As Emperor Ch’ien-lung proclaimed in his edict: “It is immoral to extenuate a hideous guilt like this, and it is conscience-bound to punish it with a heavy penalty. Therefore, there has never been any explicit provision for it [incest].”¹⁵ In the latter part of the nineteenth century, vague directions were frequently issued by the Board of Punishments to untangle this predicament. The rather perfunctory suggestion was to evade addressing the real offence and instead invoke an irrelevant provision so as to punish the offender. The authoritatively cited provision was “the intrusion upon other’s house at night without reason” in the T’ang code.

The Chinese imperial codes, in whichever dynasty, were intended to uphold the political hierarchy and social stability of the country. The idea of equality for everyone before the law was never a guiding principle, and women bore the resulting suffering for thousands of years. Undeniably, during the Ch’ing, statutes were enacted to take into consideration their physical weakness and rigid confinement. However, this long-needed amelioration was offset by the deliberate encouragement of chastity and the peculiar conventions of the Chinese pattern of chivalrous groups. Social growth depends on momentary exigencies of the society being channeled into a relatively fixed course through a flexible legal system. If the law is immutable and cannot be adapted to fit spontaneous social growth, fatal social irregularities are inevitable. When that occurred, as Meijer remarked, the officials did not know what standard to apply and the people did not know what to be afraid of. Such being the case, political disarray was likely to devastate the country for a long time before an unlooked-for direction could be found. Events in China, after the downfall of the Ch’ing, have offered sufficient demonstration of how this dynamic works.

TIEN Ju-kang

Herbert FRANKE, Studien und Texte zur Kriegsgeschichte der südlichen Sungzeit (Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1987) 335 pp.; 7 maps; one index with the Chinese characters of names and terms, and a subject index in German.

With this book, Professor Franke has made an important contribution to a largely unexplored area of research. Its primary concern is warfare, which is to be distinguished from the much

law in Ch'ing times deteriorated into an entanglement of ineffective rules which purported to purify the people's moral sense." The Gordian Knot was the restriction of the issue of fair justice with the heavy shackles of Confucian ideas of gradations of the kinship hierarchy—punishment for a crime would be stiffened or mitigated depending on the offenders' relative junior or senior status of the kinship with regard to the victim. An offence committed by father-in-law who intended to force intercourse with his son's wife can illustrate the bewildering standards involved.

Generally, unless the daughter-in-law died as the result of her violent resistance and the reason for the death was verified by a witness, she would not receive justice. Under other circumstances, if the son's wife was not killed but instead caused the death of her father-in-law while resisting, she would not be punished with mere decapitation but, in the early years, even be sentenced to die by slow slicing. Every government official knew this was not what equity required but he was unable to correct it. One legal secretary in a magistrate's yamen contemptuously suggested that the only way to administer the law and to honor the virtue of chastity was to execute the daughter-in-law first and then request imperial distinction for her. It took eighteen years (1812–1830) for the provincial officials to petition for the emperor's edict to regularize the postponement of immediate execution and substantiate the imperial grace toward this kind of case in the autumn Assizes.12 Fastidious morality, it seems, did not show much concern about matters of life and death.

If such a tragic incident happened in a family, a filial son would naturally be in a dreadful dilemma. He would be unable to use physical force to help his wife stop his father's harassment because conflict with one's parents was an unpardonable offence, regardless whether the parent was injured or not. He was also forbidden to bring the case before the court. Even if he succeeded in doing so and punishment was inflicted upon his father, the son would still eventually be punished for having made an accusation against his father, a mortal crime excluded from any act of general pardon.13 The prospect of appealing to the tribunal clan for justice was not promising either because the daughter-in-law had no right to bear witness against her father-in-law.14 Truly, no one was able to tell what was the appropriate conduct to pursue once the venerable model of human relationships has fatally been broken down.

