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis/data/hartwell/).

ing on bureaucratic appointments, here I redraw the borders of macroregions along circuit boundaries. Thus, the Song dynasty is divided into six administrative macroregions (AMRs), which are employed as the geographical units of analysis in the following analysis (maps 3.2a and 3.2b). These AMRs are North China, Northwest China, Southeast China, Sichuan, Central China, and Lingnan, each consisting of several circuits specified in the notes of table 3.3.[35]

Excluding those who have only one prefect appointment documented in Li's lists, which by definition limits the geographical scope of their service to one AMR, the vast majority (78%) of the men from the 1040s cohort served as prefects in two or more AMRs and 40% served in three or more AMRs (table 3.3). This is true for both North China and Southeast China, the two AMRs which supplied the largest number of prefects in the 1040s. A comparison between prefects hailing from the Capital Corridor and those from other places in North China, too, does not yield any significant difference in their pattern of geographical rotation.



MAP 3.2B. Prefects in the 1210s cohort by home administrative macroregion (AMR). AMR boundaries in this map are based on Southern Song circuit boundaries ca. 1200 in Robert Hartwell's "China Historical Studies" GIS datasets, published by the China Historical GIS project (www.fas.harvard.edu/~chgis/data/hartwell/). Thus, for example, some prefectures along the western end of Song–Jin border (e.g., Jie, Xihe, and Jin), which became part of Lizhou circuit in Southern Song, are included in the Sichuan AMR.

The practice of rotating prefects all across the empire in the 1040s, however, was counterbalanced by a willingness to give officials prefect appointments near their homes. Table 3.4a reports the appointments to prefectship received by officials from a given AMR as a percentage of all known appointments to prefectship they received through their life. As before, those who have only one appointment to prefectship documented in Li Zhiliang's rosters are excluded from these calculations. The statistics in this table show that men from North, Northwest, and Southeast China, which comprised the vast majority of the 1040s cohort of prefects (315 of 328), received about half of their prefect appointments in their home AMR. These numbers remain robust after excluding those who, to the best of our knowledge, served only in a single AMR (table 3.4b). This means that even those who had the experience of being transferred across different

TABLE 3.3. Careers of prefects from 1040–1049 and 1210–1219

	No. of AMRs Posted to as Prefect							
	Number and Percentage of Officials in the 1040s Cohort Posted as Prefect to One or More AMRs					Number and Percentage of Officials in the 1210s Cohort Posted as Prefect to One or More AMRs		
Home AMR	**One**	**Two**	**Three**	**Four**	**Five**	**One**	**Two**	**Three**
North China	34 (22%)	60 (38%)	42 (27%)	19 (12%)	2 (1%)	—	—	—
Capital Corridor	*26 (27%)*	*38 (39%)*	*23 (23%)*	*10 (10%)*	*1 (1%)*	—	—	—
Northwest China	0	3 (43%)	4 (57%)	0	0	—	—	—
Southeast China	23 (25%)	36 (39%)	20 (22%)	12 (13%)	1(1%)	92 (55%)	66 (39%)	10 (6%)
Grand Canal Band	*11 (38%)*	*5 (17%)*	*7 (24%)*	*6 (21%)*	*0*	*21 (62%)*	*13 (38%)*	*0*
Coastal Stretch	*9 (31%)*	*10 (34%)*	*6 (21%)*	*4 (14%)*	*0*	*72 (61%)*	*44 (37%)*	*3 (3%)*
Central China	0	2 (67%)	0	1 (33%)	0	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)
Sichuan	0	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	0	0	5 (45%)	2 (18%)	4 (36%)
Lingnan	0	0	0	1 (100%)	0	0	0	1 (100%)
Total	**57 (22%)**	**102 (39%)**	**69 (26%)**	**33 (13%)**	**3 (1%)**	**97 (53%)**	**69 (38%)**	**16 (9%)**

Notes: Only officials with appointment to more than one prefecture recorded in Li Zhiliang's lists are included in this analysis. When an official received multiple governor appointments to the same prefecture, only one is counted. In this analysis, the Song dynasty is divided into six administrative macroregions (AMRs). North China includes Kaifeng and the circuits of Jingdong East and West, Jingxi North and South, Hebei East and West, and Hedong; Northwest China includes the two Shaanxi circuits of Yongxingjun and Qinfeng; Southeast China includes Huainan East and West, Liangzhe, Jiangnan East and West, and Fujian; Sichuan includes Chengdufu, Tongchuanfu, Lizhou and Zizhou circuits; Central China includes Jinghu North and South; and Lingnan includes Guangnan East and West.

TABLE 3.4A. Proportion of prefect appointments inside home AMR

	No. and Percentage of Prefect Appointments Inside Home AMR			
	The 1040s Cohort		The 1210s Cohort	
Home AMR of the Prefect	**No. (%)**	**N=**	**No. (%)**	**N=**
North China	468 (53%)	888	—	—
Northwest China	18 (46%)	39	—	—
Southeast China	297 (57%)	518	401 (78%)	512
Central China	2 (13%)	16	4 (44%)	9
Sichuan	0	18	24 (53%)	45
Lingnan	3 (43%)	7	2 (50%)	4
Total	788 (53%)	1486	429 (75%)	570

Note: Only officials with appointment to more than one prefecture recorded in Li Zhiliang's rosters are included in this analysis. When an official received multiple governor appointments to the same prefecture, only one is counted. Sample size (N) is the total number of prefect appointments recorded in Li Zhiliang's lists for men of each region whose place of origin can be identified.

TABLE 3.4B. Proportion of prefect appointments inside home AMR

	No. and Percentage of Prefect Appointments Inside Home AMR			
	The 1040s Cohort		The 1210s Cohort	
Home AMR of the prefect	**No. (%)**	**N=**	**No. (%)**	**N=**
North China	395 (51%)	779	—	—
Northwest China	18 (46%)	39	—	—
Southeast China	227 (51%)	442	146 (59%)	248
Central China	2 (13%)	16	4 (44%)	9
Sichuan	0	18	19 (58%)	33
Lingnan	3 (43%)	7	2 (50%)	4
Total	645 (50%)	1301	171 (58%)	294

Note: Only officials who served as prefects in more than one AMR are included in this analysis. When an official received multiple governor appointments to the same prefecture, only one is counted. Sample size (N) is the total number of prefect appointments recorded in Li Zhiliang's lists for men of each region whose place of origin can be identified and who is known to have served as prefects in more than one AMR during his entire career.

administrative regions nevertheless held half of their prefectural governorships in their home region. This is consistent with the findings of Brian E. McKnight in his study on governors of Hang and Fu prefectures during Northern Song. He shows that since Renzong's reign (1022–1063) governors of both prefectures had come predominantly from nearby regions. He also shows that prefects of Hang were also most likely to be serving in nearby circuits immediately before and after their assignment to Hang.[36] A notable exception is Sichuan. Prefects of Sichuan origin in the 1040s cohort were not appointed as governor of any prefecture in Sichuan over the course of their life. This resulted from a policy prohibiting native incumbency of local offices that lasted longer in Sichuan than elsewhere.[37] Men from Central China also seem to have received a lower percentage of appointments as prefects in their home AMR on average, though the sample size (a total of eighteen appointments made to three prefects) for this region is extremely small.

The case of Liu Hang (995–1060) helps illustrate the way in which a tendency toward native incumbency existed alongside empire-wide rotations. Liu was a native of Ji prefecture, Jiangnan West circuit, who obtained his *jinshi* degree in 1030. Li Zhiliang's series report a total of thirteen prefectures he governed during his lifetime. Nine of them were in the south, five of which were in Southeast China (including three in the Jiangnan circuits, one in Huainan West, and another in Fujian) and four in Central China. But he also received three appointments in North China and one in the Northwest. Thus, even though he had a career that spanned four different macroregions, seven of his prefect appointments were within an approximately three-hundred-mile radius of his home prefecture. His most distant appointment to prefectural governorship was in Yongxing, about seven hundred miles northwest of home.[38]

This combination reflects a compromise between conflicting policy goals and with the constraints of social realities. First, the Song administrative geography differs from its geography of political success. In the 1040s, as shown earlier, the political elite came predominantly from a small number of prefectures in North China and along the Grand Canal. They were more from economic and political centers than elsewhere. By comparison, the administrative geography followed a different logic. Prefectures, more often a tool of the state for establishing military control than extracting revenues, were more likely than counties to be found away from major population and economic centers.[39] This created problems of not just financing, but also staffing. From the early years of the Song, officials had frowned upon appointments to places that were located in less developed areas and far

away from home. Recruiting local men without necessary educational and administrative credentials was a possibility, but it raised the question of loyalty and was in obvious conflict with the professed ideals of those who ran the Song bureaucracy. The tension between effectiveness and loyalty is the second issue the Song confronted. An effective government favors appointments of men who came from a place close to their jurisdiction. It minimizes expenses of travel and lowers linguistic and cultural barriers. But loyalty to dynastic interests demands frequent rotations and appointments away from the official's home region in order to avoid conflicts of interests. Obviously, the challenge of staffing local administrations was most serious on the frontiers, where the supply of native officials was short, the positions least attractive, and concerns about loyalty paramount.

