

学校编码: 10384

分类号\_\_\_\_\_密级\_\_\_\_\_

学 号: 10220051402771

UDC\_\_\_\_\_



博 士 学 位 论 文

明代钞关制度研究 (1429—1644)

——以浒墅关和北新关为中心

A Study on Chaoguan System in Ming Dynasty (1429-1644):  
Focusing on Xushu Guan and Beixin Guan

余清良

指导教师姓名: 陈支平 教授

专业名称: 专 门 史

论文提交日期: 2008 年 11 月

论文答辩日期: 2008 年 月

学位授予日期: 2008 年 月

答辩委员会主席: \_\_\_\_\_

评 阅 人: \_\_\_\_\_

2008 年 11 月

余清良

指导教师

陈支平  
教授

厦门大学

## 厦门大学学位论文原创性声明

本人呈交的学位论文是本人在导师指导下,独立完成的研究成果。本人在论文写作中参考其他个人或集体已经发表的研究成果,均在文中以适当方式明确标明,并符合法律规范和《厦门大学研究生学术活动规范(试行)》。

另外,该学位论文为( )课题(组)的研究成果,获得( )课题(组)经费或实验室的资助,在( )实验室完成。(请在以上括号内填写课题或课题组负责人或实验室名称,未有此项声明内容的,可以不作特别声明。)

声明人(签名):

年 月 日

## 厦门大学学位论文著作权使用声明

本人同意厦门大学根据《中华人民共和国学位条例暂行实施办法》等规定保留和使用此学位论文，并向主管部门或其指定机构送交学位论文（包括纸质版和电子版），允许学位论文进入厦门大学图书馆及其数据库被查阅、借阅。本人同意厦门大学将学位论文加入全国博士、硕士学位论文共建单位数据库进行检索，将学位论文的标题和摘要汇编出版，采用影印、缩印或者其它方式合理复制学位论文。

本学位论文属于：

1. 经厦门大学保密委员会审查核定的保密学位论文，  
于 年 月 日解密，解密后适用上述授权。

2. 不保密，适用上述授权。

（请在以上相应括号内打“√”或填上相应内容。保密学位论文应是已经厦门大学保密委员会审定过的学位论文，未经厦门大学保密委员会审定的学位论文均为公开学位论文。此声明栏不填写的，默认为公开学位论文，均适用上述授权。）

声明人（签名）：

年 月 日

## 内容摘要

本文以明代钞关制度和浒墅、北新两个具体钞关为研究对象，在充分的史料考实基础上，旨在从宏观和微观两个层面厘清其制度的具体内容，把握其制度内核，同时兼以探讨其与明代财政和商品经济发展之间的关系及其所起的影响和作用，以期能从一个侧面解析明代社会的财政和商品经济结构，加深对中国历史上榷关制度与经济体系之间互动关系的认识，为我国当前推进的财税制度改革提供一些历史性的思考。全文共分为五个部分：

第一章主要是介绍本文的研究对象，对本课题研究的学术史进行回顾，并简要地说明本文所运用的资料、理论和研究方法。

第二章主要是从明代商税的制度内容、钞关的制度本源、明初设置钞关的客观条件和主观动因等方面考察明代创制钞关制度的历史背景。文章认为明政府之所以创行钞关制度，有着广泛的历史背景，其既是明政府对传统商税内容的一种扩展，又是对历代榷关制度的一种承继，亦和明初社会经济、水陆交通的发展及迁都北京等客观条件的具备密不可分，同时又先后贯有明政府为了疏通钞法、加强对长距离行商贸易的控制和管理、增加国家财政收入、满足皇室贵族消费等主观动机和目的。