13 *Tu-Ch'ing hui-tien shih-li*, ch. 819.
14 Hsüeh Yün-sheng 謝允升，*Tu li ts'un i* 讀例存疑，ch. 43, pp. 1088–89.
better known aspects of military activity, namely army organization and technology. The book consists of three parts:
1. an introduction dealing with the regular armies and warfare during the Sung;
2. discussions of the immediate events leading up to the 1206–1208 war between the Southern Sung and the Chin, of the sources on the crucial siege by the Chin of the city of Hsiang-yang, of the principal actors involved in this siege, and finally information on the city and its defense;
3. an annotated translation of two works by Chao Wan-nien 趙萬年, the “Record of the Defense of Hsiang-yang” (Hsiang-yang shou-ch’eng lu 襄陽守城錄), a diary recording the defense of Hsiang-yang against the Chin from December 1206 until March 1207, and the “Collection from the Tent of the Second-in-Command” (Pi-wo-chi ‘裨幄集)—a collection of texts and poems concerning the defense, which has been preserved in manuscript on Taiwan. Both works were written during or shortly after the siege. They constitute an invaluable source of information on siege warfare in the early thirteenth century, not only its military, but also its diplomatic and religious aspects.

Professor Franke’s book should be read together with Corinna Hana, Bericht über die Verteidigung der Stadt Te-an während der Periode K’ai-hsi 1205–1208 (Franz Steiner, Wiesbaden, 1970), which is a translation of a similar diary on the contemporary defense of Te-an. The present book also contains an extensive bibliography (valuable amongst other things for the references to the rich secondary literature in German on Sung political and military history) and detailed indices. The quality of the maps, however, is disappointing. Five of the seven maps in the back of the book have been copied from local histories; the captions consequently are only in (sometimes rather blurred) Chinese characters; a new map of the city and its surroundings, instead of these reproductions, with the place-names in transcription would have been much easier to consult. In the notes, references to specific locations are always based on maps in local gazetteers, and only a few of these maps have been included in the book.

The author is, rightly, pessimistic regarding the possibility of analysing the great battles of Chinese history, because of the rareness of first-hand materials in general, and the difficulty of finding

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1 This is the pronunciation found in the standard dictionaries, with p'i as an alternative pronunciation for 褒. The author transcribes it as Pei-wu-chi.
information on the personal human aspects of war. Even the Hsiang-yang shou-ch'eng lu does not supply much detail on actual warfare; it is still an account by a commander writing at some distance from the actual sweat and blood of the fighting.

In order to cover the many aspects of warfare, such as hand-to-hand combat, the actual use of weaponry, the ethical values cherished by soldiers and officers, and the fate of the ordinary people, use would have to be made of vernacular novels and plays, local histories containing temple-inscriptions, rumours, poems, biographies etc., in addition to the military handbooks, conventional documentary histories and miscellaneous notes, that have been well-exploited by Professor Franke. Even collections of miracle stories, such as the famous I-chien chih 夷堅志 (1161–1198) by Hong Mai 洪邁 (1123–1202), may serve to deepen our understanding of warfare in China.

It may also be advisable to broaden our conventional concept of war, as taking place between regular armies, by including in it the activities of militia and bandits. In Chinese history it is rarely possible to make a clear-cut distinction between soldiers, militia and bandits as different social groups. Not only did they have the same social origins, but they also used the same military tactics and shared the same ethical values. Furthermore, the study of the relevant aspects of armed uprisings and the repeated suppression campaigns against minorities in the South could provide us with much-needed additional information on warfare in China (including the religious and magical beliefs associated with it), especially in view of the fact that sources on uprisings are particularly rich. The Fang La uprising (circa 1120–1122) is a case in point. Finally, the perspective of the victims of war—the farmers and city-dwellers—should be made part of such a more comprehensive picture.