In the first decades of Song rule, concerns over loyalty prevailed over all the others. In 982 the court issued an edict that banned natives of the south from serving as prefects, vice prefects, or fiscal intendants in their home circuits.[40] It also forbade officials posted to the south from bringing their family along with them, which made appointments to these places even more undesirable.[41] In order to staff these local offices, the court offered incentives to those serving there, such as higher salaries, quicker promotions, and a shorter waiting period between appointments.[42] But it also did not hesitate to force through its will. Around 976, for instance, when a junior official complained of his recent assignment as prefectural registrar in Guangnan, the court exiled him to an even more distant island, making an example of him to all those who tried to evade assignments in distant places.[43] It also used a disproportionately high number of aged, incapable, and corrupt officials as governors of distant prefectures, but their malfeasance raised concerns at court and also provoked local protests.[44]

In the early years of his reign, Renzong undertook a series of measures to reform and regularize the personnel system. By this time, and perhaps much earlier, prohibitions against southern men serving in their home circuit had also been lifted, except in Sichuan, where a series of rebellions following the Song conquest persuaded the court to keep it under watchful eyes for a few more years.[45] The court also gave candidates more liberty in choosing the places they wanted to serve.[46] The most important change came with a ruling in 1027. By then the Song had legislated a system known as "qualification sequence" (*zixu*), in which an official had to acquire adequate experience in a series of local offices at lower levels before he could be promoted to higher level positions. What the ruling of 1027 did was it regularized the geography of appointment by incorporating postings to distant and near places into this

sequence of qualifications and requiring the fulfillment of a certain number of terms in distant circuits.[47]

PATTERNS OF APPOINTMENT IN THE 1210S

The spatial logic of employing men more or less close to their homes becomes more pronounced at a higher level of aggregation. Defining North and South China roughly along the Huai and the Han rivers, which approximates the dividing line between the Five Dynasties and the southern states in the preceding period of disunity, it becomes clear that northerners in the 1040s cohort served predominantly in the north, whereas southerners in the south. Sichuan natives, barred from serving in Sichuan, were posted predominantly to prefectures in the south (table 3.5). Thus, in the 1040s, with the exception of the Sichuanese, the average distance from a perfect's home locale to where he was posted was roughly in the range of 300 to 400 miles, though on the other side the standard deviation for the distance was also very high (table 3.6).

The tendency to employ officials as governors of prefectures in their home region persisted into the early thirteenth century and became stronger. The court became more tolerant of officials who refused appointments too far from their homes. In the Southern Song, with its smaller territory, the Ministry of Personnel offered a new definition of "distant" and "near" appointments in 1133. Whereas the distant circuits (Fujian, Guangnan, and Sichuan) in the Northern Song were usually over 800 miles away from the capital, the new definition regarded any assignment 1000 *li* (384 miles) away from the court as "distant."[48] Consistent with this stipulation, tables 3.4a and

TABLE 3.5. The North–South contradistinction in office-holding among the 1040s cohort

	Posted To			
From	**The North**	**Sichuan**	**The South**	**Sample Size**
The North	677 (71%)	24 (3%)	257 (27%)	958
Sichuan	8 (36%)	0	14 (64%)	22
The South	174 (31%)	5 (1%)	391 (69%)	570

Note: The North and the South are defined roughly along the course of the Huai and the Han rivers. As will be discussed later, Sichuan represents a special case and is treated separately. Thus, the two AMRs of North China and Northwest China constitute the North in this table; the Sichuan AMR is coextensive with Sichuan here; all other AMRs are considered part of the South.

3.4b show that compared to their 1040s counterparts, the 1210s cohort generally received a higher proportion of appointments to prefectures in their home region. By the 1210s, even Sichuan men were no longer an exception. Like those from other parts of the Song, Sichuan-born prefects in the 1210s typically had half of their appointments in Sichuan. The average distance from a Sichuan man's home to the prefecture where he was posted, therefore, dropped dramatically from over 840 to about 470 miles (table 3.6). There is reason to believe that even these figures are conservative estimates. As noted earlier, only eleven out of sixty-three prefectures in Sichuan are included in Li Zhiliang's surveys while his lists are far more comprehensive on most of the other southern regions. To include more Sichuan prefectures in the dataset will almost certainly increase the number of appointments given to Sichuan natives and shrink further the geographical scope of bureaucratic rotations among Sichuan-born prefects. In fact, my earlier study of Sichuan men's careers based on funerary epitaphs shows that between 1128 and 1241 about 94% of Sichuan-born officials received 80% or more of their local government assignments within Sichuan itself.[49]

This finding remains robust in a more detailed analysis, which looks at subdivisions of the AMRs, each consisting of no more than two circuits (tables 3.7a and 3.7b). That the diagonal values are the greatest in nearly every row of table 3.7b means that the 1210s cohort of prefects, regardless of their geographical origins, consistently received the largest proportion of their prefect appointments in or very close to their home circuit. This

TABLE 3.6. The geographical scope of prefect appointments

Home AMR of the Prefect	Distance from Home to the Prefecture Posted To (miles)					
	The 1040s Cohort			The 1210s Cohort		
	mean	s.d.	N	mean	s.d.	N
North China	318.6	223.8	915	—	—	—
Northwest China	294.2	231.6	43	—	—	—
Southeast China	367.5	249.0	546	319.2	204.2	595
Central China	445.6	186.5	17	280.5	161.0	11
Sichuan	843.3	217.3	22	456.7	361.3	56
Lingnan	291.1	322.2	7	449.1	404.3	5
Empire-wide	343.9	241.9	1550	331.1	225.7	667

TABLE 3.7A. Patterns of prefect appointments by subregion of AMRs: Geographical distribution of prefect appointments made to the 1040s cohort

	Percentage of Prefect Assignments Received in AMR and Its Subregions														
Home AMR and Subregions	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	**XI**	**XII**	**XIII**	**XIV**	**N=**
North China															
I. Kaifeng	2	10	19	20	4	16	13	3	6	1	3	1	0	2	259
II. Jingdong	3	**19**	13	10	5	16	10	8	7	2	3	2	0	2	222
III. Jingxi	4	6	**20**	17	5	20	8	7	3	1	4	2	0	4	275
IV. Hebei	1	7	5	**28**	8	20	4	8	4	2	5	3	2	5	106
V. Hedong	2	13	13	23	11	25	4	2	2	0	4	2	0	0	53
VI. Northwest China	0	2	9	9	7	**47**	7	9	0	0	2	2	2	2	43
Southeast China															
VII. Huainan	3	9	10	9	0	10	**23**	16	12	3	2	1	0	2	105
VIII. Liangzhe	3	6	3	2	2	10	12	**31**	13	9	4	1	1	5	173
IX. Jiangnan	2	5	14	4	2	7	14	6	**22**	5	12	1	0	6	161
X. Fujian	4	2	8	3	1	3	14	17	17	14	7	1	0	10	107
XI. Central China	0	0	24	6	0	24	6	12	12	0	12	0	0	6	17
Sichuan															

XII. Chengdufu and Tongchuanfu	5	5	10	0	0	<u>19</u>	19	<u>19</u>	14	0	5	0	0	5	21
XIII. Lizhou and Kuizhou	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<u>100</u>	0	0	0	0	0	1
XIV. Lingnan	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	29	0	14	0	0	**43**	7

Note: Sample size (N) is the number of all prefect appointments received by prefects from each AMR or its subdivision *during his entire career*. Only prefect appointments documented in Li Zhiliang's lists are included. When an official received multiple governor appointments to the same prefecture, only one is counted. Prefect appointments made to men whose regional origin cannot be identified are also excluded from this table. The columns give the AMRs (or its subregions) where a prefect was posted. The largest number in each row is bold face if it is also on the diagonal line, indicating that the home AMR (or subregion) of the prefects were also where they received the largest percentage of prefect appointments; it is underlined if it is not on the diagonal line, indicating that the largest percentage of appointments to prefectship were outside the prefects' home AMR (or subregion).

TABLE 3.7B. Patterns of prefect appointments by subregion of AMRs: Geographical distribution of prefect appointments made to the 1210s cohort

	Percentage of Prefect Assignments Received in AMR and Its Subregions									
Home AMR and Subregions	**III**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	**XI**	**XII**	**XIII**	**XIV**	**N=**
North China										
III. Jingxi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southeast China										
VII. Huainan	0	0	0	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
VIII. Liangzhe	2	15	**32**	27	9	11	1	1	3	340
IX. Jiangnan	1	15	19	**25**	12	13	5	5	6	128
X. Fujian	1	10	13	18	**24**	10	0	3	21	126
XI. Central China	9	0	9	27	0	**45**	0	0	9	11
Sichuan										
XII. Chengdufu and Tongchuanfu	2	6	7	11	2	20	**39**	13	0	54
XIII. Lizhou and Kuizhou	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**100**	0	2
XIV. Lingnan	0	20	0	0	0	0	20	0	**60**	5

Note: See table 3.7a.

proportion was consistently between 20% and 30% where the sample size is large.[50] I think we should see this as further development of a practice the Song had already adopted in the 1040s. An analysis of the careers of the 1040s cohort in table 3.7a shows that it was already common in the mid-eleventh century for men from many different parts of the Song, north and south alike, to receive 20% or more of their prefect appointments in or very close to their home circuit.