第三章主要是对明代钞关建置的整体发展脉络和浒墅、北新二钞关的具体建置沿革情况，进行了全面、详细地考证和梳理。文章认为明代钞关制度从其创制到最后完善经历了一个很长的历史过程，不同时期、不同钞关的具体兴革不一。其整体建置沿革主要经历了宣德四年（1429年）和景泰元年（1450年）的两次大规模创建以及正统年间和成化元年（1465）、四年（1468年）的三次大规模兴革，到明中期以后，钞关的整体建置已基本稳定，但亦有个别钞关的增建和裁废，至万历中后期时，其还经历了一段制度外的建置过程。终明一世，明政府共前后建置过十五个钞关，至明亡时则止存有十一个，其中河西务、临清、淮安、扬州、九江、苏州、杭州以及崇文门宣课分司等八大钞关为其核心和主体。

第四章主要是对明代钞关的整体差官制度及浒墅、北新二钞关的具体差官方

式进行了全面地探讨和考述，并分析了其中频繁变更的原因。文章认为明代钞关的差官制度同其建置一样，也并不是从一开始就得以完全建立的，而是伴随着其建置的变革，进行了不断的调整和变更，经历了一个从创制到确立再到逐步完善的长期变迁过程。终明一世，明政府在制度内先后共尝试、施行了派遣钞关御史和户部官共同监收、由“收粮官兼管”或“原设官员收受”、单独由户部差官监收、由地方官选委佐贰官监收和由南京户部差官监收等五种不同的具体差官方式，直至弘治六年（1493年）时才最终确立了因关而异，由户部、南京户部和地方官府三者分别差官监收船料钞的差官制度模式，其中八大主体钞关主要由南、北两户部进行差官。在确立这种因关而异的差官制度之后，明政府又先后对其进行了多种方式的改进和完善。在万历中后期时，还一度出现了由税监衔命坐镇钞关监榷这种制度外的差官方式。

第五章主要是全面总结明代钞关制度在明代财政和社会经济中的历史地位和作用，同时对明代钞关制度内容中所蕴含着的各种理论问题进行简要地概括并加以思考，并简要地谈谈进一步深化、拓展明代钞关制度研究的几个思路。

本文既有整体认识，又有个案分析，即从宏观进行把握，又从微观进行论证，并兼顾到其历时性与共时性，制度规定与实际操作，理论阐释与史料佐证等标准相统一的双重要求，力求能较为全面、系统地阐明明代钞关制度的具体内容及其所起的社会作用和明代商品经济变之间的互动关系。

**关键词：**明代 钞关制度 浒墅关 北新关 建置沿革 差官

## Abstract

Resting upon considerable historical materials research, this dissertation explores Chaoguan system in Ming dynasty by primarily focusing on two specific customs: Xushu Guan and Beixin Guan. It aims to illustrate the core principles of Chaoguan system through clarifying its contents both from macroscopic and microscopic perspectives, as well as the relationship between Chaoguan and the financial and socio-economic structure of Ming dynasty. Hopefully, it would add a lateral perspective not only to our understanding of the mutuality between the customs institution and economic system, but also to our reflection on the current reform of the finance and taxation system.

This dissertation is composed of the following parts:

Chapter one, as an introduction, describes the objects of the study and give a general introduction about the previous academic researches, as well as brings forward the materials, theories, methodologies and approaches implemented in this dissertation.

Chapter two sketches the business taxation, the institutional predecessors, the objective condition and the subjective motivation in the establishment of Chaoguan system in Ming dynasty. This part argues that Ming government's institution of Chaoguan system originated in a broad historical context: it was both a sort of extension of the traditional business taxation and continuation of the customs systems in previous ages; it was deeply entangled with vast objective factors, like the capital-moving to Beijing and the development of the society, economy and transportation system in early Ming era; meanwhile it was also involved a series of subjective motivations by Ming government, like circulating the paper money, controlling the long-distance trades, increasing the state revenue, as well as meeting the royal luxury consumption.