The author treats the regular Sung armies and the strategic concepts underlying their campaigns, basing himself on the early Sung military handbooks Wu-ching tsung-yao 武經總要 and the Hu-ch'ien ching 虎鈐經, along with the customary documentary sources from the Sung period. He concludes this part with a summary of past negative evaluations of the military capabilities of the regular Sung-armies (pp. 78–85). Only in the field of siege and naval warfare were the Sung armies able to hold their own. The Hsiang-yang shou-ch'eng lu describes the crucial role played by the tea merchants' militia in holding the city, as well as the failure of the regular army. Other descriptions of Sung warfare confirm the
importance of the local militia recruited on a temporary basis.\(^2\)

The author (pp. 58–78) also discusses ideological and psychological aspects of warfare. He confirms the commonly held opinion that from the Sung onwards there was a subordination of \(wu\) (the martial component) to \(wen\) (the civilian component), on the basis of the subordinate position of the military in the overall bureaucratic structure of Chinese government and the lack of basic training in fighting techniques (at least at the level of the social elite) (pp. 55–56 and 84). However, elsewhere (pp. 59–60) he shows some scepticism, pointing to the military character of vernacular novels like the \(Shui-hu chuan\) 水滸傳 and the \(San-kuo yen-i\) 三國演義, and the fact that many civilian officials during the Southern Sung were among the fiercest advocates of war with the Chin. His scepticism is amply justified—in fact, a strong case can be made for the dominance of \(wu\) values in Chinese culture. It appears that the so-called supremacy of \(wen\) values was confined to a small cultured elite, and that their ideals (rather than actual practice) can in no way be regarded as representative of Chinese culture as a whole. At other levels, \(wu\) values (e.g. loyalty and bravery, and in general solving conflicts by means of violence) were (and by all accounts still are) very prominent in, for instance, the popular martial arts traditions, religious cults, exorcism and vernacular literature, but also in the regular use of torture by supposedly \(wen\) magistrates in order to obtain confessions. This enumeration is by no means exhaustive.

The author rightly points out the necessity of further study of the religious and magical aspects of Chinese warfare (pp. 66, 154), and refers to the military background of Lo Ch'ing 羅清, the patriarch of an important Ming sect (pp. 73–74). For the Sung period there is no evidence of such sectarian beliefs among the military, but this may be due to the scarcity of source material. For the Ming, the involvement of the military in sectarianism is well-attested: Ming soldiers in the Northwestern border regions were interested in various religious groups and apocalyptic prophecies.

The author's treatment of the sources on, and the background to, the defense of Hsiang-yang is thorough and reliable, as are the translations and the annotations. Editorial or printing errors are few and in no way distracting to the reader. The author corrects the

\(^2\) E.g. Robert Hymes, \(Statesmen and Gentlemen: The Elite of Fu-chou, Chiang-hsi, in Northern and Southern Sung\) (Cambridge, 1986) 136–150.
common mistake that Chao Wan-nien was the son of the commander of the defense, Chao Chun, and he shows that although the *Hsiang-yang shou-ch'eng lu* and the *Pi-wo-chi* were written to enhance Chao Wan-nien's personal fame, they are reliable sources of factual information.

The information supplied by this study also sheds further light on the use of firearms. Joseph Needham, in his discussion of the use of gunpowder, refers several times to the *Hsiang-yang shou-ch'eng lu.* The relevant parts on the “thunderclap bombs” (p'i-li p'ao 霹靂砲) are translated more accurately in the present work (pp. 183, 185, and 200–201). Contrary to Needham's interpretation, it appears that such bombs were only used to scare the enemy soldiers and horses during large-scale sorties, in the same way as battle cries. “Gunpowder arrows” (huo-yao-chien 火藥箭) are mentioned twice (pp. 171, 199), but only as incendiary weapons. Professor Franke's excellent translation enables one to read the relevant passages in context, showing that the actual contribution of gunpowder in warfare at this time was still extremely limited: not the use of such weapons, but rather the sound organization set up by Chao Ch'un and Chao Wan-nien, the coordinated use of crossbows and frequent sorties by the militia against the Chin ballistic machinery were the decisive factors in the defense of the city. One assumes that such tactics were not fundamentally different from warfare involving rebels or bandits.

Leiden

Barend J. TER HAAR


With one exception, the materials presented in this volume originated in a workshop organized by the Chinese Popular Culture Project at the University of California at Berkeley. This workshop “was originally designed as a forum for discussing and

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