As we have seen in the careers of the 1040s cohort, serving most often in one's home region does not necessarily preclude one from also having some experience of serving in a few other regions. But there is clearly a parallel shift toward less geographical diversity in the careers of the 1210s cohort of prefects. As discussed earlier, although the 1040s prefects often received 40% to 50% of appointments inside their home AMR, most of them nonetheless had fairly rich experience governing prefectures in multiple other regions. About 40% of them received appointments to prefectship in three or more

AMRs. This was true for both North and Southeast China, which supplied the vast majority of prefects in the 1040s. In sharp contrast, a mere 6% of the prefects from Southeast China in the 1210s had such experience. Li Zhiliang's data do show a higher percentage of prefects born in Central China, Lingnan, and Sichuan serving in more than two AMRs, but again Li's data for these regions are limited and that for Sichuan skewed.

Compare Liu Hang with Zhao Shanxiang (*jinshi* of 1196), the person from the 1210s cohort with the greatest number of prefect appointments recorded in Li's lists. An imperial clansman, his father fled the Jurchen invasions and settled in the Ming prefecture in the early Southern Song. He was made prefect in nine different locations over the course of his career, with five in Liangzhe (including one to his home prefecture), three in Huainan, and one in Jiangnan East. All appointments were in the Southeast China macroregion, all but one within 300 miles of his home. He was offered an opportunity to serve in Chengdu, but he declined.[51]

The practice of employing men to govern prefectures close to their homes created in Liangzhe and the heartland of Sichuan (i.e., Chengdufu and Tongchuanfu circuits) a situation during the 1210s where prefectural administrations were predominantly headed by natives of these regions (table 3.8b). But less successful regions had fewer natives to fill up all the vacancies of prefectural governorship, so much so that they relied on their successful neighbors for additional manpower. Again, the rule of geographical proximity was at work, leading to a clear division of labor between the successful regions. As table 3.8b shows, prefects in the peripheral circuits of Sichuan (Lizhou and Kuizhou circuits) hailed predominantly from the heartland of Sichuan, while Liangzhe in the 1210s supplied most of the men needed to run prefectural administrations in Central China, Jiangnan, and Fujian. The reason why Fujian, itself a very successful region in the 1210s, had many of its prefectures governed by Liangzhe men seems to be that the Fujianese were employed in large numbers to staff prefectural positions in Lingnan (table 3.8b).

Again, here one can see notable parallels and contrasts with the 1040s (table 3.8a). Back then the division of labor was between men from North China, in particular Kaifeng, and those from Southeast China. Much like in the 1210s, natives of Liangzhe and Jiangnan, where all but one of the Grand Canal Band prefectures were located, claimed the largest share of prefectural governorships in these circuits in the 1040s. More than any of the other regions, they also provided the human resources needed for governing prefectures in Central China and Fujian, whereas Fujian overshadowed all other circuits as the chief source of talents for staffing the office of prefect in

TABLE 3.8A. Regional origin of prefects by subregion of AMRs: Prefects in office between 1040 and 1049

	Regional Origin (%) of Prefects Posted to AMR and Its Subregions													
Home AMR and Subregions	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	**XI**	**XII**	**XIII**	**XIV**
North China														
I. Kaifeng	**26**	23	19	**35**	**23**	18	**20**	4	10	7	20	9	25	7
II. Jingdong	21	**26**	13	9	19	13	16	12	9	10	9	18	25	4
III. Jingxi	21	15	**30**	23	19	**22**	11	12	7	7	9	**27**	0	11
IV. Hebei	5	9	2	13	10	9	3	7	4	3	6	18	25	11
V. Hedong	0	6	3	7	13	4	1	0	1	0	3	9	0	0
VI. Northwest China	0	0	2	3	10	8	3	3	0	0	3	0	0	4
Southeast China														
VII. Huainan	5	8	7	3	0	5	15	6	3	3	3	0	0	4
VIII. Liangzhe	16	8	3	2	3	11	11	**34**	18	**24**	9	9	25	14
IX. Jiangnan	0	2	10	4	3	4	10	3	**24**	**24**	**26**	0	0	14
X. Fujian	5	4	7	0	0	2	6	13	13	21	11	9	0	**25**
XI. Central China	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0

Sichuan														
XII. Chengdufu and Tongchuanfu	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	4	3	0	3	0	0	4
XIII. Lizhou and Kuizhou	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
XIV. Lingnan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
N =	19 (0)	53 (7)	88 (6)	98 (11)	31 (4)	131 (18)	79 (14)	68 (29)	67 (31)	29 (14)	35 (24)	11 (5)	4 (3)	28 (36)

Note: Sample size (N) is the total number of prefect appointments documented by Li Zhiliang in each AMR or its subdivision between 1040 and 1049. The number of prefect appointments made to men whose regional origin cannot be identified are given in parentheses but excluded from the calculations. The columns give the AMRs (or its subregions) where a prefect was posted. The largest number in each column is bold face, highlighting the major source of prefects in each AMR (or subregion) between 1040 and 1049.

TABLE 3.8B. Regional origin of prefects by subregion of AMRs:
Prefects in office between 1210 and 1219

	Regional Origin (%) of Prefects Posted to AMR and Its Subregions								
Home AMR and Subregions	**III**	**VII**	**VIII**	**IX**	**X**	**XI**	**XII**	**XIII**	**XIV**
North China									
III. Jingxi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Southeast China									
VII. Huainan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
VIII. Liangzhe	**56**	**60**	**73**	**58**	**45**	**39**	5	19	26
IX. Jiangnan	11	25	13	19	19	25	21	19	12
X. Fujian	11	12	10	15	36	16	0	19	**56**
XI. Central China	11	0	1	1	0	7	0	0	3
Sichuan									
XII. Chengdufu and Tongchuanfu	11	1	2	6	0	13	**74**	**31**	0
XIII. Lizhou and Kuizhou	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
XIV. Lingnan	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
N =	9 (4)	68 (36)	82 (41)	104 (67)	42 (20)	56 (48)	19 (10)	16 (13)	34 (52)

Note: Sample size (N) is the total number of prefect appointments documented by Li Zhiliang in each AMR or its subdivision between 1210 and 1219. The number of prefect appointments made to men whose regional origin cannot be identified are given in parentheses but excluded from the calculations. The columns give the AMRs (or its subregions) where a prefect was posted. The largest number in each column is bolded, highlighting the major source of prefects in each AMR (or subregion) between 1210 and 1219.

Lingnan. In contrast, officials of Kaifeng, Jingdong, and Jingxi origins were the largest group among the prefects of Hebei, Hedong, Huainan, Northwest China, and the distant Sichuan.

With North China men out of the picture in the 1210s, their role was largely taken over by Liangzhe men, and the new division of labor was between them and those from Sichuan and Fujian. Without the rivalry of northerners, the percentage of prefect appointments made to Liangzhe men throughout Southeast China increased from about 20% to 30% to around 50% to 60% or greater. They also outnumbered Jiangnan men among the

TABLE 3.9A. The east–west contradistinction in officeholding among the 1210s cohort: Sichuan versus the South

	Posted To			
From	**The North**	**Sichuan**	**The South**	**Sample Size**
Sichuan	1 (2%)	30 (54%)	25 (45%)	56
The South	9 (1%)	23 (4%)	579 (95%)	611

Note: For definitions of the North, the South, and Sichuan, see table 3.5.

TABLE 3.9B. The east–west contradistinction in officeholding among the 1210s cohort: by administrative macroregions (AMRs)

	Posted To					
From	**North China**	**Southeast China**	**Central China**	**Sichuan**	**Lingnan**	**Sample Size**
Southeast China	8 (1%)	454 (76%)	66 (11%)	22 (4%)	45 (8%)	595
Central China	1 (9%)	4 (36%)	5 (45%)	0	1 (9%)	11
Sichuan	1 (2%)	14 (25%)	11 (20%)	30 (54%)	0	56
Lingnan	0	1 (20%)	0	1 (20%)	3 (60%)	5

Note: For definitions of the North, the South, and Sichuan, see table 3.5.

prefects of Central China. In contrast, Fujian men's traditional role in governing Lingnan prefectures continued, whereas prefectural administrations in Sichuan, which had earlier been dominated by northerners, were now handed over mainly to the Sichuan natives.