Chapter three demonstrates the process of the establishment of Chaoguan system in Ming dynasty, dependent on two case studies: Xushu Guan and Beixin Guan. This part argues that it had been a very long history from the initiation to the consummation of Chaoguan system, with its ups and downs in different periods and

places. As a state institution, it had been basically founded in the middle Ming period through twice large-scale constructions in the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Xuande period (1429), the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Jingtai period (1450) and thrice extensive reforms respectively during Zhengtong period, the 1<sup>st</sup> year of Chenghua period (1465), and the 4<sup>th</sup> year of Chenghua period (1468). Since then, the System had been no big change except one or two establishment and abolition. From the late Wanli period, there had been a process of non-institutional establishment of customs. During the entire Ming dynasty, Ming government had founded fifteen customs institutions, only eleven of them remaining to the end of its domination and eight of them—Hexiwu, Lingqing, Huai'an Yangzhou, Jiujiang, Suzhou(Xushu), Hangzhou(Beixin) and Chongwenmen as its skeleton frame.

Chapter four explores the errand system in state institution and its implement in Xushu and Beixin, as well as the reasons of its frequent modification. This part argues that the establishment of the errand system, similar with Chaoguan system, went through a long, step-by-step process. Ming government successively carried out five practice modes: sending imperial censors working together with officials of Revenue; supervising by grain-taxation officials or special officials; supervising solely by officials from Ministry of Revenue; supervising by the magistrate delegates; supervising by the errands from Nanking Ministry of Revenue. In in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Hongzhi period (1493), the government finally decided to act according to circumstances and adopt the mode in which the Ministry of Revenue, Nanking Ministry of Revenue and the magistrate respectively sent errands to supervise the taxation and the eight main customs were charged by errands from the Peiking and Nanking Ministry of Revenue. Since then, there had been several improvements. During Mid and Late Wanli period, government sent eunuchs as tax-collectors to supervise the taxation of customs which this is a non-institutional errand implement.

Chapter five gives a comprehensive illustration of the objects, rate, regulations, and amount of the tax from Chaoguan, as well as its distribution and usage. This part argues that the tax objects went though a changing process, from the paper money taxation, to the paralleled paper and coin taxation, then the proportional taxation of silver, and finally to the alternate coin taxation and silver taxation. The rate, regulations and amount of taxation remained relatively stable and had been little

variation in the Early and Mid Ming; however, all of them experienced a series of large-scale changes, like the rapid increase of regulations and amount in the Late Ming. The taxation were distributed as the salaries of government officials and Soldiers, boundary military payment, disaster relief fund, water conservancy funds, royal reward, construction funds of palaces and royal tombs and so on. The distribution proportion was that one half belong the state spending and the other to the royalty. The taxation from Chaoguan played a very important role in the fiscal revenue, with its amount only less than that of the land tax and salt tax and its largest increment tax as the most flexible type of taxes.

Chapter six summarizes the historical role and influence in the fiscal revenue, economy, and society of Ming dynasty played and exerted by the Chaoguan system. Meanwhile, it reflects the theoretical principles underlying the state institution and then gives a brief discussion about several possible methodologies for the further study of Chaoguan system in Ming dynasty.

Overall, this dissertation consists of a series of dialectical methods: it concerns the integrated interpretation and case studies, the diachronic and synchronic research, as well as the institution and its operation; it utilizes the macroscopic analysis and the microscopic demonstration, as well as the theoretical interpreting and material supporting. It aims to give a comprehensive and systematic illustration of the specific contents of Chaoguan system and the mutual influence between Chaoguan system and the vicissitudes of the society, commodity economy in Ming dynasty.

**Keywords:** Ming Dynasty; Chaoguan System; Xushu Guan; Beixin Guan; establishment and evolution; errands



## 目 录

|                                 |     |
|---------------------------------|-----|
| <b>第一章 绪 论</b> .....            | 1   |
| 第一节 “遥指杏花村”：本文研究的对象.....        | 1   |
| 一、选题的缘起和意义.....                 | 1   |
| 二、本文研究的“时空”.....                | 3   |
| 三、相关概念的界定.....                  | 5   |
| 第二节 “先贤的肩膀”：明代钞关制度研究的学术史回顾..... | 10  |
| 一、概述性研究.....                    | 10  |
| 二、专题性研究.....                    | 16  |
| 第三节 “历史的记忆”：本文研究研究的资料.....      | 34  |
| 一、史籍资料.....                     | 35  |
| 二、方志资料.....                     | 38  |
| 三、资料汇编.....                     | 40  |
| 第四节 “解析的路径”：本文研究的理论、方法与框架.....  | 42  |
| 一、基本理论.....                     | 42  |
| 二、研究方法.....                     | 45  |
| 三、分析框架.....                     | 48  |
| <b>第二章 明代创制钞关制度的历史背景</b> .....  | 51  |
| 第一节 明代商税的制度内容.....              | 51  |
| 一、住税.....                       | 51  |
| 二、过税.....                       | 65  |
| 第二节 明代钞关的制度本源.....              | 89  |
| 一、元代创设的竹木抽分场.....               | 89  |
| 二、建明之前设置的征榷机构.....              | 93  |
| 三、明初创设的关榷.....                  | 96  |
| 第三节 明初设置钞关的客观条件.....            | 102 |
| 一、经济方面.....                     | 103 |

|                             |            |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| 二、交通方面 .....                | 108        |
| 三、政治方面 .....                | 110        |
| 第四节 明初设关征课的主观动因 .....       | 112        |
| 一、为实施社会政策而创置钞关 .....        | 112        |
| 二、为增加国家财政收入、通商裕国而创置钞关 ..... | 120        |
| 三、为满足皇室贵族的开支和消费而创置钞关 .....  | 122        |
| <b>第三章 明代钞关的建置与沿革 .....</b> | <b>127</b> |
| 第一节 明前期钞关的建置 .....          | 127        |
| 一、宣德年间钞关的创置 .....           | 127        |
| 二、正统年间钞关的调整 .....           | 135        |
| 三、景泰年间钞关的续建 .....           | 141        |
| 第二节 明中期钞关的兴革 .....          | 146        |
| 一、成化年间钞关的大规模罢革 .....        | 146        |
| 二、弘治年间钞关的个别调整 .....         | 155        |
| 第三节 明后期钞关的变革 .....          | 158        |
| 一、嘉靖年间钞关的个别兴革 .....         | 159        |
| 二、万历年间钞关的制度外建置 .....        | 165        |
| 三、崇祯年间芜湖钞关的增建 .....         | 172        |
| 第四节 明代浒墅钞关的建置沿革 .....       | 178        |
| 一、浒墅钞关之前身 .....             | 178        |
| 二、浒墅钞关的创建 .....             | 181        |
| 三、浒墅钞关的沿革 .....             | 185        |
| 第五节 明代北新钞关的建置沿革 .....       | 189        |
| 一、北新钞关的创建 .....             | 190        |
| 二、北新钞关的沿革 .....             | 194        |
| <b>第四章 明代钞关的差官 .....</b>    | <b>202</b> |
| 第一节 明代前期钞关差官制度的创制和发展 .....  | 203        |
| 一、宣德年间的初创 .....             | 203        |
| 二、正统年间的调整 .....             | 207        |