Therefore, the contradistinction between northerners and southerners (mostly southeasterners) as observed for the 1040s (table 3.5) had, by the 1210s, transformed into one between the southeasterners and the Sichuanese. As table 3.9a shows, in the 1210s, almost all appointments to prefectship received by men from the south were in the south. With the exception of a few, these officials were predominantly from Southeast China. Table 3.9b shows further that the vast majority of prefect appointments the southeasterners received were also in Southeast China itself. When they did serve elsewhere, they usually ended up in Central China and Lingnan, not Sichuan. Though the tables show Sichuan-born prefects receiving a considerable proportion of their assignments outside Sichuan, this is the result of the

data bias in Li's rosters in which Sichuan men with only local appointments in Sichuan were significantly underrepresented. Thus, for the 1210s cohort of prefects, the overlap between areas where Sichuan men served as prefects and those where the southeasterners did had shrunk considerably.

KINSHIP NETWORKS

The fact that Sichuan men were employed mostly in Sichuan and the southeasterners in the southeast around the early thirteenth century was associated with a significant change in the social behavior of the Song political elite. This stands out most clearly in the way in which prefects of the 1040s and the 1210s were related by blood and marriage. For this purpose, kinship data—here broadly defined to encompass all data on agnatic or affinal relations—from the CBDB and my previous work on Sichuan are combined and then symmetrized (that is, say, for a record indicating X as the son of Y, a symmetrical record is created indicating Y as the parent of X). The two lists of prefects, from the 1040s and the 1210s respectively, are used as the starting point for querying this dataset for kinship records. All kin found for these prefects are then used to query the database again in search of those who were the kin of the kin of the prefects. This query is repeated for four rounds in the belief that this is sufficient to exhaust all close relatives of the prefects registered in the database. The relationship is then calculated between each prefect and the kin found in the four rounds of query.[52] From this master list of kinship data, only records indicating a kinship relation *between* two prefects are preserved for analysis, and others discarded. The query results are then checked for internal consistency.[53] When multiple types of kinship relations exist between two prefects, the one directly registered in the databases and/or involving fewer marriages is used.

As social network theorists have argued convincingly that any two persons have a connection when a sufficient number of intermediaries are allowed, it only makes sense to look at whether two prefects were *reasonably closely* related. But how close is "reasonably close"? This chapter defines a kinship relation as a reasonably close one if it involves no more than two marriages[54] and no more than two units of collateral distance.[55] It also defines "marriage" broadly as any kinship relation across patrilineal descent groups.[56] Since this chapter looks only at kinship relations within each cohort of prefects, most of kinship relations used in the analysis are by nature between persons who were either of the same generation or removed by only one generation. Only a small number of relations are between men who were two generations

removed. Kinship relations that meet the above criteria are found for 211 prefects (out of a total of 511) in the 1040s cohort and 118 prefects (out of a total of 534) in the 1210s cohort.

The results reported in figures 3.1a and 3.1b and table 3.10 reveal sharp contrasts between the two periods in regard to the structure of kinship networks of the prefects. For the 1040s cohort, all but twelve of the 211 prefects ended up in one big component. That is, as far as we can tell with available data, more than 40% of the 511 prefects in the 1040s cohort were part of a single interconnected group. By contrast, the kinship network of prefects from the 1210s was structurally more fragmented. First, only 118 prefects, that is less than a quarter of all known prefects from the 1210s, had agnatic or affinal ties with one another from the same decade. Second, these 118 prefects did not form one connected group. Instead, they broke down into a total of twenty disconnected groups (or "components," to use the technical term of network analysis), and even the largest component could claim only less than half of the 118 prefects as its members (table 3.10).

An analysis of the regional origin of prefects in these network components (table 3.11) reveals a notable tendency toward regional clustering in the 1210s compared to the 1040s. While it was fairly common in the 1040s for prefects from different macroregions to be related to each other through marriage, it was far less so in the 1210s. In the 1040s, the giant component (component A) involves participants from all macroregions of the eleventh century. Although four of the other five components involved prefects from only the same region, three of them were held together only by agnatic ties that by nature limited its geographical scope. In the 1210s, however, even after those components held together exclusively through agnatic ties are excluded, only two of the remaining ten components crossed macroregional borders, and these are the top two components by size (components G and H).

Furthermore, inside these top two big cross-regional components, there was a clear structural division between the Sichuan-born prefects and the Southeasterners. Component G was essentially a cluster of prefects hailing from the broad area of Southeast China, while component H was almost exclusively a Sichuan cluster, involving half of the twenty-one prefects of Sichuan origin in the 1210s. In both clusters the connection between Sichuan-born prefects and the southeasterners was established through only one marriage tie.[57] In component G, this one affinal tie was mediated through a high-ranking Sichuanese official (i.e., Zhang Jun [1097–1164]) who relocated to Central China, which was one of the very few cases of elite

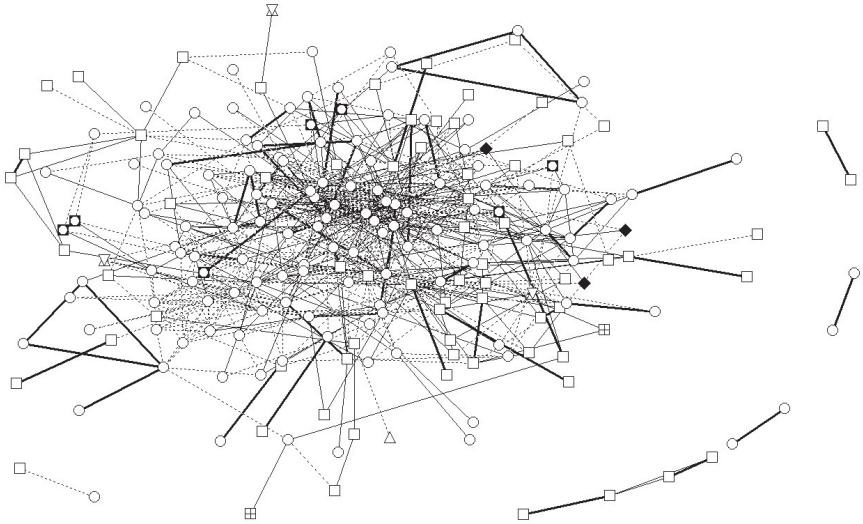


FIGURE 3.1A. Kinship networks among prefects of the 1040s. Each node in the network graph represents a prefect from the period. Nodes are shaped differently according to the home AMR of the prefect. Three styles of lines denote different kinds of connections between each pair of prefects: thick solid lines represent agnatic ties, thin solid lines direct affinal relations, and dotted lines affinal ties via a third party.

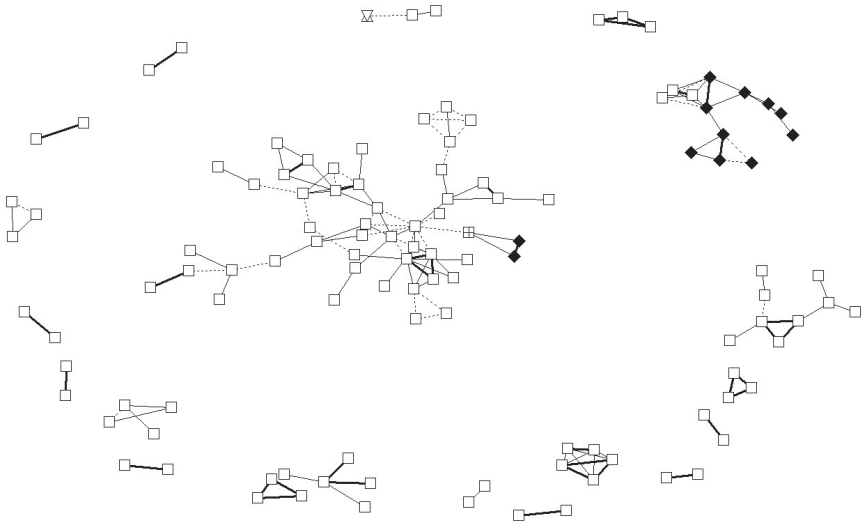


FIGURE 3.1B. Kinship networks among prefects of the 1210s. For symbology legend, see fig. 3.1a.

emigration from Sichuan in the Southern Song prior to the Mongol invasions, making the marriage tie in question all the more special.