|                             |     |
|-----------------------------|-----|
| 三、景泰年间的扩展 .....             | 212 |
| 第二节 明中期钞关差官制度的确立和成形 .....   | 220 |
| 一、成化年间的变革 .....             | 221 |
| 二、弘治年间的确立 .....             | 228 |
| 三、弘治末年至正德初年的巩固 .....        | 240 |
| 第三节 明后期钞关差官制度的改进和完善 .....   | 244 |
| 一、完善钞关的差官布局 .....           | 245 |
| 二、优化钞关的差官方式 .....           | 247 |
| 三、加强对钞关差官的控制和管理 .....       | 260 |
| 四、万历年间钞关差官制度的制度外发展 .....    | 270 |
| 五、崇祯末年钞关差官制度的再次变更 .....     | 274 |
| 第四节 明代浒墅钞关的差官 .....         | 277 |
| 一、景泰年间的创制和调整 .....          | 277 |
| 二、成化年间的变革和反复 .....          | 281 |
| 三、弘治年间的确立 .....             | 283 |
| 四、正德至隆庆年间的巩固和完善 .....       | 285 |
| 五、万历年间的制度外发展 .....          | 291 |
| 六、崇祯末年的再次变更 .....           | 293 |
| 七、浒墅钞关的具体差官 .....           | 294 |
| 第五节 明代北新钞关的差官 .....         | 298 |
| 一、景泰年间的创制和调整 .....          | 298 |
| 二、成化年间的变革和反复 .....          | 301 |
| 三、弘治年间的确立 .....             | 302 |
| 四、正德至隆庆年间的巩固和完善 .....       | 305 |
| 五、万历年间的制度外发展 .....          | 310 |
| 六、北新钞关的具体差官 .....           | 313 |
| 第五章 结语：明代钞关制度研究的反思与展望 ..... | 318 |
| 第一节 明代钞关的历史地位和作用 .....      | 318 |
| 一、全面实现了明政府的统治政策 .....       | 318 |

|                                    |     |
|------------------------------------|-----|
| 二、有效地增加了明政府的财政收入 .....             | 320 |
| 三、成为商品贸易的聚散中心 .....                | 322 |
| 第二节 明代钞关制度研究中的理论思考 .....           | 323 |
| 一、钞关建置与明代区域商品经济发展之间的关系 .....       | 324 |
| 二、钞关差官方式与明代国家对地方控制之间的关系 .....      | 326 |
| 三、钞关征课客体演变与明代皇室、政府争夺、分配钞关税之间的关系 .. | 328 |
| 四、明后期南北钞关税额的消长与其经济重心转移之间的关系 .....  | 331 |
| 第三节 深化明代钞关制度研究中的路径 .....           | 334 |
| 一、深化研究的内容 .....                    | 334 |
| 二、拓展研究的时段 .....                    | 335 |
| 三、拓宽史料的取材范围 .....                  | 335 |
| 四、加强多学科理论方法的应用 .....               | 338 |
| 附    表 .....                       | 339 |
| 附表一：明代各钞关建置沿革表 .....               | 339 |
| 附表二：明代钞关整体建置沿革表 .....              | 340 |
| 附表三：明代浒墅钞关建置沿革表 .....              | 341 |
| 附表四：明代北新钞关建置沿革表 .....              | 342 |
| 附表五：明代钞关整体差官方式变迁表 .....            | 342 |
| 附表六：明代浒墅钞关差官方式变迁表 .....            | 347 |
| 附表七：明代浒墅钞关权使年表 .....               | 348 |
| 附表八：明代北新钞关差官方式变迁表 .....            | 352 |
| 附表九：明代北新钞关权使年表 .....               | 353 |
| 参考文献 .....                         | 357 |
| 后    记 .....                       | 378 |

## Contents

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>Chapter One Introduction</b> .....   | <b>1</b>   |
| <b>1.1 Research subject</b> .....   | <b>1</b>   |
| 1.1.1 Origin and significance of selecting the topic.....                                 | <b>1</b>   |
| 1.1.2 “Time” and “space ” studied in the dissertation.....                                | <b>3</b>   |
| 1.1.3 Defining relevant concepts .....  | <b>5</b>   |
| <b>1.2 The previous studies of Chao guan system in Ming Dynasty</b> .....                 | <b>10</b>  |
| 1.2.1 Summerize researches.....   | <b>10</b>  |
| 1.2.2 Monograph researches .....  | <b>16</b>  |
| <b>1.3 Research data</b> .....  | <b>34</b>  |
| 1.3.1 History literatures.....  | <b>35</b>  |
| 1.3.2 Chorographic literatures.....   | <b>38</b>  |
| 1.3.3 Literature collections .....  | <b>40</b>  |
| <b>1.4. Theories, methods and structure</b> .....   | <b>42</b>  |
| 1.4.1 Basic theory .....  | <b>42</b>  |
| 1.4.2 Research method.....  | <b>45</b>  |
| 1.4.3 Analyze frame .....   | <b>48</b>  |
| <b>Chapter Two History background of Chaoguan system’s creation in Ming Dynasty</b> ..... | <b>51</b>  |
| <b>2.1 System content of commecial tax in Ming Dynasty</b> .....                          | <b>51</b>  |
| 2.1.1 Resident tax.....   | <b>51</b>  |
| 2.1.2 pass tax.....   | <b>65</b>  |
| <b>2.2 System origin of Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty</b> .....                                | <b>89</b>  |
| 2.2.1 Bamboo tax department set in Yuan Dynasty .....                                     | <b>89</b>  |
| 2.2.2 Tax institution set before the establishment of Ming Dynasty.....                   | <b>93</b>  |
| 2.2.3 Customs set at the beginning of Ming Dynasty .....                                  | <b>96</b>  |
| <b>2.3 Objective condition of Chaoguan creation in early Ming Dynasty</b> .....           | <b>102</b> |
| 2.3.1 Economic condition .....  | <b>103</b> |
| 2.3.2 Traffic condition.....  | <b>108</b> |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| 2.3.3 Political condition .....   | 110        |
| <b>2.4 Subjective motivation of Chaoguan creation in early Ming Dynasty ...</b>                 | <b>112</b> |
| 2.4.1 For implementing social policies .....  | 112        |
| 2.4.2 For increasing revenue, and enriching the country .....                                   | 120        |
| 2.4.3 For satisfying royalty expense .....  | 122        |
| <b>Chapter Three Establishment and evolution of Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>              | <b>127</b> |
| <b>3.1 Creation of Chaoguan in early Ming Dynasty.....</b>                                      | <b>127</b> |
| 3.1.1 Chaoguan’s creation during Xuande period.....   | 127        |
| 3.1.2 Chaoguan’s adjustment during Zhengtong period .....                                       | 135        |
| 3.1.3 Chaoguan’s reestablishment during Jingtai period .....                                    | 141        |
| <b>3.2 Reforms of Chaoguan in middle Ming Dynasty.....</b>                                      | <b>146</b> |
| 3.2.1 Great reforms during during Chenghua period.....  | 146        |
| 3.2.2 Individual adjustment during Hongzhi period .....   | 155        |
| <b>3.3 Reforms of Chaoguan in late Ming Dynasty .....</b>                                       | <b>158</b> |
| 3.3.1 Individual reforms during Jiajing period.....   | 159        |
| 3.3.2 Non-institutional establishment of Chaoguan during Wanli period..                         | 165        |
| 3.3.3 Wuhu Chaoguan’s creation during Chongzhen period .....                                    | 172        |
| <b>3.4 Creation and development of Xushu Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>                     | <b>178</b> |
| 3.4.1 Predecessor of Xushu Chaoguan .....   | 178        |
| 3.4.2 Creation of Xushu Chaoguan.....   | 181        |
| 3.4.3 Development of Xushu Chaoguan.....  | 185        |
| <b>3.5 Creation and development of Beixin Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>                    | <b>189</b> |
| 3.5.1 Creation of Beixin Chaoguan.....  | 190        |
| 3.5.2 Development of Beixin Chaoguan.....   | 194        |
| <b>Chapter Four The errands of Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>                               | <b>202</b> |
| <b>4.1 Creation and development of the errand system of Chaoguan in early Ming Dynasty.....</b> | <b>203</b> |
| 4.1.1 Creation during Xuande period.....  | 203        |
| 4.1.2 Adjustment during Zhengtong period .....  | 207        |
| 4.1.3 Development during Jingtai period.....  | 212        |
| <b>4.2 establishment and figuration of the errand system of Chaoguan in</b>                     |            |