This, however, is not evidence that officials of the 1040s did not prefer marriages with families from their home region, while their counterparts in the 1210s did. Looking more closely into the networks of the 1040s prefects, one finds that the tendency to contract marriages within a family's home region, be it due to preference or convenience, was already notable in the mid-eleventh century. The calculations here employ "patrilines," each consisting of any number of prefects related through exclusively father-son ties, as the unit of analysis and consider only those marriages that linked two patrilines of prefects together (thus excluding indirect affinal relationships where two patrilines were related through a third party with which both contracted marriages). The focus here is on connections between patrilines established through marriage, not each individual instance of marriage. Therefore, even when marriages are contracted repeatedly between two patrilines, they establish only one affinal connection in the following calculations. Due to technical difficulties, the following calculations also exclude patrilines whose regional origin cannot be identified and those which had more than one AMR registered as its place of origin, either a result of its recent migrations or having different descent lines living in different places. Of the 115 patrilines in the 1040s that meet the above criteria, sixty-seven of them were from North China and thirty-eight from Southeast China. The data reports that 64% (86 of 134) of the affinal connections involving North China patrilines were with each other while 61% (40 of 66) of those involving Southeast China patrilines were with families outside their home region. In other words, Southeast China patrilines' affinal connections crossed regional borders 54% more often, while the North China ones crossed borders 44% *less* often. But one should not jump to the conclusion that prefects from Southeast China preferred establishing affinal ties with those outside their home region, because the smaller number of Southeast China patrilines in the data relative to those from North China significantly decreased the likelihood of their becoming in-laws. Given the relative size of patrilines from North and Southeast China in the dataset, even in a hypothetical, purely random situation where marriage ties are evenly distributed between patrilines regardless of their regional origins (i.e., where the regional origin of potential marriage partners is not a consideration when making marriage decisions), one expects that patrilines from Southeast China are 3.2 times more likely to have affinal connections across regional borders than within them, whereas those from North China are 45% *more* likely to do

TABLE 3.10. Structure of kinship networks among prefects, the 1040s versus the 1210s

Cohort of Prefects	Size of Component	No. of Components
I. Networks via Kinship Ties Involving Two or Fewer Marriages		
1040s (N=211)	199	1
	4	1
	2	4
Total		**6**
1210s (N=118)	49	1
	13	1
	9	1
	5	2
	4	1
	3	5
	2	9
Total		**20**

(continued)

so.[58] Compared with expected probabilities in this scenario, what the data shows here, in fact, is a strong tendency of *both* groups to establish affinal ties within regional borders.

What truly makes the marriage practice of prefects in the 1040s different from those in the 1210s, I think, is a notable degree of cosmopolitanism among the 1040s prefects. Just as their tendency to serve near their homes did not prevent them from also having administrative experience in multiple regions, their tendency to look for an in-law from their home region did not turn them away from getting one from elsewhere. In fact, 61% (23 of 38) of the Southeast China patrilines and 43% (29 of 67) of the North China ones were linked by marriage to those outside their home region, both very close to the expected percentages of such patrilines in a random situation (67% and 42% respectively).

The situation in the 1210s was drastically different. The tendency of regional endogamy grew more intense. There are a total of fifty-two patrilines in the 1210s set that meet the criteria for this analysis, including forty-three from Southeast China, eight from Sichuan, and one from Central China.

TABLE 3.10. *(continued)*

Cohort of Prefects	Size of Component	No. of Components
II. Networks via Kinship Ties Involving One or No Marriages		
1040s (N=189)	171	1
	4	2
	2	5
Total		**8**
1210s (N=110)	31	1
	12	1
	7	1
	5	2
	4	1
	3	6
	2	14
Total		**26**

Note: The kinship network of each cohort of prefects is partitioned into several components of varying size. A component is a maximal connected subgroup of prefects (i.e., a subgroup of prefects each of whom was connected through kinship ties to at least another in the component but not to any other prefect outside the component). This table reports the number of components each kinship network contains and the size of each component (i.e., the number of prefects in each component). For example, when kinship ties are defined as agnatic or affinal connections involving no more than two marriages, the resulting kinship network of the 1040s cohort consists of six components, one of which contains 199 prefects, another four prefects, and four others two prefects each. As a robustness test, part 2 of this table redefines kinship ties more narrowly as agnatic or affinal connections involving only one marriage and recalculates how the kinship network is partitioned under this narrower definition. Sample size (N) is the total number of prefects with documented kinship relationships that meet the criteria specified here and in the chapter.

Given the overwhelming number of prefects of southeastern origin, affinal connections of Southeast China patrilines are expected to be more than twice as likely within the group than otherwise, while the small percentage of Sichuan men in the 1210s cohort means that affinal connections of Sichuan men would be 11.6 times more likely to occur across regional borders. The data shows, however, that affinal connections of Sichuan men were nearly as exclusively confined to their home region as that of the southeasterners. More importantly, the data reveals low percentages in both regions of patrilines with affinal ties across regional borders (1 of 43 in Southeast China and

TABLE 3.11. Number of prefects in each component of kinship networks, by regional origin

	Prefects, 1040–1049						Prefects, 1210–1219																		
Home AMR	**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**	**E**	**F**	**G**	**H**	**I**	**J**	**K**	**L**	**M**	**N**	**O**	**P**	**Q**	**R**	**S**	**T**	**U**	**V**	**W**	**X**	**Y**	**Z**
North China	121		2	1		2																				
Northwest China	7																									
Southeast China	62	4		1	2		46	3	9	5	5	4	2	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Central China	2						1																			
Sichuan	3						2	10																		
Lingnan	1																									
Origin Unknown	3												1													
Total	199	4	2	2	2	2	49	13	9	5	5	4	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Note: Underlined components consist only of prefects who were agnatic kin, which by nature limits the scope of the component to a single AMR.

2 of 8 in Sichuan), both significantly lower than the expected percentages of such patrilines in a random situation (17% and 85% respectively). As a result, the kinship networks of prefects in the 1210s included two major components (G and H), comprised of southeasterners and Sichuan men respectively, disconnected from each other.

Another significant difference between networks of the two periods is that those in the 1040s had a core–periphery structure in favor of the North China prefects, making them not only numerically superior but also structurally dominant. The network of prefects is partitioned into core and periphery here by identifying the subgroups of maximal size in the network, whose members are directly connected—that is, through agnatic relations, marriage, or marriage to the same third party—to a specified number (k) of other members of the group (i.e., the "k-core" approach).[59] By varying the number k, one is able to define the core group in more or less inclusive ways. The largest value for k obtained in the network of the 1040s cohort is seven. At this level the core group contains forty-six prefects (table 3.12a, fig. 3.2a), who were predominantly from North China (38 of 46, or 83%), especially the Capital Corridor (29 of 46). As table 3.12a shows, even if the size of the core group is expanded by lowering the value of k to six and then five, the proportion of North China men in the core group remains at high levels (>75%), way beyond the percentage of North China men in the entire network (126 of 211, or 60%). Conversely, although prefects of Southeast China origin counted toward 33% (69 of 211) in the whole network, they were disproportionately located in the periphery: 78% (54 of 69) of them would not be considered members of the core group until the value of k is lowered to four or less. Accordingly, prefects of North China origin in the 1040s, as a whole, were far better connected than those from elsewhere. On average, each of them had connections to 8.8 others. The four best connected members, Lü Yijian (979–1044), Zhang Mian (983–1060), Han Yi (972–1044), and Lü Gongbi (1007–1073) were each related to thirty or more prefects in the 1040s network. In comparison, prefects from Southeast and Northwest China on average had ties to only four or five prefects in the network, and those from Central China, Sichuan, and Lingnan even fewer (table 3.13).

The core–periphery structure was much weaker in the network of the 1210s cohort (table 3.12b). The largest k value obtained for this network is four. No matter how inclusively the core group is defined, the proportion of southeasterners fluctuates between 80% and 92%, consistently in close range of the percentage of southeasterners in the entire network (88%, or 104 of

TABLE 3.12A. Core–Periphery structures in kinship networks: Networks of prefects in the 1040s cohort

	Regional Origin							
Coreness Value (*k*)	**North China**	**Northwest China**	**Southeast China**	**Central China**	**Sichuan**	**Lingnan**	**Unknown**	**Size of *k*-core**
1	15	0	17	1	0	1	1	35
2	17	0	13	1	1	0	0	32
3	7	3	15	0	2	0	0	27
4	12	2	9	0	0	0	2	25
5	27	1	5	0	0	0	0	33
6	10	0	3	0	0	0	0	13
7	38	1	7	0	0	0	0	46
Total	126	7	69	2	3	1	3	211

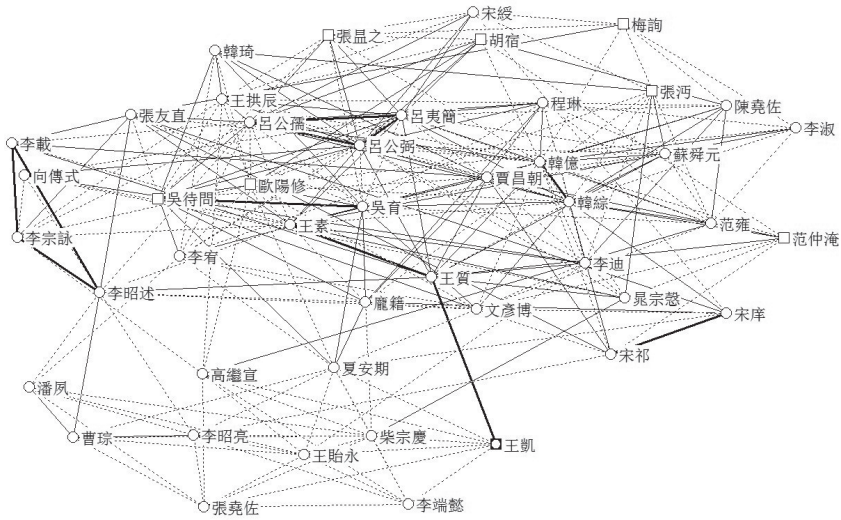


FIGURE 3.2A. Core group in kinship networks of the 1040s prefects (7-core). For symbology legend, see fig. 3.1a.

TABLE 3.12B. Core–Periphery structures in kinship networks: Networks of prefects in the 1210s cohort

	Regional Origin of Members in the *k*-core				
Coreness Value (*k*)	**Southeast China**	**Central China**	**Sichuan**	**Unknown**	**Size of *k*-core**
1	47	0	3	1	51
2	32	1	7	0	40
3	17	0	0	0	17
4	8	0	2	0	10
Total	104	1	12	1	118

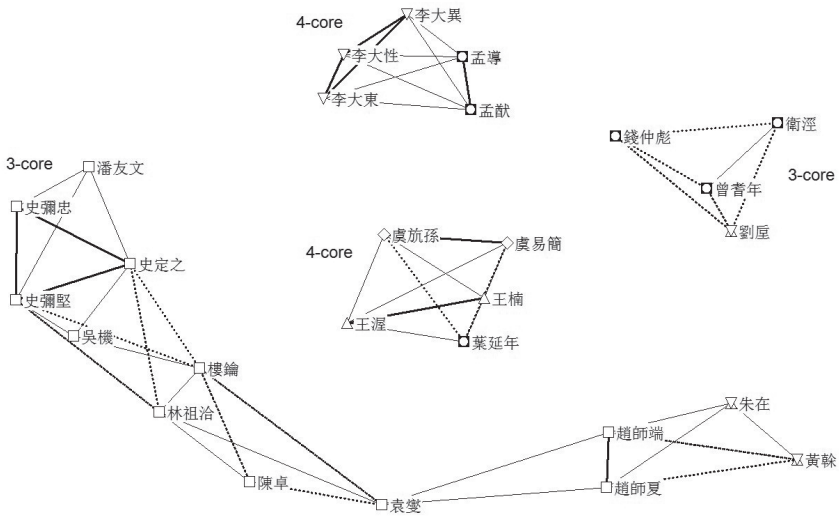


FIGURE 3.2B. Core groups in kinship networks of the 1210s prefects (4- and 3-core). Each node in the network graph represents a prefect from the period. Nodes are shaped differently according to the home circuit of the prefect. Three styles of lines denote different kinds of connections between each pair of prefects: thick solid lines represent agnatic ties, thin solid lines direct affinal relations, and dotted lines affinal ties via a third party.

TABLE 3.13. Number of connections possessed by prefects, average by home AMR

	Average Number of Connections	
Home AMR	**1040s**	**1210s**
North China	8.8	—
Northwest China	4.9	—
Southeast China	5.0	2.4
Central China	1.5	3.0
Sichuan	3.0	2.8
Lingnan	1.0	—
Unknown	4.0	1.0
Empire-wide average	7.2	2.5

118). The core itself became more fragmented in the 1210s. While a sizable number (44%, or 92 of 211, under a *k* value of five) of prefects in the 1040s were well connected to each other and formed one fairly densely connected group, there were only a few small pockets of well-connected groups in the network of the 1210s (four separate clusters comprising 26%, or 27 of 104, of the prefects under a *k* value of three, see fig. 3.2b). Regardless of regional origin, prefects of the 1210s each had connections to only two to three others in the cohort. Even the top three best connected prefects of the 1210s, Lou Yue (1137–1213), Shi Mijian (d. 1232), and Shi Dingzhi, had connections to only seven to ten others in the cohort.

CONCLUSION

In his seminal article on social and political changes in middle period China, Robert Hartwell defined a semihereditary professional elite that occupied a disproportionate number of incumbents to finance and policy offices between 983 and 1086. It claimed descent from the great Tang clans and imitated the behavior of the Tang elite: they maintained their main residence in the Song capital region, intermarried with each other regardless of regional origin, and placed most of their sons in the upper echelons of government generation after generation. He contrasted it with the founding elite and the gentry, the two other groups in Northern Song bureaucracy. He argued that

the gentry based their power in local society, engaged in a wide range of occupations, and preferred marriage with those from the same native county. It is important to note that in Hartwell's view, the professional elite comprised a fairly limited number of families and that even at the peak of its power, it claimed less than 30% of policy offices and finance office-years. By contrast, the majority of these offices at almost all times during the Northern Song were staffed by the gentry. In the late eleventh century, with the expansion of examinations and factional struggles at court, the professional elite eventually disappeared as a separate status-group and became indistinguishable from the gentry families.[60]

Subsequent studies show, however, that maintaining a capital residence and contracting marriage alliances with those of different regional origins were strategies widely pursued by Northern Song officials.[61] This raises the question of whether the gentry existed at all in Northern Song bureaucracy as a separate group with distinctive social practices. These studies suggest that the professional elite, defined by its residential and marriage practices, was much larger and more inclusive than Hartwell suggested. Until the late eleventh century, local elites who succeeded in the examinations often relocated to the capital (or places with convenient access to it) and married with those from outside their native region, thus transforming themselves into new members of the professional elite.

The formation of this professional elite in the early Song, I think, is in large measure the product of a conscious Song effort to unite the political elites in northern and southern states into a new one based in the Song capital. And it continued to be shaped by the vicissitudes of Song ruling strategies. By expanding the examination system and making resources for political success more available outside the capital, the Song not only allowed more to join the capital elite by succeeding in the examinations and relocating to the capital, but it also made it increasingly practical for elite families to stay in their home region and still achieve political prominence. This, I think, was what distinguishes the Song from the Tang: as Tackett demonstrates, even in late Tang elites based in the provinces had little hope of gaining political prominence. This changed the rules of the game.

This chapter looks at these changes and their consequences by focusing on a small sample of Song administrators. It studies the prefects when the power of these changes was just unleashed and compares them to those who were in office 170 years later right before the Mongols attacked. Through the window of these samples, it argues that economic and cultural develop-

ments in South China and the Song attempt to tap into these developments profoundly transformed both the composition and social behavior of the Song political elite.

First, North China, especially those from the Capital Corridor, continued to claim a share of prefect offices in the 1040s significantly greater than its share of the total population and occupied dominant positions in empire-wide elite networks. But consistent with Hartwell's data on financial and policy-making officeholders, they now filled only half of the vacancies and left the rest mainly in hands of men from different regions of the south, who counted toward nearly 40% of all prefects in the 1040s with identifiable geographical origins. The geographical pattern of success in the south during the mid-eleventh century exhibited the multicentered character it had acquired in earlier centuries. Although the Lower Yangzi was the flagship of southern accomplishments, there were also separate pockets of success in modern Jiangxi and Fujian.

Second, the geographical pattern of southern success changed dramatically between the 1040s and the 1210s, indicative of significant differences in the logic of political prominence between the two periods. In the 1040s, despite the broadened geographical scope of political participation, the influence of the capital continued to be felt in the south, where the leading area of success were a band of prefectures situated along the southern segment of the Grand Canal, a major waterway providing convenient access to the principal and auxiliary Song capitals. In sharp contrast, the driving force of success in the 1210s was economic. Being the seat of the new capital gave Lin'an no competitive edge. Instead, men holding prefectural governorship in the 1210s came predominantly from a cluster of prefectures stretching along the coast of the East China Sea.

Third, the large number of southern-born officials offered the Song the opportunity to try out a new way of staffing its field administration. Scholars have noted that local offices in Sichuan were often staffed by Sichuan natives after the late eleventh century. As the data here illustrates, this reflects what seems to have already been a national trend in the 1040s, which continued in a more intensified form into the 1210s. With the notable exception of Sichuan where special policies applied, in both periods, men, regardless of their regional origins, were more likely to serve as prefects in their home region than any of the other regions. On average, the geographical scope of a prefect's place of assignment in both periods was limited to a radius of three hundred to four hundred miles. In the 1040s this led to a pattern of

southerners serving mostly in the south and northerners in the north. This north–south contradistinction transformed into an east–west one in the 1210s as Sichuan-born officials grew in numbers and northerners completely dropped out of sight after the Jurchen invasions.

A notable degree of cosmopolitanism, nevertheless, distinguished prefects of the 1040s from their counterparts in the 1210s. This is the fourth finding in this chapter. Despite the inclination to serve relatively close to home, around 40% of the prefects in the 1040s, whatever their regional origin, had experience serving in three or more broadly defined administrative regions in their career. By the 1210s, however, the inclination of serving close to home went to such great lengths that men serving as prefects in three or more regions became extremely rare.

The cosmopolitan character in kinship networks of the 1040s likewise made them structurally different from those of the 1210s. Despite a notable tendency toward regional endogamy in both periods, the substantial number of prefects in the 1040s from North and Southeast China alike who contracted marriage across regional borders joined prefects of different regional origins in a huge interwoven web of connections. By the 1210s, however, the tendency of marrying within regional borders had so intensified that kinship networks of prefects broke down into regional clusters.