|  |            |
|--|------------|
| <b>middle Ming Dynasty .....</b>   | <b>220</b> |
| 4.2.1 Reforms during Chenghua period.....  | 221        |
| 4.2.2 Establishment during Hongzhi period .....  | 228        |
| 4.2.3 Consolidation during late Hongzhi period and early Zhengde period ...                            | 240        |
| <b>4.3 Amelioration and perfection of the errand system of Chaoguan in late Ming Dynasty.....</b>      | <b>244</b> |
| 4.3.1 Amelioration of Chaoguan's composition .....   | 245        |
| 4.3.2 Optimization of Chaoguan's errand' ways.....   | 247        |
| 4.3.3 Strengthen the control and supervise of Chaoguan's errands .....                                 | 260        |
| 4.3.4 The non-instituional development of the errand system during Wanli period .....                  | 270        |
| 4.3.5 The errand system's second reforms during late Chongzhen period ...                              | 274        |
| <b>4.4 The errand' ways of Xushu Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>                                    | <b>277</b> |
| 4.4.1 Creation and adjustment during Jingtai period .....  | 277        |
| 4.4.2 Refoms and reiteration during Chenghua period.....   | 281        |
| 4.4.3 Establishment during Hongzhi period .....  | 283        |
| 4.4.4 Consolidate and consummate between Zhengde and Longqing period...                                | 285        |
| 4.4.5 The non-instituional development during Wanli period .....                                       | 291        |
| 4.4.6 Reforms again during late Chongzhen period .....   | 293        |
| 4.4.7 The Concrete errand' officials in Xushu Chaoguan.....  | 294        |
| <b>4.5 The errand' ways of Beixin Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty .....</b>                                   | <b>298</b> |
| 4.5.1 Creation and adjustment during Jingtai period .....  | 298        |
| 4.5.2 Refoms and reiteration during Chenghua period .....  | 301        |
| 4.5.3 Establishment during Hongzhi period .....  | 302        |
| 4.5.4 Consolidate and consummate between Zhengde and Longqing period...                                | 305        |
| 4.5.5 The non-instituional development during Wanli period .....                                       | 310        |
| 4.4.6 The Concrete errand' officials in Beixin Chaoguan .....  | 313        |
| <b>Chapter Five Conclusion: rethink and prospect of Chaoguan system research in Ming Dynasty .....</b> | <b>318</b> |
| <b>5.1 Historical position and effection of Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty.....</b>                          | <b>318</b> |
| <b>5.2 Theory thinking about Chaoguan system research in Ming Dynasty..</b>                            | <b>323</b> |
| <b>5.3 Deepen the route of Chaoguan ssysytem reseach in Ming Dynasty.....</b>                          | <b>334</b> |

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>Appendix tables .....</b>  | <b>339</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 1:Establish and evolution of every Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty.....</b>        | <b>339</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 2:The whole establish and evolution of Chaoguan in Ming Dynasty.....</b>    | <b>340</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 3:The establish and evolution of Xushu Chaoguan .....</b>                   | <b>341</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 4: The establish and evolution of Beixin Chaoguan.....</b>                  | <b>342</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 5: The transition of whole errand'ways in Chaoguan system.</b>              | <b>342</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 6: The transition of the errand'ways in Xushu Chaoguan ....</b>             | <b>347</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 7: Chronology of the Concrete errand'officials in Xushu Chaoguan .....</b>  | <b>348</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 8:The transition of the errand'ways in Beixin Chaoguan.....</b>             | <b>352</b> |
| <b>Appendix table 9: Chronology of the Concrete errand'officials in Beixin Chaoguan .....</b> | <b>353</b> |
| <b>Bibliography .....</b>   | <b>357</b> |
| <b>Afterword.....</b>   | <b>378</b> |



Degree papers are in the "[Xiamen University Electronic Theses and Dissertations Database](#)". Full texts are available in the following ways:

1. If your library is a CALIS member libraries, please log on <http://etd.calis.edu.cn/> and submit requests online, or consult the interlibrary loan department in your library.
2. For users of non-CALIS member libraries, please mail to [etd@xmu.edu.cn](mailto:etd@xmu.edu.cn) for delivery details.

廈門大學博碩