This discussion suggests a more general model of understanding the profound social and political implications of a new, multicentered south and the transition from Northern to Southern Song. Development in South China provided essential resources for regional independence as it did in the tenth century, but it also offered the human, economic, and cultural resources that could be mobilized for running the new empire. The Song consciously tapped into these resources by recruiting southern men into civil service and employing them as local administrators, often close to home but also in other regions. This not only changed the composition of the Song political elite, but the policies implemented to achieve this end (such as the spread of schools and expanded quotas in prefectural examinations) significantly undermined the capital's monopoly of political and cultural resources and redistributed them in favor of wealthy areas, fundamentally changing the driving forces behind political success. As the political elite was no longer clustered only around the capital, the tendencies of serving and marrying close to home emerged. As these tendencies ran their full course in the Southern Song, the capital elite disappeared, and along with it capital-oriented elite networks.

TABLE 3.14. Appendix: Data distribution in Li Zhiliang's rosters of prefects, 1040–1049 and 1210–1219

	Prefectures Surveyed by Li Zhiliang		Prefects Listed in Li Zhiliang's Rosters				Percentage of Listed Prefects with Identifiable Regional Origin	
Circuit	Total by Circuit	% of All Prefectures*	Total by Circuit (1040s)	Average Per Prefecture (1040s)	Total by Circuit (1210s)	Average Per Prefecture (1210s)	The 1040s Cohort	The 1210s Cohort
North China								
Kaifeng	1	100	19	19	—	—	100	—
Jingdong East	4	44	22	6	—	—	77	—
Jingdong West	7	70	38	5	—	—	95	—
Jingxi North	9	90	80	9	—	—	96	—
Jingxi South	5	56	14	3	16	4†	79	69
Hebei East	7	37	56	8	—	—	95	—
Hebei West	8	42	53	7	—	—	87	—
Hedong	8	32	35	4	—	—	89	—
Northwest China								
Yongxingjun	12	50	109	9	—	—	89	—
Qinfeng	9	36	40	4	—	—	85	—
Southeast China								
Huainan East	12	80	58	5	56	5	81	68
Huainan West	10	83	35	4	48	5	91	65

Liangzhe East	7	100	47	7	58	8	68	64
Liangzhe West	8	100	50	6	65	8	72	69
Jiangnan East	9	100	41	5	78	9	76	69
Jiangnan West	11	100	57	5	93	8	63	54
Fujian	8	100	43	5	62	8	70	68
Central China								
Jinghu North	9	60	28	3	42	5	75	67
Jinghu South	7	70	31	4	62	9	45	45
Sichuan								
Chengdufu	2	13	8	4	15	8	100	47
Tongchuanfu	3	20	8	3	14	5	38	86
Lizhou	3	18	5	2	17	6	80	47
Kuizhou	1	7	2	2	9	9	0	67
Lingnan								
Guangnan East	10	67	51	5	64	6	51	39
Guangnan West	5	18	13	3	22	4	15	41
Total	175	50	943	5	721	7	79	60

Notes: * Since the number of prefectures in each circuit changes from time to time during the Song period, the total number of prefectures used here to calculate the percentage in each circuit is inevitably a rough estimate based on the Geography Treatise (*dili zhi*) of the dynastic history of Song.
† In the Southern Song, seven of the nine prefectures previously in Jingxi South remained under Song control and four of them are surveyed by Li Zhiliang: Jun, Jin, Ying, and Xiangyang. In the Southern Song, Jin prefecture was moved under the jurisdiction of Lizhou circuit.

NOTES

1 *SS* 263.9098ff.
2 *SS* 258.8990.
3 On mandatory relocations, see also Ebrey's chapter in this volume.
4 Lin, "Song chu zhengquan," 1–19; Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar," 102–7, 110, 239–45.
5 Qian's appointment to Deng does not seem honorific, since he died in the prefectural office of Deng (*fushu*) the following year. *QSW* 3:65; SS 480. 13897ff.
6 *QSW* 6:418.
7 Lin, "Song chu zhengquan," 17–19.
8 *QSW* 6:418.
9 Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations," 414–15; McKnight, "Administrators of Hangchow," 192. Percentage of North China men in the examinations is calculated from table 21 in Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 132. Taizong's attempt to mold northern and southern elite families into a capital-based political elite is consistent with his attempt to legitimate the new dynasty and his own reign by integrating northern and southern architectural traditions; see Tracy Miller's findings in this volume.
10 Percentage of South China men in the examinations is calculated from table 21 in Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 132.
11 *QSW* 222:198.
12 *SHY* Xuanju 15.15.
13 Zhou Yuwen, *Songdai de zhou xian xue*, 6. *QSW* 10:329. Terada Gō, *Sōdai kyōikushi gaisetsu*, 25–31.
14 *SHY* Chongru 2.4, Xuanju 3.23; *CB* 147.3563–65, 153.3714–15.
15 Zhou Yuwen, *Songdai de zhou xian xue*, 72.
16 Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 134; Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations," 414–15; McKnight, "Administrators of Hangchow," 192.
17 For a summary of these developments, see Clark, "The Southern Kingdoms," 171–97; Bol, *Neo-Confucianism in History*, 15–16.
18 For a prosopographical study of the late Tang political elite, see Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*.
19 Wang, *Songren zhuanji ziliao suoyin (dianzi ban)*. Included in the full-text database of Scripta Sinica.
20 It should be noted that only prefects of Kaifeng and four of the Song circuits (Liangzhe, Jiangnan East and West, and Fujian) are thoroughly surveyed in these volumes; for the other circuits only governors of selected prefectures are included in the lists. As a result, the number of prefectures included varies significantly from one region to another. As shown in table 3.14, Sichuan and Guangnan West were among the least surveyed circuits. For example, the volume on Guangnan includes ten of the fifteen prefectures in Guangnan East but only five of at least twenty-five prefectures in Guangnan West. Similarly, only eleven out of about sixty-three prefectures in the four circuits of Sichuan are included in Li's lists. This creates a problem for interpretation, which will be discussed later along with the findings. Li, *Bei Song jingshi ji dong xi lu dajun shouchen kao*; Li, *Song Chuan Shan dajun shouchen yiti kao*; Li, *Song Fujian lu junshou nianbiao*; Li, *Song Hebei Hedong dajun shouchen yiti kao*; Li, *Song Liangguang dajun shouchen yiti*

kao; Li, *Song Lianghu dajun shouchen yiti kao*; Li, *Song Lianghuai dajun shouchen yiti kao*; Li, *Song Liangjiang junshou yiti kao*; Li, *Song Liangzhe lu junshou nianbiao.* The CBDB is a prosopographical database project that began with the late Robert Hartwell and has grown considerably over time through the collaboration of many development teams led by Peter Bol, Michael Fuller, Stuart Shieber, Deng Xiaonan, Luo Xin, Lau Nap-yin, Liu Cheng-yun, and Hilde De Weerdt, among others, as well as data contributions from an even larger group of scholars. For a description of the project and its core institutions and contributors, visit the CBDB website: http://isites.harvard.edu/icb/icb.do?keyword=k16229.

21 Some of the data in the CBDB are legacies from the research of Robert Hartwell, but more has been harvested by the project team from various sources, including, above all, Wang Deyi's revised electronic edition of the *Song Biographical Index*.

22 For a full list of biographical materials used to build this Sichuan database, see Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar," 357–86, appendix 1. What I refer to as "funerary biographies" include a variety of genres, such as descriptions of conduct (*xingzhuang*), tomb epitaphs (*muzhiming*), and spirit-path steles (*shendaobei*).

23 One of the major tools used for checking data integrity here is the index year assigned by the CBDB team, which are best estimates of a person's sixtieth year of life. For example, a prefect from the 1040s with an index year earlier than 1020 or greater than 1100 raises a red flag. These checks suggest that data problems are few for the size of this dataset. The most common ones relate to the disambiguation of persons, that is, the failure to identify a prefect with the right person in CBDB. This happens most often when two or more persons in CBDB have the same name and when a person is known by an alternative name or has characters in his name written in a variant form. Occasionally there are also issues with misidentification of places and editorial errors of kinship relations.

24 For the rationales behind using burial sites as the clue to a family's address of primary residence, see Bossler, *Powerful Relations*, 42.

25 On physiographic macroregions, see G. William Skinner, *The City in Late Imperial China*, 211–20.

26 Here I borrow the term "Capital Corridor" from Nicolas Tackett, but use it to refer to a different region. In his study of the late Tang elite, Tackett uses the Capital Corridor to refer to the zone between the twin Tang capital cities (Chang'an and Luoyang). See Tackett, *The Destruction of Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*. The Capital Corridor in this chapter refers to a region comprising five prefectures extending from Henan (Luoyang) in the west to Kaifeng and Yingtian in the east.

27 *SS* 285.9622. For the epitaph of Jia Changling, see *QSW* 19:51.

28 Hu and Cai, "Songdai Langzhou Chen shi yanjiu," 51–62.

29 *SS* 317.10344–45. *QSW* 62:34.

30 One exception is Xiu prefecture. Despite its location between Su and Hang along the Grand Canal, no prefect in the 1040s is known to be from Xiu. I also include Yue in this band of prefectures, though strictly speaking, Yue is not on the Grand Canal but is linked to the southern terminus of it via the Zhedong Canal.

31 This is consistent with John Chaffee's findings about the sudden and exceptional success of the Zhe Coast in the civil service examinations in the Southern Song. Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 148–56.

32 Chen, "Bunken tōchika ni okeru zaichi shakai to kōiki chihō," 157; Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 98–108.

33 Unlikely, because the proportion of prefects Liangzhe, Fujian, and Jiangnan East and West each contributed to the 1210s cohort (51%, 21%, and 18% respectively) was roughly in line with their share of *jinshi* in the period between 1163 and 1224 (35%, 29%, and 19% respectively). Sichuan on average produced only about 14% of all *jinshi* in Southern Song, which fell far short of Liangzhe, Fujian, and Jiangnan East and West combined. The calculation of each region's share of *jinshi* is based on the numbers provided in Chaffee, *The Thorny Gates of Learning*, 132–33.

34 Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*, 10, 72, 84–87.

35 Admittedly, a degree of arbitrariness always enters into such decisions. The boundaries of these AMRs are decided based on several factors. First, AMRs should be relatively similar in size for meaningful comparisons. Thus, Fujian, roughly Southeast Coast physiographic region, would be too small to be considered an AMR on its own. Second, the AMRs are modeled as much as possible on Song administrative vocabulary. For example, since Song official documents often use phrases such as "Chuan Xia" 川峽 and "Lingbiao" 嶺表, all circuits of Sichuan are placed inside one AMR and, likewise, all those of Lingnan in another. Similarly, Jiangnan West and East are not assigned to different AMRs since the Song texts very often referred to both with the term "Jiang" 江 or "Jiangnan" 江南. I also, for example, assign Huainan to the same AMR as Jiangnan circuits instead of Jinghu because Song documents pair Huai 淮 more often with Jiang than with Jinghu. Finally, an effort is also made to match the boundaries of the AMRs to those of G. William Skinner's physiographic regions as closely as possible for making rough comparisons.

36 McKnight, "Administrators of Hangchow," 192, 200.

37 Though cases of Sichuan men assigned to Sichuan began to appear by the 1040s, the most important prefectures in Sichuan, which are the only ones surveyed by Li Zhiliang, remained off-limits. On changes in personnel policy on Sichuan, see Lo, *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China*, 204–6; Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse*, 98–108; Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar," 138–43.

38 *SS* 285.9605–9. Li, *Song Lianghu dajun shouchen yiti kao*, 12, 47, 239, 281–82; Li, *Song Lianghuai dajun shouchen yiti kao*, 401; Li, *Song Liangjiang junshou yiti kao*, 10, 300, 342; Li, *Song Chuan Shan dajun shouchen yiti kao*, 252; Li, *Bei Song jingshi ji dong xi lu dajun shouchen kao*, 16–17, 176, 327; Li, *Song Fujian lu junshou nianbiao*, 47. Li, by mistake, records Liu's appointment to Jiang prefecture as Ling Jingyang's (Li, *Song Liangjiang junshou yiti kao*, 342; Li, *Song Lianghuai dajun shouchen yiti kao*, 401). This mistake is corrected in the dataset here.

39 Mostern, "*Dividing the Realm in Order to Govern*," 41–51.

40 *SHY* Zhiguan 59.3. *CB* 23.531. Note that in 982 the jurisdiction of a circuit (*dao*) was larger than later in the Song.

41 *CB* 22.506, 6.149. Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar," 112–13, 112n173.

42 *CB* 7.178, 11.248, 18.403, 47.1015, 48.1058, and 108.2526

43 *SS* 159.3721. For punishments of officials refusing to accept distant appointments, see *CB* 7.178.

44 For an example of court officials expressing their concerns, see *CB* 32.721. For an example of such protests, see *Jiayou ji jianzhu*, 99–104.

45 Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar," 138–43.

46 *CB* 107.2504; *SHY* Zhiguan 11.2–3.

47 *SHY* Zhiguan 47.6; *SS* 159.3721. See also *CB* 178.4318, 468.11177–80. On "qualification sequence," see Deng Xiaonan, *Songdai wenguan xuanren zhidu zhu cengmian*, 105–7.

48 *SHY* Zhiguan 8.18–19. This new definition was quoted later in *SHY* Xuanju 24.25. On Northern Song definition of distant and near places, see *SHY* Xuanju 24.25.

49 Chen, "Bunken tōchika ni okeru zaichi shakai to kōiki chihō," 156–57.

50 A further study which employs the circuit as the unit of analysis fails to reveal a similar pattern. In other words, even the 1210s cohort of prefects did not always receive the largest proportion of prefect appointments inside their home circuit, but instead they very often served in a neighboring circuit. Of the 1210s prefects, only those from the following four circuits received the largest proportion of prefect appointments inside their home circuit: Fujian (24%), Guangnan East (40%), Jiangnan West (17%), and Lizhou (100%). But for Lizhou and Guangnan East circuits, the sample size is too small to make these numbers meaningful. By contrast, men from other parts of the Southern Song were more likely to serve in an adjacent than their home circuit. For instance, men from Chengdufu circuit served most often as prefects in the nearby Tongchuanfu circuit, and vice versa. The same is true for men from Liangzhe East and West. Men from Huainan West served most often as prefects in Jiangnan West, from Jiangnan East in Jiangnan West, and from Jinghu South in Jinghu North. Whether one held prefectural governorship most often in his home circuit or an adjacent one, such appointments usually count toward about one-fifth of all prefect appointments documented for men from Fujian, Jiangnan, and Liangzhe where the sample size is large.

51 *SS* 413.12400.

52 Both CBDB and my own database on Song dynasty Sichuan code kinship data following a defined set of symbols described in Fuller, *The China Biographical Database User's Guide*, 13–14. For example, if it is known from sources that person X is person Y's nephew on the paternal side and that person Z is X's father, X is then coded in the database as the BS (i.e., brother's son) of Y, and Z the F (father) of X. This allows the querying algorithm of the database to uncover the agnatic relationship between Y and Z through X and represent it as BSF (by concatenating BS and F), which can then be converted into a more direct relationship of B (brother). Sometimes when the conversion involves ambiguity that cannot be resolved (say, it is impossible to tell if X's father's grandson is X's own son or his brother's), the conservative path is taken to maximize the kinship distance between the two (in the case above, this means interpreting the kinship as X's brother's son).

53 The most important criterion used here is generational depth. For example, a prefect serving in the 1040s could not be more than three generations removed from another prefect serving also in the 1040s, and a prefect from the 1210s could not be the son of someone serving in the 1040s.

54 I have tested the results of defining a close kinship relation more strictly as one that involves no more than one marriage (table 3.10, part 2). Although the network graph, not unexpectedly, becomes more fragmented, all the conclusions I draw remain robust.

55 Following the CBDB conventions, this chapter computes collateral distance by counting the total number of B (brothers) and Z (sisters) present in the string, after the neces-

sary concatenations and conversions, indicating the relationship between two persons. See Fuller, *The China Biographical Database User's Guide*, 41. In fact, after meeting the criterion of involving only two or fewer marriages, only a tiny fraction of the kinship data used here has more than two units of collateral distance. By definition, this also excludes vaguely expressed agnatic ties, such as lineal ancestor or descendant (denoted by the letter G in the CBDB) and lineage kin (denoted by K).

56 As such, for example, the relationship between a person and his mother's brother or his daughter's son is considered involving one instance of marriage.

57 In component H, the connection was established through Yu Fangjian (b. 1164), who was a grandson of Yunwen (1110–1174) and married the granddaughter of Wang Zi (*jinshi* of 1138) from Chi prefecture. In component G, it was established through a marriage between a daughter from the Yuwen family and Zhang Jun, whose grandson Zhongshu (1174–1230) married a daughter of Wang Zhengji (1119–1196) from Ming prefecture.

58 Calculation of the probabilities of intraregional and cross-regional affinal connections is informed by sociological discussions of E-I Index. See Krackhardt and Stern, "Informal Networks and Organizational Crises," 123–40. The probability of a particular regional group having affinal connections inside (or across) regional borders is obtained by dividing the maximum possible of such connections by the maximum possible of all the affinal connections (both within and across regional borders) that patrilines in that particular regional group could establish. The maximum possible is determined by the size (i.e., the number of patrilines) of the regional group and the entire network. The probability of North China patrilines to have cross-regional affinal connections, for example, is R*(N-R)/[R!/2!*(R-2)!+ R*(N-R)], wherein N is the total number of patrilines in the entire network (in this example, N is 115) and R is the number of patrilines in the particular regional group being considered (in this example, R is 67 for North China).

59 On the analytical applications and technical details, see Seidman, "Network Structure and Minimum Degree," 269–87.

60 Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations," 405–6, 408–10, 423–24.

61 Examples include Hymes, *Statesmen and Gentlemen*; Bossler, *Powerful Relations*; Lee, *Negotiated Power*; Chen, "Managing the Territories from Afar."

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